

**AG 1**  
**Subordination: diachron und dialektal**  
**(Subordination from a diachronic and dialectal perspective)**

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**Alemannic *go/gi* as a non-canonical marker of subordination – verb doubling  
 or complementizer?**

24.02.2010, 14.00–14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

**1. Introduction.** All Alemannic varieties feature a subordinating particle *go/ga/gi*. The particle is predominantly found after motion verbs like *gaa* ‘go’, cf. (1)a. In this context, it is obligatory in all Alemannic varieties (Swiss German, Southern Germany, Vorarlberg, Liechtenstein, Alsatian) while the standard language and standardizing intermediate varieties use zero marking, cf. (1)b. In our paper we will show that the particle displays different syntactic behavior in the various dialects and we will propose a diachronic scenario that derives these synchronic differences. We will argue against previous analyses that treat the Swiss German variant as a kind of verb doubling. Rather, we will propose that the particle has complementizer function in Swiss German like in the other varieties, at least in some varieties.

**2. Syntactic Differences.** There is evidence that in Southern Germany, Liechtenstein and Vorarlberg the particle functions like a clause-initial complementizer. First, there is a strong tendency to place it at the beginning of the dependent clause (Brandner & Salzmann 2009). Second, it also introduces purpose clauses as in (2) where it competes with *zum* ‘in order to’ (in Swiss German *go* is ungrammatical in such sentences). In Swiss German, however, the particle is generally analyzed as a verbal element, a double of the motion verb that participates in the Verb Projection Raising system (van Riemsdijk 2002) and therefore can be placed more flexibly.

**3. Previous analyses.** Lötscher (1993) proposes that the particle goes back to the preposition *gen* ‘towards’. He further argues that it has developed into a complementizer-like element in Southern Germany, Liechtenstein and Vorarlberg while in Swiss German, a very different development took place: Due to phonetic similarity between *gen* and the motion verb, *gen* was re-interpreted as a double of the verb, thereby leading to a rule of verb doubling (cf. also van Riemsdijk 2002).

**4. A new proposal.** While we adopt the scenario for the non-Swiss varieties and do not want to rule out that verb doubling was the correct analysis at some point, new empirical findings argue against verb doubling for Swiss German from a synchronic point of view: First, the particle appears in a form clearly distinct from the motion verb in many varieties. Second, the integration into the verb projection raising system will be shown to be imperfect. Third, the particle also appears in complement clauses as in (3). This use is completely unexpected under verb doubling, but can be related to a strong preference to place *go* immediately in front of the infinitive. This suggests that at least in some varieties, *go* is more complementizer-like, similar to preverbal *zu*. Interestingly, the use in (3) happens to be found in varieties close to the German border. We then arrive at a picture where the particle has developed into a

complementizer-like element in all varieties, the major difference being the position: clause-initial vs. preverbal.

- (1) a) Er gaat **go/gi** de Unggle bsueche. b) Ich gehe Ø den Onkel besuchen.  
he goes PRT the uncle visit I go the uncle visit  
'He goes to visit the uncle.' (Alemannic) 'He goes to visit the uncle.' (SG)
- (2) Mir sin am Haag schdoo bliibä **go** luägä, wiä si ghiggä.  
We are at.the fence stand remain PRT watch how they play\_football  
'We stopped at the fence to watch how they play.'  
Noth (1993: 338) Southern Germany
- (3) Es isch e Frechhät, eifach **go** säge [...].  
it is a impertinence simplyPRT say  
'It is impertinent simply to say that [...]' (Swiss Alemannic)

Brandner, Ellen & Martin Salzmann 2009. Crossing the Lake: motion verb constructions in Bodensee-Alemannic and Swiss German. *GAGL* 48, 81–113.

Lötscher, A. 1993. Zur Genese der Verbverdoppelung. In *Dialektsyntax*, ed. by W. Abraham and J. Bayer, 180–200. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Riemsdijk, H. van. 2002. The unbearable lightness of GOing. *JCGL* 5, 143–196.

Noth, Harald. 1993. *Alemannisches Dialekthandbuch vom Kaiserstuhl und seiner Umgebung*. Freiburg: Schillinger Verlag.

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**Infinitival complement clauses in Alemannic**

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On the basis of several different data types (acceptability judgements, analysis of transcribed sound-recordings), this talk deals with different types of *zu*-infinitivals (in the terminology of Bech 1983: '2<sup>nd</sup> Status') and in particular the status of the complementizer *zum* in Vorarlbergian Alemannic (VA). Alongside use in different kinds of adjunct clauses (1a., b.), this complementizer also occurs in complement clauses (2a., b.). As for the closely related Alemannic varieties spoken around Lake Constance ('Bodensee-Alemannisch'), Brandner (2006, 2008) assumes interferences with Standard German as the potential source of this construction.

- (1) a. und denn hät ma scho wied'r g'waartat *zum* d'r Wagga uffischtoßa  
in an Büch'l zum Heua (Röns) (Ruoff & Gabriel 1998: 120, Z. 42f.)  
'and then one used to wait in order to push the trolley into the heap of hay again'
- b. i ha z'wenig Kligeald, *zum* a Fahrkarta z'lösa (73/f: Satteins)  
I have too few change COMP a ticket ZU=buy  
'I don't have any change to buy a ticket.'

- (2) a. Dasssie mir *verbota* häat *zum* däs Buch leasa, (77/m: Hohenems)  
 That she me forbidden has sub that book-AKK read,  
 ischt scho allerhand.  
 is quite something.  
 'It's quite something that she has forbidden me to read the book!'
- b. I han vrgeässon *zum* a Karto koufo. (69/m: Lustenau)  
 I have forgotten COMP a ticket buy  
 'I have forgotten to buy a ticket.'

Independently of the question as to which role interferences played for the origin of these structures, the goal of this talk is to present a finer-grained picture of their syntactic and semantic-pragmatic properties, relevant factors being: (a) the semantic class of the *matrix predicate* (factive/implicative verbs, propositional verbs, motion verbs); (b) the degree of *syntactic integration* (measured, e.g. by the obligatoriness of the complementizer *zum*), or, put in more traditional terms, '(in)coherence' (Bech 1983).

As shown by different uses of 'um ... zu'-infinitival clauses like (1b.), the presence of an infinitival complementizer does not correlate with the syntactic function (complement, adjunct) of the infinitival clause, and, consequently, Zifonun et al. (1997: 1426–1430) label them complement clauses. Apart from this observation, I will discuss whether data like (2), i.e. infinitival complement clauses in the strict sense, are in conflict with Wöllstein's (2008: 161f.) hypothesis that complementizers force their structural complement to have referential properties (e.g. tense) that cannot be provided by infinite embedded phrases.

- Bech, Gunnar (1983): *Studien über das deutsche verbum infinitum*. Tübingen: Narr (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1955/1957 Kopenhagen: Munksgaard). 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.
- Brandner, Ellen (2006): „Bare Infinitives in Alemannic and the Categorical Status of Infinitival Complements“. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 6: 203–268.
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- Wöllstein, Angelika (2008): *Konzepte der Satzkonnexion*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
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**Relative Clauses in Pennsylvania German**  
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In contrast to Standard German which relies on inflected relative pronouns (1a.), Pennsylvania German (like many other German dialects) can introduce relative clauses with a particle instead, cf. (1b.). While the particle merely seems to indicate subordination, syntactic relations like “subject” in (1b.) obviously can also be expressed by a gap. In fact, the use of relative pronouns, while typical for standard written European languages, is otherwise rare worldwide (cf. Haspelmath 2001, Comrie 1998). In this respect, the dialects are more natural than Standard German (cf. Fleischer 2005).

- (1) a. Der Mann, *der* den Hut anhat. (Standard German)  
the man REL.NOM.SG the hat wears  
b. Der Mann, (*d*)*ass* der Hud ahod. (Pennsylvania German)  
the man PART the hat wears

While pioneering work on relative clauses have largely relied on grammars, the present talk deals with “first-hand data”, i.e. data gathered from Old Order Amish speakers in Big Valley. This is to secure a broad, contemporary sampling of relative clauses for Pennsylvania German. My talk will present the most interesting findings from this research in light of a comparison to Fleischer (2005), Louden (1988), and Meister Ferré (1994), as well as to written samples of non-sectarian PG, determining whether or not my findings (also) confirm the predictions of the *Accessibility Hierarchy* (Keenan/Comrie 1977).

For instance, older grammars for PG indicate *wu* or *ass* as complementizers where a nominative or accusative relative pronoun would be expected in Standard German and the use of the dative demonstrative (2a.) where Standard German would have a genitive case relative pronoun (2b.).

- (2) a. Des iss der Mann, *dem sei* Fraa grank iss. (Pennsylvania German)  
(Buffington/Barba 1965: 95)  
b. Das ist der Mann, *dessen* Frau krank ist. (Standard German)  
'This is the man whose wife is sick.'

Louden (1988) found that *as* has largely replaced *wu*, and that this complementizer is now even being used where Standard German would call for the genitive, cf. (3), thus replacing the periphrastic dative form in (2a.) with (3). This indicates that the possibility of encoding with a gap has extended to the so-called “GEN position” in the *Accessibility Hierarchy*.

- (3) Des is der Mann, *as sei* Fraa grank is. (Pennsylvania German)  
(Louden 1988: 217)

- Buffington, A.F. / P.A. Barba (1965): *A Pennsylvania German grammar*. Allentown, PA: Schlechters.  
Comrie, Bernard (1998): “Rethinking the typology of relative clauses”. *Language Design* 1: 59–86.  
Fleischer, Jürg (2005): “Relativsätze in den Dialekten des Deutschen: Vergleich und Typologie”. In: Helen Christen (ed.): *Dialektologie an der Jahrtausendwende* (Linguistik online 24): 171–186.  
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Keenan, Edward L. / Bernard Comrie (1977): “Noun phrase accessibility and universal grammar”. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 63–99.  
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**Einige diachrone und dialektale Aspekte der Relativsatzbildung im  
Georgischen**

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Die moderne georgische Standardsprache kennt zwei Strategien zur Relativsatzbildung. Eine dieser Strategien bedient sich eines Relativpronomens und die Präsenz des Relativpronomens ermöglicht ihrerseits, dass für diesen Relativsatztyp fast alle syntaktischen Funktionen für die Relativierung zugänglich sind und dabei in der Regel Bezugs- und Bedeutungsambiguitäten vermieden werden können. Das Relativpronomen wird gebildet, indem an ein Interrogativpronomen bzw. -adverb das Suffix *-(a)z* angehängt wird (*romeli-z* – ‚welcher‘; *sad-az* – ‚wo‘). Auffallend ist jedoch, dass im gegenwärtigen Georgischen, wenn das Relativpronomen in eine komplexe Phrase eingebettet ist, das Suffix *-(a)z* am letzten bzw. rechtesten Glied der Phrase erscheint (*romlis saxli-z* – ‚dessen Haus‘), während es im Altgeorgischen auch in den komplexen Phrasen an das Relativpronomen suffigiert wurde.

So lässt sich zeigen, dass sich im Laufe der Zeit aus einem Relativpronomenmarkierenden Suffix ein suffixaler Relativsubordinator herausgebildet hat, wobei auch eine Koexistenz von beiden Formen während der Übergangsphase nachweisbar ist.

Die zweite Strategie verwendet eine Art Universalkonjunktion *rom*, durch die auch andere Arten von Nebensätzen subordiniert werden können, zur Einleitung des Relativsatzes, jedoch mit zwei obligatorischen Beschränkungen. Erstens darf die Bezugsphrase (Nukleus) im Relativsatz nicht durch ein Pronomen (Resumtivum) repräsentiert werden und zweitens, abgesehen von wenigen marginalen Ausnahmen, muss die Position vor dem Subordinator durch ein Satzglied besetzt sein. So werden Relativsätze zur Unterscheidung von anderen Nebensätzen ausreichend markiert. Das hat zur Folge, dass einerseits durch diese Strategie die komplexeren syntaktischen Funktionen nicht relativiert werden können und andererseits (besonders durch die zweite Beschränkung) oft für die konkrete Satzsemantik unerwünschte Bewegungen bzw. eine redundante Präsenz eines der (nicht relativierten) Argumenten durch ein Pronomen benötigt werden, um die Position vor dem Subordinator zu besetzen.

Es wird am Beispiel des Imeretischen, einer der westgeorgischen Mundarten, gezeigt, dass einige Dialekte, um die oben genannte Wortstellungsbeschränkung umzugehen, aus der Universalkonjunktion einen auf die Relativsatzbildung spezialisierten Subordinator *kero* entwickelt haben. Dabei wird ein Vorschlag gemacht, diesen Wechsel bzw. die Entstehung dieses Subordinators als Klitisierung der (zur Besetzung der Position vor dem Subordinator) expletiv eingesetzten Partikel *ke* an die Konjunktion *ro(m)* zu analysieren.

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**The C system of relatives and complement clauses in the history of Slavonic languages**

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According to the majority view in the literature, the German and English complementizers *dass* and *that*, respectively, are descendants of a demonstrative pronoun used as an object (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003, Hopper & Traugott 2003<sup>2</sup>, Harris & Campbell 1995, among others), arising when two independent clauses were combined into a subordination structure. As is well-known for English, the use of demonstratives and uninflected relativizers preceded that of relative pronouns with a *wh* base (Harris & Campbell 1995, 284f). Just like the complement clause subordinator, uninflected relativizers are traced back to demonstrative pronouns (Hopper & Traugott 2003, 196ff). Given these similarities, the question arises whether the development of uninflected relativizers and of complement clause subordinators from demonstratives were simply two alternative pathways of change, or whether one was ‚parasitic‘ on the other. The present paper argues that in Slavonic languages (Old Church Slavonic (OCS), Russian, Polish and Czech), there is support for an analysis under which the complement clause subordinator was directly *derived* from an uninflected relativizer, and only indirectly, if at all, from a demonstrative pronoun:

- (1) The subordinators *iż* (Polish) and *že* (Czech)/*že* (Polish) are descendants of the relativizer *iže* (Cz) / *ize* (Pl). The latter could occur in uninflected form with a resumptive pronoun already in the oldest Polish documents.
- (2) In OCS, *iže* was mostly an inflected relativizer consisting of a demonstrative and a (modal) particle. However, Večerka (2002) mentions uninflected, non-agreeing *iže* with resumptive pronouns in the embedded clause already in OCS.
- (3) In the Old Russian Birchbark letters, which most closely represent the very early vernacular (beginning from the 11th century), the most frequent type of relative clause was introduced by uninflected *čto* (Mendoza 2007). First instances of *čto* as a complement clause subordinator date from the 12th/13th century (Borkovskij 1979), widespread use in this environment arose no earlier than the 15th century.

According to 2., there is no reason to think that *wh* relatives were prior to relatives with an uninflected complementizer, even in OCS. 1. shows the development of complement clause subordinators from uninflected relativizers in a morphologically transparent way. 3. makes the same point even more strongly, because *čto* is morphologically distinct from a demonstrative pronoun. It remains to be shown how matrix verb classes and the position of the embedded clause interacts with the developments in 1.-3. First results by Mendoza (2007) indicate that in the early Old Russian vernacular, relative clauses had to be extraposed, and that they became sentence-internal only later (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003 for English). To conclude, the Slavonic case shows a development diverging from the one standardly assumed for Germanic: Complement clause subordinators were modelled on uninflected

relativizers. This development lacks the hallmarks of a grammaticalization process and can more adequately be viewed as purely syntactic reanalysis.

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**From ±finiteness to connectors: A Bulgarian scenario of morphosyntactic change**

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One of the important markers of dependency status in Slavic is ±finiteness. This is true of most contemporary Slavic languages and even more so of Old Church Slavonic that besides an infinitive also featured a supine and various participial constructions (such as *Dativus Absolutus*). The well-known exceptions to this rule are the Balkan Slavic languages. One of the manifestations of the pervasive trend towards analytism which succeeded synthetic structures in these languages is the loss of the infinitive and its replacement with the subordinative connector *da* followed by a conjunctive (MacRobert 1980; Joseph 1983). There is however no reason to privilege the infinitive on the synthetic side of the divide and the *da*-construction on its analytic side. The comprehensive text-based study of the variety of early modern Bulgarian analytic replacements of synthetic finite & non-finite verbal constructions demonstrates the existence of analytic options ranging from coordination by means of the most frequent connector *i* ‘and’ to the connector *ta* with intermediary properties between coordination and subordination and, finally, to the subordinative connector *da*. Comparison with the non-Slavic Balkan languages brings to the fore a similar picture, except that only Romanian uses a separate connector with intermediary properties (*de*) and a fourth option appears on the stage: the asyndetic juxtaposition of two conjoined finite verbs (Fraenkel 1926: 304-307; Frîncu 1969; Civ’jan 1973: 122-123). Since coordinative *i* is in later texts and the contemporary language banned from this slot and it sometimes corresponds to Greek *καί* ‘and’ in the original text from which the Bulgarian was translated, it can be seen as a bookish feature of those texts that did not reflect actual linguistic use. For Bulgarian *ta* one can reconstruct a path from a focus particle first to a coordinative and later to a subordinative connector. This amounts to a radical change of distribution from exocentric to endocentric constructions, which must have been triggered by the decline of the ±finiteness marker (Mladenova 2010). The earliest connector to be introduced in this environment – subordinative *da* – perhaps took a similar path for which we have indirect evidence in the recurring similarities in the constellations of functions that *ta* and *da* have across Slavia as well as in their hypothetical common

origin (Nikolaeva 2008: 266-269, 280, 291-292). The paper will search for additional arguments for or against such a scenario of *da*'s evolution.

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**The syntax-semantics interface of non-finite clauses in Irish and Basque: a diachronic perspective**

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This work proposes a diachronic and comparative study of the syntax-semantics interface of non-finite clauses in Irish and Basque within the Minimalist Program framework (Chomsky 2000, 2001). These two languages share some interesting features, such as the syntax of numerals (vigesimality), the auxiliary system (two copulas), accentual system, and vocabulary (Vennemann 2003). In this work we test whether there are similarities in the syntactic patterns of non-finite complementation in these two languages.

One of the most striking features of the Celtic languages (Thurneysen 1946) is the lack of infinitive as inflectional category. Instead, a verbal noun (VN) is used: the VN is a form synchronically derived from a verbal nominalization and as all nouns it is regularly inflected for number. Mainly, there exist two syntactic structures for encoding complementation: (1) VN<sub>[NOM/ACC]</sub> (its arguments show nominal cases, such as genitive for objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs, and dative in the PPs encoding the subject of transitive verbs, if overtly realized); (2) *do* "to" +VN<sub>[DAT]</sub> (the subject or the object of the VN can appear in nominative or in accusative). We will focus on the latter construction (2), analysing the internal syntax and the semantic values it encodes. For Old and Middle Irish, it has been proposed (Disterheft 1980) that this structure implies raising-to-subject and raising-to-object. We rather propose a different approach: in non-finite clauses the structure *do*+VN<sub>[DAT]</sub> can assign case to its arguments, so that they stay in the subordinate clause instead of raising to the matrix clause, and then we focus on the internal syntax of non-finite clauses, with special attention to the complementary distribution of PRO and lexical subjects.

In Basque, in all its stages, predicate of non-finite clauses is a verbal nominalization (VN): a suffix in *-tze/-te* is attached to every verbal stems. The VN is a true noun, in the sense that it is inflected for case. The encoding of its arguments is typically



verbal: ergative for the subjects of transitive verbs, and absolutive for objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs. Beside this construction, there exists also a more nominal one (Trask 1997) – as well as in Old and Middle Irish –, i.e. the transitive VN as a complement of motion verbs. In this case, the VN assigns genitive to its object instead of absolutive, and the subject of the motion verb must control the VN. This syntactic pattern was found in all northern texts (French Basque) from the earliest to the most recent, and it is still present in the northern speech nowadays. In Southern Basque varieties, in turn, this construction is not attested, and the verbal (ergative-absolutive) system is used.

This work hopes to elucidate the diachronic change of syntactic parameters and the syntax-semantics interface in non-finite sentential complementation, focusing on the status of PRO and on Case-theory.

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**In between coordination and subordination: The case of the Coptic Egyptian conjunctive**

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**1. BACKGROUND.** Foley & Van Valin (1984: chapter 6) acknowledge three types of interclausal nexus relations: coordination, subordination, and cosubordination. The three types of interclausal nexus are defined in terms of two syntactic parameters [ $\pm$  dependent] and [ $\pm$  embedded], cf. table 1.

Table 1. *A ternary distinction of nexus relations*

COORDINATION	[– embedded]	[– dependent]
SUBORDINATION	[+ embedded]	[+ dependent]
COSUBORDINATION	[– embedded]	[+ dependent]

Cosubordination behaves syntactically like standard symmetric coordination in that the linked clauses are neither modifiers nor arguments of the main verb in superordinate clause. Cosubordination is distinguished syntactically from coordination in that the linked clauses depend on a superordinate clause in some feature, for instance, tense, aspect and illocutionary force.

**2. THE CONJUNCTIVE CONJUGATION.** Coptic Egyptian [Ancient Egyptian, 3rd–11th c. AD] has several dependent verb conjugations to formally encode asymmetric VP/clause coordination. The most central one is the conjunctive, in which several clauses are placed in sequence, but neither of them is embedded in the other. Conjunctive verbs have no inherent temporal, aspectual or modal features of their own. Rather, the exponent of asymmetric clause linkage occupies the same position as pre-subject

tense/aspect/mood particles. As a result, conjunctive verbs receive a temporal and aspectual value by being anaphorically related to a controlling verb in the initial conjunct.

- (1) *Binary clause coordination with conjunctive verb* (Testament of Isaac 233, 13-14)  
se=na-mere      pə-βios      ən-t-anakhɔ:rɛ:sis      et-waaβ  
3PL=FUT-love.NOM DEF.M.SG-life LINK-DEF.F.SG-seclusion COMP.REL-be.holy.STAT  
ən=se-apatasse      əm-pə-kosmos  
CONJ=3PL-renounce.ABS PREP-DEF.M.SG-world  
'They (the hermits) will love the life of holy seclusion and renounce the world.'

There are, however, other instances of conjunctive clauses, which share with subordinate clauses the property of being embedded into the syntactic structure of the main clause.

- (2) *Conjunctive complements to manipulative verbs* (Till, KHML I 5, 18-19)  
awɔ: a=f-keleue      nə=se-entə=f      etʰəm pə-βɛ:ma  
and PERF=3SG.M-demand.ABS CONJ=3PL-bring.PRON-3SG.M to DEF.M.SG-tribunal  
'And he (the governor) ordered (that) they bring him (Apa Nahrow) to the tribunal.'

**3. SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS.** The anaphoric tense function of the conjunctive can be directly related to its morpho-syntax, which involves the external merge of a relative complementizer into the designated functional projection for tense. As relative complementizers, the base morphemes *nə-* can be co-indexed with the tense/aspect particle in the first conjunct. I will argue that the conjunctive morpheme is merged into a left-peripheral *Fin*(initeness) projection in the Rizian (1997) cartography. In this position (*FIN0*), it is in complementary distribution with tense/aspect particles. To account for the high degree of overlap between coordinated and adverbially subordinated conjunctive clauses, I will argue that both co-subordinative and subordinative nexus involve the same peripheral level of structural embedding, namely adjunction.

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**Syntactic and Semantic Dependencies in Early Modern English Relative Clauses**

25.02.2010, 9.00–9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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This talk is concerned with a relative construction found in 16th–19th century English, illustrated in (1).

- (1) They might stifle his evidence; [[which to prevent\_\_], he put it in safe hands]

These constructions involve three clauses: an *antecedent clause* 'they might stifle his evidence'; a *island clause* 'which to prevent'; and a *host clause* 'he put it in safe hands'. The last two clauses may be considered together as a 'Relative with a Leftward Island', or 'RLI'. I show that the unusual, tricausal nature of the construction arises as a result of a discrepancy between the syntactic and semantic dependencies holding within it.

RLIs are a variety of continuative relative clause: they are nonrestrictive, and are typically used to advance a narrative. Examples like (2) strongly suggest that the island and host clauses form a syntactic and semantic unit to the exclusion of the antecedent clause.

- (2) she must needs resist (this force); [[which if she be not able to do\_\_], then followeth her Death and Destruction].

Furthermore, theoretical and empirical considerations lead us to conclude that the relative pronoun remains within the island clause: theoretically, the alternative would involve extraction from a strong island; empirically, if the relative pronoun could leave the island clause, we would expect it to be able to continue to move successive-cyclically, producing examples like (3), but such examples are never found.

- (3) \* . . . which I am sure that if she be not able to do\_\_ , then followeth her Death and Destruction.

Finally, there is some evidence that RLIs are syntactically un subordinat ed: they are never found sentence-medially, unlike regular relative clauses, which suggests a treatment of them as syntactically independent sentences. Syntactically, then, the only relationship between clauses is the subordination of the island clause to the host clause.

This means that the relative pronoun in an RLI functions as an E-type pronoun, finding its antecedent without any help from the syntax. The existence of RLIs is therefore predicted to correlate with the presence of regular relative clauses with nonlocal antecedents, as in (4), which, like RLIs, are essentially unattested in Present-Day English.

- (4) thy frendes<sub>i</sub> do styke fast to the<sub>j</sub>, [whych<sub>i</sub> will not suffer the to wante comforte of the tyme presente, nor hope of the tyme to come].

Many researchers (Sells 1986, Demirdache 1991) have concluded that the nonrestrictive relative pronoun in Present-Day English is also an E-type pronoun. However, both RLIs and examples like (4) have disappeared. Preliminary data suggest that the two constructions may have declined in parallel, beginning in the late 17th century. This suggests the hypothesis that there is a syntactic condition forcing relative clauses to be merged subordinate (and adjacent) to their antecedents in PDE, which was absent in earlier periods.

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Sells, P. (1986). Coreference and Bound Anaphora: A Restatement of the Facts. In Proceedings of NELS 16, pp.434–446.

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**Zum Status der durch *d*-Wörter eingeleiteten Sätze im Frühneuhochdeutschen**  
25.02.2010, 9.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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Während die Einordnung bestimmter Nebensatztypen im Gegenwartsdeutschen mittels der klar ausgeprägten Subordinationsmarker meistens unproblematisch ist,

scheint das in den älteren Stufen des Deutschen aufgrund funktionaler Mehrdeutigkeiten nicht immer der Fall zu sein.

Gegenstand meines Vortrags sind Sätze wie in (1a/b) aus dem Frühneuhochdeutschen, die durch pronominale *d*-Wörter (Pronominaladverbien oder Demonstrativpronomina) eingeleitet sind und Verbendstellung aufweisen:

- 1 a. Die Ungarische Stände wollen der Römisch. Kayserin Kröhnung aus gewissen Ursachen eher/ als man gedachte/ befördert haben/ **deßwegen sich einige Magnaten allhier befinden.** (MER 380:22)
- b. daher kumpt/ das in der not/ ein yglicher teuffen/ vnd absolutieren kann/ **das nit muglich were /** (Luther, An den christlichen Adel, S. 367)

In der bisherigen Forschungsliteratur wurden diese Sätze als Hauptsätze mit Verbendstellung analysiert (vgl. Lötscher 2000). In meinem Vortrag möchte ich dafür argumentieren, dass die vorliegenden Sätze abhängigen Status haben.

Ausgangspunkt meiner Argumentation bilden die weiterführenden Relativsätze im Gegenwartsdeutschen, die einen Mischfall zwischen Koordination und Subordination bilden (vgl. Hollers Analyse 2005) und im Rahmen der graduellen Subordinationstheorie (vgl. Reis 1997, Fabricius-Hansen 1992) an die Peripherie der Subordination platziert und als nicht-kanonische, nicht-eingebettete und nicht-integrierte Nebensätze klassifiziert werden. Die untersuchten Sätze aus dem Frühneuhochdeutschen weisen die gleichen grammatischen Eigenschaften wie weiterführende Relativsätze im Gwd.: Semantisch und pragmatisch verhalten sie sich wie Hauptsätze (vgl. eine eigene Proposition und Fokus-Hintergrund-Gliederung) und auf der formalen Ebene sehen sie wie die abhängigen Sätze aus (vgl. relative Einleiter und Verbendstellung). Ferner sollen im Vortrag auch die *afinite* Konstruktion, die für die Syntax des Frühneuhochdeutschen sehr typisch ist, als zusätzlicher Marker der Abhängigkeit diskutiert werden.

Fabricius-Hansen, C. (1992): Subordination. In: Hoffmann, L. (Hg.): Deutsche Syntax. Ansichten und Aussichten. Berlin: de Gruyter, 458-483.

Holler, A. (2005): Weiterführende Relativsätze. Empirische und theoretische Aspekte. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Lötscher, A. (2000): Verbendstellung im Hauptsatz in der deutschen Prosa des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. In: Sprachwissenschaft 25, 153-191.

Reis, M (1997): Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In: Dürscheid, C., Ramers, K.-H. & Schwarz, M. (Hgg.): Sprache im Fokus. Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 121-144.

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**Zur Integriertheit kausaler (Neben-) Sätze im Frühneuhochdeutschen**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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Kausale Verhältnisse können im heutigen Deutsch durch syntaktisch integrierte Nebensätze (1) oder durch Koordination zweier Hauptsätze (2a, b) ausgedrückt werden.

- (1) Karl verfolgt den Einbrecher, weil es ihm der Inspektor befohlen hat.
- (2) a. Uller schaltete das Licht an. Denn es war sehr dunkel.  
b. Das ist unklug, weil es hat ja die letzte Zeit viel geregnet.

Der Status von Sätzen wie (2b) ist unklar; gegen die Integriertheit spricht u.a. die Verbstellung und die Tatsache, dass sie nur in der rechten Peripherie auftreten können (3a), wohingegen wirklich integrierte Sätze stellungsmäßig freier sind (3b, c; zu Kriterien der Integriertheit vgl. Reis 1997; Wöllstein 2008). Sätze wie (2b) sind im heutigen Deutsch, v.a. in oberdeutschen Dialekten (Scheutz 2001) sehr verbreitet und werden gemeinhin als Ausdruck eines Sprachwandelprozesses hin zur Parataxe gesehen.

- (3) a. \*Weil es war sehr dunkel, schaltete Uller das Licht an  
 b. Weil es sehr dunkel war schaltete Uller das Licht an  
 c. Uller schaltete, weil es sehr dunkel war, das Licht an.

Diese Optionalität, das adverbiale Verhältnis integriert oder nicht integriert auszudrücken, unterscheidet Kausalsätze von den meisten anderen adverbialen Bestimmungen, z.B. Konditionalsätzen oder Finalsätzen, die nur in subordinierter Form realisiert werden können. Doch ist es keine wirkliche Optionalität, da Sätze wie (2b) nur unter bestimmten semantischen und pragmatischen Bedingungen möglich sind (Uhmann 1998).

Betrachtet man kausale Bestimmungen im Frühneuhochdeutschen, stellt man fest, dass sie wesentlich häufiger als syntaktisch dependente Adjunksätze, aber auch als andere Adverbialbestimmungen nur mangelhaft integriert sind: Entweder sie sind als Satz mit Verbzweitstellung realisiert, die zu der Zeit für Hauptsätze bereits die Norm ist. Oder sie stehen, wenn sie für subordinierte Sätze typische Verbletzstellung aufweisen, an der äußersten rechten Peripherie, in der Position, die nach Reis (1997) für unintegrierte Nebensätze charakteristisch ist. Subordiniert können Kausalsätze im Frühneuhochdeutschen nur unter bestimmten informationsstrukturellen und semantischen Bedingungen stehen. In meinem Vortrag identifiziere ich diese Bedingungen und schlage einen Bogen zum heutigen Deutsch. Dabei zeigt sich, dass die Bedingungen, die heute für den Wechsel von integrierten und nichtintegrierten Kausalsätzen greifen, bereits im Frühneuhochdeutschen erkennbar sind, und dass die nichtintegrierte Variante die eindeutig bevorzugte ist. Somit handelt es sich bei dem heute feststellbaren Phänomen unintegrierter Kausalsätze nicht um ein Sprachwandelphänomen, sondern um eine Perpetuierung des frühneuhochdeutschen Befunds, die sich in der Umgangssprache halten kann, da keine stilistischen Vorgaben inferieren.

Reis, Marga (1997): Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweitsätze. In: Dürscheid, Christa, Karl-Heinz Ramers & Monika Schwarz (Hgg.): Sprache im Fokus. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 121-144

Scheutz, Hannes (2001): On causal clause combining: the case of weil in spoken German. In: Selting, Margret & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen (Hgg.): Studies in interactional linguistics. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins, 111-139.

Uhmann, Susanne (1998): Verbstellungsvariation in Weil -Sätzen: Lexikalische Differenzierung mit grammatischen Folgen, Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 17: 92-139.

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**(Non)veridicality and sentential complementation in the history of German**  
25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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A number of empirical facts suggest that mood selection in dependent clauses in older German is explainable if we apply the notion of (non)veridicality, cf. Giannakidou (in press). While variation between indicative and subjunctive is characteristic for veridical predicates, nonveridicality, i.e. the lack of truth inference, is a basic property unifying the types of dependent clauses that strictly select the subjunctive in Old High German. These are complement clauses of directive/volitive predicates (1), concessive clauses, temporal clauses opened by *before* as well as relative clauses in the scope of negation. Exactly these contexts are known to select the subjunctive complementizers *na* in Greek and *da* in Bulgarian, as opposed to the indicative complementizers *pu/oti* in Greek and *ce* in Bulgarian.

(Non)veridicality also determines some later developments in clause complementation in German. In modern German, complements of veridical predicates allow embedded V2, while those of nonveridical predicates block it (2), unless a modal verb is introduced in the complement clause (3). Again, there are cross-linguistic parallels in this respect. Meinunger (2006, 467) observes that V2-blockers in modern German are the equivalents of those predicates that require the subjunctive in Romance. In Bulgarian, insertion of a modal verb in the complement clause of a directive verb automatically renders subjunctive *da*-complementation ungrammatical, requiring the default veridical complementizer *ce* (4a-b).

These facts show that the changes in mood selection in dependent clauses in German cannot be reduced to morphological erosion of the subjunctive itself but result from changes in the syntactic conditions licensing assertive reading in the clause. The paper suggests that these changes correlate with the establishment of an epistemic feature in C, triggering assertive reading and allowing for embedded V2, as proposed by Truckenbrodt (2006). The evolution of this requirement rules out embedded requests with a subjunctive main verb in C, which are attested for Middle High German (5) but ungrammatical today.

- (1) *bát hér Inan thaz her íz fon erdu / arleitti*-SBJ (Tatian 55, 10-11)  
'[he] asked him to push it [the boat] away from the shore'
- (2) *Maria befiehlt Peter, dass er nach Hause geht/ \*er geht nach Hause.*  
'Maria orders Peter to go home'
- (3) *Maria befiehlt Peter, er möge/soll nach Hause gehen.*  
'Maria orders Peter, he should go home'
- (4) a. *Maria kaza na Petar da/\*ce otide v kashti.*  
Maria said to Peter SUBJ-compl/\*IND-compl go home.  
b. *Maria kaza na Petar \*da/ce trjabva da otide v kashti.*  
'Maria said to Peter \*SUBJ-compl/IND-compl must go home'
- (5) *(er) sagete sînen degenen, si waeren-SUBJ des gewar, daz ...*  
(Paul 2007, 401)  
'he said to his knights that they should take care that ...'

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**Complementizers and propositional modality**  
25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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In the Germanic languages (and many others), there are two kind of subordinators: complementizers (including relativizers) and adverbial subordinators. In Nordström (2010), it is argued that complementizers are propositional-modal morphemes whereas adverbial subordinators are prepositions, prepositional phrases, and adverbs.

In the Germanic languages, it is argued that THAT (*dass* etc.) and IF (*ob* etc.) denote the realis-irrealis distinction: THAT is used for positive propositional attitudes, whereas IF is used for negative ones. THAT is the unmarked choice after factive, semifactive, speculative and reportative predicates, whereas IF is the only choice after predicates of uncertainty, dependence, discussion, investigation, asking etc. Importantly, IF can also occur after semifactive and reportative predicates to indicate that the speaker (and sometimes also the matrix subject) does not know whether or not the proposition is true (Sitta 1971, CGEL, SAG). In English and Swedish, furthermore, IF is also used in conditional protases to indicate that the proposition is hypothetical. With this meaning, it can also occur after certain factive predicates (e.g. predicates of caring, forgetting). Corpus searches in German, English, and Swedish further show that IF is used after dubitative predicates when both the speaker and the matrix subject have doubts over the veracity of the proposition. However, when the speaker, in contrast to the matrix subject, does not doubt that the proposition is true, THAT is used (THAT is also used when the proposition is given information). The use of THAT and IF highly correlates with the use of the indicative-subjunctive in languages such as Spanish.

It is further argued that English restrictive relative *that* is also a realis complementizer. It has the same origin as declarative *that*. Furthermore, restrictive relative clauses are typically presupposed to be true (i.e. semantically realis).

Lastly, it is argued that adverbial subordinators belong to different parts of speech than complementizers. Although adverbial subordinate clauses can often be classified as either factual ('because', 'when', 'although' etc.) or non-factual ('in case', 'as if' etc.; Hengeveld 1998), they often have prepositional or adverbial homonyms (*seit, bis, während; before, after, since* etc.). Furthermore, in the West European languages, adverbial subordinators are often complex, consisting of an adverbial first element and a complementizer as a second element (*so dass, als ob; in that, even if; parce que, en ca que*; Kortmann 1998). The adverbial subordinators are therefore analyzed as prepositions, prepositional phrases, or adverbs that select complement clauses headed by complementizers, which in turn determine whether the clause is

factual or non factual. Note that in English, some even function as factive predicates: *notwithstanding the fact that*. Conditional IF in English and Swedish, however, is analyzed as a complementizer because of its related use in complement clauses. Furthermore, in colloquial Swedish, conditional *om* can be preceded by the adverbial *ifall*, i.e. *ifall om* 'in case if'.

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- Hengeveld, Kees. 1998. Adverbial clauses. In Johan van der Auwera (ed.) *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*. 335–420. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
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**From markers of mood to markers of conditionality and purpose: Remarks on grammaticalization**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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In the languages of the world the interclausal relations of purpose and conditionality are, similarly to other circumstantial relations, encoded by a range of strategies – from juxtaposition, through specialized verb forms and marked word order to more or less grammaticalized markers called in the European linguistic tradition adverbial subordinators. The domain of circumstantial relations still awaits more systematic research treatment (the most extensive study so far is that written by Kortmann (1997) which is focused exclusively on the European languages). One of the issues that call for more detailed study is that of grammaticalization pathways that led to the emergence of the broadly understood markers of subordination. This paper aims to contribute to our state of knowledge in this area by discussing one of the sources of markers of conditional and purpose clauses.

In their list of sources of explicit markers of conditional clauses Heine and Kuteva (2002) mentioned copula, verb 'to say', interrogatives (polar questions) as well as temporal conjunctions 'while' and 'when'. Purpose markers, according to the authors, come most often from verbs ('to say', 'to give', 'to come to', 'to go to'), nouns ('matter', 'fact', 'affair'), benefactive and allative markers (be they case suffixes or adpositions) and complementizers. One of the interesting groups of grammatical categories that the authors left unmentioned are mood markers and particles with related functions. Cross-linguistic data provide us with numerous examples of syntactic and functional overlaps (polysems) where an intentional mood marker, for instance, is also used as a clause-linking device (subordinator) in clauses of purpose (1a,b) or where a perfective irrealis marker has a polyseme in the group of explicit exponents of conditional relations (2a,b).



## 1. Retuara

- a) Parua ki-baʔa-ērā baa-yu  
Banana 3SGM-eat-INTEN do-PRES  
'He is going to eat the banana' (or 'He is about to eat the banana')
- b) ki-re dā-wapahī-reʔā kopereka ki-taʔa-ērā  
3SGM-TERM 3PL-pay-PST 3SGM-guard-PURP  
'They paid him to guard the door'

## 2. Kayah Li

- a) pe la síplɔno lu to nʌ ke  
1P intrusively understand ʒOBV NEG NØ PERFIRR  
'We just don't understand them'
- b) vɛ ke já sʌ boʌ ka lo bɣ ʔʌ  
1SG COND die and.then go:TH bury at:V this  
'If I ('go and') die, come bury me here'

Drawing on examples from Vitu, Nivkh, Suppyire, Central Alaskan Yup'ik, Polish, Khwe, Retuarā, Lezgian, Achagua, Ilokano, Warlpiri, Lepcha, Kayah Li and Santali I attempt to explain the processes of reanalysis that stood behind the grammaticalization pathway from mood (and related) markers to the markers of circumstantial relations of conditionality and purpose.

HEINE B., KUTEVA T. (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

KORTMANN B. (1997). *Adverbial Subordination. A Typology and History of Adverbial Subordinators Based on European Languages*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

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**Conditionals as indirect complements**  
25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.201

There are conditionals in German like (1) where the pronouns *es* or *darüber* in the consequent can be co-referent with the antecedent (Fabricius-Hansen 1980).

- (1) a. Frank bedauert es<sub>i</sub> [wenn Maria kommt]<sub>i</sub>  
Frank regrets it if Maria will come  
b. Frank ist traurig darüber<sub>i</sub> [wenn Maria kommt]<sub>i</sub>  
F is sad about if Maria will come  
c. Frank zieht es<sub>i</sub> vor [wenn Maria kommt]<sub>i</sub>

These constructions, for short the *wenn-form*, can be paraphrased by an implication where the consequent contains a correlate (*cor*) and an embedded *dass*-clause.

- (2) F predicate pronoun, wenn  $\sigma$ :  $(-)\sigma \Rightarrow$  F predicate *cor* *dass*  $\sigma$

Unlike their corresponding constructions with an embedded declarative, preposed *wenn*-forms can have in their consequent a pronoun – cf. *Wenn M kommt, bedauert es F* vs. *Dass M kommt, bedauert \*es F* 'That M is coming F regrets it'.

The joint reference of the pronoun and conditional is, however, impossible with predicates like *annehmen* 'assume', *hoffen dass* 'hope', *(es) bedenken dass* 'consider', and *darüber nachdenken dass* 'think about'. Predicates licensing the *wenn*-form are shown in the following exemplary list:

- (3) a. *wissen* 'know', *hören* 'hear', *fühlen* 'feel', *sehen* 'see', *sagen* 'tell',  
b. *akzeptieren* 'accept', *bedauern* 'regret'  
c. *(darüber) traurig sein* 'be sad', *(darüber) froh sein* 'be glad'  
d. *vorziehen* 'prefer'

The talk will present that and how the co-reference of the clausal pronoun and the antecedent in *wenn*-forms depends on particular semantic properties of the matrix predicate.

Except for *sagen* 'tell' all verbs in (3) are inherently (anti-)factive or (anti-)veridical (cf. Schwabe & Fittler's (2009a) or Egré's (2008) notions) provided they exhibit a correlate:

- (4) F predicate cor dass  $\sigma \Rightarrow (\neg) \sigma$   
a. F bedauert es [nicht], dass M kommt  $\Rightarrow$  M kommt  
b. F ist [nicht] darüber traurig, dass M kommt  $\Rightarrow$  M kommt  
c. F zieht es [nicht] vor, dass M kommt  $\Rightarrow$  M kommt nicht

Like all predicates in (3a) – they belong to the so called *objective predicates* (cf. Schwabe & Fittler 2009 a,b) – *sagen* 'tell' is factive if it occurs in a *wenn*-form.

The (anti-)factivity (4) and the paraphrase (2) together imply that  $\sigma$  is a necessary and sufficient condition for 'F predicate cor dass  $\sigma$ '. Thus, (2) and (4) imply the following equivalence:

- (5) F predicate cor, dass  $\sigma \Leftrightarrow \{(\neg) \sigma \ \& \ [(\neg) \sigma \Rightarrow \text{F predicate, dass } \sigma]\}$

This equivalence thus can be regarded to be a necessary condition for a well-formed *wenn*-form.

A further analysis leads to the following characterization of embedding predicates licensing the *wenn*-form: The predicates are either *i.* objective and semi-implicative (3a) or *ii.* non-objective and factive and invalid with tautologies (3b) or *iii.* non-objective and cognitive [F predicate dass  $\sigma \Rightarrow \sigma$  follows from what x knows &  $\sigma$  is not tautological] (3c) or *iv.* non-objective and anti-factive (3d).

Égré, P. (2008), "Question-Embedding and Factivity", *Grazer Philosophische Studien* 77, 85-125.

Fabricius-Hansen, C., "Sogenannte ergänzende wenn-Sätze. Ein Beispiel syntaktisch- semantischer Argumentation". In: Festschrift für Gunnar Bech zum 60. Geburtstag. *Kopenhagener Beiträge zur germanistischen Linguistik*, Sonderband 1. København.

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**The CP-Cycle: Increasing Subordination**  
 26.02.2010, 11.30–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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In this paper, I will explore changes in markers of subordination during the history of English. I focus on some changes that can be characterized as cyclical: from pronoun and from prepositional phrase to complementizer. After an introduction, in which I review the typical sources for complementizers, I discuss *whether* and PPs headed by *after*, *for*, and *in*. I end by providing an account of this using a Minimalist framework.

*Whether* is an interrogative pronoun in Old English (1) and, after frequent preposing, as in (2) and (3), is reanalyzed as an element in the left-most layer of the sentence.

- (1) ... *witig god on swa hwæþere hond, ... mærdō deme swa him gemet þince.*  
 wise lord to so which-ever hand ... glory grant so him right think  
 'And may the wise lord grant glory to whichever side he thinks right.'  
 (*Beowulf* 686)
- (2) ***Hwæðer þara twegra dyde þæs fæder willan***  
 'Who of-the two did the father's will?'  
 (*West Saxon Gospel Corpus*, Matthew 21.31)
- (3) ***hwæðer sel mæge æfter wælræse wunde gedygan uncer twega***  
 who better may after bloody-storm wounds survive 1.D.GEN two-GEN  
 'Who of us two is better at surviving wound after the deadly battle?'  
 (*Beowulf* 2530-2)

The interrogative is reanalyzed as yes-no marker but as well as a subordinate C, as in the ambiguous (4).

- (4) *se snotera bad. hwæþer him alwalda æfre wille ... wyrpe gefremman*  
 the wise waited whether him almighty ever would ... change accomplish  
 'the wise one waited whether the almighty would ever grant him change.'  
 (*Beowulf* 1313-5)

A similar pattern occurs with prepositional phrases that are clear VP-adverbials in (5) but increasingly get fronted in (6) and then reanalyzed as part of the CP layer in (7).

- (5) *æþelinga gedriht swefan æfter symble*  
 noble company sleeping after feast (*Beowulf* 118-9)
- (6) ***Æfter þysan com Thomas to Cantwarebyri***  
 'After this, Thomas came to Canterbury.' (Chron A, a 1070)
- (7) *Her forðferde ... 7 æfter þon forðferde Gyric mæsse preost.*  
 'In this year died ... and after that died Gyric the mass-priest.'  
 (Chron A, a 963)

The explanation I will suggest is in terms of minimalist feature economy. The pronoun *whether*'s semantic Q-features in (1) and (2) are reanalyzed as [i-Q] in (3) and (4). Likewise in the case of the PP, the semantic spatial and temporal features are reanalyzed as grammatical ones. I examine the types of features (semantic, phi- and

case) that prepositions have and what happens to these after the reanalysis to complementizer.

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**Romanische und germanische Subjunktionen in einem ökonomiebasierten  
Modell syntaktischen Wandels**

26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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Wir schlagen in diesem Beitrag ein generatives ökonomiebasiertes Sprachwandelmodell vor, das die kognitiven Aspekte performanzbasierter und beim Erstspracherwerb auftretender Wandel in einen Zusammenhang bringt. Zunächst erläutern wir dessen konzeptuelle Voraussetzungen und veranschaulichen diese anhand gängiger Beispiele aus der Diachronie des deutschen Subjunktionensystems (u.a. der Komplementierer *dass*; Adverbialsatzkonnectoren wie *weil*, *während*, *wenn*, *damit*). Im Anschluss diskutieren wir – mit einem Seitenblick auf einige (alt-)germanische Sprachen – die Entwicklung der lat. Komplementierer *quod/quia* (> it. *che*, frz. *que*), die wir von reinen Subjunktionen wie lat. *ut* abgrenzen, welche in dieser Hinsicht unter- bzw. gar unspezifiziert sind. So kann lat. *ut* neben deklarativen Objektsätzen auch temporale, konsekutive, finale, kausale, konzessive und sogar konditionale Adverbialsätze einleiten. In modernen roman. Sprachen wie Frz. und It. stehen an Stelle eines derartigen uneindeutigen Systems solche, die durch die relativ klare Trennung von verschiedenen Subjunktionen für Adverbialsätze und für Komplementsätze gekennzeichnet sind. Dies wurde ermöglicht durch die Grammatikalisierung von Elementen der relativen *qu*-Pronominalstämme zu spezifischen Subjunktionen und durch die Verdrängung der reinen Subjunktion *ut*.

Eine derartige Folge von Wandeln kann in einem ökonomiebasierten generativen Modell wie folgt erklärt werden: Hochgradig spezifizierte sprachliche Strukturen sind nicht etwa unökonomisch, sondern werden den Anforderungen kognitiver Ökonomie lediglich auf andere Weise gerecht, als geringer spezifizierte und deshalb weniger aufwändige Strukturen. So ist z.B. ein minimales Inventar von polysemen Ausdrücken im Lexikon zwar ökonomisch hinsichtlich des Aufwands an lexikalischem Material. Die ein-eindeutige Zuordnung von Denotaten erlaubt aber die Interpretation von Elementen ohne zusätzliche Operationen. Morphosyntaktisch bzw. lexikalisch explizitere Sprachsysteme sind also hinsichtlich der kognitiven Ökonomie nur anders entworfen, als einfacher strukturierte. Wir schlagen vor, dass diese Variation unter den Sprachen der Welt zum einen durch verschiedene *Strategien des Erstspracherwerbs* begründet ist, zum andern durch *performanzbasierte* Wandel, wobei augenscheinliche Überschneidungen darauf zurückzuführen sind, dass die sprachliche Performanz und die Verarbeitung sprachlichen Inputs beim Erstspracherwerb durch dieselben grundlegenden *Prinzipien kognitiver Ökonomie* gesteuert sind.

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**Subordinationsmarker im Deutschen: Zur Geschichte hypothetischer  
Vergleichssätze**

26.02.2010, 13.00–13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.201

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Die Subordination eines Teilsatzes lässt sich im Gegenwartsdeutschen mittels Verbstellung ebenso anzeigen wie durch geeignete Einleitungselemente. Im Regelfall lösen subordinierende Konjunktionen VE-Stellung aus, in Verbindung mit Konjunktionen wie *weil* und *obwohl* findet sich das finite Verb jedoch auch in Zweit-Stellung. Dieser Unterschied in der Verbstellung korreliert mit einem Unterschied in der Qualität der Subordinationsbeziehung: *Weil*-VE-Sätze sind integrative Bestandteile ihres Bezugssatzes, während *weil*-Verb-Zweit-Sätze nur lose mit ihrem Bezugssatz verknüpft sind, was sich mittels der jeweiligen Ausprägung der Satzverknüpfung auf syntaktischer, semantischer, pragmatischer und prosodischer Ebene nachweisen lässt. Für Konditionalsätze haben jüngst Axel & Wöllstein (2009) die Position vertreten, dass sich nur für die Sätze der Form *wenn* + VE-Stellung die einschlägigen Parameter für Integration nachweisen lassen, während konditionale Sätze mit Erst-Stellung des finiten Verbs unintegriert sind.

In diesem Beitrag soll es um die hypothetischen Vergleichssätze im Deutschen gehen, deren Subordinationsmarkierung in zweierlei Hinsicht aus dem Rahmen fällt: Hypothetische Vergleichssätze werden entweder eingeleitet durch *als*, dem das finite Verb in Erst-Stellung folgt, oder durch zweiteilige Subjunktionen (*als ob*, *als wenn*, *wie wenn*) in Verbindung mit VE-Stellung. Nur wenn man mit Oppenrieder (1991) annimmt, dass *als* und *wie* als Vergleichspartikeln zu analysieren sind, die Konditionalsätze entweder in Form eines VE-Satzes oder eines durch *ob* oder *wenn* subjunktional eingeleiteten VE-Satzes subkategorisieren, entsprechen die hypothetischen Vergleichssätze der kanonischen Subordinationsgrammatik des Deutschen. Aus gegenwartssprachlicher Perspektive stellt sich im Anschluss an Axel & Wöllstein (2009) die Frage, ob der Unterschied in der Verbstellung bei den hypothetischen Vergleichssätzen ebenfalls mit einem Unterschied in der Qualität der Subordinationsbeziehung korreliert, was an den einschlägigen syntaktischen, semantischen, pragmatischen und prosodischen Eigenschaften dieser Relation zu überprüfen ist. Aus diachroner Perspektive ist zu fragen, weshalb hypothetische Vergleichssätze im Mittelhochdeutschen ausschließlich durch VE-Sätze ausgedrückt werden können, die entweder durch *als* oder *als ob* eingeleitet werden, seit dem 16. Jhd. aber zunehmend *als* in Verbindung mit einem V1-Satz der sprachlichen Realisierung eines hypothetischen Vergleichs dient.

Ich werde in meinem Beitrag zeigen, dass hypothetische Vergleichssätze unabhängig von der Verbstellung im Gegenwartsdeutschen wie auch in den älteren Sprachstufen des Deutschen in ihren Bezugssatz integriert sind. Außerdem werde ich dafür argumentieren, dass Entstehung und Ausbreitung von hypothetischen Vergleichssätzen der Form *als* + V1-Stellung im Verlauf des Frühneuhochdeutschen maßgeblich beeinflusst werden von der Ausdifferenzierung im Inventar subordinierender Konjunktionen sowie der Konsolidierung der Subordinationsgrammatik in dieser Periode der deutschen Sprachgeschichte.

**AG 2**  
**Quirky Vorfeld Phenomena:**  
**Empirically-driven Approaches to Theoretical Challenges**

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**On exceptional Vorfeldbesetzung**  
24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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Exception phrases (EP) are headed by exception words (EW) like *except (for)* and *but* in English or *bis auf* and *außer* in German, cf. (1-2).

- (1) [Every man]EC [but/except for John]EP came.
- (2) Die Lehrerinnen (...) arbeiten [bis auf ein kleines Spesen-Entgelt]<sub>EP</sub> [gratis]<sub>EC</sub>.  
The teachers work except for a small expenses payment gratis.  
'The teachers don't get paid besides receiving a small amount of expenses.'

EPs have received little analysis by semanticists (Moltman 1995, Hoeksema 1991, von Fintel 1995). Even less is found on their syntax. An analysis of certain syntactic properties can be found in Reinhart (1991), and even Pasch et al. (2003) only briefly mention one type of EP (with *außer*). I present empirical results regarding the syntax of two types of EPs (with *bis auf* and *außer*), without committing to any specific theory. In my corpus, EPs have a strong tendency to be Vorfeld fillers without their correlates (EC), the co-occurrence of the EP and its EC in the Vorfeld being almost banned. I show that the configuration with the EP in the Vorfeld and the EC in the Mittelfeld is just a special case of an even more preferred configuration where the EP precedes the EC.

For *bis auf* and *außer*, I sampled 100 random sentences each (from the COSMAS 2 corpus). First of all, it was found that 44% of the units have the EP is positioned sentence-initially, alone in the Vorfeld. To check whether this is indeed exceptional, an auxiliary study in recent archives (1999) of the DWDS-Corpus was conducted (using the DWDS, because its query language gave cleaner results than COSMAS) to get an estimate on the Vorfeld affinity of both rare and frequent sample prepositions to which to compare EWs (e.g., *angesichts*, *anstelle*, *in*, *statt*, *von*, *wegen*). The Vorfeld distribution of even the most likely Vorfeld-fillers among these (*angesichts*) is significantly lower than that of EPs. Thus, EPs (without their EC) must be recognized as highly, even disproportionally preferred Vorfeld fillers, while in only 4 of 200 cases the EP occupies the Vorfeld together with the EC.

Then, testing whether there are significant differences in the distribution of the two EWs, we found that *außer* has an even stronger Vorfeld affinity, and *bis auf* is more commonly located in the Mittelfeld. However, looking at the ordering of EC and EP regardless of which field they occupy, we find that 152 units have the EP preceding the EC vs. 36 where the EC precedes the EP. We show that the simple ordering preference is not modelled by the Vorfeld distribution, but that it is even (significantly) stronger. Thus, independently of how likely it is that an EP is located in the Vorfeld, the probability that it is positioned to the left of its EC is even higher. This preference

is not (at least not trivially) explained, for example, by the definiteness of the NP contained in the EP (statistically confirmed) or some information-structurally relevant feature like *given–new*. We therefore suggest that it is a preference associated with the specific lexical items, rather than one following from more general constraints.

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- Pasch, R., U. Braue, & E. Breindl. 2003. *Handbuch der Deutschen Konnektoren*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Reinhart, T. 1991. Elliptical Conjunction - Non-quantificational QR. In A. Kasher (ed.), *The Chomskyan Turn*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell.

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**Evidence from agrammatism  
 for a non-uniform Left Periphery in German**  
 24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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The paper discusses some new aspects of the well known subject/object asymmetry in the comprehension of wh-questions by Broca's aphasics. The main focus is on the additional difference between simple wh-words (*who*, *what* etc) and complex wh-expressions of the type *which-N*, as reported for German in Neuhaus & Penke (2008). The findings from a study show that there is hierarchy in comprehension that looks as follows:

wh-subjects > which-subjects > who-objects > which-objects

The main claim to be defended is that the movement process of simple wh-words differs essentially from that of complex XPs – a finding that has also been detected in unimpaired speech – and this may provide us with new insights about the properties of the Vorfeld. The accounts provided so far are unsatisfactory. Accounts in terms of Pesetsky's D-linking, requiring a more complex set-building operation are obsolete in a picture based comprehension task because the 'sets' are visually present in both cases. While it seems clear that the internal 'complexity' of *which*-phrases is in some sense responsible for this asymmetry, the exact reason why this should be so is not yet understood – especially in light of the common assumption that in both cases it is an XP that targets the specifier of the clausal projection, headed by the (re-merged) finite verb. Recently, it has been suggested by Bayer & Brandner (2008) on the basis of South German dialect data, that simple wh-pronouns behave differently from *which*-phrases in that only the latter allow a doubly filled Comp (i.e. insertion of the complementizer *dass* after the wh-phrase). B & B account for this difference by suggesting that simple wh-phrases are ambiguous in their phrase structural status, i.e. they are head and XP at the same time. Due to this ambiguous status wh-pronouns can move to the left periphery of the embedded clause via head-movement, i.e. they re-merge at the highest clausal projection and project the C-level. As a head they occupy the C-position in the embedded clause, preventing the insertion of the complementizer. Transferring this to root clauses, simple wh-pronouns move in a head-like way to the left periphery, executing the most simple

operation, i.e. (re-)merge. This structure allows the correct interpretation if the  $\varphi$ -features of the moved element match those of the finite verb, i.e. subjects. If they don't, comprehension is less successful or fails completely – as it is the case with object questions. This factor accounts for the subject-object asymmetries. Turning to *which*-phrases, movement of an XP requires a (local) look-ahead in order to provide a specifier position. Assuming that this operation is not available to aphasics, we predict that moved *which*-phrases are not integrated into the clausal structure, (presumably they are in an adjoined position) and thus cannot serve as the input for an interpretation that is based on the syntactic structure. This in turn prohibits the correct assignment/computation of the thematic relations. That subject *which*-phrases nevertheless can be interpreted to a certain extent by aphasics can be accounted for by the well-known strategy that aphasics tend to assign the subject (i.e. AGENT-role) to all left-peripheral NPs. In sum, since head-movement in the sense of re-merge is identical to the basic Merge operation, it poses less problems for aphasics than XP-movement. In sum, we suggest that the hierarchy in availability of the different types of wh-expressions is the consequence of a complex interaction of various factors: (i) the type of movement which has consequences for the projection of the clausal structure and (ii) the role of  $\varphi$ -features and their positioning within the clause for the correct interpretation. The discussion of the consequences of the suggested analysis for expletives and pronouns in the Vorfeld in declarative clauses will finish the paper.

Bayer, J & E. Brandner. 2008. On Wh-head-movement and the Doubly filled Comp Filter. *Proceedings of WCCFL 26*, 87-95. Cascadilla Press.

Neuhaus, E. & M. Penke. 2008. Production and comprehension of wh-questions in German Broca's aphasia. *Journal of Neurolinguistics 21*, 150–176.

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**The Vorfeld in Kiezdeutsch.**

**Analyses of the interplay between syntax and information structure**

24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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Even though at first glance German seems to adhere to the constraint 'exactly one element before the finite verb', there also studies pointing to systematic deviations such as multiple frontings (Müller 2005), or the absence of a preverbal constituent (Önnerfors 1997).

In our study, we present analyses of similar phenomena in Kiezdeutsch, a way of speaking that has emerged among adolescents in multiethnic urban neighbourhoods in Germany. Previous studies (Wiese 2009) suggest a relaxation of grammatical constraints that allows a more liberal realisation of information-structural needs.

In Kiezdeutsch, one can observe in addition to the standard-like verb-second (V2) order ((cf. (1)) both declaratives without any constituent in the preverbal domain, as in (2), and sentences displaying more than one constituent in the Vorfeld, as in (3) (capitalisation marks main sentence stress, finite verbs are italicised):



- (1) ich *muss* kurz OHRring rausmachen (Kiezdeutsch Corpus)  
 I must briefly earring out.take  
 'I just have to take out my earring.'
- (2) *schießt* auf dem TOR (Wiese 2009: 800)  
 shoot-you<sub>CL</sub>on the goal  
 'You shoot at the goal.'
- (3) danach isch *muss* zu mein VAter (Kiezdeutsch Corpus)  
 afterwards I must to my father  
 'Afterwards, I've got to go to my father.'

We argue that what seems like random syntactic variation in the left periphery at first glance, turns out to be driven by information-structural factors. Given the importance of the Vorfeld for syntactically marking the topic status of constituents (cf., e.g., Jacobs 2001), the word order patterns in (2) and (3) can be regarded as novel alternatives to fill this position. In (2), the first position remains empty, with the clause still containing all arguments of the verb in the postverbal domain (hence, the constraints observed by Ötnerfors 1997 for Standard German do not apply here). This can be interpreted as a lack of topic-comment structure (which seems to be related to subject cliticisation). In contrast, the pattern in (3) allows for an additional constituent in front of the preverbal subject (which, in turn, occupies the default topic position). This leftmost element seems to be restricted to adverbials, which are most appropriately interpreted as frame setters. Hence, V1 correlates with the absence of topic-comment structure, whereas in Adv SVO sequences, a frame setter is preposed.

Based on data from a corpus of approx. 25 hours of self-recordings by adolescents in multiethnic districts of Berlin, we will analyse declarative V1 and Adv SVO constructions in Kiezdeutsch and compare them with the options provided in other varieties of German. We discuss functional motivations for such patterns and their link with information-structural strategies. This will contribute to our understanding of Vorfeld and, from a broader perspective of linguistic architecture, of the interaction between syntax and information structure.

Jacobs, Joachim. 2001. The dimensions of topic-comment. *Linguistics* 39, 641-681.

Müller, Stefan. 2005. Zur Analyse der scheinbar mehrfachen Vorfeldbesetzung. *Linguistische Berichte* 203, 297-330.

Ötnerfors, Olaf. 1997. *Verb-erst-Deklarativsätze. Grammatik und Pragmatik*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell (Lunder germanistische Forschungen 60).

Wiese, Heike. 2009. Grammatical innovation in multiethnic urban Europe: New linguistic practices among adolescents. *Lingua* 119, 782-806.

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**Corpus-based investigations of the German Vorfeld**  
 24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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The German Vorfeld is a position that is underspecified with regard to the grammatical function. We assume that the Vorfeld instead has two major (semantic-) pragmatic functions: (i) to relate the current sentence to the prior context, i.e., to

support the hearer in integrating the new information into his/her model of the current discourse; (ii) to provide the frame in which the current sentence is to be interpreted. We have annotated a small corpus of parliament debates with information about the function of the Vorfeld constituent. We distinguish between functions of type (i): coreference relations (including bridging) and discourse relations; and type (ii): “internal” functions, which are not related to the prior context (including frame-setting elements). In addition, there are expletives and situation-deictic functions. We achieved good inter-annotator agreement ( $\kappa = 0.66$ ). This allows us to perform qualitative and quantitative investigations of the German Vorfeld.

The annotations show that in our corpus only 45.1% of the Vorfeld constituents are clearly related to the prior context (i.e., instances of type (i)). This seems to confirm the results by Speyer (2007): in his data, 50.8% of the Vorfelds are occupied by backward-looking centers, i.e., constituents that relate to the prior context (Grosz et al. 1995). However, his data also shows that the type of function of the Vorfeld constituent depends to a large extent on the data's genre. The genre in Speyer's investigations that probably comes closest to our parliament debates are scientific radio talks. Here, Speyer finds 71% of Vorfeld constituents that are context-related.

For the presentation, we will focus on the so-called internal functions (i.e., instances of type (ii)). These mainly occur with PPs and adverbials (most of them de-adjectival), which represent common categories for frame-setting elements. We also found a considerable number of subordinated clauses in the Vorfeld with a sentence-internal function. In the presentation, we will discuss a classification of this type of Vorfeld constituents that emerges from our corpus data.

- Grosz, Barbara J., Aravind K. Joshi & Scott Weinstein. 1995. Centering: A framework for modelling the local coherence of discourse. *Computational Linguistics* 21, 203–225.
- Speyer, Augustin. 2007. Die Bedeutung der Centering Theory für Fragen der Vorfeldbesetzung im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 26, 83–115.

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**Norwegian is a V3 language**  
24.02.2010, 17.00–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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Norwegian is known as one of the really hardcore V2 languages. Any textbook on Norwegian will inform you that the second constituent of Norwegian main clause declaratives and main clause Wh-questions obligatorily is the finite verb. It has long been known (e.g. Iversen 1918, Åfarli 1986, Nilsen 1996) however that northern varieties of Norwegian have non-V2 main clause Wh-questions. Moreover, in Sollid and Eide (2007a, 2007b) we investigated a quite frequent type of non-V2 main clause declaratives in the same Norwegian varieties, the *så*-construction. This construction is characterized by the function word *så* following a topicalized element, and either the finite verb or the subject immediately following *så*, giving rise to a non-V2 declarative construction. Our main hypothesis was that the emergence of these non-V2 declaratives results from language contact between Norwegian and Finno-Ugric languages (mainly Kven and North Sami), the latter languages being non-V2 languages. During the investigation reported in these papers, we compared excerpted corpora from the relevant northern Norwegian varieties with corpora from

more standard-like dialects (e.g. the Oslo area). As we expected, the specific kind of non-V2 main clause declaratives, with the subject preceding the verb was not found in the standard-like varieties.

Much to our surprise however, declaratives from these standard-like dialects turned out to display a range of other exceptions to the alleged strict V2 requirement for standard Norwegian. In a more recent and broader investigation (reported on in Eide & Sollid to appear), we included a corpus from the Tromsø dialect, and our initial impression is corroborated even by these data: The amount of unambiguous V2 declaratives is not very impressive for an alleged V2-language, and we have to conclude that spoken colloquial Norwegian does not have an obligatory V2 rule for main clause declaratives, not even in standard-like varieties.

In our talk, we broaden the perspective, and in addition to the spoken corpus (containing declaratives from the northern dialects and dialects from the Oslo-area), we include a corpus of written Norwegian (containing declaratives from feature interviews in Norwegian tabloid news papers). The focus is on the non-subject-initial main clause declaratives. We have selected this specific clause type because subject-initial clauses are inadequate to separate V2-constructions from the more general SVO word order, and for our purpose we need to emphasize this distinction. Scrutinizing our selection of sentences, we investigate the variation between V2 and non-V2 on one hand, and the types of relevant non-V2 constructions on the other. Furthermore, we compare oral vs. written Norwegian. Our corpora will enable us to discuss the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors governing V2/non-V2 variation, most importantly, syntax, information structure and sociolinguistic context.

Eide, Kristin M. & Hilde Sollid. to appear. Norwegian main clause declaratives: Variation within and across grammars. In Peter Siemund (ed.), *Linguistic Universals and Language Variation*, Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

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Nilsen, Hilde. 1996. *Koffer dæm sir det? Spørresetninger i nordreisadialekten*, unpublished master thesis, Tromsø: Faculty of Humanities, University of Tromsø.

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**Wh-copying in German and its theoretical implications**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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We present novel data from *wh*-copying in German and will argue that they, in conjunction with already known facts, constitute a problem for extraction analyses in both trans-formational and non-transformational theories.

*Wh*-copying is a construction in which a long moved *wh*-phrase is repeated in intermediate position ("t" indicates the position of the gap):

(1) **Wen** glaubst du **wen** sie t liebt?

*Who do you think she loves?*

Apart from independent properties and constraints of extraction constructions it is subject to three construction specific constraints:

- (2) The repeated element must appear in an intermediate position, and only there
- (3) Some speakers license d-pronouns in intermediate position
- (4) Complex *wh*-phrases cannot be repeated

Despite intensive research over the past years, two central questions remained unanswered: (i) what set of elements is licensed in intermediate position; and (ii) is partial copying possible. As for (i), although it is known that not every *wh*-phrase can appear in intermediate position (cf. 4), it is so far unclear which ones exactly are licensed. Turning to (ii), partial copying refers to a situation in which a complex *wh*-phrase and a simple *wh*-phrase agreeing in morphosyntactic features form a chain (brackets indicate an extracted phrasal constituent):

- (5) a. [**Welchem Mann**] glaubst du **wem** sie t das Buch gegeben hat?  
*Which man do you think she has given the book to?*
- b. **Wen** denkst du [**wen von den Studenten**] man t einladen sollte?  
*Which of the students do you think we should invite?*

Given the sparseness of such examples it is unclear whether the phenomenon is real at all, and if yes, what restrictions it is subject to. Based on data we collected to fill those empirical gaps, we will formulate the following three results:

- (6) The intermediate element is form-identical to a free relative pronoun
- (7) Partial copying is real
- (8) Partial copying is restricted to a single pattern

We will provide empirical evidence for each result and show how the interaction of (6) and (7) leads to the result in (8). Since an extracted *wh*-phrase shares only a proper subset of features with a d-pronoun, (6) demands that any theory of extraction has to account for the following property:

(7) Extraction can involve partially identical elements As we mentioned, *wh*-copying behaves like a regular extraction; it is, e.g., not restricted to NPs, but is also licensed with PPs:

- (8) **Mit wem** glaubst du **mit wem** sie t tanzt?  
*Who do you think she is dancing with?*

Ignoring construction specific restrictions, any theory of extraction therefore needs to equally account for the second property:

(9) Extraction targets XPs In the rest of the talk, we will show that neither transformational nor non-transformational theories of extraction make correct predictions for cases in which (7) and (9) apply at the same time, e.g. for extracted PPs in *wh*-copying in German.

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**Doppelte Vorfelddbesetzung bei zweiteiligen VP-Idiomen des Deutschen:  
Eine korpusbasierte Analyse**  
25.02.2010, 9.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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In diesem Beitrag wird die doppelte Vorfelddbesetzung bei zweiteiligen VP-Idiomen des Deutschen anhand von Daten aus einer umfangreichen Korpusstudie untersucht. Zweiteilige VP-Idiome sind Idiome, die aus einem Verb (V) und zwei weiteren festen, d.h. lexikalisch spezifizierten, Bestandteilen bestehen (NP NP, NP PP etc.); vgl. (1). Weitere Argumente können realisiert sein, sind aber nicht lexikalisch spezifiziert (z.B. das indirekte Objekt in (1b)).

- (1) a. [Öl] [ins Feuer] gießen  
b. jmdm. [einen Floh] [ins Ohr] setzen  
c. [den Karren] [aus dem Dreck] ziehen

Es ist schon beobachtet worden (vgl. u.a. Müller 2003: 19-20), dass die Idiomkomponenten zweiteiliger Idiome gemeinsam im Vorfeld auftreten können:

- (2) [Öl] [ins Feuer] **gossen** auch zwei Wissenschaftler [...], die darlegten, daß der belgische Föderalismus ein Schwindel sei [...].  
Frankfurter Allgemeine 25.01.1993, S. 12

Anhand eines großen Korpus des Deutschen (Fellbaum 2006, 2007) soll gezeigt werden, dass die doppelte Vorfelddbesetzung bei Idiomen die häufigste Strategie der (kontrastiven) Topikalisierung darstellt. Es lässt sich auch zeigen, dass doppelte Vorfelddbesetzung mit der holistischen Struktur besonders transparenter metaphorischer Idiome korreliert.

Darüber hinaus soll gefragt werden, ob es eine feste Reihenfolge bei der Verwendung der beiden Komponenten gibt, wie Müller (2003: 23) voraussagt. Nach dieser Auffassung entspricht die präferierte Wortstellung der des Mittelfeldes; vgl. (3) und (4) im Gegensatz zu (5):

- (3) [Den Floh] hat euch Max [ins Ohr] gesetzt.  
Ditfurth, Jutta, "Blavatzkys Kinder" - Teil 23 (Krimi), in: die tageszeitung 11.08.1995, S. 16
- (4) Den Floh ins Ohr ließ er sich nicht setzen.
- (5) \*Ins Ohr den Floh ließ er sich nicht setzen.

Es soll erklärt werden, warum (4) aber nicht (5) grammatisch ist bzw. warum die präferierte Wortstellung nicht verletzt wird.

- Fellbaum, Christiane (ed.). 2006. Corpus-based Studies of German Idioms and Light Verbs. *International Journal of Lexicography (special issue)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fellbaum, Christiane (ed.). 2007. *Idioms and Collocations: Corpus-based Linguistic and Lexicographic Studies*. London, New York: Continuum.
- Müller, Stefan. 2003. Mehrfache Vorfelddbesetzung. *Deutsche Sprache* 31, 29–62.

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**Idiomatcity and multiple fronting in German**  
25.02.2010, 10.00–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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Although German counts as a V-2 language, it has long been noted that sometimes more than one constituent precedes the finite verb in a declarative main clause (e.g. Engel 1970; Jacobs 1986; Eisenberg 1989):

- (1) [Dem Saft] [eine kräftigere Farbe] geben Blutorangen...  
the juice a richer colour give blood-oranges  
'It is blood oranges that give the juice a richer colour'  
[IDS PUBLIC R99/JAN.01605]

Müller (2005) lists VP-idioms like (2) as particularly common in the pattern:

- (2) [Öl] [ins Feuer] goss wieder einmal Erzbischof Johannes Dyba.  
oil into-the fire poured again once archbishop Johannes Dyba  
'Once again, archbishop Johannes Dyba added fuel to the flames'  
[IDS PUBLIC M00/JUN.26272]

The present study focuses on such idiomatic instances of the construction and proposes a semantic explanation of the observed fronting preferences. Specifically, it is suggested that idioms like *Öl ins Feuer gießen* – 'to add fuel to the flames', i.e. 'to aggravate a problem' – are peculiar in that the NP and PP constituents form a semantic unit: both *X ins Feuer gießen* and *Öl ins Y gießen* will only give the idiomatic reading if *X = Öl* and *Y = Feuer* (or a near-synonym such as *Flammen*, 'flames'). I suggest that fronting either element in isolation is dispreferred because neither of them is semantically autonomous. By contrast, syntactically isomorphic idioms like *X ins Rollen bringen* 'to get X rolling' with semantically more autonomous object NPs are predicted to come with a higher proportion of single frontings:

- (3) [Die skandalöse Affäre] brachte der Lehrer des Kindes [ins Rollen].  
the scandalous affair brought the teacher of.the child into-the rolling  
'It was the child's teacher who kicked off the scandalous affair'  
[IDS PUBLIC O94/FEB.10728]

Using the type frequency of the head of the object NP in 'caused motion' VP-idioms (NP<sub>SUBJ</sub> V NP<sub>OBJ</sub> PP<sub>OBL</sub>) in a giga corpus of written German as an indicator of its semantic autonomy, it is shown that degree of autonomy is a significant predictor of fronting behaviour. The deeper reason for this is identified in a strong tendency to interpret the fronted material contrastively, and non-autonomous idiom components fail to evoke a relevant contrast set within the idiomatic reading if fronted in isolation. Finally, the proposed explanation is contrasted with an alternative approach based on collocational strength, and the existence of (few but unambiguous) counterexamples to the semantic account in the idiom data is acknowledged as evidence for the ultimately more complex multifactorial nature of the phenomenon at large.

Eisenberg, P. 1989. *Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2nd ed.

Engel, U. 1970. *Regeln zur Wortstellung*. Forschungsberichte des Instituts für deutsche Sprache 5. Mannheim: Institut für deutsche Sprache.

- Jacobs, J. 1986. The Syntax of Focus and Adverbials in German. In W. Abraham and S. de Meij (eds.), *Topic, Focus and Configurationality*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 103-127.
- Müller, S. 2005. Zur Analyse der scheinbar mehrfachen Vorfeldbesetzung. *Linguistische Berichte* 203, 297-330.

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**The two ‘Vorfelder’ of SGF coordination in German**

25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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German exhibits the so-called SGF coordination (1) (*subject gap in finite/frontal clauses*, Höhle 1983), a coordinate construction with inversion in the first and an invisible subject (a subject gap) in the second verb-second clause:

- (1) [Vorfeld 1 **Dann**] holten der Vater und Niklaus Sack für Sack vom Handwagen und [Vorfeld 2 ?] leerten ihn gemeinsam durchs Fenster hinab.

It is controversial whether the first Vorfeld element (the temporal adverbial *dann* ‘then’) has wide scope over both conjuncts (Höhle 1990, Heycock & Kroch 1993) or narrow scope only over the first conjunct (Hartmann 1994), and to what extent its function, for example the opposition adjunct vs. argument, influences the grammaticality of SGF coordination (Van de Velde 1986: 503-508, Heycock & Kroch 1993: 75). Moreover, it is doubtful whether the second Vorfeld is either occupied by an empty subject, by an operator that binds the empty subject (Hartmann 1994: 12) or by an adjunct ellipsis (vgl. Duden 2006: 913), or a priori ‘filled’ with a shared subject outside the coordination (Kathol 1999). SGF coordination competes with other coordinate constructions without inversion and/or with a resumed subject. However, the common feature of these analyses seems to be that they avoid a systematic confrontation with the actual use of the construction alternatives. In this talk, I therefore present a case study of the distribution of the alternatives on the basis of a literary corpus, consisting of four German novels. The starting point of the investigation is the construction grammar Principle of No Synonymy (Goldberg 1995, 2006). In particular, the correlation between the respective form of the coordination variant and three semantic properties is tested. Results show that the prototypical SGF coordination diverges from its alternatives as a construction with a wide or ambiguous interpretation of the first Vorfeld element and identical semantic subject roles, but also converges with them in that they all possess an old or mediated first subject.

*Der Duden in zwölf Bänden; 4. Die Grammatik*. P. Eisenberg, J. Peters and P. Gallmann. Edited by K. Kunkel-Razum et al. Mannheim, Duden, 2006.

Goldberg, A. E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goldberg, A. E. 2006. *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hartmann, K. 1994. Zur Koordination von V2-Sätzen, *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 13:1, 3-19.

Heycock, C. & A. Kroch. 1993. Verb Movement and the Status of Subjects: Implications for the Theory of Licensing. *Groninger Arbeiten zur Germanistischen Linguistik* 36, 75-102.

Höhle, T. N. 1983. Subjekt-lücken in Koordinationen. Unveröffentlichtes Typoskript.

Höhle, T. N. 1990. Assumptions about Asymmetric Coordination. In J. Mascaró et al. (eds.), *Grammar in Progress. Glow Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*. Dordrecht: Foris, 221-235.

- Kathol, A. 1999. Linearization vs. Phrase Structure in German Coordinate Constructions. *Cognitive Linguistics* 10:4, 303-342.
- Van de Velde, M., 1986. Zum 65. gratuliere ich Ihnen und biete ?(ich) Ihnen diesen Beitrag an. In H. L. Cox, V. F. Vanacker et al. (eds.), *Wortes anst – Verbi gratia: donum natalicum Gilbert A. R. De Smet*. Leuven: Acco, 503-512.

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**German “VP”-fronting: A matter of syntax?**  
25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.404

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This talk explores the connections among word order, subjecthood, information structure, and processing constraints with respect to fronted verbal constituents. As seen in (1)-(3), this kind of fronting appears to be sensitive to the differences between those verbal projections which host a ‘subject’ and those which do not.

- (1) \*[Ein Idiot Mamas Auto zu Schrott gefahren] hat damals.  
(2) [Ein Außenseiter gewonnen] hat {?\*im zweiten Rennen / √ hier noch nie}.  
(3) [Das Auto zu Schrott gefahren] wurde der Frau.

Fronting of verbal constituents hosting a transitive subject (1) is degraded in almost any context, and inclusion of an unergative (proto-agent) subject (2) is more severely constrained than inclusion of a passive or unaccusative (derived, proto-patient) subject (3). Subjects of verbs that are typically used unergatively, like *gewinnen*, are only acceptable as part of a fronted verbal constituent if this constituent is focused as a single unit (Webelhuth 1990, De Kuthy & Meurers 2003). Using different terminology, the fronted constituent needs to be embedded in a context which allows for a ‘thetic’, as opposed to ‘categorical’, interpretation (Kuroda 1972, Ladusaw 1994). Under a thetic interpretation, the subject is not understood as separate from the predicate but is integrated into the interpretation of the predicate, resulting in a single, non-compositional unit. Theticity then makes predictions about specificity and conventionality. In order to require only a single interpretation act, the subject must be non-specific, and a thetic interpretation is more likely, the more conventional the described situation is. The post-fronting context needed for a thetic interpretation is provided by *hier noch nie* in (2).

Assuming that proto-patient subjects originate as part of the lexical VP and are thus integrated into the predicate, while proto-agent subjects are introduced by little *v*, outside the VP and are thus separate from the predicate, it could be argued that VPs (see (3)) may front, but agentive little *v*Ps (see (1)) may not. The verb phrase in (2) then needs to be coerced into a passive/unaccusative VP-structure (Hankamer & Lee-Schoenfeld 2005).

Although this purely syntactic analysis, which encodes the thetic/categorical distinction structurally, covers a lot of ground, it rules out examples like (4), which are acceptable. The transitive Accusativus cum Infinitivo (Acl) complement, consisting of an agentive *v*P, in this example is hardly coerceable into a passive/unaccusative VP.

- (4) [Katzen Mäuse jagen] sieht man hier oft.



The new hypothesis to be tested is that constituents describing conventional situations with generic (non-specific) participants, like the Acl in (4), trigger a thetic interpretation. If this is indeed the case, it is the thetic/categorical distinction rather than syntactic complexity that determines the possibility of fronting. Examples like (4) will be contrasted with minimally different examples, where the subject is changed to *Hühner* (4') and *unsere Katzen* (4''), respectively. To investigate the independent contributions of conventionality and specificity on the one hand and plausibility on the other hand, the results of separate surveys will be presented. The first asks native speakers to judge non-fronted verbal constituents with respect to (i) plausibility of the described situation, (ii) conventionality of the described situation, and (iii) specificity of the subject. The second asks for acceptability of the some of the same verbal constituents in fronted position. If my predictions are borne out, speakers will judge (4) to be better than both (4'), which is less conventional but still plausible, and (4''), which has a specific fronted subject.

This suggests that German “VP”-fronting is a matter of not only syntax but also processing constraints: It is acceptable to front structurally complex constituents, including transitive vPs, if they can be interpreted thetically, as a single unit, and are therefore light semantically. This is in line with recent work in psycholinguistics. The heavier the fronted constituent, that is, the more processing memory is required to interpret it, the harder it gets to properly integrate the displaced constituent back into the site from which it was extracted (Grodner & Gibson 2005).

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- Groder, Daniel & Edward Gibson. 2005. Consequences of the serial nature of linguistic input for sentential complexity. *Cognitive Science* 29, 261-290.
- Hankamer, Jorge & Vera Lee-Schoenfeld. 2005. What moves in German VP-“topicalization”? LSA Annual Meeting, Oakland, CA.
- Kuroda, Sige-Yuki. 1972. The categorical and the thetic judgments: Evidence from Japanese syntax. *Foundations of Language* 9, 153-185.
- Ladusaw, William. 1994. Thetic and categorical, stage-level and individual, weak and strong. In M. Harvey & L. Santelmann (eds.), *Proceedings from Semantics and Linguistic Theory IV*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.
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**AG 3**  
**Konzeptualisierung von Raum: Morphosyntax und Semantik**  
**spatialer Relatoren**

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**Differential Locative Marking im Ägyptischen**  
24.02.2010, 14.00-14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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In der ägyptischen Sprache kommen einfache und zusammengesetzte Präpositionen als spatiale Relatoren vor. Präpositionen dienen in Syntagmen der Form VB + PRÄP + NP auch dem Objektanschluß (neben VB + NP). Zu dabei auftretenden Fällen von *Differential Object Marking* (DOM) hat sich jüngst Winand (2008) geäußert und festgestellt, daß die Belege für VB + PRÄP + NP nur an der Oberfläche einheitlich sind, sich dahinter aber verschiedene semantische und syntaktische Strukturen verbergen, die unterschiedliche diachrone Entwicklungen zeigen. Daraus ergibt sich die Frage, wie es sich in anderen Fällen von *Differential Marking* im Ägyptischen verhält, denn das Nebeneinander verschiedener Markierungstypen tritt im Ägyptischen auch bei Ausdrücken für Raum (und Zeit) auf. Diese werden gewöhnlich durch Adverbien oder adverbialen Bestimmungen des Typs PRÄP + NP ausgedrückt. Folgende Variationen lassen sich dabei beobachten:

- (1) Bei zusammengesetzten Relatoren (PRÄP + SUBST) variiert die Präposition bei gleichbleibendem zweitem Bestandteil und ohne offensichtliche Veränderung der Bedeutung der Phrase.
- (2) Ein und dieselbe Relation kann durch eine Präpositionalphrase oder durch ein Spatial- bzw. Temporalnomen ausgedrückt werden.
- (3) Der Relator fällt aus. Das Relatum bleibt unverbunden und wird nicht weiter markiert.

In diesem Beitrag sollen vor allem Fallstudien zu (2) und (3) vorgestellt werden. Bei (2) handelt es sich um synchrone Belege unterschiedlicher Grammatikalisierungsstadien. Im Laufe der Grammatikalisierung entfällt die ursprüngliche Präposition und das Nomen wird zur Präposition und damit zum alleinigen Relator. Vergleichbare Prozesse sind auch im Deutschen abgelaufen, wie etwa die Entwicklung von althochdeutsch *untar zwiskēn* 'zwischen beiden' zu mittelhochdeutsch *zwisc(h)en* 'zwischen' oder von mittelhochdeutsch *zu troze* zu frühneuhochdeutsch *trotz* zeigt. Für die Belege zu (3) stellt sich vor allem die Frage, welche Faktoren das Weglassen des Relators ermöglichen. Es handelt sich dabei offensichtlich nicht um die für DOM gewöhnlich als relevant angeführten Eigenschaften wie +/- Belebtheit oder +/- Definitheit. Stattdessen sind Faktoren wie die im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte zunehmende Adverbialität des Relatums (im Fall von Infinitiven bei PRÄP + INF > INF) bestimmend. Im Fall von Raum- und Zeitbestimmungen im engeren Sinne erweist sich der Normalitätsgrad der Konfiguration als entscheidend für das Weglassen der Präposition: Der Relator kann vor allem dann entfallen, wenn es sich bei dem Locatum-Relatum-Verhältnis um die typischste räumliche oder zeitliche Anordnung beider Konstituenten handelt.

Auch die diachrone Entwicklung der angesprochenen Phänomene soll Beachtung finden, etwa im Zusammenhang mit der Frage, ob es sich bei den in (2) und (3) beschriebenen Fällen um eine allgemeine Tendenz mit Umbau des Präpositionalsystems handelt und ob Phänomen (3) in späteren Sprachstufen zu einer sukzessiven Transitivity der entsprechenden Verben führt.

Winand, Jean 2008. The indirect expression of the direct object in Egyptian: from semantics to pragmatics to a fully-fledged grammatical device. An inner Egyptian and a typological approach (Vortrag auf der Tagung "Language Typology and Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics", Universität Leipzig und MPI-EVA Leipzig, 2.-5. Oktober 2008).

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**Ancient Egyptian spatial prepositions from topological, diachronic and contextual perspectives. Typological contributions from a dead language**  
 24.02.2010, 14.30-15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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The extent to which spatial prepositions in the world's languages correspond to universal categories in the brain has been the subject of extensive debate in the linguistic community. Thus far, little contribution to this issue has been made by ancient languages such as Egyptian (Afro-Asiatic). The aim of this paper, therefore, is to investigate the extent to which the hypotheses put forward by e.g. Levinson and Meira (2003) or Brala (2007) help us understand spatial relations within Egyptian in more detail. Secondly, we intend to demonstrate which dimensions, such as diachrony, synonymy, register and context, we need to take into account in order to understand the variability within the Egyptian data.

The first step in our research has been to delineate the topological relations of the *basic locative constructions* (BLCs) in the manner successfully adopted by the MPI Language and Cognition group (Levinson and Wilkins 2006). The fieldwork-based model that uses Melissa Bowerman's picture series is thus applied to a dead language and ancient cultural context, which is a process not without obstacles: to search for data, we had to first conceive of substitutes to lamps hanging above tables. Notwithstanding these cultural problems, it seems that in comparison to other Afro-Asiatic languages like Akkadian (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic), Egyptian topological expressions are more similar to modern Indo-European languages.

Secondly, to move from broad spatial categories to individual instances, we address in greater detail the distinction between prepositions of allegedly similar semantic value. One problematic instance is the seemingly simultaneous and undifferentiated use of the simple preposition *hr* /*ḥil*/ ON and the compound preposition *hr-tp* /*ḥil-tʔap*/ ON-HEAD. It is possible that the forms can be distinguished based on the stage of the language, the type of text, and/or the specificity of the context.

Thus, the study of spatial prepositions in Egyptian can be seen to be substantially assisted by perspectives from linguistic study, just as linguistic study in turn receives some new insights from understanding data from ancient languages.

Marija M. Brala. 2007. Spatial 'on' – 'in' Categories and their Prepositional Codings across Languages: Universal Constraints on Language Specificity, in: Andrea Schalley & Dietmar Zaefferer (eds.). *Ontolinguistics. How Ontological Status Shapes the Linguistic Coding of Concepts*, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 299–329.

Stephen C. Levinson & Sérgio Meira. 2003. 'Natural Concepts' in the Spatial Topological Domain- Adpositional Meanings in Crosslinguistic Perspective: An Exercise in Semantic Typology, in: *Language* 79/3, 485–516.

Stephen C. Levinson & David P. Wilkins. 2006. *Grammars of Space: Explorations in Cognitive Diversity*, Language, Culture and Cognition 6, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press.

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**Two strategies for expressing directionality in Polish**

24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Languages differ in the ways they describe spatial goals. Variation in the encoding of directed motion events is particularly well-studied. Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000) first observed that in some languages, which he calls *verb-framed*, such as Spanish, the directional meaning is usually encoded in the verb stem (cf. *La pelota entró en la cueva (flotando)* 'The ball entered the cave (floating)', whereas in others, which are labeled *satellite-framed*, such as English, the path component is expressed in a satellite, e.g. a particle or a directional phrase (cf. *The bottle floated into the cave*). Another option, disregarded by most studies on motion events, consists in a strategy in which the directionality is neither encoded in the verb stem nor in a satellite (cf. *He ran in the room* which can have both locative and directional interpretation), so that it relies on the pragmatic context. Interestingly, as noted by Nikitina (2008), in a single language more than one of these linguistic resources for describing directionality may compete. Polish, being a satellite-framed language, expresses the directional meaning by means of morphosyntactic marking. For instance, with some prepositions, such as *na* 'on' or *pod* 'under', *inter alia*, directional goals are distinguished from locations by means of morphological case: while the accusative case denotes directional goals, the locative or instrumental case is a formal marker of locative phrases (cf. *Jan wskoczył na stół* 'John w-jumped on table-Acc' [directional reading] vs. *Jan tańczył na stole* 'John danced on table-Loc' [locative reading]). However, with some verbs denoting caused motion, such as *kłaść* 'put' or *wieszać* 'hang', the goal can be marked either with accusative or with locative case. The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of locative phrases as a strategy for expressing goals in Polish. Drawing on the *National Corpus of Polish*, we study the factors that favor the use of locative phrases with directional meaning. Our preliminary observations suggest that this strategy is used exclusively in cases where the directional meaning can be inferred from other components of the construction, usually a causative motion verb encoding path. As a consequence, locative phrases cannot bear directional meaning with manner verbs. In such a sense, this strategy is parallel to that used in verb-framed languages. On the other hand, the choice of locative phrases instead of the directional ones is related to the conceptualization of the motion event: while the directional phrase profiles the path of motion, the latter is used when emphasis is on the endpoint of the movement (cf. Tutton 2009). The second factor is particularly important for the metaphorical extensions of motion - constructions in domains such as emotions. For instance, in metaphorical expressions where a strong mental identification with the goal of movement is implied, the locative phrase is preferred (*Postaw się na moim miejscu* 'Put yourself in my place' [lit. stand yourself on my place-Loc]). The use of the directional phrase in similar contexts suggests a lack of affective connection with the metaphorical goal

(*Postaw się na konsumpcyjny ideał życiowy* ‘Adjust yourself to a consumptionist lifestyle’ [lit. stand yourself on a consumptionist life’s ideal-Acc]). We illustrate this important issue, providing a network of metaphorical senses related to the directional interpretation of locative phrases.

Nikitina, T. (2008): “Pragmatic Factors and Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals: The Case of into vs. in”. In A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, and R. Nouwen, eds., *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 175-209.

Talmy, L. (2000): *Toward a Cognitive Semantics, Vol.2*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Tutton, M. (2009): “When In Means Into: Towards an Understanding of Boundarycrossing in”. *Journal of English Linguistics* 37, 5-27.

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**Language-specific variation in spatial semantics**

24.02.2010, 15.30-16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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This paper surveys the spatial semantic variation in the morphosyntactic affordances of spatial relations that are “structured in terms of a cognitive organization called *conceptual structure*” (Jackendoff 2002: 123). If one only looked at a handful of European languages, it seems that universal perceptual mechanisms take over and speakers encode spatial relations on relatively similar and objective grounds. Using (a) the *Topological Relation Markers* (TRM; Pederson, Wilkins & Bowerman 1998), and (b) the *Spatial Categorization Elicitation* test (SPACE; Thiering 2006), enables the comparison of cross-linguistic data relying on perceptual stimuli. In both tests, speakers are asked to respond to the prompt “Where is object X”?



Figure A: CLOUD ABOVE MOUNTAIN

- |        |                                    |              |            |                  |                  |                  |           |
|--------|------------------------------------|--------------|------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| (1) a. | DET                                | FIG          | COP        | LOC              | DET              | GND*             |           |
|        | <i>Die</i>                         | <i>Wolke</i> | <i>ist</i> | <i>über</i>      | <i>dem</i>       | <i>Berg.</i>     | German    |
|        | the                                | cloud        | 3SG.be     | above            | the              | mountain         |           |
|        | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' |              |            |                  |                  |                  |           |
| b.     | FIG+DET                            |              | COP        | LOC              | GND+DET          |                  |           |
|        | <i>Sky-en</i>                      |              | <i>er</i>  | <i>over</i>      | <i>fjell-et.</i> |                  | Norwegian |
|        | cloud-the                          |              | 3SG.be     | above            | mountain-the     |                  |           |
|        | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' |              |            |                  |                  |                  |           |
| c.     | DET                                | FIG          | COP        | LOC              | DET              | GND              |           |
|        | <i>The</i>                         | <i>cloud</i> | <i>is</i>  | <i>above</i>     | <i>the</i>       | <i>mountain.</i> | English   |
|        | the                                | cloud        | 3SG.be     | above            | the              | mountain         |           |
|        | 'The cloud is above the mountain.' |              |            |                  |                  |                  |           |
| d.     | DET                                | FIG          | COP        | LOC              | DET              | GND              |           |
|        | <i>Un</i>                          | <i>nuage</i> | <i>est</i> | <i>au-dessus</i> | <i>d'une</i>     | <i>montagne.</i> | French    |
|        | a                                  | cloud        | 3SG.be     | above            | a                | mountain         |           |
|        | 'The cloud is above a mountain.'   |              |            |                  |                  |                  |           |

- e. DET FIG COP LOC LOC DET GND Spanish  
*La nube está arriba de la montaña.*  
 the cloud 3SG.be above/over of the mountain  
 'The cloud is above/over the mountain.'
- (2) a. BP+LOC COP+DEG BP LOC+GND Totonac  
*laka-tzunaj=tzá waká'lh ix-pu-hélh-ni' nak=sipéj*  
 face-close=now 3SG.be.high 3PO-CTD-mouth-NM LOC=hill  
 'The cloud is closely over the irregular upper surface of (mountain).'
- b. GND LOC FIG FIG+MOTION[CLV] Dene  
*ttheshéth daghe yak'odhaz ghe-shel*  
 rock.hill above cloud IMPF.3SGS-AM.uncontrolled.move  
 '(the) cloud above (the) mountain is moving uncontrolled.'

\* AM = amorphous mass; BP = body part; CLV = classificatory verb; COP = copula; DET = determiner; DEG = degree; FIG = figure; GND= ground; LOC = locative; NM = nominalizer; PO = possessive; SGS = singular subject

Speakers in (1) generally encode the picture in *Figure A* as a static and non-perspectivized scene using a locative and copula construction. Speakers of Dene Chipewyan in (2b) tend to describe the scene as dynamic as profiled by the classificatory verb system, or with a certain degree of specificity (Svorou 1993) as in Upper Necaxa Totonac (2a) and its body part system. This degree of specificity as well as the various imaging parameters encoded in the particular spatial scene are due to language-specific morphosyntactic affordances. Hence, the scenes are encoded as perspectivized constructions, i.e., the spatial categorization depends on object-specific knowledge (e.g., clouds are perpetual in motion). Thus, all viewing arrangements are ultimately anchored to the human body depending on and evolving from cultural practices and experience (Svorou 1993; Talmy 1983). Finally, it is argued here that language-specific morphosyntactic affordances mirror the variety of spatial conceptual structure and data will be presented supporting this assumption.

Jackendoff, R. 2002. *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pederson, E., Wilkins, D., Bowerman, M. 1998. *Static Topological Relations*. Ms.

Svorou, S. 1993. *The Grammar of Space*. Typological Studies in Language, Vol. 25. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Talmy, L. 1983. How to structure space. In H. Pick, L., Acredolo (eds.), *Spatial Orientation: Theory, Research, and Application*. New York: Plenum Press, 225-282.

Thiering, M. 2006. *The Spatial Categorization Elicitation Tool (SPACE)*. Developed at the Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta, Canada. Property of the author and the Daghida Project (Dr. Sally Rice).

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**Zum ungarischen Typ *ki az ablakon* ‚aus dem Fenster‘**  
 24.02.2010, 16.30-17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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In dem Beitrag soll untersucht werden, bis zu welchem Grade die Entstehung der ungarischen Wendung *ki az ablakon* (*ablak-[o]-SUPERESSIV*, wrtl. [auf Fenster]) ‚aus dem Fenster (gucken, fallen, werfen usw., *ki* ‚aus‘, *az* DET)‘, die an deutsche Bildungen wie *zum Fenster hinaus* (werfen, heizen usw.), *zum Städtete hinaus* (müssen) erinnert, und im Ungarischen zu ungarischen Syntagmen wie *Dunántúl* ‚Transdanubien‘ (*túl* ‚jenseits, über ... hinaus‘, *Tiszán innen* ‚diesseits der Theiß‘

und *árkon-bokron át* „über Stock und Stein“ [*árok* „Graben“, *bokor* „Strauch“]) usw. isomorph ist, vom finnisch-ugrischen Sprachtyp her zu erwarten war, und inwieweit die Entwicklung des Typs in der ungarischen Sprachgeschichte einen Wandel der Raumvorstellung abbildet.

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**Spatial relators in Hungarian: processes of grammaticalization**

24.02.2010, 17.00-17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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The paper provides a description of topological relations in Basic Locative Constructions in Hungarian. While Hungarian is a well documented and well described language, it has mostly been the object of traditional and formal descriptions; this study, on the other hand, is conceived in a functional-typological approach and focuses on processes of grammaticalization in the context of Hungarian Basic Locative constructions (BLC).

The data for this study combines experimental material from Topological Relation Picture Series (the 1993 version, reprinted in Levinson & Wilkins 2006), and a literary corpus consisting of the first paragraphs of 228 short stories describing the topological situation of a human Figure.

After presenting the inventory of the different types of spatial relators in BLC i.e. the locative case suffixes and locative postpositions and locative adverbs, the talk will focus on the processes of grammaticalization they have undergone.

About the inventory of spatial relators it can be said, first, that the systems of case suffixes and postpositions are similar for static spatial relations and dynamic ones. About the well known rich Hungarian case system, the interesting feature is that it includes 9 locative cases organized in 3 sets of 3 cases, indicating either the source or the goal of movement or static location, and that, within each set, each case varies according to the nature of the Ground. As will be shown also, postpositions and locative adverbs demonstrate the same tripartite organization. This feature is shared by other Uralic languages.

The paper will then show how the Ground element of Basic Locative Constructions can be expressed in any one of three ways:

a. by NP inflected with one of three cases

inessive :	<i>-ban/-ben</i>	(inclusion)		‘in’;
superessive :	<i>-on/-en/-ön</i>	(surface, with contact, without specification of surface or direction)		‘on’;
adessive :	<i>-nál/-nél</i>	(proximity, without contact, without specification of direction)		‘at’.

b. by postpositional phrases (PP) including a locative stative postposition + a noun in the nominative case, e. g.:

<i>alatt</i>	‘under’	<i>fölött</i>	‘over’,	
<i>előtt</i>	‘in front of’	<i>mögött</i>	‘behind’,	
<i>mellett</i>	‘next to’	<i>körül</i>	‘around’	<i>között</i> ‘between’, etc.

b'. by postpositional phrases (PP) where locative stative postpositions combine with inflected NPs :

superessive:	-n	+	<i>kívül</i> 'outside' / <i>belül</i> 'inside' / <i>túl</i> 'beyond'
instrumental:	-vel	+	<i>szemben</i> 'opposite'

c. by an Adverb, e. g. *fent* 'up', *lent* 'down' etc.

The paper will then focus on an interesting aspect of the study of Hungarian spatial relators, which is that they are all linked through processes of grammaticalization. A detailed analysis of the form of postpositions such as *alatt* 'under', *mellett* 'next to' (see above) and their segmentation in *ala-tt*, *melle-tt* can show that the language has developed its four types of spatial relators, namely postpositions, adverbs, locative case suffixes and even preverbs, from the same source construction consisting of a relational noun or a body part noun, inflected by a case suffix called "primary adverbial suffix". The paper will describe the different paths of grammaticalization of the spatial relators and argue that it represents a case of polygrammaticalisation in the sense of Craig 1991.

CRAIG, C., 1991, "Ways to go in Rama: a case study in polygrammaticalization", in TRAUGOTT, E. & B. HEINE (eds.), *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia, Benjamins, II: 455-492.

LEVINSON, S.C. & D. WILKINS, 2006, *Grammars of Space*. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

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**The spatial case system of the Tsezic languages**  
24.02.2010, 17.30-18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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The focus of this talk will be two the Tsezic languages, Bezhta (East-Tsezic) and Hinuq (West Tsezic), which belong to the Tsezic subgroup of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. Daghestanian languages are famous for their rich inventory of local cases.

The local case systems of Bezhta and Hinuq, as well as those of other Daghestanian languages, consist of two separately coded categories, location (e.g. 'in', 'at', 'under') and orientation (e.g. 'towards', 'from'), that can be combined to form complex categories (36 in Hinuq, 45 in Bezhta). Additionally, both languages have about a dozen spatial postpositions that are normally employed for sharpening the meaning conveyed by the spatial case (1c). The spatial cases and postpositions have primarily spatial meanings (1a-c). In addition, they also have a wide range of other non-spatial uses, e.g. they express temporal location, mark arguments of simple and derived verbs (addressee, experiencer, causee, potential agents, objects of perception, etc.), and they convey other concepts (e.g. purpose, standard of comparison, possession) (1c, d).

(1) Bezhta: Spatial location

a. *surat*      *yõsoʃ*      *b-oxonna*      *gey*  
picture(III) wall-CONT III-hang.UWPST be  
'The picture is hanging on the wall.'



Hinuq: Spatial location

- b. *surat*      *qešu-ḡo*      *b-exe-s*      *ḡoḡ*  
 picture(III) wall-AT III-hang-WPST be  
 'The picture is hanging on the wall.'

Bezhta: Spatial location

- c. *du-doy*      *ä<sup>n</sup>ydää*      *ḡāhiyotušman*  
 you.SG.OBL–ALOC in.front be.PTCP enemy  
 'the enemy in front of you'

Bezhta: Recipient

- d. *do*      *du-l*      *okko*      *niḡ-ca*  
 I.ERG you.SG.OBL-LAT money give–PRS  
 'I give you money.'

Hinuq: Standard of comparison

- e. *Maḡama*      *dew-de-r*      *eži*      *ḡoḡ*  
 Mohamed you.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT old be  
 'Mohamed is older than you.'

Based on empirical data elicited by means of the Topological Relation Picture Series (e.g. Levinson & Meira 2003) and on texts collected in the field the use of the spatial cases and postpositions will be described. I will show that although Bezhta and Hinuq are closely related and their spatial cases and postpositions are for the most part cognate, they differ considerably in how they divide up the spatial domain (e.g. compare (1a) and (1b)).

In the second part of the talk I will propose an analysis of the non-spatial functions based on Haspelmath's (1999) semantic map of typical dative functions. Thereby the following questions will be answered: Which part of the paradigm is occupied by which non-spatial uses? Is there any semantic connection between spatial and non-spatial meanings?

Haspelmath, Martin. 1999. External possession in a European areal perspective. In: Payne, Doris L. & Immanuel Barshi (eds.) *External Possession*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 109-135.

Levinson, Stephen & Sérgio Meira. 2003. 'Natural concepts' in the spatial topological domain-adpositional meanings in crosslinguistic perspective: An exercise in semantic typology. *Language* 79(3), 485-516.

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**Imbalances in Prepositional Expression of Spatial Relations**

24.02.2010, 18.00-18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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This presentation will discuss issues connected with the manner in which prepositional systems of Biblical Greek, Gothic, Classical Armenian and Old Church Slavic divide semantic space. The study is based on data collected from the New Testament text of the canonical Gospels in each language. The focus is on the expressions that mark prototypical spatial notions – direction, location, source – and their subtypes.

Particular attention is given to imbalances in divisions of semantic space inside of a particular language and/or across languages in question. For prepositional phrases

that usually reveal a rich semantic load the situation where one prepositional phrase marks several notions is practically a norm (Asbury et al. 2008). Another standard property of prepositional phrases is the denotation of one notion by a number of prepositional constructions (which are often alternate with nominal phrases) (Nikitina 2008). Despite these cross-linguistic commonalities one finds instances of imbalances in prepositional semantic space divisions. For example, in Classical Armenian the source notion 'out of' can be expressed by *i+Abl*, *artak'oy+Gen*, *aṙi+Abl*, *artak'oy k'an z+Acc*, *artak's k'an z+Acc* (as well as by such nominal phrases as the genitive, the ablative). On the other hand, the notion of the location 'before' lacks such a variety in means of expression and is marked by *aṙaji+Gen* only. Similarly, in Old Church Slavic the spatial concept 'on, on the surface' is designated by either *na+Loc*, *na+Acc*, *vŭ(n)+Acc*, *po+Dat*, *o/obŭ+Loc*, *o/obŭ+Acc*, *nadŭ+Ins*, or *vřxu+Gen*, but another spatial notion – location 'under, beneath' – exclusively by the phrase *podŭ+Ins*. Parallel examples of such imbalances are found in Gothic and Biblical Greek. The concept 'around' presents a peculiar cross-linguistic imbalance in semantic division: this notion is indicated only by *περί+Acc* in Greek and *bi+Acc* in Gothic, however, in Classical Armenian it can be expressed by a range of prepositional constructions: *ənd+Acc*, *z+Abl*, *z+Ins*, *ənd mēj+Gen*, *šowrj z+Ins*. This presentation will present a thorough analysis of different types of imbalances found in semantic division inside of each language and/or across languages in question and will discuss possible reasons for such discrepancies which are of morphological, semantic and pragmatic character. For example, the richness in the expression of the direction 'after' in the passages involving the verb 'follow' in Old Church Slavic could be explained partially by a pragmatic complexity of the motion being designated. *Za+Ins*, *po+Dat*, or by *vŭ slědŭ+Gen* are interchangeably used to mark this activity because translators attempt to capture all the intricacies that are connected with the relations between a landmark and a trajectory as well as with the notions of contact, plexity and continuity: idi za mŭnoi 'follow me' (Mk 8:33), grędęta po mŭnĕ (Codex Marianus), grędęta vŭ slědŭ mene (Savvina kniga) 'follow me' (M 4:19).

Asbury, A., Gehrke, B., van Riemsdijk, H. & Zwarts, J. 2008. Introduction: Syntax and Semantics of Prepositions. In *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, R. Nouwen (eds.), 1-32.: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2008. Variation in the Expression of Spatial Goals. In *Syntax and Semantics of Spatial P*, A. Asbury, J. Dotlačil, B. Gehrke, R. Nouwen (eds.), 175-95.: Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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**The grammar of parts and wholes in Yucatec: volumes, surfaces, and curvature extremes**

25.02.2010, 9.00-9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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This presentation examines the strategies employed by speakers of Yucatec Maya in reference to object parts. Yucatec, like Tzeltal Maya (Levinson 1994) and Ayoquesco Zapotec (MacLaury 1989) - and unlike Indo-European languages such as English and Spanish - has a productive strategy for labeling object parts on the basis of their shape and position in the object's axial structure. MacLaury describes meronymic

labeling in the Zapotec system as based on a global analogical mapping of the structure of the human body into that of the object. This mapping is orientation-sensitive: the human body is mapped onto the object so that the highest part becomes the metaphorical 'head' and the lowest part the 'buttocks' or 'feet', depending on its shape. The assignment of 'front', 'back', and 'side' terms appears to depend both on the shapes of the parts of the object and on the perspective of the observer. In contrast, the Tzeltal system described by Levinson is in first approximation orientation-free. Levinson argues that Tzeltal meronym assignment is not metaphorical at all. Rather, it is based on an algorithm that operates directly on the output of visual processing and governs the assignment of body part and object part terms alike. The Yucatec system combines traits of Tzeltal and Zapotec meronymy, but is best described as a third type of system. Yucatec meronymy involves a critical distinction between three semi-autonomous subsystems which does not appear to exist in the other two languages: there are subsystems for the labeling of surfaces, volumes, and curvature extremes (edges, corners, tips, etc.). Evidence from a referential communication task involving 'novel' objects culturally unfamiliar to Mayan people and Westerners alike, conducted with five pairs of adult native speakers, shows that only the subsystems for surface and curvature extreme naming are fully productive. Volume naming shares many traits with the algorithm described by Levinson: volume meronyms are assigned independently of the object's canonical or actual orientation, independently of its overall structure except for the determination of the largest volume (a flashlight can be viewed as a 'leg' with a 'head' on one end and an 'asshole' on the other), and non-uniquely (objects can have multiple 'heads' etc.). Yet, strikingly, volume labeling is not only much more restricted with unfamiliar objects as compared to surface and 'extreme' labeling, but is also frequently explicitly metaphorical, which surface and extreme labeling never is. Surface labeling, unlike volume and extreme labeling, is orientation-dependent. The assignment of 'top' and 'bottom' surfaces depends on the object's canonical orientation, not on its actual orientation as in Zapotec. The evidence from Yucatec supports the view that global analogical mapping as in Zapotec and assignment based on shape-analytical algorithms as in Tzeltal are not incompatible, contrary to Levinson 1994.

The finding that Yucatec has a productive geometric meronymy like Tenejapa Tzeltal and Ayoquesco Zapotec supports the hypothesis that such meronymies are an areal feature of Mesoamerican languages. At the same time, Yucatec meronymy has traits not attested in the previously studied systems. In particular, the division into subsystems for volumes, surfaces, and curvature extremes seems to be unique and indicates that there are more than those previously recognized two types of productive geometric meronymies. Levinson's (1994) non-metaphorical analysis of Tzeltal meronymy is supported by the finding that the (fully productive) surface terms of Yucatec are not (used as) body part terms (with the exception of *pàach* 'back'). At the same time, however, even though volume labeling in Yucatec has all the signature traits of the algorithm Levinson described for Tzeltal, it is not fully productive and frequently involves hedges and similes, suggesting algorithmic mapping is not necessarily non-metaphorical. These findings have important potential implications for the theory of analogical domain mappings in cognition.

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**On virtual grounds: Distances and durations as objects of prepositions**

25.02.2010, 9.30-10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Prepositions typically express relations between a figure (trajector, theme) and a ground (landmark, reference object). The ground is realized as the object of the preposition, as in the following examples:

- (1) a. The cat is on the mat.  
b. The quick brown fox jumps over the lazy dog.

Svenonius (2007) hypothesizes that the object of the preposition is always the ground of a spatial relation. If true, this would suggest a strong isomorphism between a cognitively motivated structuring of spatial relations (Figure – Relation - Ground) and the grammatical articulation of those relations into prepositional phrases (Subject – Preposition - Object). However, Talmy (2000) already points that there are cases in which the prepositional object can be the figure. In the following example the underlined phrase refers to the figure of the relation (the thing that moves), while the subject expresses the ground:

- (2) The room slowly filled with smoke.  
(cf. Smoke slowly filled the room.)

Are there other elements besides ground and figure occurring as prepositional objects? And if there are other non-ground object, then how do these fit in a general theory of the compositional semantics of prepositional phrases?

In order to investigate this question I will analyze spatial relations in terms of vectors pointing from the ground to the figure (O'Keefe 1996, Zwarts 1997, Zwarts and Winter 2000). Two other important elements of spatial relations can then be seen: the figure – ground distance (represented by the length of the vector) and its direction (represented by the vector's direction). There are constructions in which the prepositional object actually relates to these elements:

- (3) a. There is smoke in the distance.  
b. There is a cloud of dust coming from the south.

In both cases the underlined object does not refer to the origin of the vectors, but to its length and direction, respectively. I will work this out in more detail by comparing the type of compass construction in (3b) that involves reference to a geographical region (i.e. the South as a region of the United States). Both constructions can be analyzed in an adequate and compositional way in terms of vectors only if we do not take the underlined phrases to be grounds.

Interestingly, similar deviations from the object = ground pattern can be found in the temporal domain, when we turn to constructions like the following (and similar PPs in German like *vor/nach/seit zwei Tagen*):

- (4) a. There will not be enough water in the future. (direction)  
b. He came back after/within two days. (length)

Again, using a model with vectors representing directed stretches of time, a simple semantic analysis of these cases is only possible when the future and two days specify the direction and length, respectively, of a temporal relation between events.

My conclusion is that even though there is a strong connection between objects (in syntax) and grounds (in spatial and temporal semantics), there are some clear ‘leaks’ in this connection, pointing to the need to take a flexible view on the way our conceptualization of space is expressed in grammatical terms.

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**Landmarks in event semantics**  
 25.02.2010, 10.00-10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Landmarks, or figures in figure-ground partitions, are an important component in the analysis of spatial relations, especially in Cognitive approaches subscribing to the basic insights of Langacker (1987) and Talmy (1985, 2001). Given the central status of landmarks in cognitive linguistics, and in grammars of space independently of research traditions, it is surprising to note that the landmark notion is largely left undefined in linguistics; the relevant parts of foundational books and articles typically delegate the elucidation of the landmark notion to diagrams with undefined symbolic conventions, or to the psychology of perception. In psychology the figure-ground partition, or the landmark notion, likewise lacks an analysis (Goldstein 1997: 178-81). Moreover, Dowty’s (1991) verdict against landmarks or the figureground partition as a thematic role primitive has proven influential.

In this context I argue that the landmark notion does have a role to play in the formal explication of the natural language expression of spatial relations, and I present an event-semantic implementation of landmarks, using German free datives as in (1) as an empirical domain (Hole 2008).

- (1) *Ihm klebt ein Kaugummi unter der Sohle.*  
 him.DAT sticks a chewing-gum under the sole  
 ‘He:DAT has a chewing-gum sticking under his sole.’

I propose that the semantics of landmarks has the main ingredients in (i)-(iv).

- (i) Landmarks are individuals and wholes.
- (ii) The spatial neighborhood regions of a landmark in an eventuality define the space within which another eventuality with another individual as part of it is located. (In (1) the dative referent’s neighborhood space defines the location of the state of the chewing-gum sticking under the sole.)
- (iii) The location of the landmark in space is presupposed (in a sense to be made explicit).
- (iv) The location of the spatially dependent individual may be (part of) the assertion.

In a nutshell, landmarks are themselves figures of a special kind: they project a spatial frame of reference for an eventuality with another figure in it.

Hole, Daniel (2008). ‘Dativ, Bindung und Diathese’. *Habilitationsschrift*. Humboldt-Universität Berlin.

- Goldstein, E. Bruce (1997). *Wahrnehmungspsychologie: eine Einführung. Dt. Übersetzung hrsg. von Manfred Ritter. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von Gabriele Herbst.* Heidelberg/Berlin/Oxford: Springer.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume I. Theoretical Prerequisites.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard (1985). 'Lexicalization patterns: semantic structure in lexical forms'. In: Timothy Shopen (Hrsg.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Volume 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57-149.
- Talmy, Leonard (2001). *Toward a Cognitive Semantics. Two Volumes.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

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**Pleonastic directionals in German: A Cognitive Grammar analysis**

25.02.2010, 10.30-11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

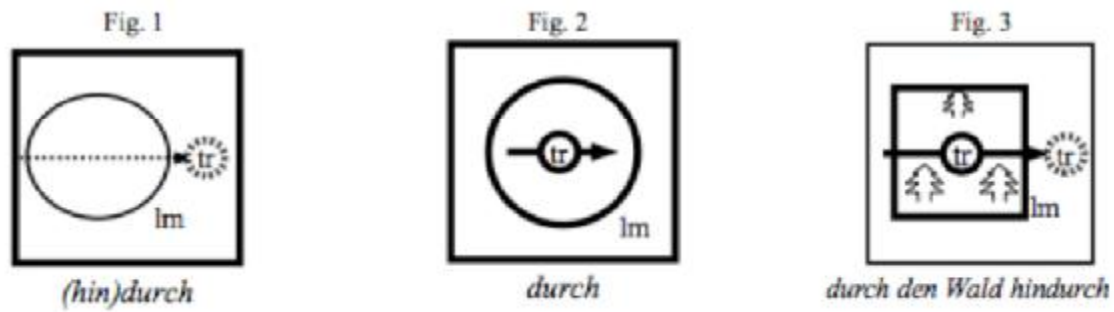
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German "pleonastic directionals" (Olsen 1996) such as those in (1a) present an unsolved problem for grammatical theory:

- (1)
- a. *Ronald lief durch den Wald (hin)durch.*  
Ronald ran through the forest through
  - b. *[Durch den Wald (hin)durch] ist Ronald schon oft gelaufen.*  
Through the forest through is Ronald already often run.
  - c. *[Durch den Wald] ist Ronald schon oft (hin)durchgelaufen.*  
Through the forest is Ronald already often through-run.
  - d. *Ronald lief durch den Wald.*  
Ronald ran through the forest.

The syntactic and semantic status of elements like *(hin)durch* ("through") in (1a) remains contested. Traditionally, they are treated as *separable prefixes* (Wunderlich 1983) or *verb particles* (Abraham 2003), which makes *durch den Wald* an adjunct of the particle verb *(hin)dürchlaufen*. However, this does not explain why the particle and the PP can jointly occupy the *Vorfeld* in sentences like (1b), a position usually restricted to a single constituent. Alternatively, elements like *(hin)durch* are treated as postpositions that take a PP as a complement (Olsen 1999). This accounts for (1b), but fails to explain why the PP can be separated from its postpositional head (1c). Both accounts leave open the semantic contribution of the particle/postposition: it seems to encode redundantly the path information already contained in the preposition, thus (1a) and (1d) should be identical in meaning.

Our analysis takes up an earlier suggestion by Olsen (1996) that such elements can be either verb particles or postpositions depending on their grammatical context. Unlike Olsen, however, we characterize these elements semantically in the framework *Cognitive Grammar* (Langacker 2008). We analyze *(hin)durch* as specifying a position at the end of a non-elaborated path (Fig. 1). This path can be elaborated by a motion verb or by a directional PP. In the first case the integrated structure will behave like a particle verb, in the second case like a simple verb with a complex postpositional phrase, yielding slightly different construals of the same semantic structure.



This analysis enables us to capture the semantic contribution of the elements in question: the preposition *durch* refers to motion within a bounded area (Fig. 2). Thus, (1d) does not entail that *Ronald* was outside the forest at any point. The addition of the particle/postposition *(hin)durch* in (1a) changes the interpretation to one where *Ronald* is outside the forest at the end of the event described (Fig. 3). Thus, the syntactic status of *hin(durch)* and similar elements can be determined only for a given syntactic context – changes in constituent order have a small but noticeable impact on the construal of the event expressed. Thus, we argue that a systematic but primarily semantic description of pleonastic directionals is more adequate than a purely syntactic one.

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**Kreolisierung des Raumkonzepts:  
wenn Afrika und Europa in der Karibik aufeinandertreffen**  
25.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Die Untersuchung der räumlichen Ausdrucksmittel in Sprachen, die unter den speziellen Bedingungen der Kreolisierung entstanden sind, kann wertvolle Erkenntnisse über Transferprozesse und universale Raumkonzepte ergeben. In diesem Beitrag soll im Bereich der räumlichen Ausdrucksmittel das Resultat des Kontakts europäischer und westafrikanischer Sprachen während der Kreolisierung untersucht werden. Die topologischen Relationsmarker werden im Zusammenspiel mit den Bewegungsverben untersucht, teilweise in seriellen Verbkonstruktionen. Dazu sollen die Kreolsprachen Sranan (SN) und Saramaccan (SM), welche auf dem Englischen, Holländischen und Portugiesischen basieren, mit den Frankokreolsprachen der Karibik (FKDK) verglichen werden. Beide Gruppen haben ein ähnliches westafrikanisches Sub-strat und eine europäische Lexifiersprache mit

vielen Präpositionen. Auffälliger Unterschied zwischen beiden Gruppen ist, dass die FKDK nur zwei Präpositionen (*nan/an* ‚in‘ (< *dan* < frz. *dans*), *sou* ‚auf [sic!]‘ (frz. *sous* ‚unter‘) mit einem reichen Set an direktionalen Verben/V2 kombinieren (cf. Beispiele (1) und (2)), während SN und SM mehr Prä- und zudem auch Postpositionen (*na/a*, *tappo*, *ini*) und ein noch reichhaltigeres Set an direktionalen Verben/V2 (z. B. *komopo* ‚come from‘, *komoto* ‚come out‘) aufweisen.

(1) Li bwote tout tè al **nan** lanmè. (M-L 1982: 10) Haitianisch  
‘Er [der Regen] transportiert alle Erde gehen in Meer.’

(2) Kou deblozay pete, maren kouri desann **sou** lans la. (M-L 1982: 44) Haitianisch  
‘Als der Sturm losging, rennen runtergehen die Fischer auf den Strand.’

In Westafrika findet man oft ein ähnliches Zusammenspiel von direktionalen Verben/V2 und Postpositionen, die von lokativen Nomen abstammen. Auch wenn Levinson & Meira (2003) die bisher angenommenen semantischen Primitive hinterfragen, stellt sich die Frage, ob in den FKDK nicht doch der (minimale) Ausdruck der universalen konzeptuellen Primitiven der topologischen Relationen vorliegt, dessen Sprachmaterial unter Reanalyseprozessen aus der Lexifiersprache übernommen worden ist. Wird hingegen im SN/SM hauptsächlich das Resultat des Substrattransfers sichtbar? Welche Arten von Transferprozessen sollen für die spatialen Relatoren angesetzt werden? Es ist äusserst schwierig, Substrateinfluss oder Superstrateinfluss von universalen Wandelprozessen oder universalen konzeptionellen Primitiven zu unterscheiden. Als Prüfstein dazu können besonders die Frankokreolsprachen dienen, denn sie treten sowohl in der amerikanisch-karibischen Zone (mit westafrikanischem Substrat) als auch auf verschiedenen Inseln im Indischen Ozean (mit ostafrikanischem und madagassischem Substrat) auf.

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**Spatial relators in Vietnamese**  
25.02.2010, 12.00-12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Vietnamese provides different construction types for the expression of prototypical and less prototypical locative scenes (cf. Levinson/Wilkins 2006, Ameka/Levinson 2007). The Basic Locative Construction and serial verb constructions with a stative verb in V2 position cover scenes with a movable figure object, clothing/adornment and firm attachment (cf. (1) and (2)). Piercing and encirclement scenes, however, are



expressed by serial verb constructions with dynamic verbs in V2 position, being more alike to general motion constructions (cf. (3)). Scenes where the figure is damaged or negative space or where the figure is part of the ground are expressed by non-locative constructions, such as possessive constructions.

Locative constructions in the narrow sense			
(1)	Tách trà ở trên bàn. cup tee be.at RN table 'The tee-cup is on the table.'	BLC: Figure V R(elator) N Ground	movable object clothing/adornment firm attachment
(2)	Cái bút nằm ở trên bàn. CL pen lie be.at RN table 'The pen is lying on the table.'	SVC: Figure V1 V2stative (R(elator) N) Ground	
Locative construction in the broad sense			
(3)	Mũi tên xuyên qua quả táo. CL arrow skewer cross CL apple 'The arrow is stuck into the apple.'	SVC: Figure V1 V2dynamic Ground	piercing, encirclement

An analysis of the semantics and syntax of the locative constructions and their causative alternations, namely the caused change of location constructions, is presented with special focus on the semantics of spatial relators (relator nouns, second verbs in serial verb constructions). It is argued that the spatial relators have an aspectual function beside their function as markers of spatial configurations.

Locative

Caused Change of Location

Stative

Imperfective

- (4) Cái thang dựng ở / \*vào bức tường.  
CL ladder lean be.at enter CL wall  
'The ladder is leaning against the wall.'
- (5) Ông dựng cái thang vào bức tường.  
he erect CL ladder enter CL wall  
'He is leaning the ladder against the wall.'

Perfect

- (6) Ông dựng cái thang ở bức tường.  
he erect CL ladder be.at CL wall  
'He has leaned the ladder against the wall.'

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**Spatial adpositions in sign languages**  
25.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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In the literature, it is commonly assumed that sign languages (SLs) lack spatial adpositions and that information about the spatial location of referents is encoded in the predicate by means of spatial modulation of the predicate sign (sometimes referred to as "preposition incorporation"). In (1), from SL of the Netherlands, the feature [location] of the predicate BELOCATED expresses the location of the figure CUP in relation to the ground TABLE (note that the right (dominant) and the left (non-dominant) hand are glossed on different lines).

(1)

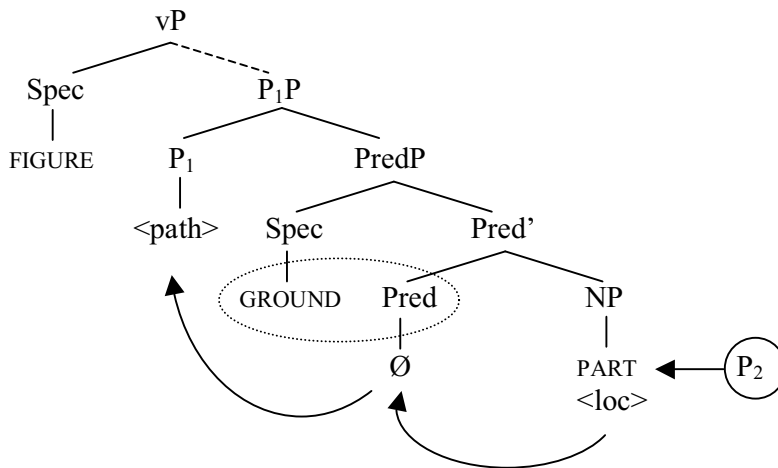


rh: TABLE<sub>loc(x)</sub> MILK BE-LOCATED<sub>top-of-loc(x)</sub>  
 lh: TABLE<sub>loc(x)</sub> MILK

‘A glass of milk is on (top of) the table.’

We suggest that such structures, despite their apparent modality-specific properties, exploit modality-independent structural possibilities. In particular, we will argue that the clauses in (1) involve the structure in (2). Following Talmy’s (2000) theory of cognitive semantics, we assume that a preposition establishes a relation between a ground and its part. Moreover, we adopt Aboh’s (in press) idea that spatial expressions involve a complex predicate phrase embedded under a preposition P<sub>1</sub> which encodes path (direction/goal). Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that P<sub>1</sub> often derives from verbs. In (1), P<sub>1</sub> is part of the predicates. In contrast, the PART-NP within PredP encodes location and may grammaticalize into P<sub>2</sub>.

(2)



In the syntax, the head of the PART-NP raises to the (zero) predicate head, where spatial agreement with the GROUND is established under Spec-head agreement. Subsequently, PART adjoins to P<sub>1</sub>. In (1), PART (P<sub>2</sub>) will be spelled out by a hold-morpheme, while P<sub>1</sub> is realized by a zero (or default) movement. Occasionally, PART may be spelled out by a lexeme (e.g. SURFACE, SIDE) which is articulated simultaneously by the non-dominant hand, as illustrated in (3). Finally, as is commonly the case in SLs, the GROUND topicalizes to SpecTopP.

(3) a. rh: TABLE<sub>loc(x)</sub> BOY BE-LOCATED<sub>top-of-loc(x)</sub>  
 lh: TABLE<sub>loc(x)</sub> SURFACE<sub>(x)</sub>  
 ‘A boy is standing on a/the table.’

In our presentation, we will add to the picture other spatial relations such as *next to* and *inside (of)*. In addition, the discussion of SL examples will be supplemented by comparative data from typologically diverse spoken languages. As a way of illustration, the following examples from Sranan (a Surinamese Creole) exemplify

different steps in the derivation. In (4a),  $P_2$  remains in situ, while in (4b),  $P_2$  raises past the ground *tobbo* via the predicate head, where it picks up the genitive marker. This movement then produces the sequence  $P_1 > P_2 > \text{POSS}$ , also found in English (e.g. *in front of*) (Aboh, in press).

- (4) a. Sinsi a kamm **na** hosso **inni** [Bruyn 2001]  
 since 3.SG come  $P_1$  house  $P_2$   
 ‘Since she entered the house ...’
- b. A trueh watra **na** **inni** vo wan tobbo  
 3.SG throw water  $P_1$   $P_2$  POSS DET tub  
 ‘He threw water into a tub.’

Note finally that we assume that in SL, movement of  $P_2$  to  $P_1$  is obligatory for articulatory reasons.

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**Dynamic conceptual model of the linguistic structuring of space:  
 Georgian preverbs**

26.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

For structuring of space relations in the Georgian language three dimensions are valuable:

**1. Point of View (PV)** - Speaker’s and/or Teller’s Position: The ‘teller’ usually coincides with the ‘speaker’, but this is not always the case: Sometimes the ‘teller’ differs from the speaker and the space is structuralized according to the teller’s and not the speaker’s PV; e. g. “Nino says that she is going up”. Although the place where Nino is going to could not be “up” for the speaker who is located geographically higher than Nino, the speaker can still structure the space according to the teller’s, e.g., Nino’s, point of view.

**2. Geographic Space (GS)** - Various Directions and Distance Dichotomy: GS is structuralized due to the abstract relations that have concrete interpretation only on the basis of the point of view of a ‘teller’. Abstract geographic relations are represented in the linguistic structures of the Georgian language by the so-called simple preverbs (SP). The relations can be described by the following conceptual structures:

*a-* ‘from down to up’  
*cha-* ‘from up to down’

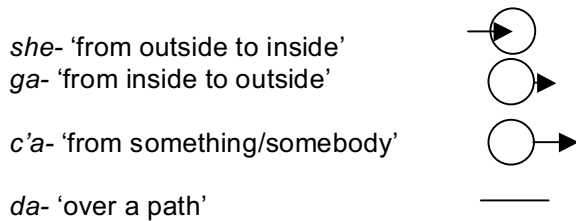


*mi-* ‘from speaker/listener’  
*mo-* ‘to speaker/listener’



*gada-* ‘overcoming, across’





**3. Communicational Space (CS) - Ego and Alter Spaces:** Communicational space is further divided into 'Ego Space' and 'Alter Space'. Differences between ES and AS are represented in linguistic structures of Georgian by the formal opposition \_ Complex Preverbs([SP + *mo-*]) : Simple Preverbs (all SP except *mo-*). The opposition distinguishes the orientation of an action according to the dichotomy: I/II [action directed/oriented to I/II person (ES)]: III [action directed/oriented to III person (AS)]. Thus, the addition of *mo-* changes the orientation of an action. ES does not always confirm with the semantics of 'Proximal' : 'Distal', which is an important feature for structuring of GS according to the concept of 'Distance'. The 'distance', like the ES, is relative and is defined by speaker's or teller's attitude, which is different from the opposition ES : AS. Objects near to us are not obligatorily included into ES and vice versa: 'Near' does not always mean 'to us' and 'Far' does not always mean 'from us'. 'Point of View', 'Ego Space' and 'Distance dichotomy' are flexible: They can be changed according to the speaker's (or teller's) attitude, while abstract relations of 'Geographic Space' are stable. Various combinations of the dimensions are represented in Georgian by 9 simple and 7 complex preverbs.

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**Spatial adpositions in Indo-European and Mande:**  
**A case study in diachronic typology**  
26.02.2010, 12.00-12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Languages vary widely in their means of expressing spatial concepts. In Indo-European languages, notions related to localization in space are typically encoded by spatial adpositions (most commonly, prepositions), whose principal function is to characterize the Figure's position with respect to a Ground. Such adpositions express a wide range of meanings, both configurational (e.g., *in* vs. *on*) and directional (e.g., *to* vs. *from*; cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991: 144), and appear in a large number of syntactic configurations (e.g., both within noun phrases and verb phrases).

This paper is a survey of characteristics of spatial postpositions of Mande languages, which belong to a strikingly different type of adpositional system. Unlike prepositions in Indo-European languages, spatial postpositions in Mande are complemented by a set of relational nouns with spatial meaning. While postpositional phrases can only adjoin to clauses, relational nouns are used to express spatial concepts within noun phrases (e.g., "the cup of the top of the table", instead of "the cup on the table"). The complimentary use of nouns and postpositions to encode spatial meanings is related to a number of other properties that distinguish Mande adpositional systems from those of Indo-European languages.

Most importantly, compared to Indo-European prepositions, postpositions in Mande encode a relatively small number of semantic distinctions. The same postposition tends to be used independently of whether a Figure is located in contact with the Ground or in the Ground's proximity. In Wan (Southeastern Mande), the postposition *tā* corresponds to English *on*, *over*, and *above*; the postposition *trāgá*, to *between*, *among*, and *in the middle of*, etc. Even more strikingly, Mande postpositions do not distinguish between static locations, goals, and sources of motion, cf. the three English translations of the Wan sentence in (1).

- (1) è      siā    yrē    é      gó  
       s/he fell tree DEF in  
       'He fell from the tree' or 'He fell into the tree' or 'He fell [while] on the tree'

I contrast the characteristics of spatial adpositions in Mande and in Indo-European languages and suggest that the difference stems from a difference in the adpositions' origin and their path of development. While Indo-European prepositions derive from a large number of heterogeneous sources, including nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (Kortmann & König 1992; Maling 1983), Mande postpositions are almost exclusively of nominal origin. Due to the unusual S-O-V-X word order, Mande languages do not favor the development of adpositions from adverbs, adjectives or verbs to the same degree as Indo-European languages. The difference in word order and, consequently, in preferred types of grammaticalization and reanalysis, could explain the difference in the inventories of adpositions attested at the synchronic level.

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**Development of spatial markers in Indo-Aryan languages**

26.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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We provide a brief survey of modern Indo-Aryan spatial markers and their path of development from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) via Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) to the modern New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages. Our historical investigations reveals an interesting asymmetry between the evolution of markers expressing the relation 'with' (broadly: co-location) and 'in' (basically, inclusion). While the 'with' markers tend to acquire a range of non-spatial meanings (i.e., comitative, instrumental, source/ablative), the 'in' markers are restricted to spatial/location functions across long periods of time (Bloch 1975; Kellogg 1893; Beames 1966, a.o.).

Synchronically, we provide comparative evidence from the range of spatial meanings that can be expressed by these markers ('with' and 'in') and their current distribution across several closely related NIA languages: Gujarati, Marathi, Nepali, Punjabi, Urdu/Hindi, Sindhi, Siraiki. We show that although the languages are closely related and although the lexical material is often diachronically shared, the spatial systems that emerge differ significantly from one another (Ahmed 2009). In particular, while we observe interesting variability with respect to the 'with' markers, the range of expression and distribution is much more restricted for the 'in' markers. A subset of the relevant data is illustrated in Table (1), where the spatial meanings are boldfaced.

(1)

Language	<i>madbye</i> 'in'		<i>sawige</i> 'with'			
	in	on	co-location	accompaniment	instrument	source
OIA	✓		✓	✓		
MIA	✓		✓	✓		
Sindhi (NIA)	✓		✓	✓	✓	
Hindi (NIA)	✓		✓		✓	✓
Nepali (NIA)	✓	✓	✓	✓		

We posit that the reason for this difference in variability and range of expressivity is semantic and pragmatic in nature. The 'with' forms express a vague relationship of co-location that allows for non-spatial interpretation in accordance with a particular discourse or sentence context, for instance, animate and/or sentient arguments, and thus give rise to a range of new meanings that are open to subsequent grammaticalization. On the other hand, the 'in' forms are semantically more specific in that they express an inclusion relation (Zwarts & Winter 2000; Kracht 2002). The path of change in these forms is strictly tied to spatial meanings and may not extend - to the non-spatial domain. We thus account for the observed asymmetry in the patterns of evolution and synchronic crosslinguistic distribution of the 'with' vs. 'in' markers in terms of the relative vagueness of the semantics and the non-spatial interpretational possibilities available to the vague form in context.

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**Vom Adverb zur Adposition im Hethitischen - oder doch nicht?**

26.02.2010, 13.00-13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.103

Unter den Lokaladverbien des Hethitischen, einer indogermanischen Sprache, die im 2. Jtsd. v.u.Z. in Zentralanatolien gesprochen wurde und in Keilschrift überliefert ist, zeichnet sich eine Gruppe wegen ihrer besonderen Beziehung zu Substantiven und Verben ab. Obwohl diese sog. Place Words anscheinend erstarrte Kasusformen von Substantiven darstellen, können sie etymologisch nicht weiter auf Appellativa zurückgeführt, aber zumindest mit Lokaladverbien und Adpositionen in verwandten Sprachen verglichen werden. In der deutschen Übersetzung entsprechen sie sowohl Adverbien als auch Adpositionen als auch Präverbien.

Es ist eine offene Frage, ob die Place Words auch im Hethitischen in diese drei Kategorien einzuteilen sind, wie traditionell gelehrt wird (s. z.B. Hoffner/Melchert 2008: 294-301), oder ob es sich um eine weitgehend einheitliche Klasse handelt, wie die formale Einheitlichkeit und die (ab der mittelheth. Zeit) die einheitliche Wortstellung zwischen Adverbial(en) und Prädikat nahe legen. Unstrittig ist ihre Funktion als deiktische (Pronominal-)Adverbien:

*mā[n]=e*

CONN-3.PL.NOM.C

*kattan=na*

unten-CONN

*huyantes<sup>1</sup>*

laufen.PTC.NOM.PL.C

Sie verbinden sich aber auch mit Substantiven im Ablativ, Dativ-Lokativ und Allativ, in der älteren Sprache konkurrierend auch im Genetiv (die beiden letzteren Konstruktionen fallen in der nachaltheth. Zeit zugunsten des Dat.-Lok. weg), vgl.

<i>k[uis</i>	<i>amm]el</i>	<i>āppan</i> LUGAL- <i>us</i>	<i>kīsar[ij]</i> <sup>2</sup>
REL.NOM.SG.C	ich.GEN	hinter König.NOM.SG	werden.PRS.3.SG.MP

Eine besonders enge Verbindung mit Verben wird sichtbar in Lexikalisierungen und deverbalen Nomina, die Place Words enthalten, obwohl Hethitisch keine Zusammenbildungen kennt; z.B. *prā handandātar* 'gute (göttliche) Leitung' (*prā handae-zi* wörtlich „voran-ordnen“), *pēran huyatalla-* 'Führer' (*pēran huwai-/hui-i* wörtlich „vorne laufen“). Es kommt aber zu keiner morphologischen Verschmelzung, da Place Word und Verb durch andere Satzglieder getrennt werden können.

In Anbetracht der klassischen Definitionen für Adverbien (Modifikatoren bei allem außer Substantiven, prädikativ verwendbar) und Adpositionen (adnominal, nicht satzgliedfähig, Rektion, drücken Relationen zwischen Elementen aus) scheint eine Trennung nach funktionalen Kriterien also klar, auch wenn „some attested examples are ambiguous and open to competing interpretations“ (Hoffner/Melchert l.c. 294). Aber auf den zweiten Blick eröffnen sich hierbei theoretische wie praktische Probleme: So ist die Bedeutung von *peran* z.B. in *ga[lgal]tūri EGIR-an peran=na huyan[zi]* 'Tamburine laufen hinten und vorne.', LUGAL-*as pēran* 'vor dem König' und *peran huinut* 'er ließ vorgehen' essenziell die gleiche (Lokalisierung in einem intrinsischen oder deiktischem Vor-Bereich), eine Dreiteilung aufgrund der Übersetzung verdeckt die phonetisch-morphologisch-syntaktische Identität der drei Belege. Auch verbinden sich die Lokalkasus nicht willkürlich mit den Place Words, sondern werden gemäß der intendierten Bewegungsrichtung verwendet, die Place Words präzisieren also nur die lokale Relation, so dass nach Starke (1977: 127-130) von Rektion, dem zentralen Definitionskriterium für Adpositionen, keine Rede sein kann.

Im Rahmen des Vortrags sollen daher die Schwierigkeiten dargestellt werden, für diese tote Sprache, bei der viele der modernen Methoden der empirischen Sprachwissenschaft nicht anwendbar sind, zu einem Ergebnis bezüglich des Status der sog. Place Words zu gelangen.

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Starke, Frank. 1977. *Die Funktionen der dimensionalen Kasus und Adverbien im Althethitischen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (StBoT 23).

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<sup>1</sup> 'Und wenn sie unten laufen, ...' (KUB XXXII 117+ II 13; altheth.)

<sup>2</sup> 'Wer nach mir König wird, ...' (KBo III 22, 49; altheth.).

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**Syntax und Funktion der Lokalpartikeln im Vedischen**  
26.02.2010, 13.30-14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.103

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Als "Lokalpartikeln" werden die Mitglieder einer Klasse von Partikeln bezeichnet, die unter die Wortklassen Adverb, Adposition oder Präverb fallen können. Ihrer Grundbedeutung nach bezeichnen sie lokale Relationen zwischen einem lokalisierten Begriff (locatum) und einem die Lokalisierung festlegenden Bezugspunkt (relatum), entweder als gerichtete Bewegung (konkret oder metaphorisch) oder - seltener - als lokale Befindlichkeit. Sie dienen dadurch der Präzisierung einer lokalen

Relation, die durch das Prädikatsverb, häufig in Verbindung mit einer NP in einem obliquen Kasus bezeichnet wird. Diese NP kann der Lokalpartikel semantisch oder auch syntaktisch (durch Kontaktstellung der Partikel) als Bezugsnomen zugeordnet sein.

In den ältesten indogermanischen Sprachen (Altindisch, Altiranisch, Hethitisch, Griechisch) ist die Bindung dieser Lokalpartikeln an das Verb oder Bezugsnomen noch sehr lose. Außerdem treten sie z.T. noch als selbständige Adverbien auf. Da diese Autonomie in den jüngeren Sprachen abnimmt bzw. verloren geht, wird gewöhnlich angenommen, dass eine Entwicklung von Adverbien im Indogermanischen zu den drei getrennten Wortarten Adverb, Adposition und Präverb führt.

Im Rahmen eines DFG-Projektes werden z.Z. die Lokalpartikeln des Vedischen, einer altindischen Sprache aus dem 1. Jt. v.Chr., unter semantischen und syntaktischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht. In dieser Sprache scheint es sich bei den Lokalpartikeln nach Ausweis der bisherigen Untersuchungen noch überwiegend um Adverbien zu handeln mit vereinzelt Übergängen zu Adpositionen bzw. Lexikalisierungsprozessen der Kombination aus Lokalpartikel und Prädikatsverb in unterschiedlichen Entwicklungsstadien, in denen die Partikel als Präverb fungiert. Besonders interessant ist hier daher die Frage nach dem syntaktischen und semantischen Verhältnis, in dem die Lokalpartikeln zu den Kasus begleitender Nomina und zu Prädikatsverben während dieser Entwicklung stehen sowie die Frage, ob sich die einzelnen Partikeln in dieser Übergangsphase bereits eindeutigen Wort- oder Morphemklassen zuordnen lassen. Dabei stehen folgende Themenkomplexe im Vordergrund:

- 1) Feststellung der Grundbedeutung und Wortart
- 2) Ermittlung des Ausgangspunktes für die semantische Referenz der Lokalpartikel: Bezugsnomen, Sprecherposition oder andere Komponenten des Kontextes
- 3) Syntaktische Relation zwischen Lokalpartikel und Bezugsnomen: adnominal – adverbial – selbständiges Adverb; syntaktische vs. lexikalische Komposition
- 4) Interner Aufbau der Lokalpartikel-Konstruktion: z.B. attributiv vs. appositiv
- 5) Adnominales Syntagma als Aktant oder Zirkumstant
- 6) Kombination mehrerer Lokalpartikeln
- 7) Lexikalisierungen von Lokalpartikel und Verb



## AG 4 (Kurz-AG) Indefiniteness Crosslinguistically

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**The distribution of Southern German indefinites,  
and their diachronic evolution**  
25.02.2010, 10.30-11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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In this paper, I will show that Southern German Indefinite articles provide a (synchronic) puzzle for Chierchia (1998)-style NP-denotations. I will show furthermore that the diachronic development of the German indefinite does not square at all with the assumptions put forward in Heine (1997), according to which grammaticalisation corresponds to gradual semantic bleaching, and that the diachronic evolution of indefinites in German follows a standard grammaticalisation path.

**The Synchronic Puzzle** Chierchia's system predicts that there cannot be any determiner that applies to both singular count and (singular) mass nouns, but excluding plural count nouns.

In some contemporary Southern-German dialects (this one from Vorarlberg, Austria), it is perfectly acceptable to use an indefinite article with mass nouns, as well as with singular count nouns. However, the indefinite is not possible with plural count nouns (cf. (1)). This is precisely the pattern predicted to be impossible by Chierchia.

- (1) a. mir hond an hund.      b.    mir hond a meal.                      c. \*mir hond a hünd.  
      we have a dog.                we have a flour.                                we have a dogs.

Importantly, as will be shown, the acceptability of the indefinite article with a mass noun cannot be analysed as a case of coercion from mass to count.

**The Diachronic Puzzle** One might suppose that the Southern German Indefinite (SGI) has grammaticalised away from an original state similar to the one of contemporary standard German. However, this assumption is not warranted. Quite to the contrary, the SGI is a much closer descendant to Middle High German (MHG) and Early New High German indefinite articles than the standard German indefinite.

In MHG, the use of the indefinite article was less restricted than even in the contemporary Southern dialects. It combined quite freely with mass, but appeared also with at least some plural forms:

- (5) Daz was in einen zîten, dô vrou Helche erstarp  
      That was in aPl timesPl, when lady H. died.  
      'It succeeded at the time when lady Helche had died.'

(5) may be a *plurale tantum*, but in contemporary Southern German, even such a combination with a merely morphological plural is agrammatical. Furthermore, one finds the MHG indefinite article in vocatives, with discourse old elements, and in generic comparison (cf. Paul et al., 1982), all of which is impossible in any contemporary variety of German I know.

Later, in Luther's German, the indefinite article has disappeared from many MHG environments (vocatives, pluralia tantum, discourse-old indefinites), and looks more like the SGI. However, it still can be shown that there were less restrictions on the indefinite than there are today.

**Conclusion** The indefinite articles in different dia-systems of German pose serious problems to both formal theories of NP-denotation, as well as to commonly assumed pathways of grammatical change.

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Rothstein, ed., *Events and Grammar*, pages 53–103. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

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**Free choice item as fossils**

25.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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Since the seminal work of Paul Grice the relationship between pragmatic inference and grammar has been the subject of a debate in linguistics, which hasn't reached firm conclusions yet. Our project intends to contribute to this debate focusing on one phenomenon that appears to be an important source of insights on this issue: the diversity of indefinite constructions within and across languages.

In this talk we will focus on free choice indefinites. Free choice items are felicitous in permissions (1a), where they give rise to a free choice inference, but are ungrammatical in episodic sentences (1b):

(1) a. Joe may kiss anybody. b. # Joe kissed anybody.

Several authors have shown that from (2a), arguably the original logical rendering of (1a), we obtain via purely Gricean means the free choice inference in (2b):

(2) a. Original existential sentence:  $\text{MAY}(\exists x \text{ kiss}(j,x))$   
b. Conversational implicature:  $\forall x(\text{MAY}(\text{ONLY}_x \text{ kiss}(j,x)))$

The main hypothesis we would like to investigate in this talk is that specialized free choice morphology has emerged as result of a process of fossilization of this originally pragmatic inference. In languages with distinctive free choice forms, inference (2b), pragmatic in origin, has been integrated into the semantic content of sentences like (1a).

In order to better understand what exactly has been fossilized in these cases and how it did happen we have carried out a number of cross-linguistic studies both on the synchronic and diachronic dimension. In the talk, we will present (i) the results of a synchronic corpus study, comparing German emphatic indefinite *irgendein* (which has both epistemic and free choice uses), with Italian, Spanish and Czech distinctive free choice items (*uno*) *qualunque*, *cualquier(a)*, and *kterýkoli*; and (ii) the first results of two diachronic studies assessing the emergence and historical development of German *irgendein* and Spanish *cualquier(a)*.

In the corpus studies, we have assumed 13 core functions (context/meaning) for indefinite forms organized in an implicational map which extends Haspelmath's (1997) original map as follows: Haspelmath's original indirect negation function has been split into an antimorphic (It is not necessary that *any* student come) and an anti-additive (The gravity of such act goes beyond *any* justification) function; and three new functions have been introduced contiguous to the free choice area, namely the indiscriminacy function (I don't want to go to bed with *just any* woman anymore (Horn 2000, Vlachou 2007)), the universal free choice function (If it is a democratic election, we will accept *any* outcome (Jayez & Tovená 2006)), and the generic function (*Any* lion has four legs).

Horn, L. (2000): *Any and (-) ever: Free choice and free relatives.*

Jayez, J. & L. Tovená (2006): *Epistemic Determiners.*

Vlachou, E. (2007): *Free Choice in and out of Context: Semantics and Distribution of French, Greek and English Free Choice Items.*

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**Mapping the *any*'s of English, German, and Dutch**

25.02.2010, 12.00- 12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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0. The purpose of this talk is to increase the understanding of the cross-linguistic synchrony and diachrony of indefinites in general and of West-Germanic *any* words in particular. It will do this by (re)introducing a Neo-Aristotelian alternative to HASPELMATH'S (1997) indefiniteness map and by focusing on English, German and Dutch *any* words.

**1. The map.**

As argued in AUTHORS (in print), the indefiniteness map offered in HASPELMATH (1997) has a precursor in the Aristotelian "Square of Oppositions" and more particularly in the Neo-Aristotelian triangular geometries that succeed it (e.g. HORN 1990, VAN DER AUWERA 1996). The relevant Neo-Aristotelian map is a triangle of which the basic values are 'non-specific choice', 'specific choice', and 'no choice', exemplified in (1), (2) and (3), respectively. These values capture meanings-in-context, i.e., the meanings of indefiniteness markers such as *anybody* as modified by context (e.g. question or negation). The Neo-Aristotelian map will be shown to deal with the relation between meaning and context better than the HASPELMATH map.

- |        |   |                       |
|--------|---|-----------------------|
| (1)    | Did you see <i>somebody/anybody</i> ?   | [Non-specific choice] |
| (2)    | <i>Some/*any</i> friends came.          | [Specific choice]     |
| (3) a. | I saw <i>nobody</i> .                   | [No choice]           |
| b.     | I didn't see <i>anybody/*somebody</i> . | [No choice].          |

It will further be argued that for the purposes of *any* words the triangle has to be extended (see Figure 1).

## 2. The *any*'s.

Present-day English *any* has four of the uses shown on the Neo-Aristotelian map. We claim that the ancestor of *any*, an adjective meaning 'single', entered the map from the left ('non-specific choice', 'no choice'), then reached 'specific or no choice' and 'universal quantification'. The 'specific choice' use was never obtained; it remained the province of *some*. On Figure 2. *any*'s present-day uses are shaded and arrows indicate diachronic pathways.

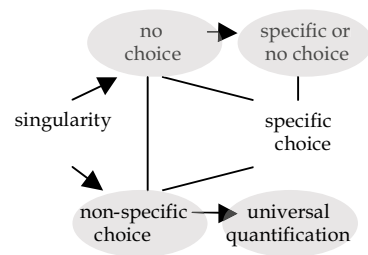


Figure 1: English *any*

The counterparts of *any* in German and Dutch have not enjoyed much attention (apart from some remarks in HOEKSEMA 1995, HASPELMATH 1997, JÄGER 2008), even though their uses are variegated too. We will show how German *einig* and Dutch *enig* entered the indefiniteness map in the same way as English *any*, but remained adjectives. Instead of heading towards 'universal quantification' like English *any*, German *einig* headed for 'specific choice', it left 'no choice' completely and is marginal for 'non-specific choice'. Dutch *enig* retained some 'non-specific choice' and 'no choice' uses, and ventured itself a bit into 'universal quantification', thus far more like English than like German, but it also advanced into the 'specific choice' domain, like German and unlike English.

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**The expression of indefiniteness in Hausa**  
 26.02.2010, 13.30-14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

The talk gives an empirical overview and semantic analysis of the expression of indefiniteness in Hausa (West Chadic). Like many other languages (Matthewson 1999, Chung & Ladusaw (C&L 2004)), Hausa has two series of indefinite NP-expressions, which are analysed in terms of Chung & Ladusaw's RESTRICT and a choice-function mechanism, respectively. The Hausa data add to the growing body of cross-linguistic evidence in favour of an underlying ambiguity in English and German indefinites (Reinhart 1997).

HAUSA-OBSERVATIONS: Same as in Lilloet Salish and Maori (Matthewson 1999, C&L 2004), indefiniteness in Hausa is expressed by two series of indefinite NPs, i.e., by bare NPs or by complex NPs that are introduced by an indefinite marker *wani*, *wata*, *wa(d'an)su* (m., f., pl.) (= *wani-NPs*) (Newman 2000). Both NP-types satisfy standard tests for indefiniteness markers: (i) They occur in existential sentences; (ii) They introduce new discourse referents; (iii) Neither entails nor presupposes uniqueness.

- (1) Audu yaa                    ginà **gidaa** /            **wani gidaa**  
 Audu 3SG.PERF    build house            WANI house  
 'Audu built a house / a certain house'

The two kinds of indefinite expressions differ semantically in two ways: First, bare NPs must take semantic scope under (modal) operators and negation, whereas *wani*-NPs can take scope above or below other operator elements in the clause (Zimmermann 2008). Second, while both can introduce discourse referents in

principle, there is a strong preference for the use of *wani*-NPs as discourse antecedents for pronominal anaphora (Jaggar 1988).

ANALYSIS: Following C&L (2004), we analyze *wani*-NPs as introducing a choice function variable  $f$ , which can be bound at any semantic level. Bare NP indefinites, by contrast, are property-denoting (<et>) and combine with the verb meaning via RESTRICT. The unsaturated argument position is existentially closed off at the event level above vP (C&L 2004). In the absence of additional operators, the two analyses yield the same interpretation for the minimal pair in (1). Without additional operators, such as negation, the meanings of bare NPs take obligatory narrow scope, as they are locally composed with the verb meaning. By contrast, *wani*-NPs can scope either above or below negation since the CF-variable can be bound at any structural level (4bc). Finally, the preference for *wani*-NPs as discourse antecedents derives from the fact that, after CF-application, these expressions denote into type <e> and are thus more accessible antecedents for pronominal anaphora in the subsequent discourse.

The analysis of Hausa indefinites suggests that existential closure over CF applies at any semantic level, at least in Hausa. In addition, the syntax-semantic mapping with indefinites is extremely transparent in Hausa, instantiating the SPECIFY/RESTRICT-distinction of C&L in its purest form: Bare NPs wear their property-denoting nature on their sleeves, while CF-instantiating *wani*-NPs are also morpho-syntactically more complex.

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Newman, P. (2000). *The Hausa language*. New Haven and London.

Reinhart, T. (1997). Quantifier Scope: How Labor is Divided Between QR and Choice Functions, *Linguistics and Philosophy* 20, 335-397.

Zimmermann, M. (2008). Quantification in Hausa. In L. Matthewson (ed.), *Quantification. A cross-linguistic perspective*. Bingley.

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**Indefiniteness and the information structure of constituent questions**

26.02.2010, 11.30-12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

Specificational copular sentences (first studied by Higgins 1973) have been recently analyzed as having the subject DP as their topic (Geist 2007, Mikkelsen 2005). In case the subject of a specificational sentence is indefinite (e.g. *A/One person who might help you is Mary*), this analysis raises problems, since the subject need not be a presuppositional indefinite: in case it is not, it cannot serve as a sentence topic (cf. Mikkelsen 2005).

Specificational sentences can also take the form of constituent questions, as shown by Comorovski 2007 for French and Romanian and Barros 2009 for Brazilian Portuguese. In the Romance languages, specificational questions have the form *Wh-DP-copula-DP*, where the syntactic subject is the postcopular DP. The subject can be

indefinite only if it contains a subjective modifier, as illustrated by the contrast below (Romanian):

- (1) a. Care ar fi / e (după tine) *un loc bun* de mers în vacanță?  
 'What would be / is (according to you) a **good** place for spending the holidays?'  
 b. \* Care e un hotel de cinci stele în Paris?  
 what is a hotel of five stars in Paris

Our paper purports to explain the subjective modifier condition on indefinite subjects of specificational wh-questions. To do so, we will consider the information structure of wh-questions.

Just like declaratives, constituent questions need an aboutness topic: they are asked *about* something (cf. Krifka 2001, Dikkers 2004, a.o.). If the subject is indefinite, the question can be about: a) a non-subject constituent; b) an event or, as we will argue, c) the point of view of a 'judge'.

Lasersohn 2005 treats the 'judge' as one of the parameters with respect to which a sentence is evaluated. Stojanovic 2007 demonstrates that Lasersohn's approach is a notational variant of an approach in which the 'judge' is analyzed as an (implicit) argument of a subjective predicate. We will treat the judge in the latter way. Since in question (1a) the adjective *bun* ('good') contained in the subject is a subjective predicate, we propose that the topic of (1a) is the point of view of the hearer, who is the 'judge'. As the hearer is by definition present in the context of utterance, (s)he is a discourse-old entity; his/her point of view can therefore constitute the aboutness topic of the question. This analysis of the information structure of (1a) is represented in (2) below, in which, following Krifka (2001:35), we have allowed the topic of the question to scope out of the question act:

- (2) *Topic* [*judge*<sub>you</sub>]  $\lambda x$  [*Quest* [what would be a good (x) place for the holidays]]

The expression *judge*<sub>you</sub>, which is the topic of the question, represents the point of view of the judge.

Significantly, in languages that have a marker for aboutness topics, such as Korean, the 'judge' in a specificational question, if not left implicit, is marked by the topic marker *-(n)un*, as seen below:

- (3) ne - **nun** coheun tap - i mwuel kes katni?  
 you-TOP good answer-NOM  
 'According to you, what be would a good answer?'

Féry and Krifka 2008 remark that languages with morphological topic-marking (Japanese, Korean) have an additional use for the topic-marker; they use it to mark frame setters. Krifka 2007 states that a frame-setter cannot function as an aboutness topic. We differ here from Krifka 2007. The fact that the same morphological marker is used for aboutness topics and for frame setters cannot be accidental. We suggest that frame setters introduce new discourse topics, as seen from the following example in Krifka 2007: *As for his health situation, he had a bypass operation recently.* The English *as for* construction is a sentence-form associated with the introduction of new discourse topics; moreover, a new discourse topic, when considered at the sentence level, can be an aboutness topic. We propose that in Romanian (1a) and in the Korean (3) the point of view of the 'judge' is a frame setter that functions as an aboutness topic. We conclude that the subject of a

specificational wh-question can be indefinite just in case the question is *about* the point of view of a ‘judge’.

Independent evidence for the claim that the point of view of a ‘judge’ can function as a topic comes from the fact that indefinite subjects are acceptable also in other wh-questions which contain an expression of subjectivity, in particular questions containing an epistemic modal expression:

- (4) Ce obiecții **ar fi / e posibil** să aibă *cineva* împotriva acestei inițiative?  
(Romanian)  
‘What objections **might / may** *someone* have against this initiative?’

Stephenson (2007) shows that the evaluation of sentences containing an epistemic modal depends on a ‘judge’. Therefore we can analyze (4) as having the judge’s point of view as a topic.

In sum, an indefinite subject can occur in a non-generic specificational wh-question only if the subject contains a subjective modifier; this modifier provides a ‘judge’ argument. We have proposed that the topic of specificational wh-questions with indefinite subjects is the point of view of a ‘judge’.

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**Epistemic specificity and knowledge**  
26.02.2010, 12.00-12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

According to Fodor and Sag (1982) the indefinite in (1) can exhibit two different readings: a specific, referential reading, which means that the speaker has a certain individual in mind, and a quantificational reading. Continuation tests like Test A and Test B are often used to tease the two readings apart.

- (1) John must marry an English woman.

Test A:(1a.) Namely, Sue.	specific, referential
(1b.) We try to figure out who it was.	quantificational, non-referential
Test B:(2a.) She is very tall.	specific, referential
(2b.) One with blue eyes/#She is very tall.	quantificational, non-referential

However if we look at the German *irgend*-indefinite we see that these two tests give inconclusive results. Consider reading (i) of the following example:

- (3) Marie musste irgendeinen Doktor heiraten. (Kratzer & Shimoyama, 2002)  
‘Mary had-to marry *irgend*-one doctor’  
(i) There was a doctor Mary had to marry, the speaker doesn’t know or care who it was. (ignorance or indifference implicature)  
(ii) Mary had to marry a doctor, any doctor was a permitted marriage option for her. (free choice reading)

A way to force reading (i) is by adding *bestimmt*, cf. example (4)<sup>1</sup>. On this reading both continuation in (4.b) and (4.c) are possible. Test A would label the indefinite as quantificational but Test B would suggest that the use is specific, referential.

- (4) Marie musste irgendeinen bestimmten Doktor heiraten.  
‘Mary had-to marry some particular doctor’

Test A: (4a.) #Namely, Dr. Wunder.

Test B: (4c.) He is very rich.

(4b.) We try to figure out who it was.

We will assume that only Test B is a genuine test for specificity, whereas Test A is a diagnostic for the known/unknown function as described in Haspelmath (1997). The case of *irgend*-indefinites clearly shows that we have to distinguish between having someone in mind usually associated with specificity and knowing who somebody is. Using the tools described in Aloni (2001) we propose that *irgendein* in sentences like (4) contributes an (obligatory) implicature of the form the ‘speaker/agent doesn’t know who the referent is’. The contribution of *bestimmt* can be characterized as the ‘speaker/agent has someone in mind’. Formally we will represent these contributions in a uniform way using identity questions under a modal operator  $\square$ :

- (5) a.  $\llbracket \text{irgend} \rrbracket$ :  $\neg \square_{S/A} ?y_n x = y$  (implicature: speaker/agent doesn’t know who)  
 b.  $\llbracket \text{bestimmt} \rrbracket$ :  $\square_{S/A} ?y_m x = y$  (the speaker/agent has someone in mind)<sup>2</sup>

The formula  $\square_{S/A} ?y_m x = y$  reads as S/A knows the answer to the identity question who y is under a method of identification m, cf. Aloni (2001). Since m and n can denote different identification methods (5.a) and (5.b) are not contradictory in this framework. The intuitive difference between knowing who somebody is and having someone in mind will be captured by putting more stringent conditions on the identifying method used to interpret the former.

Aloni, M. 2001. *Quantification under Conceptual Covers*; Ph.D. Amsterdam.

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Haspelmath, M. 1997. *Indefinite pronouns*. Clarendon Press, Oxford

Kratzer, A. & J. Shimoyama (2002): Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese. In: Yukio Otsu (ed.): *The Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*. Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo, 1-25.

Nauze, F. 2008. *Modality in Typological Perspective*. Amsterdam: ILLC

<sup>1</sup>In this variant the indifference interpretation is marginal, therefore we will ignore it henceforth.

<sup>2</sup>This might suggest that the exceptional wide scope behaviour of *bestimmt*- indefinites might be related to the tendency for epistemic operators to take wide scope (e.g. Nauze, F., 2008).

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**Plural epistemic indefinites**

26.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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Across languages, we find epistemic indefinites, which express speaker’s ignorance. German *irgendein* and Spanish *algún* belong to this category: The examples in (1) convey that the speaker does not know which doctor María married (hence the oddity of the *namely* continuation.) The class of epistemic indefinites is not uniform: *irgendein* triggers a total ignorance (Free Choice ‘FC’) effect: (1a) conveys that, as far as the speaker knows, María might have married *any* doctor (see K(ratzer) and S(himoyama) 2002). Spanish *algún* expresses only partial ignorance: (1b) is compatible with situations where not all the doctors are epistemic possibilities. (A(lonso-Ovalle) and M(enéndez-Benito), to appear.) This sets the stage for a research program that aims to identify the parameters along which epistemic indefinites vary. The present paper contributes to this goal by (i) identifying a novel contrast between types of epistemic indefinites, and (ii) providing an analysis for this



contrast that links it to other attested parameters.

**Novel Data: Plural Epistemic Indefinites.** While some epistemic indefinites express ignorance in both their singular and their plural forms, others only do so in the singular. The examples in (2) illustrate this contrast for *irgendwelche* and *algunos*, the plural forms of *irgendein* and *algún*, respectively: *irgendwelche* in (2a) triggers an ignorance inference, *algunos* in (2b) does not do so.

**Domain Constraints:** Building on K & S, AO & MB argue that the different epistemic effects induced by *algún* and *irgendein* result from the different constraints that these indefinites impose on their domain of quantification: K & S claim that the FC effect induced by *irgendein* comes about because *irgendein* is a domain widener. On this analysis, if the set of doctors in the evaluation world is  $D = \{a,b,c\}$ , (1a) asserts that in all worlds compatible with what the speaker knows, María married at least one doctor in  $D$  (3a). The use of a domain widener triggers a competition with the alternative propositions in (3b) and (3c): the hearer concludes that the speaker picked the maximal domain because all the propositions in (3b) and (3c) are false. Putting this together with the assertion yields the FC effect. AO & MB argue that *algún* simply signals that its domain *is not a singleton*. On this view, (1b) competes *only* with the alternative assertions in which the domain has been narrowed down to a singleton (3c). The hearer concludes that all alternatives in (3c) are false, which results in a partial ignorance effect.

**The Plural Forms:** We show that the domain constraints that give rise to the contrast between the singular forms (1) also account for the contrast between the plural forms (2). In the case of *algunos*, the alternative propositions that result from restricting the domain to a singleton set do not constitute viable competitors. As a result, no epistemic effect arises. In contrast, *irgendwelche* sentences do compete other potential assertions in which the domain is restricted, resulting in a FC effect over groups.

- (1) a. Maria hat irgendeinen Arzt geheiratet, # und zwar Dr. Smith.  
 b. Maria se casó con algún medico, # en concreto con el doctor Smith.  
 'María married some doctor or other, namely Dr. Smith.'
- (2) a. Maria wohnt mit irgendwelchen Studenten zusammen, # und zwar mit Pedro und Juan.  
 b. María vive con algunos estudiantes, en concreto con Pedro y Juan.  
 'María lives with some students, namely Pedro and Juan.'
- (3) a.  $\square \exists x [x \in \{a, b, c\} \ \& \ M(m, x)]$  ('M' stands for 'married', and 'm' for María.)  
 b.  $\square [M(m,a) \text{ or } M(m,b)]$ ,  $\square [M(m,b) \text{ or } M(m,c)]$ ,  $\square [M(m,a) \text{ or } M(m,c)]$   
 c.  $\square [M(m,a)]$ ,  $\square [M(m,b)]$ ,  $\square [M(m,c)]$

Alonso-Ovalle, L. and Menéndez-Benito, P. (to appear) Modal Indefinites, *NALS*.

Kratzer, A., & Shimoyama, J. (2002) Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese. In Yukio Otsu (Ed.), *The Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics* (pp. 1-25). Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

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**Indefinite pronouns in Adyghe: formal aspects**  
26.02.2010, 13.00-13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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This paper presents a fine-grained analysis of the Adyghe<sup>1</sup> indefinite pronouns system. My goal will be to take the system as a whole and explore which mechanisms will be of relevance to account for the full spectrum of data in one particular language. To define what the “whole” is, I shall use the stepping stone for any research in indefinite pronouns – Haspelmath (1997). In my presentation I test different theoretical mechanisms against Adyghe data and show that to account for the facts presented we might have to use several different theories.

Haspelmath (1997) offers cross-linguistic generalizations of indefinite pronouns' functions, but does not offer any explanatory theory; moreover, the functional contexts from Haspelmath's map have received no explanation with respect to their formal properties so far.

There are two series of indefinite pronouns in Adyghe, marked by morphemes -gWere and -jE. The former is an indefiniteness marker and the latter is an additive particle, which has grammaticalized into a scalar particle (on scalar particles cf., among others, Fauconnier 1975). gWere-pronouns can take scope either under or over the operators in the contexts, e.g. condition:

- (1) zE-gWere qa-KWe-me, plale-r gWES&We-S't  
one-INDEF DIR-come-COND, girl-ABS glad-FUT  
'If somebody comes, the girl will be glad'  
interpretations:  
1.  $\text{if} > \exists$ , If there is someone who will come, the girl will be glad.  
2.  $\exists > \text{if}$ , There is someone x, such that the girl will be glad if come(x).

Following Matthewson (1999), I assume for the gWere-series pronouns ambiguity of indefinites interpretations, namely, between a wide-scope interpretation via Choice Functions (CF) and narrow-scope interpretation via Generalized Quantifiers (GQ).

The -jE-series consists of three different types of pronouns:

- the numeral zE 'one' – zjE
- the universal quantifier zeB'e / pstew- 'all' – zeB'erjE and pstewrjE resp.
- the interrogative stems xet 'who', sEd 'what' and tEde 'where': xetjE, sEdje and tEdjE resp.

The first type, zjE, exploits the machinery of scalar particles. This type is allowed only under syntactic negation in the same clause. Literally, this pronoun means 'even one', and when combined with negation, the whole means 'even one not P':

- (2) z-jE qe-KWa-R-ep  
one-ADDDIR-come-PST-NEG  
'No one came'

---

<sup>1</sup> Adyghe is a polysynthetic language of the Northwest Caucasian family. All the data in examples are my field data.

Pronouns of the second type are universal quantifiers. These pronouns appear as a standard of comparison in comparative constructions, which semantically demand for a universal quantifier.

Finally, the third type is made up from interrogatives. In line with the idea of Kratzer & Shimoyama (2002), I suggest that this series be Hamblin pronouns. Since they are derived from interrogatives, it is very essential for them to induce sets of alternatives, which are used, for instance, in free choice interpretations.

List of glosses:

ABS – Absolutive; ADD – Additive particle; ADV – Adverbial; COND – Conditional; DIR – Directive; DYN – Dynamic; ERG – Ergative; FUT - Future; INDEF – Indefinite; NEG – Negation; OBL – Oblique; PL – Plural; POSS – Possessive; PST – Perfect.

Fauconnier, G. (1975). Pragmatic scales and logical structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 353-375

Haspelmath, M. (1997). *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kratzer, A., & Shimoyama, J. (2002) Indeterminate Pronouns: The View from Japanese. In Yukio Otsu (Ed.), *The Proceedings of the Third Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics* (pp. 1-25). Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo.

Matthewson, L. (1999). On the interpretation of wide-scope indefinites. *Natural Language Semantics* 7, 79-134.

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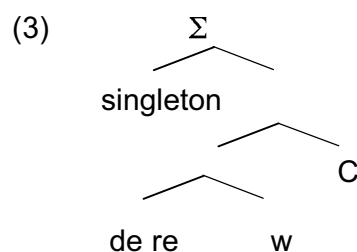
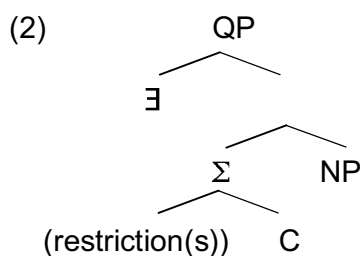
Universitetet i Tromsø/CASTL

**Decomposing indefinite pseudo-scope**

25.02.2010, 12.30-13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

I propose a theory of possible and impossible indefinites wrt their (pseudo-)scopal properties (cf. Farkas 2002 in a different framework, Kratzer 2005) but, unlike much previous work (Fodor and Sag 1982, Kratzer 2005, Reinhart 1997, etc.), I argue that indefinites are unambiguous and series markers (Haspelmath 1997) are not semantically vacuous. The proposal is that indefinite determiners are existential generalized quantifiers whose domain (C) is grammatically restricted. These restrictions are templatic (1). In the default case, C is a function from worlds to sets of contextually salient individuals; in cases in which it is bound by a quantifier like *every* (Heim 1991, von Stechow 1994, Martí 2003), it is of the more complex type  $\langle e, \langle s, et \rangle \rangle$  instead. (2) is the universal structure of indefinites ( $\exists \in D_{\langle et, \langle ett \rangle \rangle}$ ) (cf. Matthewson 2001 for quantifiers in general):

(1) singleton — *de re* —  $\neg$  singleton — *de dicto* — dep(endent) x



$$\begin{array}{ll}
 (4) \quad [[\text{singleton}]] = \lambda P_{\langle \text{et} \rangle} . \lambda X_{\langle \text{e} \rangle} . |\{x: P(x) = 1\}| = 1 & [[\text{de re}]] = \lambda w_{\langle \text{s} \rangle} . w \\
 [[\neg \text{singleton}]] = \lambda P_{\langle \text{et} \rangle} . \lambda X_{\langle \text{e} \rangle} . |\{x: P(x) = 1\}| > 1 & [[\text{de dicto}]] = \lambda w_{\langle \text{s} \rangle} . w \\
 & [[\text{dep } x]] = \lambda X_{\langle \text{e} \rangle} . X
 \end{array}$$

(1) is constrained by *contiguity* (cf. Abels and Muriungi 2008): a single morpheme may spell out only restrictions that are contiguous in (1). (3) exemplifies a possible choice. C can take silent world-denoting (Percus 2000) or, when complex, individual-denoting pronouns. [*de re*], [*de dicto*] and [*dep x*] impose restrictions on these pronouns. [*de re*]’s pronoun must be coindexed with the root s- $\lambda$  (i.e., the indefinite is always *de re*), and [*de dicto*]’s pronoun must not be coindexed with the root s- $\lambda$  (i.e., it is always *de dicto*) (cf. Keshet 2008, Percus 2000). [*dep x*] forces the individual variable to be bound. [*singleton*] forces wide pseudo-scope wrt operators that manipulate individuals (e.g., *every*) and allows for exceptional wide and intermediate pseudo-scope (Schwarzschild 2001, a.o.), [ $\neg$ -*singleton*] prevents it. A particular indefinite need not choose any particular restriction, in which case its distribution will be free (e.g., English *a(n)*, German *ein*, Spanish *un*, etc.).

Cross-linguistically, it is very common for complex indefinites to be composed of a *wh*-word and a series marker (Haspelmath 1997). Here, *wh* spells out C, and series markers spell out one or more restrictions on C (*wh*, the series marker or both can be covert). To exemplify, consider that, descriptively, Russian *-to*-indefinites (e.g., *kakoj-to* ‘some (lit. wh-to)’)(cf. Dahl 1970, Kagan 2007, Geist 2008) take obligatory scope above intensional operators but variable scope wrt extensional ones. *-To* spells out [*de re*]. Thus, while its scope wrt intensional operators is constrained to be wide, its scope wrt extensional ones is not: its domain may or may not be a singleton set. [*de re*] markers which force either wide scope or narrow scope wrt extensional operators should exist. I argue that St’át’imcets *ti-* (Matthewson 1999), Russian *koe-* (Geist 2008) and Romanian *pe-* (Geist and Onea 2007) are [*singleton, de re*]. *Ku-* in St’át’imcets, on the other hand, spells out [*de dicto*]: it forces scope below intensional operators such as modals (Matthewson 1999). And, because the world variable restricted by *ku* needs to be bound by an intensional operator, *ku*-indefinites cannot appear in simple declarative clauses (Matthewson 1999). [*de dicto*] can combine with [ $\neg$ -*singleton*] or with [*dep x*]. Bare plurals in many languages are [*de dicto, \neg-*singleton*]: they are always read *de dicto* (Keshet 2008), but take obligatory narrow scope wrt extensional operators. Russian *nibud’*-indefinites are dependent indefinites (Farkas 1997) (Pereltsvaig 2000, 2008, Yanovich 2005) and, in addition, always take narrow scope: *nibud’* spells out [*de dicto, dep x*]. Hungarian reduplicated indefinites (Farkas 1997) are dependent indefinites that always take narrow scope wrt extensional operators but variable scope wrt intensional ones: they spell out [*dep x*]. No [*de dicto*] marker should exist that forces wide scope wrt extensional operators, and no [*de re*] marker should also be [*dep x*]. In this system, dependent indefinites are not strange creatures: quantifiers in general can have their C bound by operators like *every* (see references above); dependent indefinites simply require that.*

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**The “presentative” function of indefinite markers  
 in Romanian, English and German**

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Cross-linguistically, the prototypical indefinite determiner phrase (DP) contains an indefinite article which precedes, follows or cliticizes on the singular noun it designates. It was shown in the literature (Givon 1981, Heine 1997, etc), that in many languages the indefinite article developed from the numeral “one”. During its diachronic evolution from a numeral, the article fulfilled different functions. At first, it was used in a “presentative” way to introduce brand- new referents that were to be mentioned again in the subsequent text. Later in the process of grammaticalisation, the indefinite article marked specific referents, then non- specific ones, in order to reach the last stage of its evolution, becoming a “generalized” article. In other words, in synchronic language, the simple indefinite article does not distinguish new referents which will be mentioned again from unimportant referents.

I will show in this paper, that besides “prototypical” indefinite articles (of the form indefinite article combined with the noun determined by it), different languages have developed or adopted a grammatical device to mark indefinite DPs which function as “presentative” markers. The indefinite marker functions as an ostensive signal that indicates that the referent will be mentioned again in the next sentences after being firstly introduced in the discourse. By displaying a high persistence, the referent of the indefinite DP in question will be promoted to a more salient position within the text paragraph.

As it will be shown, languages differ with respect to the grammatical means they employ to realize the “presentative” function. We will see that Romanian uses the Differential Object Marker *pe* for this role, colloquial English adopts the referential (and not the deictic) *this* determiner while German uses the demonstrative expression *so*.

Givon, Talmy. 1981. On the Development of the Numeral 'one' as an Indefinite Marker. *Folia Linguistica Historia* 2. 35-53.

Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

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**On some singular indefinites in Romance**

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This paper addresses the properties of the Romanian existential indefinite determiner *vreun*, often mentioned in the literature on dependent items (Haspelmath 1997, Giannakidou 1997, Alonso-Ovalle & Menendez-Benito (2009), but not entirely understood. The discussion builds on observations in Farkas (2002) and Falaus (2008), brings out previously overlooked contrasts and puts forth new generalizations capturing the distribution of *vreun*. More generally, it adds to the growing class of epistemic indefinites i.e. items sensitive to what an epistemic agent holds to be true, and thus puts together *vreun* with other existential determiners in Romance (e.g. French *quelque* and Spanish *algun*).

The indefinite determiner *vreun* occurs in two kinds of contexts: (a) typical negative polarity contexts, such as negative contexts, antecedents of conditionals, questions, with a meaning and distribution roughly equivalent to English *any* (as argued for in Falas (2008)) and (b) non-polarity, positive contexts, discussed to some extent in Farkas (2002), with a meaning equivalent to *some*. I present new data and argue that the distribution of *vreun* in non-polarity contexts (i.e. under modals, hypotheticals and disjunctions) is governed by epistemic modality. Similarly, I show *vreun* occurs in presumptive contexts, an irrealis mood (morphologically based either on future or conditional forms), conveying the meaning that there is indirect evidence (either hearsay/reported or inferential) that a certain state of affairs might hold/might have held. Furthermore, I discuss the licensing of *vreun* in the scope of attitude verbs like *believe*, *assume*, *hope*, and in certain cases of imperatives (*alternative-presenting* in Aloni's 2007 terminology), which supports the claim that the relevant property is the type of entailment authorized by the embedding operator. Crucially, the embedding operator, be it an overt modal or an attitude verb, must entail the possibility that *not p* might hold in some of the speaker's doxastic alternatives (*p* the proposition where *vreun* occurs). This is the common feature of all licensing contexts, which I subsume under the label of epistemic contexts - the crucial licensing factor is the existence of a set of alternatives entertained by the speaker which include *non p*-worlds.

I show that *vreun* is subject to a strict semantic licensing constraint, unlike *quelque* and *algun*, which seem to be subject to looser, pragmatic constraints. In order to account for it, I endorse the theory of polarity in Chierchia (2008), relying on the hypothesis that all polarity items come with *active alternatives*—they require the insertion of an exhaustification operator and give rise to implicatures, used for enriching the basic meaning of assertions. Building on Chierchia's analysis of existential free-choice items (FCIs) like *un N qualsiasi*, I argue that (i) like all indefinites, *vreun* triggers scalar alternatives and (ii) like all polarity-sensitive items, it activates domain alternatives, which I argue to be *singletons*. The restriction to epistemic contexts is derived by making use of the evidentiality component part of the semantics of epistemic modals (e.g. von Fintel & Gillies 2009).

The new facts discussed in this paper bring about interesting parallels with other dependent indefinites, whose distribution is also sensitive to epistemic modality. Thus, accounting for the properties of *vreun* enables us to delineate the parameters of variation among semantically dependent indefinites.

Aloni 2007. Free Choice, Modals and Imperatives. *NALS* 15(65—94);

Alonso-Ovalle & Menendez-Benito 2009. Modal indefinites. *to appear in Natural Language Semantics*;

Chierchia 2008. A Theory of Semantic Variation for Polarity Sensitive Items, talk given at LSRL 38;

Falaus 2008. Extreme non-specificity as negative polarity, talk given at LSRL 38;

Farkas 2002. Extreme non-specificity in Romanian. in *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2000*;

von Fintel & Gillies 2009. 'Must...Stay...Strong!' Ms, submitted to *Natural Language Semantics*;

Giannakidou 1997. *The Landscape of Polarity Items*, PhD dissertation, University of Groningen;

& Tovena 2008. Evidentiality and determination, Proceedings of the 12th Sinn und Bedeutung, 271—286.

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### Indefinites and expression of reciprocity in Spanish

**Intro** - The standard analysis of reciprocals (Heim et al 1991, Beck 2001) builds on the fact that English *each other* contains a distributive quantifier. This analysis is not applicable to languages like Spanish, where reciprocity is expressed through an *el uno...el otro* 'the one...the other' construction (1), without distributive quantifiers. I develop an analysis for Spanish-type reciprocals that takes both *uno* and *otro* to be indefinite expressions.

- (1) Andrés y Blas hablaron el **uno** con el **otro**.  
 Andrés and Blas talked the one with the other  
 ("Andrés and Blas talked to each other")

**Basic properties** - Both *uno* and *otro* pass standard tests for indefiniteness (data not shown here): (i) they exhibit non-specific readings under intensional predicates; (ii) they license donkey anaphora; and (iii) as indefinites, they lack quantificational force of their own (Heim 1982), inheriting instead the force of neighbouring operators. Further, *otro* functions exclusively as a pure anti-anaphoric marker, indicating that its containing DP is referentially disjoint from a salient discourse antecedent (in this respect, it differs from German *anders*, see Beck 2000). Consequently, *otro* is defined as augmented version of *uno* that introduces an additional variable and a non-identity requirement among variables (3).

- (2)  $[[uno]] = \lambda P.\lambda x.[P(x)]$                       (3)  $[[otro]] = \lambda P.\lambda x.\lambda y [P(x) \wedge P(y) \wedge x \neq y]$

**Reciprocals** - In (1), the plural subject binds a covert variable in both *uno* and *otro*, providing the corresponding obviative semantics (Arregi 2001). In order to obtain the reciprocal reading, we need to assume a cumulation operator **\*\*** associated to pluralities (Sternefeld 1998, Beck 2001), which pluralizes the predicate in question.

- (4) **Cumulation**: **\*\*** is the function  $D_{\langle e,et \rangle} \rightarrow D_{\langle e,et \rangle}$  such that, for any relation  $R$  in  $D_{\langle e,et \rangle}$ , and any  $x, y$  in  $D_{\langle e \rangle}$ ,  $[[**R]](x, y) = 1$  if either:  
 a.  $R(x, y) = 1$ , or  
 b.  $\exists x_1.x_2.y_1.y_2.[x = (x_1 \wedge x_2) \wedge y = (y_1 \wedge y_2) \wedge [[**R]](x_1, y_1) \wedge [[**R]](x_2, y_2)]$

To complete the analysis, the variables in *uno* and *otro* must be bound by whichever operators they are embedded under (or  $\exists$ -closed otherwise), following Heim's 1982 analysis of indefinites. In (1), the operator in question is  $\iota$  corresponding to the definite article. The final representations are given below.

- (5) a.  $[TP [Andrés \& Blas] **[vP the one talked to the other]]$  (structure of (1) at LF)  
 b.  $\{Andrés, Blas\} \in \iota x.\iota y [[**talk](x, y) \wedge x \neq y]$  (semantic translation of (5a))

**Extensions** - given that *uno* and *otro* inherit the quantificational force of neighbouring operators, the prediction of this analysis is that the exact reading of a Spanish reciprocal will depend on the operators that embed *uno* and *otro*. I will show that this is correct, and that it is possible to derive the whole typology of reciprocal readings in Dalrymple et al 1998. To give an example, embedding *uno* under a universal quantifier, while leaving *otro* bare (and therefore  $\exists$ -closed) leads to a *one-way strong* reading, where we assert that each of the men talked to some other man, but without

exhausting all possible [talk(x,y)] relations (6). During the talk, I will provide detailed derivations of several variations on this pattern.

(6) a. Los hombres hablaron **cada uno** con **otro**.

the men talked each one with other

b. {men}  $\in \forall x.\lambda y.[[**\text{talk}](x, y) \wedge x \neq y]$  (*one-way strong reciprocity*)

Arregi 2001 "Spanish reciprocals" ms., MIT Beck 00 "The semantics of *different*" L&P 23;

Beck 2001 "Reciprocals are definites" NLS 9;

Dalrymple et al 1998 "Reciprocal expressions and the content of reciprocity" L&P21;

Heim 1982 *The semantics of definite and indefinite NPs*, PhD Umass;

Heim et al 1991 "Reciprocity and plurality" LI22; Sternefeld 1998 "Reciprocity and cumulative predication" JofS 6.

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**Grammaticalization processes in the development of indefinite determiners in English**

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It has been argued by many linguists that the prototypical indefinite article *a* developed from the numeral *one* through processes of grammaticalization (e.g. Traugott 1982, Hopper & Martin 1987). In previous studies, we have shown on the basis of diachronic corpus data that other indefinite determiners such as *some*, *several* are also the result of grammaticalization processes (Breban 2008, 2009). For these three elements the grammaticalization process led to a new use as "primary determiner" in the noun phrase, i.e. they can occur on their own as sole determiner. As such they have to be contrasted with pre- or postdeterminers, e.g. *such* in *such a problem* and *different* in *(he was seen with) a different woman (the next day)*, which are "secondary determiners" that have to co-occur with a primary determiner and cannot function on their own as determiner in a noun phrase. We have argued in earlier work that English secondary determiners can also develop through processes of grammaticalization (Breban & Davidse 2003). For example, the postdeterminer use of *different* illustrated above developed from its qualitative adjectival use meaning "unlike", e.g. *when she met him again, he was a very different man*. In this paper, we want to look into the relation between the grammaticalization processes leading to indefinite primary and secondary determiners. (1) In what respects are they similar/different? Do they share the same sources? Are the same semantic and syntactic processes of change involved? (2) Do the two processes interact? And if so, how do they interact? We will investigate these questions on the basis of a new diachronic corpus study of *(a) certain*, which in present-day English can be used both as a secondary determiner in the determiner unit *a certain*, e.g. *she'll punch a certain Sunday Times journalist if she ever sees him*, (see e.g. Ionin 2008 and references therein), and as a primary determiner signalling quantification, as in *certain international and nearly all private trains*. First, we will reconstruct the specific shifts of meaning and of syntactic behaviour leading to the grammaticalized uses, on the basis of study of extended diachronic datasets (from the Helsinki Corpus and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts) and synchronic data (from the COBUILD Corpus). In a second step, we will compare the findings of this case study with those of the prior studies of the grammaticalization processes of other indefinite determiners in English including *a*, *some*, *several*, *different* and *other*, in order to



come to a general appreciation about the relation between primary and secondary grammaticalization.

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- Breban, T. 2009. Making the most of historical data: micro-processes and multi-item comparison. Paper presented at ICAME 30. 27-31 May 2009. Lancaster.
- Breban, T. & K. Davidse. 2003. Adjectives of comparison: the grammaticalization of their attribute uses into postdeterminer and classifier uses. *Folia Linguistica* 37: 269-317.
- Hopper, P.J. & J. Martin. 1987. Structuralism and diachrony: the development of the indefinite article in English. In A. Giacalone Ramat, O. Carruba & G. Bernini, eds. *Papers from the 7<sup>th</sup> international conference on historical linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 295-304.
- Ionin, T. 2008. An experimental investigation of the semantics and pragmatics of specificity. Paper presented at WCCFL 27. 16-18 May 2008. UCLA.
- Traugott, E.C. 1982. "From propositional to textual and expressive meaning: some semantic-pragmatic aspects of grammaticalization". W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel, eds. *Perspectives on historical linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 245-271.

## AG 5

### Von der Schrift zur Sprache. Der Einfluss der Schrift auf die Beschreibung und den Gebrauch der Sprache

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#### Schriftinduzierter Wortakzent

24.02.2010, 14.30–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Als Hauptfaktoren für die Distribution des Wortakzents im Deutschen gelten Fußstruktur und Silbengewicht (vgl. u. a. Alber 1998, Féry 1998, Janßen 2003, Noel 2003, Röttger et al. (in Vorbereitung)). Da die Silbe sowohl innerhalb der Phonologie als auch der Graphematik ein gut untersuchter Gegenstand ist (vgl. zur graphematischen Silbe u. a. Primus 2003, Fuhrhop & Buchmann 2009), wird der Fokus des Vortrags auf dem Faktor Silbengewicht liegen.

Es bestehen klare Korrespondenzen zwischen dem Silbengewicht in der Lautsprache und dem Silbengewicht in der Schriftsprache. Über die Korrespondenzen hinaus können wir auch den Einfluss der Schriftsprache auf die Lautsprache nachweisen. Dies gilt für den Fall, wenn das graphematische Gewicht einer Silbe höher ist als ihr lautsprachliches Gewicht. Für ein wort- oder silbenfinales <h> z. B. gibt es keine phonologische Entsprechung. Das <h> hat eine andere Aufgabe als das Phon [h]: Es dient als visueller prosodischer Marker dazu, das Gewicht der graphematischen Silbe zu erhöhen und somit den Wortakzent auf sich zu ziehen. Gleiches gilt für wortfinale graphematische Geminatio (vgl. <Karussell>). Wir schlagen ein Konzept des graphematischen Silbengewichtes vor (vgl. auch Domahs et al. 2001, Röttger et al. (in Vorbereitung)) und liefern experimentelle Evidenz für Akzentzuweisung im Deutschen, die sensibel für die graphematische Komplexität von Silbenkonstituenten ist. So elizitieren Pseudowortpaare mit der gleichen zugrundeliegenden Silbenstruktur, aber unterschiedlich komplexen graphematischen Repräsentationen unterschiedliche Akzentmuster (z. B. <Fo.pun.sas> vs. <Fo.pun.sasch>; <Do.san.rax> vs. <Do.san.racks>).

- Alber, Birgit. 1998. Stress preservation in German loan words. In: Kehrein, Wolfgang / Wiese, Richard (eds.). *Phonology and morphology of the Germanic languages*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 113-141.
- Domahs, Frank / De Bleser, Ria / Eisenberg, Peter. 2001. *Sylbische Aspekte segmentalen Schreibens - neurolinguistische Evidenz*. *Linguistische Berichte* 185, 13-29.
- Eisenberg, Peter. 2006. *Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik: Das Wort*. 3. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Féry, Caroline. 1998. German word stress in Optimality Theory. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 2, 101-142.
- Fuhrhop, Nanna / Buchmann, Franziska. 2009. Die Längenhierarchie: Zum Bau der graphematischen Silbe. *Linguistische Berichte* 218, 127–155.
- Janßen [Domahs], Ulrike. 2003. *Untersuchungen zum Wortakzent im Deutschen und Niederländischen*. Diss., Universität Düsseldorf.
- Noel, Patricia Aziz Hanna. 2003. *Sprachrhythmus in Metrik und Alltagssprache (= Studien zur Theoretischen Linguistik 15)*. München: Wilhelm Fink.
- Primus, Beatrice. 2003. Zum Silbenbegriff in der Schrift-, Laut- und Gebärdensprache – Versuch einer mediumübergreifenden Fundierung. *Zeitschrift für Linguistik* 22, 3–55.
- Röttger, Timo B. / Domahs, Ulrike / Grande, Marion / Domahs, Frank (in Vorbereitung). *Structural factors affecting the assignment of word-stress in German*.

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**Die Funktion der Wortzeichen (für den Leser)**  
 24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Der geplante Beitrag möchte sich Wortformen zuwenden, die ein Wortzeichen – also einen Abkürzungspunkt, einen Bindestrich bzw. einen Apostroph – enthalten. Im Vordergrund soll die Frage stehen, welche Funktionen diese Zeichen für den Leser und dessen Leseverständnis haben.

In der Forschung benannt wurden bisher von Gallmann (1996) die Grenzfunktion für Apostroph und Bindestrich sowie die Auslassungsfunktion für Abkürzungspunkt und Apostroph. Einen modernen Ansatz wählt Bredel (2008) mit ihrer Online-Auffassung. Sie stellt für den Bindestrich die Funktion der Dekomposition heraus, für den Apostroph die eines graphischen Reparaturzeichens, das die Rekodierung einer Wortform sichern soll. Den Abkürzungspunkt bespricht sie nicht, wohl aber den Satzpunkt. Weitere Ansätze für den Apostroph liefern Klein (2002) und mit ihm Bunčić (2004).

Im geplanten Beitrag soll gezeigt werden, dass alle drei Zeichen einen Reanalyseprozess in Gang setzen. Sie operieren auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen: der Abkürzungspunkt unterhalb der phonologischen Wortebene, der Apostroph an der Grenze der phonologischen zur morphologischen Wortebene und der Bindestrich zwischen morphologischer und syntaktischer Wortebene. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Reanalyseprozesse ebenfalls unterschiedlicher Art sind. Der Abkürzungspunkt lässt den Leser die Abkürzung überhaupt nur als solche erkennen, besonders dann, wenn sie dem Leser unbekannt ist: <Kab.> für <Kabine, Kabel> oder <komm.> für u. a. <kommandieren> oder <kommentieren>. Hier erfolgt eine lexikalische Reanalyse. Bindestrich und Apostroph hingegen lassen den Leser – unabhängig davon, ob sie gesetzt werden müssen oder können – die abgetrennten Formen grammatisch und vor allem morphologisch neu interpretieren. Beide Zeichen veranschaulichen dem Leser die morphologische Struktur der Wortformen, in denen sie stehen.

Im Zusammenspiel von Abkürzungspunkt, Bindestrich und Apostroph lässt sich erkennen, dass alle drei Wortzeichen auf graphematischer (Wort)Ebene mit ihrer Form auf ihren jeweiligen Reanalyseprozess, also ihre Funktion, verweisen.

- Bredel, Ursula (2008): Die Interpunktion des Deutschen. Ein kompositionelles System zur Online-Steuerung des Lesens (=Linguistische Arbeiten 522). Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Bunčić, Daniel (2004): The apostrophe. A neglected and misunderstood reading aid. In: *Written language and literacy* 7:2, S. 185-204.
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- Klein, Wolf Peter (2002): Der Apostroph in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Logographische Gebrauchserweiterungen auf phonographischer Basis. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 30, 169-197.

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**Wie das ABC das alphabetische Prinzip außer Kraft setzt und was daraus folgt**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Unter dem alphabetischen Prinzip wird in der Regel der Sachverhalt verstanden, dass sich die Buchstaben auf die Laute einer Sprache beziehen oder etwas genauer: dass sich eine alphabetische Schrift beschreiben lässt durch Bestimmung der regelhaften Beziehungen zwischen den kleinsten bedeutungsunterscheidenden Einheiten der Schrift und der Lautung. Das Alphabet ist die Menge der dafür zur Verfügung stehenden Schriftzeichen. Seit der Entstehung von Alphabetschriften ist das Alphabet eine geordnete Menge (alpha, beta; ABC).

Es empfiehlt sich, die Begriffe Alphabetschrift und Alphabetsortierung auseinanderzuhalten, d.h. zwischen alphabetisch verschriftet und alphabetisch sortiert zu unterscheiden.

Im Vortrag wird die Entwicklung und Struktur der beiden Konzepte skizziert. Es wird gezeigt, dass die systematische Anwendung der wahrscheinlich aus didaktischen Gründen entwickelten Alphabetsortierung zum Zwecke der systematischen Anordnung der Wörter einer Sprache die Ausblendung des lautsprachlichen Bezugs der Schriftzeichen bedingt.

Im letzten Teil werden theoretische und didaktische Implikationen dieses Sachverhalts diskutiert.

Günther, Hartmut. 1996. Schrift als Zahlen- und Ordnungssystem. In: H. Günther, O. Ludwig et al. (ed.), Schrift und Schriftlichkeit. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1568-1583.

Günther, Hartmut. 2009. ABC-Didaktik. Kölner Beiträge zur Sprachdidaktik (KöBeS) 6 (im Druck)..

Küster, Marc W. 2006. Geordnetes Weltbild – Die Tradition des alphabetischen Sortierens von der Keilschrift bis zur EDV. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

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**Wortbegriff und Schriftsystem. Zum Problem des Wortbegriffs im Deutschen und im Japanischen**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Die sprachwissenschaftliche Kategorienbildung und Gegenstandskonstitution hat sich im und am Schrifttyp des Alphabets vollzogen. Lassen sich diese Kategorien auf anders verschriftete Sprachen übertragen? Muß man davon ausgehen, dass unterschiedliche Schriftsysteme Sprachen auf unterschiedliche Weise zeigen, also von "eine[r] Art linguistische[m] Relativitätsprinzip" (Stetter 1999, S.131)?

Virulent werden diese Fragen z.B. da, wo es um den Wortbegriff in vergleichenden experimentellen Studien der Worterkennung, etwa bei der Methode des lexikalischen Entscheidens geht, denn hier kommt es darauf an, daß tatsächlich vergleichbare Einheiten verwendet werden. Ausgehend von diesem praktischen Problem möchten

wir in unserem Beitrag am Beispiel des Wortbegriffs im Deutschen und im Japanischen einige Elemente zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen erarbeiten.

Das japanische Schriftsystem besteht aus vier Registern, die unterschiedlichen Schrifttypen zugerechnet werden können: den ursprünglich chinesischen Kanji, den Silbenschriften Hiragana und Katakana und den alphabetischen Romaji. In einem gegebenen Text ließen sich sowohl einzelne Kanji als auch Kombinationen zweier Kanji nach morphologischen Prinzipien (vgl. Joyce 2001) sowie Kanji-Hiragana-Kombinationen durchaus sinnvoll als „Wörter“ ansprechen - und ein graphematischer Wortbegriff, wie er sich im Deutschen grundsätzlich an den Spatien orientieren läßt, ist im Japanischen, das ohne Spatien geschrieben wird, nicht verfügbar.

In unserem Beitrag werden wir unterschiedliche Möglichkeiten durchspielen, einen Wortbegriff zu gewinnen, der für das Deutsche und das Japanische geeignet wäre. Dabei orientieren wir uns an den Wortbegriffen der linguistischen Teildisziplinen (vgl. Fuhrhop 2008; Wurzel 2000). Neben der Möglichkeit, den graphematischen Wortbegriff im Japanischen anders zu definieren, bieten sich noch ein morphematischer und ein syntaktischer Wortbegriff an, um zu einem Begriff des Wortes zu gelangen, der für schriftvergleichende Studien geeignet wäre.

Fuhrhop, N., 2008. Das graphematische Wort (im Deutschen). Eine erste Annäherung. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft, 27/2, 189-228.

Joyce, T., 2001. The Japanese Mental Lexicon: The Lexical Retrieval and Representation of Two-Kanji Compound Words from a Morphological Perspective. Dissertation, Tsukuba University.

Stetter, C., 1999. Schrift und Sprache. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Wurzel, W.U., 2000. Was ist ein Wort? In Deutsche Grammatik in Theorie und Praxis. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 29-56.

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**Zum Einfluss der Schrift auf die niederdeutsche Grammatikschreibung**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Heutiges Niederdeutsch (Neuniederdeutsch) ist primär eine gesprochene Sprache. Zwar gibt es aktuelle niederdeutsche Literatur und Periodika; als primäre Funktion des Neuniederdeutschen hat aber wohl die mündliche Kommunikation zu gelten (vgl. z. B. Lindow et al. 1998: 19, Stellmacher 2000: 196f), und zwar in wesentlich größerem Ausmaß, als das für das Standarddeutsche der Fall ist.

Die Beschreibung einer primär gesprochenen Sprache stellt zum Teil andere Anforderungen als die einer Sprache mit langer und reicher Schrifttradition. So ist es zum Beispiel wichtig, einzelsprachspezifische Phänomene von solchen zu unterscheiden, die sich aus der Realisationsform „gesprochene Sprache“ ergeben und auch für andere Dialekte und gesprochenes Standarddeutsch gelten („Typ B“- vs. „Typ A“-Merkmale bei Auer 2004). In der Vergangenheit wurde das oft versäumt: Als niederdeutsche Charakteristika wurden u.a. die (relative) Abwesenheit von

- Partizipialkonstruktionen
- Nominalisierungen
- hypotaktischen Konstruktionen

angeführt. Das Auftreten dieser Konstruktionen wird aber in der neueren Forschung oft als Kennzeichen konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit angesehen (so z.B. Dürscheid 2006: 48).

Auch im Bereich der Flexionsmorphologie ergeben sich Probleme: Oft werden die niederdeutschen Paradigmen aus Sicht der standarddeutschen beschrieben, was dazu führt, dass u.U. reale Veränderungen als Verschleifungen einer noch existierenden Explizitform analysiert werden. Das mag für Sprachen mit einem etablierten Schriftsystem legitim sein, weil dort die Schrift als konservativeres Medium den Sprachwandel verlangsamt. Für primär gesprochene Sprachen ist die Beschreibung den Daten aber u.U. nicht angemessen.

Im Vortrag soll überlegt werden, wie man das niederdeutsche Sprachsystem adäquater und präziser beschreiben kann, welche Methoden dafür notwendig sind und was man daraus für die Analyse nicht verschriftlichter Sprachen lernen kann.

Auer, Peter (2004). Non-standard evidence in syntactic typology – Methodological remarks on the use of dialect data vs spoken language data. In: Kortmann, Bernd. Dialectology meets typology. Berlin: de Gruyter, S. 69 – 92.

Dürscheid, Christa (2006). Einführung in die Schriftlinguistik. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.  
Lindow, Wolfgang / Möhn, Dieter / Niebaum, Hermann / Stellmacher, Dieter / Taubken, Hans / Wիրrer, Jan (1998). Niederdeutsche Grammatik. Leer: Schuster Verlag.  
Stellmacher, Dieter (2000). Niederdeutsche Sprache. Berlin.

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**Wörter im Kopf – und auf dem Papier**  
25.02.2010, 9.00–9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Psycholinguistische Befunde deuten darauf hin, dass die interne Struktur des mentalen Lexikons sowie die Art der Verfügbarkeit lexikalischer Einträge in der Spracherwerbgeschichte spezifischen Entwicklungen unterliegen. Grob kann davon gesprochen werden, dass das Lexikon von einer rhythmisch-semantisch zu einer syntaktisch-morphologisch determinierten Struktur fortschreitet. Diese Entwicklung ist nicht natürlich, sondern schriftinduziert.

Am Beispiel experimenteller Befunde sowie verschiedener Ausgliederungsstrategien im Verlauf des Schriftspracherwerbs wird im Vortrag das Modell einer schriftgeleiteten Bootstrappingroute zur Diskussion gestellt, die die These von der Umorganisation eines präliteralen zu einem literalen mentalen Lexikon plausibilisiert.

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**Von der Schrift zur Sprache: Der Einfluss der Schrift auf die Beschreibung und den Gebrauch der Sprache**  
25.02.2010, 9.30–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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„Schrift lehrt denken“ - dieser spätestens seit der Wygotzki-Renaissance bekannte Satz findet in nahezu jedem Text von Schriftanfängern seine Bestätigung. Denn

seitdem Kindern gestattet wird, Texte zu schreiben, sobald sie sich das zutrauen, veranschaulicht ihr Geschriebenes einerseits ihre Wahrnehmung des Gesprochenen, dann ihre - vor dem Hintergrund des Unterrichts entstandenen - Hypothesen zum Schreiben. So fixieren sie in ihnen ihre Annahmen

- zur Wortabtrennung
- zur lexikalischen und grammatischen Form von Wörtern
- zur Repräsentation des lautlichen Kontinuums von Wörtern
- zur Textgliederung
- zur Gestaltung schriftlicher Texte.

Die Entwicklung, die beim Lernen stattfindet, geschieht - wenn sie erfolgreich ist - in zentralen Bereichen in Abkehr von der Lehre des Unterrichts, d. h. die Kinder, deren Schreibungen annehmen lassen, dass ihr orthographisches und grammatisches Wissen zugenommen hat, haben unter Nutzung ihrer bereits erworbenen generellen und sprachbezogenen Ressourcen die Progression durch ihre Auseinandersetzung mit Geschriebenem teilweise unabhängig vom Unterricht geleistet.

Hierfür lassen sich zahlreiche empirische Belege finden. Sie zeigen zweierlei: zum einen, dass der Schrifterwerb eine kognitive Aufgabe ist, daher zum Ausbau der kognitiven Leistungsfähigkeit beiträgt, zum anderen, dass die Schrift Gesprochenes in einer Weise repräsentiert, die der Mehrheit der Schulanfänger das Schreiben- und Lesenlernen ermöglicht: Sie enthält eine systematische Repräsentation sprachlicher Strukturen, die von Sprechern aller Varianten des Deutschen entdeckt werden kann. Der materiale Gewinn für die Erfolgreichen besteht nicht nur in dem Erwerb der Fähigkeit zu lesen und zu schreiben, er besteht auch in dem Erwerb einer neuen Sprache (ein neues Register), die eine Erweiterung ihres kommunikativen/sozialen Repertoires bedeutet.

Der Vortrag wird eine große Anzahl von Beispielen bringen, die diese Kausalitäten annehmen lassen.

Seit IGLU und PISA wird alle drei Jahre neu bestätigt, dass mehr als ein Viertel der Schüler diese Möglichkeiten des Schrifterwerbs nicht nutzen kann. Das Resultat erfordert ein Nachdenken über den derzeitigen Unterricht. Diese Konsequenz wird jedoch nur sehr kurz abschließend angesprochen werden können.

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**Graphematische Lösungsräume zwischen der deutschen und der  
französischen Orthographie. Französische Schreibungen deutschsprachiger  
Grundschüler**

25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Der Beitrag geht vom Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Grundschule aus, in dem der Einsatz von Schrift und besonders die Auseinandersetzung mit orthographischen Strukturen umstritten ist. In Baden-Württemberg lernen Grundschüler ab der ersten Klasse eine Fremdsprache. Flächendeckend ist dies Englisch, an der grenznahen „Rheinschiene“ Französisch. Ab der dritten Klasse werden die Kinder an die Schrift

der Fremdsprache herangeführt; ohne die orthographischen Strukturen allerdings im Unterricht zu reflektieren.

Der Vortrag stellt eine Untersuchung über Wort- und Satzschreibungen von Viertklässlern vor, die seit der ersten Klasse Französisch lernen.

Die Forschungsfrage der Untersuchung lautet, wie die Schüler Wörter und Sätze auf Französisch schreiben. Sind sie lesbar? Sind sie phonographisch rekodierbar? Enthalten sie morphologische Markierungen?

Die Analyse der Schreibungen zeigt, dass die Kinder graphematische Lösungsräume eröffnen, die die Auseinandersetzung mit der deutschen und französischen Orthographie reflektieren. Die Beispiele zeigen zudem die sprachübergreifende Funktion von Schrift als ein sekundäres Zeichensystem auf, das sich in sprachenspezifischer Weise auf die Lautung bezieht und vom kompetenten Leser entsprechend rekodiert wird.

Catach, Nina 1980. *L'Orthographe française*. Paris: Nathan.

David, Jacques 2006. *L'orthographe du français et son apprentissage, historique et perspectives*. In: Honvault-Ducrocq, Renée (Hg.): *L'orthographe en questions*. Rouen: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 169-190.

Jaffré, Jean-Pierre 2000. *Ce que nous apprennent les orthographes inventées*. In: Claudine Fabre-Cols (Hg.). *Apprendre à lire des textes d'enfants*. Bruxelles : De Boeck, 60-70. Klein, Wolfgang 2003. *Wozu braucht man eigentlich Flexionsmorphologie?* In: *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, 131 (2003), 23-54.

Maas, Utz 2004. *Geschriebene Sprache*. In: Ammon, Ulrich et al. (Hg.). *Sociolinguistics: an international handbook of the science of language and society*. HSK 3.1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 633-645.

Neef, Martin 2005. *Die Graphematik des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

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**Schrift als Rationalisierung von Sprache und ihre Naturalisierung**

25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Aus der Sicht der Schriftkulturen stellt Schrift eine Selbstverständlichkeit dar, so sehr, dass man sich auch dann nicht über ihren Einfluss klar wird, wenn es um die Beschreibung gesprochener Sprache geht. Nahezu alle Lehrmethoden für Fremdsprachen greifen von den ersten Lektionen an auf Schrift zurück, problematisiert wird sie jedoch nur dann, wenn mit der Fremdsprache auch ein anderes Schriftsystem verbunden ist. Dann werden die fremden Schriftzeichen eingeführt und mit Standardlautungen in Beziehung gesetzt. Sofern das Schriftsystem gleich ist, insbesondere von einer lateinischen Alphabetschrift zur anderen, ist die Schrift der Fremdsprache kein Unterrichtsgegenstand.

Die Auswirkungen der Schrift auf den (Fremd)Sprachenunterricht gehen allerdings noch weiter. Zur Schriftkultur gehört auch eine sehr spezifische Tradition der Reflexion über Sprache: die lateinische Alphabetschrift, die den meisten europäischen Sprachen zugrundeliegt, muss mit der lateinischen Grammatik zusammengedacht werden. Dabei speist einerseits die Verschriftlichung die Grammatik, die ihrerseits bestimmte Verschriftlichungen rechtfertigt. Solange diese Wechselbeziehung nur zwischen Schriftsprache und ihrer grammatischen Reflexion besteht, ist daran nichts auszusetzen: eine „natürliche“, von objektiven Bedingungen



der gesprochenen Sprache bedingte Schrift gibt es nicht, kann es auch nicht geben. Es gehört nun allerdings zur Natur der Schrift, normierend auch auf die gesprochene Sprache einzuwirken, und – darüber hinaus – sprachliche Phänomene, die ihren Ursprung in einer Einzelsprache haben, als universell zu erachten.

Im Bereich der europäischen Sprachen stellt diese Verallgemeinerung einen enormen Fortschritt dar: sie ermöglicht es, unabhängig von der jeweils betroffenen Sprache und ihrem Funktionieren, grammatische Konzepte anzuwenden und sich über grammatische Konzepte zu verständigen (auch wenn nicht immer deren genaue Bedeutung für die eine oder die andere Sprache klar und bewusst ist). Die (lateinische) Grammatik stellt ein Begriffssystem zur Verfügung, auf dem heute alle europäischen Sprachen ohne weiteres abgebildet werden, und Sprecher berufen sich auch unhinterfragt auf Regeln der Grammatik, die als quasi naturgegeben erachtet werden.

In Sprachen mündlicher Tradition fehlt ein vergleichbarer konzeptueller Bezugsrahmen für Sprachreflexion und –beschreibung. Besonders deutlich zeigt sich dies bei Lehrern, die im Rahmen von Alphabetisierungsprogrammen ihre Muttersprache unterrichten sollen. Ausgebildet in der Tradition einer (europäischen) Schriftsprache haben sie Schwierigkeiten, ihre eigene Sprache zu beschreiben, ja, subjektiv den Eindruck, ihre Muttersprache nicht zu beherrschen. Beobachtungen dieser Art sollen den Ausgangspunkt für unser Referat darstellen.

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**Verschriftung und Sprachwandel: Koĩc (Sunwar; Ostnepal)**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Koĩc (Nepali: Sunuvār; Englisch bislang: Sunwar) ist eine tibetoburmesische Sprache, die von etwa 25000 Personen in Dörfern Ostnepals und in der nepalesischen Hauptstadt Kathmandu gesprochen wird. Koĩc ist nicht nur der Name der Sprache sondern auch die Selbstbezeichnung der Koĩcsprecher und ihrer häufig nur noch Nepali sprechenden Nachkommen.

Mitte der 1980er Jahre begannen einige Sprecher des Koĩc, ihre Muttersprache schriftlich zu verwenden, und verfassten Wörterbücher, ein Konversationsbuch, Schulbücher, Gedichte und später auch Zeitungsartikel. Seit den 1970er Jahren erschienen einige Artikel zur Grammatik des Koĩc und in den 2000er Jahren wurden zwei deskriptive Grammatiken des Koĩc verfasst (Borchers 2008, Rapacha 2005). Sämtliche Arbeiten zur Grammatik des Koĩc stützen sich auf mündliche Sprachdaten und wurden, bis auf zwei auf Nepalesisch und einen auf Deutsch verfassten Artikel, auf Englisch veröffentlicht.

Seit Beginn der Verschriftung der Sprache wurde mit verschiedenen Schriften – Devanāgarī, lateinischer Schrift, neu entworfenen Schriften – experimentiert. Es gab und gibt Diskussionen unter den Koĩc zur Wahl des zu verschriftenden Dialekts, zur Wahl der Schrift und zur Wahl von Schriftzeichen für die Wiedergabe einzelner phonologischer Elemente.

Einige Phänomene, die aufgrund der Verschriftung auftreten und langfristig auch den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch beeinflussen dürften, werden bislang von den Koĩc

selbst nicht diskutiert. Dazu gehören etwa die Wiedergabe von Allophonen, das gelegentliche Einfließen von historischem Sprachwissen in die Schreibung einzelner Wörter und die Herausbildung neuer Genres (Gedichte, Zeitungsberichte) mit im mündlichen Sprachgebrauch unüblicher Syntax. Am Beispiel des Koĩc lassen sich in Echtzeit Veränderungen einer Sprache infolge von Verschriftung beobachten, wie sie Michael Giesecke (1992: 87) auf Grundlage von historischem Sprachmaterial für das Deutsche beschreibt.

Die bei der Verschriftlichung des Koĩc getroffenen und zu treffenden Entscheidungen – sei es durch die Koĩc-Muttersprachler selbst oder durch andere Sprachwissenschaftler – und ihre gegenwärtigen und eventuell zukünftigen Auswirkungen auf den mündlichen Sprachgebrauch werden vorgestellt. Am Beispiel des Koĩc wird erörtert, welche Art von Sprachwandel durch Verschriftung hier sprachspezifisch, oder allgemein bei Verschriftung einer Sprache zu erwarten ist.

Borchers, Dörte 2008. A grammar of Sunwar. Descriptive grammar, paradigms, texts and glossary (Brill's Tibetan Studies Library. Languages of the greater Himalayan region 7). Leiden: Brill

Giesecke, Michael 1992. Sinnwandel Sprachwandel Kulturwandel. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der Informationsgesellschaft (Suhrkamp Taschenbuch Wissenschaft 997). Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag

Rapacha, Lal Bahadur (Rāpacā, Lāl Bāhadur) 2005. A Descriptive Grammar of Kirānti-Kōints. (Unpublished dissertation) New Delhi: Centre of Linguistics and English, School of Language, Literature and Culture studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University).

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**Konvergenz und Diskrepanz von Schrift und Sprache in den beiden  
Standardvarietäten des Armenischen**

25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Die armenische Sprache existiert in zwei Standardvarietäten, dem Ostarmenischen und dem Westarmenischen. Die Sprecher beider Varietäten können miteinander kommunizieren, ohne die Varietät wechseln zu müssen. In beiden Varietäten ist dieselbe Schrift in Gebrauch, nämlich das armenische Alphabet.

Bei dem Verhältnis von Schrift und Sprache geht es nun im Armenischen einerseits darum, dass im West- und Ostarmenischen zwar gleich geschrieben wird, die beiden Varietäten aber phonetisch divergieren, da das Westarmenische gegenüber dem Ostarmenischen eine zweite Lautverschiebung durchgeführt hat und gegenüber dem dreigliedrigen Artikulationssystem bei den Plosiven (stimmhaft / stimmlos / stimmlos-aspiriert) ein zweigliedriges (stimmhaft / stimmlos-aspiriert) aufweist. Dies führt bei traditionellen, ursprünglich armenischen Wörtern zu verschiedenen Artikulationen (oa/wa ⟨paron⟩ "Herr", oa [paron] vs. wa [baron]), bei modernen, ursprünglich nicht-armenischen Wörtern zu unterschiedlichen Graphien (oa/wa [beton] "Beton" oa ⟨beton⟩ vs. wa ⟨pedon⟩).

Im Ostarmenischen selbst weicht wiederum die Phonetik der Plosive partiell von der im Prinzip exakten Graphie ab, zum Teil wegen umgebungsbedingten Lautwandels (z. B. wird stimmhafter Dental nach [r] zu stimmlos-aspiriertem Dental), zum Teil aber auch ohne erkennbare Ursache; gerade letzteres Phänomen (differenzierendes Graphiesystem vs. "indifferentes" Sprecherverhalten) scheint relevant für den Status

der Graphie. Auch die alltägliche Transkription armenischer Wörter in kyrillische und lateinische Schrift und umgekehrt ist von Relevanz für den Status der Graphie: So führt beispielsweise die Transkription von armenisch «Ghazakhstan» “Kasachstan” über kyrillisch «Khazakhstan» zu lateinisch «Kazakhstan»; diese Transkriptionsprozedur auch von armenischen Wörtern verändert im alltäglichen Gebrauch der Lateinschrift im spontanen Usus bei der SMS-Kommunikation das Schreibverhalten der Sprecher und ihr Verhältnis zum Status der (Ortho-)Graphie.

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**Sprachwissenschaftliche Begriffe und ihre Extensionen:  
Medienunabhängige Definitionen und medienspezifische Identifikationen**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Fasst man Fachsprachen als eine besondere Ausprägung natürlicher Sprachen auf, dann können die üblichen sprachwissenschaftlichen Beschreibungsbegriffe auch auf fachsprachliche Ausdrücke angewendet werden. Wie in der lexikalischen Semantik üblich kann daher auch zwischen der Intension und der Extension eines sprachwissenschaftlichen Begriffs unterschieden werden. Auf der anderen Seite kann eine voll entwickelte Theorie im wesentlichen als strukturierte Menge von Aussagen aufgefasst werden, zu denen (1) die Axiome, (2) die Definitionen und (3) die Theoreme, d.h. die in der Theorie (mit den in der Theorie zugelassenen Schlussregeln) beweisbaren Aussagen gehören.

Die Definitionen führen Begriffe, d.h. Abkürzungen für komplexe Sachverhaltsbeschreibungen ein. Dadurch wird die Extension der definierten Begriffe festgelegt, und zwar in der Sprachwissenschaft in der Regel in der Allgemeinen Sprachtheorie und damit unabhängig von allen einzelsprachspezifischen Phänomenen. Ich werde zeigen, dass morphologische und syntaktische Begriffe wie „Lexem“, „Wort“ und „Satz“ dabei medienunabhängig – mit Bezug auf ihre Funktion im sprachlichen System – definiert werden können und dass selbst bei der Definition von prima facie medienbezogenen Begriffen wie „Phonem“ und „Graphem“ medienspezifische Phänomene keine Rolle spielen.

Auf der anderen Seite steht mit den Definitionen in der Allgemeinen Sprachtheorie nur ein Begriffsgerüst zur Verfügung: der wesentliche empirische Gehalt dieses Begriffsgerüsts ergibt sich erst bei der Anwendung der Sprachtheorie auf Einzelsprachen. Das Resultat einer solchen Anwendung sind u.a. Grammatiken dieser Einzelsprachen. Im Rahmen einer solchen Grammatik können (und müssen) die einzelsprachspezifischen Ausschnitte der Begriffsextensionen – letztlich axiomatisch – identifiziert werden, und zwar in der Regel mithilfe von formbezogenen und damit ggf. auch medienbezogenen Bedingungen. Diese Aufgabenteilung zwischen Allgemeiner Sprachtheorie und Einzelsprachgrammatiken ist nicht nur wesentlichen Teilen der Grammatiktradition implizit, sondern sie erlaubt es auch, die systematischen Beziehungen zwischen medial unterschiedlichen Varietäten einer Sprache – z.B. zwischen ‘dem Schriftdeutschen’ und ‘dem gesprochenen Deutschen’ – bei der Motivation und der Rechtfertigung einzelner Identifizierungen und zu heuristischen Zwecken auszunutzen, ohne dass dies theoretisch oder methodisch fragwürdig wäre.

Budde, Monika (2000): Wortarten. Definition und Identifikation. Diss. FU Berlin (insbes. Kap. 1).

David, Marian A. (Hg.) (1993): Definitions. Dordrecht usw.: Kluwer.

- Dölling, Johannes (1977): „Definitionen in empirischen Wissenschaften“ in: Horst Wessel (Hg.): Logik und empirische Wissenschaften. Beiträge deutscher und sowjetischer Philosophen und Logiker. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, S. 38–62.
- Lieb, Hans-Heinrich (2005): „Notions of paradigm in grammar“ in: D. Alan Cruse u.a. (Hg.): Lexikologie. Ein Internationales Handbuch zur Natur und Struktur von Wörtern und Wortschätzen. Berlin / New York: de Gruyter, S.1613–1646 (insbes. § 2.6).

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**Sprachwandel im und durch das Internet:  
Drei Fallbeispiele zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit**  
26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Kaum ein Thema hat sich in drei Jahrzehnten Forschung zur computervermittelten Kommunikation (CvK) als so beständig erwiesen wie das Spannungsverhältnis Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit. Die Frage, ob sich verschiedene digitale Genres am besten als mündlich, schriftlich, oder durch einen intermediären dritten Status beschreiben lassen, wird in frühen Publikationen (z.B. Murray 1990) ebenso wie in jüngsten Studien (z.B. Tagliamonte und Derek 2008) diskutiert. Dabei lässt sich ein gewisser Konsens zugunsten eines intermediären Szenarios konstatieren; besonders einflussreich ist hier das Modell von Nähe und Distanz von Koch und Oesterreicher (1985), auf dessen Basis CvK häufig als schriftliche Realisierung von konzeptueller Mündlichkeit beschrieben wird.

Parallel zu dieser wissenschaftlichen Diskussion besteht eine öffentliche Debatte, inwiefern diese Eigenarten von CvK einen negativen Einfluss auf Sprache und Kultur ausüben. Journalisten, aber auch die populärwissenschaftliche Sprachkritik konstatieren dabei immer wieder einen durch neue Medien bedingten Sprachverfall insbesondere unter jungen Menschen – eine Art von Kulturpessimismus, die als direkte Fortführung der historisch belegten „complaint tradition“ (Milroy und Milroy 1985) gesehen werden kann.

Angesichts der Aufmerksamkeit, die die Frage nach Innovation und Wandel im und durch das Internet erfährt, gibt es erstaunlich wenig gesicherte Erkenntnis, was den Einfluss von CvK auf den Sprachgebrauch angeht. Können internetspezifische Innovationen in andere, mündliche wie schriftliche, Genres hineinwirken? Übernimmt das Internet die Rolle eines Katalysators – oder zumindest Testballons – für sprachliche Konstruktionen im Wandel?

Diese Fragen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit sollen hier diskutiert werden. Dabei stehen drei Fallbeispiele aus dem Englischen im Mittelpunkt: die Entwicklung von alternativen Pronominalformen für die zweite Person Plural wie *you guys*; der Gebrauch von nichtstandardisierten Interjektionen wie *meh*, *ehn* oder *weee*; und die Verbreitung von typographischen Emphase-Markierungen wie **\*\***,     oder **““**. Diese Beispiele sollen unterschiedliche Modelle für Wechselwirkungen zwischen online- und offline-Sprachgebrauch aufzeigen und dabei auch einen Einblick in die öffentliche Wahrnehmung solcher medialer Übergänge gewähren.

Murray, Denise. “CMC.” *English Today* 23: 42-46.

- Koch, Peter, Wulf Oesterreicher. 1985. "Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgebrauch." Romanistisches Jahrbuch 36: 15-43.
- Milroy, James, Lesley Milroy. 1985. Authority in Language: Investigating Language Prescription and Standardisation. London: Routledge.
- Tagliamonte, Sali, Derek Denis. 2008. "Linguistic ruin? lol! Instant messaging and teen language." American Speech 83(1):3-34.

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**Mediale und konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit bzw. Schriftlichkeit:  
Der Einfluss medial schriftlicher Internetkommunikation auf die  
Textproduktion in der Schule**  
25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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Die gegenwärtigen Sprachgemeinschaften stehen mehr denn je unter dem Einfluss von Medien und deren Nutzung. Daher bietet sich ein von medienwissenschaftlichen Kategorien nicht ganz unabhängiger Blick auf das Thema der Arbeitsgruppe an. Vor dem Hintergrund der medial schriftlichen Internetkommunikation soll sich dieser Beitrag der Fragestellung der AG 5 ("Der Einfluss der Schrift auf die Beschreibung und den Gebrauch der Sprache") in umgekehrter Richtung nähern: Da insbesondere Kinder und Jugendliche im Schulalter das Internet in hohem Maße zur Freizeitgestaltung benutzen (vgl. Fisch & Gscheidle, 2006: 434) und in diesem Rahmen regelmäßig eine nicht geringe Textmenge produzieren, wollen wir uns diesem Sachverhalt aus schreibdidaktischer Perspektive nähern. Wir stellen dazu die Frage, inwieweit die Schriftsprachproduktion von der konzeptionell eher mündlichen Internetkommunikation (vgl. Schlobinski, 2005: 131) beeinflusst wird, oder anders ausgedrückt: Beeinflusst das Schreiben im Internet den 'Schreibusus' im Schulunterricht? Ein positiver Befund spräche für eine wenigstens durchlässige Grenze zwischen den beiden Modi schriftlich und mündlich.

Bereits vorliegende Beiträge zu dieser Thematik beschränken sich zumeist auf Spekulationen und Hypothesen über die Art der Manifestationen eines solchen Einflusses. Im geplanten Vortrag werden diese Überlegungen aufgegriffen und anhand empirisch erhobener Daten überprüft. Dazu wurden per Fragebogen 50 Datensätze von Schülerinnen und Schülern (9. und 10. Klasse einer Gesamtschule) erhoben, die über das jeweilige Textproduktionsverhalten im Internet Auskunft geben. Neben allgemeinen Informationen wie der täglichen Nutzungsdauer und der Art der genutzten Angebote wurden die Schülerinnen und Schüler insbesondere zu geschriebenem Netspeak (vgl. Crystal, 2002: 18ff.) in der privaten Nahbereichskommunikation (Instant Messaging, Chat und Botschaften im Rahmen von sozialen Netzwerken wie z.B. SchülerVZ) befragt. Die Adressaten der Kommunikation sind in diesen Fällen meist Freunde und Bekannte, sodass die Textproduktion hinsichtlich orthographischer Richtlinien eher informell erfolgt (vgl. Androutsopoulos, 2007). Des Weiteren wurde von den befragten Schülerinnen und Schülern je ein schulischer Aufsatz herangezogen und auf den Fehlergehalt hin untersucht. Für die Analyse im Hinblick auf die Fragestellung wurde die Zahl und Art der in den Texten auftauchenden orthographischen Fehler in Bezug zum Internetnutzungsprofil gesetzt. Auf diese Weise ließ sich überprüfen, inwieweit

orthografische Korrektheit als exklusiv schriftsprachliches Merkmal von quasi-sprechsprachlichen Einflüssen verdrängt wird. Tendenziell zeigt die Statistik in der Tat einen Zusammenhang zwischen Internetspendedauer und Fehlerzahl. Die Gründe hierfür und für die ebenfalls aufgetretenen Ausnahmen sollen im Vortrag diskutiert werden.

- Androutsopoulos, J. (2007). Neue Medien - neue Schriftlichkeit? Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistikverbandes, 54 (1), 72-97.
- Crystal, D. (2002). Language and the Internet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fisch, M., & Gscheidle, C. (2006). Onliner 2006: Zwischen Breitband und Web 2.0: Ausstattung und Nutzungsinnovation. Media Perspektiven, 8, 431-440.
- Schlobinski, P. (2005). Mündlichkeit/Schriftlichkeit in den neuen Medien. In L. M. Eichinger & W. Kallmeyer (Eds.), Standardvariation. Wie viel Variation verträgt die deutsche Sprache? (pp. 126-142) Berlin: de Gruyter.

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**Verschriftlichung zwischen System und Rede – Zur orthographischen  
Kodierung von Performanzstrukturen**  
26.02.2010, 13.00–13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.401

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In der Linguistik werden in der Regel zwei Pole angenommen, System und Rede, denen die jeweiligen Untersuchungsgegenstände zugeordnet werden. In Bezug auf Schrift äußert sich dies u.a. in der Frage, inwiefern diese nicht nur die Annahme grammatischer Strukturen, sondern auch den Sprachgebrauch beeinflusst. Unklar ist dabei, wie in diesem Spannungsfeld zwischen System und Rede aufgrund ihrer zusätzlichen Verweiskfunktion funktional charakterisierte Performanzstrukturen wie Parenthesen und Vokative zu verorten sind. Es handelt sich hierbei um Strukturen, die in der Verwendung entstehen, ohne jedoch aufgrund inhärenter oder struktureller Merkmale, oder bestimmter, syntaktisch determinierter, Verwendungsmuster einem der Pole dieser Dichotomie zuzuordnen sind.

Da diese Strukturen aufgrund ihrer Nicht-Integriertheit mit syntaktischen Prinzipien kollidieren, sind sie im Rahmen einer am Primat des Systems orientierten Interpunktion kaum erfassbar. Sie fallen aber auch nicht ausschließlich in den Bereich der Rhetorik bzw. Rede, da sie trotz ihrer Gebundenheit an die Sprachverwendung weder willkürlich noch unbeschränkt sind. So zeigt (1) Skopusunterschiede und (2) unterschiedliche Grade an Epistemizität, je nach Position der Performanzstruktur:

- (1) a. Theo – wie Paul sagt – hat den Rohrbruch im Handumdrehen repariert.  
b. Theo hat den Rohrbruch im Handumdrehen – wie Paul sagt – repariert.  
[vgl. Fortmann 2005]
- (2) a. Er, denke ich, hat X am Y auf die Art und Weise Z.  
b. Er hat X am Y, denke ich, auf die Art und Weise Z.

Auch ihre orthographische Markierung ist nicht als willkürlich, redundant oder als rein rhetorischer Kunstgriff anzusehen; sie ist vielmehr für das Satzverständnis von Bedeutung. So hat in (3) die Nicht-Setzung eines Parentheseanzeigers Unakzeptabilität und Ungrammatikalität zur Folge, während seine Setzung in (4) und (5) disambiguierend wirkt:

- (3) A gde igrat' vstreči\*(-) v Moskve ili v Londone,\*(-) dlja nas ne tak principial'no. [Russisch]  
 'Aber wo die Begegnungen gespielt werden sollen\*(-) in Moskau oder in London\*(-) ist für uns nicht so entscheidend.'
- (4) On govoril(,) skoree(,) o tom, čto strane neobchodima evrointegracija. [Russisch]  
 'Sie sprachen(,) eher(,) darüber, dass die EU-Intergration des Landes notwendig ist.'
- (5) a. Was hast du, Peter, gesagt?  
 b. Was hast du Peter gesagt?

Während 'syntaktische Kommas' nicht notwendigerweise mit Pausen einhergehen, werden funktionale Pausen schriftsystemhaft durch Interpunktion angezeigt. 'Performanzstruktur-Kommas' bilden in den Fällen Pausen ab, in denen Verwechslungsgefahr besteht, vgl. (5), wenn der funktionale Charakter hervorgehoben werden soll, vgl. (4), oder wenn die Integration der Struktur zu Ungrammatikalität führen würde, vgl. (3). Dabei ist die Kommasetzung insofern unterspezifiziert, als die Interpunktion zwar als Signal für das Vorliegen einer Performanzstruktur dient, den genauen Typ ihres funktionalen Charakters aber nicht näher ausweist. Unterschiedliche Interpunktionszeichen können jedoch Bedeutungs- und Funktionsunterschiede widerspiegeln (vgl. dazu Roesen 2008).

Performanzstrukturen stehen also sowohl unter dem Aspekt der Sprachbeschreibung als auch unter dem Aspekt der orthographischen Kodierung zwischen den beiden Polen System und Rede. Sie legen damit zugleich eine Neubewertung der Rolle von Interpunktion als nicht ausschließlich syntaktisch, sondern auch funktional nahe.

- Fortmann, Ch.. 2005. On parentheticals (in German). Butt, M. & King, T. (Hg.). Proceedings of the LFG05 conference. Stanford. <http://csli-publications.stanford.edu/LFG/10/lfg05fortmann.pdf>
- Roesen, T. 2008. Reformed narration: pure thought and structuring brackets in Vladimir Makanin's *Anderground, ili Geroi nashego vremeni* (1998). *Scando-Slavica* 54/1, 269-284.

**AG 6 (Kurz-AG)**  
**Deconstruction and Reconstruction of Portmanteau Morphemes**

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**Unpacking Mordvin portmanteaus**  
24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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Mordvin, a Uralic language spoken in Russia, has portmanteau agreement morphology for features of the subject and object (on various aspects of which, see Abondolo 1982, Ackerman 2000, and Aranovich 2007). Even so, its 28 possible combinations are realized by only 15 affixes. The neutralization pattern that composes the 47% syncretic distribution presents a challenge for purely impoverishment-based approaches, and I will argue that the solution is to be found instead in the way that number agreement is (a) computed and (b) realized, within a distributed architecture. This type of explanation marks a step towards more restricted models in which impoverishment is a principled operation with a grammatical motivation, and thus not invoked willy-nilly. Given this division of labor in the grammar, not all aspects of morphological form are generated solely within a modularized and encapsulated morphology component, but rather can sometimes result from functional structure underlying the syntax of number values. In Mordvin, object number realization is neutralized in the presence of plural subjects for a hierarchical reason: because subjects are higher goals for agreement. On the other hand, the phenomenon of 'omnivorous' number agreement (Nevins, 2008) -- also found in languages such as Georgian, Soazza Italian, and Onondaga -- conditions a Vocabulary Item yielding portmanteau realizations (e.g. 1st person as *miz'* whenever either subject or object is plural). These two aspects of the valuation and exponence of NumP in Mordvin help characterize its pattern of syncretism in terms of more explanatory primitives, which have analogues in other language families where the surface reflexes might be wildly divergent but their underlying mechanism the same.

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**What's in a coat? The development of verb prefixes in the Iwaidjan language**  
24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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The verb prefixes of the Iwaidjan languages (Australian, Non-Pama-Nyungan, Northern Arnhem Land) typically represent the subject as well as an additional argument, which usually bears the grammatical relation of (direct) object. These prefixes are often viewed as portmanteau-morphemes (e.g. Singer 2006), though in quite a number of cases, it is actually possible to tease apart the functional elements (cf. Evans 2000: 105-107).



- (1) Verb prefixes in Iwaidja and transparency
- a. *kun-* *-bun*  
**1sg/2sg-** -hit 1sg formally not represented (Evans 2000: 107)  
 'I hit you.'
- b. *ngan-bu-wun*  
 1sg- -3pl- -hit order of morphemes  
**3pl/1sg-** -hit meaning (cf. Evans 2000:105f)  
 'They hit him.'

However, in Amurdak the portmanteau verb prefix clearly does not express a second verbal argument beside the subject. Instead, in addition to expressing information about the subject, Amurdak verb prefixes also encode TAM information, which in most other Iwaidjan languages is typically done by suffixes.

- (2) Amurdak verb prefixes
- a. *wandu-* *wun-ka-rlu*  
**3nsg.Imperfective** hit -1sg-acc  
 'They're hitting me.'
- b. *wara-* *wun-ka-rlu*  
**3sg.Perfective** hit -1sg-acc  
 'He hit me.'

Since the situation in (1) can be assumed as ancestral for all Iwaidjan languages (Evans 2000), the question arises how the Amurdak system evolved. The talk wants to further develop the hypothesis proposed in Mailhammer (2009), according to which it was the loss of productive gender marking in the verbal prefixes that led to the restructuring of the Amurdak verb prefixes, using old elements and combining them with modal/temporal morphology.

The conclusion drawn will be that the case presented supports the intuition that portmanteau morphemes are not always completely opaque to the speakers. While not all the different functions expressed in a portmanteau morpheme need to be identifiable, it seems that it supports its stability if a key function can be clearly identified.

Evans, N. (2000). "Iwaidjan, a very un-Australian language family." *Linguistic Typology* 4: 91-142

Mailhammer, R. (2009), A preliminary overview of the verb in Amurdak and other Iwaidjan languages, paper presented at Annual Meeting of Australian Linguistic Society, 10 July.

Singer, R. (2006), *Agreement in Mawng: Productive and lexicalised uses of agreement in an Australian language*, Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Linguistics, University of Melbourne.

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**The life-cycle of portmanteau morphemes**  
 24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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One of the aspects which render morphological structures complex is their frequent failure to conform to the ONE-TO-ONE mapping relation between form and function. On the paradigmatic axis, the usual examples of violations of the principles of biuniqueness (Dressler 1985) are:

- ONE-TO-MANY: one and the same form fulfils different mutually exclusive functions i.e. syncretism applies,
- MANY-TO-ONE: a variety of segmentally distinct forms are assigned the same “meaning” i.e. allomorphy applies.

However, in addition to the traditionally better known cases of syncretism and allomorphy, there are also various phenomena on the syntagmatic level which also challenge biuniqueness. To these instances of deviations from the ONE-TO-ONE mapping relation belong the following two phenomena (as described in Matthews 1974, for instance):

- ONE-IN-MANY: one function is expressed by several elements which (ideally) are not neighbours in the morphotactic chain i.e. discontinuous exponence applies,
- MANY-IN-ONE: in one form, several notionally independent categories are expressed simultaneously i.e. cumulative exponence applies.

In my paper, I look at cumulative exponence aka portmanteau morphemes with special focus on their changeful history. How do portmanteau morphemes come about? What are the most favourable conditions for their genesis? Are there any preferences as to the categories which normally join to be expressed by portmanteau morphemes? What happens to portmanteau morphemes when languages change? What is the role of portmanteau morphemes within the framework of Natural Morphology? Where do we locate the life-cycle of portmanteau morphemes on the grammaticalisation cline?

With a view to answering these question (or important parts thereof), I will highlight those constellations where, in a given language, within the same paradigm, there coexist word-forms containing portmanteau morphemes and word-forms do not attest cumulative exponent-*ce*. A paradigm of this kind can be found in the regular declension of the definite adjective in modern Latvian, cf. table 1.

Table 1 Definite adjective declension in Latvian

categories	word-form	definiteness “cumulated”
Nom.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-ai-s</i>	no
Gen.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-ā</i>	<b>yes</b>
Dat.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-aj-am</i>	no
Acc.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-o</i>	<b>yes</b>
Loc.Sg.M.Def	<i>vec-aj-ā</i>	no

This “excerpt” from the much larger paradigm of the adjective *vecs* ‘old’ includes word-forms whose definiteness markers and case-number-gender markers are kept apart side by side with other word-forms which only have one portmanteau morpheme whose functional load also includes definiteness. Examples of this and similar kind from a sample of 50 languages serve as the empirical basis of my study.

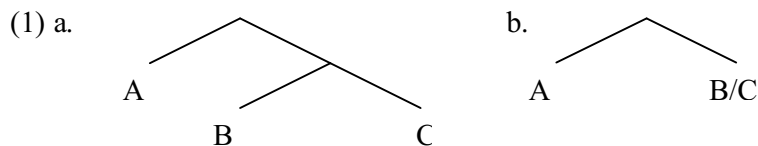
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**Vocabulary insertion and (im)possible portmanteaus**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

**Introduction.** This paper offers a proposal regarding the derivation of portmanteau morphemes, specifically, cases in which a single exponent realizes two (or more) terminal nodes of the syntax. The proposal here dispenses with the DM operation of fusion (Halle and Marantz 1993, Halle 1997, Bobaljik 1997, Embick and Noyer 2001, Chung 2007), in favor of vocabulary insertion at non-terminal nodes (cf. the Spanning Vocabulary Principle (Williams 2003) and the Universal Contiguity (Caha 2009)). The proposal here differs from Williams 2003 and Caha 2009 in restricting vocabulary insertion (and hence portmanteaus) to constituents. The current proposal allows a narrower range of empirical predictions than Williams 2003 and Caha 2009. The theory is tested against data from local (spatial) case morphology from a sample of 62 languages (Radkevich 2008): the attested portmanteau morphemes are, without exception, consistent with the narrower range of predictions available under the Vocabulary Insertion Principle (VIP).

**Portmanteaus in DM.** In DM, portmanteau morphemes are derived by fusion, an operation that combines two terminal nodes into a single locus for vocabulary insertion (Halle and Marantz 1993, Chung 2007), as in (1). Since fusion is by hypothesis restricted to sister nodes (1), portmanteau morphology in this theory provides evidence of morphological constituency. However, as noted by Radkevich 2009, Caha 2009, fusion creates a conspiracy within the theory - the environments for the fusion rule must be stipulated to be the same as the environments for the insertion of the corresponding portmanteau morphemes (Chung 2007), but nothing within the theory guarantees this connection.



**Non-DM proposals.** Williams (2003) & Caha (2009) suggest that vocabulary insertion may realize any arbitrary span of contiguous terminal nodes, with no requirement that they form a constituent at any level of representation. Consider the structure in (1): Williams and Caha predict that three portmanteaus are possible: A+B, B+C, A+B+C. This theory imposes only weak restrictions on possible portmanteaus: terminal nodes must comply with the contiguity requirement (thus excluding an A+C portmanteau) and thus gives overt morphology only a rather weak probative value for diagnosing hierarchical structure.

**The VIP vs. other proposals.** I propose the VIP, as given in (2). The conspiracy inherent in fusion is avoided, and all insertion is driven by the features of vocabulary items. In principle, the VIP and Spanning/Contiguity make different predictions about possible portmanteaus. For example, in (1a) the VIP would exclude an A+B portmanteau, which the Spanning/Contiguity approach would allow. However, testing predictions is not straightforward, inasmuch as the underlying structure itself is also a

matter of investigation, with many competing proposals both in syntax and morphology. Nevertheless, the VIP makes a specific type of implicational prediction which the Spanning/Contiguity principle does not. Specifically, a given linear string A-B-C admits of only two binary constituent parses: [A [BC]] or [[AB] C]. Assuming constituency is fixed for a given language, if not universally, it follows from the VIP that if A+B can be a portmanteau, then B+C cannot be, and vice versa (though A+B+C can under either theory). Spanning, by contrast, will permit such overlapping portmanteaus.

(2) *The Vocabulary Insertion Principle*

The phonological exponent of a vocabulary item is inserted at the minimal node dominating all the features for which the exponent is specified.

**Testing predictions.** The predictions made by the VIP are tested against two sets of portmanteaus: Tense-Aspect-Mood portmanteau and local case portmanteaus.

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**French portmanteau as simplex elements**  
24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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Since Hockett (1947), the French forms *du*, *des*, *au*, and *aux* have been taken to be prime examples of portmanteaus. We argue that these forms, historically derived from preposition + article sequences, are best analyzed synchronically as prepositions taking an N' as complement, and not as contractions or instances of multidomination (as proposed e.g. by Blevins 1990, Wescoat 2002, Payne et al. 2007).

Coordination data first discussed by Miller (1992) show that the portmanteaus *du*, *des*, *au*, and *aux* do not have the same distribution as the sequences *à/de la* and *à/de l'*. In an analysis based on contraction or multidomination, the portmanteau *au* should be possible in (1a), as it is in Spanish (1b), or, if it is somehow blocked, the uncontracted sequence *à le* should surface, as in (2a). In fact, both (1a) and (2a) are ungrammatical, in contrast to the non-contracting example in (2b).

To account for this, we assume that *au* is a single lexical item: a preposition that incorporates the properties of the article *le* and selects a masculine singular N' complement. Example (1a) is ungrammatical because the NP *sa mère* cannot be the complement of *au* (3a) and cannot be coordinated with the N' *garçon* (3b). The non-portmanteau forms *à* and *de* must be prevented from taking NP complements beginning with *le* and *les* (2a, 4a). The data in (5) shows that this can not be done by simply inspecting the phonology of the following word. *À* and *de* can take a coordinate NP complement, but only if *none* of the conjuncts starts with *le* or *les*. No such non-local condition applies to the parallel Spanish examples in (6).

To account for this we assume a lexically-specified feature  $\pm$ LE that distinguishes the articles *le* and *les* (+LE) from all other French words (–LE). The value of  $\pm$ LE is propagated along the left edges of simple syntactic phrases, so that it remains locally accessible when *à/de* selects its NP complement. The  $\pm$ LE value of a coordinate structure is determined as a function of the  $\pm$ LE values of the individual conjuncts:

the presence of any +LE conjunct, as in (2a, 5b), causes the entire coordination to carry the feature +LE, which makes it unsuitable as a complement of *à/de*.

- (1) a. \*au garçon et sa mère "to the boy and his mother"  
b. al muchacho y su madre (< [a [el muchacho y su madre]])
- (2) a. \*à le garçon et sa mère "to the boy and his mother"  
b. à la fille et sa mère "to the girl and her mother"
- (3) a. \*au sa mère "to the his mother"  
b. [au \*[garçon et sa mère]] "to the [boy and his mother]"
- (4) a. \*de [le garçon], \*de [les enfants] "of the boy, of the children"  
b. de [la fille], de [l'enfant], de [sa mère], de [Paris]  
"of the girl, of the child, of her mother, of Paris"
- (5) a. de la mère et l'enfant "of the mother and the child"  
b. \*de la mère et le fils "of the mother and the son"
- (6) a. de la madre y la hija "of the mother and the daughter"  
b. de la madre y el hijo "of the mother and the son"

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**On the processing and representation of blends in long term memory**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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In this work we analyse the mental representation of blends (*portemanteau* words), particularly focusing on French. Blends are assimilable to compounds in that they combine two lexemes at least. However, in blends, the bases often appear in a reduced form. For instance, the word *motel* is made by combining the lexeme *motor* and the lexeme *hotel*. Blends formation depends on phonological and semantic constraints, and can generally be divided into several types (Fradin, 2000 ; Grésillon, 1984, Lehrer, 1996). Although some phonological patterns seem to be more natural than others, the base lexemes are in general clipped, thus violating a universal principle such as the integrity of the base. Blends can be then defined as being a « less regular way to coin new lexical units than compounds » (Fradin, 2000). Moreover, as suggested by some authors (Fradin *et al.* 2009 ; Grésillon, 1984; Piñeros, 2004), in most cases blends result from the linear superposition of a phonological sequence shared by both their base lexemes, rather than from their deletion. The process of blending, then, can be assimilated to haplogy (cf. Fradin *et al.*, 2009). Semantically, blends are generally interpreted on the basis of the meaning of their base-morphemes.

If blends result from a superposition governed by a constraint of linearity of the constituents, they should be stored in memory as whole forms, closely connected to their base-lexemes representations.

The aim of the present paper is to investigate this issue. Through a series of psycholinguistic experiments, we manipulated blends and constituent lexemes, in order to examine, on the one hand, how blends are cognitively processed by readers during visual recognition, and on the other hand, in which format blends are coded in long term memory. Finally, we will present a cognitive architecture of lexical access that integrates lexemes and blends.

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**Unity of principles in the formation of portmanteaus and teleskopos**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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The term 'portmanteau' has been often used as a synonym for a blend, referring to its complex meaning rather than phonological structure (e.g. Alego 1997: 61, Kelly 1998: 582). It is also used more specifically to refer to associative blends. In Piñeros (2002: 14) portmanteaus represent a structural type of a blend that has all the segments from the first (shorter) word and prosodically replicates the number of syllables and the stress pattern of the second (longer) word, e. g. *shockumentary*, *glocalization*, *multitude*. The other term 'telescope' , also used as a synonym for a blend, is thought to be most appropriate for the kind of structures involving conflation of two words that can be juxtaposed in the speech chain by overlapping or deleting their inner edges. (Alego 1977: 56, Cannon 1986: 730). Piñeros 2000: 49, Piñeros 2002: 5). The letter type implies syntagmatic origin blends (cf. Bauer 2006: 502) like *motel*, *flexitarian* based on modifier-head relationship or copredication relationship as in *politainer*, *animutation*. However, most of English associative blends have source words that cannot be successfully coordinated or juxtaposed in a phrase, e. g. *ringxiety* (*ring* + *anxiety*), *slimnastics* (*slim* + *gymnastics*). There are also blends based on source words that can form a phrase or a compound, e.g. *eatertainment* (*eater* + *entertainment*), *webrarian* (*Web* + *librarian*), *sportianity* (*sport* + *Christianity*) but their meaning is idiomatized rather than predictable from their component parts. Thus the two structurally different types of blends do not correlate with their origin.

The present proposal addresses the regularities in the phonological structure of English blends studied from the perspective of the extended version of Optimality Theory, known as Output-to-Output Correspondence (McCarthy 1995) and claims that these two apparently differing types of blends (fig.1) are effected by the same mechanism and thus do not represent distinct structural categories. It shows that all structural types of blends (with or without identical segment(s) overlap) involve correspondence relationships between the blend and its source words such that the blend has a certain number of correspondent segments in both its source words. Corresponding segments need not be identical in their feature specification.

(1)	a portmanteau:	a telescope:
	<i>fishetarian</i>	<i>edutainment</i>
	fɪʃ	ɛdʊkɛɪʃən
	vɛdʒətɛəriən	ɛntətɛɪnmənt
	_____	_____
	fɪʃətɛəriən	ɛdʊtɛɪnmənt

The paper argues that, as a morphological operation, blending is based on two Morphological Words whose simultaneous phonetic realization is mediated by their prosodic structure because it is the similarity of prosodic structure between the source words rather than segment affinity that decides which substrings of the source words will surface in the blend.

The paper also argues that regularities in the phonological structure of English blends can be captured in terms of interaction of constraints that operate elsewhere in the grammar. Beside standard Markedness and Faithfulness constraints of Maximization type, already proposed in other OT accounts of the phonological structure of blends (e.g. Bat-El 1996, 2006, Píneros 2000, 2002), it shows two specific faithfulness constraints referring to morphology-prosody interface to be active in evaluating well-formedness of English blends. These are Burzio's (2000:44) Metrical Consistency requirement and Oostendorp's (2004:45) Prosodic Syllable Integrity constraint, which has been extended here to the context of English blends.

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**Core argument flagging and gender marking: a cross-linguistic study of a portmanteau system**

25.02.2010, 09.00–09.30 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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This paper aims at exploring the cross-linguistic relevance of the interweaving between flagging and classificatory meanings into single morphemes, mainly devoted

to core argument and gender marking. An extended sample of languages belonging to distant stocks will be considered in order to highlight the restrictions (if any) which characterize the development of such a portmanteau type in terms of parametric interdependencies. Synchronic and diachronic facts will also be addressed when possible, inasmuch as typological distributions can be often explained in dynamic terms, that is as the skewed instantiation of universal tendencies of language change.

The existence of portmanteau systems for core argument flagging and gender marking has been sparsely noted, especially within specific case-studies of single languages or language families (McGregor 2008 on Australian languages, König 2006, 2008 on some Highland East Cushitic and North Omotic languages and Wurm 1982 with respect to some West Papuan languages). What, as far as I know, has not yet been attempted is an extended analysis of the cross-linguistic regularities which might be identified as significant features for the emergence of this portmanteau system and its stability across languages. The main purpose of this paper will be that of trying to fill this gap in the literature.

Three major aspects will be taken into account: 1) the paths of semantic change which might control the emergence of this grammatical construction; 2) the morpho-syntactic facet of the resulting portmanteau system; 3) the functional and pragmatic motivations which trigger its rise.

The grammaticalization of markers of control and topicality as core argument markers is cross-linguistically quite frequent and seems to work either as a salience or a non-obviousness highlighting device (for example, in Manipuri, a Tibeto-Burman language, core participant markers are clearly the descendents of markers of control and affectedness and their occurrence can be still conditioned by the specific construal of the event).

What seems to be less frequent in terms of typological distributions is the fact that such a pathway of diachronic change (overt coding of topicality and referentiality > core argument marking) might evolve into a third stage (noun classification).

What will be questioned in this paper is whether or not, in those languages which present such a portmanteau system, core argument flagging and gender marking devices are the concomitant result of the same grammaticalization chain. If not and - as seems to be suggested by preliminary research data - they are diachronically related to each other, we should wonder about the sort of conventionalized implicatures which link the two grammatical domains (argument flagging and classification) as well as the nature of the evolutionary relationship which leads one value to the other. This might shed new light on the understanding of the role of referentiality and noun classification in argument realization as well as in the construal of event participants.

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**Articles and genitive markers**

25.02.2010, 09.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.308

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A prototypical portmanteau morpheme is a morpheme that combines preposition and article, such as French *du*. The purpose of this paper is to highlight diachronic connections between two sets of grammatical markers which often happen to fuse together, namely genitive markers and definiteness markers.

The starting point of the discussion is the sort of co-occurrence constraint of article and genitive to be seen in English 's-genitives, which is cross-linguistically not uncommon. Similar constraints have been noted in the literature for languages as typologically and genetically diverse as e.g. Amharic, Modern Celtic languages, Hungarian, Terêna (Arawakan), Boumaa Fijian. The basis of this constraint has been traced in semantically rooted economic motivations, having to do with the anchoring function, and thus somehow inherent definiteness, of "possessors" (genitives), while its diachronic explanation has been linked to the chronological order genitive construction – definite article grammaticalisation (Haspelmath 1999). On the basis of a comparison of various languages where a single article constraint holds in Noun + Genitive constructions, and of a survey of various possible sources of genitive markers on the one hand and of determiners on the other, it may be shown that there are both genitive markers that stem from (the same sources as) articles -usually so-called determinative pronouns- and articles stemming from genitive markers - particularly pronominal genitive affixes, mainly used as co-reference indexes. These sources thus may give rise to portmanteau morphemes, since the grammaticalised markers develop a twofold grammatical function (dependency and definiteness and/or other nominal features such as gender or animacy), which, although sometimes stemming from the semantic load of its lexical source, cumulates what may not be regularly combined in one morpheme in the language. This has already been suggested to be the case for English -'s and for other similar genitive markers in Germanic languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003: 668, 701). Thus it will be claimed that in the case of genitive morphemes what may be called a portmanteau morpheme, as it combines what is lexically not regularly combined in a particular language, may not necessarily be the result of morphological fusion of two different morphemes, as is the case for French *du* (which, by the way, is also a non-genitive determiner), but may also stem from reanalysis and grammaticalisation of a single morpheme into a new one.

Finally, I speculate that there may be a limit to the multi-functionality of genitive-definiteness markers, namely that Noun Phrase-initial single determiners in genitive constructions may not simultaneously mark definiteness, the genitive construction as such (either head- or dependent-marking) and agree in some grammatical feature (gender, number) with the following noun.

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**AG 7**  
**Information Structure in Language Acquisition**

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**The role of topic in the acquisition of pronominal anaphors in German**  
24.02.2010, 14.00–14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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To realize on what an utterance is going on, i.e. on what the speaker is giving a new bit of information, is a natural prerequisite of human interaction and, conclusively, of linguistic communication. This consideration leads to the assumption that humans are born with the ability to detect and distinguish the object an information is given about from the bits of new information. By a series of experiments, Tomasello and colleagues demonstrated young children's pre-linguistic ability to recognize the focus of attention of their partners in interaction and to interact in appropriate way, e.g. by opening the door of a cupboard when their partners intend to put a pile of books into the cupboard. It has also been shown that children in the pre-linguistic phase can infer what is old and what is new information for both themselves and their partners. The development of the linguistic expression of topic follows a phase of topic omission typically occurring as subject omission or subject drop. Even this indicates existing knowledge on that there is something, i.e. a topic, on what the expressed information is given about.

The aim of the proposed talk is to identify the knowledge on topic in early production and comprehension of personal and demonstrative pronouns and the development of anaphoric knowledge correlated with topic continuation and topic change in linguistic discourse. Starting with an analysis of early (longitudinal) production data – from age 2;0 - 2;4 – it can be shown that German children apply a functional opposition between full vs. pronominal noun phrases: While pronouns are used to continue communication on the referent which already is in the *shared focus of attention* (Tomasello), i.e. the topic, full noun phrases are used to direct the focus of attention to a new referent. In case of topic continuation children initially use demonstrative pronouns more frequently than personal pronouns. This is confirmed by the results of a repetition experiment with 3-year-olds who tend to omit personal pronouns presented in topic position or to replace them with demonstrative pronouns. In the same experiment, 5-year-olds, to the contrary, tend to replace demonstrative pronouns by personal ones. Two possibilities of explaining this finding will be discussed: a) children initially follow a deictic strategy or b) the demonstrative pronoun is used anaphorically and not deictically but it is the default pronoun, i.e. it is appropriate for all types of anaphoric relations in the early stage.

As a next step, it will be shown that children up to age 5;0 acquire differences in the anaphoric capacities of personal and demonstrative pronouns comprehending personal pronouns as the default pronoun which, nevertheless, prototypically indicates topic continuation. The demonstrative pronoun, to the contrary, becomes a specific anaphoric mean for topic change. Evidence for these developmental changes comes from a series of experiments investigating the comprehension of

personal and demonstrative pronouns including the German demonstrative II (diese) by 3;0 to 5;0 year old monolingual German children.

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**Second language learners' and native speakers' interpretation of German  
 pronouns in discourse in real time**  
 24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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In a series of eye-tracking and sentence completion studies, we have investigated the referential properties of German pronouns in discourse, comparing adult native speakers' interpretations to those of L2 learners (Finnish, Dutch). Specifically, we examine the differing influences of information status, grammatical role and word order on pronoun resolution. In one set of experiments, we investigated how pronouns are resolved in texts where the potential antecedent is either a maintained topic throughout the discourse [1i] versus a shifted topic [1ii] and in both canonical (SVO) and non-canonical (OVS) word orders; the general question was whether learners would preferentially interpret the ambiguous pronoun as referring to the global (discourse) topic, or the local topic. In another set of studies, we compared the interpretation of the personal pronoun *er* versus the demonstrative *der* in discourse [2]. Both Dutch and Finnish also have a demonstrative pronoun that can refer to an animate entity and monolingual studies of Dutch (Ellert, 2009) and Finnish (Kaiser, 2004) have found that the demonstrative pronoun is more sensitive to discourse constraints (including word order and information status) than personal pronouns, which appear to favour a resolution towards a nominative-marked NP, irrespective of where it appears in the previous discourse. In the main experiments, participants heard the experimental texts, and their eyes were tracked as they viewed a screen which contained images of the potential NP referents. By examining which picture participants fixated when hearing the ambiguous pronoun, we were able to assess their preferred interpretation of the referential item.

There are two major findings from this set of studies. Firstly, (and in contrast to earlier studies of Dutch and Finnish native speakers) in German it is the personal pronoun, rather than the demonstrative, that is more sensitive to overall discourse constraints, whereas the demonstrative is robustly interpreted as referring to an accusative-marked NP, irrespective of whether it appears post- or pre-verbally. The second major finding is that the L2 learners do not perform exactly like the native Germans, but neither do they perform like native speakers of their mother tongue. In general, the learners' pronoun resolution strategies are even more sensitive to changes in the discourse context/information structure than native speakers. We will discuss these findings in relation to a) models of pronoun resolution in discourse, and b) theories of L2 discourse processing.

[1] In dieser Geschichte erfährst du etwas über einen Assistenten und einen Professor. Der Assistent ging zur Universität und betrat gut gelaunt den Hörsaal.

(i) Dort begrüßte der Assistent den Professor. Die Studentinnen klatschten. Angeblich war er ein äußerst fähiger Wissenschaftler.

(ii) Dort begrüßte der Professor den Assistenten. Die Studentinnen klatschten. Angeblich war er ein äußerst fähiger Wissenschaftler.

[2]

(i) SVO

Der Zauberer wollte den Arzt umarmen, weil die Sonne schien.  
Aber er/der war (viel zu klein.)

The magician-NOM wanted the doctor-ACC to-hug, because the sun-NOM was-shining.

But he-NOM/he-DEM-NOM was (much too small.)

(ii) OVS

Den Arzt wollte der Zauberer umarmen, weil die Sonne schien.  
Aber er/der war (viel zu klein.)

The doctor-ACC wanted the magician-NOM to-hug, because the sun-NOM was-shining.

But he-NOM/he-DEM-NOM was (much too small.)

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**Acquisition of anaphoric topic-shift in contrastive contexts -  
Evidence from Bulgarian**

24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Anaphoric relations, building upon information structure, often depend upon topic determination and topic-shift. Due to the extremely complex interaction between world-knowledge, syntax, and pragmatic factors, determination of topic is so subtle that one can only identify contexts where topic-continuation or topic-shift can occur (Bosch et al. 2007). The strongest domain of topicshift is where negation and contrastive stress or specific types of pronominal anaphora occur under association of focus (Rooth 1992). In null subject languages like Bulgarian, the association of negation with overt subject pronouns promotes topic-shift (1), whereas null pronouns are understood as topic-preserving markers (2).

1) Telefonăt M SG DEF padna văr̀xu budilnika M SG DEF, no toj PERS 3SG M prodălzhi da zvăni.

2) Telefonăt M SG DEF padna văr̀xu budilnika M SG DEF, no Ø prodălzhi da zvăni.

The telephone<sub>i</sub> fell on the clock<sub>k</sub>, but it<sub>k</sub> / NULL<sub>i</sub> continued to ring.

In our study we explore the questions: what mechanisms exist for pronominal topic-continuation and topic-shift and how children acquire them. We argue that topic-continuation via linking parallelism and null subjects is a grammatical default, while topic-shift requires a complex language-specific mechanism with several ingredients that must be acquired.

We present data from a listening comprehension experiment with 5- and 6-year-old monolingual Bulgarian children and adults. The experimental method explores the influence of world knowledge on the availability of syntactic resolution. Therefore we use semantically neutral and semantically biased contexts. The biased contexts

include conditions in which the semantic and the syntactic cues either fully diverge or converge towards a specific antecedent.

Our prediction that children initially acquire a default null subject form of topic-continuation was born out. Bulgarian 5-year-olds reliably resolve NULL pronouns to subject antecedents independently from the semantic bias, even in anti-pragmatic utterances. With age this behaviour changes gradually towards greater sensitivity to semantic inferences. With regard to personal pronouns we obtained a different developmental pattern. The results suggest that the topicshifting function of personal pronouns is more prone to factors like parallelism and semantic inferences in children but not in adults. The younger group does not associate PERS with topic change in contrastive contexts, reaching at best chance resolution. However, the 6-year-old children already associate personal pronouns with topic change in contexts without conflicting semantic cues. The adults show a stable correlation of overt personal pronouns with topic-shift, which tends to resist even semantic inferences in favour of topic-continuation. Our method yields results which demonstrate that children's anaphora resolution strategy is not always based upon world knowledge only. The obtained acquisition pattern suggests that 5-yearold children do not associate personal pronouns with topic-shift in contrastive contexts. Instead they rely more on parallelism and interpret both pronouns as topic-continuation means. In contrast, the 6-year-olds perceive contrastive utterances with overt pronominal subjects as contexts promoting topic-shift. Their performance in unbiased contexts points towards a targetlike division of labour between null and personal pronouns as topic-preserving and topic-shifting devices.

Bosch, P., Katz, G., Umbach, C. (2007). The non-subject bias of German demonstrative pronouns. In: M. Schwarz-Friesel, M. Consten & M. Knees (Eds.): *Anaphors in text: cognitive, formal and applied approaches to anaphoric reference*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 145-164.  
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**Contrasting entities, contrasting predicates. Perspective-taking within the focal domain in native and learner production**  
24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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From a textual perspective, the information flow of ongoing discourse sets limits to the way speakers can organize the information structure of single utterances. However, ongoing discourse acts in a non-deterministic way as in the same context speakers can adopt different perspectives, and different information structures, in order to convey the same linguistic content. Moreover, lexical and morphosyntactic means, in providing ready-to-use marking devices, can steer speakers of different languages towards different perspectives (cf. Slobin's «thinking for speaking»).

In this presentation we concentrate on the selection of the utterance focal information by taking into account contexts where, given the previous information flow, two elements within the utterance can in principle assume focal status, namely the main entity and the predicate polarity. It is the case when speakers have to express that a situation previously occurring for some entities – in (1) 'jumping out of the window' – does not apply to a another one (1c).

- (1) The house of Mr Red, Blue and Green is on fire.  
a. Mr Green does not jump out of the window  
b. Mr Red does not jump of the window  
c. Mr Blue on the other hand jumps out of the window

In (1c) at least two different perspectives can be adopted with respect to the utterance information organization: either highlighting the new entity for which the previously mentioned situation holds (focus on the entity), or highlighting the fact that the situation does in fact hold for the new entity (focus on the polarity value).

With respect to such specific information configuration, we compare native and learner narrative production data elicited with the support of the video Finite story (Dimroth 2006), in order to tackle the following research questions :

- which specific means do native speakers use when competing focal points are concerned? Are there clearcut crosslinguistic preferences related to typological differences?
- which means do L2 learners adopt in the same contexts? does L2 production reflect the L1 preferred information organization?

The analysis of native speakers' retellings for German, Italian, French and Dutch (20 subjects for each language) reveals remarkable crosslinguistic differences. Speakers of Germanic languages heavily rely on particles like *doch/toch* in order to focus on the polarity contrast, while speakers of Romance languages show a number of different devices (adverb(ial)s as *invece, par contre*, strong pronouns and marked syntactic structures such as cleft sentences) mainly to highlight the entity contrast. Moreover, differences between Italian and French can be seen both in the frequency of the different means and in the syntactic structures produced. We now intend to analyze data of L2 French (Italian and German learners) and L2 Italian (German and French learners) of both intermediate and advanced learners in order to answer the second set of questions. Our first results show that, independently of the source language, learners initially rely on lexical means (particles, adverbials), while marked syntactic devices appear only at very advanced stages.

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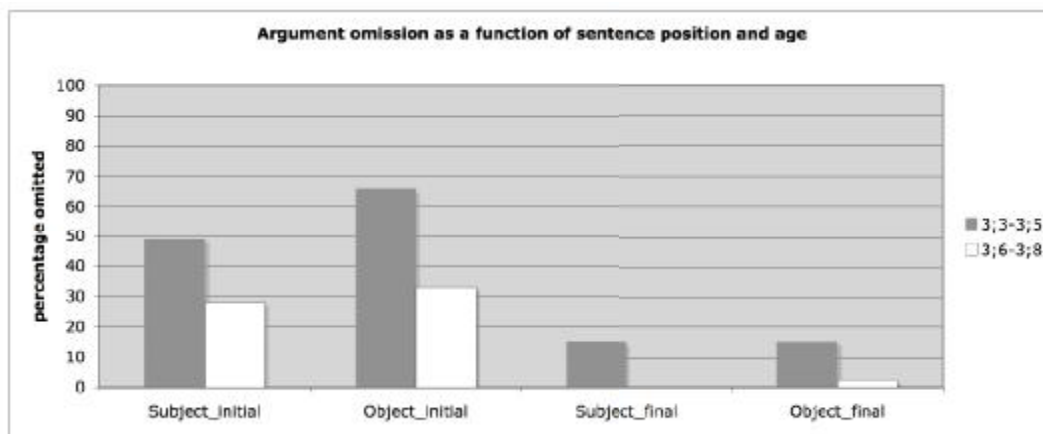
**Information Structure and the Subject-Object-Asymmetry**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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The subject-object asymmetry is a pervasive phenomenon in child language. The reasons for the asymmetry are unclear; explanations revolve mainly around the

contextual, pragmatic cues *given* and *new*: Subjects tend to contain known or recurring information (DuBois 1987) and thus are more expendable (Greenfield and Smith 1976). A problem with these accounts is that they look to grammatical subjects and objects regardless of their information structural distribution. In English, the most frequent word order is SVO and thus, both arguments are studied *in situ*. Given that in most transitive constructions subjects are topical and objects are focal, and thus exhibit different information structural properties, an *in situ* SVO comparison presents a far from ideal test case for the subject-object asymmetry. Word order in German is more variable than in English and allows for both SVO and OVS constructions in which S and O can assume either topic or focus status. German, despite being a non pro-drop language, allows null references for both subjects and objects in utterance initial position. We assessed the relation between word order and argument omission with an elicited production study. German-speaking children of two age groups ([1] M=3;4, [2] M=3;8) completed a sticker book for a 3<sup>rd</sup> person referent (an elephant). Some stickers in the book were missing while some were already in place. The experimenter drew a sticker and then asked the child to check the elephant's book. She used a model utterance in order to elicit a response, either in SVO (*Der hat den oder der will den?*) or in OVS (*Den will der oder den hat der?*). The results indicate that both age groups omit both subject and object referents according to their position in the sentence: Initial arguments are omitted significantly more often than final arguments (see Figure below). Whereas the older children omit initial subjects and objects alike, younger children omit initial objects significantly more often than subjects. Thus, when information structure is taken into account, the subject-object asymmetry is neutralised. Furthermore, for younger children it is even reversed. Arguments are omitted due to sentence position and information status.



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**The impact of information status on referential choice: Narratives of Russian-German bilinguals**

24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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The present study investigates topical referential expressions in narrative discourse of bilingual Russian-German children. It examines (a) the impact of the information status (new, given, and accessible) of a referent on its linguistic form, (b) the influence of language-universal/-specific factors on the choice of a referential expression.

Although the role of the information structure in constructing a coherent discourse has a long history of discussing, the questions we address are still far from being clarified in monolingual and bilingual child language (Chafe 1976, Gundel 1988, Stutterheim & Klein 1989, Givón 1990, Vallduví 1992, Lambrecht 1994, i.a.).

Two narratives, the CAT (Hickmann 2003) and the FOX (Gülzow & Gagarina 2007) stories, were collected with the picture stimuli from 60 early sequential bilinguals (L1 Russian / L2 German) at age 4-, 5-, and 6-years. Monolingual data collected in the previous studies (Gülzow & Gagarina 2007), were used for comparison. A variety of types of referential expressions, such as bare noun (bareN), indefinite and definite noun phrases (indefNP/defNP), demonstrative pronoun (DEM), personal pronoun (PRO), zero pronoun (OPRO), etc. were examined with respect to their information status.

Results show, that in Russian, for “new” (previously unmentioned) information the children predominantly use preverbal and postverbal bareNs (with preference for preverbal Ns). In German, for “new” referents, children predominantly use defNPs and indefNPs with few cases of bareNs and DEMs. In order to maintain reference (“given” information, mentioned in the same or previous clause) in Russian, the children use PROs in the first instance, followed by OPROs and bareNs, while in German PROs and defNPs are predominate for this purpose, followed by DEMs and OPROs. For reintroducing topical referents (“accessible” information status; mentioned two or more clauses prior to the target NP), the children frequently employ bareNs and defNPs in Russian and German, respectively.

These findings suggest that bilingual children are sensitive to grammatical and pragmatic use of language-specific means in both languages across all age groups, and show similar performance compared to monolinguals (cf. Bamberg 1987, Kail & Hickmann 1992, Hickmann & Hendricks 1999, Gülzow & Gagarina 2007, i.a.). From a bilingual acquisition perspective, our results corroborate a non-autonomous version of a hypothesis on early differentiation of grammatical systems in bilingual children (Meisel 1989).

While the grammatical performance of bilingual children varies due to different linguistic devices available in the analyzed languages, on the one hand, and to different language proficiency of children, on the other hand, the pragmatic performance – with respect to the information status – is more uniform in both languages. Our findings provide evidence for the early understanding of the central role of information structure in children’s narrative discourse. Furthermore, the ability



to construct a coherent discourse in a more systematic way as far as the system of reference is concerned is still developing (Karmiloff-Smith 1987, Kail & Hickmann 1992, i.a.).

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**Subject positions in L1 acquisition: On information structure and subject placement**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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In Swedish, DP-subjects occurring in the middle field can either precede or follow a negation (1), whereas pronominal subjects can only precede a negation (unless stressed) (2).

1. a. Varför kommer **mannen inte** imorgon istället?  
*why comes man-the not tomorrow instead*  
b. Varför kommer **inte mannen** imorgon istället?
2. a. Varför kommer **han inte** imorgon istället?  
*why comes he not tomorrow instead*  
b. \*Varför kommer **inte han** imorgon istället?

In recent work, it has been proposed that there are two subject positions, a high position for informationally given subjects and a low position for informationally new subjects (e.g. Westergaard 2008, Bentzen, forthcoming). As pronouns generally refer to known referents, they occur in the high position. In a recent study, Waldmann (2008) reported that Swedish children move subjects to the higher position from early on; however, the information structural properties of different subject types were not

taken into consideration. This presentation deals with the interaction between position and the information structural properties of the subject in L1 acquisition of Swedish. A corpus consisting of 45,000 spontaneous child utterances from 4 monolingual children aged 1;3–4;0 has been investigated.

Results show that the children prefer the high position for pronominal subjects (84% pron-neg) and the low position for DP-subjects (80% neg-DP). This pattern is clear in main clauses, and for pronominal subjects in embedded clauses, whereas DP-subjects seldom occur in embedded clauses. Chronologically, pron-neg and neg-DP precede neg-pron and DP-neg by approximately 6 months in main clauses. In embedded clauses, pron-neg also precedes neg-pron.

In addition, a corpus consisting of child-directed speech (54,000 of adult utterances) will be investigated, and the data will be compared to the child data. This work is currently in progress; however, preliminary results from the input of one child show that children's production largely mirrors the patterns in main clauses and the patterns for pronominal subjects in embedded clauses. Thus, it seems that children are sensitive to information structure early on.

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**The Vorfeld in Second Language Acquisition of Chinese Learners of German**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Chinese is a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1989: 15, 86f.). The topic always comes first in a sentence and it has either a frame-setting function or it refers to something about which the reader/hearer is assumed to have some knowledge. In German, the Vorfeld is often related to the topic. However, it is recently argued that there is a Mittelfeld peripheral topic position in German (Frey 2004). Corpus studies support this hypothesis (Speyer 2005, 2007). The quantitative data suggests that the realization of topics in the Vorfeld is an epiphenomenon of the fact that the first position is obligatorily filled. Speyer identifies four kinds of elements that are preferred in the Vorfeld: (i) brand-new elements (Prince 1981), (ii) frame-setting elements (Jacobs 2001), (iii) elements that belong to a salient set of elements (Prince 1999), and (iv) "backward-looking centers" which are previously mentioned elements (cf. Grosz et al. 1995). Only elements of type (ii) and type (iv) correspond to the Chinese topic.

Our hypothesis is that Chinese L2 learners of German transfer the presentation of information structure from their L1 into German (cf. von Stutterheim und Carroll 2005: 11 for English L2 learners of German). We therefore expect that they overuse frame-

setting elements and previously mentioned entities in the Vorfeld and underuse brand-new elements and elements that belong to a salient set of elements.

In this talk we will present an investigation of the Vorfeld in a learner corpus of Chinese L2 learners of German. The corpus consists of 43 argumentative texts, which are annotated with topological fields and referential information. The learner data will be compared with argumentative texts of German L1 speakers of the FALKO corpus (FALKO [online]).

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**The acquisition of Object Shift: A challenge at the syntax-pragmatics interface**

25.02.2010, 9.00–9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Scandinavian object shift (OS) has traditionally been analysed as a contrast between full DP and contrastive/stressed pronominal objects vs. weak/unstressed pronominal objects (cf. Holmberg 1986, Vikner 1994, 2006). The former remain in a position following negation, Neg>DP/Pron<sub>CONTR</sub>, whereas the latter shift across negation, Pron<sub>WEAK</sub>>Neg. However, OS is more complex than previously assumed. In Norwegian, weak pronouns shift when referring to a DP, but not when referring to a clause or a VP (cf. Andréasson 2008). Furthermore, indefinite, possessive, and contrastive pronouns do not shift, regardless of what they refer to. Holmberg (1999) and Mikkelsen (2006) have proposed that non-shifting elements are focused, whereas shifting elements are defocused. We adopt this view and take OS to be a process of *defocusing*. OS thus involves both a prosody-pragmatics interface (defocused elements tend to be unstressed) and a syntax-pragmatics interface (defocused elements are moved).

Considering the acquisition of focus marking in European Portuguese (EP), Costa&Szendrői (2006) argue that EP-speaking children do not have problems acquiring syntactic focus marking, but struggle with prosodic focus marking. In Norwegian, the default position of both sentential stress and focus is clause-final, and defocussing of weak/unstressed objects is achieved through OS. In an elicitation

study with 27 monolingual Norwegian-speaking children aged 4;8-7;0, we compared the placement of weak pronominal objects and indefinite/possessive/contrastive pronominal objects in focused and non-focused contexts. We found that Norwegian children acquire OS fairly late (Table 1). The children often fail to shift defocused pronouns, producing ungrammatical structures like those in (1). However, they never erroneously shift focused pronouns. This is true of even the youngest children, who almost consistently fail to shift non-focused pronouns, suggesting that their object placement is not random. Older children, who shift non-focused pronouns much more frequently, never overgeneralize this to focused pronouns. Importantly, none of the children have any problems with stress marking and focus. In non-focused contexts pronouns are always unstressed, even when they are left in a non-shifted/clause-final position, as in (1), while in focused contexts they are consistently stressed, as in (2). Based on these results, we claim that Norwegian-speaking children, just like EP-speaking children, struggle with defocusing. However, whereas the EP-speaking children display problems acquiring the stress patterns of focus marking, we argue that delayed acquisition of OS indicates a problem marking defocusing through syntactic movement in Norwegian children. Thus, the challenge for these children lies at the syntax-pragmatics interface, rather than the prosody-pragmatics interface.

- (1) Han mata *ikke ho*. (M23 6;5.10) (2) Han kjenner *ikke HAN*. (M23 6;5.10)  
*he fed not her* *he knows not him*  
 'He didn't feed her.' 'He doesn't know him.'  
 Target-structure: Han mata **ho** ikke.

Table 1. Overall production of shifted and non-shifted pronouns

Age groups	Weak pronouns		Total	Contr/Indef pronouns		Total
	Shifted	*Non-shifted		*Shifted	Non-shifted	
4;5-5;6	15 (19%)	64 (81%)	79	0	39 (100%)	39
6;1-7;0	96 (70.6%)	40 (29.4%)	136	0	55 (100%)	55

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**Focus in Hebrew Ditransitives: Evidence from Adult and Child Language**

25.02.2010, 9.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

This paper reports the results of a study on the encoding of focus in Hebrew Ditransitive Constructions (HDC). Our results suggest that Hebrew speaking adult and children, as young as two-and-a-half years old, capitalize on their awareness of

an unmarked sentence final focus position. When focus does not occur in this position, it is encoded prosodically.

We hypothesize that the order of the verbal complements in adult HDC with the verb *give* depends on the focus encoding strategy used by the speaker. Adults are predicted to produce the DO-IO order when the IO is focused (and the DO is topical), and similarly an IO-DO order if the DO is focused. Moreover, we predict that when speakers produce a focus-topic order, they will mark the focus prosodically.

As for children, we follow the proposal that Information-Structure is part of UG, and therefore part of the child's early knowledge (e.g. Baker and Greenfield 1988, Erteschik-Shir 1997, De Cat 2002, among others). Following the Strong Continuity Hypothesis, we predict that children will behave adult-like from the onset of language production.

An Elicited Production task was piloted on ten adults and thirty children, 5 in each age group: 2;6-3;0, 3;0-3;6, 3;6-4;0, 4;0-5;0, 5;0-6;0, 6;0-7;0. The experiment included different contexts, depicting the action of giving by means of pictures. The experimenter presented the pictures, and then a puppet was used to ask questions, randomly eliciting both a focused DO and a focused IO.

As predicted, the adult participants consistently preferred the order in which the focused complement follows the topic complement (92%). When the focused object was not final (7%), it was unambiguously marked prosodically by high pitch and prosodic restructuring, placing the focus in its own phonological phrase. In 1% of the results, the topical object was omitted. This conforms to one of the strategies used in Hebrew to encode the topic. Overall, the adult results provide clear psycholinguistic evidence for the impact of information structure on HDC.

Similarly to the adults, when children produced both complements (oldest 88%, youngest 74%), they either followed the linear order with focus sentence finally (oldest 84%, youngest 60%), or marked the non final focus prosodically (oldest 4%, youngest 14%). Moreover, when a verbal complement was omitted (oldest 12%, youngest 26%) it was always the topic and never the focus. Based on the child adult-like behavior, we conclude that (a) children know the notion of 'focus', in support of the hypothesis that the notion of focus is innate; (b) the language particular encoding strategies are available to the child from the onset of language production.

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**The effects of givenness on young children's locative and dative constructions**  
25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Adults generally order given information before new information (e.g. Bock & Warren 1980), but little is known about the influence of discourse status on childrens' syntactic choices (cf. MacWhinney & Bates 1978, Narasimhan & Dimroth 2008). This

paper shows that preschool children use given-before-new ordering for arguments in the verb phrase. These effects emerge across verbs, except where the verb's argument structure is *entrenched* (i.e. the child has learned that the verb resists alternate orders, see Brooks *et al.* 1999).

In two production studies with monolingual English-learning children (ages 3-5), I investigated the effects of discourse on the two postverbal arguments in locative (1) and dative alternation (2).

- (1) a. She squirted THE KETCHUP on the hotdog. (FIGURE first)  
b. She squirted THE HOTDOG with the ketchup. (GROUND first)
- (2) a. She gave THE HAT to the man. (THEME first)  
b. She gave THE MAN the hat. (RECIPIENT first)

In Study 1, 28 children were tested on six locative verbs (alternating verbs: *squirt, stuff*; FIGURE-object verbs: *pour, drop*; GROUND-object verbs: *fill, cover*). In Study 2, 64 children were tested on four alternating dative verbs (*give, show, read, throw*). The experimenter prompted participants to describe videotaped vignettes and manipulated the discourse status of the two postverbal arguments in the prompt via three discourse conditions: a control condition where neither argument was given, an experimental conditions where one argument was given, and an experimental condition where the other argument was given.

Mixed-effects binary logistic regression models revealed significant effects of discourse on word order. FIGURES (Study 1), and THEMES and RECIPIENTS (Study 2) were each more likely to be mentioned first when they were *given* in the discourse. The only experimental condition that failed to produce givenness effects was the GROUND-given condition (Study 1). This was primarily due to ceiling performance with FIGURE-object verbs. Overall, discourse effects were found for children of all ages, and there were no interactions between age and discourse condition. Importantly, some verbs were more sensitive to discourse pressure than others. Follow-up CHILDES studies showed that these patterns reflect the input. Verbs that are high-frequency and fail to alternate in child-directed speech (e.g. *pour, throw*) showed no word-order variation in the experimental data. But there was discourse-motivated variation with high-frequency verbs that alternate in CDS (e.g. *give, show*) and with low-frequency verbs whether they alternate (*squirt, stuff*) or not (*fill*). This suggests that children use given-before-new ordering with postverbal arguments *unless* they have learned from experience with the input to avoid alternation.

Ultimately, preschoolers' syntactic choices reflect an integration of information the verb's lexical properties and properties of the discourse. The current data are consistent with a processing account of given-before-new ordering—that given information is more accessible, retrieved from memory faster, processed more easily, and, therefore, expressed earlier (see Bock & Warren 1980).

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**Word order and information structure in German language acquisition**

25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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The relatively free word order in German allows a SVO and an OVS sequence in main clauses. In comparison to the unmarked SVO order the marked OVS order results in increased processing difficulties in reading time studies (e.g. Hemforth, 1993), has a lower frequency in corpora (Kempen & Harbusch, 2004) and is claimed to be more complex with regard to its syntax. This raises the question why such a structure exists. It is argued that there are specific contextual factors, which motivate an OVS ordering (e.g. Lenerz, 1977).

We examined the comprehension of SVO and OVS orderings in German speaking children and within two theories concerning contextual factors, according to Hörnig, Weskott and Kliegl (submitted). Greenspan and Segal (1984) assume with their Topic-Comment-Model (TCM) that the context must provide the topic of a sentence, which is claimed to be presupposed. Logan's (1995) Visual Spatial Attention Theory (VSAT) implies that the context has to provide a reference object (relatum) relative to which the located object (locatum) of a statement has to be placed. The finding of Huttenlocher and Strauss (1968) in their study with English speaking children supports VSAT (1.b easier than 1.c), but does not rule out that presupposition plays a role, too.

We tested two age-groups (group 1 ~ 3;6 and group 2 ~ 4;7) of German speaking children with a picture-placement-task. Constituent order of spatial relational sentences was varied to cross-combine semantic role (relatum vs. locatum) with NP position (NP1 vs. NP2 referent), yielding the four conditions (1.a) to (d). Participants added a mobile picture to a fixed picture after being verbally instructed with a spatial relational sentence of type (a) to (d). VSAT predicts a semantic role effect, with (a)/(b) yielding more accurate placements than (c)/(d); TCM predicts an NP position effect, with (a)/(c) yielding more accurate placements than (b)/(d).

(1) frog=fixed, fish=mobile

(a) OVS, fixed picture = relatum and topic, +VSAT, +TCM

*Unter dem Frosch ist der Fisch.*

*Under the frog is the fish.*

(b) SVO, fixed picture = relatum and comment, +VSAT, -TCM

*Der Fisch ist unter dem Frosch.*

*The fish is under the frog.*

(c) SVO, fixed picture = locatum and topic, -VSAT, +TCM

*Der Frosch ist über dem Fisch.*

*The frog is above the fish.*

(d) OVS, fixed picture = locatum and comment, -VSAT, -TCM

*Über dem Fisch ist der Frosch.*

*Above the fish is the frog.*

For group 1 our results confirm the VSAT prediction (for results see table 1). This also shows that even the younger children had no difficulties with the OVS order when it was contextually appropriate. Group 2, however, did not perform worse in condition (c) compared to (b), in disagreement with Huttenlocher's finding for children of about the same age. This finding corroborates that presuppositions play a role for children's comprehension at the age of about 4;7 years. Both groups showed consistent difficulties in condition (d), the condition rated as difficult on both theories, in agreement with what Hörnig et al. (submitted) found for German adult speakers.

Group	VSAT	TCM	Condition	mean	(StdDev)
young (N=12)	+	-	A	,8750	,12563
			B	,9167	,11237
	-	+	C	,5556	,41641
			D	,4583	30256
old (N=14)	+	-	A	,8810	,16575
			B	,9048	,15627
	-	+	C	,7738	,31762
			D	,5595	,31082

Table 1: Mean proportion of correct reactions

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**A corpus analysis of word order variation in child language**  
 25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

Definiteness, pronominalization and information structure are factors proposed to control the ordering of double objects in the German middle field (Lenerz, 1977; Büring 2000, Müller, 1999). We report a corpus analysis of the CHILDES corpus (MacWhinney, 2000) investigating how these factors control the word order in two-year, three-year and four-year old children and their mothers. Children and adults differ in the frequency of the word order variations. Adults produced higher proportions (18%) of the marked word order (direct before indirect object, DO-IO) than two-year-old children (5%). Both children and adults respect the constraints for the unmarked word order, i.e. indirect before direct object (IO-DO). We found no violations of definiteness (indefinite before definite, indef<def) and few violations of pronominalization (noun before pronoun, np<pron) and givenness (new<old). Violations of the constraints are more frequent for the marked DO-IO order: Both children and adults rarely violate the definiteness constraint and more often the givenness constraint. However, they differ regarding the pronominalization constraint that the three-year olds violate more often than adults. While violations of the constraints occur, they often go together with the fulfilment of the other constraints, i.e. definiteness and pronominalization. Violations of the givenness constraint often involve the linearization of two pronouns. The unmarked word order for weak pronouns is DO-IO (Lenerz, 1977; Müller, 1999). Both adults and children respect this reordering: direct objects are more frequent in the IO-DO order when they are demonstrative or indefinite pronouns, but more frequent in DO-IO when they are clitics and personal pronouns. While demonstrative pronouns, being indicators of focus, occur more often in the IO-DO linearization in all groups, in the two-year olds most of the direct objects in the DO-IO order are demonstrative pronouns (60%).



Topicalisations to the prefield show that three-year olds differ from older children in the placement of focused direct objects (demonstrative pronouns). Two-year olds use the unmarked IO-DO order more often than older children and adults (82% vs. 50%), but move a focused object equally often to the middle field and prefield (10% vs. 7%). Older children and adults, however, place the object more often in the prefield than the middle field (40% vs. 7%). While three-year old children respect the focus constraint, i.e. the order “non-focus before focus” (Müller, 1999; Büring, 2000), they violate the givenness constraint. Adults also violated the givenness constraint in the marked word order. However, in half of the cases, direct objects referred to propositions mentioned in the previous discourse and thus were not completely new. The four-year olds never violated the givenness constraint, however, the data for this group is sparse (N=9, DO-IO). The results thus can only partly support proposals that even five-year old children prefer a “new before old” strategy (Narasimhan & Dimroth, 2008). Nevertheless, our results show that even two-year old children respect the definiteness and pronominalization constraints and reorder weak pronouns. Information structural constraints are respected later: While focus is considered by three-year olds, givenness is not.

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Müller, G. (1999). Optimality, markedness, and word order in German. *Linguistics*, 37, 777-818.

Narasimhan, B., & Dimroth, C. (2008). Word order and information status in child language. *Cognition*, 107, 317-329.

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**L1 and L2 differences in the acquisition of information structure: Examining an interface-based account**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Research on the acquisition of information structure (i.e. topic and focus) across different languages has revealed a different pattern of behavior for L1 and L2 learners, in particular children master the way their target language encodes information structure at an early age (Costa and Szendroi 2006, De Cat 2007) even in those languages where canonical word order alterations occur (Grinstead and Elizondo 2001). In contrast, second language learners seem to find this area persistently problematic with even advanced learners usually not reaching native-like competence in this domain. The root of this difference remains unexplained although a prevailing hypothesis is that learners find it difficult to acquire focus because it lies at the syntax/discourse pragmatics interface. This Interface Hypothesis (Sorace and Filiace 2006) is based on the assumption that narrow syntactic properties are fully acquired whereas a representational impairment is expected in other grammatical areas that syntax interacts with, such as discourse interpretation.

This study provides experimental evidence for second language acquisition competence of focused structures in non-native grammars. We investigate English

learners' developmental patterns of Spanish word order as they acquire the rules which constrain these structures and alter the basic SVO word ordering. It also aims to distinguish whether syntactic or pragmatic competences are the source of learners' comprehension errors in this domain.

In Spanish, word order variation can be accounted for as an effect of focus marking which is ruled by both syntactic and pragmatic constraints: whether subjects appear preverbally (SV) or postverbally (VS) depends on both the syntax of the verb (unergative vs. unaccusative) and the type of information encoded in the sentence (broad vs. narrow focus). An experiment (consisting of a context-dependant word order preference test) was carried out to investigate whether 60 speakers of English learning Spanish at three different levels of proficiency acquire the syntactic and pragmatic restrictions of word order variation and are able to accept inverted (VS) constructions when required. The results show that the acceptability of VS orders is in strict correlation with the level of proficiency of the learners since subject-verb inversion (an option not allowed in their L1) is not selected by learners in the lower two groups but is correctly preferred by the advanced group. The syntax of the verb (i.e. unergative or unaccusative) barely affects the answers of the advanced group. This is relevant since the acceptability of both SV and VS clause types in sentences with unaccusative verbs weakens the hypothesis that syntactic constraints ruling inversion are properly acquired from early on and, consequently, mismatches between native and non-native forms have to be analysed as the result of a pragmatic deficit.

Consequently, we argue that the observed problems in acquiring focused word orders can be explained as the result of an overgeneralization - one of the options in the target language is used in contexts where neither syntactic nor pragmatic rules would allow them - and not because of a representational deficit in one particular grammatical domain.

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- De Cat, C. (2007.) *French Dislocation. Interpretation, Syntax, Acquisition*. Oxford: OUP (Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 17).
- Grinstead, J., Elizondo, E. (2001). *The emergence of CP in child Spanish*. Paper presented at the 4th Conference on the Acquisition of Spanish and Portuguese as First and Second languages, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
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**Defocusing objects and interpretation of indefinites**  
25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Children have difficulty with the wide scope interpretation of indefinite objects with respect to negation (1b) crosslinguistically (Lidz & Musolino, Krämer 2000, among others). This study examines children's comprehension of such objects in Turkish and relates children's difficulty to the late(r) acquisition of (de)focusing of objects.

1. Mickey Mouse didn't eat an apple.
  - a. It is not the case that MM ate an apple.                    neg > an apple
  - b. There is an apple such that MM didn't eat.                an apple > neg

In Turkish, an agglutinating SOV language with flexible word order, the immediately preverbal field hosts the neutral focus constituents (Erguvanli 1984, and the subsequent work). Accusative-marked indefinites in Turkish are typically interpreted as wide scope indefinites and are interpreted as defocused constituents regardless of their word order. Their scope interpretation is attributed to their dislocated position ((2) and (3) in 2.) outside of the focus field ((1)), which is typically occupied by non-case marked objects.

2. [...(2) [NegP... [AgrOP... (1) [VP V ] ] ] (3) ]

In this study indefinite objects in (3)-(7) were tested using a Truth Value Judgment Task (Thornton & Crain 1998). It was observed that Turkish speaking children (n=150, Mean Ages 4;0, 5;0, 6;0) have difficulty in attributing wide scope reading to accusative-marked indefinites. Although they clearly appear in the positions (2) and (3) in the test sentences, they are interpreted as if they appear in (1). Following Santos' (2008) generalization who proposes that children have a tendency to put *the mostly embedded constituent* (a la Cinque's Nuclear Stress Rule) in the focus field, we propose that children's difficulty is related to a difficulty with the focus shift. In transitive sentences the direct object is the mostly embedded constituent and children's tendency to place the objects (regardless of case marker) in the focus field results in a narrow scope interpretation with respect to negation.

**Acc-marked indefinites:**

\*neg>an apple; an apple>neg

3. Miki Fare **bir elma-yı** ye-me-di.  
MM **a/one apple-acc** eat-neg-past
4. **Bir elma-yı** Miki Fare ye-me-di.  
**a/one apple-acc** MM eat-neg-past
5. Miki Fare ye-me-di **bir elma-yı**.  
MM eat-neg-past **a/one apple-acc**  
'MM didn't eat a(n particular) apple'

**Non-case marked indefinites:**

neg>an apple; \*an apple>neg

6. Miki Fare **elma** ye-me-di.  
MM **apple** eat-neg-past
7. Miki Fare **bir elma** ye-me-di.  
MM **a/one apple** eat-neg-past  
'MM didn't eat an(y) apple(s)'

This proposal is in line with the earlier findings on related issues: Crosslinguistically, children tend to focus the *object* rather than another constituent. Children have an adult-like interpretation of *only*, for instance, when it modifies an object. When *only* modifies the subject, they interpret it *as if* it is modifying the object. Similar treatment of focus is observed in typologically different languages (See Santos (2008) for the literature). In a repetition experiment conducted by Batman-Ratyosyan and Stromswold (1999), Turkish children were asked to repeat short sentences with various word orders. When objects were dislocated in the test sentences, children put them back in the immediately preverbal position in their utterances. Note also that the generalization predicts that similar kind of behaviour will not be observed in assigning scope to other constituents with respect to negation. This is exactly what is borne out: Children do not seem to have difficulty with the wide scope interpretation of subjects (Musolino 1998, Bergsma-Klein 1996). Based on these results and related data reported in the literature, we proposed that children have a difficulty with defocusing the direct objects and this difficulty results in a particular scope interpretation of indefinite objects (narrow scope with respect to negation). The findings and the proposal are in line with the findings reported in the focus literature

and can capture the pattern observed in the acquisition of indefinites crosslinguistically.

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**Achieving Written Narrative Competence in L2: Comparing German and Hebrew Learners of English**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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In re-narrating a set of events, as in other modes of discourse, language users need to select information from a given knowledge base and decide what to say (or write) first and what next (selection, segmentation, linearization). The information about these events must also be consistently anchored in space and time (specification of a spatio-temporal frame) and the selected components structured with respect to informational status (e.g. topic, focus assignment), mapped into form (main, subordinate clause), and linked in sequence by appropriate semantic relations (temporal, causal, etc.). These processes of information organization are viewed as proceeding in both global (macro-planning) and local terms (micro-planning) in tasks that go beyond the production of isolated utterances, and are crucial for the achievement of narrative competence in the sense of linking different elements of a story together, highlighting some elements, and suspending others. Cross-linguistic comparisons of German, English and Modern Standard Arabic have shown that certain grammatical structures (e.g. the presence or absence of tense or aspect) lead to language specific differences in information organization in narrative texts (Carroll & Lambert, 2003; Carroll & v. Stutterheim, 2003; v. Stutterheim & Nüse, 2003). However, very little is known about the extent by which adult L2 speakers can achieve similar degrees of competence in narrative text production in their non-native language.

The present study examines the differences between very advanced second language writers and native writers in their abilities to organize narrative texts. The study is based on three corpora of 24 texts each (72 texts in total). All texts are (re)narrations of a 7-minutes version of a film that tells the story of a clay figure in search of water entitled "*Quest*" that were elicited under controlled and highly comparable experimental conditions. We compare the texts produced by native speakers of English to those of very advanced learners of English, who are native speakers of German and Hebrew. Very advanced L2-learners, whose language production is relatively unconstrained by lack of linguistic means, provide a good source of insight into more general properties of information organization as compared with that of L1 speaker-writers.

We argue that patterns of information construal are driven by grammaticalized features rooted in the linguistic system of L1. Specifically, we focus on the expression of *Figure* and *Ground* distinctions, for example, by the distribution of main and subordinate clauses, as well as other formal devices, such as tense and aspect, used for shifting between main and side structures. Our analyses show that advanced L2 speakers may succeed in learning the forms and their appropriate functions in the target language, but may not be successful in mapping these forms as part of the target language principles of information organization. We interpret our results in light

of relevant features of the two L1s, and provide evidence for the persistence of L1-specific patterns of structuring information in the target language.

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**How the understanding of focus particles develops: Evidence from child German**

26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

This study investigated the understanding of the focus particle (FP) *nur* 'only' in 4-year-old and 6-year-old children. FPs are associated with a specific constituent (generally the focus of the sentence) that must be interpreted in relation to a set of alternatives (König, 1991). In (1) *nur* specifies the subject, presupposing that there is no other person with a boat. In (2) *nur* specifies the object, presupposing that the duck has nothing other than a boat.

(1) pre-subject *nur*: Nur die Ente hat ein Boot. Only the duck has a boat.

(2) pre-object *nur*: Die Ente hat nur ein Boot. The duck has only a boat.

Paterson et al. (2003) reported that up to age 7 English-speaking children did not distinguish between these FP-sentences and suggested that children fail to evaluate the set of alternatives and instead ignore the FP. Müller et al. (2007) [MUE] found that at age 6 German-speaking children interpret *nur*-sentences basically adult-like if the FP is licensed by an adequate preceding verbal context. In contrast to Paterson et al. they reported a significantly better performance with pre-object than with pre-subject FPs. According to MUE, this asymmetry is caused by the different position of the focus: in (2) the focus occurs sentence final, which is the default focus position in German.

These studies leave open, how the comprehension abilities of German-speaking children for FP-sentences develop, and whether an asymmetry between pre-subject and pre-object FPs exists for younger children. To address these questions we tested 4-year old children, using the MUE design. Two hypotheses were tested: (H1) 4-year-olds perform on *nur*-sentences significantly worse than 6-year-olds. (H2) 4-year-olds interpret pre-object *nur*-sentences significantly better than pre-subject *nur*-sentences.

A truth-value-judgement task was administered to 21 4-year-olds (mean: 4;8), testing the sentence-types: (1) and (2) (n= 24 test items). Each picture depicted four characters. Test sentences were preceded by an introduction of all characters and

the objects depicted on the picture. Each participant saw one picture at a time and had to decide whether the sentence matched the picture or not.

The analysis was based on the number of correct *no*-responses. A significant difference was found between the 4-year-olds and the 6-year-olds for both conditions, confirming H1. The 4-year olds interpreted pre-object *nur* significantly better than pre-subject *nur*, confirming H2. An analysis of individual responses of the 4-year olds showed that 43% of the children interpreted both conditions adult-like. 14% interpreted both conditions incorrectly, i.e. they ignored the FP, and 24% of the children interpreted pre-object *nur* correctly, but not pre-subject *nur*; 20% answered the *nur*-sentences by chance.

These results suggest three stages in the FP comprehension: 1) Children do not understand *nur*, ignoring the FP. 2) Children master pre-object, but not pre-subject *nur*. 3) Adult-like understanding of both FP-sentences types. In contrast to Paterson et al., we do not assume that in stages 1) and 2) children fail to evaluate the set of alternatives but that children's failure is due to difficulties with the analysis of the information structure of FP-sentences.

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**Assessing 4-year olds' comprehension of the German additive particle *auch* ('also')**

26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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Several studies show that focus particles like *only* (Paterson et al. 2003) and *also* (Hüttner et al. 2004, Bergsma 2006) are not interpreted by children in an adult-like fashion until school age. However, children produce them much earlier (Nederstigt 2003, Höhle et al. 2009). In order to account for this delay in comprehension, Paterson et al. argue that children often fail to instantiate alternative sets in the discourse model of focused expressions. As a result, they treat sentences containing a particle like sentences not containing a particle. A corresponding pattern was found by Paterson et al. using a picture selection and a truth-value judgment task examining the comprehension of isolated sentences with *only*. While these particular methods also show poor performance with children's computation of scalar implicatures (SIs), Papafragou & Tantalou (2004) and Papafragou & Musolino (2003) show that children's performance on SIs is strongly task-dependent. In the present study we examine the comprehension of the German unaccented additive particle *auch* (*also*) in 4-year olds by adopting a method that was created by Papafragou & Tantalou. Whereas previous methods judge the appropriateness of an isolated sentence towards one (or more) visually presented scenario(s), this technique assesses children's performance without requiring children to make metalinguistic judgments. This is a more natural task, and the hypothesis is that it will strongly improve their performance. Children are told to judge whether a character has completed a task he was asked to perform. The character's statement contains the test sentence that children must interpret in a target-like fashion in order to judge correctly if the character has performed the requested action. In a typical trial of the present experiments the request was (1). Following the experimenter's utterance (2), children were presented with one of the lion's statements in (3). They should reward

the animal under a target-like interpretation of *auch* in (3a), whereas they should not reward after statements with *nur* (*only*) (3b) and without a particle (3c). In this context, the presence of *auch* in the test sentence becomes meaningful, since it carries the crucial information for the (non-)rewarding. Additionally, the alternative (*banana*) to the focused constituent is made more salient by the sentence in (2). Preliminary results of our study with 32 children show that children's performance is boosted by these factors: They rewarded the animal more often after test sentences with *auch* than with *nur* (96.25% vs. 7.50%, Experiment I). Similarly, they rewarded more often after test sentences with *auch* than without a particle (93.75% vs. 36.25%, Experiment II). Our results thus show that 4-year olds display a target-like interpretation of sentences containing unaccented *auch*. Therefore they are able to put the focused constituent into additive relation to an alternative that is given in the discourse. This assumption has already been made by Höhle et al, based on results of an eye-tracking experiment in the Visual World Paradigm. The results of the present study extend the validity of this assumption to children's offline interpretation of *auch*, particularly when assessment does not rely on metalinguistic demands that might mask their linguistic skills.

- (1) Request: The child is told that in order to get a reward, the lion should have eaten a banana and an apple
- (2) Exp.: *Löwe, Du hast bestimmt die BANANE gegessen!*  
*Lion, I am sure, you have eaten the BANANA!*
- (3) Lion: a) *Weißt Du was? Ich hab auch den APFEL gegessen!*  
*Guess what? I have also eaten the APPLE!*
  - b) *Weißt Du was? Ich hab nur den APFEL gegessen!*  
*Guess what? I have only eaten the APPLE!*
  - c) *Weißt Du was? Ich hab den APFEL gegessen!*  
*Guess what? I have eaten the APPLE!*

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**The temporal relationship between production and comprehension of the focus-to-accentuation mapping revisited**

26.02.2010, 13.00–13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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It is widely acknowledged that children's production precedes their comprehension in intonation. One particular aspect of sentence-level intonation well-known in this context is the focus-to-accentuation mapping in West Germanic languages. The alleged asymmetry is that children can use accentuation to mark focus at about 4 and yet they are poor at interpreting and exploring the focus-to-accentuation mapping in language comprehension at 4 or 5 (e.g. Cruttenden 1985; Cutler and Swinney 1987).

While there is substantial production evidence that children can use accentuation to mark focus at 4 or 5 in simple SV(O) sentences (e.g. Hornby and Hass 1970, Müller et al. 2005, Chen 2007), the existing evidence for children's inefficiency or inability in interpreting and processing the focus-to-accentuation mapping at 4 or 5 is seriously

questionable. Previous studies have examined children's comprehension regarding various functions of accentuation (e.g. pronominal disambiguation in coordinate sentences; marking of focus scope in complex sentences with the focus particle 'only'; directing attention to certain words in narratives). However, none of the studies has directly addressed children's processing of the focus-to-accentuation mapping.

To provide first direct evidence for or against children's ability to process the focus-to-accentuation mapping, two Reaction Time (RT) experiments were conducted on Dutch 4- to 5-year-olds and adults (the controls). 'Focus' in these experiments was non-contrastive, and realised with full NPs, serving as arguments of the verb. Participants listened to question-answer dialogues between two speakers, accompanied with pictures (see Appendix). The questions were either WHO-questions or WHAT-questions, putting the subject and the object respectively in focus in the answer sentences. Accent placement in the answer sentences was pragmatically appropriate in half of cases and inappropriate in the other half of the cases.

In Experiment 1, twenty children and fifteen adults judged whether the 'answerer' gave a good answer or not by pressing the corresponding button of the button box. Participants' attention was focused on the meaning of the sentences (active language comprehension) by including filler dialogues, in which answer sentences contained either a modest pronunciation error or a lexico-semantic error in the focal noun. The ANOVA on the RTs (measured from the end of answer) showed that as in the adults' data, appropriate accent placement triggered significantly shorter RTs than inappropriate accent placement in children.

In Experiment 2, seventeen children and twelve adults judged whether the 'answerer' sounded emphatic or not. The attribute 'emphatic' is independent of the meaning of a sentence and primarily realised with the pitch range of the accent, not location of the accent. Consequently, participants' attention was not drawn specifically to the meaning of the sentences during the experiment (passive language comprehension). The ANOVA on the RTs showed that again, appropriate accent placement triggered significantly shorter RTs than inappropriate accent placement in children.

Taken together, our results show that children can process the focus-to-accentuation mapping in both active and passive on-line language comprehension. This indicates that children's comprehension is as good as their production regarding the focus-to-accentuation mapping in syntactically simple sentences at the age of 4 or 5.

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**German children use prosody to identify participant roles in transitive sentences**

26.02.2010, 13.30–14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.205

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In language acquisition, a construction of particular importance is the basic transitive construction, prototypically used to indicate an agent acting on a patient, as in “The Flomer weefs the Miemel”. To interpret such transitive constructions one needs to understand and to distinguish the different roles of participants and thus the grammatical conventions used to mark these in the particular language being learned. In most languages, the transitive construction marks the roles of two participants with multiple, redundant cues. (e.g., word order, case marking or animacy). For German, a language with case marking and the possibility of OVS word order, Dittmar et al. (2008) found that two year olds only understood transitives with novel verbs, where several cues supported each other. Five year olds were able to use word order by itself but not case marking and only 7-year-olds behaved like adults by relying on case marking over word order when these two cues conflicted (e.g. “Den (+accusative) Löwen wieft der (+nominative) Hund“ – “The (+accusative) lion is weefing the (+nominative) dog”).

However, most studies examining children’s understanding of transitive constructions focus on the morphosyntactic properties of sentences and ignore an additional cue: prosody. But it has been established that different prosodic realizations guide listeners’ interpretation of ambiguous sentences. Grice, Weber & Crocker (2006) found that adult-listeners use prosodic information in the interpretation of ambiguous SVO and OVS sentences when no clear morphological information is available.

In the current study we investigate whether or not German children aged five use prosody for the assignment of participant roles in order to distinguish their semantic roles, as has been found for adults. Using a video-pointing task, we embedded transitive OVS utterances in a natural context and presented these utterances as either clearly case-marked (e.g. “Den (+accusative) Hund wieft der (+nominative) Hase”) or ambiguous (e.g. “Die (+accusative) Katze wieft die (+nominative) Kuh”). In order to examine the specific role of prosody for children in resolving the semantic function of the participants, the intonational realization of these constructions was either flat or, to support the syntactic marking of the utterance, characterized by a strong, contrastive pitch accent on the first Nominal phrase.

The results show that the prosodic cue has a main effect for children for the assignment of participant roles in transitive OVS-utterances ( $F(1,15)=5.8$ ,  $p=0.029$ ). Children were better in judging the correct agent acting on the correct patient when this was clearly marked by intonation compared to unnatural realizations. Even when no clear case marking was available, children understood participant roles significantly better by using the prosodic cue ( $p=0.009$ ). These findings show that, when reliable cues contradict each other, 5-year-old children are still able to understand the semantic roles in transitive OVS sentences when appropriate

intonation is available. We argue that, to fully understand young children's skills at interpreting sentences online, the role of intonation must be taken into account.

Dittmar, M., Abbot-Smith, K., Lieven, E., & Tomasello, M. (2008). German children's comprehension of word order and case marking in causative sentences. *Child Development*, 79 (4), 1152-1167.

Weber, A., Grice, M., & Crocker, M. W. (2006). The role of prosody in the interpretation of structural ambiguities: a study of anticipatory eye movements. *Cognition*, 99, B63-B72.

## AG 8 Subjective Meaning

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**Language in food sensory science: methodological considerations**  
24.02.2010, 14.00–14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Sensory analysis is a scientific discipline dealing with the reactions of the five senses of humans – sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch – to the physicochemical characteristics of food. Sensory science evokes, measures, analyses and interprets responses to physical stimuli objectively and it relates this information to likes and dislikes of consumers. In the domain of food science sensory analysis is used in food quality control, product development and measuring consumer acceptance and it supports marketing efforts.

Applying sensory science in food industry and research involves the assignment of human beings in two different approaches. On the one hand humans are selected based on their sensory performance to objectively judge and describe the characteristics of food products by the means of a defined language after training on physical stimuli. Physiological knowledge on sensory perception helps to develop an objective language to describe sensory responses of food products. This is used in descriptive analysis to describe food samples and to judge several descriptors on scales. Hedonic descriptors expressing the subjective response to food, e.g. liking and emotions, are excluded. Trained people are called panelists and work in groups of about 12 to 30 people depending on their task. Test conditions as for example sample presentation, neutralization between samples, masking color differences are controlled. Statistical data evaluation is used both for panel performance and finding differences in products.

On the other hand, the subjective response to food products is investigated with naïve respondents or consumers who are not trained, but in general users of the food products studied. The investigations focus on likes, dislikes, emotional responses, purchase intent for example to better understand the behavior of the respondents, also called consumer behavior. Consumers are not trained and hence, use no standardized language. Their judgments on foods are not objectified and larger group sizes are needed for profound statements based on statistical evaluations. In contrast to analytical sensory factors influencing perception are not controlled in the same way. By this, thresholds of individuals, age, their personal experiences, cultural background and tasting conditions for example influence their perception and potentially how the people talk about food or their understanding of single descriptors. Extracts of a sensory study on *fresh* will be presented and further examples to illustrate the influence of various factors on sensory perception.

An outlook illustrated with examples is given on conversations about the taste of food. When two people talk about sensory experiences when consuming a product, the dialog partners do not really know what the other really perceives. Talking about beer for example could mean that the two partners agree or disagree on the bitter

taste of the beverage tasted assuming that both have tasted the products. Retasting is usually necessary to obtain agreement or to confirm disagreement. This process is done extensively in panel work to obtain a standardized language.

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**Contextualism and Disagreement**  
24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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The paper is concerned with one aspect of the recent debate between contextualism and relativism about a series of discourses, such as predicates of personal taste, knowledge attributions, epistemic modals, etc. – namely, the issue of disagreement. One major objection that relativists have raised for contextualist treatments of predicates of personal taste, for example, is that it cannot satisfactorily explain the intuition of disagreement we have in exchanges like the following:

A: Avocado is tasty.  
B: No, it is not. It's horrible.

(To be more precise, the allegation has been that contextualism cannot account for “faultless disagreement”, but in the paper I will take the real problem to be that the contextualism cannot account for *disagreement*, period – a problem I will simply call “the disagreement problem”.) One answer to this problem, which I will disregard in the paper, has been to straightforwardly deny that in exchanges like the above the intuition of disagreement exists. Another answer that has emerged in recent contextualist literature, however, is one which accepts that the intuition exists, but claims that contextualism does have the resources to account for disagreement, or that the intuition can be explained away. It is the goal of this paper to closely examine this second response and argue that contextualists proposing it have either (a) disregarded the real problem, giving answers that miss the target or (b) their response involves postulating, in some form or another, semantic blindness on the part of the speakers. In the second case, this extra theoretical cost is not always taken into consideration.

Related to (a), the recent contextualist answer has been to present cases in which the intuition of disagreement is born out, even under the assumption that contextualism is true. The strategy has been to show that there are uses of predicates of personal taste in which the predicate is used exocentrically (when one speaks from a different person's perspective), or group uses (when the predicate is used to speak about what a certain group finds the case), cases in which disagreement can easily be accommodated. After giving a series of representative samples from the contextualist literature (taken from such works as Glanzberg (2007), Stojanovic (2007), Lopez de Sa (2008), Cappelen and Hawthorne (2009)), I point out, however, that there are other cases that contextualism doesn't handle, cases which I take to be crucial for the relativist challenge. I conclude that, insofar the contextualist doesn't say more about these cases, her answer is incomplete. However, and moving now to (b), the traditional contextualist reply (prominently featuring in DeRose's defense of epistemic contextualism) has been to embrace *semantic blindness*. Now, having to posit semantic blindness has been found by

many thinkers (starting perhaps with Schiffer (1996)) to be an unattractive feature of a semantic theory. But, and this is the point I stress in the paper, even if recent contextualists about predicates of personal taste do sometimes mention the contextualist's need to retort to semantic blindness, the consequences of doing so are not always made explicit. For, one of the claimed advantages for the contextualist over the relativist has been that contextualism doesn't incur any extra theoretical costs. But, it seems to me that having to posit semantic blindness is precisely such a theoretical cost, and therefore the contextualist advantage is hard to keep. The argument presented is thus a dilemma: the contextualist answer is either incomplete (by not considering some cases that the relativist takes to be crucial), or her claimed advantage is doubtful (the view incurring extra theoretical costs by postulating semantic blindness). In the last part of the paper I explore a different contextualist view, Lopez de Sa's (2007, 2008) presuppositional account, pointing out that he is committed to what I call "presuppositional blindness".

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**The subjectivity of conditionals in a new light**  
24.02.2010, 15.00–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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In this talk, I will explore whether recent advances in the semantics of epistemic modality (Stephenson, von Fintel & Gillies, and others) and in the compositional structure of conditionals (Huitink, Gillies, and others) can shed new light on the semantics and pragmatics of (mostly indicative) conditionals and can deliver us from the specter of radical subjectivity ("no truth-value", "assessment relativity"). Precedents include Stephenson 2007 and Weatherson 2009.

Stephenson, Tamina. 2007. Indicative conditionals have relative truth conditions. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 43. 231–242.

Weatherson, Brian. 2009. Conditionals and indexical relativism. *Synthese* 166. 333–357. doi:10.1007/s11229-007-9283-5.

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**The Modal Decomposition of Benefactive Predicates**  
24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Predicates like *treat*, *grant*, *reward*, etc., which express a benefactive event, are in many ways similar to predicates of personal taste in that they also allow for faultless disagreements, despite initial intuitions. For example, addressee B might object to the speaker A's use of *treat* in (1) on any of the grounds given in (2).

- (1) A: John treated Ellen to front row tickets at the London Symphony Orchestra.
- (2a) B: No, he didn't! John was indebted to Ellen after all she did for him!
- (2b) B: No, he didn't! John had free tickets!
- (2c) B: No, he didn't! Ellen hates classical music!

In this paper, I argue that these disagreements systematically follow from the internal structure of such verbs and their lexical decomposition into a number of underlying modal elements; *treat*, for example, decomposes into a deontic modal which expresses obligation (or the negation thereof, as targeted in (2a)), a dynamic modal (i.e. an opportunity modal; cf. Portner 2009) which expresses effort and means of action (as targeted in (2b)), and a bouletic modal which expresses preferences and desires (as targeted in (2c)). I suggest that benefactive predicates and predicates of personal taste (PPTs) are both subject to faultless disagreements, although they differ in one important regard: Whereas PPTs often generate global disagreements (Lasersohn 2005; Stephenson 2005), benefactive predicates belong to a more complex class of verbs that can generate “local” contextual disagreements. In other words, the faultless disagreements resulting from benefactive predicates arise not on individual-relative or factual grounds, but from determining what relevant contextual information is to be admitted in the evaluation of each modal. Such an analysis allows us to structurally isolate individual sources of disagreement; for instance, perhaps the addressee disagrees with the contextual base of the bouletic modal but not the dynamic modal, etc. It would thus appear as though these disagreements are a product of contextual vagueness, as discussed by von Stechow and Gillies (2008). As a diagnostic, I demonstrate how particular modifiers (e.g. *voluntarily*, *much appreciated*, etc.) can target specific modals and illuminate the decomposed structure. In short, defining a variable context base and employing an ordering source semantics for the modal parts allows us to maintain a contextualist theory over one which instead appeals to relativism.

From the perspective of the syntax-semantics interface, it is worth noting that benefactive predicates denote complex events. For example, (3), (4), (5) and (6) are also normally taken to express “eating”, “purchasing”, “attending” and “telling” events, respectively.

- (3) John treated Ellen to five-course meal.
- (4) John treated Ellen to a diamond necklace.
- (5) John treated Ellen to the opera.
- (6) John treated Ellen to a story about his heroic grandfather.

As such, I also discuss the implications of extending the proposed analysis to a more comprehensive account of event semantics, such that the syntactic position of the underlying modals might also correspond with the (sub)event structure (Parsons 1991; Pustejovski 2001, Ramchand 2008).

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**Agent wannabes and negative purposes in excess**  
24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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In so-called excessive (more specifically: *too-comparative*) constructions, purposes enter crucially into the construction of the standard of comparison and thus add to truth-conditional variability (cf. Meier 2003). E.g., the sentences in (1-a) and (1-b) may differ in truth value even if the actual temperature of the soup is the same on the occasion of their respective utterance.

- (1) a. The soup is too hot to be eaten.  
 b. The soup is too hot to be called cold.

In German and many other languages, constructions as in (1) productively license dative arguments. If a dative argument is added, it seems one cannot reject the resulting sentence without denying that the speaker is being untrue, cf. (2).

- (2) Dem Otto ist die Suppe zu heiss (um sie zu essen).  
 the Otto-DAT is the soup too hot (PRT it to eat).  
 'Otto finds the soup too hot (to eat).'

A way to explain this 'standard fixing' capacity of the dative argument lies in arguing that the dative is interpreted as ('controls') the agent implicit in the purposive action. (1) would be truth-indeterminate as its interpretation is interest relative (Fara 2000) but interests are not specified, and (2) wouldn't be as it makes the interest-bearing agent explicit.

We argue that the dative argument does indeed 'bind' the purpose clause, but in an ontologically blind fashion. Drawing on parallels to pronouns in the nominal domain, we take elements like *to(o)* (as well as directional PPs more generally) to be instructions to go to a situational index that is different from the current (last-used) one (for (1), this would be speech time). The dative argument supplies such a non-current situational index, and economy dictates that this index is used to hook the propositional content of the purpose clause to the discourse structure.

The intuition that dative arguments are interpreted as some kind of agent is prominent for a construction that we argue is syntactically and semantically parallel to the *too*-comparative, the so-called "unintentional causer construction" (cf. Schäfer 2008):

- (3) Dem Otto ist die Vase (versehentlich/?\*absichtlich) zerbrochen.  
 the Otto-DAT is the vase-NOM (accidentally/intentionally) broken.  
 'The vase broke on Otto (accidentally/intentionally).'

(3) suggests that the referent of the dative argument acted unintentionally, but is still responsible for the outcome of the expressed event. (4) is structurally parallel and intuitively more "intentional", but there is no responsibility on the part of the dative argument.

- (4) Dem Otto ist der Kuchen (?\*versehentlich/\*absichtlich) gelungen.  
 the Otto-DAT is the cake-NOM (accidentally/intentionally) succeeded  
 'The cake turned out well for Otto (accidentally/intentionally).'

We submit that it is the negativity of the purpose/result clause that pushes us to look for someone accountable, i.e., a kind of agent. The 'agentive' interpretation of the dative arguments in *too*-comparatives and elsewhere is an epiphenomenon.

Fara, D.G. (2000): Shifting sands: an interest-relative theory of vagueness. *Philosophical Topics* 28:45–81.

Meier, C. (2003): The meaning of *too*, *enough* and *so...that*. *Natural Language Semantics* 11: 69–107.

Schäfer, F. (2008): *The syntax of (anti-) causatives. External Arguments in change-of-state contexts*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

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**A Tasty Mixture**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Anand (2008) considers predicates of personal taste (henceforth POPTs) with *for*-phrases. He points out that faultless disagreement is possible in these cases, and argues that these facts are problematic for theories (e.g. Laserson 2005) that explain faultless disagreement as disagreement about the relevant judge, since in (1) the two interlocutors agree on who the judge is.

- (1) a. X: This is tasty for me. Y: But you're wrong. It's disgusting.  
b. X: This is boring for me. Y: But you're wrong. It's not boring.

As an alternative, Anand proposes that POPTs, either with or without *for*-phrases, carry a normative force, and formalizes their meaning using the generic quantifier. Roughly, he interprets “z is tasty” as “all normal perceivers agree that z is tasty.” While I am in sympathy with Anand’s intuitions, I argue that his formalization is problematic for several reasons, and propose an alternative.

I note a similarity between POPTs and, not generics, but the predicate *clear*. Both are gradeable, and allow comparatives and superlatives. Both are based on subjective belief yet carry normative, objective implications (Barker 2009).

Wolf and Cohen (to appear-a) treat the meaning of “it is clear that  $\varphi$ ” roughly as follows: competent reasoners conclude that  $\varphi$ . Correspondingly, I propose that “z is tasty” means that competent perceivers perceive a high level of tastiness with z; unlike Anand’s approach, these perceivers need not be normal, and they do not all have to agree that z is tasty.

Formally, each perceiver  $i$  assigns a degree to **tasty**(z), which is a probability measure:  $P_i(\mathbf{tasty}(z))$ . A “competent” perceiver is one whose taste is respected: not all perceivers carry the same weight. This notion is formalized by a weight  $w_i$ , assigned to perceiver  $i$ . The truth conditions of “z is tasty” are formalized using a *mixture model*—essentially, a weighted sum of the judgments of all perceivers:

$$(2) \sum_{i=1}^n (w_i \times P_i(\varphi)) > d(\mathbf{tasty})$$

This formula says that the degree assigned by a mixture of all the perceivers is above a contextually determined threshold,  $d(\mathbf{tasty})$ . If the sum of all weights is 1, this mixture can be shown to be a probability measure itself; in particular, its value does not necessarily increase if the number of perceivers increases.

By default, the weights are assigned to perceivers by the speaker; but they are assigned by X if the sentence is modified by “for X”. Thus, the *for*-phrase does not affect the propositional content, but modifies the speech act.

Faultless disagreement, either with or without a *for*-phrase, is disagreement on what counts as a competent perceiver, i.e. the weights assigned to the perceivers.

I demonstrate how this theory solves the problems with Anand’s approach pointed out above. Moreover, probabilistic mixture models are not restricted to POPTs, but



are independently motivated. In a realistic context update scenario, the hearer needs to decide whether to accept or reject the speaker's statement. As Wolf and Cohen (to appear-b) argue, this decision depends on a mixture of several sources of evidence, including what the hearer perceived directly, what she heard, and what she inferred.

Anand, P. 2008. Predicates of taste: Context-shift, assessment-shift, or something else? Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Quotation and Meaning, ZAS, Berlin.

Barker, C. 2009. Clarity and the grammar of skepticism. *Mind & Language* 24.253–273.

Lasersohn, P. 2005. Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28.643–686.

Wolf, L., and Cohen, A. to appear-a. Clarity as objectivized belief. In *Vagueness and Language Use*, ed. by P. Egré and N. Klinedinst (Palgrave Studies in Pragmatics, Language and Cognition)

Basingstoke. Palgrave Macmillan.

— to appear-b. Modal adverbs as negotiation chips. *Sprache und Datenverarbeitung*.

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**Disagreements about Taste**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

Taste predicates (*tasty*, *fun*, etc.) are vague and gradable. Let truth/ falsity in contexts  $c$  be defined by truth/ falsity in the set  $T_c$  of completions (classical contexts) consistent with  $c$  (Kamp, 1975). Gradable predicates denote in completions  $t$  degree functions,  $f(P,t) : x$  is *tasty* is true in  $t$  iff  $f(\text{tasty},t)(x)$  exceeds *tasty's* standard in  $t$ ,  $\text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$  (Kennedy, 1999). I propose that *To/ for/ in Dan's opinion* and *Dan finds that* phrases **subjectively restrict contexts**, e.g., *the cake is tasty for Dan* is true in  $c$  iff *the cake is tasty* is true in any  $t \in T_{\text{Dan}} \subseteq T_c$ , where  $f(\text{tasty},t)$  and  $\text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$  are **consistent with Dan's taste**: The entities' values represent Dan's taste, and so is the cutoff point. As the information these constituents provide is presupposed, not asserted, it tends to be preserved under negation (normally *It is not tasty for Sam* doesn't mean it's tasty, but not for Sam). Finally, grammar includes mechanisms of **implicit domain restriction** (quantification is by default restricted; von Stechow, 1994), e.g., when *if you put sugar, the tea tastes well* is considered true, we disregard completions with oil in the tea. The consequences are straightforward. First, *absence and only absence of an appropriate restriction* renders a conjunction like (1a-b) contradictory (true iff the cake is both above and below *tasty's* standard in any  $t \in T_c$  (according to any taste measure conceivable in  $c$ ; (2a-b)).

- (1) a. **(Dan:) The cake is tasty.** b. **(Sam:) No it's not.**
- (2) a.  $\forall t \in T_c, f(\text{tasty},t)([[\text{the cake}]]_t) > \text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$ .  
b.  $\forall t \in T_c, f(\text{tasty},t)([[\text{the cake}]]_t) \leq \text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$ .
- (3) a. **The cake is tasty (for Dan).** b. **No it's not (for Sam).**
- (4) a.  $\forall t \in T_{\text{Dan}} \subseteq T_c, f(\text{tasty},t)([[\text{the cake}]]_t) > \text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$ .  
b.  $\forall t \in T_{\text{Sam}} \subseteq T_c, f(\text{tasty},t)([[\text{the cake}]]_t) \leq \text{standard}(\text{tasty},t)$ .

Second, context restriction can turn the interpretation equivalent to that of (3a-b). Cooperative discourse participants, striving for a non-contradictory interpretation, are likely to assume that context is thus restricted (cf., (4a-b)). If Dan and Sam's tastes are different (correspond to different functions/ cutoff points), they are represented by non-overlapping sets of indices ( $T_{\text{Dan}} \cap T_{\text{Sam}} = \emptyset$ ). Thus, the cake's taste may exceed

the standard in **every**  $t \in T_{\text{Dan}}$  and in **no**  $t \in T_{\text{Sam}}$ . Still, the speakers may agree that the indices in both sets are consistent with the common ground (*tasty's* interpretation in each represents a legitimate taste in  $c$ :  $T_{\text{Dan}} \cup T_{\text{Sam}} \subseteq T_c$ ).

Third, there is still a natural sense in which the speakers disagree. In uttering (1b), Sam implies that the taste measures and/or cutoff points she presupposes are more plausible than Dan's. Moreover, despite our pluralism regarding taste, we all agree that, say, oil doesn't taste. So Sam's non-use of an explicit restrictor (e.g., '*for Sam*') may also convey that in  $c$  we agree that the cake doesn't taste (i.e., that (2b) is true, and (3a) inappropriate:  $T_{\text{Dan}} \cap T_c = \emptyset$ ). Alternatively, Sam may interpret Dan non-restrictively (as conveying (2a)), rejecting this view based on  $c$  being pluralistic (consistent with completions in which the cake isn't tasty; cf. (4b); for a similar account of epistemic modals, see von Stechow and Gillies 2008; see also Nouwen, 2007).

Fourth, the verb in, e.g., *I think the cake is tasty*, triggers a shift to completions consistent with the speaker's beliefs, but not necessarily her own taste. In fact, the speaker's partial access to the taste in question suggests that *tasty's* interpretation is not based on her taste. That taste depends on mental *facts*, rather than on *belief* or *opinion*, is illustrated also by the contrasts in (5) (inspired by Landau, 2009).

- (5) a. # Reading is fun for Al, but he does not feel fun reading.  
b. Al *thinks* reading is fun, but he does not feel fun reading; it's not fun for him.  
c. # Al thinks reading is fun, but in his opinion, reading is not fun.

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**Evaluative predicates in dialog**  
25.02.2010, 09.00–09.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Evaluative predicates (*wunderbar/wonderful*, *dämlich/stupid*, *lecker/tasty* etc.) differ from regular predicates (*chinesisch/Chinese*, *zwei Tonnen schwer/weighing two tons* etc.) in that they express a subjective judgement of the speaker (or some other agent) which is not subject to general truth conditions. Evaluative predicates give rise to so-called "faultless disagreement": partners in a dialog may contradict each other but neither of them can be said to be wrong (Lasnik 2005).

This paper starts from the observation that evaluative predicates differ from regular predicates in their behavior in dialog. Consider the dialog in (1). In the first version Anne uses the regular predicate *chinesisch/Chinese* in describing the vases. In the second version she uses the evaluative predicate *wunderbar/wonderful*. In his answer Bob repeats Anne's description, which is then backgrounded. In the first version Bob's answer appears a bit long-winded but otherwise unmarked. In the second version Bob's answer gives the impression of quoting (and maybe irony), which is surprising: Why should backgrounded material in a nominal phrase evoke the impression of quoting?

(1) Anne: Guck mal, Chuck hat mir eine seiner chinesischen / wunderbaren Vasen geschenkt.

'Look, Chuck gave me one of his Chinese / wonderful vases.'

Bob: Ich komme sofort. Stell die chinesische / wunderbare Vase schon mal auf das Büffet.

'I'll be with you in a minute. Put the Chinese / wonderful vase on the sideboard.'

The quoting effect is evidence that evaluative statements are not part of the common ground of the discourse participants. Still, they are public – Bob knows that Anne considers the vase to be wonderful, and he can directly relate to her judgment. It will be suggested in the paper to account for evaluative statements in dialog by allowing for a 'semi-common' part of the common ground consisting of public but not mutually acknowledged beliefs of the participants. This technique has been proposed in Gunlogson (2003) for the analysis of rising declaratives. Gunlogson's idea of tracing the commitments sets of the participants separately will be rephrased in the framework of inquisitive semantics (Groenendijk & Roelofsen 2009).

Groenendijk, J.A.G. & F. Roelofsen (2009) Inquisitive Semantics and Pragmatics. Proceedings of SPR-09, ILCLI International Workshop on Semantics, Pragmatics, and Rhetoric.

Gunlogson, Christine. 2003. True to Form: Rising and Falling Declaratives as Questions in English. New York: Routledge.

Lasersohn, P. (2005) Context Dependence, Disagreement, and predicates of Personal Taste. Linguistics and Philosophy 28: 643–686.

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**Propositional Attitude Ascriptions and Subjective Judgments in Dynamic Semantics**

25.02.2010, 09.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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This talk argues for parallel interpretation of epistemic modal statements and propositional attitude ascriptions in a framework of Modalized Dynamic Semantics (MDS), and suggests that the apparatus employed can be extended to provide an account of reports of subjective taste or preference. The talk will present more general results than those in the literature for embedding of epistemic modal statements and reports of personal taste or preference under attitude verbs, deriving results of Stephenson (2007), in particular, for special cases of such embeddings.

The report *A believes that S* can be interpreted as expressing a quantified (modalized) context update condition, updating the context attributed to the referent **a3** of *A* in worlds compatible with context update criteria attributed to **a3**. The range of worlds in which this context update condition is asserted to hold also depends on the strength of the predicate: *A imagines that S* (as a weak belief report) asserts this update condition over fewer worlds compatible with **a3**'s update criteria, and *A is convinced that S* over more worlds. Other attitude ascriptions work similarly, with update according to epistemic, bouletic or other criteria, including mixed criteria. An analysis of attitude ascriptions within a relational dynamic semantics for DRT will be presented, and arguments for it briefly summarized.

The results can be applied to the interpretation of main clauses. The speaker **a1**,

upon uttering a main clause *S*, expresses update of the prevailing speaker-addressee context by the Context Change Potential of *S*. But just as with the interpretation of attitude ascriptions, the update condition has an implicit quantifier over possible worlds (unless it has one which is overtly specified by a modal verb or adverb) compatible with the speaker's update criteria.

An epistemic modal statement (following Kratzer 1991) provides an explicit specification of the strength of this quantifier over possible worlds compatible with epistemic criteria. Addressing the extensive literature regarding who or what epistemic modals may be evaluated relative to (cf. Egan 2005, Egan, Hawthorne and Weatherson 2005), the talk will argue that epistemic modals are evaluated with respect to a normative epistemic standard, but one which the speaker presumes his or her epistemic update criteria to be in accord with. The normative epistemic standard is an analog of the exocentric judge of Stephenson (2007), but the present account articulates a relationship between the speaker and that standard.

A statement of subjective taste or preference can be interpreted along formally parallel lines, as expressing update of a context in worlds compatible with criteria of taste or preference. Along the lines explored by Lasersohn (2005) and Stephenson (2007), the context update criteria for this evaluation can constitute a normative standard, or they can be the criteria of a salient individual in the context.

For statements of epistemic modality or subjective taste occurring in complement position to an attitude verb, Stephenson proposes an intrinsic difference: the epistemic modal necessarily shifts from evaluation relative to an exocentric judge to evaluation relative to the higher subject, whereas a predicate of taste or preference can still be evaluated relative to an exocentric judge or a salient individual.

On the present account, embeddings of epistemic modal statements and statements of subjective taste or preference under attitude predicates are formally identical, interpreted with iteration of one interpretation inside the other. But considering a wider range of attitude predicates, a general pattern emerges. When the update criteria for the attitude report and the embedded statement are of the same type (both epistemic, or both according to taste or preference), we derive shift of the reference point to the higher subject, and when, in addition, they are of the same strength, the two conditions can fully collapse into a single update condition. Otherwise, the interpretations remain iterated and unreduced.

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**Predicates of Experience**  
25.02.2010, 10.00–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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In this two-part talk we propose an alternative to Lasersohn's (2005) account of "predicates of taste". Our initial claim is that for a broad class of intuitively subjective predicates, including some of those termed "predicates of taste", the experiencer has unassailable *evidence* as to the truth or falsity of the predication, simply by virtue of being the experiencer. This is not a guarantee that the experiencer's claims are true, but it makes them, in the usual case, immune from criticism as to their justification. We elaborate on the consequences of this view, and arrive at an evidential

conception of the use of predicates of taste and experience that is guided by the dynamics of discourse pragmatics.

Our pragmatic approach, unlike the semantic one, accounts for the contrast between (1) and (2):

<p>1. (just getting off the roller coaster) Mary: That was fun for me. John: # No it wasn't.</p>	<p>2. (about Bill's roller coaster ride) Mary: That was fun for Bill. John: No it wasn't.</p>
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Furthermore, the pragmatic evidential analysis extends to similar phenomena of other cases involving predicates not ordinarily falling into the “taste” category:

3. (John and Mary are on different continents having a phone conversation)  
John: It's cold here. Mary: # No it isn't.

The first part concludes with an account of why the use of semantically “strong” epistemic *must* (*The dog must be in the yard*) makes a weakened-sounding claim (cf. *The dog is in the yard*), in support of the analysis provided in von Stechow and Gillies (2009).

In the second part we provide grounds for distinguishing two classes of predicates that give rise to “faultless disagreement”. One we call *predicates of experience* (poe's). We exemplify these by contrasting *tasty* and *fun*, claiming the *fun* class (poe's), in contrast to the *tasty* class, is a predicate applying to experiences. We analyze experiences as a subclass of event types, and locate this within the lexical semantics. Differences emerge in argument structure, where only poe's (5) may take a gerundive argument.

4. # Eating the ice cream cone was tasty.  
5. Riding on the rollercoaster was fun.

Subjects not overtly expressing events are understood as such via accommodation.

6. The roller coaster was fun ≈ Riding on the roller coaster was fun  
7. That chair is comfortable ≈ Sitting in that chair is comfortable

These predicates include an experience that is being evaluated, and experiences imply experiencers. Where no experiencer is overtly expressed, it is normally taken to be the speaker, but this is a fact about pragmatic principles rather than anything about lexical or sentence semantics: it follows from Gricean Quality that (normally) the speaker making the assertion is understood to be the experiencer.

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**Where does relativity come from?**  
25.02.2010, 11.30–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Focusing on different classes of scalar predicates (dimensional, evaluative, aesthetic, normative), I will explore and document the variable appearance of relativistic behavior (primarily as indicated by the 'faultless disagreement' phenomenon) in different forms of these predicates (positive, comparative, nominal, verbal) in an effort to pinpoint the source of relativity, and address the following questions: What determines whether a predicate is relative or merely context dependent? Is relativity

(in this domain) a uniform phenomenon, or does this class of predicates display different kinds of relativity? Is relativity a semantic phenomenon, a pragmatic one, or something else?

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**Objective Judgment**  
25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Statements involving predicates of personal taste (PPTs) give rise to the phenomenon of 'faultless disagreement', in which the hearer may directly contradict the speaker while at the same time neither of them can be accused of speaking falsely:

- (1) a. Suzy: the lobster is tasty.  
b. James: no, it's not.

While most theories dealing with this phenomenon concentrate on the subjective meaning of PPTs, there are several reasons why an objective approach, in which the extension of *tasty* is the same regardless of speaker or hearer, is desirable.

A. Disagreement with an autocentric perspective (when each speaker reports her own taste evaluation) is purposeless (cf. Nouwen 2007).

B. Cases in which the meaning of *tasty* doesn't rely on subjective interpretation:

- (2) a. Reports: "Suzy and James have a disagreement whether the lobster is tasty or not".  
b. Conditionals: "If the lobster is tasty then the mashed potatoes are also tasty".

C. The validity of logical inference consisting of statements of personal taste:

- (3) a. If the lobster is tasty then the mashed potatoes are tasty.  
b. The lobster is tasty.  
c. Therefore, the mashed potatoes are tasty.

Drawing a parallel with similar problems that were already dealt with in the philosophy of ethics, we adopt Allan Gibbard's (1990) theory of *Normative Judgment* to the case of PPTs. Specifically, the notion of "a system of norms", which is formalized as a set of propositions that specify how to behave:

- (4) a. A system of norms  $n$  is a function from worlds to sets of propositions, such that:  
For any world  $w$ ,  $n(w)$  is the set of propositions of the prevailing norms in  $w$ .  
b.  $\cap n(w)$  is the set of worlds in which all the propositions of  $n(w)$  are being obeyed.  
c.  $[[\text{the lobster is tasty}]]_w=1$  iff in any  $w'$  such that  $w' \in \cap n(w)$ , liking the lobster is the thing to do.  
d.  $[[\text{the lobster is tasty}]]_w=0$  iff in any  $w'$  such that  $w' \in \cap n(w)$ , *not* liking the lobster is the thing to do.

Suzy's purpose is not to convince James that he *does* like the lobster, but that he *should* like the lobster. The disagreement is explained in the usual manner; both conversational participants assert contradictory propositions. The faultlessness is

explained by the lack of knowledge as to the nature of the actual world, and therefore as to which is the actual system of norms.

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**Expressivism is tasty! Towards an expressive account of predicates of personal taste**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Predicates of personal taste (»PPT«) like *fun* or *tasty* raise the well known problem of *faultless disagreement* (»FD« for short). Even if two subjective utterances may be true relative to the irrelative speaker, they may nevertheless seem to contradict each other. In his influential paper, Lasersohn (2005) suggests a relativistic solution that adds a judge parameter to the ordinary circumstances of evaluation. This allows a taste judgment like *Roller coasters are fun* to express the same content irrespective of the context of utterance, yet it can differ in truth value if the judge parameter changes. Trying to avoid this kind of relativism, I explore an expressive approach by comparing PPT to expressives like *damn*, *hmmm*, or *oops* (cf. e.g. Kaplan 1999; Potts 2007). Expressives and PPT share some crucial properties: They are perspective dependent, i.e. both seem to depend on some kind of judge, and they have an immediate effect, i.e. the speaker attitude they express cannot directly be challenged.

However, Lasersohn (2005: §4.3) dismisses »expressivism« based on three objections: (i) In contrast to PPT-utterances, genuine expressive speech acts like *Whee!* cannot directly be denied. (ii) PPT-sentences can appear embedded under truth-functional connectives and can participate in ordinary schemes of logical reasoning. (iii) Expressivism cannot account for the intuition that two taste judgments may contradict each other.

I argue that these objections are not lethal to an expressive approach to PPT, since they do not show what Lasersohn suggests. First, the »That's not true«-test Lasersohn uses is problematic since there are many instances in which such a phrase can be used even if we are dealing with an arguably non-assertoric speech act like commissives or expressive ones. So either such speech acts are assertions or Lasersohn's objection does not hold. Furthermore, *That's not true* can also be used if only a subpart of an assertion is denied. Hence, it is far from clear that a *That's not true* test is sufficient to establish the truth conditional nature of an utterance.

Regarding (ii), being part of a superficial »logical« deduction does not prove that we are dealing with truth-conditional content since there are many non-assertoric speech acts that can be part of such reasoning. As in *If the roller coaster has a loop, go for it. The roller coaster has a loop. Therefore, go for it.* So either such speech acts are assertions or Lasersohn's objection does not hold. Furthermore, Kaplan (1999) argues that even expressives can be part of logical reasoning.

Regarding (iii), there are non-assertoric speech acts that seem to contradict each other, like conflicting order or the expressives *Hmmm!* and *Ugh!*. So either such speech acts are assertions or Lasersohn's objection does not hold. Furthermore, Lasersohn (2005: 683) himself admits that his notion of contradiction is »somewhat

mysterious« and suggests that two sentences contradict each other if they »cannot both be accommodated under a single perspective«. Of course, this also holds for perspective dependent expressives and other non-assertoric speech acts.

To give an outlook on what an expressive account of PPT may actually look like, I draw on recent work on the treatment of expressive content. The basic idea is that while the semantic content of an ordinary assertive utterance is a set of possible worlds, an expressive speech act denotes a set of contexts. An assertion is true if the actual world is in the set of possible worlds denoted by the semantic content of the sentence. Likewise, an expressive speech act is justified or felicitous if the utterance context is in the set of contexts denoted by the semantic content of the sentence. According to this approach, some utterances are hybrid speech acts as they have both, an assertoric truth-conditional part *and* an expressive use-conditional part. The problem of FD can then be traced back to these two levels: two utterances may be true with respect to their speaker, but may still contradict each other at the expressive layer; it is a conflict about the current context. After all, the analysis I've sketched could be regarded as a mixture of expressivism and a »metacontextual-conflict« account. Of course, this is only a first step towards an expressive account of PPT and there are many open issues to be discussed at the workshop.

Kaplan, David (1999): »The meaning of *ouch* and *oops*«. 2004 version. Ms. L.A.: University of California.

Lasersohn, Peter (2005): »Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste«. In: *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28.6, 643–686.

Potts, Christopher (2007): »The expressive dimension«. In: *Theoretical Linguistics* 33.2, 165–197.

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**What does semantic subjectivity tells us about inference?**

26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Subjective predicates have attracted much attention in recent work in semantics (e.g. Lasersohn, Sæbø, Stephenson). I follow the spirit of leading proposals in the field in assuming that such predicates convey or exploit a judge parameter. In this talk, I will be concerned with the consequences that the existence of subjective phenomena has on our view of inference. More specifically, I will address the issue of how we can distinguish subjective and objective predicates in terms of inference.

If we assume that subjective predicates depend on a judge parameter for their application to entities, this mode of dependence must be distinct from 'ordinary' variation across individuals for objective predicates, see the contrast (1a) vs. (1b). In order to account for such differences, one might postulate that inherently subjective operators, like *find* in some of its constructions and analogous verbs in different languages, combine exclusively with inherently subjective predicates, which, somehow, involve a judge parameter, whereas inherently objective predicates do not. The difference would then be explained at the syntax-semantics interface level (see Sæbø for a detailed proposal along these lines). Some tension remains, however. In view of (1c-e) and similar examples, truth is intuitively neither a judge-invariant nor a crisp property. So, one would like to reconcile the interface and the intuition.



- (1) a. I find this conjecture plausible  
 b. ??I find this conjecture true  
 c. You wrote that happy endings are very disingenuous, and I find that true  
 [Google]  
 d. I believe that/In my opinion this conjecture is plausible/true  
 e. This is more or less true, almost/hardly/rather true

I propose that this is done by analysing ‘objective’ predicates, like *true*, not as *empirically* judge-invariant but as judge-invariant *in the limit*, that is, as amenable to *stable* proofs. In a non-monotonic deductive system  $\vdash$ , a proof  $\Sigma \vdash C$ , where  $\Sigma$  is a sequence of expressions and  $C$  and expression (the ‘conclusion’), is *stable* whenever  $\Sigma, \Sigma' \vdash C$  or  $\Sigma', \Sigma \vdash C$  for every sequence  $\Sigma'$ . In other terms, with a stable proof, the conclusion is definitely reached at at least one point in the space of possible sequences of premises. A proposition is judge-invariant (in the limit) when it admits of some stable proof.

It is not required that the premises of the proof be actually true or proven, nor even identifiable but only that there be in principle a stable dependency between some premises and the conclusion. For instance, a mathematical conjecture might be unproved or even unprovable, but any mathematical proof of the conjecture would be stable. Perceptual or metaphysical propositions like *Mary was in the house this morning* or *God exists* express *facts*, that is states of affairs that would have stable proofs if they had any proof.

A predicate  $P$  is judge-invariant (in the limit) in the domain  $D$  whenever every proposition  $P(t)$ , where  $t$  is a term in  $D$ , is judge-invariant. For instance, predicates like *true* are judge-invariant in the mathematical or factual domains. In contrast, although *That Michael Jordan is tall is true* is indisputable in our world, there are other terms, for example *That Paul Auster is tall*, for which the resulting proposition is debatable, that is, cannot be the conclusion of a stable proof. In general (see 1c) propositions involving ‘subjective’ predicates, meaning predicates that resist stable proofs, create terms that subjectivize higher-order predicates.

In the talk, I will discuss additional issues, including an alternative account based on the modal pedigree of propositions and the interaction with fictional worlds (novels, films, etc.).

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**Children’s understanding of point of view and subjective meaning**  
 26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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This paper looks at children’s understanding of different types of Point of View (POV) and (non)subjective meaning in English expletives and raising constructions. C. Chomsky (1969) reports that children (aged 5-10) fail to grasp the underlying structure of raising constructions like (1), and assume that the doll is the subject of the predicate. In this study, we refine the research question and separate the acquisition of the general POV, which is imposed by expletives, from the acquisition of a raising structure that requires non-subjective interpretation.

- (1) Question: Is the (blind) doll easy to see or hard to see?  
(2) Adult: It is easy to see the doll. / Children: She (the doll) is hard to see.

Moltmann (to appear) shows that the PRO in expletives has a quasi-first-person orientation and delivers *first-person-based genericity*. It is generic/quantificational rather than subjective, and the construction is open to faultless disagreement. We suggest that the expletives force people to take a general POV, and the subjective meaning is associated with *for*-phrase. Expletives like (2A) describes a proposition that is judged true for most people. A 'no' reply is semantically different from a 'not for me' reply. The latter is clarification rather than disagreement.

- (2) A: It is easy (PRO) to jump over the fence.  
B: No. / Not for me.

Raising constructions, on the other hand, may ask for subjective interpretations. A predicate like 'sure' can describe the belief state of the speaker (3a) in raising constructions, but in (3b) it takes a complement clause and reveals the point of view specific to the grammatical subject.

- (3) a. John is sure to win. (Speaker POV, subjective meaning: John may not think he will win.)  
b. John is sure that he will win. (Subject POV, non-subjective meaning: the speaker may not agree with John.)

In this study we examine L1 English-speaking children's understanding of expletives and 'sure' constructions. Longitudinal data shows that expletive constructions emerge fairly early (2;5-4;1) for most children, and some are clear general POV uses. Less children use 'sure' constructions and most of these utterances have a local person subject. Two experiments are designed to confirm the findings and tease apart subject/speaker POV uses in 'sure' constructions. In the first experiment, 7 stories are told to 10 children from 3;8 to 5;2, and each story is followed by a question in an expletive structure. 80.4% of children's answers are target-like, and they make generalizations according to the content of the story rather than their own subjective opinion. In the second experiment, 40 children from 3;7 to 9;1 listen to 12 stories, and each is followed by a question using a predicate containing 'sure'. The stories describe events where one person has a false belief. The 'X is sure-that' questions look for the subject's POV while other questions target speaker/general POV answers. On average, children under 6 only answer 35% subject POV questions correctly, and no clear sign of improvement is found till age 9. In contrast, 63.6% "X is sure to" questions and above 80% expletive questions have target answers.

These results, when put together, show that children do not blindly apply subjective meaning to every case, and they are able to interpret expletives with target general POV from early on. However, they may have a subjective meaning bias for specific constructions. It is likely that the syntax of these constructions stands as obstacles in acquisition, and children assign a non-target underlying structure to (3b) that lead to a subjective interpretation.

Chomsky, Carol. 1969. *The Acquisition of Syntax in Children from 5 to 10*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.  
Moltmann, Friederike. To appear. Relative Truth and the First Person. *Philosophical Studies*.

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**Predicates of Taste: Doing Without Judge Dependence**

26.02.2010, 13.00–14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.301

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Recent discussions in linguistics and philosophy have assumed that a semantics for predicates of taste has to reconcile two alleged facts (Lasersohn 2005):

- (i) *Judge dependence*: the truth of attributions of taste-related properties depends on a judge (an individual or a group), and
- (ii) *Disagreement*: speakers disagree about the truth or correctness of those attributions.

It is well known that reconciling the two creates trouble for standard contextualist semantics (Cappelen & Hawthorne 2009, Glanzberg 2007). This has motivated relativist approaches which posit extra parameters to the index (instead of the propositional content) to account for certain forms of context sensitivity (Lasersohn 2005, Stephenson 2007).

This paper argues that the assumption of judge dependence is false. I offer novel criticism Lasersohn's (2005) "radical" relativism and argue that the problems of the views are due to the assumption of judge dependence. I then propose an invariantist semantics which construes taste predicates as ordinary 1-place predicates. Invariantism would be problematic on the assumption that there are objective properties taste predicates refer to. Instead, the claim is that taste predicates are similar to predicates like *unicorn*; they have a descriptive content to which nothing in the world corresponds, but (unlike *unicorn*) they are useful due to the expressive dimension involved.

The argument against Lasersohn's relativism claims that the theory faces what I call *the Dilemma of Uncharitable Interpretations*. I argue that if speakers are aware of the relativity of predicates of taste, then the relativist owes an explanation for why they do not normally interpret others charitably, taking the speaker to be the judge (instead of using themselves as judges): that is the first horn of the dilemma. Alternatively, the relativist must give up the idea that speakers know the relativity of taste predicates, and that they engage in disagreements accidentally since they are unable to take up the perspective of others. That is the second horn, and implies that speakers are deficient in their mastery of a group of expressions. Neither option is acceptable, and the proposed relativist theories have no answer to the question of uncharitable interpretations.

I then argue that when we look closely at how taste predicates are used, there is no evidence of judge dependence; on the contrary, disagreements and their persistence shows that people take themselves to disagree about genuine properties. However, there cannot be properties which would make those attributions true due to the radical differences in people's taste. It thus seems that the assumption of judge dependence is a mere philosophical prejudice which should have no place in semantic theorizing.

After proposing the alternative invariantist account I discuss the consequences of

assuming that predicates of taste fail to refer to properties. I argue that taste predicates are like non-referring predicates (e.g. *witch*) and claim that reference failure is relatively harmless considering the usefulness of taste predicates in practical life. The conclusion is that in a certain respect taste predicates are like purely expressive predicates (e.g. *awesome*), but the puzzles they create are caused by their apparently objective descriptive dimension, and that is what causes people to disagree about taste.

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### **On Vagueness, Context Dependence, and Disagreement**

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The present paper argues for a version of truth contextualism concerning vagueness. When I talk about vague expressions, I mostly look at gradable adjectives like “rich” or “tall”. Such predicates are tolerant, meaning that if someone is rich, then losing one cent will not make that person not rich, or if someone is tall, then a person just one millimetre shorter will also count as tall. There would be hard to find someone who denies that vague predicates are context-dependent. But in which way are they context-dependent it is not easy to tell. First, I go through some general considerations concerning vagueness and context dependence. Then I try to make an inventory of the various ways in which context plays a role in natural language interpretation. I distinguish between minimalist, contextualist, and perspectival views concerning the role of context in interpretation. Further on, I try to detail what I take to be a truth-contextualist view of vagueness. In the end, I present an advantage the present view has in making sense of disagreement intuitions.

We should distinguish two types of context dependence: dependence of *content* on context and dependence of *extension* of context. According to the Kaplanian picture, indexicals are expressions whose content at a context depends on features of the context. In contrast, there are expressions which are context-dependent without being indexicals, in the sense that their extension at a context depends on features of the context. I call this, following MacFarlane (2009), nonindexical context dependence. There is context dependence in determining contents from characters, and there is also context dependence in determining extensions or truth values from contents. And so, we have two types of contextualism: content contextualism and truth contextualism.

The meanings of vague predicates fail to determine precise extensions. For example, the meaning of “rich” does not determine for each object whether it is in the predicate extension or not. The variation in the extension of vague predicates points to a change in context. But arguably it is not the content that varies with the context of use. In terms of framework, I make use of the semantic framework proposed by Predelli (2005a and 2005b). As far as the analysis of vagueness is concerned, I aim it similar to Fara (2000) in the essential points.

A truth-contextualist view accommodates best some features of vague expressions. Most of all, it explains intuitions concerning disagreement. We can make sense of the fact that there is real disagreement between us when I hold that Hanna is rich and you hold the opposite. Claiming that it is the content of a vague expression that

varies with the context of use would make the disagreement not substantive: we would just disagree about the sense of “rich” at issue. But when one holds that Hanna is rich and someone else the opposite we would like to have a substantive disagreement. In fact, we really disagree about Hanna being rich; I take this as a fact of language use.

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**Incompatibility and Cognitive Fault**

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### **Relativism**

In relativism debates, there is a well-known constraint on disagreement, namely, that in a strictly cognitive disagreement, there must be at least one person who is confused, inattentive, biased, or otherwise cognitively faulty. When a disagreement over a given subject-matter is strictly cognitive, there is little or no inclination towards relativism about that subject-matter. However, when a disagreement is not strictly cognitive, we are inclined towards relativism. Given the important role in relativism debates assigned to what I call the *cognitive fault* constraint, we should settle questions not only about how to understand the constraint, but also how to apply it. In this paper, I defend the comparative advantages of an alternative to the standard metaphysical interpretation. On the alternative view, cognitive fault talk is sensitive to contextual restrictions, including contextually supplied standard of cognitive fault. In addition, the modal idiom expresses necessity relative to the normal course of events when different people accept mutually inconsistent views. On the standard metaphysical approach, cognitive fault talk is not context-sensitive, and the modal idiom expresses a familiar modality, namely, metaphysical necessity.

### **Cognitive Fault and Modality**

I defend the view that, in the cognitive fault constraint, cognitive fault talk is context-sensitive. For example, there is a similarity between gradable adjectives such as ‘expensive’ and cognitive fault predicates such as ‘confused’. Several factors account for the truth of the sentence ‘the car is expensive’ in a given context, including the car’s cost with respect to a contextually supplied standard of cost. Similarly, if ‘Smith is confused’ is true in a given context, it is due to Smith’s lucidity with respect to a standard of lucidity given by that context.

I draw on Angelika Kratzer’s (see (1977) and (1991)) research on modals to shed light on the modal idiom in the cognitive fault constraint. She argues that the truth-conditions of some modal claims are relative to a range of facts: for instance, given facts about a location’s soil and climate, and facts about hydrangeas, we may truly or falsely say, “Hydrangeas can grow here.” I argue that, in the fault constraint, the modal claim’s truth-conditions are also relative to a range of facts. In particular, the truth-conditions of ‘someone must be cognitively faulty’ are relative to the fact that there are at least two participants that accept mutually inconsistent views. In addition, Kratzer argues that the truth-conditions of some modal claims are relative to how things stand with respect to the normal course of events. Even when a detective’s evidence does not rule out the far-fetched possibility that a space alien murdered Smith, he could truly say, “Jones must be Smith’s murderer,” since an alien murderer is outside the normal course of events. I argue that, in the fault constraint, the modal

incorporates a similar relativity to the normal course of events. The truth-conditions of 'someone must be cognitively faulty' are thus relative to what happens in the normal course of events when two different participants accept mutually inconsistent views.

### **Science and Reflective Equilibrium**

Stewart Shapiro (2007) raises an apparent counter-example to the cognitive fault constraint. He imagines a scenario where, in reflective equilibrium, two different scientists adopt mutually inconsistent scientific views, but neither scientist is—and so, neither must be—cognitively faulty. Since, by hypothesis, scientific subject-matters are not relative, something is amiss with the cognitive fault constraint. Given the standard metaphysical approach, the above scenario is problematic, but it poses no problem for the alternative interpretation that I defend. Scientific disagreement in reflective equilibrium is different from scientific disagreement in the normal course of events. As such, we may truly say about the above scenario, 'someone must be cognitively faulty', even though, in reflective equilibrium, the two scientists faultlessly disagree.

## AG 9 Linearisierung

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**Linearization in Natural Language Generation:  
Linguistic and implementation issues**  
24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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Both linguistic theories and Natural Language Generation (NLG) face similar linearization problems, in addition, NLG has to cope with practical issues of computability. The first question concerns the “quality” of linearization items: are these inflected words or lemmata? This amounts to a temporal ordering between syntax and inflectional morphology. While different models are conceptually possible - syntax comes **before** morphology [Cho95]; syntax comes **after** morphology [Bre01], [PS94]; syntax and morphology are **synchronous** [Cro01], **parallel** [Bor88] or **alternating** processes; or even that morphology is **distributed** among syntax, semantics and phonology [HM93]-, only those with a clear temporal ordering have been implemented (e.g., LFG or HPSG). The Romanian *this*-NP shows different marking patterns depending on the relative position of the demonstrative w.r.t. the noun. To obtain all grammatical variants (ex. 1 and 5), both morpho-syntactic specifications and relative positions are required. This fact speaks for linearization before inflectional morphology. HPSG- or LFG-based NLG systems might not be able to generate all grammatical variants of a Romanian *this*-NP without explicit coding of linearization-relevant information in modules that are not supposed to handle it. Couched in a cross-linguistically motivated, dependency-based linearization model [Ger07], it will be shown that a modular constraint-based processing of the Romanian *this*-NP is possible. The second question concerns the “size” of linearization items: are these as small as morphemes or as big as lexemes? For this purpose, a linearization test is proposed: assuming two items  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  at morpho-syntactic level in a specific language, if the language allows for both  $\alpha < \beta$  and  $\beta < \alpha$  then these items are linearization primitives. Applied to Polish person-number markers in past tense (ex. 9-11), weak pronouns in Romanian (ex. 23-24), separable particle verbs in German (ex. 21-22), or phrasal verbs in English (ex. 17-18), the test classifies them as input items for linearization. This is not the case with a genuine suffix (ex. 19-20). The third question concerns the “complexity” of linearization units: are these as complex as a phrase, less or perhaps more complex? Considering the so-called *discontinuous constituents* as well as the *Topological Field Models* for Germanic languages, a permutation test for forming complex units is proposed. In terms of Immediate Dominance/Linear Precedence (ID/LP), the linearization task can be formulated as follows: given an ID structure - a dependency tree without explicit linearization information -, find all corresponding LP variants - all grammatical output sequences. Using only horizontal and vertical rules would not allow for a straightforward, flexible linearization of, say, extraposed relative clauses in German (ex. 15 and 16). To this end, a further rule type is proposed: diagonal rules, rules that control the linearization between nodes that relate neither as mother-daughter nor as siblings. Developing flexible NLG systems requires phenomena to be reconsidered

and theoretical models to be consulted. However, the plausibility of a model and its implementability in an NLG system have to be weighed up against each other.

- |  |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| (1) <i>acest om</i><br>this man                                    | (3) * <i>acesta om</i><br>this <sub>-ar</sub> man  | (5) <i>omul acesta</i><br>man <sub>-ar</sub> this <sub>-ar</sub> | (7) * <i>omul acest</i><br>man <sub>-ar</sub> this |
| (2) * <i>acesta omul</i><br>this <sub>-ar</sub> man <sub>-ar</sub> | (4) * <i>acest omul</i><br>this man <sub>-ar</sub> | (6) * <i>om acest</i><br>man this                                | (8) * <i>om acesta</i><br>man this <sub>-ar</sub>  |
- 
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (9) <i>Nie widzieliśmy tego.</i><br>not see <sub>-pst-m-pl-1pl</sub> this   | (12) Peter hat gestern <u>ein Buch</u> , das schön ist, gekauft.<br>Peter has yesterday a book that nice is bought   |
| (10) <i>Tegośmy nie widzieli.</i><br>this <sub>-1pl</sub> not see <sub>-pst-m-pl</sub>                                | (13) Peter hat ein Buch, das schön ist, gestern gekauft.<br>Peter has a book that nice is yesterday bought   |
| (11) <i>Myśmy tego nie widzieli.</i><br>we <sub>-1pl</sub> this not see <sub>-pst-m-pl</sub><br>[We didn't see this.] | (14) *Peter hat <u>ein Buch</u> gestern, das schön ist, gekauft.<br>Peter has a book yesterday that nice is bought   |
|   | (15) Peter hat gestern <u>ein Buch</u> gekauft, das schön ist.<br>Peter has yesterday a book bought that nice is   |
|   | (16) Peter hat <u>ein Buch</u> gestern gekauft, das schön ist.<br>Peter has a book yesterday bought that nice is<br>[Yesterday, Peter bought a nice book.] |
- 
- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| (17) They call <u>up John</u> .                       | (21) Sie will das Fenster <u>aufmachen</u> .<br>she wants the window open make<br>[She wants to open the window.] | (23) <u>Să-I faceți!</u><br>that it do <sub>-conj-2pl</sub>   |
| (18) They call <u>John up</u> .                       | (22) Sie <u>macht</u> das Fenster <u>auf</u> .<br>she makes the window open                                       | (24) <u>Faceți-I!</u><br>do <sub>-imp-pl</sub> it<br>[Do it!] |
| (19) Sie sollte <u>kochen</u> .<br>[She should cook.] | (20) *Sie <u>kochente</u> .   |   |

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**Linearization in relational network linguistics**  
 24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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The contradiction between hierarchical syntactic structure and linear phonological structure has been recognized as a problem in minimalist thinking since the 1990s. Neurocognitive stratificational theory offers a solution to the problem. The hierarchical cognitive store  $\Leftrightarrow$  linear phonetics correlation has been recognized in print since the 1970s (Dell & Reich 1977, Sullivan 1978, 1980) and pure relational network (RN) solutions to various problems are available in print. There is neurological evidence for the hierarchical cognitive store and instrumental evidence for linearity in the acoustic stream. Conversely, there is no evidence against either fact, though there is abundant evidence that generative theory in any of its incarnations has severe difficulties in attempting to “reconcile the hypothesis with ... strict ordering requirements” or can account for the fact “that coordination operates on linear strings.” The present study deals with a problem of anataxis in Russian,



where two linear orders appear. Both are grammatical. The meanings overlap to a great extent, but there is a semantic difference. The description shows how a pure relational network takes a simultaneous semantic input of **ruble**, **5**, and **PROXIMATE** and produces a syntactic output of *rublej pjat'* and how a simultaneous input of **ruble** and **5** produces syntactic output of *pjat' rublej* from a stratified system that has both a generalized sememic structure and a generalized syntactic structure for Russian number phrases. This shows that a RN description not only provides linear order in the general case but can provide alternate linear orders. It can just as well account for more complex examples of linearization, e.g. active-passive combined with raising and more (cf. Sullivan 1978). The crux is in the interstratal relations between generalized structures. Though only a first step, the present study also indicates that linearization is a piecemeal process, occurring over 5 strata in Russian.

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**Reprojection and exhaustive constant partial ordering**

24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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1. *Background* Gazdar et. al. (1985) pursue an approach to syntax in which the standard idea that rules of structure-building include linearization information is abandoned: Context-free phrase structure rules that encode both dominance and precedence are replaced with immediate dominance (ID) rules that encode only dominance, and the linearization part is taken care of by a (relatively small) set of linear precedence (LP) statements that can be assumed to restrict the outputs of ID rules. This move to an ID/LP format presupposes that natural languages exhibit the property of *exhaustive constant partial ordering* (ECPO). Basically, a language has the ECPO property if, for all categories X and Y, if there is an LP statement  $X < Y$ , then X will have to precede Y in *all* contexts in which both X and Y show up on the right-hand side of an ID rule. As noted by Gazdar et. al. (1985), it is by no means obvious that all languages must adhere to the ECPO property, and it would be “interesting and surprising if ECPO turned out to be a linguistic universal” (p. 49).

2. *Exhaustive Constant Partial Ordering and the Minimalist Program* The separation of structure-building and linearization is also a basic tenet of the minimalist program (Chomsky 2001, 2005, 2008). For concreteness, we can assume that Merge yields unordered structures that are then linearized – either solely via extremely general LP statements like *head < comp* or *comp < head*, or by more fine-grained LP statements that add category information (perhaps underspecified, as in [+V] covering adjectives and verbs, vs. [V], which captures only verbs). (This presupposes, contra Kayne 1994, that there is indeed a general option of having variation in the linearization of head and complement, and possibly also of specifier and head; see Richards 2004, Abels & Neeleman 2006, 2009 for recent arguments to this effect.) The question arises whether ECPO is also an issue with current

minimalist grammars. At first sight, the answer would seem to have to be no, for a very simple reason: If Merge invariably leads to binary branching structures, configurations that violate ECPO cannot arise in the first place.

3. *Reprojection* Closer inspection reveals that the issue of ECPO may nevertheless become relevant in the minimalist program if head movement can take place by *reprojection*: A head H moves out of a phrase ZP and reemerges with ZP, projecting its category label in the derived position. The problem arises if movement is *formally exactly the same operation* as basic structure building (see Chomsky 2007, 2008: internal vs. external Merge): H may now follow a ZP sister in the base but precede (another) ZP sister after movement. I argue that a principled solution to the dilemma posed by reprojection is available if LP statements have access to more features than just (possibly underspecified) category labels. Assuming all (internal and external) Merge operations to be driven by designated structure-building features that are discharged by the operation (see Heck & Müller 2007, Müller 2010, and references cited there), the feature make-up of V is different in the base position and in the derived position, and this difference can be exploited by LP statements, thereby resolving the contradiction. (Also see Heck 2010 on a similar approach to some apparent violations of a general ban on direct recursion.) Interestingly, it turns out that permitting LP statements to have access to non-categorial features of categories would also suffice to circumvent possible counter-evidence to ECPO in the original approach in Gazdar et. al. (1985).

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**The linearization of multidominance graphs**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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Syntactic structures are the result of a sequence of Merge operations. Standardly, it is assumed that heads and phrases can be moved, which means that they can be merged again. The most straightforward way of representing this is by means of multidominance, thereby doing away with stipulations concerning copies/traces (cf. Gärtner 2002, and several others). Of course, multidominance graphs raise issues concerning the linearization of syntactic structure at the PF interface. In itself, this is not essentially different from the earlier question which copy is to be spelled out, but the required technology is slightly different. Notably, however, for LCA-based approaches to linearization (starting with Kayne 1994), the current view of Move as remerge is problematic.

Matters get worse once we realize that not only regular movement is predicted by Merge, but, in the absence of limiting stipulations, also structure sharing configurations (which can be shown to be equivalent with the concept of sideward movement). A well-known concrete example that may involve sharing is Right Node Raising, but it can be used for various other types of sentence amalgamation. Sharing itself is brought about by merging an existing term with an external element (cf. Van Riemsdijk 2006, and others). The immediate result is a doubly-rooted configuration, which is principally unlinearizable, but the two roots can be combined in a later stage of the derivation. Therefore, the potential problem can be resolved before the linearization procedure at PF is reached.

PF, then, may encounter two different types of multidominance configurations (and combinations thereof), which, I will argue, have different linearization demands: in regular movement structures, the (linearly) first occurrence of the remerged element needs to be spelled out, but in sharing configurations the (linearly) second occurrence is overtly realized. Though some ‘extended LCA’ approaches to sharing have been proposed in the literature (cf. Wilder 2008, and several others), the dilemma sketched here has never been properly addressed (with the possible exception of Chen-Main 2006).

I will turn against the LCA. I will show that such approaches fail hopelessly once confronted with the full complexity of syntactic structure made possible by Merge. Issues to be addressed are (i) the difference between movement and sharing, (ii) remnant movement and roll-up movement, (iii) the notion of c-command, (iv) the necessity of producing a mathematical linear order.

As an alternative, I will try to formulate the exact conditions necessary for linearizing syntactic structure from the perspective of a graph traversal procedure. Thereby, I will have to abandon the idea that syntax is dominance-only, in line with independent ideas concerning the asymmetry of Merge (cf. Zwart 2006, among others).

Time permitting, I will elaborate on the concept of multidominance and the interaction with the idea of a strict cycle. Also, I intend to show how it is possible that sharing configurations are apparently insensitive to locality constraints, as opposed to regular movement.

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**A multidominance approach to coordinated questions in Romanian**

24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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I discuss two types of questions in Romanian, namely multiple questions, where all interrogatives (WHs) appear in clause initial position (1a) and coordinated questions, where *arguments* WHs appear coordinated in clause initial position (2a). I focus on coordinated questions arguing that, contrary to multiple questions, which are monoclausal, coordinated questions in Romanian are biclausal - that is, they are derived from the conjunction of two CPs. Empirical arguments in favor of a biclausal analysis for coordinated questions in Romanian come from the distribution of the question word “oare”. On the assumption that “oare” can only appear once per

clause, be it in yes/no questions (3), constituent questions (4) or multiple questions (5), the grammaticality of the coordinated question in (6b), where “oare” appears twice, signals that the coordinated questions in (6)/(2) syntactically involves two questions (two CPs).

I further show that (biclausal) coordinated questions (2) and (monoclausal) multiple questions (1) have different syntactic and semantic properties. The order of WHs in a coordinated question is free (2a-b) whereas fronted WHs in Romanian multiple questions are subject to strict ordering constraints (1a-b). Moreover coordinated questions (2) allow single pair readings whereas multiple questions (1a) only allow pair list readings.

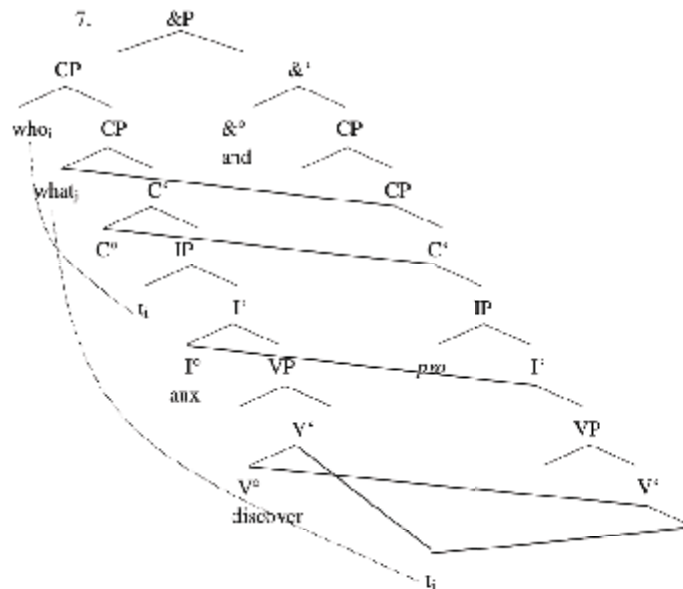
Multiple questions (1): Following Hornstein (1995), Dayal (1996), Comorowski (1997) and extending proposals in Chierchia (1993) I adopt an analysis of multiple questions in terms of skolem functions. I show that the skolem functional analysis accounts for both ordering restrictions and the lack of pair-list readings in Romanian multiple questions.

Coordinated questions (2): adopting a non-bulk sharing approach (Martina Gracanin-Youksek, (2007)), I propose the multidominance analysis in (7). The fundamental issue is how these structures are linearised and interpreted. Based on Kayne’s LCA I adopt a relaxed notion of precedence, following in essence (Wilder, (1999)): in ordering a complex node  $\alpha$  with respect to a complex node  $\beta$ , only those terminals completely dominated by  $\alpha$  are ordered with respect to terminals completely dominated by  $\beta$ . As for the interpretation of the structure in (7), since we have two independent questions we correctly predict the availability of single pair readings. The multidominance analysis of coordinated questions thus accounts for both their syntactic properties (lack of ordering restrictions) and their semantic properties (availability of single pair readings).

Predictions for the cross-linguistic typology of multiple questions: The proposal in (7) hinges crucially on the availability of silent arguments on the one hand (i.e the external argument of the verb *discover* in the second conjunct is a *pro*), and of WH-movement on the other. If the availability of coordinated questions with *arguments* WHs across languages is a result of the conjunction of these two parameters - the pro-drop parameter and the multiple-WH-movement parameter - then the hypothesis in (7) predicts that only WH-movement languages which are *pro*-drop should allow for coordinated questions with *arguments* WHs. This prediction is born out for Russian, Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Spanish, Portugese, Greek which are both *pro*-drop and WH-movement languages and, as predicted, allow for coordinated questions with *arguments* WHs. In contrast, we correctly predict that languages like English or French, which are not *both* WH-movement and *pro*-drop languages, do not allow for coordinated questions of the type in (2a-b).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. a. Cine ce a cumpărat?<br/>         who what AUX bought<br/>         ‘Who bought what?’</p> | <p>b. *Ce cine a cumpărat?<br/>         what who aux bought<br/>         ‘Who bought what?’</p> |
| <p>2. a. Cine și ce a descoperit?<br/>         who and what aux discover</p>                      | <p>b. Ce și cine a cumpărat?<br/>         what and who AUX discover</p>                         |

3. **Oare** va ploua azi?  
*oare* AUX.FUT rain today  
 'Is it going to rain today?'
4. **Oare** cine bate la usa?  
*oare* who knock PREP door  
 'Who's knocking at the door?'
5. a. **Oare** cine ce a comandat? b. \***Oare** cine **oare** ce a comandat?  
*oare* who what aux ordered *oare* who *oare* what AUX ordered  
 'Who ordered what?'
6. a. **Oare** cine și ce a comandat?  
*oare* who and what AUX ordered?  
 b. **Oare** cine și **oare** ce a comandat?  
*oare* who and *oare* what AUX ordered  
 'Who ordered what?'



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**(Dynamic) antisymmetry does not need unary branching**  
 24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

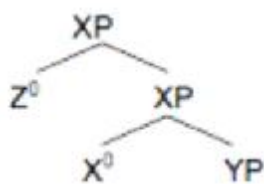
**Issues:** The general incompatibility of the LCA (Kayne, 1994) and BPS (Chomsky, 1995a) has been the subject of much discussion. Various solutions have been proffered, in particular the admission of unary branching in BPS (Guimarães, 2000, Kayne, 2009). We show that the LCA is in fact easily amenable to BPS without the use of unary branching, if we adopt the principles of Dynamic Antisymmetry (Moro, 2000). We further point out some problems that remain unsolved under the use of unary branching, but which receive an explanation under the current approach.

**Initial Merger Problem:** In the course of a derivation a head (say a  $V^0$ ) selects a complement (say a DP), undergoes Merge, and forms a VP.  $V^0$  asymmetrically c-commands all the material inside the DP, giving rise to the order  $\langle V^0, DP \rangle$ . At the outset of a derivation, however, what undergoes Merge is two lexical items drawn from the Lexicon—two heads. Consider the merger of  $X^0$  and  $Y^0 \rightarrow \{X^0, \{X^0, Y^0\}\}$ . Here,  $X^0$  and  $Y^0$  c-command each other. In Moro's terms, they form a point of symmetry and cannot be linearized by the LCA.

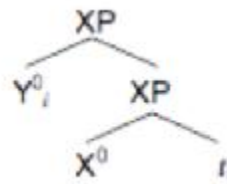
**Unary Branching:** Guimarães (2000) proposes that a lexical item can undergo Self-Merge – Merge  $(\beta, \beta) \rightarrow \{\gamma, \{\beta, \beta\}\} = \{\gamma, \{\beta\}\}$ . Guimarães argues that Self-Merge is constrained by virtue of the costliness of Merge itself (Chomsky, 1998). In particular, he argues it occurs only when it needs to – at the outset of a derivation. There is, however, at least one other situation in which merger of two lexical items gives rise to a point of symmetry, namely when a lexical item (say a clitic) is merged in the specifier of an XP. Note that this does not give rise to an immediate LCA violation, (1).  $Z^0$  asymmetrically (and vacuously) c-commands  $X^0$  and  $X^0$  asymmetrically c-commands the material inside YP. The problem arises when another head merges with XP, (2a). Here,  $W^0$  and  $Z^0$  form a point of symmetric c-command. Under Guimarães' approach,  $W^0$  would undergo Self-Merge, ultimately giving rise to the bizarre structure in (2b). The only possibility for unary branching to salvage this situation is to have  $Z^0$  undergo Self-Merge before it merges in Spec,XP. However, it has no motivation to do this, as the structure in (2a) does not violate the LCA. In the interests of eliminating powerful look-ahead mechanisms in syntax (Collins, 1997), we cannot adopt unary branching.

**Solution:** Given the shortcomings of unary branching, let us assume instead, following Moro, that violations of the LCA act as triggers of movement. Thus, when two heads c-command each other it forces movement of one of the heads to form the structure in (3). We conclude that unary branching is not only unnecessary, but also fails to solve the problems of bringing the LCA in line with BPS. Instead, we have shown that Dynamic Antisymmetry does a more satisfactory job.

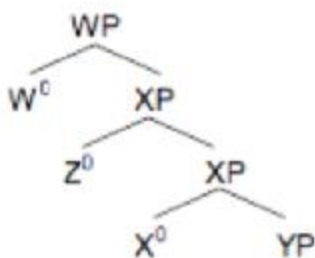
(1)



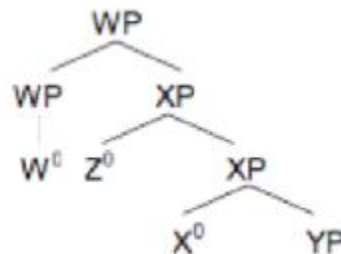
(3)



(2) a.



b.



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**Graph-theoretical linearization of Bare Phrase Structure**  
 24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

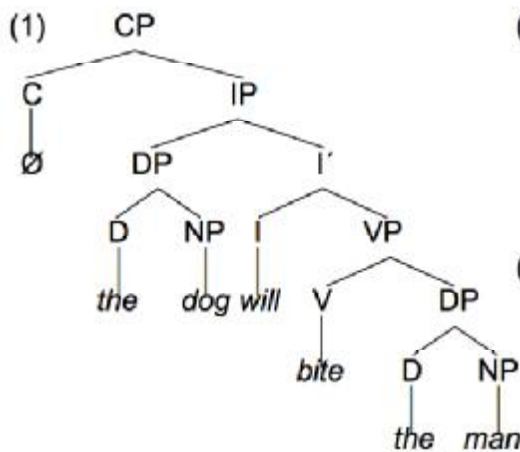
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In the minimalist theory of Bare Phrase Structure (Chomsky 1995), syntactic structures are assumed to be solely hierarchical without any linear ordering among the sister nodes, and Kaynes' (1994) theory of antisymmetry is the most widely adopted for linearization of terminal words. Yet, their fundamental conflicts are not quite resolved; in Bare Phrase Structure (BPS), no non-branching projection is allowed so that a head and its complement mutually c-command each other, for which no linear relations can be determined if the complement is a simplex terminal. Furthermore, as pointed out in Guimarães (2008), Kayne's theory of antisymmetry is not as restrictive as has been believed, allowing (i) *n*-ary branching ( $n > 2$ ); (ii) heads adjoined to non-heads; (iii) non-heads adjoined to heads; (iv) multiple specifiers; and (v) multiple adjunction to heads.

In this paper, I seek an alternative, developing Kural's (2005) graph-theoretical approach that can effectively be applied to unordered syntactic structures of BPS. I argue that graph-theoretical linearization is more promising, in that its formal aspects are well-studied, and importantly that typologically significant word-order variations can be derived from a single structure without seemingly self-motivated movements.

Applied to a syntactic tree such as in (1), Kural (2005) proposes a terminal-extraction algorithm embedded in the three traversal methods (2a–c) well-known in graph theory, the preorder, inorder, and postorder traversals, yielding the sequences (3a–c), respectively, which coincide with the three typologically dominant word orders, VSO, SVO, and SOV, respectively. Ingenious as it is, however, there are two major problems, one empirical and the other theoretical. The empirical problem is concerned with *wh*-movement. Its preorder traversal yields the sequence (4) in which the moved *wh*-phrase follows C, which does not seem to be attested in any VSO languages. The theoretical problem has to do with the directionality mentioned in the traversal algorithms (2a–c), and the assumption that the syntactic structure is an ordered tree as in (1), which cannot be adopted directly into BPS.

Given these, I propose to modify the traversal algorithm as in (10), and the head-adjunction structure in BPS as (11). The *BPS Traversal* (10) refers to child nodes/subtrees as **consanguineous** (blood-children) or **adopted** (step-children). Applying the *BPS Traversal* (10) to the structure (11) yields the categorial reductions (12a–c). By stipulating that the two phase heads, C and  $v^*$ , may bear a [postorder] feature, the embedded (C)SOV(I) order in German can also be accounted for with the inorder traversal.



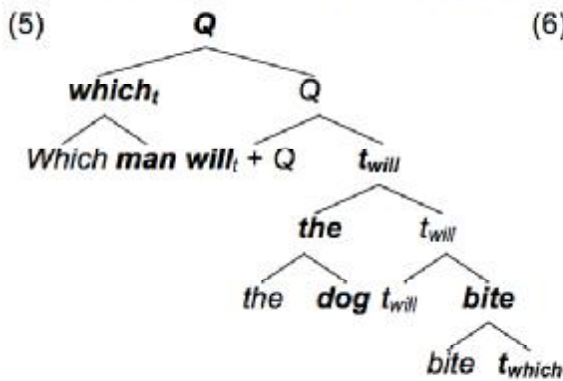
(2) Tree Traversals

Starting from the root, at a given node N:

- a. Preorder: Visit the node.
  - i) Recursively traverse its left subtree.
- b. Inorder: Visit the node.
  - ii) Recursively traverse its right subtree.
- c. Postorder: Visit the node.

- (3)
- a. Preorder: (C)(I)SVO  
{∅, will, the, dog, bite, the, man}
  - b. Inorder: (C)S(I)VO  
{∅, the, dog, will, bite, the, man}
  - c. Postorder: SOV(I)(C)  
{dog, the, man, the, bite, will, ∅}

(4) {will + Q which man the dog (t<sub>will</sub>) bite (t<sub>whi</sub>)}



(6) BPS Traversal

Starting from the root, at a given node N:

- a. Preorder: Spell-Out its label if maximal.
  - i) If a child is **consanguineous** but childless, traverse that child. Otherwise, traverse its **adopted** subtree recursively.
- b. Inorder: Spell-Out its label if maximal.
  - ii) Recursively traverse its **consanguineous** subtree.
- c. Postorder: Spell-Out its label if maximal.

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**Locating linearization:**

**A view from the Final-over-Final Constraint**

25.02.2010, 9.00–9.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

**A. Introduction:** This paper highlights a striking empirical asymmetry which suggests, *contra* dominant views in current minimalist thinking, that linearization information must be present NS-internally, and, moreover, that the way it is encoded does in fact conform to the Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT, Chomsky 2001 *et seq.*).

**B. The asymmetry:** Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2007, 2008, 2009/BHR) propose that the **Final-over-Final Constraint** in (1) holds universally. (1) rules out ordered structures of the type in (2), which include i.a. \*VO-Aux, \*VO-C, \*NObject-Postposition, and \*PoITP-C. Additionally, Biberauer, Newton & Sheehan (2009) show that FOFC-violating structures resist borrowing despite a feasible contact situation, and Cecchetto (2009) observes that FOFC also holds in cross-modal contact situations. Finally, word-order changes seem to follow FOFC-defined pathways, with changes in the clausal domain, for example, proceeding top-down for “OV>VO”



(final-to-initial) changes and bottom-up for “VO>OV” (initial-to-final) changes. Crucially, however, FOFC does not rule out *all* disharmonic word orders: readily attested right-branching disharmony [<sub>CP</sub> α [<sub>BP</sub> γP β ] is permitted, as is “cross-spine” disharmony (e.g. initial DP dominated by final V/vP and *vice versa*), and also disharmony involving plausibly non-projecting particles (e.g. VO-aspect/final force particles as in Sinitic).

**C. Implications:** Taken together, these facts do not seem amenable to a processing explanation (John Hawkins, p.c.; cf. also Sheehan 2008). Since the notion ‘projection line’ facilitates differentiation between FOFC-compliant and FOFC-violating structures, the formal constraint in (1), by contrast, does appear to have the potential to account for the empirical skewings in **B**. The question that now arises, however, is how this formal constraint can be understood. Postulating a Head Parameter/HP, even one operative at PF (cf. Richards 2004) and relativised to categories to allow for mixed orders, evidently cannot provide a principled explanation: without further stipulation, cross-categorial harmony is not predicted in preference to anything else, and, crucially in the present context, all (combinations of) disharmonic orders are likewise permitted. The same is naturally true for the simplest Kaynian reformulations of the HP in terms of (possibly differentiated) leftward movements of complements (cf. Baker 2008). An alternative formal account is thus required.

**D. The proposed account:** Within Probe-Goal theory (Chomsky 2001 *et seq.*), movement is standardly thought to be triggered by a generalised EPP-feature, a movement diacritic which we designate  $\hat{\Lambda}$ . Subject to parametric variation,  $\hat{\Lambda}$  may be associated with a probing feature, thus delivering Agree-driven movement. It may also be associated with a lexical item’s “generalised Merge” feature (EF in Chomsky 2006, 2008), giving rise to non-Agree-driven movement. Crucially, the empirical record indicates that both movements are leftwards (cf. *ia.* Kayne 1994, Abels & Neeleman 2006, Abels 2008). Building on Rizzi’s (2008) interpretation of Agree as Internal Search (i.e. Probe searches its c-command domain) vs Select as External Search (i.e. Probe searches the active Lexical Array; cf. also Pesetsky & Torrego 2006, Cecchetto & Donati 2009,), we propose a third species of movement, whose non-existence would, we argue, have to be stipulated: Select-driven movement. Like the other types, this type results in leftward movement, here specifically of the selected complement to the selector’s specifier, i.e. comp-to-spec movement (cf. Holmberg 2000, Julien 2002 for earlier proposals along these lines). This mode of movement may in fact be thought of as L(inearization)-movement since it results in complements being spelled out to the left of their selectors. Assuming the correctness of Kayne’s proposal that  $\hat{\Lambda}$ -lacking heads will be initial – i.e. in effect, that head-finality, but not head-initiality must be ‘marked’ (see **E**) – it emerges that FOFC can be understood as yet another consequence of Relativised Minimality (RM; Rizzi 1990, 2001).

Consider the FOFC-capturing formal statement in (3). In terms of (3), *v* cannot bear c-selection-related  $\hat{\Lambda}$  (henceforth:  $\hat{\Lambda}$ ) if *V* does not and, more generally, heads higher in a given extended projection cannot bear  $\hat{\Lambda}$  unless lower heads do. C-selection-mediated head-finality, then, must start at the bottoms of trees, and L-movement can be seen to exhibit the same “no skipping” constraint observed in the more familiar domains of A, A’ and head-movement. Since nominals have independent extended projections, their  $\hat{\Lambda}$ -profiles are expected to be distinct from those of the clausal spine. Particles, in turn, plausibly lack Agree-oriented probes (cf. their oft-noted systematic lack of inflection), though they may c-select; as such, they will not project (cf.

Neeleman & van de Koot 2002, *pace* Cecchetto & Donati 2009) and therefore cannot count as part of the projection line to which they are merged. Thus particles are also unable to violate (3). By viewing head-finality as the consequence of NS-internal L-movement, the empirical asymmetry in B can therefore be accounted for.

**E. Further issues:** At least three questions arise, *viz.* (a) why  $\wedge$  could not instead be interpreted as a PF diacritic, (b) why  $\wedge$  should signal head-finality and (c) why (3) should reference the *bottom* of the extended projection (cf. BHR 2007, 2008 for a “top-down” approach to FOFC, rejected here). (a) would entail the introduction of a special PF diacritic and leave unexplained the fact that the distribution of this diacritic respects what seems to be an NS-specific instantiation of third-factor(F3)-imposed economy (RM). In respect of (b), we argue that  $\wedge$  could in principle signal either initiality or finality, UG having no inherent preference. Were  $\wedge$  to signal initiality (i.e. the need for head-movement to the selector), however, the constraint barring FOFC-violating structures would have to be stated such that  $\wedge$  is *obliged* to spread upwards, a state of affairs which cannot be reduced to RM or any obvious F3 effect; it would also not reference lexical/exclusively c-selecting categories in any special way. Further, an  $\wedge$ =initial take on  $\wedge$  would still require functional categories to be initial so that the observed word orders can be generated; precisely how consistently final orders would be generated in the context of a system of this type, employing just a single linearization diacritic, is unclear. On the movement-based approach to linearization advocated here, by contrast, we are led to expect linearization properties to be signalled via just a single diacritic, which may be present or absent, rather than by distinct “final” vs “initial” diacritics, arguably the most economical state of affairs. (c) follows, we argue, from the fact that derivations proceed bottom-up, with one of the elements at the bottom of each tree necessarily bearing c-selection features, thus representing the first element relevant to c-selection-related RM. Given that children acquire lexical structure prior to functional structure, this fact clearly also has important acquisitional consequences.

**F. Conclusion:** Typological evidence suggests that linearization information must be present in NS. This does not, however, constitute an SMT violation since it would appear that the encoding of this information harnesses independently required elements (e.g.  $\wedge$ , which triggers leftward movement and, in specific association with c-selection features, results in head-finality) in a way that reflects F3 economy considerations (e.g. RM).

- (1) *For all heads  $\{\alpha, \beta, \dots\}$  on a single projection line, if  $\alpha$  is a head-initial phrase and  $\beta$  is a phrase immediately dominating  $\alpha$ , then  $\beta$  must be head-initial. If  $\alpha$  is a head-final phrase, and  $\beta$  is a phrase immediately dominating  $\alpha$ , then  $\beta$  can be head-initial or head-final.*
- (2)  $*[\beta_P [\alpha_P \gamma_P] \beta]$  (still supposing  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are on the same projection line)
- (3) *If a non-lexical head  $X^n$  in the extended projection  $E$  of a lexical head  $L$  has  $\wedge$  associated with its c-selection feature for a lower head  $X^{n-1}$ , then so does  $X^{n-1}$ .*

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**Merge is linearly *insensitive*, Agree is not**  
 25.02.2010, 9.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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**A** The Right Roof Constraint (cf. Ross 1967) introduces a difference between leftward movement (virtually unbound, if familiar locality constraints are obeyed) and rightward movement (locally bound). In particular, following Baltin (1981) and Rochemont and Culicover (1990), I will assume that rightward movement is *phrase* bound (in a framework in which the clausal structure is composed by CP, TP and vP/VP). I will show that apparent cases of unbound rightward movement in OV languages are not genuine cases of rightward movement.

**B** The Final-Over-Final-Constraint (FOFC) (cf. Biberauer *et al.* 2008/2009 for extensive evidence supporting this condition) imposes a limit on how disharmonic languages can be. In particular, FOFC rules out the configuration in which an head-final phrase  $\alpha$  immediately dominates an head-initial phrase  $\beta$ .

**C** I will propose that FOFC and the Right Roof Constraint are two faces of the same coin, because they both exclude the same abstract configuration which involves backward localization, either of a trace (in the case of the Right Roof Constraint) or of the selected head by a selecting head (in the case of FOFC). What is wrong with configurations violating FOFC and the Right Roof Constraint is that there is an asymmetric configuration in which the dependent link (trace in case of Right Roof Constraint and selected head in case of FOFC) linearly precedes the link it depends on (antecedent or selecting head). The parallelism between FOFC and the Right Roof Constraint can be formally captured by assuming that selection and movement both involve an occurrence of Agree and that Agree is constrained as in (1).

(1) In a forward dependency, Agree can be cross-phrasal. In a backward dependency, Agree is phrase-bound.

I assume that the ultimate motivation of (1) is facilitating the work of the parser, since backward dependencies are harder to process than forward dependencies (cf. Fodor 1978 and much following work for this observation). In the spirit of Hawkins's (2004) Performance-Grammar-Correspondence Hypothesis, I assume that grammars can conventionalize syntactic structures in proportion to their degree of preference in performance.

**D** The directionality constraint on Agree in (1) predicts that in OV languages the selecting head should not be able to (directly) access the selected one, since this would be a case of cross-phrasal backward dependency. So, (1) predicts that rightward head-movement should be impossible (see Abels & Neeleman 2007 and Cinque 2005 for evidence that this is correct, at least in the nominal domain). (1) can also explain a well known typological observation, namely that head-final languages have an agglutinative-like morphology (cf. Julien 2002, Lehmann 1973, van Riemsdijk 1998 a.o.). In these languages, two pieces of morphological information that are expressed by two heads typically do not conflate but are independently expressed. Assuming (1), heads do not conflate in head-final languages because the higher head X selects the entire category YP that it immediately dominates, instead of entering into a backward cross-phrasal dependency with the head Y of YP.

**E** Another device languages may adopt to deal with the problem raised by backward selection is *phrasal* (as opposed to word-level) morphology. I assume that phrasal morphology surfaces when the selecting head X probes the entire category YP, rather than probing Y within YP. Clear cases of phrasal morphology in configurations that seem to violate (1) is nominalization of embedded clause as in Korean, Turkish and many other head-final languages. Also English may adopt the same strategy, though. The possessive 's construction in (2) seems to violate (1), since the clitic head 's is head-final and it backward selects the head-initial DP.

(2) [<sub>POSSP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> That [<sub>NP</sub> old man]]]'s car

Note that (2) is a clear case of phrasal morphology (the possessive 's modifies the entire phrase 'that old man', not just the noun 'man'). I will suggest that phrasal morphology is a general repair mechanism that fixes configurations potentially violating the ban on cross-phrasal backward dependencies reported in (1).

**F** In minimalist approaches, the fundamental structure building operation Merge is linearly *insensitive*. This minimalist insight can be reconciled with the approach that I am advocating, if linearization takes place cyclically after the relevant portion of the hierarchical structure has been built, but before other syntactic operations take place. If a phrase (or a phase, or any other relevant syntactic unit) is linearized as soon as it has been completed, syntax is not necessarily blind to word order and some syntactic operations may take place after the relevant portion of the structure has been linearized. I will propose that this is what happens with the operation Agree, which links two discontinuous positions (and can trigger Internal Merge= Move). In a nutshell, Agree is linearly sensitive, Merge is not.

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**An Alemannic challenge to the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC)**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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**1. Intro.** Alemannic varieties conform to the FOFC (1) in that its verb clusters (with modals) show O-V-Aux order, O-Aux-V order, Aux-O-V order, but crucially not V-O-Aux order (cf. (2). In some varieties optionality between V-Aux and Aux-V, (2)a/b is found, cf. Seiler 2004).

**2. The challenge.** There is, however, a special motion verb construction in the language that appears to violate the FOFC. Complements of motion verbs are obligatorily introduced by the element *go* in Swiss German. We take this element to be the head because a) it is obligatory, b) can appear at the beginning of the phrase including arguments of the embedded verb and c) is moved along under (VP-)topicalization (3)c. While the order in (3)a/b is in accordance with the FOFC, the construction also allows the verb final order (4)a. The motion verb construction thus shows almost the same optionality as the modals in (2), but crucially, the complement of the motion verb is head-initial (because of *go*) while that of modals is not. (4)a thus appears to violate the FOFC (*go-Inf-V* ≈ \**V-O-Aux*).

**3. The exception is only apparent.** We think that there are good reasons to believe that (4)a is only an apparent exception. Biberauer et al. (2008: 102) argue that the FOFC only holds if the phase-head (in our case, the aux/modal) and the heads in its

complement domain are non-distinct in categorial features. There is some reason to believe, however, that *go* is not (always) fully verbal: It has been shown (Löttscher 1993) that *go* originally goes back to the directional preposition *gen* ‘towards’. *Go* has undergone certain changes in the meantime in that it has been partially integrated into the verbal system (in that it shows reordering options familiar from Verb Projection Raising), but at the same time it can be argued to retain traces of its prepositional origin: The fact that (4)a is grammatical can be related to the prepositional properties of *go*; this case is basically parallel to PP-complements of verbs (4)b. Crucially, while postverbal *go*-complements can include arguments of the embedded verb, cf. (3)b (and thus show complementizer-/verb-like behavior), this is impossible if the *go*-phrase appears preverbally (5). We interpret this to mean that *go* is oscillating categorially between more prepositional (3)b and more verbal (5) properties. This implies thus, that rather being an exception to the FOFC, the *go*-construction rather provides strong evidence for the role of categorial properties in restricting disharmonic word orders.

**4. Against an account in terms of “phase harmony”.** Biberauer et al. (2008), basing themselves on the LCA and thus a VO-structure, derive the effects of the FOFC from the notion “phase harmony”, meaning that if a phase head H has an EPP feature, all heads in its complement domain have to have an EPP-feature, too. The various orders in the verbal complex in (2) are then the result of different combinations of EPP-features. While e.g. in (2)c only the embedded V has an EPP-feature, both verbs in (2)a have such a feature. The (simplified) structures are given in (6). These structures are, however, incompatible with well-known scope facts (den Dikken 1995): While the order in (2)a allows for both wide and narrow scope of the indefinite with respect to the modal, only narrow scope of the indefinite is possible in (2)c. QR not being an option in the language (den Dikken 1995), the ambiguity of (2)a does not follow since the object, being embedded within the lower VP, does not c-command the modal at any point in the derivation. Assuming additional movement (e.g. scrambling) of the object to a higher projection cannot be the solution since there are no freezing effects, extraction from the object is fine (even under a wide-scope reading), cf. (7)

**5. The alternative.** We will present an alternative analysis of the structures in (2) and (3) based on a mixed branching system akin to Barbiers (2000). The scope facts will be shown to follow from covert verb movement and base-generation of arguments, which also explains the absence of Freezing Effects. Additionally, we will present evidence for the role of directionality for case valuation in syntax. Finally, the Final-over-final-constraint will be re-interpreted as a constraint applying to syntactic representations at PF.

- (1) \*[[ $\beta$ P [ $\alpha$ P  $\alpha$   $\gamma$ P ]  $\beta$  ] where  $\alpha$ P is the complement of  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ P is the complement of  $\alpha$ .
- (2) a) dass er [[[ es Buech] läse] wett]      b) dass er [ [ es Buech] [wett läse] ]  
     that he    a book    read wants      that he    a book    read wants  
     c) dass er [wett [[es Buech] läse]]      d)\*dass er [[[läse [es Buech]] wett]  
     that he wants a book read
- (3) a) dass i gang [\***(go)** poschte]              b) dass i gang [go es Buech chauffe]  
     that I go        PRT do.shopping.INF      that I go        PRT a book buy.INF  
     c) [Go poschte]                              gang i nöd.  
     PRT do.shopping.INF go    I not

- (4) a) dass i [go poschte] gang      b) dass i [PP uf Berlin] gang  
       that I PRT do.shopping.INF go      that I to Berlin go
- (5) ?? dass i [go es Buech chauffe] gang  
       that I PRT a book buy go
- (6) a) [vP1 [VP2 DP<sub>i</sub> [V' V   ]]<sub>i</sub> v' [v   ]] = 'a book read wants', cf. (2)a  
       b) [vP1 v [VP2 DP<sub>i</sub> [V' V   ]] = 'wants a book read', cf. (2)c
- (7) [Über wäär]<sub>i</sub> häsch gsäit, dass er [es Buech   ] läse wett?  
       about who have said that he a book read wants

Barbiers 2000 The Right Periphery in SOV Language. *The Derivation of VO and OV*, 181–218.  
 Biberauer et al. 2008 Structure and Linearization in Disharmonic Word Orders. *WCCFL* 26, 96–104.  
 Dikken 1995 Verb (Projection) Raising ... *NELS* 25, 95–110.  
 Lötscher 1993 Zur Genese der Verbverdoppelung im CHdeutschen. *Dialektsyntax*, 180–200.  
 Seiler 2004. On three types of dialect variation. *Dialectology meets Typology*, 367–399.

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**Portmanteau constructions in code-switching**  
 25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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In bilingual code-switching which involve various language-pairs with contrasting word orders (i.e. head-initial vs head-final), such as Korean-English (Park 1990), Japanese-English (Azuma 1993, Nishimura 1985, 1986), Tamil-English (Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan 1989) and Dutch-Turkish (Backus 1996), a verb may be lexicalized from both languages with the DP argument stacked in the middle, leading to a sequence of SVOV. These so-called “portmanteau” constructions (Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan 1989) have been observed for a long time, but they have never received a systematic, formal analysis in terms of current syntactic theory despite their huge relevance, especially in the aspect of linearization and phrase structure. One obvious point is that these structures violate antisymmetry (Kayne 1994, 2004, 2005). One may well discard these constructions as peripheral, but this position is refuted here and I argue that these code-switching data should be considered seriously for at least the following three reasons: Firstly, these data emerge cross-linguistically in disparate speech communities. More importantly, these portmanteau constructions are not random but constrained, for instance, the verb from VO language (e.g. English) must precede the object whereas the verb from the OV language (e.g. Japanese, Korean, Tamil) must follow it. This follows straightforwardly from the idea that head-complement is indeed associated with the language of the verb, but it seems difficult to see how VO/OV order may be set by some functional categories (albeit some complications). Last but not least, there has never been an instance of \*SOVO structure, and this seems to follow the classic theta-criterion elegantly as a particular theta role cannot be “distributed” to two separate objects; in contrast, in an SVOV sequence, there is only one object which is solely associated with one theta-role. If these portmanteau constructions are not treated as some deviant or defunct structures and they are also permitted by UG, the consequence is that the antisymmetry thesis needs to be rethought. One possibility I shall explore is that UG is able to produce symmetric structures and yet



This also holds for Czech, as shown for temporal adverbials by the examples below. (1) with stacked (forming a constituent) adverbials and (2) with non-stacked adverbials show that the superset adverbial, i.e. the adverbial of the larger domain, must precede the subset adverbial, i.e. the adverbial of the smaller domain. (2) shows that it does not play a role how many elements intervene between the non-stacked adverbials. That the stacked adverbials *Zítřa večer* form a constituent is evidenced by the clitic *se* in (1a) because Czech clitics are second-position clitics. The same can also be shown by topicalization data because long topicalization can affect only one constituent in Czech. As for the non-stacked adverbials, I argue that they are merged independently in the structure. It is known that the CSC can be obviated if the relevant movement happens out of all conjuncts (ATB-movement). According to Lechner (2001), all traces of the ATB-moved element must occur in strictly parallel positions if the second conjunct has been affected by ellipsis. Consider (3). If the adverbials *zítřa* and *večer* started as a constituent, as indicated by the trace in (3), then *zítřa* would have to be ATB-moved. Given that *tlaková výše* is elided in the second conjunct, traces of the ATB-moved *zítřa* should occur in strictly parallel positions in the conjuncts. The problem is that *zítřa* would have to be extracted out of the constituent of the stacked adverbials in the first conjunct but there is no such constituent in the second conjunct. I will also present other arguments, based on PP islands. Besides the syntactic structure and the lexicosemantic properties of appropriate adverbials, the event structure is an important factor in the adverbial ordering. When adverbials relate to the same event, they must preserve the known relative order but when they relate to different events in the sentence, both relative orders are grammatical. This also holds for adverbials of the same class occurring in different clauses in a complex sentence.

To sum up, we are looking for something that determines the relative order of adverbials of the same class - independently of whether or not they are merged as a constituent - and has access not only to the structural relations between adverbials but also to their lexicosemantic properties. Since word order is a reflection of the syntactic structure, syntactic, i.e. c-command, relations between the adverbials should parallel their semantic, i.e. set, relations. And it must also have access to the event structure of the sentence and should be restricted to cases where the adverbials relate to the same event. Therefore, I propose the Superset Subset Principle, which works at the semantic interface:

*Superset Subset Principle*

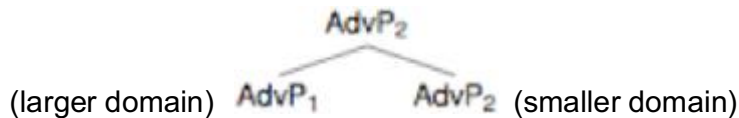
*The highest segment of the adverbial of the larger domain must c-command at least one segment of the adverbial of the smaller domain if the adverbials relate to the same event.*

I analyze stacked adverbials as in (4), where the adverbial of the larger domain modifies the adverbial of the smaller domain (in (1a), *zítřa večer* is the evening that will be tomorrow and not tomorrow that will be in the evening) and is left adjoined to it because non-clausal adverbials are adjoined to the left in Czech. Applying the Superset Subset Principle to the adverbial structure (4), AdvP<sub>2</sub> cannot be the adverbial of the larger domain; only the adverbial AdvP<sub>1</sub> can. Therefore, the adverbial of the larger domain (AdvP<sub>1</sub>) precedes the adverbial of the smaller domain (AdvP<sub>2</sub>) and structure (4) represents the stacked adverbials *zítřa večer* in the grammatical (1a) and the opposite ordering is ruled out (1b).



- (1) a. Zítřa večer se tlaková výše posune k jihu.  
tomorrow evening self pressure-high<sub>t<sub>NOM</sub></sub> moves southwards  
'The high pressure front will move southwards tomorrow evening.'  
b.\* Večer zítřa se tlaková výše posune k jihu.  
evening tomorrow self pressure-high<sub>t<sub>NOM</sub></sub> moves southwards
- (2) a. Zítřa se (večer) tlaková výše (večer) posune (večer) k jihu.  
tomorrow self evening pressure-high<sub>t<sub>NOM</sub></sub> evening moves evening southwards  
'Tomorrow, the high pressure front will move southwards in the evening.'  
b.\* Večer se (zítřa) tlaková výše (zítřa) posune (zítřa) k jihu.  
evening self tomorrow pressure-high<sub>t<sub>NOM</sub></sub> tomorrow moves tomorrow southwards
- (3) Zítřa<sub>1</sub> se tlaková výše bude [pravděpodobně posouvat [AdvP t<sub>1</sub>  
tomorrow self pressure-high<sub>t<sub>NOM</sub></sub> will probably move  
večer] k jihu] a [ohrožovat místní úrodu].  
evening southwards and endanger local harvest  
'Tomorrow, the high pressure front will probably move southwards in the  
evening and endanger the local harvest.'

(4)

Cinque, G. (2004), Issues in adverbial syntax. *Lingua* 114, 683-710.Ernst, T. (2002), *The syntax of adjuncts*. Cambridge University Press.Lechner, W. (2001), Reduced and phrasal comparatives. *NLLT* 19, 683-735.Steinitz, R. (1971), *Adverbial-Syntax*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

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**What bars wh and focus after V in SOV? A variable c-command solution**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

In SOV languages (Bengali, Hindi-Urdu, Japanese, Korean, Persian), wh/focus argument (simplex or complex (CED effect), including exclamatory wh, epithet wh, indeterminate pronominal wh, contrastive topic, and exhaustive-listing nominative) cannot scramble to the right of V (anti-wh movement, anti-reconstruction). LCA explains this if the argument right-adjoins to CP; the argument, the highest asymmetrical c-commander, be pronounced first, which is not realized. However, the same order is acceptable when the argument is [-wh/-focus] (including pronominal wh). Binding, scope, and WCO facts tell us that the argument is the highest asymmetrical c-commander. LCA wrongly predicts the order should be bad as well.

I propose that variable c-command solves the problem:

(1) X c-commands Y iff:

- a. X and Y are connected to some extent, and  
b. X and Y are disconnected to some extent (cf. Chomsky 1995: 339).

Where (1a) is fixed: Every Z that dominates X dominates Y (X and Y share the blood line), and (1b) variable as in the following.

- (2) a. X excludes Y. (X c-commands its container Y, everything that Y dominates, Y's sister, and everything that Y's sister dominates. X c-commands out of its container Y. The least disconnected version of c-command.)
  - b. No segment of one contains the other. (X does not c-command its container Y, but c-commands everything that Y dominates.)
  - c. Neither is a segment of a category. (X c-commands nothing. The most disconnected version of c-command; cf. *ibid.* 340)

The rightward scrambling of [+wh/+focus] argument agrees with C, which cues PF to select (2a): the least disconnected version of c-command. The CP-adjoined argument is the highest asymmetrical c-commander, and LCA demands that it be pronounced first. The rightward scrambling of [-wh/-focus] argument is agreement-free, which cues PF to select (2c): most disconnected version of c-command. The CP-adjoined argument c-commands nothing. As the last resort, LCA computes the lower original term, allowing the post-verbal term. PF is very strict about the levels of disconnection. In contrast, LF can settle the matter with (2a) or (2b). Any adjoined term can be an asymmetrical c-commander at LF, permitting the post-verbal term to be a c-commander for binding, scope, and WCO computation.

- (3) When a multi-segment category is involved, c-command works in three distinct levels of disconnection (= variable c-command).
- (4) PF is more sensitive to c-command than LF. Given that PF is severely influenced by physical (temporal and formal) property, it is conceptually and biologically plausible that PF is more sensitive to c-command than LF. Therefore, variable c-command is not just a technical solution to the LCA problem.
- (5) The symmetrical approach is correct, which assumes both left-upward and right-upward scrambling (adjunction). The remnant phrasal movement is wrong.
- (6) Asymmetrical c-command is mapped onto linearization. LCA is essentially correct.
- (7) There are two types of scrambling; agreement (FF)-driven and agreement-free.
- (8) In PF and LF, rightward scrambling is stricter about c-command than leftward one.
- (9) Japanese is not strictly head-final.

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**It's not the end of the CED as we know it:  
Revisiting German and Japanese subject island effects**  
25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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***Aim:*** It has been widely assumed that both subjects and adjuncts block sub-extraction (Condition on Extraction Domains, CED: [1]). In the recent minimalist framework, unified accounts of the CED have been proposed. For example, [2,3] derive from an LCA-based linearization algorithm [4] that subjects and adjuncts are islands because they need to be 'flattened out' early for linearization, and this consequently renders their sub-constituents inaccessible for further computation. Stepanov [5], however, empirically argues against the CED, reporting that subjects are not islands in languages such as German and Japanese. If some languages lack subject island effects, any unified analysis of subject and adjunct islands must be

abandoned for those languages and thus cannot be a universal account. Using German and Japanese data from three controlled 7-point scale acceptability judgment studies, we present counter-evidence to his claim and argue that the unified accounts of the CED are still tenable.

**Experiments:** Stepanov claims that **(A)** extraction out of subjects is possible in German/Japanese, where he claims that subjects remain in-situ, and **(B)** the apparent subject island effects in other languages are a result of ‘freezing effects’ of subjects raising to [Spec, TP]. We will disprove both claims.

Experiments 1 and 2 examined Stepanov’s claim in (A) that subject island effects are absent in German or Japanese. Experiment 1 (n=31) employed four conditions with non-finite clauses in German, in which the presence of extraction (+/- extraction) and the position of extraction (subject vs. object) are manipulated. The results showed a significant interaction of the two factors ( $F(1,92)=146.428$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), indicating that extraction out of subjects is significantly degraded in comparison to extraction out of objects. Experiment 2 (n=25) investigated Japanese, which has been reported to allow extraction out of subjects. We manipulated the same two factors as Experiment 1, and found a significant interaction of the position of extraction (subject vs. object) and the presence/absence of extraction (Sub/Obj x Scrambling interaction effect:  $F(1,68)=14.141$ ,  $p<0.001$ ).

Experiment 3 tests whether the subject island effects in Experiment 1 could be reduced to ‘freezing effects’ as in Stepanov’s claim **(B)**. Unlike Japanese, German allows for indefinite subjects to either raise or remain in-situ, and [6] reports that German ‘was für’ split is only possible out of in-situ subjects but not out of moved subjects. We compared (n=25) ‘was für’ split out of in-situ/moved subjects against that out of in-situ/moved objects. The results show main effects for both factors (Insitu/Moved:  $F(1,74)=211.675$ ,  $p<0.001$ ; Sub/Obj:  $F(1,74)=199.677$ ,  $p<0.001$ ) as well as a significant interaction ( $F(1,74)=115.512$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), indicating that **i)** extraction out of unmoved subjects/objects is generally better than extraction out of moved subjects/objects, possibly due to freezing effects, but that **ii)** in both the moved and unmoved conditions, extraction out of objects is significantly better than extraction out of subjects. These data suggest that extraction out of moved constituents leads to degradation, but that CED effects still exist independently of the freezing effects.

**Consequences:** The results of the three experiments indicate that **(A’)** CED effects still hold in Japanese and German (and possibly universally), and **(B’)** a ban on extraction out of subjects cannot be reduced to freezing effects. As a consequence, this suggests that no parameterization is required in terms of island constraints, and that the minimalist ‘unified’ accounts that attribute CED effects to linearization requirements and interface conditions [2,3] are empirically viable.

[1] Huang (1982) *Logical relations in Chinese and the theory of grammar*, Ph.D diss., MIT.

[2] Nunes and Uriagereka (2000) Cyclicity and extraction domains, *Syntax* 3: 20–43.

[3] Uriagereka (1999) Multiple spell-out. *Working minimalism*, ed. by Epstein and Hornstein, 251–282, MIT Press.

[4] Kayne (1994) *The antisymmetry of syntax*, MIT Press.

[5] Stepanov (2007) The end of CED? Minimalism and extraction domains, *Syntax* 10: 80-126.

[6] Diesing (1992) *Indefinites*, MIT Press.

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**Linearizing edges at the PF interface**  
26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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The purpose of this talk is to shed light on the ordering of operations at PF, including linearization, copy deletion, and vocabulary insertion given a model which assumes multiple transfer, the copy theory of movement, and direct correspondence between phonological and syntactic domains.

Towards this goal, we provide a new analysis of some facts which are traditionally attributed to the ECP (e.g., Stowell 1981; cf. Bošković & Lasnik). An (2007a) suggests these data are captured by the Intonational Phrase Edge Generalization (IPEG), which states that “the edge of an Intonational phrase cannot be empty (where the edge encompasses the specifier and the head of the relevant syntactic constituent).” This explains why sentences which are unacceptable with an empty CP edge can be ameliorated by overt content, be it in SpecCP or in C, as in (1). In order to allow for the omission of C in (2b), An (2007a) needs to assume that the formation of a separate I-phrase for clausal complements of verbs (and restrictive relative clauses) is optional. The IPEG also extends to other categories: *vP* (3a,b), *DP* (3c,d), and *AP* (3e,f).

However, the justification for the IPEG is unclear and it does not appear to follow from any independent facts about the architecture of grammar. We suggest a new analysis which accounts for the above facts, and importantly, does so by referring to independently needed constructs, which we argue should be the null hypothesis given Minimalist concerns about modular architecture (cf. Idsardi and Raimy in press).

We argue that (1a) and (3b,d,f) are unacceptable because they cannot be linearized. Specifically, two consecutive syntactic objects (in these cases, Spec +  $X^0$ ) cannot be null at the stage when linearization applies, or else the algorithm will be unable to return a linearization statement, cf. (4).

We follow Epstein et al. (1998) and Richards (2004) in assuming that mutual c-command ‘overdetermines’ linearization; the Precedence Resolution Principle demands that in such a configuration, one object’s c-command relations over the other must be ignored (which object being subject to parametric variation). The key component to our analysis of (1)-(3) is that the algorithm (4) only succeeds in returning an ordered pair when the elements to be linearized are featurally distinct. This results in a crash when a merged pair of elements have only Edge Features (EF; Chomsky 2008), as a result of non-insertion of phonological content (which is crucially distinct from copy deletion, contra An 2007b.) Two elements with only EF are non-distinct, which will result in a crash at linearization. Assuming C does not project a specifier in declarative sentences such as (5a) [or in (2b)], such an account straightforwardly predicts the sentences in (5) to be grammatical, while such cases constitute *prima facie* exceptions to the IPEG.

We further show that the above analysis extends to account for the unacceptable sentences in (6), involving a sentential subject (6b) and a topicalized CP (6d). A similar approach accounts for the unacceptability of nominal complementation

without an overt C in (7b); following Kayne (2008), the embedded CP is within a covert PP.

- (1) a. \*I saw the child yesterday [ $\emptyset_{spec}$   $\emptyset_C$  Mary was waiting for]  
 b. I saw the child yesterday [who  $\emptyset_C$  Mary was waiting for]  
 c. I saw the child yesterday [ $\emptyset_{spec}$  that Mary was waiting for]
- (2) a. I believe [ $_{CP}$  that [ $_{IP}$  John liked linguistics]].  
 b. I believe [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{IP}$  John liked linguistics.]]
- (3) a. Eat the cake John did and eat the cookie Mary did  
 b. \* $_{[VP}$  Eat the cake] John did and [ $\emptyset_{spec}$   $\emptyset_V$  the cookie] Mary did  
 c. John likes this book of linguistics and Mary, that book of physics.  
 d. \*John likes this book of linguistics and Mary likes [ $\emptyset_{spec}$   $\emptyset_D$  book of physics].  
 e. Eager to win the Pulitzer Prize, John is, and eager to win the Nobel Prize, Mary is.  
 f. \* $_{[AP}$  Eager to win the Pulitzer Prize], John is, and [ $\emptyset_{spec}$   $\emptyset_A$  to win the Nobel Prize, Mary is].
- (4) *Linearization algorithm*  
 When encountering the merged  $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ ,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  c-commanding each other, upon Spell-Out, return an ordered set  $\langle \alpha, \beta \rangle$  or  $\langle \beta, \alpha \rangle$ .
- (5) a. [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{TP}$  Mary was waiting for the child]]  
 b. [ $_{CP}$  Who did Mary [ $_{VP}$  see [ $_{VP}$   $t_v$   $t_{obj}$  ]]]
- (6) a. [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{CP}$  That John is a genius] was believed by many people.  
 b. \* $_{[CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  John is a genius] was believed by many people.  
 c. [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{CP}$  That John is a genius], Mary believed.  
 d. \* $_{[CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  John is a genius], Mary believed.
- (7) a. I distrust the claim [ $_{PP}$   $\emptyset_P$  [ $_{CP}$  that Bill left the party]].  
 b. \*I distrust the claim [ $_{PP}$   $\emptyset_P$  [ $_{CP}$   $\emptyset_C$  Bill left the party]].

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**Post-linearization ellipsis**  
**Null subjects and head copy realization**  
 26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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In this work, I propose that the so called ellipsis transformation is an operation which takes place all the way down from the syntax to the PF component of the grammar. Strictly speaking, what we call ellipsis is, in fact, a feature-adding transformation which applies under strict formal identity and under different locality conditions depending on the component of the grammar in which it applies. I call this transformation *l*-Assignment (*l* for *Identity*). The PF result of an *l*-assigned syntactic object is blocking the Lexical Insertion Rules to apply in the domain of a morphosyntactic word (MWd) (in Embick & Noyer (2001)' terms). The definition of this process is given in (1). Note that -by the definition I propose- it follows what I will call the *Subword Deletion Corollary*, which must be understood as the impossibility of deleting part of words (cf. 2).

The focus of this paper is morphological *l*-Assignment, which affects only MWds under immediate locality or adjacency (cf. Embick & Noyer 2001). The informal definition, which is called Head Ellipsis, is given in (3). The decision about what the relevant condition is is not stipulated but it follows from the linearization process that,

by assumption, takes place at PF through the introduction of a set of LIN operators (cf. Embick 2007). When LIN-\* is introduced in the computational system, the relevant condition is adjacency. I discuss here two predictions that follow from the system of *I*-Assignment.

On one hand, it is predicted that if a MWd is converted into a SWd in the morphology then, by the *Subword Deletion Corollary*, *I*-Assignment is left with no effect and the Lexical Insertion Rules have to apply to this new SWd independently whether it is *I*-assigned or not. I propose that this prediction is confirmed in the domain of null-subject languages and, in particular, by the clitic subjects of Northern Italian Dialects, a set of languages which, besides to have all the properties of Null Subject Languages (e.g., free inversion), have some obligatory weak clitics as subjects.

The theory makes a prediction also with respect to the interaction between *I*-Assignment and LIN\*. If given two identical MWds X and Y, such X\*Z\*Y, where Z is also a MWd or a Phrase, then *I*-Assignment has no effect and the Lexical Insertion Rules must apply to X and Y. I argue that this case is observed in verbal reduplication in River Plate Spanish (e.g., *Vino Juan, vino* Lit: 'came John, came') a kind of verbal reduplication that requires anti-adjacency between two verbal copies (cf. \**Vino, vino*). These data, which have received no attention previously, confirm then that Linearization is one of the relevant factors that accounts for when a given syntactic object can be elided or not.

- (1) No Lexical Insertion Rule, *IR*, applies in the domain of  $X^0$ ,  $X^0$  a MWd, if  $X^0$ , or some projection of  $X^0$ , is specified with a [+I] feature<sup>2</sup>
- (2) No Subword can be subject to Non-insertion if the MWd that contains it is not *I*-assigned.
- (3) Given a Morphosyntactic Word (MWd)  $Y^0$ , assign a [+I] feature to  $Y^0$  if and only if there is a node  $X^0$  identical to  $Y^0$  contained in a MWd adjacent or immediately local to  $Y^0$ .

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**Hierarchy, is that all there is?**  
**Linearization and the puzzle of orphans**  
26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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A good deal of minimalist research takes the linear ordering of sentence elements to be describable in terms of (some version of) Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA), whereby this order is 'read off' c-command relations. On this view, a direct correspondence exists between linear ordering of sentence elements and hierarchical sentence structure. Such a view, however, faces a number of conceptual and empirical challenges, which all point to the conclusion that linear ordering does not derive from principles of the narrow syntax and is instead associated with the PF interface (e.g. Kremers 2009a; López 2009).

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<sup>2</sup> *Morphosyntactic word*: At the input to Morphology, a node  $X^0$  is (by definition) a *morphosyntactic word* (MWd) iff  $X^0$  is the highest segment of an  $X^0$  not contained in another  $X^0$ .

*Subword*: A node  $X^0$  is a *subword* (SWd) if  $X^0$  is a terminal node and not an MWd. (Embick & Noyer 2001: 574)

In this paper, I shall present another challenge to the idea that linear ordering derives directly from hierarchical structure. This challenge is represented by extrasentential elements (ESEs). If such elements are plausibly analysed as ‘orphans’ (e.g. Haegeman 2008) — that is, as expressions drawn from a lexical array distinct from that of the host sentence and independent of this sentence at every stage of a syntactic derivation, combining with it only post-syntactically — then the challenge that they represent is twofold. First, because by hypothesis no hierarchical relation exists between an ESE and any constituent of its host sentence, the ESE’s linear position in a sentence cannot be accounted for in terms of the LCA. (The puzzle for the LCA here is thus akin to that posed by the phonetic realization of elements associated with distinct representational tiers; see e.g. Kremers 2009b.) Second, because ESEs are in fact linearized along with their host sentences, some process of linearization must exist to effect this result, operating in a manner and at a stage in the derivation of a string to do so — and crucially not involving the ‘reading off’ of linear order from hierarchical structure.

Granting an orphan status for ESEs thus leads to two conclusions: (i) that their linearization must be associated with the PF interface and not the narrow syntax; and (ii) that this process must be able to take as input elements drawn from distinct lexical arrays. However, because an orphan status for ESEs indicates a treatment of them on a par with distinct sentences, the puzzle of their linearization has a natural solution in terms of principles that govern the ordering of distinct discourse segments. As such, any *prima facie* interactions between ESEs and sentence constituents as regards linearization are most plausibly treated as late performance operations on already linearized sentences.

In order to develop this claim about the linearization of ESEs, I first present evidence for an orphan analysis of ESEs, focussing on hanging topics. This evidence includes that related to the syntactic behaviour of hanging topics with respect to negative polarity items (ex. 1); their failure to trigger island effects (ex. 2); their failure to trigger Principle C violations (ex. 3); and their ability to assume syntactic shapes not found among any sentence constituents, whether base-generated or moved (ex. 4). I then show that even hanging topics, though commonly assumed to occur only at the left edge of the sentence, can ‘intrude’ into sentences, just as various other ESEs can (ex. 5); and that ESEs can even intrude into other ESEs (ex. 6). These considerations indicate that the linear ordering of ESEs reflects a late process that operates on, and may intrude into, already linearized sentences; that applies recursively to such sentences; and that is plausibly constrained by principles of prosody and textual organization. Moreover, unless we wish to countenance two entirely distinct linearization processes, one associated with narrow syntax and one with PF, all linearization processes must be associated with PF, although crucially ordered within this system.

- (1) a. \* Only a ‘B’, John could ever get that.  
b. A ‘B’, John could get just that.
- (2) Peter, Hans always goes to the pub before he meets him.
- (3) Sirica, there was some indication that Sirica might be putting together a panel.
- (4) a. Poor guy, the boss just fired him.  
b. \* Poor guy, the boss just fired.  
c. The boss just fired \*(the) poor guy.  
d. That sure is \*(a) poor guy! He just got fired.

- (5) When I was a kid, our basement was piled high with all sorts of junk.  
Now, this junk, my father, he was always collecting. And this same junk, my  
mother, she was always throwing away.
- (6) Frankly — as you know, I always speak frankly — I don't give a damn.

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**Head-finality in a head-initial language:  
Linearization as a sign of derivation layering**

26.02.2010, 13.00–13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.406

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This paper approaches the question of structure-to-order conversion (in a minimalist syntactic derivation) from theoretical and typological angles.

Theoretically, it is argued that derivations must be invariably layered, such that any numeration may contain elements that are the output of a previous derivation. These elements, then, have passed through the interfaces and have acquired idiosyncratic sound/meaning properties. The main hypothesis to be advanced here is that head-final order arises at this juncture between derivation layers. This allows for a simplification of the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) of Kayne (1994), where linear order is a function of merge, in a way to be made precise, and head-finality finds a particular locus in the derivation.

Typologically, it is argued that head-initial order in a head-final language (such as Japanese) is typically of a syntactic nature, whereas head-finality in a head-initial language (such as English) is typically of a lexical/morphological nature. Examples are noun phrase coordination in Japanese and compounding in English. These observations suggest that structure-to-order conversion by default yields head-initial order, and that head-finality is a marked type of linearization, typically found in idiosyncratic construction types (at least in head-initial languages).

This approach to head-finality is then applied to Dutch, a head-initial language with some head-final order in the VP domain, where we predict that head-final constructions have idiosyncratic properties that we can identify as the effect of linearization at the interface between derivation layers. If substantiated, we may conclude that head-finality in Dutch (and perhaps more generally) functions as a linguistic sign of the derivational history of the element (construction) characterized by it.



**AG 10**  
**Idiosynkratische Merkmale in der Syntax indogermanischer Sprachen**

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**V1-declaratives in German(ic): their functions, their syntaxes, and the comparison with textually multi-conditioned Old Icelandic**

24.02.2010, 14.00–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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German V1-declaratives come in 5 different functions (Önnerfors 1997), to wit the following coherence criteria: 1. Narrative, 2. Enumerating, 3. Deontic-modal, 4. Causal reasoning, and 5. Exclamative. The present discussion aims at three goals: (i) to unify, or distribute, syntactically the 5 different uses on the basis of a Rizzi-expanded CP/IP, and argue respectively; (ii) to seek for arguments such that interrogative and imperative V1 can be accommodated within the identical syntactic framework; and (iii) to possibly reduce the five different functions to fewer, or, ideally, one single, illocutive-semantic syntactic solution. Furthermore, it will be discussed to what extent these functional distinctions allow for a non-arbitrary comparison with **V1 in Old Scandinavian texts** where, according to Leiss (2000) and Abraham & Leiss (2008), such criteria as referential-grammatical definiteness, aspectual perfectivity, and narrative foregrounding and narrative acceleration have been found to play a major role. It will be claimed that the historical present, with its strong foregrounding character, at least in languages that sport this narrative tense style, is a good candidate for serving an identical function as V1 (Abraham 2009). It will be seen that, despite changes in the respective individual languages, there is enough functional overlap to warrant the historical claims extended by Leiss (2000) with respect to deeper causalities in terms of definite reference, perfective aspect, and foregrounding (and even, to the extent that the language in question has it, the historical present) as coherent textual carriers of narrative highlighting and reportive acceleration of the actions. This conclusion is reflected, more or less, by other modern Germanic languages.

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**Oblique subjects in Germanic and beyond**  
24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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In this paper we argue that subject-like obliques should be analyzed as syntactic subjects in Modern and Old Germanic. This analysis is based on a definition of subject as the first and leftmost argument of the argument structure or subcategorization frame, which in turn is derived from event type, conceptual structure and force-dynamic relations. This definition entails that syntactic subjects can be differentiated from syntactic objects through a host of syntactic properties of which control infinitives are regarded as the most conclusive one. The analysis defended here calls into question the axiomatic assumption found in the literature that oblique subjects must have developed from objects. It is, moreover, clear that structures containing subject-like obliques exist in all the ancient and archaic Indo-European languages. A preliminary comparison of the relevant constructions involving subject-like obliques in Old Germanic, Latin, Ancient Greek, Lithuanian, and Slavic reveals (a) a common distribution of case frames, (b) common semantics, and (c) common systematic gaps. This distribution of typologically rare case frames is unlikely to have developed independently in the daughter languages. Therefore, we propose that the construction must be reconstructed for a common proto-stage of these languages.

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**Null anaphora in Ancient Greek and Latin**  
24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Latin and Ancient Greek, as well as other early Indo-European languages, present null anaphora to a larger extent than their daughter languages, that is, they often allow covert expressions of the subject, of the object, and of various other grammatical relations (Humbert 1945: 9ff; Ernout & Thomas 1964: 126ff). While implicit subjects are also common in some modern Indo-European languages such as Spanish or Italian (the so-called PRO-drop languages), implicit direct objects as in (1) are ungrammatical in Standard Average European. Their appearance in Latin and Ancient Greek therefore requires an explanation.

(1) Illi, ut erat imperatum, circumstant *hominem*<sub>i</sub> atque interficiunt    <sub>i</sub>

‘As they were commanded, they surround *the man* and kill *him*.’ (Caes. *B.G.* 5.7)

Null anaphora has been mainly discussed in generative-oriented frameworks, such as Principles and Parameters and Lexical Functional Grammar (Hale 1983; Jelinek 1984; Baker 2001; Bresnan 2001, etc.); in historical linguistics, this topic has been examined by scholars such as Luraghi (1997; 2003; forthcoming), Keydana (2009) and Krisch (2009). It has been found that null anaphora in the ancient languages is common when the omitted referent has been mentioned in the immediately

preceding clause, especially when the tightness of the clause linkage is explicitly signalled by coordinators or subordinators. Moreover, Luraghi establishes an interesting relationship between null anaphora and intransitivity, whereby verbs in Proto-Indo-European were originally intransitive, or did not have yet developed governance as the modern Indo-European languages. Thus, it was possible to omit a complement because there was no complement to begin with.

On the basis of these observations, we present some data analysis of various Latin and Greek texts, to illustrate the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions which favour null anaphora, and particularly which kinds of verbs and objects were especially involved in these constructions. It appears that null anaphora is related to the possible omission of pronouns in positions other than verbal arguments, for example in demonstrative structures with a possessive function in the noun phrase. While languages such as English require possessive determiners with nouns of kinship and body part (*his mother* vs. *\*the mother*), these nouns were not relational in Latin and Ancient Greek. Thus, the optional use of pronouns with verbs must not be separated from the optional use of demonstratives with nouns. Verbs and nouns were semantically non-relational, that is, they were semantically pregnant forms which could appear in a sentence without arguments, specifiers or modifiers. This is compatible with the mainly paratactic and appositive clause linkage which is reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European.

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**Idiosynkrasie bei inschriftlichen Trennungszeichen**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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In vielen Sprachen werden syntaktische Strukturen durch besondere Interpunktionszeichen kenntlich gemacht. Dies kann von der satzsyntaktischen Ebene über die

Wortgruppen-Ebene bis zur Einzelwort-Interpunktion reichen. Letztere Ebene findet sich in dem nur in Inschriften bezeugten Venetischen. Jedoch erscheint im Venetischen eine weitere Interpunktionsebene, nämlich eine wortinterne Interpunktion. Diese Interpunktion wird in der Fachliteratur als eine unregelmäßige Interpunktion beschrieben, die vielfache Fehler in der Umsetzung aufzuweisen scheint, somit idiosynkratische Merkmale aufweisen hat. In unserem Vortrag wollen wir zeigen, dass die angebliche Idiosynkrasie der venetischen Interpunktion keine Ausnahme darstellt. Vielmehr richtet sich die venetische wortinterne Interpunktion nach der venetischen Silbenstruktur. Sogenannte Ausnahmen der Interpunktion vermögen somit sichere Aussagen über die venetische Silbenstruktur zu geben.

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**Idiosynkratische Kongruenz? – Genus-Sexus-Divergenzen in der Diachronie  
des Deutschen**

24.02.2010, 17.00–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Das Deutsche verfügt seit Beginn seiner Überlieferung über eine Reihe von (mit Cobett 2006 als „hybrid nouns“ bezeichneten) Substantiven, deren grammatisches Geschlecht (Genus) nicht mit dem natürlichen Geschlecht (Sexus) übereinstimmt, etwa ahd. *thaz magatin* = nhd. *das Mädchen*, ahd. *thaz wīp* = nhd. *das Weib*. Kongruenzformen können sich bei solchen Substantiven sowohl nach dem grammatischen Geschlecht richten (formale Kongruenz, Constructio ad formam) als auch nach dem natürlichen Geschlecht (semantische Kongruenz, Constructio ad sensum). In den folgenden Belegen treten nebeneinander beide Möglichkeiten auf:

- (1) *zu ainem<sub>N</sub> guoten<sub>N</sub> wībe, diu<sub>F</sub> lange sieh ist an dem lībe* (Mhd., Kaiserchronik)  
'zu einer guten Frau („Weib“), die schon lange auf den Tod krank ist'
- (2) *jenes<sub>N</sub> Mädchen ist es, [...], die<sub>F</sub> du gewählt hast* (Nhd., Goethe)

Nach Corbett (2006: 206ff.) ist das Auftreten der formalen bzw. semantischen Kongruenz durch die *agreement hierarchy* geregelt:

- (3) Attribut > Prädikat > Relativpronomen > anaphorisches Pronomen

Je weiter links auf dieser Hierarchie ein kongruierendes Element angesetzt ist, umso wahrscheinlicher ist das Auftreten der formalen Kongruenz. Damit kann beispielsweise erklärt werden, dass in (1) und (2) der Artikel und das attributive Adjektiv bzw. das Demonstrativpronomen neutrales, die Relativpronomina dagegen feminines Genus aufweisen.

Im Vortrag soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, wie sich das Verhältnis von formaler und semantischer Kongruenz in der Geschichte des Deutschen in diachroner Hinsicht gestaltet. Für das Neuhochdeutsche stellt Thurmair (2006) anhand einer Analyse von *hybrid nouns* in Korpora fest, dass beim Artikel immer formale Kongruenz auftritt, beim Relativpronomen zu 95 %, dagegen beim anaphorischen Possessivpronomen nur zu 20 %; in 80 % der Fälle tritt hier stattdessen semantische Kongruenz auf, z.B. *das<sub>N</sub> Model nahm ihre<sub>F</sub> Tasche ab*. Dagegen findet sich nach Behaghel (1928: 2) „insbesondere in älterer Zeit“ häufig semantische Kongruenz, wird jedoch in jüngerer Zeit seltener.

Insgesamt scheint in der Diachronie des Deutschen ein langfristiger Abbau der semantischen zugunsten der formalen Kongruenz stattzufinden. Dabei stellt sich die Frage, auf welche Art und Weise sich die formale Kongruenz verbreitet hat. Im Vortrag soll der Hypothese nachgegangen werden, ob sich die formale Kongruenz entlang der *agreement hierachy* ausbreitet und insofern auch in diachroner Hinsicht Erklärungsmächtigkeit beanspruchen kann.

Behaghel, Otto (1928): Deutsche Syntax: eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Band III: die Satzgebilde. Heidelberg: Winter.

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**Zum Hyperbaton in altindogermanischen Sprachen**  
 24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Das Hyperbaton ist eine syntaktische Erscheinung, deren Funktionsweise in der Gegenwartssprache und im klassischen Latein, aber auch im Griechischen, schon recht gut erforscht ist. Doch wie verhält es sich mit anderen altindogermanischen Sprachen, wie Hethitisch oder Altindisch?

Anhand von Beispielen aus Denkmälern unterschiedlichster Art soll untersucht werden, ob und welche Rolle das Hyperbaton in diesen Sprachen spielt. Begegnet das Hyperbaton nur in metrischer Dichtung oder ist es auch in anderen Textgattungen anzutreffen?

Im Rigveda, dem ältesten altindischen literarischen Denkmal, ist das Hyperbaton gut bezeugt:

RV I 10,10:

vīṣantamasya	hūmaha	ūtīm	sahasrasātamām
GenSg-Stiergewaltiger	1PIPräsMed-erbitten	AkkSgf-Hilfe	AkkSgf-Gut spendend

Eigtl. ‚Des Stiergewaltigen wir erbitten die Hilfe, die Gut spendende‘

‚Wir erbitten die Hilfe des Stiergewaltigen, die Gut spendet‘

RV I 32,1:

īndrasya	nū	vīryāṇi	prā	vocam
GenSg-Indra	Part-nun	AkkPI-Heldentaten	Präv-	1SgInj-besingen

Eigtl. ‚Des Indra nun die Heldentaten ich will besingen‘

‚Ich will nun die Heldentaten des Indra besingen‘

Allerdings ist beim Veda-Corpus eben Vorsicht geboten, weil religiöse Hymnendichtung oftmals stilistische Freiheiten duldet, die in der Standardsprache zumindest hochmarkiert, wenn auch nicht ungrammatisch wären. Daher werden

kontrastiv zum einen die vedischen Prosatexte, zum andern aber auch das gänzlich anders geartete hethitische Corpus verglichen. Im Hethitischen kommen Hyperbata insgesamt seltener vor als im Vedischen, man kann aber zeigen, dass die Verwendung durchaus nicht auf poetische Texte beschränkt ist, z.B.

StBoT 8 (Ritual für das Königspaar), Vs. 22

II	<sup>D</sup> Hantasepus	harwani	GIŠ-as
Num	Akk.Pl. Hantasepa-Götter	1.Pl.Präs.Ind.Akt. haben	Gen.Sg. aus Holz

Was leistet also die Extraktion von Elementen aus der NP und inwieweit greifen hier einzelsprachliche Restriktionen und Regelmechanismen?

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**Informationsstruktur und Wortstellungsvarianz in altindogermanischen Sprachen**

25.02.2010, 09.00–09.30 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Die Wortstellung in den altindogermanischen Sprachen ist grundsätzlich frei. Trotzdem sind manche Erscheinungen auffällig, beispielsweise Nominativus pendens, Sperrung von Attribut und Nukleus, Inversion von Subjekt und Objekt, nachgestellte Präverbien, Tmesis, nicht satzinitial stehende Interrogativpronomen und ähnliches. Alle diese Erscheinungen sind natürlich schon lange bekannt und auch schon häufig beschrieben. Hier sollen nun diese Varianten unter einem neuen Blickwinkel untersucht werden, nämlich ob und inwiefern sie durch die Informationsstruktur beeinflusst oder vielleicht sogar bedingt sind.

Anhand von Beispielsätzen aus den älteren indogermanischen Sprachstufen, die abweichende Wortstellungen aufweisen, werden unter anderem folgende Fragen gestellt und bearbeitet:

- Hängt die Wortstellung davon ab, worüber etwas ausgesagt wird (Topik) und welche Information im Fokus des Satzes steht?
- Gibt es auffällige Wortstellungen, denen kontrastive Foki zugrunde liegen?
- Wie stark prägt die Notwendigkeit, einen Text kohärent zu gestalten, die Anordnung der einzelnen Satzglieder?
- Wie wird die Fokusinterpretation durch unterschiedliche Partikeln beeinflusst?
- Gibt es einen Zusammenhang zwischen Wortstellung, Satzgliedbesetzung und Fokus?

Im Mittelpunkt des Vortrags stehen Beispiele aus altindischen und althochdeutschen Texten. Obwohl es sich hier oft um metrische Texte handelt und die Wortstellung deshalb immer wieder von Reim bzw. Metrum beeinflusst wird, schließt das nicht automatisch aus, dass die abweichende Satzgliedstellung auch von anderen Faktoren abhängen kann. In diesem Zusammenhang könnte sich die relativ moderne Theorie der Informationsstruktur für die Indogermanistik und ihre Fragestellungen als ergiebig und konstruktiv erweisen.

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**Structured and arbitrary exceptions in syntax**  
 25.02.2010, 09.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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The syntax of natural languages is characterized by general mechanisms that operate independently of particular lexical items and enable the speaker to produce and understand an infinite number of sentences. Thus, it is fair to say that syntax, more than any other component of grammar, illustrates the regular and creative aspect of language. Still, syntax is not entirely free of irregularities, especially in the domain of argument realization. In this paper we argue that exceptions to general patterns of argument realization are of two kinds. First, there are exceptions that are stored in the lexicon without any associative links between them, i.e. links which make it easier for speakers to memorize the exceptions. These can be referred to as arbitrary exceptions as they are based on an arbitrary list of lexical items. Second, there are exceptions which involve clustering of lexical items on the basis of shared semantic properties. These can be called structured exceptions and they display partial productivity in contrast to arbitrary exceptions. Thus, arbitrary exceptions are totally unproductive whereas structured exceptions can be extended to new lexical items, provided that these exceptions have sufficient token frequency.

As we illustrate, the diachronic development of case selection in Insular Scandinavian (Icelandic and Faroese) provides strong support for the proposed dichotomy between structured and arbitrary exceptions. The discussion will focus on two kinds of exceptional case selection, accusative subjects and genitive objects. It will be shown that accusative subjects, especially experiencer subjects, have been semi-productive in the history of Insular Scandinavian whereas genitive objects have been completely unproductive. To account for this difference, we argue that verbs with accusative experiencer subjects form a similarity cluster on the basis of shared lexical semantic properties. This enables new lexical items to be attracted to the cluster. By contrast, verbs with genitive objects are a disparate group with no common semantic properties that could be the source of partial productivity.

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**Grammatikalisierung , Degrammatikalisierung und das seltsame Verhalten von Subjekten im modernen umgangssprachlichen Walisischen**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Anders als in den anderen modernen keltischen Sprachen sind im heutigen umgangssprachlichen Walisischen pronominale Argumentsubjekte in finiten Sätzen obligatorisch phonologisch realisiert und kookkurrieren, mit Ausnahme der Subjektpronomen der 3.Ps.Sg., in kanonischen VSO-Strukturen grundsätzlich mit entsprechenden flektierten „synthetischen“ Verbformen. Sie unterscheiden sich hierin von nicht-pronominalen Subjekt-DPs, welche ebenso wie die pronominalen Subjekte

der 3.Ps.Sg. stets „analytische“ Verbformen fordern. Falls sie zusammen mit einer koordinierten Konstituente eine komplexe Subjektphrase bilden, weist das dazugehörige finite Verbelement genau dann eine mit ihnen übereinstimmende „synthetische“ Morphologie auf, wenn sie als initiales Konjunkt zu diesem unmittelbar rechtsadjazent angeordnet sind. Andernfalls erscheint die „analytische“ Verbform (vgl. King 2007; Borsley et al. 2007). Borsley (2009), der das weitestgehend standardisierte moderne Walisische untersucht hat, bezeichnet in diesem Zusammenhang die walisische Kongruenz als ein Oberflächenphänomen, da sie allein durch die lineare Nachstellung des jeweils kongruenten Pronominalausdrucks motiviert wird. Doch wie konnte es zu dieser engen positionalen Beziehung zwischen finiten Hauptverben und Subjektpronomen überhaupt kommen? Und, vor allem, inwieweit kann man im heutigen umgangssprachlichen Walisischen tatsächlich von einer morphologisch repräsentierten Subjekt-Verb-Kongruenz im eigentlichen Sinne sprechen?

In meinem Vortrag werde ich dafür argumentieren, dass das besondere Verhalten von Subjekten und finiten Verben im heutigen umgangssprachlichen Walisischen auf die spezielle diachrone Entwicklung von schwachen Subjektpronomen zurückzuführen ist, wobei diese mit Ausnahme der Pronomen der 3.Ps.Sg. zunächst im Zuge ihrer Grammatikalisierung zu funktionalen Kongruenzmarkern verbale Eigenschaften annahmen, daraufhin durch einen Degrammatikalisierungsprozess rein pronominale Charakteristika zurückgewannen und nun schließlich am Beginn einer Regrammatikalisierung zu verbalen Markern stehen.

Wie der Vergleich von Daten aus dem heutigen literarischen und umgangssprachlichen Walisischen zeigen (2a,b), hat sich nicht – etwa als Resultat einer fortschreitenden Grammatikalisierung – ein ausschließlich verbales Kongruenzparadigma etabliert. Vielmehr sind die Flexive der „synthetischen“ Formen teilweise erodiert, woraufhin deren Auslaute an die Anlaute der darauffolgenden Subjektpronomen phonologisch assimiliert und schließlich als rein pronominale Elemente reanalysiert wurden (vgl. Jones 1988). Die Identifikation von Subjektargumenten erfordert nun im umgangssprachlichen Walisischen stets die Einsetzung der jeweiligen overten Subjektpronomen. Da diese mit ihren finiten Hauptverben mittlerweile neue „synthetische“ Formen bilden (2b) und somit wiederum an der Schwelle einer Grammatikalisierung zu (quasi-pronominalen) Kongruenzsuffixen stehen, kookkurrieren nur sie, sobald sie unmittelbar postverbal angeordnet sind, mit der entsprechenden nicht-„analytischen“ Verbmorphologie.

Insofern gründet sich das besondere Verhalten von Subjekten im umgangssprachlichen Walisischen nicht auf eine spezielle Ausprägung der externen Kongruenz (gegen Borsley et al. 2007) sondern vielmehr auf eine Subjektinkorporation seitens vormals „synthetischer“ Verbformen.

<p>(1) Mittelwalisisch  a. <i>Ac ar hynny y trigyassant y nos honno</i>  und auf das PRT einig-PRÄT-(PRON)3PL  DET Nacht dies  „Und auf das einigten sie sich diese  Nacht.“ (Peredur, 44.14)</p>	<p>(2) modernes literar. Walisisch  a. <i>Darllenasant (hwy) y papur newydd.</i>  les-PRÄT-(PRON)3PL (sie) DET Zeitung  „Sie lasen die Zeitung.“</p>
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<p>b. <i>ac yny erbynn ynteu y doeth ywein achadwaladyr.</i></p> <p>und in bei er PRT komm-PRÄT lwein und-Cadwaladr</p> <p>„und zu ihm kamen lwein und Cadwaladr.“ (BTy(1) 175a 9-12)</p>	<p>modernes umgangsspr. Walisisch</p> <p>b. <i>Darlleo(n)-nhw 'r papur newydd.</i></p> <p>les-PRÄT-sie DET Zeitung</p> <p>„Sie lasen die Zeitung.“</p>
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**Idiosynkratische dass-Sätze im Altgermanischen**  
25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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
Ausgangspunkt dieses Vortrags ist die Besprechung solcher Sätze wie in (1), die eine besondere Verwendung der Konjunktion *dass* zeigen:

(1)

- a. ach we sere *dat* he schre (Karlm. 157,39 zit nach Behaghel 1928:150)
- b. man wird nur tiefer dumm, je tiefer *daß* man sinnt (G IX, 102, 830; zit nach Behaghel 1928:150)

Im heutigen Standarddeutschen ist die Realisierung der Konjunktion in diesen Satztypen nicht mehr möglich.

Sowohl für Exklamativsätze wie in (1a) als auch für Komparativsätze wie (1b) ist eine komplexere CP-Struktur vorgeschlagen worden. So wird z.B. in Zanuttini & Portner (2003) für Exklamativsätze CP-Rekursion angenommen wie in (2), bei der in der zweiten CP ein Faktizitätsoperator enthalten ist:

(2) [CP we sere [[C ] [CP FACT [C dat] IP ]]]

Die Präsenz der Konjunktion *dass* dient der Markierung der Sätze als eingebettet: sie haben eine geminderte illokutive Kraft, da sie weder für das Merkmal [+WH] markiert sind, noch das finite Verb in C° haben (Truckenbrodt 2006).

Im Vortrag werden die Eigenschaften der Sätze in (1) diskutiert und verglichen mit denen folgender Sätze wie (3), in denen ebenfalls CP-Rekursion angenommen werden muss:

- (3) ich weiz wol, ob daz wol ergat, *daz* mich min bruoder leben lat und er mich niht ersterbet, daz er mich aber enterbet (G 1477-80; zit nach Paul/Wiehl/Grosse 1989: 439)

In den älteren ie. Sprachen wird in Sätzen wie (3) häufig die Konjunktion *dass* iteriert, was die Rekursion deutlich zeigt:

- (4) *laisari, Moses gameloda unsis, thatei jabai hvis brothar gadauthnai jah*  
 Meister, Moses schrieb uns, dass-ei wenn jemandes Bruder stirbt und  
*bileithai qenai jah barne ni bileithai ei nimai brothar is tho qen*  
 hinterlässt Frau und Kinder nicht hinterlässt dass nehme Bruder sein die Frau  
*is jah ussatjai barna brothr seinamma (Mk 12,19) (Gotisch)*  
 seine und erzeuge Kinder Bruder seinem

*Meister, Moses schrieb uns, dass, wenn jemandes Bruder stirbt und hinterlässt eine Frau, aber keine Kinder, sein Bruder die Frau nehmen soll und dem Bruder Kinder erzeugen*

Dieser Typ der Rekursion hat in modernen germanischen Sprachen eine spezifische pragmatische Funktion, nämlich die Markierung von Topiks (van der Auwera 1991):

- (5) *ik geloof dat die man dat die ziek is* (Niederländisch)  
 ich glaube dass der Mann dass der krank ist

Auwera, Johan van der (1991). The position of Dutch complementizers. In Abraham W. & W. Kosmeijer & E. Reuland (Hrsg.) *Issues in Germanic Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 13-32.  
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 Truckenbrodt, Hubert (2006) On the semantic motivation of syntactic verb movement to C in German. *Theoretical Linguistics* 32.3., 257-306.  
 Zanuttini, Raffaella / Paul Portner (2003) Exclamative clauses: At the Syntax-Semantics Interface. *Language* 79: 39-81.

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**Lautliche und syntaktische Inkongruenzen in rigvedischen Vokativphrasen**  
 25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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1. Das rigvedische Sanskrit hat ein streng geregeltes Akzentsystem. Dennoch gibt es einige Ausnahmen bei Vokativphrasen mit attributiven Genitiven. Vokative und Vokativphrasen sind unakzentuiert außer am Satz- und Pāda-Anfang. Normalerweise fallen auch Attribute – seien es Adjektive oder Genitivattribute – unter die den Vokativ betreffenden Akzentuierungsregeln, vgl. z.B. RV 1,58,8, wo der attr. Gen. *sahasas* in der Vokativphrase, die nicht am Satz- oder Pāda-Anfang steht, ebenfalls nicht akzentuiert ist:

<i>áchidrā</i>	<i>sūno</i>	<i>sahasō</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>adyá</i>	<i>stotṛbhyo</i>
Ak.Sg.n.	V.Sg.m.	G.Sg.n.	D.Pl.enklit.	Adv.	D.Pl.m.
unspaltbar	Sohn	Kraft	uns	heute	Sänger
<i>mitramahaḥ</i>	<i>sárma</i>	<i>yacha</i>			
V.Sg.m.	Ak.Sg.m.	2.Sg.lptv.			
Vielfreundiger	Schutz	gewähren			

,Unspaltbaren Schutz, du Sohn der Kraft, gewähre uns Sängern heute, du Vielfreundiger!'

2. Neben zahlreichen ähnlichen regelkonformen Beispielen gibt es nun einige auffällige Ausnahmen wie z.B. RV 1,177,3:

<i>yuktvā́</i>	<i>vṛṣabhyām</i>	<i>vṛṣabha</i>	<i>ksitínām</i>	<i>háribhyām</i>	<i>yāhi</i>	[... <i>madrík.</i> ]
Absol.	D.Du.m.	V.Sg.m.	G.Pl.f.	D.Du.m.	2.Sg.Iptv.	Ak.Sg.m.
Anschirren	Bulle	Bulle	Volk	Falbe	(her)kommen	meinereiner

,Wenn Du das Bullenpaar angeschirrt hast, du Bulle der Völker, komm mit den Falben [...] her zu meinereinem!'

Hier ist der dem unakzentuierten Vokativ folgende adnominale G.Pl. *ksitínām* trotz der Stellung (weder Satz- noch Pādagrenze) akzentuiert. Da es sich nicht um eine mechanische Akzentregel handeln kann, muss die Erklärung für dieses ungewöhnliche Verhalten auf pragmatisch-semantischer Ebene liegen.

3. Doch dazu kommen noch Beispiele wie RV 6,32,4:

<i>ābhūr</i>	<i>éko</i>	<i>rayipate</i>	<i>rayīnām</i>
2.Sg.Aor.	N.Sg.m.	V.Sg.m.	G.Pl.f.
werden	ein, einzig	Herr	Reichtum

,Du wurdest der einzige (du) Herr der Reichtümer!'

Hier liegt die Verbindung eines Numeral-Adjektivs Nominativ *éka* mit seinem Bezugsnomen im Vokativ *rayipate* vor.

4. Weitere „ungrammatische“ Ausdrucksweisen im Zusammenhang mit Vokativen sind etwa die Verwendung eines Vokativs als Prädikatsnomen oder als Subjekt eines Relativsatzes, die selten auch im Griechischen, einer anderen altindogermanischen Sprache, beobachtet werden können, etwa in Aischylos Pers. 674:

ὦ	<i>πολύκλαυτε</i>	φίλοισι	θανών
Vok.- Partikel	V.Sg.m.	D.Pl.m.	N.Sg.Part.
oh	Vielbeweinter	Freund	gestorben seiend

,oh du, der als von den Freunden Vielbeweinter gestorben ist'.

5. Diese „ungrammatischen“ Ausdrucksweisen dürften letztlich durch Delokution der direkten Anrede an die Gottheit/Person und unvollständige syntaktische Einpassung in den Hymnus/ das Gedicht entstanden sein.

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**Zur Morphosyntax von *jemand/niemand***  
25.02.2010, 12.00–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.501

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Bei den Indefinita *jemand* (und *niemand*) zeigt sich im Dativ und Akkusativ erhebliche Varianz. Standardsprachlich anerkannt sind einerseits die flektierten Formen *jemandem* und *jemanden* sowie die endungslose Form *jemand*; daneben erscheint aber im Dativ auch die Nonstandardform *jemanden*, und dies in einer Frequenz, die über derjenigen der üblichen Fälle von *m/n*-Unsicherheit liegt (Beispiel: *aus harten Holz*; anstelle von: *aus hartem Holz*), so dass nach einer gesonderten bzw. zusätzlichen Begründung für diese Form zu suchen ist. Darüber hinaus sollte untersucht werden, warum in Verbindung mit nominalisierten Adjektiven die endungslose Form weit überwiegt (zum Beispiel: *mit jemand Unbekanntem*); die allgemeine Tendenz zur Monoflexion ist wohl nicht der einzige wirksame Faktor. Und schließlich kann man sich fragen, wie die ursprünglichen Genitivformen der nominalisierten Adjektive synchron zu erklären sind (zum Beispiel: *für jemand Unbekanntes*; daneben aber auch schon: *für jemand Unbekanntem*).

**AG 11**  
**The impact of internal and external factors in child second  
 language acquisition**

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**Sources of Individual Differences in Child English L2 Acquisition**

24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Existing studies have found that language aptitude, L1 typology, age of acquisition, parent education, and quantity and quality of input outside the classroom can all influence how rapidly children learn a L2 (see Paradis, 2007, for review). The goal of this study was to examine which combination of these factors best predicts the development of vocabulary size and accuracy with verb morphology in English L2 acquisition, whether the contribution of certain factors would change from early to later stages of acquisition, and whether the same factors would predict lexical and morphological acquisition.

Participants were 165 English L2 children (mean age: 5;10; mean onset age of English exposure: 4;4), with an average of 17 months exposure to English in schools or preschools (range = 1-39). Children had the following L1 backgrounds: Cantonese/Mandarin, Punjabi/Hindi/Urdu, Arabic, or Spanish. Children were administered a receptive vocabulary test (PPVTIII: Dunn & Dunn, 1997), and verb morphology production probes yielding a composite accuracy score for 3S-s, past-ed, BE, and DO (TEGI: Rice & Wexler, 2001). Child-internal predictor factors were (i) whether the L1 marks tense, (ii) non-verbal IQ – general cognition, (iii) phonological working memory (non-word repetition) – language learning aptitude, and (iv) chronological age – cognitive maturity. Child-external predictor factors were (v) English use in the home (measure of English vs. L1 use among family members), (vi) mother's self-rated fluency in English, (vii) number of older siblings, (viii) richness of English environment (measured by English activities, books, media, and English native-speaker friends), and (xi) maternal education in years.

Children were divided into two groups: early stage (< 18 months) and later stage (> 18 months). Within each stage, correlations between L2 outcome variables and months of exposure to English were non-significant. Multiple linear regression modeling was conducted within each group for vocabulary and morphology scores separately. Results showed that the models predicted variance in vocabulary size and accuracy with verb morphology better at the early stage than the later stage, and they predicted verb morphology accuracy better than vocabulary size overall. The strongest predictors at the early stage tended to be the child-internal factors for both vocabulary and verb morphology; whereas, the child-external factor of richness of the English environment emerged as a strong predictor for both at the later stage. Children who were chronologically older at testing showed significant advantages for both vocabulary and verb morphology at the later stage, even with exposure time partialled out. L1 influence was a significant predictor of verb morphology at the early stage only. Presence of older siblings influenced children's accuracy with verb morphology at the later stage. While use of English in the home boosted both

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# *Bili* Zweisprachige Sachgeschichten für Kinder

Fremdsprachen sind in den letzten Jahren immer wichtiger geworden. Heute wird in Deutschland in vielen Familien und Freundeskreisen, in Kindergärten und Schulen mehr als nur eine Sprache gesprochen. Und durch Werbung, Radio oder Fernsehen sind Fremdsprachen für uns und unsere Kinder ohnehin allgegenwärtig.

Die frühe Begegnung mit anderen Sprachen wird in der bilingualen Erziehung gezielt aufgegriffen. Wissenschaftliche Studien weisen darauf hin, dass der Fremdspracherwerb im frühen Kindesalter, gerade auch in Kombination mit sachbezogenen Themen, besonders erfolgreich verläuft. Durch den Sprachvergleich entwickeln die Kinder zudem ein besseres Gefühl für die eigene Muttersprache. Schließlich fördert das frühe Lernen anderer Sprachen auch die kreativen Fähigkeiten der Kinder. Bilinguale Erziehung eröffnet also vielseitige Chancen.

Begleitet von Experten: Die *Bilis* wurden in Zusammenarbeit mit Fachleuten aus der wissenschaftlichen Fremdsprachenpädagogik sowie aus der bilingualen Kindergarten- und Grundschulpraxis entwickelt.

In *Bili* verbindet sich die Idee des frühen Fremdsprachenlernens mit der Vermittlung von Sachinhalten auf optimale Weise: Die zweisprachigen Sachgeschichten sind in übersichtliche, leicht zu erfassende Erzählabschnitte gegliedert. Die entscheidenden Szenen der Geschichte werden in anschaulich-frischen Illustrationen aufgegriffen, wodurch das Textverständnis zusätzlich erleichtert wird. Ein doppelseitiges Bildwörterbuch veranschaulicht das ‚erzählte Wissen‘ im Gesamtkontext und verbindet dieses mit einer zweisprachigen Wörterliste zum Thema. Darüber hinaus vertiefen und erweitern detaillierte Zusatzinformationen die vermittelten Sachinhalte.

Die *Bilis* stellen damit eine zugleich sprachliche wie inhaltliche Bereicherung für die Kinder dar!

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vocabulary and morphology early on, contact with native-speaker models for English (English richness) was more important later on. Finally, maternal education was significantly and positively correlated with mother's fluency in English, but mother's fluency in English proved to be a significant predictor of the children's verb morphology at the early stage, and maternal education alone was not a significant predictor of either verb morphology or vocabulary at either stage.

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**The impact of internal and external factors on linguistic performance in the home language and in L2 among Russian-Hebrew and Russian-German preschool children**

24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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The impact of internal and external factors on linguistic performance in the home language and in L2 among Russian-Hebrew and Russian-German preschool children. This paper evaluates the contribution of external and internal background factors on the development of linguistic skills in the two languages of bilingual children. External factors (e.g., parent education and occupation, birth order and family size) are those the child brings to the language learning effort, while internal factors (age of onset and length of L2 exposure) are viewed here as reflecting the child's language experience.

**Hypotheses.** External background factors (parent education) are expected to play a greater role in L1 maintenance, while internal background factors (length of L2 exposure) are expected to correlate with success in L2 acquisition. More specifically, parents' educational level and occupation, is expected to influence linguistic performance in both L1 and L2, where children of parents with higher levels of education and skilled/academic jobs will have better target language performance and children of parents in less skilled jobs or unemployed will show more home language maintenance. L2 exposure is expected to correlate positively with performance on standardized tests, lexical abilities, morphological and grammatical knowledge in the target language, but not with such abilities in the home language.

**Method.** 65 Russian-German and 78 Russian-Israeli migrant children with comparable length of L2 exposure (M=37mo) and family size (1.88 children) participated in 30 minute sessions in both languages. Sociolinguistic interviews with parents revealed differences in terms of age/age of L2 onset, birth order and SES (parent education and occupation). Linguistic data included standardized target language tests, non-word repetition in Russian/L1, and the following measures of linguistic performance in both languages: sentence imitation and story completion tasks investigating verb inflections, prepositions, case marking, and complex syntax (wh-questions, passives, relative clauses) as a picture naming task which tested knowledge of nouns and verbs.

**Findings.** Overall, internal factors showed a stronger relationship to language measures than External factors. Moreover, internal factors (age of L2 onset and length of exposure) correlated with L2, while external factors (parent education/occupation) correlated with L1 measures. Finally, SES differences

between the groups led to better L2 performance among Israeli children and more L1 maintenance among Russian-German children.

For both groups of children, internal factors (age, age of L2 onset, and length of L2 exposure) correlated moderately to strongly with success in the target language as reflected in performance on the standardized tests and in the L2 naming task, correlations ranging from .40 to .61. Internal factors did not correlate with any of the L1 measures developed for this study. The relationship between internal factors and L2 abilities was notably stronger for the German cohort, which was on average 5 months younger and began intensive L2 exposure 6 months younger than the Russian-Israeli children. Further analyses will attempt to partial out the role of age and look at additional measures of L2 ability in order to get at the developmental issues at stake. External factors, as predicted, plays a role in home language, but mainly for the Russian-erman migrant children. Specifically, mother's educational level correlated with L1 performance on tasks involving prepositions, verb inflections and complex syntax: children of mothers with more education performed significantly better on these tasks ( $p < 0.05$ ). Mother's occupational level also played a role in L1 performance, viz. on the non-word repetition task, with children of professional and skilled working mothers scoring significantly higher on this L1 measure.

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**The impact of external factors on the performance of L2 children in  
standardized assessments**

24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Previous studies investigating the effect of external factors on language acquisition and educational success have primarily compared heterogeneous populations with varied L1 backgrounds, different instructional contexts and of different socioeconomic status (Oller & Eilers, 2002). The population examined in the present study exhibits homogeneity in terms of internal factors (same L1 background) and some external factors (low SES, basic parental education, and low L2 proficiency). Therefore the focus is shifted towards the relative contribution of each external factor on influencing child L2 learners' performance on different components of grammar and vocabulary.

49 Turkish-speaking child L2 learners of English aged between 6 and 9 years old (mean age: 7;2, mean age of onset: 3;3) with an average of 4;3 years of exposure (range: 1;10–6;9) along with 33 English L1 age-matched controls (mean age: 7;5) were tested on a battery of standardized assessments examining comprehension of grammar (TROG2, Bishop, 2003), vocabulary (BPVSII, Dunn, Dunn, Whetton, & Burley, 1997), production of third person –s and past tense –ed (TEGI, Rice & Wexler, 2001), production of articles and comprehension of wh-elements and passives (DELV, Seymour, Roeper & deVilliers, 2005). Additionally, the following information was gathered via parental and child questionnaires: (i) mother's level of education (mLoE), (ii) mother's self-rated proficiency in English (mSRP), (iii) English use at home (with parents and siblings), (iv) richness of the input before and during school years (hours of TV/radio, books), (v) child's years of exposure (YoE) to English, and (vi) age of onset (AoO) to English.



Initial L1-L2 comparison on the standardized assessments showed that the L2 children performed significantly lower than the age-matched L1 controls on all assessments and in most cases failed to reach age-appropriate norms. Consecutive multiple correlations between external factors and language assessments were carried out in order to assess the impact of each individual factor on language performance.

Results showed that the various external factors influence vocabulary and grammar differentially. The quality of maternal input in English as measured through mSRP correlated with the acquisition of vocabulary (raw and standard BPVS scores) and complex structures (DELV-passives, DELV-wh, overall DELV score). mLoE was not correlated with any of the language components, possibly due to the fact that maternal education was generally low and the range was very narrow. Child external factors such as YoE and current age correlated strongly with the raw scores on all language assessments apart from the use of articles. There was also a moderate negative correlation between AoO and the acquisition of complex structures (DELV-wh, DELV-passives, overall DELV score). English use at home was related to the development of vocabulary as well as grammatical morphology (past tense -ed and articles). Richness of input before school correlated with the comprehension of vocabulary, but there was no correlation between richness of input during school years and any of the language assessments.

We will discuss which combinations of factors predict L2 children's performance on standardized tasks and their ability to reach age-appropriate norms.

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**Subject-verb agreement in L2 children: form, clause type and home language**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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In this paper we will show that accuracy with subject-verb agreement in L2 children is influenced by form of the morpheme, type of clause and language spoken at home (L1). The data discussed comprise oral production data from children aged 4;02 to 9;11 ( $n = 62$ ), collected through a sentence completion task with conditions that varied between person and number of the grammatical subject and different types of clauses (main, inversion, relative). Children who participated came from families that immigrated to the Netherlands from China, Morocco and Turkey. In the families, Dutch was infrequently used; the children's exposure to Dutch mainly took place at school. The results show that (i) children's performance increases as a function of proficiency ( $p = 0.0000$ ); (ii) children with richly inflection home languages

(Moroccan-Arabic/Tarifit ( $p = 0.0017$ ) and Turkish ( $p = 0.0042$ )) outperform children with an isolating home language (Mandarin/Cantonese); (iii) performance with the bare stem used in 1SG contexts is better than with stem+en used in plural contexts ( $p = 0.0005$ ) and stem+en in plural contexts is more accurately produced than stem+t in 2/3SG contexts ( $p = 0.0013$ ). Two effects of clause type were found: (iv) subject-verb agreement in clauses with subject-verb inversion is less accurate than in clauses without inversion ( $p = 0.0070$ ), and; (v) in 3SG contexts, children make fewer errors in relative clauses than in main clauses ( $p = 0.0428$ ). In previous studies it is hypothesized that errors with subject-verb agreement are omission errors that happen in communicatively demanding situations (Ionin and Wexler 2002; Prévost 2003). The results of the present study show that in certain contexts substitutions are frequent as well and that inherent properties of the target morpheme are relevant (Gathercole 2007; Goldschneider & DeKeyser 2001; Paradis et al. 2008a). Previous studies did not find effects of transfer in the production of verbal inflection (Paradis et al. 2008b). Target language properties in combination with the participants' age at time of testing may explain this difference.

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**The impact of external factors in French cL2 as compared to (2)L1 and aL2:  
Quantity and quality of the input**  
24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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The study of children learning French as a second language at an early age (cL2) has recently received attention (Paradis, 2007; 2009; Meisel, 2009, among others). A central research question in this area is if and in what respect the language acquisition process in cL2 resembles that of adult second language acquisition (aL2) or of first language acquisition (L1). As far as language development in aL2 French is concerned, Bartning and Schlyter (2004) have suggested six developmental stages for a certain number of morphosyntactic phenomena. However, as underlined by Schlyter (2003), we do not yet know if these developmental stages are valid also for children acquiring French at an early age.

This study presents longitudinal production data from an ongoing project at Lund University, Sweden, and Université Paris X Nanterre, France, called Age of onset

and linguistic development of French (Schlyter, 2008; Kihlstedt, 2009), where we compare four different groups of learners: 1) Children with Swedish as L1 acquiring French from the age of 3-6 years (cL2), 2) Bilingual children acquiring French and Swedish from birth (2L1), 3) French monolingual children (L1), and 4) Adult Swedish learners of L2 French (aL2). The three groups of children are recorded regularly at Lycée Français Saint Louis in Stockholm, where the medium of instruction is French, while data from the adult learners come from previous research.

Previous results show that the language of cL2 children shares some characteristics with the aL2 group, at least for the phenomena studied so far: finiteness, tense/aspect morphology, clitic pronouns, gender agreement and subject-verb agreement (Granfeldt et al. 2007). Moreover, the results also reveal that the 2L1 children manifest certain differences compared to the L1 children when it comes to object clitics and gender agreement. 2L1 acquisition has long been considered an instance of L1 acquisition but subtle differences have nevertheless been observed and discussed in the literature, sometimes as an effect of cross-linguistic influence (Müller and Hulk, 2000). Another possibility is that the quantity and the quality of the input might play a role, not only for the cL2 learners, but also for the 2L1 children. In order to investigate the role of input, we carried out a detailed survey of the input situation of these children, inside and outside school.

In this paper we will present data on finiteness, subject-verb agreement in the plural and placement of object clitics. We will compare our cL2 longitudinal data with the other groups mentioned above in terms of linguistic development over time and of accuracy scores at specific data points. The results will be discussed with regard to age of onset of acquisition as well as quantity and quality of the input.

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**Impact of the languages spoken at and outside home on bilingual language acquisition: Evidence from German Russian migrant families in Berlin**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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The study contributes to the ongoing debates around the two assumptions dealing with the impact of the languages spoken with bilingual children and at their homes: (1) the development of child L2 is not sufficiently sustained if the parents talk to children in their L2 at home (Tracy, 2007) and (2) the language use at home does not influence the development in the L2 ((De Houwer, 2007, Gutierrez-Clellen & Kreiter, 2003).

The study aims at clarifying the impact of the languages spoken to bilingual children, on L1 Russian and early L2 German bilingual acquisition. In particular, it addresses the following questions: How does the quantity of language use at home, i.e. the reported speech, influence L1 and L2 acquisition? The quantity of language use at home is measured according to the parental rating given during the detailed socio-linguistic interviews.

To analyse the quantity of reported language use at home we elaborated the scores for the two characteristics: language use at home and language use outside home. These two categories consist of the computed average of the subcategories, rated on a scale of ten points. For example, for the score "Russian/German outside" the following subcategories were elicited: How much Russian/German has the child (a) with children in kindergarten, (b) with neighbours, (c) at friend's parties, etc. Each subcategory was rated on a scale from 0-9 (no Russian/German – only Russian/German) and the average was calculated. This average was matched up to the level of lexical and grammatical development in L1 and L2, which was evaluated on the basis of the three types of tests performed in both Russian and German: (1) the noun-verb-naming-test (naming of 33 nouns and verbs) for the lexicon, (2) the elicitation test of the verb (1st and 2nd person singular) and case (accusative, dative) inflection for morphology and (3) the imitation test of complex syntax.

The data stem from 22 successive bilinguals (the age is between 50-69 months) of German Russian migrant families in Berlin, the length of acquisition is between 20-40months and socio-economic index varies from mid to high.

Our results show that, first, high L1 quantity of reported language use outside home does not negatively influence L2 development, second, high L2 quantity of reported language use at home positively influences some aspects of L2 (positive correlation between L2 at home and the elicitation test of the verb inflection for German (.05)), but contributes to the loss of lexicon in L1. A high score "L1 at home" positively correlate with the lexical proficiency in Russian measured by the tests mentioned above.

To conclude: high contact with L1 at home improves the lexical abilities in L1 and does not negatively affect L2, . The high exposure of L2 German at home does not improve the general competence for L2 but has a negative influence of the lexical competence in Russian. An influence of language use on grammatical abilities was

not detected. This dissociation of the domains can be explained with the different influence of the input to lexical and grammatical abilities (Chomsky, 1975, Meisel, 2003, Oller & Pearson, 2002, Pinker, 1994).

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**Why 2L1 may sometimes look like child L2: Effects of input quantity**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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One major question in research on child L2 acquisition has been whether child L2 learners bear more similarities with bilinguals having simultaneous exposure to two languages from birth (2L1) than with adult L2 learners. Another major question concerns the age at which it is too late to acquire a language akin to a first language learner. In this contribution we would like to suggest that data from 2L1 learners with one language being noticeably weaker than the other may reveal factors that are relevant to answering the above questions.

Recent studies have suggested that the critical age for the acquisition of some grammatical phenomena may be as early as 3-4 years (Meisel 2007). It seems to be taken for granted that learners acquiring a language before that age acquire it in a way similar to a first language learner. Most studies, so far, have compared acquisition paths rather than acquisition outcomes. However, if we look at acquisition outcomes in adult bilinguals, simultaneous bilinguals do not always outperform successive bilinguals (e.g. Montrul 2008). This creates the necessity to investigate also borderline cases of first language acquisition and child L2 acquisition. In particular, one should question whether only age of onset is crucial to acquisition outcomes and whether some 2L1 learners may look like child L2 learners and, if so, why.

In this explorative study, we are trying to address these issues by comparing two children who had simultaneous exposure to English and German from birth. However, in one case the quantity of input in English was extremely low, and in the other case the child largely refused to German. Both children developed relatively fast in their stronger languages. Hence, although these children had a considerably earlier onset than child L2 learners, they are very similar to them with regards to speaking their weaker language.

Our study traces the children's early development in both of their languages between the ages of 2 and 3 years. We then analyze production data of these same children

between the ages of 4 and 5 years, comparing German/English as weaker languages to German/English as stronger languages based on a variety of domains that are more or less vulnerable to transfer (including, e.g., verb placement in German and English, verb morphology and case in German, progressive aspect in English). Our preliminary results suggest that it is easier for the child with German as a stronger language to catch up with English than it is for the child with English as stronger language to catch up with German, in a setting where English is the language of the environment. We further observe less difficulty with syntactic phenomena than with morphology.

Based on our results we would like to propose that factors beyond age of onset, notably quantity of input as well as output and relative degree of difficulty of a particular phenomenon are crucial for acquisition outcomes and that these should be taken into account when classifying learners in terms of L1 or L2.

Meisel J. M. 2007. Exploring the Limits of the LAD, Arbeiten zur Mehrsprachigkeit (AzM) 80, Universität Hamburg.

Montrul, S. 2008. Incomplete Acquisition in Bilingualism. Re-examining the Age Factor. [Series on Studies in Bilingualism] Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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**Finiteness in Turkish and Polish child L2 learners of German: Evidence from elicited production and elicited imitation**

25.02.2010, 9.30–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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In German, there is a relation between morphological finiteness marking on the verb and the position of the verb in the sentence: Finite verbs appear in a raised position, whereas non-finite verbs appear clause-finally. Investigating the development of finiteness thus provides insights into the nature of both morphological and syntactic knowledge in learners of German. Previous studies suggest that adult second language (L2) learners have to gradually build up knowledge about finiteness, in particular about the relation between verb morphology and verb position (e.g., Vainikka and Young-Scholten, 1996). This is considered by some to be deviant from the acquisition of finiteness in first language (L1) acquisition as well as L2 acquisition in young children, where the relation between morphology and syntax is often assumed to be present from the first utterances on (e.g. Meisel, 2009).

The present study uses an elicited production and an elicited imitation task to test the knowledge of finiteness in two groups of child L2 learners and compare them to the data of a previously tested group of adult L2 learners. The children were aged between 7 and 12 years and had been exposed to German on average for 7 months. For one group of children (n=18), the basic word order of the L1 was SVO (mostly Polish), whereas for a second group of children (n=20), the L1 word order was SOV (mostly Turkish). All adult learners (n=48) were native speakers of Turkish. The comparison of the use of finiteness in these three groups allows insights in the relative impact of age and properties of the L1 in (child) L2 acquisition. More precisely, it can be investigated:

- a) whether the two child groups show common characteristics that distinguish them from the adult learner group
- b) whether the child and adult groups with a SOV-L1 have common characteristics compared to the child group with a SVO-L1

Elicited production data were coded for the form and position of verbs in diagnostic contexts (e.g., with respect to negation, scope particles and adverbials). The elicited imitation task focused on negated sentences. The stimuli sentences comprised 6 types of sentences (and additional filler sentences), containing finite light verbs and finite and nonfinite verbs to the left and the right of negation respectively. It was coded whether participants made systematic changes to verb morphology, verb position or both when repeating the sentences. The results were strikingly similar in all three groups: Within each group, beginning learners who produced only a small number of finite verb forms in production strongly preferred a verb-final position both in production and in imitation (changing the position of verbs from raised to non-raised, but not the other way round), and no evidence for a relation between morphology and syntax. In contrast, slightly more advanced learner preferred raised over non-raised verbs in production and imitation, and showed evidence for a relation between morphology and syntax. Group comparisons showed that children seem to differ from adults, however, in the speed of the developmental process. Children with different L1s differed mainly in their use of non-finite default forms, which tended to be bare stems in children from SVO languages, but infinitives in children from SOV languages (as well as the adult group), reflecting the frequencies of certain types of verb forms in the second versus the final position in German.

Meisel, J. (2009) Second language acquisition in early childhood. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 28, 1, 534.

Vainikka, A. and Young-Scholten, M. (1996) Gradual development of L2 phrase structure. *Second Language Research* 12, 7-39.

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**Assessing the Roles of Maturation and Learning: A Case Study of the  
 acquisition of English by a young Korean Child**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Maturation and Learning (each reflecting a host of internal and external factors) are generally confounded in the developing child learning language (e.g., Mayberry et al 2002, Lust 2006). In this paper, we will suggest that study of developing bilingualism in the young child can help to dissociate these two areas of language acquisition in ways not exploited before.

We will report selected results from a case study of a male Korean child (MJ101602) studied longitudinally over a period of exposure to an English only nursery school situation in the US , with a newly developing multi-sampling methodology, combining both naturalistic and experimental approaches. The child's developing English and Korean bilingualism was sampled through 49 interviews over a period of 1 and ½ years, between the ages of 3 years and 4 years, 6 months. Tasks involve general observations, natural speech samples, standardized vocabulary tests (both

comprehension and production, i.e., Peabody Picture Vocabulary Production and Evocation tests) as well as elicited imitation tests of various aspects of developing syntax, complemented by experimenters' reports and teacher observations, each applied repeatedly, where possible.

We will report here results from one segment of time, wherein a natural occurrence allowed unique comparative measurements. The child returned home to Korea during the period aged 3.6-3.10 (years, months) where he was embedded in a totally Korean speaking situation before returning to the English speaking nursery school in the US. The general question we tested was: Would the child's developing English show regression or development over this period of time?

Results showed remarkably significant improvements in the child's control of English lexicon, phonology, syntax and semantics, as demonstrated in natural speech production. Mean length of utterance for words and morphemes, attempted full sentences, and grammaticality were remarkably improved. Utterances passed from those like "not play" at session 1 to "I'm not knocks it down" in the returning session. We contrast these results to those from 4 Korean children developing English without the input interruption of our case study.

We discuss these results in terms of various explanations for this development of English L2 in the absence of L2 input during the time of observed development and articulate proposals for further research. We also suggest these results may empower new methodology.

Lust, B. 2006. *Child Language. Acquisition and Growth*. Cambridge Univ. Press

Mayberry, R., Lock, E., and Kazmi, H. 2002. Linguistic Ability and Early Language Exposure. *Nature*, 417.

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**Internal factors in the acquisition of French accusative clitics:**

**The role of morphology**

25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Background: French accusative clitics are known to be difficult to master for child L2 learners (Prévost 2006) just as for children (and adolescents) with SLI and young typically developing children (Jakubowicz et al 1998, Hamann et al 1996, Tuller et al., in, press). While the reason for this difficulty is disputed, virtually all existing studies attribute it to factors of syntactic complexity (non-canonical position in Jakubowicz et al 1998, crossing chains in Chillier-Zesiger et al to appear, the UCC in Wexler 2002). The present study seeks to identify the role of morphological complexity in the explanation of the phenomenon. The abstract reports the results at T1 of a longitudinal study – the data of T2 are presently being coded.

Population and protocol: A production probe for pronominal clitics (PPPC, Tuller et al in press) was administered to a group of 15 child L2 learners of French with L1 English aged 6;6-12;3 with a time of exposition ranging from 0;11-4;6 and an age of onset between 4;3 and 10;10. The L2 children were compared to a group of



monolingual French children with SLI and control groups of typically developing (TD) French monolinguals aged 4, 6, 8 and 11 (12 children of each age).

The PPPC elicits clitic clusters in simple root clauses of the type *Il me poursuit* (he-me-chases 'he chases me'). However, some children spontaneously produce infinitival embeddings like *Il veut me tuer* (he-wants me-to kill 'he wants to kill me'), where the two clitics are attached to different host verbs.

Hypotheses: The embedding strategy increases syntactic complexity. It still contains an accusative clitic in a crossing chain configuration, and it minimally adds to the complexity of clause structure. Morphological complexity is reduced. The clitic cluster *nom-acc-V* is broken up into two less complex words *nom-V*; *acc-V*.

We tested the predictions of two complementary hypotheses. H1: If syntactic complexity alone explains the difficulty with accusative clitics, then the embedding-strategy should be more prone to error than the mono-clausal one. H2: If morphological complexity plays a significant role, then the mono-clausal clitic clustering strategy should be more prone to error than the bi-clausal one, which avoids clitic clusters.

Results and discussion: We compared

- i. the total production of correct accusative clitics in clusters with that of the total number of correct accusative clitics (including those attached to an embedded host verb)
- ii. the error rate found in responses containing clitic clusters and that found in responses in which the embedding strategy was used

We found that i. the inclusion of non-clustered clitics led to an increase in correctly produced clitics (significant for all groups, strongly significant for the TD6 and TD4 groups); ii. children produced virtually no errors in the embedding strategy (no errors at all for the L2, TD6/8/11 groups), and the error rate is significantly lower for the separated clitics than it is for clitic clusters in the SLI and TD4 groups.

These data confirm H2: The presence of a clitic cluster caused more errors than did constructions that allow the separation of the two clitics, even though the latter implies additional syntactic complexity. This suggests that word structure is a relevant source of grammatical complexity in language acquisition. We intend to use this measure, in particular the longitudinal data obtained at T2, in order to distinguish the superficially similar behavior of L2 learners and children with SLI.

Chillier-Zesiger et al. (to appear). The acquisition and mastery of French pronouns in normal children. *Journal of Child Language*.

Jakubowicz, C., Nash, L., Rigaut, C., & Gerard, C.-L. (1998). Determiners and clitic pronouns in French-speaking children with SLI. *Language Acquisition*, 7(2-4), 113-160.

Hamann, C., L. Rizzi and U. Frauenfelder (1996): "On the Acquisition of Subject and Object Clitics in French". In H. Clahsen (ed): *Generative Approaches to Language Acquisition*. John Benjamins. Amsterdam.

Prévost, P. (2006). The phenomenon of object omission in child L2 French. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 9: 263-280.

Tuller, L., Delage, H. & Monjauze, C. (in press) "Clitic Pronoun Production as a Measure of Typical Language Development in French: A Comparative Study of SLI, Mild-to-Moderate Deafness and Benign Epilepsy of Childhood with Centrottemporal Spikes" *Lingua*.

Wexler (2002). The theory of clitics, a parameter of object agreement, and the extension of the UCC to massive cross-linguistic differences in object clitic omission: Evidence from normal development and SLI. IGG, Lecce.

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**Disentangling age and input effects in a crosslinguistic study of the acquisition  
of grammatical gender in child bilinguals**  
25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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It is generally accepted that there are age effects in non-native (L2) acquisition in the sense that L2 children typically outperform L2 adults (see e.g., Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson 2003). However, relatively little is known about the extent to which L2 age effects exist within childhood, and furthermore, how these interact with the quantity and quality of input to which the language-learning child is exposed. This paper investigates the role of these two factors by (i) comparing different groups of child bilinguals, i.e. bilingual first language (2L1) children, 'early successive bilinguals' (children exposed to an L2 between 1 and 3 years) and L2 children (first exposure between 4 and 8), and (ii) comparing the acquisition of the same target language (TL) phenomenon in two different languages, i.e., grammatical gender in Dutch and Greek.

Greek has a 3-way gender system with clear morphological cues for a noun's gender; Dutch, on the other hand, has a 2-way gender system with very few morphological cues. It is thus predicted that the acquisition of Greek gender requires comparatively less input than the acquisition of Dutch gender. Previous findings for monolinguals (e.g., Van der Velde 2003, Mastropavlou 2006), as well as our own elicited production data from English/Dutch (n=48) and English/Greek (n=54) children, confirm this prediction: gender is acquired earlier in Greek than in Dutch for both groups. Here, we test this prediction more thoroughly using data from an extensive parental questionnaire on the children's current and previous language use. This questionnaire documents with whom and where the children spend time, both in the week and at the weekend, now and in the past, the % exposure to the TL at each of these times, plus other sources of language input, e.g., TV. These data are combined and used to compare child bilinguals with varying exposure to the TL, i.e., < 25%, ca. 50%, and > 75%: the input effect for Dutch is expected to be greater than for Greek.

This more detailed analysis of the input quantity will also allow us to redress one of the perennial problems of studies on age effects in L2 acquisition. The preliminary data from our three groups of bilinguals suggest the existence of age effects, i.e., for both languages, the 2L1 children outperform the 'early successive bilinguals', who in turn outperform the L2 children. However, closer inspection reveals a partial confound with length of exposure. This problem is of course not peculiar to this particular data set. Indeed, in any study comparing multiple L2 groups with different ages of first exposure, there is always a confound between two of the following three variables: age of first exposure, age at time of testing and length of exposure. When age at time of testing is held constant across groups, age at first exposure and length

of exposure are confounded. When length of exposure is held constant, age at testing and age at first exposure are confounded. In order to avoid this problem, we will use the aforementioned questionnaire data to measure length of exposure in a more precise way than the usual formula of “age at time of testing minus age at first exposure”. By taking into account the relative exposure to each of the child’s two languages over time in both the home and school environment, it should be possible to avoid the aforementioned confounds and thereby take a step closer to disentangling the effects of age and of exposure in early child bilingualism.

Hyltenstam, K. & Abrahamsson, N. (2003). Maturation constraints in SLA. In: Doughty & Long (eds.), *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 539–588.

Mastropavlou, M. (2006). The role of phonological salience and feature interpretability in the grammar of typically developing and language impaired children. PhD thesis, University of Thessaloniki.

Van der Velde (2003) *Déterminants et pronoms en néerlandais et en français: Syntaxe en acquisition*. PhD thesis, Paris 8.

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**The influence of input quality on the acquisition of gender in children**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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German gender is generally known for being acquired without problems in mono- and bilingual L1 acquisition. However, when analyzing over 100 narratives of 17 multilingual children between the ages of five and six years growing up with various L1s and German, it becomes clear that acquiring the German gender is even with a German input from birth more problematic than often considered. The difficulty lies not “only” in the fact that the gender is not marked correctly; of more concern is that the majority of the children does not classify nouns at all. These children use no gender rather than using an incorrect gender.

Nominal agreement is the key for theoretically grasping the acquisition task and for establishing progress. The latter is important since gender acquisition progress over an extended period of time does not have the effect that the proportion of correct gender markings increases. Important steps towards a mastery of gender go hand in hand with a reduction in the variety of genders exhibited and can look like steps backwards.

In the test group, children whose L1 has gender distinction and who received consistent first language input from their parents during their first years of life, are most successful. The children, whose input mainly consisted of a low level learner variety of German, regardless of whether their other L1s have gender distinction or not, have the most difficulties. One child that received medium level learner variety input and consistent L1-input, in contrast, is quite successful in acquiring gender.

The data show evidence for the fact, that an input of a low level learner variety is an important factor for the language acquisition of children. An input of a learner variety of an average to good level, on the other hand, does not seem to have any impeding impact on gender acquisition, if in combination with consistent first language input.

The results indicate that input quality (L1 versus low level learner variety) is an important factor in language acquisition, in addition to the influences of the typological properties of the L1s and the target language. These facts lead to

consequences of high practical relevance, particularly when advising families on multilingual education.

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- Corbett, G.G. (2008): Sex-based and Non-sex-based Gender Systems. In: Haspelmath, M., Dryer, M. S., Gil, D. and Comrie, B. (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. München: Max Planck Digital Library.
- D'Alessandro, R., Fischer, S. und Hrafnbjargarson, G.H. (Eds.) (2008): *Agreement Restrictions*. Berlin a.o.: De Gruyter.
- Ehlich, K. (2007): *Sprache und sprachliches Handeln*. Berlin a.o.: De Gruyter.
- Hulk, A. / Cornips, L. (2006): Between 2L1 and Child Acquisition of Dutch. In: Lleó (Hg.), 115–138.
- Kroffke, S. / Rothweiler, M. (2006): Variation im frühen Zweitspracherwerb des Deutschen durch Kinder mit türkischer Erstsprache. In: Vliegen, M. (Hg.): *Variation in Sprachtheorie und Spracherwerb*. Akten des 39. Linguistischen Kolloquiums Amsterdam. Frankfurt M. a.o.: Lang, 145–154.
- Kupisch, T. (2008): Determinative, Individual- und Massennomen im Spracherwerb des Deutschen. Diskussion des Nominal Mapping Parameters. In: *Linguistische Berichte*. Hamburg: Buske.

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**On the interrelation between gender and case in the development of the DP in child L1 and L2 acquisition**

25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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The acquisition of case and gender presents protracted problems in adult L2 acquisition (e.g. White 2007) and has also been reported to be associated with difficulties and delays in child L2 acquisition. Whereas the development of gender in child L2 acquisition has recently been investigated in numerous cross-sectional studies (e.g. Blom et al. 2006; Unsworth 2008), little is yet known about the interaction of gender and case in child L2 development.

For the development of the DP in child L2 acquisition, e.g. Kaltenbacher & Klages (2006) postulate that the acquisition of gender is a necessary precursor for the acquisition of case marking in and child (L1 and) L2 acquisition. Evidence in favour of these claims is predominantly based on longitudinal case studies (e.g. Wegener 1995). The present paper aims to investigate the acquisition of the DP cross-sectionally in a larger sample of L2 children, comparing L2 developmental patterns against L1 development

In this paper, we report elicited production data from 89 children between the ages of 3;5 and 6;5 who acquire German as their L1 (n=25) or their L2 (n=64). L1s were mixed, with the largest group of L2 children having Turkish as their L1 (n=25). Ages of onset ranged from 2;1 to 5;1, and length of exposure varied from 0;6 to 3;1 years.

As part of a larger project, the participants were tested on a 16-item elicitation task, in which wh-questions elicited complex DPs (Det-Adj-N) in relation to pictures, requiring the use of different gender and case markings. Answers were coded for accuracy of gender marking (in unambiguous nominative contexts), case (NOM, ACC, DAT) and DP-internal concord (Det-Adj-N). In this talk, we aim to address the following research questions:

- What is the development in the acquisition of gender? Do children proceed from a no gender via a two-gender to the target three-gender system?
- What is the development in the acquisition of case? Do children proceed from a NOM via a NOM-ACC to a NOM-ACC-DAT tripartite case system?
- Is there a correlation between the development of gender and case?
- When does concord (Det-Adj, Adj-N, Det-Adj-N) emerge in the development of the DP in child L2 acquisition?
- Do child L2ers show similar developmental routes compared to L1 children?
- (How) does age of onset affect the development of case and gender?

The results of the L2 children show great inter-individual variability in gender marking, which cannot be consistently related to age of onset and/or L1, as well as uniformity in developmental paths in case marking, largely irrespective of age of onset and L1. However, there is no uniform relation in the development of case and gender in child L2 production. Moreover, although different in accuracy, the developmental patterns in case marking in the child L2 learners correspond to those in the child L1 learners and those reported in the child L1 literature (e.g. Eisenbeiss 2002; Tracy 1986). We will discuss the findings in relation to the impact of internal factors in child L2 acquisition.

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**Knowing versus Producing:**

**Grammatical Gender in Dutch Multilingual and SLI Children**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Orgassa & Weerman (2008) argue that child L2 learners and monolingual SLI children show a similar pattern in their acquisition of grammatical gender in Dutch. In this talk we will present experimental data on production and comprehension which shed a new and slightly different light on this claim. We will present experimental data of 97 children: 34 monolingual children, 37 multilingual children, from various language backgrounds, age 6-10, and 26 monolingual SLI children, age 8-12. In each group we distinguish two developmental levels. A sentence completion task based on Unsworth (to appear) was used to elicit production data and a forced choice grammaticality judgement task based on van Emmerik (in progress) to tap the actual knowledge.

We will address the following questions: (1) what are the differences and the similarities between typically developing monolingual, multilingual children and monolingual SLI children in the acquisition of Dutch grammatical gender and (2) to what extent do these groups differ in the relation between knowledge and production?

When comparing the three groups, we found an obvious difference between the monolingual control group on the one hand and the multilingual group and the SLI group on the other. The monolingual group shows a target-like pattern on the

production task as well as on the judgement task, as is expected for their age. This group does not show any essential differences between common and neuter nouns.

The multilingual group is clearly delayed in comparison to the monolingual control group. The younger multilingual group performs worse on neuter nouns than on common nouns on the production task. However, this difference is not visible in the judgement task, which might suggest the use of a production strategy strategy of overgeneralisation of the common determiner DE to neuter nouns by multilingual children at this developmental level. The multilingual group as a whole shows a delay in acquisition, but within the multilingual group there is a pattern of further development between the younger and the older group.

The SLI group is even more delayed in comparison to the monolingual control group than the multilingual group. Interestingly, within the SLI group there are no traces of development between the younger and the older group on the production task. There is, however, a slight development on the judgement task. Moreover, there is no evidence of the use of a production strategy by the SLI children. The absence of developmental pattern and the absence of a production strategy together imply that the SLI group crucially differs from the multilingual group.

We will also discuss what the individual patterns can tell us about the developmental stages in the acquisition of grammatical gender in Dutch, which is – as is well known – very different from other languages: the literature (on production) shows that initially typically developing monolingual children overgeneralize the (common) definite determiner DE to all nouns, and seem to have no knowledge of gender. The (neuter) HET comes in slowly and late, and is reported not to be target-like before age 7 at the earliest.

Orgassa, A. & Weerman, F (2008). Dutch gender in specific language impairment and second language acquisition. *Second Language Research*, 24 (3): 333-364.

Van Emmerik, J. (in progress). Written language acquisition of Dutch deaf adults: in between L1 and L2? A comparison between Dutch deaf adults and hearing adult L2 learners. PhD Thesis, Radboud University Nijmegen.

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**Production and Processing of grammatical morphemes in Turkish-Dutch children and Dutch monolingual children with SLI**

26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.506

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Children learning a second language (L2) are known to frequently erroneously omit or substitute grammatical morphemes in their L2. Previous studies focus primarily on the production data and treat these errors as either related to problems in the syntactic representation of these elements or as resulting from difficulties in the processing of inflectional morphology. In this study we address the underlying nature of L2 children's production errors by comparing production with comprehension (online data). If the inflection errors in L2 production reflect syntactic deficits, we expect L2 children to ignore these errors during online comprehension. If these children show sensitivity to the inflection errors then we can ascertain that their syntactic representation of these linguistic elements is intact.

We examine the online comprehension of verbal and nominal agreement in Turkish-Dutch bilingual children and monolingual Dutch children. The majority of bilingual children in our study start having systematic exposure to their L2 when they enter the education system. As a consequence, their language abilities often lag behind their monolingual age peers and resemble children with SLI (Håkansson, Salameh & Nettelblatt, 2003; Salameh, Håkansson & Nettelblatt, 2004). Specifically, the production data of grammatical morphemes under scrutiny show similar patterns of errors (Orgassa, 2009; Blom, 2008; Blom, Polišenská, Weerman, 2008). The production errors appear to be the same; however, they could have different underlying causes in the two populations examined. We expect the online data to help us distinguish between the errors observed in these two populations.

We examine the nature of production errors related to verbal and nominal agreement in Dutch in both populations. Subject-verb and article-noun agreement is tested in production using sentence completion tasks and in online comprehension using the self-paced listening task. The groups that are being tested are Dutch monolingual control group (N=30; age 5, 6, 7), Turkish-Dutch group (N=30; age 7, 8, 9). The online comprehension data is expected to reveal whether errors in production are due to deficits in the underlying representation or due to processing problems.

Blom, E. (2008) "Agreement inflection in child L2 Dutch". In: A. Belletti, E. Bennati, C. Chesi, E. DiDomenico & I. Ferrari (eds.), *Language Acquisition and Development. Proceedings of GALA 2005*, Cambridge UK: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Blom, E., D. Polišenská & F. Weerman (2008) "Effects of age of the acquisition of agreement inflection". *Journal of Morphology* (special issue on inflection).

Håkansson, G. E-K. Salameh & U. Nettelblatt (2003) "Measuring language development in bilingual children: Swedish-Arabic children with and without language impairment". *Linguistics*, 41(2), pp. 255-288.

Salameh, E-K., G. Håkansson & U. Nettelblatt (2004) "Developmental perspectives on bilingual Swedish-Arabic children with and without language impairment: a longitudinal study." *International journal of language and communication disorders*, 39(1), pp. 65-91.

Orgassa, A. (2009) "Specific language impairment in a bilingual context : The acquisition of Dutch inflection by Turkish-Dutch learners". Doctoral dissertation, LOT series.

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**What counts: parent's educational background or time?  
Evidence from production and comprehension in eL2 German**  
26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.506

This study investigated the influence of external and internal factors 'parental level of education' (PLE) and several measures of the factor 'time' in eL2 of German. In L1 acquisition, both factors have been found to be predictive for many language measures (e.g., Grimm, 2001; Unsworth, 2008). Looking at PLE in eL2, a correlation between PLE and vocabulary knowledge was found (Schwartz et al., 2009). However, it is open whether PLE influences children's L2 competence also in more grammatical measures. Examining 'time' in eL2, several measures have been studied: chronological age (CA) (e.g., Dubowy et al., 2008), overall time of exposure (ToE) (e.g., Schulz et al, 2008; Unsworth, 2005), and age of onset (AoO) (e.g., Schwartz, 2004). Parallel to L1 acquisition, CA and ToE have been found to be positively correlated with children's language ability. In contrast, evidence for the influence of

AoO is mixed. It may be negatively correlated with language performance or subject to multiple sensitive periods, leading to categorical changes (Meisel, 2009). In eL2 acquisition of German, research has to date been limited to case studies (e.g., Thoma & Tracy, 2006; Rothweiler, 2006), making it difficult to examine external and internal factors systematically. The present study therefore explored the effects of the factors CA, AoO, ToE, and PLE on eL2 learner's language abilities, both in production and comprehension. Three hypotheses were tested: (H1) Children with low PLE mothers (<10 school years) exhibit significantly lower language abilities than children with higher PLE mothers ( $\geq 10$  school years). (H2): ToE is positively related to performance on production and comprehension tasks. (H3): AoO is negatively related to performance on production and comprehension tasks.

63 eL2 preschool children (mean: 6;1, range: 5;5 - 6;8) with different L1 languages participated. Their mean AoO for L2 German was 3;4 yrs (range: 2;2 - 6;1), with a mean ToE to German of 32 months (range: 4 - 47). Data of the children's developmental background and PLE (mean: 10,14 yrs, range: 5 - 13) was collected through a questionnaire. All children were tested with LiSe-DaZ, a standardized test aimed at assessing production and comprehension in eL2 and L1 children (Schulz & Tracy, in prep.). Verb meaning (VM, 12 items), negation (NEG, 12 items), and wh-questions (WH, 10 items) are assessed via TVJT and question-after-picture-tasks. Syntactic development is assessed via elicited production (14 items). 52 of these children also received a standardized test of expressive vocabulary AWST-R (75 nouns and verbs, Kiese-Himmel, 2005). Performance on LiSe-DaZ subtests was comparable to the norming population wrt production (33% mastery of main clause structure, 67% mastery of main and subordinate clause structure) and comprehension (VM: 95,8%, NEG: 83,2%, WH: 80,3% correct). The mean in the AWST-R was 30,5 (range: 6-49), sig. lower than in the L1 norming group as expected. Contradicting (H1), children in the low PLE group did not perform significantly different from the high PLE group in any of the 4 subtests of LiSe-DaZ and in the vocabulary test. ToE was positively correlated with VM ( $p=.013$ ), WH ( $p=.022$ ), and AWST-R ( $p<.001$ ), and children who mastered subordinate clauses had a longer ToE than children who did not ( $p=.031$ ), confirming (H2). AoO was negatively correlated with WH ( $p=.039$ ) and AWST-R ( $p<.01$ ). Once ToE was controlled for, the effects disappeared, partly rejecting (H3). However, children who mastered subordinate clauses had a lower AoO than children who did not ( $p=.017$ ); CA and PLE were not significant.

Taken together, these data provide first evidence that the impact of external and internal factors in eL2 crucially differs from what is known for L1. Notably, 'parental level of education' and 'chronological age' were not related to either production or comprehension competence. Further studies are needed with a wider range of ages to consolidate the effects found in this study with preschool children aged 5 and 6.



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**Adopted Children and Dutch Gender**

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Dutch gender has both a lexical and a rule based side. In recent studies on the acquisition of Dutch gender (Blom, Poliřensk, Unsworth red. 2008) various hypotheses have been formulated with respect to the role of the age of onset and the role of the input. One of the difficulties in these studies is that the data for the L2 children are ambiguous. In one interpretation they support the idea that there are age effects in the rule based side of gender, although the data do not clearly indicate whether the crucial distinction is around the age of six (cf. Newport 1990 a.o.) or around the age of four (cf. Meisel 2007). Others suggest, conversely, that the different results for L2 versus L1 children can be entirely attributed to the quantitatively and qualitatively different input these children receive, since the L2 children tested all grew up in a minority setting, where Dutch is the L2, while the L1 children tested came from a higher socio economic class and were not bilingual.

One way to deal with this ambiguity is to test (internationally) adopted children, as we do in this study. The children (N= 15) are comparable to L2 children in terms of age of onset (i.e. they start acquiring Dutch at a later age), but to L1 children in terms of class and input. However, they are not actively speaking their original L1 anymore. At the moment of testing they had been acquiring Dutch for 4 to 5 yrs. In order to make a distinction between the two views on the critical age, we made two groups differing with respect to age of onset: an older group who arguably did not receive enough Dutch input to acquire the rule based side of gender before the age of 6, and a younger group for whom this borderline is around the age of 4. Both lexical and rule based knowledge were tested, as in earlier studies.

With respect to the lexical knowledge of gender the results of the adopted children show, first of all, that both the older group and the younger group behave alike in that they show the same type of overgeneralizations as all other groups tested until now, that is, mainly overgeneralizations from common to neuter gender. Second, the adopted children score much better than the (immigrant) L2 children, supporting the idea that input is indeed crucial for lexical knowledge of gender. This is corroborated by a third observation: the older group scores better than the younger group. This 'reverse age effect' cannot be due to the input, since this was kept constant for both groups, but it can be attributed to lexical learning, since in general the older group arguably could have been more efficient in this respect.

With respect to the rule based side of gender we observe the opposite pattern. Here the younger group scores better than the older group, and in fact comparable to the L1 groups tested before. Hence, the 'reverse age effect' found for lexical learning does not extend to rule based learning. This finding is compatible with a critical age effect for the latter type of learning. In addition, the data suggest that the crucial distinction is not around the age of 4: in that case both adopted groups should have a similar score and should both be different from the L1 groups. Rather it suggests that the critical age is around 6. This does not mean, however, that the older adopted group is entirely comparable to the (immigrant) L2 children. In fact, the adopted

group clearly performs better and there is no sign of across the board fossilization. We speculate that this difference may be explained as follows: the older adopted group may remedy some of the problems in their rule based knowledge by means of lexical learning. Since it is dependent on a qualitatively and quantitatively rich input, this option does not work as well for the (immigrant) L2 children.

Blom, E., D. Polišenská and S. Unsworth (eds.) (2008), The acquisition of grammatical gender in Dutch. Special Issue of Second language Research 24.

Meisel, J. (2007), 'Exploring the limits of the LAD'. Working papers in multilingualism 80. Hamburg University, 3–31.

Newport, E. (1990), 'Maturational constraints on language learning'. Cognitive Science 14, 11–28.

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**Determining the role of internal and external factors in children's  
comprehension: A comparison of early second learners  
of German and monolinguals**

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This study examines the impact of the factors months of exposure, sex, and educational background of the parents on children's performances in LiSe-DaZ (Schulz & Tracy, in prep.). LiSe-DaZ provides a means to measure the comprehension and production abilities of German eL2 learners, but can be used for monolingual German-speaking children as well. The module 'comprehension' contains three sub-tests, which are designed as TVJ tasks and question-after-story-tasks: understanding of verb meanings (12 items), understanding of wh-questions (10 items), and understanding of negation (12 items). In addition, production is examined via an elicited production-after-story-task (14 items).

In this paper, we report the results of the module 'comprehension', administered to 33 children acquiring German as early second language (eL2) and 67 monolingual children. The children participate in a larger study, which investigates the acquisition of German, using a combined longitudinal and cross-sectional design. At the time of first testing, the age range was between 3;6 and 3;11 (mean ages: 3;7, both in the eL2 group and in the monolingual group). In the eL2 group, age of onset was 2;0 years or older. Information about the children's developmental and educational background was collected through a questionnaire. All children were recruited and tested in local kindergartens in Frankfurt (Main). There was no evidence for hearing impairments, psycho-social deprivation, or mental retardation. In the eL2 group, the time of exposure to German varied between 4 and 26 months (mean: 10.12 months).

This study provides the first extensive investigation of language comprehension abilities in eL2 and monolingual learners of German. As previous studies focused on language production and examined small groups (cf., Thoma & Tracy 2006, Rothweiler, 2007), our predictions are derived from different populations and tasks. We expected sex and educational background of the parents not to be significantly related to children's comprehension skills in LiSe-DaZ. With respect to the eL2-specific factor months of exposure, we explore whether this factor, even though at first testing much lower than in previous studies (cf., Schulz & Wenzel 2007), influences the degree of children's comprehension abilities.

Statistical comparisons were performed for each group (eL2, monolinguals) and type of task (verb meaning, wh-questions, negation) separately. A T-Test showed that neither in the eL2 nor in the monolingual group the factor sex has an impact on children's performance in the three sub-tests. In addition, there were no significant correlations between the educational background of the mothers (measured in years of schooling) and test performance in any of the three subtests (Spearman's Rho-Test). The same holds for the educational background of the fathers. Finally, there was no significant impact of the factor months of exposure on the eL2 group.

Our findings are in line with previous results showing that girls and boys do not differ wrt to their language acquisition, when core grammatical abilities are assessed. There was also no correlation of maternal or paternal educational background and test performances in each of the two groups. This finding shows that the three subtests in fact probe children's linguistic competence rather than social factors confounding language skills. We also did not find a significant correlation of months of exposure and test performance. This finding seems surprising given that test performance positively correlate to months of exposure in older eL2 children (Schulz & Wenzel 2007, Unsworth 2005). However, for 24 of the 33 eL2 children (72,7%) time of exposure to German was 10 months or less. Therefore, contact with German was still limited, and conclusions can be drawn only after the second round of data collection.

We conclude that comprehension abilities develop independently of sex and parental background in German eL2 learners and monolinguals. The conclusion seems to contradict previous findings showing that particularly boys from migration backgrounds perform poorly in several learning assessments (e.g., Prenzel et al. 2000, Dubowy et al. 2008). We argue that it is necessary and possible to select test materials in a way that language skills can be assessed independently of these factors.

## AG 12

### Prosodic Typology: State of the art and future prospects

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**Prosodic typology: State of the art and future prospects**  
24.02.2010, 14.00–14.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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Linguistic typology addresses two key questions in linguistic theory: What do all languages have in common? To what extent can languages vary? In order to answer these questions, linguistic typology describes and systematizes the structural phenomena documented in the languages of the world. In a second step, it sets out to explore and explain correlations of structural features across languages. In the study of prosody, this research paradigm traditionally describes suprasegmental features such as stress, tone, intonation and quantity, systematizes their distribution over the languages of the world and examines their covariation with other structural traits.

Facing the growing number of structurally different languages nowadays compared in prosodic typology, one key issue concerns the descriptive frameworks available: Are they really capable of capturing the attested diversity in prosodic systems? E.g. does ToBI provide an adequate means for cross-linguistic comparison (cf. Jun 2005)? Should the quest for holistic language types such as 'tone language', 'stress language', etc., be abandoned, given the resistance of numerous prosodic systems to being classified in terms of these traditional word-prosodic notions?

More recently the scope of prosody has been expanded to include any phonological phenomenon sensitive to the domains of the prosodic hierarchy (ranging from the syllable to the utterance) and a number of theories have been developed which make strong claims about local or holistic correlations in prosodic systems. While their predictions are clear, the cross-linguistic evidence is often less so, raising questions like: Which phenomena should be subsumed under the term 'prosodic'? E.g. is it reasonable to treat stress domains on a par with segmental assimilation processes (cf. Bickel et al. 2009)? Are current phonological theories capable of handling real typological variation? E.g. can derivational approaches which assign metrical grids before intonational pitch-accent account for cases like Kuot (cf. Lindström & Remijsen 2005)?

This talk aims at situating the presentations of the workshop in the broader context of typological research in prosody, bridging the gaps between descriptive linguistics, traditional prosodic typology, phonological theory and the study of language contact.

Bickel, Balthasar, Kristine A. Hildebrandt & René Schiering (2009). The distribution of phonological word domains: A probabilistic typology. In *Phonological Domains. Universals and Deviations*, Janet Grijzenhout & Baris Kabak (eds.), 47-74. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Jun, Sun-Ah (ed.) (2005). *Prosodic Typology. The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lindström, Eva and Bert Remijsen (2005). Aspects of the prosody of Kuot, a language where intonation ignores stress. *Linguistics* 43: 839-870.

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**Syllables versus accents: From its manifestation to typology, and back**

24.02.2010, 14.30–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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In der neueren Typologieforschung werden im Grunde zwei sich nicht unwesentlich voneinander unterscheidende Begriffe von Typologie verwendet:

- einerseits zur Klassifikation von Erscheinungsformen von Kategorien (z.B. Silben-/Silbentypen, Akzent-/Fußtypen, Tonsysteme, Typen von Intonationseinheiten etc.), und zu deren Beschreibung und Sampling in den Sprachen der Welt (WALS, Hyman 2007);
- auf der anderen Seite steht ein traditioneller Begriff von Typologie im Sinne von Präferenzen der Strukturierung von Grammatik, als Grundlage von argumentierbaren Zusammenhängen bzw. von (möglichen) Kausalrelationen struktureller Elemente zueinander.

Der Beitrag wird zeigen, daß man zu einem systematischen Verständnis im phänomenologischen Ansatz nicht über eine immanente Klassifikation von Entitäten gelangt, sondern nur über die Einbettung in deren grammatisches Funktionieren. Diese allgemeinen Überlegungen werden anhand der Silbe bzw. der Rolle der Silbe in der prosodischen Typologie erläutert. Die Silbentypologie (Maddieson/WALS, Blevins 2006 etc.) beschäftigt sich mit einer Beschreibung und Klassifikation der (zugrundeliegenden oder oberflächlichen) Konkretisierungen von Silben und führt diese auf einige universalistische Prinzipien zurück (z.B. Präferenzen/Constraints über Eigenschaften des Nukleus, Präsenz/Absenz von Anlaut vs. Auslaut; Komplexität von Onset, Reim, Nukleus bzw. Auslaut, etc.). Seit den frühen 70er Jahren leugnet keine der relevanten Grammatiktheorien die Existenz von Silben.

Es reicht nicht aus (diesem Aspekt wird sich der Hauptteil des Vortrags widmen), diese silbenbildenden Prinzipien als Grundlage für die Phonologie bzw. Typologie der Silbe heranzuziehen. Allein die Phonologie des Deutschen zeigt, daß die Erscheinungsform 'Silbe' hier keineswegs den genannten und allgemein akzeptierten Silbenstrukturprinzipien entspricht. Es können letztlich alle Präferenzen/Constraints systematisch verletzt sein, und zwar nicht nur in Oberflächenformen, sondern auch in zugrundeliegenden Repräsentationen/Ausgangsformen. Trotz solcher empirisch abgesicherter Gegenevidenz kann man nicht behaupten, im Deutschen gäbe es keine Silben, oder im Deutschen gäbe es keine Silbenpräferenzen. Der Vortrag wird argumentieren, daß es bezüglich der zeitlichen Organisation von Phonologie zwei Grundtypen gibt, einen silben- und einen akzentbasierten. Doch je nach (relativer) Zugehörigkeit spielen Silben oder Akzentgruppen (Fuß, Maß) eine zentralere Rolle, während Strukturprinzipien des jeweils anderen untergeordnete Bedeutung haben, daher auch verletzt sein können. Dementsprechend sehen Phonologien unterschiedlich aus: silbenbasierte Phonologien haben eine stärkere Tendenz zu zentrifugalen, akzentbasierte zu zentripetalen Vokalprozessen/Constraints, akzentbasierte unterscheiden klar zwischen betontem und unbetontem Vokalismus, silbenbasierte tendenziell weniger etc. Der Vortrag wird die wesentlichen Unterschiede dieser Art auflisten und anhand verschiedener Sprachen (wenn gewünscht auch des Kuot) erläutern. Darüber hinaus wird gezeigt, daß ein solches

Muster einen wesentlichen diachron-typologischen Aspekt trägt, also Typologie und Diachronie auch in der Prosodieforschung keinesfalls einander gegenüberstehende methodische Ansätze sind: Apokopen schaffen Silbenkomplexität, Synkopen präferentiell nicht; es sind dies u.U. also innerhalb zweier unterschiedlicher prosodischer Typen beides Möglichkeiten der Reduktion von akzentueller Komplexität.

Der hier im Rahmen einer Natürlichen Phonologie präsentierte Ansatz, dessen Annahmen aber prinzipiell von der Korrespondenz methodischer Mittel (z.B. Präferenzen und Constraints) ausgehen, ist u.E. über den erreichten Explanationsgrad hinaus die einzige Theorie, in der sich scheinbar hierarchische Anordnungen nicht in einer unidirektionellen Denkungsart erschöpfen, sondern sowohl die Organisation kleinerer Elemente in größeren, als auch die größerer Einheiten in kleineren mitdenkt.

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**Rhythm-typology revisited**

24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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Behind most work on rhythm in language and speech is an echo of the original observation by Lloyd (1940, p. 25) about French having a “machine-gun rhythm” and English a “morse-code rhythm”, which was subsequently generalized into a language typological hypothesis by Pike (1946) on the dichotomy between syllable-timed and stress-timed languages, with the later addition of the mora-timed distinction by Bloch (1950), and Ladefoged (1975). These hypotheses claimed either foot-based, syllable-based or mora-based *isochrony*. Despite general acceptance of massive experimental evidence that a measurable isochrony does not exist the assumption of *some sort of regularity* at these different levels of structure still persists. A discussion of different ways in which a modified isochrony theory has been argued for can be found in Bertinetto (1989).

Recently, a change in the approach to speech and language rhythm research has become apparent. There has been a shift from the language classification paradigm back to the more fundamental question of what rhythm is and does. A number of new measures (Dellwo 2008, Bertinetto 2008, Wagner 2008) of increased sophistication to correct for perceived and criticised weaknesses have been suggested and applied. However, there has also been a move away from the purely temporal orientation, and a distinct increase in work that is concerned with the complex nature of speech rhythm as a relational property, namely the product of an acoustic speech signal and the receiver of that signal in a communicative situation (Cummins 2009, Wagner 2008, Arvaniti 2009, Barry et al. 2009).

The work described in this paper summarizes the achievements of the project “Cross-language and individual differences in the production and perception of syllabic prominence. Rhythm-typology revisited.” ([http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/groups/WB/Phonetics/Research/Projects/prominence\\_and\\_rhythm.php](http://www.coli.uni-saarland.de/groups/WB/Phonetics/Research/Projects/prominence_and_rhythm.php)). It focuses on the analysis of the consequences of cross-language and inter-speaker phonetic differences in the prosodic structuring of words and utterances for

the realization of word stress and “information” accents (topic and focus) in the controlled production and perception of contextualised sentences and their reiterant equivalents. A number of languages, traditionally considered to be “stress-timed” (e.g. German, Russian), will be compared to “syllable-timed” languages (e.g., French) and languages which are not so readily categorized as either (e.g., Bulgarian, Norwegian) as well as to Japanese (as the representative of “mora-timed” languages).

Our investigation has two theoretically closely linked but experimentally separate goals. Firstly, to examine in the production and perception: (a) how different languages exploit the universal (= psycho-acoustically determined) means of modifying the prominence of words in an utterance; (b) whether the different word-phonological requirements of a language affect the degree to which the properties are exploited, and (c) whether differences between languages are greater than the differences between speakers of a language, and what are the implications for both traditional isochrony-based and more recent structure-based rhythm typology groupings.

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- Bertinetto, P.M., Bertini, C. (2008). *On modeling the rhythm of natural languages. Proc. of the 4th Speech Prosody Conference*, Campinas
- Bloch, Bernard (1950). Studies in colloquial Japanese IV: Phonemics. *Language* 26, 86-125.
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- Wagner, P. S. (2008). *The Rhythm of Language and Speech. Constraining Factors*.

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**Bora drum communication: What the study of emulated speech systems contributes to prosodic typology**

24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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The Bora people of the North West Amazon traditionally use a drummed version of their language, locally called manguaré. Like similar drum communication systems practiced by several other rural populations around the world, this speech practice is an acoustic substitutive system for the spoken form of a language. It shares this particularity with whistled speech (see Sebeok & Umiker Sebeok 1976) and other less studied instrumental imitations of speech (xylophones, gongs, jaw harps, mouth arches, flutes, or even string instruments). The principal function of a drummed speech practice is to enable the speakers to adapt spoken public announces or sung lyrics to conditions of distant communication. Percussions are indeed among the

most efficient types of signals to cope with the acoustic degradation resulting from outdoor sound propagation, and they are also very efficient in noisy environments. Like other emulated speech system, Bora drum communication is not a fully autonomous communication system such as sign languages. To the contrary, it is strongly dependent on the spoken language, as it consists of emulating it into percussions. Each drummed occurrence transposes a spoken syllable with more or less detail, depending of the language concerned and the kind of played drum. The drummed signs and phrasing resemble prosodically their spoken equivalents and rely heavily on this iconic relationship for their interpretation.

Based on recently collected data (Seifart et al., eds., 2009) this paper provides an analysis of the Bora drummed language, describing the particular syntax of the formulaic structure of drummed messages, and the phonetic and prosodic elements that are transposed from spoken speech, including the representation of phonological tones and of syllable weight. Next it places Bora manguaré in a comparative perspective within the diversity of other drummed languages of the world and more generally within the diversity of other traditional practices used to emulate spoken speech, based on Meyer (2008). Finally, Bora manguaré will be used to open a new discussion on what these alternative and eminently prosodic forms of languages teach us about prosodic typology, elaborating on Meyer (2007).

Meyer, Julien. 2007. What does the typology of whistled forms of languages teach us about prosody? Paper presented at the 7th biennial meeting of the Association of Linguistic Typology, Paris.

Meyer, Julien. 2008. Acoustic Strategy and Typology of Whistled Languages; Phonetic Comparison and Perceptual Cues of Whistled Vowels. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 38 (1), 64-90.

Sebeok, Thomas A., and Donna Jean Umiker-Sebeok. 1976. *Speech Surrogates: Drum and Whistle Systems. Approaches to semiotics* 23. The Hague: Mouton.

Seifart, Frank, Doris Fagua, Jürg Gasché, and Juan Alvaro Echeverri, eds. 2009. A multimedia documentation of the languages of the People of the Center. Online publication of transcribed and translated Bora, Ocaina, Nonuya, Resígaro, and Witoto audio and video recordings with linguistic and ethnographic annotations and descriptions. Nijmegen: DOBES-MPI. [http://corpus1.mpi.nl/qfs1/mediaarchive/dobes\\_data/Center/Info/WelcomeToCenterPeople.html](http://corpus1.mpi.nl/qfs1/mediaarchive/dobes_data/Center/Info/WelcomeToCenterPeople.html).

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**Against syllable universality: evidence from Japanese**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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This research addresses the following question: are all the categories (levels) of the prosodic hierarchy (figure 1) obligatorily present in all languages?

Whereas the constituents of the Prosodic Hierarchy (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Selkirk 1978, 1983) upper to the Prosodic Word have been the object of a long standing debate with regard to their exact number, content and universality (see Ito & Mester, 2008, for a recent review of the issue), the nature and universal character of the lower levels units, the mora, the syllable and the foot, are generally not put into question.

Following the Strict Layering Hypothesis (Selkirk, 1984), the doxa of phonological theory holds that all the levels of the Prosodic Hierarchy are always instantiated in all languages. Although a model like OT allows for some flexibility, considering that the



Prosodic Hierarchy consists in fact in a group of violable constraints (Selkirk 1996), and that, as such, it represents a prosodic “ideal” rather than an obligatory requirement, the different domains of the Prosodic Hierarchy are still explicitly or implicitly considered as primitives of the Universal Grammar. However, to the best of my knowledge, no evidence has ever been produced that it is really so for the lower levels of the hierarchy.

In this paper, I want to challenge this view through detailed examination of the status of the syllable in Japanese. My claim is that Japanese is a syllable-less language (contra McCawley 1968 and subsequent studies) and that a proper account of the phonology and morpho-phonology of the language can be made through exclusive reference to the mora and the foot, thus bringing confirmation to Poser’s insight (1990) (citation in (2)). Incidentally, this syllable-free approach of Japanese is also in adequation with the rich native Japanese linguistic tradition, which has never felt the need for a distinction between mora and syllable for the description and analysis of the language, the mora (“haku”) being the only prosodic element seen as relevant.

In my talk, I will re-examine a number of Japanese phonological and morpho-phonological evidence such as the ones presented in Kubozono (1996, 1998, 1999, 2003) (see also Labrune 2006) which are generally presented in favour of the recognition of the syllable in that language, in order to show that a syllable-free analysis of Japanese is possible. I will further argue that the singular typological status of Japanese from the point of view of its prosodic characteristics is due of the fact that it is a syllable-less language.

At a more general level of phonological theory, the claim is that the syllable is not a universal constituent and that it may thus be absent in some languages, of which Japanese is an example. Among the rare studies which have challenged the dogma of the syllable universality, one can mention Hyman (2003 [1985]) on Gokana, and Bagemihl (1991) on Bella Coola. For a similar questioning concerning the universality of the prosodic word, see Schiering et al. (2007).

The conclusion I would like to defend through the particular case of Japanese is that the domains or levels of the Prosodic Hierarchy must not be thought as universal, but rather, that they represent options in the prosodic typology of the world’s languages. Thus, there exist languages which have both moras and syllables, like English, languages which have syllables but lack moras, like French, and languages which lack syllables but have moras, like Japanese.

(1) Prosodic Hierarchy (Selkirk 1978, 1995, Nesport & Vogel, 1986, etc.)

Utterance, Intonational Phrase, Phonological Phrase (/ Accentual Phrase / Minor Phrase), Prosodic Word, Foot, Syllable, Mora

(2) Citation in Poser (1990): “[T]he fact that the Japanese foot consists of morae rather than syllables points to the independence of the mora as a phonological constituent. It also poses a problem for advocates of the position that morae are subconstituents of syllables, since the boundaries of feet, composed of morae, need not coincide with syllable boundaries”.

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**Anchoring intonation in a language without word stress**

24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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The ToBI framework describes intonation as a sequence of high and low tones anchored on and between an accented syllable and a boundary. While this works well for languages where the accented syllable and relevant boundaries are relatively easy to establish (e.g. English), the application of ToBI or a derivative thereof to languages where accented syllables and/or boundaries are difficult or impossible to establish is less straightforward. We exemplify this with Sri Lanka Malay, a language with no word stress and unclear phrasal boundaries, yet clearly recognizable pitch contours.

Sri Lanka Malay (SLM) has been shown to parse words into bimoraic feet, but contrary to many other languages, feet in SLM are always headless (Apoussidou & Nordhoff 2008). There are no cues of pitch, intensity, vowel quality or duration which would indicate which part of a foot (and a word) would be more prominent. This is not to say that SLM sounds completely monotonous. On the contrary, certain contours show salient pitch movements (Nordhoff 2009).

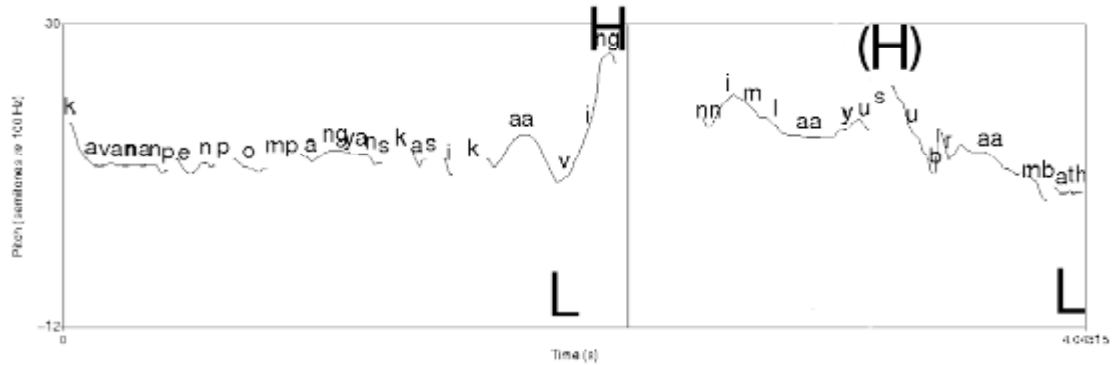
On a first approach, SLM contours can be divided into a number of progradient contours with a H tone on the right boundary preceded by an L (left side of figure 1) and an assertive contour with an L tone on the right boundary (right side of figure 1). One can argue that the L tone of the assertive contour is preceded by an H at the left edge of the word in focus, but this is dependent on analysis as we will show.

We will focus on the positions of the L in the LH contour and the position of the H in the HL contour and show that:

a) these two tones are not linked to the same targets. The L tone tends to follow the foot while the H tone tends to precede (Most words have only one foot). This is difficult to explain with word accent, whose position should not vary.

b) the H tone often is found on verbal prefixes, which, even if one assumed the existence of word stress in SLM, could not be argued to bear stress. It thus appears that word stress cannot be used to determine the positioning of these tones. We will discuss the possibility of using the edges of the phonological word and of the foot as an alternative anchor for the tones.

Figure 1



(1) kavanan=pe pompang=yang as-kasi-kaaving, nni mlaayu su-braanmbath  
 group=POSS girl=ACC CP-give-marry PROX Malay PAST-spread  
 'Having given the girls of the group in marriage, these Malays spread (out).'

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**Prosody and intonation in Tetserret, contacts and contrasts with Tamasheq**

24.02.2010, 17.30–18.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

Tetserret is one of the relatively few under-described Berber languages. Spoken in Niger, in the Azawagh valley, it is surrounded by another Berber language, Tamasheq, the dominant regional language, in which all Tetserret speakers are bilingual. Tetserret is thus also an endangered language. Nevertheless, it has preserved its own prosodic system, largely different from Tamasheq's.

From an acoustic point of view, Tetserret accent is linked to a F0 rise, but is often accompanied by an increase in duration or intensity too. This thus makes the choice between a stress or pitch-accent qualification a delicate matter. Accent has an important morphological role in Tetserret: combined with segmental morphological information, it systematically marks the distinction between nominal and verbal categories.

Furthermore, inside the nominal category itself, it contributes to establish the distinction between masculine and feminine. Indeed, to a very large extent, masculine nouns are accented on the ante-penultimate syllable, whereas feminine

nouns are accented on the penult. Of course, this distinction is neutralized for mono and bisyllables, as well as, less predictably, for loanwords.

This distinction is again neutralized when a clitic (possessor or unmarked demonstrative) is post-posed to the noun. In these cases, accent gets a fixed position in the word, the same one for feminine and masculine.

The verb category presents similar mechanisms. Accent is used to distinguish the different aspectual paradigms, and there is a kind of neutralization when verbal clitics are added (less regular than for the noun).

Furthermore, in addition to that morphological accent, there is an intonational dimension. In fact, in a way rather similar to English, word accent can disappear due to intonational facts or focalization contrasts. This last part is perhaps the most difficult to describe, and the ToBI framework can be useful to encode these different accent levels.

In this paper, we will present first a description of the Tetserrét prosodic and intonational system, compared to the one in Tamasheq. Second, we will present a brief overview of the possibilities offered by the ToBI framework to analyze the different accentual levels in Tetserrét.

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**On the prosodic expression of prominence in typologically different languages**

24.02.2010, 18.00–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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Prominence may prosodically be expressed by means of changes in tonal scaling and duration. It is well-known that information structure such as focus tends to raise a high tone of a pitch accent in languages like English (Eady et al. 1986), or to raise the tonal range in tone languages like Mandarin Chinese (Xu 1999). A raising in pitch normally goes along with an increase in duration. A different tonal phenomenon, downstep, is often phonologically determined, yet interacts with prominence in a way that downstep may be interrupted (e.g. Féry & Kügler, 2008, for German, Ishihara, ms, for Japanese).

This paper investigates the interaction of tonal effects like tonal raising and downstep in relation to the prosodic realization of prominence comparing its realization in typologically different languages. A comparison of the prosodic realization of prominence between German (intonation language), Hindi (phrase language, Féry 2009), and Akan (tone language) will be presented. For German, H-tone raising is found to interrupt downstep (Féry & Kügler 2008), while in Hindi downstep dominates the prosodic realization in an intonation phrase independent of focus (Patil et al. 2008). In Akan, downstep is phonologically determined in a tonal sequence of underlying H L H (e.g. Dolphyne 1988). According to Boadi (1974), prominence results in tonal raising (both for L and H tones), yet the interaction of tonal raising and downstep remains unclear. In contrast to the literature our data on Akan suggest a tonal lowering of H tones due to focus. As regards downstep our data do not show a blocking of downstep due to focus.

Comparing the tonal effects across typologically different languages yields insights in the use and function of tonal effects. If related to the function of prosody this paper claims that demarcative prosodic systems like Hindi and grammatical function of tone like in Akan prevail downstep effects post-lexically independent of pragmatic factors such as focus. In Hindi, every prosodic word is marked by means of a L H phrase tone sequence which demarcates prosodic entities. In Akan downstep is realized independent of focus indicating its special grammatical role which cannot be blocked for pragmatic reasons. Other languages that use prosody to express pragmatic contrasts (e.g. German) show an interaction of tonal effects.

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Keynote:

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**The perspicuity of the syntax-prosody interface**

25.02.2010, 9.00–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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The connection between syntax and intonation has been studied for decades, leading to a number of different conclusions. The range of positions begins, perhaps, with Pike who argued that phonology and syntax are separate 'grammatical hierarchies' that can go in and out of synch or match in different places. A more extreme position is that the prosody is 'read off' the syntax or even that it is part of the lexical selection/numeration. In this paper I will use data from Pirahã and other Amazonian languages to argue that intonation is neither a necessary nor a sufficient marker of sentential syntactic relationships but that it can indicate discursive constituents that are similar but not identical to sentential relationships. Intonation is thus more closely connected to pragmatics and secondarily to syntax. The relationship between prosody and sentence structure is thus far from perspicuous. "Data do not wear their analysis on their sleeves."

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**The theory of intonational phrases, facts from analysis, and consequences for further research**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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In this talk, I focus on three aspects of intonational phrasing: the theory of intonational phrases, facts from analyzing parenthetical constructions in modern German, and consequences for further (including typological) research. In the first part of this paper, I concentrate on the theory of intonational phrases. Claims that IPs correlate to certain syntactic phrases or a sentence (e.g. Nespor & Vogel 1986), or that IPs constitute sense units (e.g. Selkirk 1984) will be discussed along with the possibility (and, for theoretical clarity, the need) to define them as phonological units in the frame of prosodic phonology only, without extra-phonological criteria (cf. Ladd 1996/2008). In this context, it will be shown that neither syntactic phrases nor sense units do necessarily correlate with intonational phrases.

In the second part, I present results coming from the analysis of parenthetical constructions in modern German. In prior research, parentheticals have been claimed to have their intonational phrase on their own. This strong hypothesis has been tested on authentic spoken data (contemporary German language) extracted from 35 hours of debates held in the German House of Parliament (Deutscher Bundestag) in 2004, 2005, and 2006, and has to be rejected, even for prototypical V2-parenthetical constructions.

Finally, I point out consequences for further studies: if and only if a prosodic domain such as an intonational phrase turns out to be useful in linguistic theory, then we need to describe this domain on phonological criteria. In order to back up these phonological conclusions, we do need more phonetic investigations, more language- and variety-specific data analysis. We have to check especially within languages or varieties of languages before comparing different findings.

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**Clitic domains and prosodic domains: Enclitics in Yucatec Maya**

25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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This paper starts from the observation of domains that are determined by the occurrence of phrase-final enclitics and addresses the issue how these domains are aligned with purely phonological phenomena, namely stress domains, boundary tones and domains of tonal downstep. The presented evidence comes from Yucatec Maya.

It has been observed that a class of enclitics in Mayan languages occurs at the right edge of a phrasal entity which cannot be associated with a particular syntactic constituent, hence it is assumed to be “prosodic” (see Aissen 1992). This language displays a class of enclitics that obligatorily follow definite NPs and contrast for the encoding of different regions of spatial deixis: proximal, distal, and neutral (see Bohnemeyer 1998a, 1998b), see (1). Interestingly, these clitics are not always adjacent to the licensing head, but they often surface at the end of the clause, see (2) in which the enclitic -o’ is licensed by the definite object. Moreover, the unmarked member of the class (-e’) appears at the right boundary of a topic constituent (independently of a definite trigger, see first token in (3)), and at the right edge of a clause that is not final in the utterance, see second token in (3).

The phrase-final placement of the enclitics is accounted for through the fact that they are associated with a high target in the F0 contour. The empirical question of this talk is what is the status of the prosodic domains determined by the enclitics with respect to the prosodic constituency in this language.

The first part of this question is whether there are prosodic constituents below the clitic domain and above the prosodic word. The critical phenomenon is the observation that the leftmost lexical accent within a phrasal unit is realized with particular prominence. Crucially, clitics cannot be placed between the V and its NP/PP complement, hence it is clear that accentual prominence refers to a layer that is embedded to the clitic domain. It is also clear that this layer is above the prosodic word which is empirically determined by further phenomena, e.g., glottalization of open syllables.

The second part of this question is whether there are prosodic constituents above the clitic domain. The collected data shows that the tonal target that is associated with the second enclitic is consistently downstepped with respect to the tonal target of the first enclitic. This data provides evidence that downstep domains refer to prosodic constituents above the clitic domain.

In sum, the empirical phenomena at issue show that at least three layers of prosodic constituency have to be distinguished in this language above the prosodic word. The lowest level (evinced through the prominence of the leftmost lexical accent) corresponds to the major projection of lexical categories, e.g., NP or PP and can be dealt with as a MaP (major phrase, in terms of Selkirk 2005). The challenging fact is the evidence for two layers above the MaP. The enclitics and the associated boundary tones determine a layer of IntP (intonation phrase) under the condition that this is a non-maximal prosodic entity. The Yucatec Maya data requires a higher prosodic projection, namely an UtteranceP.

- (1) *táan u wen-el le xibpal\*(-á/-o’-e’)*  
 PROG.A.3 sleep-INCMPPL DEF man:child-D1/D2/D3  
 ‘The boy (here/ there/ afore mentioned) is sleeping.’
- (2) *k-u xíimbat-ik le h-mèen hun-túul h-k’iin-o’.*  
 IPFV-A.3 visit-INCMPPL DEF M-shaman one-CL.AN M-priest-D2  
 ‘A priest visits the shaman.’
- (3) *Pèedróoh-e’ k-u ya’k=e’ k-u xíimbat-ik tak kàariyo’ puèerto’*  
 Pedro-D3 IPFV-A.3 say:CMPL-D3 IPFV-A.3 walk-INCMPPL up.to Carrillo Puerto  
 ‘Pedro says that he is walking up to Carrillo Puerto.’

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**A cross-linguistic study on the perception of L2 English word stress**

25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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This study investigates word stress perception by EFL learners with different first language backgrounds. Native speakers of tone languages tend to interpret English word stress as pitch differences in the code-switching context. For instance, Cheng (1968) reports that the English unstressed syllable is interpreted as a tone carrying the [-high] feature and further triggers the 3rd tone sandhi in the Chinese-English code-switching context (e.g., hao3 professor → hao2 professor ‘good professor’). Ou (2009) further reports that in L2 acquisition when the cue of high pitch in an English stressed syllable is manipulated to be low, Taiwanese EFL learners exhibit great difficulty in using other phonetic cues of stress such as different F0 contour shapes and duration ratio changes to identify stress. Two questions about Ou’s findings then arise: (a) Is the reliance on pitch in identifying stress an effect of the tonal system of



Chinese? Can it not be a general feature of L2 stress perception? (b) Will native speakers of a pitch-accent system (e.g., Japanese) which also uses pitch as a primary cue to contrast lexical meanings also show similar tendency in L2 English stress perception?

To answer these two questions, this study duplicated Ou's (2009) experiment using another two EFL groups: L1 stress language speakers (i.e., Spanish) and L1 pitch-accent language speakers (i.e., Japanese). The task was for subjects to perceive the English stress minimal pairs (e.g., fércépt vs. fercépt) read in falling intonation, in which stressed syllables have high F0, and in rising intonation, in which stressed syllables have low F0. If both groups relied on the cue of high pitch in perceiving stressed syllables, this may suggest Taiwanese EFL learners' reliance on pitch show a general tendency of L2 word stress perception. If only the Japanese group showed difficulty in identifying English word stress in the rising intonation, this would suggest the Taiwanese pattern come from the effect of L1 tonal system. Twenty Spanish and twenty Japanese speakers were recruited to participate in two forced choice perceptual experiments, in which they were asked to identify the stress position of disyllabic non-words with a stress contrast when the non-words (e.g., fércépt vs. fercépt) were embedded in the rising or falling intonation pattern. The results show that while both Japanese and Spanish groups had little difficulty in identifying word stress in the falling intonation, only Japanese participants had great difficulty in doing so in the rising intonation. The result suggests that the reliance on pitch in identifying stress be an effect of the language-specific phonological use of pitch at the lexical level.

Cheng, C. C. (1968). English stresses and Chinese tones in Chinese sentences. *Phonetica*, 18: 77-88.  
 Ou, S. C. (2009). Taiwanese EFL Learners' Perception of English Word Stress. Poster presented at the 17th Manchester Phonology Meeting. Manchester, UK.

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**Accentuation and phrasing in Romance: Occitan and French**

25.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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Romance languages all derive from Latin, but in spite of their common origin they display a fair amount of variation in their prosodic systems: while Southern Romance languages such as Catalan or Italian have distinctive stress that hits one of the last three syllables of the lexical word, Occitan, a highly endangered language spoken in the Southern third of France, has kept only the last two syllables as potential stress positions, and French has lost any such distinction developing what is usually characterized as a phrase final stress or accent. Occitan and French, which have been in close contact for centuries, also differ from the other Romance languages in as far as they often present pitch movements on syllables that are not metrically strong. Originally used to signal emphasis, these rises, which occur mainly on the first syllables of content words, seem to be quite generalized today.

Although Romance constitutes one of the better-known European language groups, the scientific community working within the Autosegmental-Metrical (AM) framework is far from agreeing on the way to account for the different prosodic structures within

the group. One of the main problems consists in determining the relevant units of the prosodic hierarchy. As far as French is concerned, the attempts to define the accentual and/or phonological phrase (AP/PP) range from purely syntactic to basically prosodic approaches (Post 2000, Di Cristo 1998, Jun/Fougeron 2002, Welby 2006, Miller 2007). The possible extension and delimitation of this entity claimed to be an essential unit in the prosodic architecture of French are far from clear, and so is its relation to other units such as IP, ip, foot, etc. And while there is substantial agreement on the presence of a final accent and eventually an initial rise in this phrase, there is little consensus neither on any further accents that might occur within it nor on potential boundary tones at its edges. As for the prosody of Occitan, it is only starting to be explored (Hualde 2003, *Atlàs interactiu de l'intonacion de l'occitan*: <http://prosodia.uab.cat/atlasintonacion/>, Sichel-Bazin 2009).

As a result from intensive contact with Occitan, Southern French differs from the Northern standard in many aspects. The project our team is working on focuses on the consequences this contact has had on the prosodic systems of both languages, investigating in detail the Occitan and French prosody of bilingual speakers in a limited area (the Monts de Lacaune) and contrasting it systematically with near-standard Northern varieties of French. One of our aims is to establish the modifications needed within the AM model in order to account for both French and Occitan in a broad Romance perspective.

While the surveys have just started, data from pilot recordings show that Southern French displays a higher amount of accented syllables, what leads us to hypothesizing reminiscences of the Occitan word accent in this variety. Moreover we observed independent tonal movements on the frequent post-accentual schwa syllables of Southern French, suggesting that the right edges of certain prosodic constituents might be marked by specific boundary tones. Our contribution will discuss the nature, structure and functions of these additional prosodic events and their possible relation with phrasing concentrating on the following questions: Are there more APs/PPs in Southern French, grouped into ips, or are there more accents within each AP/PP, these grouping directly into IPs? Do feet play a role in assigning accents to syllables for eurhythmic reasons? In which way do semantics and pragmatics constrain accentuation and phrasing in this variety? The answers will shed light on the prosodic structure of Southern French and clarify its position between Occitan and the Northern standard.

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**Prosodic phrasing and language contact: Evidence from two varieties of Argentinean Spanish**

25.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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It is well-known that language contact can yield changes in the prosodic systems of the languages involved. Evidence comes, among others, from Peruvian Spanish, whose prosodic characteristics can partly be traced back to the contact with Quechua (O'Rourke 2004), as well as from recent migration-induced contact situations such as the one between German and Turkish in Germany (Queen 2001). The present talk, however, focuses on two languages which are typologically closely related, namely Spanish and Italian, and examines 'traces' of their (historical) contact situation in the prosodic system of contemporary Argentinean Spanish. Interestingly, the variety spoken in Buenos Aires is similar to Southern Italian dialects with respect to the following prosodic features:

1. Early peak alignment of pre-nuclear pitch accents (Colantoni/Gurlekian 2004)
2. Falling final contour of neutral declaratives (Kaisse 2001, D'Imperio 2002)
3. Phrasing decisions and realization of intermediate phrasal boundaries (Gabriel et al. 2010)

It seems natural to attribute such similarities to the migration-induced contact between Spanish and Italian in the cultural 'melting pot' of Buenos Aires between the 1860ies and the beginning of the 20th century, when Italian immigrants made up to 60% of the population in some neighborhoods. In other parts of Argentina, such as the sparsely populated regions of Patagonia, Italian influence was less important, Italians constituting only a small group of immigrants on a par with Welsh or German settlers. Based on recordings made with 50 speakers during a data collecting trip to Argentina in November/December 2008, we focus on the patterns of prosodic phrasing in the varieties of Buenos Aires and Neuquén (Patagonia), thereby addressing tonal as well as durational boundary cues. Interestingly, it turns out that the differences between the two dialects concerning the placement of boundaries and the use of certain surface cues are less significant than one could expect at first sight: Regardless of the presence or absence of an intense contact with Italian in the past, they both exhibit 'Italian' phrasing patterns, even though to a different degree. This, in turn, may be explained by the fact that Buenos Aires is more and more established as an Argentinean standard variety which constantly spreads across other dialect regions.

A further goal of the talk consists in evaluating the present versions of the transcription system Sp\_ToBI regarding its ability to account for subtle differences such as the different tonal and durational cues that signal intermediate phrasal (ip) boundaries in the varieties investigated in the present contribution. It is argued that an additional phonological tier is needed in order to carefully distinguish between underlying ip boundary tones such as H- (according to ToBI break index 3) and the various surface realizations encountered in the data.

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**Meter and prosody: comparing accentual and caesura restrictions in French and Spanish verse**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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According to the received view in prosodic typology, the rhythmic properties that set Romance languages apart from Germanic can successfully be characterized by an appropriate notion of syllable-timing or syllable-based rhythm. Since the evidence for a tendency towards syllabic isochrony is equivocal at best, the original phonetic intuition has either been recast as a perceptual or interactional preference or relegated to the domain of phonology. In phonological terms, syllable-based rhythm is modeled as a conspiracy, whereby a variety of factors contributes towards making syllables the most salient prosodic unit. By contrast, the rhythmic organization of languages with strong stress accents may be expected to rely primarily on accentually defined categories such as feet. Spanish has traditionally been regarded as a classic example of syllable-based rhythm. In a similar vein, the rhythmic signature of French has also been described as syllable-based, even if the regular succession of syllables appears to be disturbed somewhat by independent phonetic factors such as pre-boundary lengthening.

In seeking to adduce empirical support for these rhythmic prototypes in linguistic typology, prosodists have repeatedly emphasized the value of comparative studies of verseform. Most importantly, it turns out that only a limited number of options are available for metrical verse templates. In languages that lack prosodic contrasts established by tone or quantity, meters may either be defined with reference to the sequence of syllables alone, exclusively on the basis of accentual prominences, or by a combination of syllabic and accentual mapping rules (Fabb & Halle 2008). At least in popular traditions of versification, which are less likely to be influenced by foreign literary models, syllable-based and accent-based rhythm should be reflected in syllabic and accentual meters, respectively.

This talk analyzes samples of French and Spanish verse from different time periods and argues that not all metrical differences in poetic productions can be dismissed as being due to literary conventions. In our view, some of the most obvious metrical differences and changes in metrical form constitute faithful reflections of cross-

linguistic differences and language-specific prosodic changes. In particular, we would like to highlight the relevance of two observations to the prosodic typology of Romance: (i) In Medieval French octosyllabic versification, accentual regularity decreases over time (Noyer 2002), whereas no such long-term evolution can be found in the rich body of Spanish octosyllabic verse (Cano 1931, Myers 1967). (ii) In longer meters such as the alexandrine, the position of the caesura becomes an integral component of metrical form in French, while Spanish poets seem to pay more attention to the distribution of accents. By way of conclusion, we suggest that observations such as these should inspire phonologists to develop more precise notions of syllable-based rhythmic organization.

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**Lexical and morphosyntactic intonational effects in Dogon languages**

26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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In several northern Dogon languages (Mali, West Africa), the "syntax" (including relative-clause structure) is dominated by several categorially controlled word-level tone-contour overlays, variably {L}, {HL}, {LH}, or {HH}, which override lexical tones. Movement and head- or dependent-marking morphology play only minor roles. The syntactic control of pitch rhythms leaves little room for English-style phrasal intonation, except for clause-final pitch/duration modulation expressing finality or nonfinality (even here, several clause-final Emphatic and chaining particles do much of the work). Instead, "intonational" effects occur in the lexicon and in basic NP/pronominal morphosyntax.

One effect is final prolongation with pitch held level (symbol ⇒), which is distinguished from segmental phonological length by its highly variable (but sometimes quite exaggerated) duration, by its applicability to C-final as well as V-final stems, and by its defeasibility (e.g. under reduplication). ⇒ is typical of an important class of expressive adverbials, which include not only the colorful imagistic particles commonly known as ideophones, but also adjectival intensifiers and numerous basic lexical and quantificational terms like 'straight', 'apart', and 'all/entirely'. These elements may be syntactically adverbial (i.e. loosely connected with a predicate), or they may be made predicative by adding a copula. They occur in positions where externally (i.e. syntactically) controlled tone-contour overlays do not apply. They are not subject to ordinary derivational or inflectional affixation. Some, however, may be reduplicated, in which case ⇒ disappears (is defeated): Jamsay dém ⇒ 'straight', reduplicated dém-dém.

The second effect is dying-quail intonation (symbol ∴), which combines final prolongation with slow pitch decline. It resembles ordinary vowel length on a

fallingtoned syllable, but differs by its phonetic variability, its frequently exaggerated duration and pitch range, and its applicability to C-final as well as V-final stems. There are a few expressive adverbials with  $\therefore$ , though (since there are no related forms without  $\therefore$ ) one could argue that they are analysable as  $\Rightarrow$  combined with phonological falling tone. More importantly,  $\therefore$  has basic morphosyntactic functions in some of the languages. In Jamsay,  $\therefore$  is the regular conjunctive marker: X $\therefore$  Y $\therefore$  'X and Y', where X and Y are any NPs or pronouns. In Beni,  $\therefore$  added to a singular pronoun, or to a predicate with singular pronominal-subject suffix, creates the plural counterpart (for 1st, 2nd, and Logophoric persons), as in 1Sg pronoun í versus 1Pl í $\therefore$ , and predicative yá bú-´y 'I am (here)' versus yá bú-´y $\therefore$  'we are (here)', where -y is the 1Sg suffix.

The syntactically controlled tone-contour overlays mentioned above can conflict with each other or with  $\therefore$ . In some cases, tone contours are fixed at a relatively low phrasal level (e.g. possessor plus core possessed NP) and then behave as tonological islands, resistant to higher-level tone-contour effects (e.g. in relative clauses). Likewise,  $\therefore$  generally trumps higher-level tone-contour effects, constituting intonational islands. For example, when Jamsay X $\therefore$  Y $\therefore$  'X and Y' functions as relative-clause head, the usual tone-dropping to {L} either does not apply, or applies in an inconsistent manner to the end of the second coordinand only.

Takeaways: intonational effects can penetrate deeply into the lexicon and lowlevel phrasal morphosyntax, even in full-fledged tonal languages; when this happens, any conflicts with higher-level prosodic processes must be specified.

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**Stress in a tone language: a case study with Kurtöp**

26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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Linguists often assume that languages have either tone prosody or stress prosody. Hyman (2006), for example, proposes that languages may be broadly divided into two prototypical systems: tone and stress. Kurtöp, an endangered Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan, challenges this notion. This paper presents data from an acoustic study showing that Kurtöp, already established as tonal, also possesses word-level stress.

Previous research on Kurtöp (Hyslop 2009) has shown that Kurtöp is undergoing tonogenesis. Tone is contrastive on the first syllable of words following sonorants; tone may be high or low (e.g. ná 'nose' vs. nà 'ear'). Amongst the obstruents, tone is predictably high following voiceless obstruents and predictably low when following voiced. In addition, voiced obstruents are now devoicing (e.g. tá 'horse' vs. dà ~ tà 'now').

In order to test intuitions that Kurtöp words are also stressed, the following experimental study was designed. One hundred disyllabic words (equally distributed between nouns and verbs) were recorded from three native speakers (one female, two males) of Kurtöp. The words were uttered three times in isolation and a fourth time in a carrier phrase. Because of tonal contrasts present in the initial syllable of a

word, the words were controlled for the tone value of the initial. That is, we had 25 disyllabic nouns beginning with high-toned initial syllables, 25 disyllabic nouns beginning with low-toned first syllables, 25 disyllabic verb beginning with high-toned initials and 25 disyllabic verbs beginning with low-toned initials. Further, the study was controlled for syllable shape, so that an equal number of CVCCVC, CCVCCVC, CVCCV, CVCVC, CVCV shaped words were recorded for each category. Only words from the carrier phrase were used in the study, and thus we had 100 words for each speaker, for a total of 300 tokens.

The Kurtöp data were measured for the acoustic correlates typically associated with stress: vowel length, F0 and intensity in dB (e.g. Beckman 1986). Preliminary results show that Kurtöp initial syllables are slightly longer (approximately 10 ms), higher in intensity (approximately 3 dB) and, surprisingly, also F0 (approximately 2 Hz). This finding is true for both nouns and verbs, regardless of the tone of the initial syllable or word shape. These findings indicate that Kurtöp disyllabic words have first syllable stress.

The production experiment presented in this paper provides evidence that Kurtöp, also tonal, possesses word-level stress. These findings challenge the notion that the prosodic systems of tone and stress are mutually exclusive. Hyman (2006) himself acknowledges that languages may fall into intermediate categories between stress and tone. However, it is not clear that Kurtöp is intermediate in this sense. Rather, in Kurtöp, tone can be conceived of as a phonological feature, while stress is a word-level phenomenon.

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**Historical comparative acoustics and prosodic re-analysis: the case of  
Tibetan**

26.02.2010, 13.00–13.30 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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In this talk I will draw on data from three dialects of Tibetan to illustrate how the prosodic features of a language can be traced backward and forward in time. I use the term “historical comparative acoustics” to refer to a methodology in which the acoustic patterns of two languages known to be related are compared in order to reconstruct the acoustic patterns of their common parent. And I use the term “prosodic re-analysis” to refer to a change, over time, in how a particular acoustic pattern is interpreted prosodically. Tibetan provides an ideal medium for exploration of these phenomena.

The term “Tibetan” is often used quite loosely, as if referring to a monolithic language spoken in the vicinity of Lhasa, capital of the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China. In fact, though, Tibetan exhibits tremendous diversity, and is spoken across the vast expanse of the ancient Tibetan empire, an area that today spans parts of five countries: Pakistan, India, Nepal, China, and Bhutan. According to recent estimates, there are over 200 varieties of Tibetan, which can be classed into about 25 distinct – i.e., mutually unintelligible – groups (Tournadre 2005, 2008).

Based on their phonology, these “Tibetic” languages (Tournadre 2008) are traditionally divided into two categories (Jaeschke 1871, cited in Bielmeier 1988; Rona-Tas 1966). The “Archaic” varieties are characterized by complex syllable-initial and -final consonant clusters; tone is not phonemically contrastive. These languages – spoken at the eastern and western extremes of the Tibetan linguistic area – are regarded as preserving features of Old Tibetan as it was spoken in the 7th century and captured in the writing system developed at that time. The “Innovative” varieties – spoken across the vast central region – are characterized by reduced consonant clusters, simplified syllable structure, and the concomitant innovation of contrastive tone to preserve lexical distinctions.

Roughly speaking, then, stress is the dominant prosodic feature in the Archaic varieties, while tone is the dominant prosodic feature in the Innovative varieties. By comparing the stress patterns in two Archaic varieties – Balti Tibetan (spoken in northern Pakistan) and Rebkon Amdo Tibetan (spoken in Qinghai Province, China) – a pattern of  $\sigma_2$  stress can be reconstructed for disyllabic nouns in Proto-Tibetan. Through the method of historical comparative acoustics, fundamental frequency can then be reconstructed as the primary acoustic correlate of this proto stress pattern.

Consideration of Tokpe Gola Tibetan, a tonal variety of the language spoken in northeastern Nepal, illustrates how this prosodic pattern has been re-analyzed over time. Here – as in many of the geographically central Innovative languages – disyllabic nouns exhibit only LH and HH tone patterns; it is never possible to have a low tone on  $\sigma_2$ . This pattern can be accounted for diachronically: the prominent fundamental frequency corresponding to the high tone on  $\sigma_2$  is a relict – a reflex – of the prominent fundamental frequency reconstructed as a correlate of stress in Proto-Tibetan.

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**The role of domain in the lexical tone system**  
26.02.2010, 13.30–14.00 Uhr, Raum 1.601

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While domain is taken as a decisive factor in prosodic studies of intonation and tone sandhi (Gussenhoven 2004; Chen 2000), its role in the lexical tone system has largely been neglected. Since the early investigation of tone languages the domain of lexical tones has been assumed to be the syllable (cf. Chao 1930; Pike 1948). However, in recent decades research on African tone languages has revealed that



the word, instead of the syllable, may serve as the basic domain in the lexical tone system (Odden 1995; Hyman 2001; inter alia). Nonetheless, as the syllable and the word are well-recognized concepts in linguistics and the syllable-versus-word bifurcation coincides with the geographical division between China and Africa, the attested difference in the domain of lexical tones is often informally referred to as if some sort of areal features between African tone languages and Chinese/SEA tone languages (e.g. Hyman 2007).

This paper argues that the domain plays a crucial role in the lexical tone system and can be assigned with the binary features of  $[\pm\sigma]$  and  $[\pm\omega]$  to generate three distinct kinds of tone systems. The domain features vary in accordance with the specific tone system: (a)  $[\pm\sigma]$  and  $[-\omega]$  in the syllable-tone system, e.g. Mandarin, (b)  $[-\sigma]$  and  $[\pm\omega]$  in the word-tone system, e.g. Mende, and  $[-\sigma]$  and  $[-\omega]$  in the melody-tone system, e.g. Japanese. Since the distinction between the first two types of system is quite straightforward, the paper will concentrate on the least-known type: the melody-tone system. A detailed comparison between the final two types will be made, drawing data from African languages such as Mende and Etung and from those of East Asia: Japanese (six dialects), Prinmi and Qiang.

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### AG 13

## “[...] von endlichen Mitteln einen unendlichen Gebrauch machen” – Recursion as a Central Issue in Recent Linguistics

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**Recursion: Definitions, Promise and Pitfalls**  
24.02.2010, 14.00–15.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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There has been great interest and considerable debate recently about the role of sequential versus hierarchical structures, including self-embedded or "recursive" structures, in human language. I argue that several important distinctions concerning recursion have been blurred in recent discussions. I outline three usages of "recursion" that typify different fields (computer science, linguistics, and mathematics), and illustrate why it is important to distinguish these different meanings. Despite a common misconception, the ability to generate hierarchical phrase structure does not, in itself, entail recursion. Furthermore, where a rule system lies in the Chomsky hierarchy (its "weak generative capacity") is independent of its recursive or non-recursive nature. One can generate "flat" finite-state sequences with a recursive algorithm, and one can generate hierarchical structures with non-recursive algorithms. Behavioural tests for recursion should investigate a subject's ability to generalize, over structures that are self-embedded, to new levels of embedding. Such studies require some additional interpretive dimension to exclude alternative non-recursive possibilities. Ultimately, however, determining that a finite system is recursive requires a way to look at the implementing algorithm directly, not just at behavioural experimentation. Important advances in computational neuroscience will be needed before this is possible for actual brains.

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**Learning a hierarchical embedded structure with semantics in AGL**  
24.02.2010, 15.00–15.30 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Center embedded hierarchical structures are a crucial property of natural languages. The learnability of such structures by mere exposure to exemplars is a core debate in theories of natural language acquisition. Recent studies have investigated the learnability of hierarchical self embedded structures in the Artificial Grammar Learning paradigm, with mixed results. Bahlmann & Friederici (2006) report learning. But de Vries et al. (2008) failed to replicate any learning of hierarchical rules in a similar AGL study.

In two AGL experiments, we explore the possibility that learning center embedded structures is facilitated when learners are not only presented examples of the artificial language but also their 'meaning'. In Experiment 1, a set up highly similar to the de Vries et al's study without semantics, no learning was found. When semantic

referents (rows of shapes and colors) were added to the learning exemplars, and the test task was to ‘parse’ new grammatical items by choosing one of two meanings, – rather than to give grammaticality judgments – significant learning was found. We claim that semantics is one of the many cues that help learners to acquire complex structures by learning from exemplars.

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**The need for cues in recursive structure learning: An artificial grammar learning experiment**

24.02.2010, 15.30–16.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Hierarchical centre embeddings are theoretically of great interest with respect to potential differences between human language and non-human communicative systems. Hauser et al. (2002) distinguished between the “broad” and “narrow” sense of the language faculty, with “broad” referring to properties of communication that are generic across modalities and shared across species, and the “narrow” sense referring to a language-specific computational system, the core property of which is recursion. The most critical observation, then, is that this property seems to lack any analog in animal communication. Hauser and Fitch (2004) tested whether cotton-top tamarins could learn such structures using an artificial-language learning task. They indeed found that cotton-top tamarins did not distinguish between strings generated from a grammar producing hierarchical centre embeddings, and those generated from a linear grammar (without any embeddings). Human subjects on the same task were sensitive to this distinction. However, Gentner, Fenn, Margoliash, and Nusbaum (2006) trained starlings on a similar hierarchical grammar, and claimed that song birds are able to detect hierarchical centre embeddings, casting doubt on the claim that such structures are unique to humans.

In a related line of investigation, Friederici, Bahlmann, Heim, Schubotz, & Anwander (2006) tested the neural correlates of processing hierarchical centre embeddings in humans, also with an artificial-grammar learning task. They found that the processing of hierarchical centre embeddings specifically activated Broca’s area (BA44/45), whereas a linear grammar that generated strings without such embeddings did not result in activation of Broca’s area.

Unfortunately, none of these studies conclusively established successful learning of hierarchical centre embeddings in humans or animals, due to the potential application of alternative strategies for task solution (Corballis, 2007a, 2007b; De Vries et al., 2008; Perruchet & Rey, 2005). For instance, in order to recognize a centre-embedded structure  $A_3A_2A_1B_1B_2B_3$ , one criterion could be that the number of A-elements has to match the number of B-elements, however this fails to observe the important feature of such structures in terms of processing the dependencies between particular A and B elements in the sequence. Alternative strategies such as counting, then, need to be controlled for in the testing sequences, and previous studies had not satisfactorily precluded these alternative processing methods for participants (see de Vries et al., 2008 for a review). So far, only a few studies provided evidence for learning of hierarchical centre embeddings, and only under

very specific circumstances, such as prior familiarization of the smaller units (e.g., commencing with learning  $A_1B_1$ , Conway, Ellefson, & Christiansen, 2003). Establishing whether hierarchical centre embeddings are learnable at all from artificial languages therefore remains an important issue, both theoretically and methodologically.

Despite the difficulties in demonstrating learning hierarchical centre embeddings in artificial languages, there is no doubt that humans *can* process hierarchical centre embeddings in natural language, but substantial additional cues seem to be required to enable their processing. Not only semantics and morphology (e.g., agreement) play a crucial role to correctly link together non-adjacent elements, also available perceptual cues are important. For instance, for hierarchical centre embeddings in natural language, Nespor and Vogel (1986) documented speech pauses and intonation as indices for constituents, and Fisher and Tokura (1996) identified pause length, vowel duration and pitch as phrase boundary cues. It has been found that multiple, converging cues to syntactic structure are useful for processing both natural and artificial languages (Braine, Brody, Brooks, Sudhalter, Ross, & Catalano, 1990; Cutler, 1993; Monaghan, Chater, & Christiansen, 2005; Shi, Werker, & Morgan, 1999). In particular, shared phonological cues are helpful in establishing relationships among constituents, particularly if they are non-adjacent (Newport & Aslin, 2005; Onnis, Monaghan, Richmond, & Chater, 2005). Furthermore, prosodic information may help bootstrap the acquisition of grammar, even in the absence of lexical information, by signalling word order or syntactic phrase boundaries (Christophe, Nespor, Guasti & Van Ooyen, 2003). Extracting regularities might therefore be particularly sensitive to prosodic information useful in uncovering generalizations in speech (Toro, Nespor, Mehler & Bonatti, 2008). In sum, specific perceptual cues are likely to help the language learner to track particular regularities.

Based on the established value of perceptual cues for learning structural dependencies in grammars, we wanted to test whether such perceptual cues would also be helpful in learning recursive structures in an artificial grammar learning setting. In a previous study (De Vries et al., 2008), we trained participants on hierarchical centre embeddings ( $A_3A_2A_1B_1B_2B_3$ ) and tested for the discrimination between  $A_3A_2A_1B_1B_2B_3$ , and “scrambled” versions, in which the non-adjacent dependencies were violated, such as  $A_3A_2A_1B_1B_3B_2$ . Strategies that are not directed at the recursive structure, such as counting, cannot distinguish such testing stimuli. In the study, no perceptual cues to the underlying structure were provided, and there was no evidence of recursive-sequence learning. In the present study, we provided perceptual cues in the form of shared vowels and consonants between constituents, in order to support the recursive structure. We predicted that learning recursive structures, such as hierarchical centre embeddings, should be facilitated when their constituents share perceptual properties. Indeed, the results demonstrate that recursive structures can be learned in artificial language learning settings, and that perhaps previous failures to demonstrate learning were due to the absence of specific cues relevant to language structure. This raises the question of the array of cues necessary in natural languages for learning such complex recursive structures.

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**Constraint on recursion and the input: The case of recursive verbal compound nouns**

24.02.2010, 16.30–17.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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The availability of recursive operations varies both across and within languages. Grammar must therefore have a mechanism that prevents recursion in some cases; otherwise, children would overgeneralize the process. Snyder and Roeper (2005) propose that there is a constraint on recursion in natural language. This constraint applies everywhere until children have input that violates it. It is still not known, however, how general or specific the required input must be.

I report the results of two experiments investigating whether the input of recursive nominal (root) compound nouns (NCN) such as *cherry tea pot* can trigger recursion in verbal (synthetic) compound nouns (VCN) such as *tea pourer maker*. Recursive VCNs rarely occur in child-directed speech (0 cases found in the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000)), while recursive NCNs occur frequently in child-directed speech (Roeper et al. 2002). The experiments thus tested whether children who do not have input from recursive VCNs but do have input from recursive NCNs can understand recursive VCNs. The study also examined whether the complexity of the VCNs and semantic similarity of embedded and embedding nouns of the VCNs affect children's performance.

In the first experiment, 35 English-speaking children, aged 5 to 9, and 9 English-speaking adults were given a character-selection task. There were 3 cases of recursive NCNs and 5 cases of recursive VCNs. Children were also asked why they chose their answers. While the children chose correct recursive NCNs 100% of the time, they did not perform well on recursive VCNs. The mean number of children's correct responses for recursive VCNs was 1.17 out of 5. Adults' average number of target response for recursive VCNs was 4.4 out of 5. Children's response rates were better in Inst(rument) + Ag(en)t (e.g., *tea pourer(Inst) maker(Agt)*) cases than in Agt + Agt cases (e.g., *picture taker(Agt) liker(Agt)*).

In the second experiment, test items had a simpler form, *V-er+V-er* (e.g. *cleaner opener*), than items in the first experiment. The test items were divided into four types: Agt+Agt, Agt+Inst, Inst+Inst, Inst+Agt. Thirty-three English speaking children between 6 and 10 years old and 21 English speaking adults participated in the experiment. Children performed better in the second experiment than in the first experiment. Moreover, while 21% of the children younger than 9 years old chose the target answers more than 50% of the time, 60% of the children older than 9 chose the target answers more than 50% of the time. This shows that there is a developmental stage for acquisition of recursive VCNs, and that children around the age of 9 start to acquire the recursive VCNs. The results showed that the semantic roles do not affect children's performance.

This study shows that the input of recursive NCNs does not trigger recursion in VCNs, and thus suggests specific input is necessary for acquisition of recursive structures.

Roeper, T. and Snyder, W. (2005) "Language learnability and the forms of recursion." In A.M. Di Sciullo and R. Delmonte (eds.) *UG and External Systems: Language, Brain and Computation*, 155-169. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Roeper, T., Snyder, W., and Hiramatsu, K. (2002) "Learnability in a Minimalist framework: Root compounds, merger, and the syntax-morphology interface." In I. Lasser (ed.) *The Process of Language Acquisition*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag.

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**Indirect recursion and the importance of second order embedding**

24.02.2010, 17.00–17.30 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Language provides us with an unlimited freedom of creative reference. And at the same time language has ways to restrict the range of possible meanings. Constrained recursion allows focusing on one single logical sequence. This constrained form of recursion belongs to the core of grammars for natural languages.

In its unconstrained form recursion, being a function that calls itself, raises a problem. It results in an abundance of information. The effect of such a function is that it adds more and more information. This would be highly inefficient and would make recursion not very suitable for natural language. Recursion achieves efficient communication if the set of possible interpretations is highly constrained. Therefore recursion should be part of the biolinguistic program.

For example what Mary likes in (269) can be variety of propositions: John arriving early; he buying a lovely cake, etc. However what Mary likes in (2) is the single proposition: John arrived early and brought a lovely cake for Christmas.

- (1) John arrived early, and he brought a lovely cake for Christmas. Mary likes that.
- (2) Mary likes that John arrived early and brought a lovely cake for Christmas.

Constrained recursion is exclusively visible at the second order level. A single embedding can be represented in syntax and in discourse ((3)  $\Leftrightarrow$  (4)), but a multiple embedding cannot ((5)  $\nLeftrightarrow$  (6)).

- (3) The bridge is broken. John knows that.

$\Leftrightarrow$

- (4) John knows that the bridge is broken.

- (5) The bridge is broken. John knows that. His sister doesn't think that.

$\nLeftrightarrow$

- (6) His sister doesn't think that John knows the bridge is broken.

We have tested this with over 40 adults in English and Dutch and 18 6 year-old children. None of the populations allows a recursive system in discourse, showing that the syntax-semantics interface plays an essential role in constrained recursion (at least for Germanic languages). The visibility of true recursion can also be seen in (7) and (8), which are equivalent. However, (9) is not equivalent to (10).

- (7) According to John, the earth is flat.

- (8) John thinks the earth is flat.

(9) #According to John, according to Mary the earth is flat.

(10) John thinks that Mary thinks the earth is flat.

This shows that multiple embedding not necessarily equals multiplying single embeddings. Knowledge of recursion plays a crucial in the step from first to second order.

We propose that indirect recursion creates a phase edge boundary. At the syntax-semantics interface the *Exclusivity Constraint* is effective. What is embedded in both is not only a single proposition, but also an evaluation by the main clause subject and that is why multiple embedding (10) is excluded. It captures the distinction between (9) and (10).

In this talk we will make two important claims: 1. indirect recursion is a restriction on meaning made at the syntax-semantics interface and 2. multiple embedding is the product of indirect recursion.

Additionally we will show that children acquire second order (=multiple) embedding and second order Theory of Mind at a later stage. So for the child knowing a single embedding does not automatically leads to recursive multiple embedding. This also indicates that the phenomenon of recursion in language might be very similar to the one in Reasoning.

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**Recursion interfaces**  
 24.02.2010, 17.30–18.30 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Our goal is to sketch computational proposals for interface interpretations that will explain the diverse acquisition path for recursion. The empirical data needs substantial further research and the architecture of interface computations remains largely unarticulated.

Recursion must have particular triggers because it is not the same in all languages (Snyder and Roeper (2003)). Compounds, adjectives, possessives exhibit left-branching recursive structures in Germanic, but not Romance (see Hollebrandse and Roeper (2008) Roeper (2009)). Sentential complements may or may not be universally recursive (see Sauerland (2009) demonstration for Teiwa and Piraha). It follows therefore that language particular statements are relevant and what guides a child down the acquisition path for each must be articulated. Snyder and Roeper (2003) advanced the first order hypothesis that children must be exposed to recursion and therefore must be sensitive to it. Are there generalizations across recursion types for the acquisition path?

Hollebrandse and Roeper (2009) argue that there is both Direct recursion, which gives conjoined readings, and Indirect recursion, which requires (under Chomsky's Strong Minimalist Thesis) Phase-based interpretation, which produces embedded readings and the basic challenge. We find evidence for conjoined adjectives (Gu) (Hubert), relative clauses, possessives, and compounds (Hiraga (2009)) as the first analysis that children give.

Most of these structures are demonstrably rare, such as double possessives, others quite common (compound nouns in German, pronominal adjectives in English). Therefore it is possible that the order of acquisition is influenced by input frequency (Yang 2002, 2009)). Input frequency is obscured by the fact that children prefer Direct recursion, delivering a conjoined reading. Often input data can be analyzed as conjoined, not embedded, and therefore the input data may not indicate that a form of indirect recursion with embedding is called for. However we argue, from a still shaky empirical foundation, that interface factors are very relevant.

Where does the child begin? Current evidence of when children master these constructions – far from complete – suggests nonetheless an interesting division: adjectives (gu) 3-4 yrs (“a big little truck”), simple compounds (3 yrs) (“baby doll napkin”), PP’s (“in the corner in the kitchen”), and recursive infinitives seem to be arriving productively between 2.5 and 4.0. Here are examples of early recursive infinitives which have not been reported before (with go, try, get) from Childes:

- 1) \*Naomi 2.4yrs: to go to sleep xxx  
adam30.cha:\*CHI: Paul want to go to sleep and stand up  
castp2.cha:\*CHI: where am I going to get to put the chimney  
boys44.cha:\*CHI: yeah # when I got bigger then I'm going to get to go  
stl.cha:\*CHI: dad you're suppose to try to get it on me  
tre21.cha:\*CHI: now I'm going to try to touch your knee

On the other hand, double possessives (John’s father’s car), tensed sentential complements (Adam 5trs “I thought you said the animals gonna be warm”), and verbal compounds (tea-pourer-maker) arrive between 4-6yrs (or later). Is an identifiable form of complexity causing delay?

Both the complex verbal compounds: tea-pourer-maker (Hiraga 2009) and the complex possessives (Limbach (2009)) can be analyzed in terms of Relativized Minimality (Rizzi (1990)), Friedmann et al (2009), where an -er is incorporated and crosses over another -er (Hiraga (2009)), and a possessive crosses over another possessive:

- 2) the hat of the father’s of a friend’s => friend’s father’s hat

following Johnson (2003)). The combination of a Phase-based interpretation and movement must be represented at the interface.

The third form of delayed recursion lies in Tensed complements. Hobbs et al (2008) shows that 6yr olds have difficulty with “Jane told Mom that Billy said sisters are stupid”. No movement is involved here, but a delay in assignment of Propositional Force to the Final Phase, unlike non-propositional infinitives. Hinzen (2006) observes that every sentence has a single truth value. Therefore the potential propositional force (truth-value) associated with each clause must be blocked. The proposition “sisters are stupid” must not be truth-functionally evaluated in its Phase. Therefore we suggest, informally, that in analogy to Trace-conversion (Fox (1999), Sauerland 2004), a mechanism must exist to drop assertive force at the point when a higher Phase is entered. This suggests that it is not the cross-over property of RM which is crucial but putting a kind of interpretation inside an identical kind of interpretation which is crucial to the interface computation. This approach can be extended to explain the fact that False Belief tests are more easily successful with infinitives.



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**Against direct recursion in syntax**  
25.02.2010, 9.00–10.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Recursion is a prominent property of the syntax of human language (for instance Chomsky 1963, 326-327) and arguably the main source of its generative capacity. However, its availability enlarges the space of possible grammars to be considered by the learner and therefore aggravates the problem of language acquisition. Explanatory adequacy suggests to look for restrictions on recursion. To this end, I suggest that syntax lacks (a particular kind of) *direct* recursion, due to the constraint in (1).

Some evidence for (1) comes from the distribution of clauses. **(A)** If subject sentences in English are merged in SpecC with an empty correlate *e* in subject position (Koster 1978), then (2-a) is excluded by (1): [<sub>C</sub> *that* ] must bear [<sub>UC</sub>] for CP<sub>2</sub> to be merged in SpecC, thus violating (1). (2-b) suggests a difference in the featural make-up between [<sub>C</sub> *that* ] and [<sub>C</sub> – ], avoiding a violation of (1). This is supported by the fact that if two [<sub>C</sub> – ]s co-occur, as in (2-c), then the effects of (1) return with full force. **(B)** Verb-final complement clauses in object position are marginal in German (3-c). But if the complement is a V/2-clause, then the lack of extraposition results in radical ungrammaticality, (3-a), (3-b). The additional degradation is accounted for by (1), if the C-position of a V/2-clause bears [<sub>V</sub>] (Webelhuth 1992, 90; von Stechow & Sternefeld 1988, 388-402): In order to merge with a V/2-CP, matrix V must bear [<sub>UV</sub>] which violates (1). To avoid this, V/2-clauses are merged to the right, outside VP (Reis 1997). This also explains why clausal complements in SVO languages are uniformly post-verbal, while in SOV languages they sometimes appear pre- and sometimes post-verbally (Bayer 2007): “Extraposition” applies string vacuously in SVO languages, if it applies at all. **(C)** If Relative clauses (RCs) are merged in a pre-nominal position (Cinque 2009), then the question arises why they appear post-nominally in German, (4-a), (4-b). Suppose the C-head of a RC is nominal (bears [<sub>N</sub>]), see Sternefeld (2006, 368-369). Then (1) bars direct Merge of the RC-CP with the head noun (which would have to bear [<sub>UN</sub>]). If the head noun is merged with an empty D-correlate instead, then it bears [<sub>UD</sub>] and (1) is respected. This still leaves the question where the RC is merged. It may be rightadjoined to the matrix DP, stipulating that the correlate must be cataphoric (4-c). Or it may be merged as complement of the D-correlate. Then there must be some independent requirement that forces the RC to move. Extraposition is then preferred over leftward movement if the correlate DP is an island for the latter but not for the former (Müller 1996), (5-a), (5-b). **(D)** Pre-nominal RCs typically do not exhibit initial C-elements (Downing 1978, 391-393). Instead, the verb of the RC is marked with a particular affix (see (6) for Navajo). The affix may be interpreted as a C-head in final position that is the target of V-movement. As a result, the RC C-head acquires [<sub>V</sub>] and the RC can be merged in pre-nominal position (the head noun bears [<sub>UV</sub>]). There is no correlate and no extraposition.

- (1) Category  $\alpha$  (bearing [<sub>UF</sub>]) cannot merge with category  $\beta$  (bearing [<sub>F</sub>]) if  $\alpha$  also bears [<sub>F</sub>].

- (2) a. \*[CP<sub>1</sub> [CP<sub>2</sub> That the world is round ] [C that ] e is obvious ] upset John.  
 b. [CP<sub>1</sub> [CP<sub>2</sub> That the world is round ] [C – ] e is obvious ].  
 c. \*[CP<sub>1</sub> [CP<sub>2</sub> That the world is round ] [C – ] e is obvious ] [C – ] e upset John.
- (3) a. weil ich [VP glaube ] [CP sie schläft ]  
 b. \*weil ich [VP [CP sie schläft ] glaube ]  
 c. ??weil ich [VP [CP dass sie schläft ] glaube ]
- (4) a. \*[DP eine [NP [CP die ihr gefällt ] Geschichte ]]  
 b. [DP eine [NP Geschichte [CP die ihr gefällt ]]]  
 c. [DP [DP eine [NP [DP [D e<sub>2</sub> (t<sub>2</sub>) ] Geschichte ] ] [CP<sub>2</sub> die ihr gefällt ]]
- (5) a. Ich konnte [DP es t<sub>2</sub> ] nicht glauben [CP<sub>2</sub> dass sie schläft ].  
 b. \*[CP<sub>2</sub> Dass sie schläft ] konnte ich [DP es t<sub>2</sub> ] nicht glauben.
- (6) [CP Athosh-ígíí ] ashkii atháá'  
 IMPERF.3.sleep-C.REL boy IMPERF.3.snore  
 "The boy who is sleeping is snoring."

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**Phasal recursion of FocP: Evidence from Malayalam**

25.02.2010, 10.00–10.30 Uhr, Raum 1.204

**1. Introduction** Malayalam is a SOV Nom-Acc Dravidian language spoken in South India. The language does not exhibit any subject-verb agreement and is conventionally described as a Wh in situ language. However, certain peculiarities in Malayalam with respect to the interrogative constructions along with other factors led Jayaseelan (2001) to propose a Focus Phrase immediately above vP in the language. He cited the mandatory movement of question words to an immediately preverbal position in interrogative constructions in an otherwise SOV language:

1. ninne a:ru adiccu? 2. \*a:ru ninne adiccu?  
 you-ACC who beat-PST Who beat you?  
 (Note that contrary to expectations, the canonical SOV order is ungrammatical)

However, a closer examination of Malayalam shows that the nature of Focus in the preverbal focus constructions differ markedly from that of Clefts.

**2. Problematisation** A cleft in Malayalam is given in (3)

3. Mary-e a:nu John kand-a-Du  
 Mary-ACC FM John saw-a-SG.NEUT It is Mary that John saw (FM: Focus Marker)

It is shown in the paper, drawing on the results of tests pertaining to exhaustivity (e.g 4,5) and distributional restrictions (6,7) (cf. Szabolci 1981) that cleft constructions in Malayalam encode Exhaustive Identification. Exhaustivity: 5 is not a logical consequence of 4.

4. john-um Bill-um a:nu Mary-e kand-aDu  
 john-conj bill-conj FM mary-ACC saw-a-SG.NEUT It is John and Bill who saw Mary  
 5. john a:nu Mary-e kand-a-Du  
 john FM mary-ACC saw-a-SG.NEUT It is John who saw Mary  
 6. \*patti-yum a:nu pu:cca-ye pidicc-a-Du  
 dog-conj FM cat-ACC caught-a-SG.NEUT It is the dog also who caught the cat.

7. \*patti po:lum a:nu pu:cca-ye pidicc-a-Du  
 dog even FM cat-ACC caught-a-SG.NEUT  
 It is even the dog that caught (a) cat.

It can be seen straightforwardly that these results are in accordance with E. Kiss (1998). She explains that while Information focus conveys non-presupposed information, Identificational Focus expresses exhaustive identification and syntactically acts as an operator, moving into a scope position and binding a variable. This distinction is evident in Malayalam in constructions that involve the cleft focus marker *a:nu* versus constructions that involves preverbal Focus position in that we get none of the exhaustivity related results in the non cleft sentences that use the preverbal Focus position. The movement of an element to a scopal position thereby creating an operator-variable pair in cleft sentences is evidenced by the retention of case-morphology (e.g. 3) as well as restrictions on what can be moved to the cleft focus (e.g. 6,7). More over, all these tests fail to produce positive results in the preverbal focus position:

8. Mary-ye JOHN-UM BILL-UM kandu  
 Mary-ACC John-conj Bill-conj saw JOHN AND BILL saw Mary  
 9. Mary-ye John kandu [9. follows logically from 8.]  
 Mary-ACC John saw John saw Mary  
 10. Mary-e JOHN PO:LUM kandu  
 Mary-ACC John even saw Even John saw Mary; no distributional restrictions.

That is, the preverbal focus position cannot be invoked for clefts if we are to account for the facts related to clefts.

**3. Analysis** The paper argues that the lower preverbal Focus position that Jayaseelan (2001) proposes is an instantiation of Information Focus as can be seen from answering strategies. It is proposed that the cleft construction do not involve the preverbal focus position as Jayaseelan argues, but rather involves a higher scope position in the C-level that is crucial in creating an operator-variable pair produced by movement of the clefted element as would be expected in Identificational Focus constructions. This is evidenced by the scope relations obtained in cleft constructions (e.g. 11-12).

11. ella: channel-um Obama-ye a:nu ka:nicc-a-Du  
 all channel-conj Obama-ACC FM show-PST-A-SG.NEUT  
 It is Obama whom all the channels showed. (There were others like Palin and McCain present; but only Obama was shown by the channels.)  
 12. Obama-ye a:nu ella: channel-um ka:nicc-a-Du  
 Obama-ACC FM all channel-conj show-PST-A-SG.NEUT.  
 It is Obama whom all the channels showed. (Palin and McCain were shown by some channels; but Obama was shown by ALL channels.)

Thus, the element at the cleft focus interacts with quantifiers. This does not happen with the elements in the preverbal focus position as would be expected if it is not a C-level scope position.

It is shown that the preverbal lower Focus position encodes Information Focus as argued by Belletti (2004) while Identificational Focus mandatorily requires a higher C-level position provided by clefts in the language. Thus different types of Focus manifest in different phases, namely, vP and CP. It thus proves to be not just a mere phasal recursion of the same FocP.

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**On the proper role of recursion in linguistic studies**  
25.02.2010, 10.30–11.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Recursion as 'definition by induction' is used to formalise an algorithm, and recursive functions consist of a pair of equations. Turing defined a computable function if computable by a Turing Machine, an "iterator" lacking recursion. Church proposed the general recursive functions while Post suggested production systems. The last two are "recursors": mappings that involve a recursive step. Recursion is sometimes taken to be synonymous with computation, and it is thus we must understand Chomsky's introduction of recursive devices to explain discrete infinity (cf. 'there is a technical definition of "recursion" in terms of Church's thesis...a formalization of the notion algorithm/mechanical procedure'(p.c. May 2009)).

Our aims are twofold: a) to clarify its role regarding core properties of language; and b) to describe the distinction between recursors and iterators in some detail, with repercussions for competence and performance. CHL was characterised as rewrite rules in the 50s, and its recursive component generated self-embedding (an X within an X, where X is a category type). Much work attempts to show that self-embedding is not present in all languages, but this has little to do with recursion. The onus is on demonstrating that a given language is finite, allowing for storage and making a computational system redundant.

The computable functions identify objects, but the implementations may either be recursive or iterative. Recursors involve reflexive calls and subroutines, while iterators repeat one single operation. All recursive relations can be reduced to iterative ones, but there's a fit between recursive structures and the recursive mechanisms operating over there. This can be applied in studies of competence and performance: a) competence: all phrases respect the same geometry: [Specifier [Head - Complement]]. Thus, a CP is a SHC composed of further SHCs. At this level, an X within an X refers to geometry and not to the category type of the H. Such structures are present in languages that appear to lack category type self-embedding. Cross-linguistically, differences appear in the linear ordering of this scheme, but not in its hierarchical structure: S is more prominent than [H-C], and H more so than C. The scheme is universal, and provides the child with a head start: a SHC geometry is expected. Regarding derivational accounts, we know two things: the structural organisation of the resulting expression, and the atomic elements that compose it. Current theory postulates that the intrinsic features of the atoms plus external conditions drive a derivation. The challenge is to work out if there are computational principles that operate over these. We define Merge as a recursor, subdivided into External (EM) and Internal (IM) applications of the same merging operation. It will be shown that as EM (an iterator) introduces an element that will be moved later by IM, a chain containing a deferred operation is introduced, indicating a recursive subroutine; and b) performance: this work pertains to implementations in real time, not the abstract computations we have treated. The parser carries out a number of operations, such as segmenting the string into units, assigning syntactic roles et alia, but a suboperation is to recover the matrix SHC and the internal phrases. These may only appear in either S or C, the loci of possible deferred

operations. Such recovery could be recursive or iterative; it will be a matter of memory load plus flattening operations that will determine which one the parser employs –an empirical matter. We will provide preliminary details of experimental work which ought to result in the elucidation of the nature of the structure-building mechanisms.

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**Resumption and concealed relatives**  
25.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Starting from a well-known observation, namely that in a language like Hebrew there is no free alternation between traces and (overt) resumptive pronouns, the goal of this paper is to show that even in languages with seemingly little or no resumption such as English, the distinction between a putatively null resumptive pronoun (*pro*) and trace is equally material. I contend that positing a resumptive (i.e. bound variable) *pro* also in English (and other Germanic languages) is not only theoretically appealing for various, independent reasons (a.o. ideas in Hornstein 1999, 2001, Boeckx & Hornstein 2003, 2004, Kratzer 2009), but also empirically adequate (beyond the arguments in Cinque 1990). The central claim that I put forward is that resumption, including resumption via *pro*, is restricted to (sometimes concealed) relative clauses – hence, (resumption in concealed) relatives as a case of recursion. Applying this proposal to English-like languages, I show that the distinction drawn between (resumptive) *pro* and trace accounts for a variety of mysteries, such as lack of weak crossover in appositives (Safir 1986), lack of Principle C effects in several construction types (notably restrictive relative clauses and emphatic contexts; Munn 1994), sluicing, ATB movement phenomena, and case (mis-)matching patterns in comparatives.

Specifically, I propose that a sentence like (1b), which unlike (1a) contains an appositive relative clause and exhibits an alleged weak crossover effect, has the structure in (2), the highlighted part of which is a null couplar construction containing a hidden relative and a bound variable (i.e. resumptive) *pro*.

- (1) a. ?\*A man<sub>i</sub> who<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> wife loves t<sub>i</sub> arrived early.  
b. Ben<sub>i</sub>, who<sub>i</sub> his<sub>i</sub> wife loves t<sub>i</sub> arrived early.
- (2) Ben<sub>i</sub>, who<sub>i</sub> is [<sub>DP</sub> the one (person)]<sub>i</sub> that his<sub>i</sub> wife loves *pro*<sub>i</sub>, arrived early.

Likewise, I contend that a sentence such as the one in (3), which under the raising analysis of relative clauses should give rise to a Principle C effect, has the structure in (4), the highlighted part of which is again the null couplar construction containing a concealed relative and a resumptive *pro*.

- (3) The picture of John<sub>i</sub> which he<sub>i</sub> saw in the paper is very flattering.
- (4) [<sub>CP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> The picture<sub>k</sub> of John<sub>i</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> which is [<sub>DP</sub> the one (picture<sub>k</sub>)]<sub>j</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> that he<sub>i</sub> saw *pro*<sub>j</sub> in the paper]]] is very flattering]

Following ideas in van Craenenbroeck (2009), I suggest that sluicing as well sometimes involves a concealed *such that* relative. For instance, it is well-known that an interrogative cleft cannot be combined with a modifier such as *for example*, since

the former requires an exhaustive list as answer whereas the latter explicitly indicates that the answer to the question need not be exhaustive. Contrary to the expectations of the cleft-analysis of sluicing however, such modification is fine in sluicing, (5). These facts present an argument against a derivation-from-cleft account of sluicing à la Merchant (2001). A (hidden) *such that* relative account as the source of sluicing does not face this problem however; see (6).

- (5) A: You should talk to somebody in the legal department for help with that.  
B: a. Who, for example?  
b. \*Who is it, for example?
- (6) Who, for example, is such (a person) that I could talk to in the legal department?

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**Gesture and structural complexity: Recursion in co-speech gestures**

26.02.2010, 11.30–12.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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Some linguists claim that recursion is a fundamental characteristic of human language. They argue that recursion is shared neither by animals, nor by cognitive capacities other than the language faculty (Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002). In contrast to this view, Everett (2005) claims that the Amazonian Pirahã lacks evidence of recursion in its syntax. Other researchers consider recursion as the defining feature not only of human language but of human cognition in general (Corballis 2007).

New data are one possibility to break vicious circles of theoretical argumentation. In my paper, I will present empirical examples from route descriptions in German that give evidence of recursion in co-speech gestures. When people are engaged in a conversation, they communicate not only with speech but also with gesture. In gesture studies, speech and gesture are considered “as manifestations of the same process of utterance” (Kendon 1980: 208). Moreover, they can be used as a “second channel of observation onto the speaker’s mental representation during speech” (McNeill 1986:108).

The fundamental questions of my paper are: Is it possible to analyse co-speech gestures independently of speech in terms of constituency? Do gestural constituent structures display recursion? And what would be the implications of gestural recursion for language theory? Gesture scholars have so far neglected the syntactic dimension of analysis, and linguists have largely considered gesture as “non-verbal”, excluding it from their subject (Fricke in press).

One major problem is this: What is recursion? The concept of recursion entered linguistics from mathematics and computer science. But, as Lobina and García-Albea (2009) pointed out, the adaptation of this notion in linguistics and cognitive sciences is not very clear. But if recursion – in the context of linguistics – applies to “a constituent that contains a constituent of the same kind” in vocal language (Pinker and Jackendoff 2005: 203) as well as to the possibility of producing an infinite number of expressions with finite means, then some gestural structures can be called recursive, e.g. gesture units (GU) in German.

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**What artificial grammar learning reveals about the neurobiology of syntax**  
 26.02.2010, 12.00–12.30 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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In this study we examined the neurobiological correlates of syntax, the processing of structured sequences, by comparing fMRI results on artificial and natural language syntax. We employed a simple right-linear unification grammar and examined it in an implicit artificial grammar learning paradigm. Thirty two healthy Dutch university students were recruited on which natural language data were already acquired. Based on previous findings, we predicted that artificial syntax processing would engage the left inferior frontal region (BA 44, 45) and that this activation would overlap with syntax-related variability observed in the natural language experiment. In contrast, claims that Broca's region is specifically related to syntactic movement or the processing of nested structures predict that Broca's region should not be involved. The main findings of this study replicate previous findings on implicit AGL in detail. First, the left inferior frontal region centered on BA 44 and 45 is active during the artificial syntax processing of well-formed (grammatical) sequence independent of local substring familiarity. Second, this region is engaged to a greater extent when a syntactic violation is present and structural unification becomes more difficult or impossible. The effects related to artificial syntactic processing in the left inferior frontal region (BA 44 and 45) were essentially identical when we masked these with activity related to natural syntax processing in the same subjects. Finally, the medial temporal lobe is deactivated during this operation, consistent with the view that implicit processing does not rely on declarative memory mechanisms that engage the medial temporal lobe memory system. We conclude that the left inferior frontal region is a generic on-line sequence processor that unifies information from various sources in an incremental and recursive manner, whether there are any requirements for syntactic movement or the processing of nested structures or not.

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**The brain signature of syntactic architecture**

26.02.2010, 12.30–13.00 Uhr, Raum 1.204

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**Introduction** Like language, music appears to be organised in a syntactic architecture with hierarchical and recursive structuring between its elements. Anyway, it is not actually addressed how far syntactic relationships in music are defined from the merely psychoacoustic aspect of the sound. If music, as at the current evidence suggests, also related to an abstract syntactic system, are musical and linguistic syntax neurally independent or is there a significant overlap? The neuroscientific evidence on this question seems paradoxical. On the one hand, neuropsychology has provided well-documented cases of dissociations between musical and linguistic syntactic processing. On the other hand, neuroimaging points to overlap in the processing of linguistic and musical syntax. The aim of this study was to clear this debate.

**Subjects and method** We designed an fMRI experiment where nine German non-musicians had to judge the correctness of some musical phrases and language sentences. The stimuli presented either syntactic (i.e. grammatical or tonal) or psychoacoustic violations. In a second study 32 subjects were scanned with DTI sequences. Both experiments were performed on a 3 Tesla scanner. The analysis of the data used SPM5/8, DTI Toolbox ([http://www.uniklinik-freiburg.de/mr/live/arbeitsgruppen/diffusion/fibertools\\_en.html](http://www.uniklinik-freiburg.de/mr/live/arbeitsgruppen/diffusion/fibertools_en.html)) and dPC.

**Results** Violations of hierarchical rules in language involved a left hemispherical network, including the inferior and superior frontal, thalamus, supramarginalis, parietal and precentral gyrus. In music, we founded a bilateral activation of the inferior frontal gyrus, of insula, of the superior temporal and perolantic operculum, supramarginal, parietal and precentral gyrus, of the right thalamus and the left pallidum. The comparison between detection of hierarchical rules versus psychoacoustic violation as like the conjunction analysis showed in language and in music a preferential left hemispherical network, involving the inferior frontal gyrus (p. opercularis and triangularis), precentral gyrus and insula. DTI and dPC analysis individuated two functionally and anatomically pathways: a dorsal way along F. Longitudinalis between p. opercularis and supramarginalis / precentral gyrus and a ventral along Capsula extrema between p. triangularis and insula. Only in language the ventral pathway *erreicht* girus frontalis superior and only in music a third pathway along temporal is involved. Psychoacoustic violation also used the same pathways, but without erreichen Broca's area.

**Conclusions** This study supports that the physical proprieties of the sound is a "necessary but not sufficient" basis for *the feeling of the tonality* (Lerdahl, 2001). Although linguistic and musical syntax involved distinct domain-specific networks, there is an overlap in the neuronal resources underlying hierarchic rule processing. Our results showed that Broca's area is pivotally involved in this human unique ability independently of its domain. Two parallel working pathways are related to this area: a



ventral way *relating* to p. triangularis and a dorsal way to p. opercularis. In analogy with acoustic system, we supposed that the dorsal cortical pathway tracks time-varying events, then more related to expectancy, working memory and motor process. Conversely, the ventral pathway, which is thought to be specialized for invariant time-independent object properties, seems to be responsible for identification of real / natural structural dependences.

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**The neural basis of recursion**  
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It has been argued that syntactic recursion is central to the human faculty of language (Hauser et al., 2002). Recent experimental work comparing the ability to process hierarchically structured sequences indicated that humans, but not non-human primates can learn and process hierarchical structures, although both easily deal with non-hierarchical sequences (Fitch & Hauser, 2004). For humans it was demonstrated that non-hierarchical structures are processed by a brain system which is phylogenetically older (frontal operculum) than the brain system supporting the processing of hierarchical structures, namely, Broca's area (Friederici et al., 2006). This latter study had used  $A^nB^n$  sequences of non-sense consonant-vowel syllables similar to those applied by Fitch and Hauser, but unlike Fitch and Hauser had not coded A and B category membership by pitch information. The syllable sequences used in these two studies (AAABBB) were criticised as they might allow processing and detection of "ungrammatical" strings simply on the basis of counting A and B elements, not necessarily requiring hierarchical structure building. In an additional brain imaging experiment stimuli were constructed such that hierarchical processing was required in order to be able to detect the dependencies between related elements ( $A_3A_2A_1B_1B_2B_3$ ). The brain system supporting the processing of these hierarchical structures compared to non-hierarchical structures (ABABAB) again was Broca's area (Bahlmann et al., 2008).

Two further questions arose: first, does this hold even for embedded structures in natural languages and second, does it also hold for hierarchical structures in non-language domains. In a subsequent study we were able to show that Broca's area, in particular, the pars opercularis supported hierarchical processing in German sentences with multiple embedded structures, and, moreover, that another region (the left inferior frontal sulcus) holds responsible for the working memory demands resulting from the distance of the dependent elements, thereby indicating for the first time the principle neural independence of syntax and verbal working memory at the neural level (Makuuchi et al., 2009).

Additional brain imaging studies suggest that Broca's area itself and brain areas located anterior to Broca's area are involved to different degrees in processing hierarchical structures in the purely visual domain (Bahlmann et al., in press) and in mathematics (Friedrich & Friederici, 2009).

Together, these findings clearly indicate that Broca's area must be considered as the brain region subserving recursion.

### 32. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

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