

37. Jahrestagung  
der Deutschen Gesellschaft  
für Sprachwissenschaft

# Grammatische Modellierung & sprachliche Verschiedenheit

4.–6. März 2015  
Universität Leipzig

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# Grußwort der Organisatoren

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen,

wir freuen uns sehr, Sie zur 37. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft an der Universität Leipzig begrüßen zu dürfen. Nach 2001 findet somit zum zweiten Mal eine Jahrestagung der DGfS in Leipzig statt.

Die Universität Leipzig kann auf eine lange Tradition im Bereich der sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschung zurückweisen. Bedeutende Sprachwissenschaftler (z. B. Georg von der Gabelentz, Ferdinand de Saussure, Leonard Bloomfield, Karl Brugmann) haben in Leipzig studiert bzw. gelehrt.

Seit der auf die Wiedervereinigung folgenden Neukonstitution der Universität kann die Leipziger Sprachwissenschaft eine erfolgreiche Verbundforschung vorweisen, jeweils in Kooperation mit dem MPI für Evolutionäre Anthropologie und dem MPI für Kognitions- und Neurowissenschaften: die Forschergruppe 249 *Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen der Kognitionswissenschaft* (2000-2006) sowie die Forschergruppe 742 *Grammatik und Verarbeitung verbaler Argumente* (2006-2012). Ebenso wurden erfolgreich zwei Graduiertenkollegs bei der DFG eingeworben: das Graduiertenkolleg 399 *Universalität und Diversität* (1997-2007) und aktuell das Graduiertenkolleg 2011 *Interaktion grammatischer Bausteine* (seit April 2014). Letzteres ist Teil der 2014 gegründeten Forschungsprofilinie *Sprache und Kultur im Digitalen Zeitalter* der Universität Leipzig.

Wir haben das Thema *Grammatische Modellierung und sprachliche Verschiedenheit* als Rahmenthema für die Jahrestagung mit der Intention vorgeschlagen, Konvergenzen zwischen grammatiktheoretischer Forschung auf der einen und sprachtypologischer/sprachvarietätenbezogener Forschung auf der anderen Seite aufzuzeigen und zur Diskussion anzuregen, inwieweit die Forschungsergebnisse des einen Teilbereichs in den des jeweils anderen einfließen können bzw. sollen.

Wir wünschen Ihnen eine interessante Tagung, einen anregenden wissenschaftlichen Austausch und einen angenehmen Aufenthalt in Leipzig.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen

das Leipziger Team

## **Organisationsteam**

Claudia Bavero: Tagungsbüro/Finanzen  
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Sandra Döring: Veranstaltung *Linguistik & Schule* der Lehramtsinitiative  
Doreen Georgi: Warming-Up, WLAN  
Martin Haspelmath: Veranstaltung *Linguistikpublikationen im Umbruch*  
Fabian Heck: Tagungsband  
Maciej Janicki: Postersession Sektion CL  
Frank Liedtke: Arbeitskreis *Linguistische Pragmatik*  
Susanne Michaelis: Gebärdensprachdolmetscher  
Gereon Müller: DFG-Antrag, Tagungsplakat  
Martin Salzmann: Kaffeepausen  
Matthias Schrinner: Tagungsband  
Barbara Stiebels: Gesamtkoordination, Räume, Webseite  
Sandhya Sundaresan: Verlagsbetreuung  
Sabine Tatzelt: Tagungsbüro/Finanzen  
Eva Zimmermann: Warming-Up, Tagungsmappen  
Gerhild Zybatow: Geselliger Abend, Empfang im Rathaus

## **Danksagungen**

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Die Organisatoren der Lehramtsinitiative möchten sich beim Zentrum für Lehrerbildung und Schulforschung (ZLS) Leipzig und bei der Leipziger Stadtbibliothek für die Unterstützung bedanken.

Fabian Heck und Matthias Schrunner bedanken sich herzlich bei Luis Vicente und Radek Šimík für die freundliche Bereitstellung des L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X-Codes, der dem DGfS-Tagungsband aus dem Jahr 2013 zugrundeliegt.

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## IGRA: Grammatische Modellierung und sprachliche Verschiedenheit

Das Thema der 37. DGfS-Jahrestagung erfasst nicht nur langjährige Forschungsschwerpunkte der Sprachwissenschaft in Leipzig; es steht auch im Mittelpunkt eines zum April 2014 neu an der Universität Leipzig eingerichteten DFG-Graduiertenkollegs *Interaktion grammatischer Bausteine* (IGRA).

IGRA legt den Schwerpunkt auf die Phonologie, Morphologie und Syntax natürlicher Sprachen. Die Erforschung dieser formbezogenen Komponenten der Grammatik ist in Deutschland in den letzten Jahren tendentiell vernachlässigt worden. Ein deutliches Indiz hierfür liefern die Nachwuchspublikationen in den Top-Journals. Für das Fach Grammatiktheorie mit den Teilbereichen Phonologie, Morphologie und Syntax gelangt man auf der Grundlage szientometrischer Werte relativ unkontrovers zu einer Liste von besonders wichtigen Zeitschriften; im Wesentlichen sind das *Language*, *Linguistic Inquiry*, *Phonology*, *Syntax*, *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, *Journal of Linguistics*, *Lingua* und *Linguistics*. Man kann sich fragen, wie groß der Beitrag von NachwuchswissenschaftlerInnen deutscher Universitäten zum jeweiligen Rang dieser Zeitschriften ist. Nimmt man alle Publikationen zusammen, die im Zeitraum 2008–2013 erschienen und von ForscherInnen (mit-)verantwortet sind, die ab 2005 an einer deutschen Universität promoviert haben, und ermittelt den Beitrag zum jeweiligen Hirsch-Index einer Zeitschrift über die letzten fünf Jahre (h5-Index), so ergibt sich das folgende Bild: *Linguistic Inquiry* hat etwa gemäß google scholar im Zeitraum 2008–2013 einen h5-Index von 29, aber die von deutschen Universitäten kommenden NachwuchswissenschaftlerInnen haben dazu nichts beigetragen: 0/29. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* hat ein Verhältnis von 1/24, *Language* 1/23, *Lingua* 0/28, *Phonology* 1/17, *Linguistics* 0/16, *Syntax* 1/8 und *Journal of Linguistics* 2/16.

Ein ähnliches Ergebnis zeigt sich bei der Betrachtung des Anteils von Publikationen von Nachwuchswissenschaftlerinnen deutscher Universitäten

an dem insgesamt in den Top-Journals im Zeitraum 2008-2013 jeweils insgesamt veröffentlichten Output. Klammert man Beiträge zu Psycholinguistik, Computerlinguistik, Phonetik und Semantik grundsätzlich aus (manche der betrachteten Zeitschriften veröffentlichen schließlich auch außerhalb von Phonologie, Morphologie oder Syntax), so ergibt sich bei keiner Zeitschrift ein höherer Prozentsatz als 3.1% (*Journal of Linguistics*, 3/97); bei *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* ist es 2.0% (3/152), bei *Phonology* 1.4% (1/73), bei *Linguistics* 0.8% (2/237), und bei *Linguistic Inquiry* 0% (0/182). In diesem Bereich in der Grammatiktheorie für Veränderung zu sorgen ist das *wissenschaftsorganisatorische* Hauptziel von IGRA.

Demgegenüber ist das zentrale *wissenschaftsinterne* Anliegen des Graduiertenkollegs eine Rückverlagerung des Schwerpunktes grammatiktheoretischer Forschung von eher *repräsentationell* ausgerichteten zu stärker *algorithmisch* orientierten Analysen. Uns geht es also nicht so sehr um die *Repräsentationen* sprachlicher Ausdrücke, sondern mehr um die grammatischen *Bausteine* (Regeln, Operationen, Beschränkungen, Schemata, außersprachliche Faktoren), die die Distribution von sprachlichen Ausdrücken unterschiedlicher Komplexität (vom Laut bis zum Satz) restringieren – sowie, insbesondere, um die *Interaktion* dieser Bausteine. Das Ziel ist eine umfassende, systematische Untersuchung der möglichen Interaktionen grammatischer Bausteine aus verschiedenen theoretischen Perspektiven, auf der Grundlage einer Vielzahl von empirischen Detailuntersuchungen phonologischer, morphologischer und syntaktischer Phänomene aus typologisch unterschiedlichen Sprachen, und unter Einbeziehung sämtlicher verfügbarer Forschungstechniken (introspektiv, experimentell, korpusbasiert).

Die einzelnen Forschungsvorhaben des Graduiertenkollegs nehmen ihren Ausgangspunkt in einer Taxonomie, die zwischen *exzitatorischer* und *inhibitorischer* Interaktion einerseits sowie zwischen *simultaner* und *sequentieller* Interaktion andererseits unterscheidet. Damit ergeben sich vier Interaktionstypen: (a) exzitatorisch sequentiell (Feeding, Counter-Bleeding), (b) inhibitorisch sequentiell (Bleeding, Counter-Feeding), (c) inhibitorisch simultan (Konkurrenz), (d) exzitatorisch simultan (Kooperation).

An Themen, die um diese Interaktionstypen zentriert sind, arbeiten derzeit 9 GraduiertenkollegiatInnen, 2 Postdocs und 12 DozentInnen; jährlich werden im April vier neue GraduiertenkollegiatInnen aufgenommen. IGRA ist international: KollegiatInnen verbringen Aufenthalte an ausgewählten internationalen Linguistik-Instituten (in Cambridge, London, Amherst oder Balti-



more), und es gibt regelmäßig Kompaktkurse durch internationale GastdozentInnen, dazu immer im Juli eine Gastprofessur, die “Brugmann Fellowship”. In IGRA forschen Kollegiatinnen und Postdocs aus verschiedenen Ländern – Deutschland, Frankreich, Ghana, Großbritannien, Kolumbien, Polen, Russland, Serbien –; wir freuen uns, wenn diese Vielfalt noch weiter zunimmt.

Gereon Müller

(Sprecher des Graduiertenkollegs IGRA)



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# Informationen







## Informationen zur Tagung

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<b>Homepage</b>	<a href="http://conference.uni-leipzig.de/dgfs2015/index.php?id=4">http://conference.uni-leipzig.de/dgfs2015/index.php?id=4</a>
<b>Öffnungszeiten des Tagungsbüros</b> (Raum S202, NSG)	Dienstag, 3.3., 16:00-18:00 Mittwoch, 4.3., 8:30-19:00 Donnerstag, 5.3., 8:30-15:00 Freitag, 6.3., 8:30-15:00
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<b>Kontakt</b>	Prof. Dr. Barbara Stiebels Institut für Linguistik Universität Leipzig Beethovenstraße 15 04107 Leipzig <a href="mailto:dgfs2015@uni-leipzig.de">dgfs2015@uni-leipzig.de</a>	



## Anreise nach Leipzig

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**Mit dem Zug** Der Universitätscampus liegt in unmittelbarer Nähe zum Hauptbahnhof (siehe Stadtplan). Bitte verlassen Sie den Hauptbahnhof durch den Hauptaustgang. Überqueren Sie den Bahnhofsvorplatz (Bus-/ Tramhaltestellen) und gehen geradeaus in die Nikolaistr. und folgen dieser; im weiteren Verlauf heißt die Straße dann Universitätsstr. Auf der linken Seite liegt das weiße Seminargebäude. Zwischen Seminargebäude und Mensa ist der Zugang zum Hörsaalgebäude. Für Anreisende mit der S-Bahn ist der Wilhelm-Leuschner-Platz etwas näher.

**Mit dem Flugzeug** Zum Flughafen Leipzig/Halle bestehen Direktverbindungen von Düsseldorf, Köln/Bonn, Frankfurt, Stuttgart und München sowie Wien, Genf, Zürich und anderen europäischen Städten. Vom Flughafen verkehren halbstündlich die S5 und S5X (4,30€, Ticket über EasyGo möglich s.u.) sowie unregelmäßig Intercity-Züge in die Leipziger Innenstadt.

**Mit dem Auto** *Von Norden (A9):* Am Schkeuditzer Kreuz auf die A14 Richtung Dresden, dort Ausfahrt Leipzig-Mitte und über Maximilianstr. und Berliner Straße ins Zentrum fahren. *Von Westen (A38):* Ausfahrt Leipzig Süd nehmen und auf der Wundtstraße ins Zentrum fahren. *Von Süden (A9):* Ausfahrt Leipzig West nehmen und auf der Merseburger Straße ins Zentrum fahren. Achtung! Bei Berufsverkehr häufig Stau – Weg über A38 (s.o.) in Betracht ziehen.

Der Universitätscampus befindet sich direkt am Innenstadtring. Am Augustusplatz ist ein Parkhaus nutzbar.



## Öffentlicher Nahverkehr

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Die Leipziger Verkehrsbetriebe (LVB, [www.lvb.de](http://www.lvb.de)) sind Teil des Mitteldeutschen Verkehrsverbundes (MDV, [www.mdv.de](http://www.mdv.de)). Eine Einzelfahrt in Leipzig (1 Std.) kostet 2,40€, eine Tageskarte 6,50€ (1 Person) bzw. 9,90€ (2 Personen). Damit können alle Busse, Straßenbahnen und S-Bahnen im Stadtgebiet genutzt werden. Android- und iPhone-Nutzer können die kostenfreie App easy.GO zur Fahrplanauskunft und zum Fahrscheinerwerb nutzen ([www.easy-unterwegs.de](http://www.easy-unterwegs.de); QR-Codes an vielen Haltestellen).

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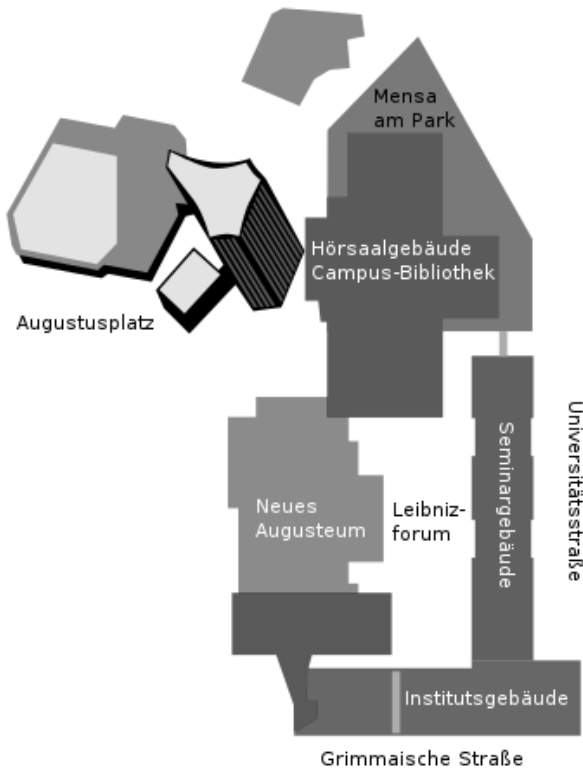
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## Lageplan und Raumverteilung

Die Konferenz findet auf dem innerstädtischen Campus der Universität Leipzig statt. Alle AGs tagen im Hörsaalgebäude (HSG). Die Plenarvorträge finden im Audimax statt. Dieser befindet sich im Neuen Augusteum. Das Tagungsbüro ist im Seminargebäude (NSG), welches im 2. Obergeschoss durch einen Gang mit dem HSG verbunden ist. Im folgenden steht HS für “Hörsaal” (im HSG) und S für “Seminarraum” (im NSG).



Arbeitsgruppen

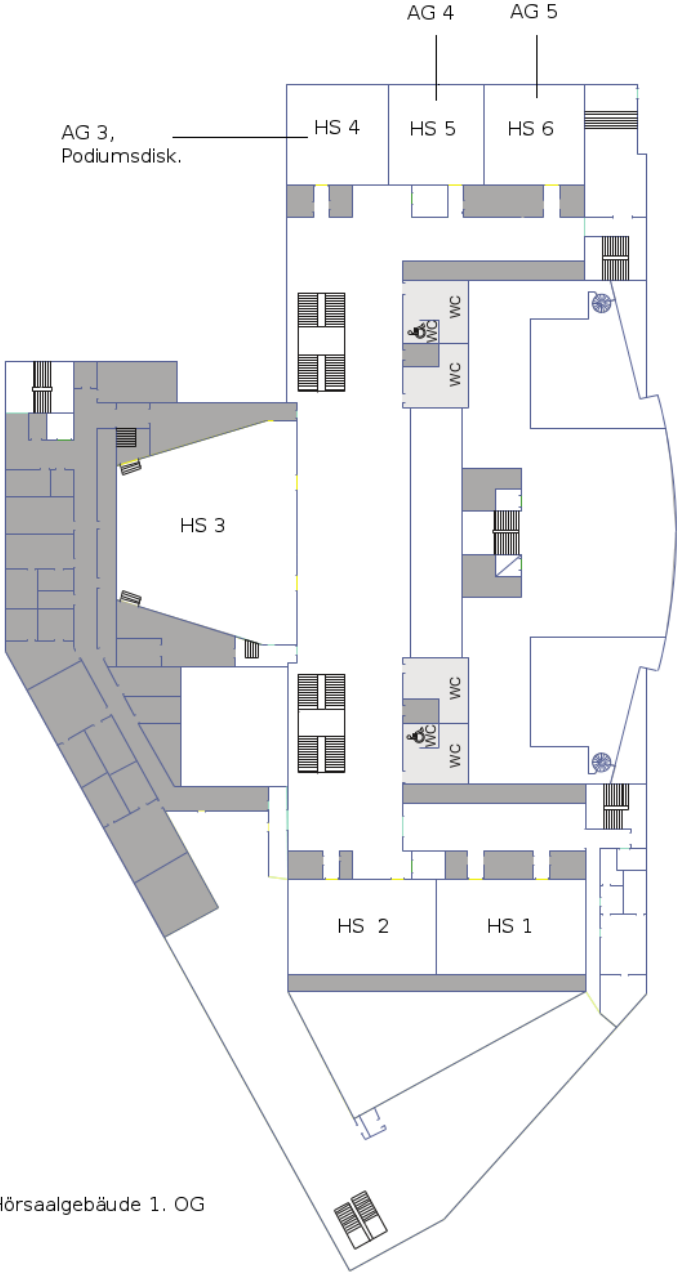
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<b>AG2</b>	<i>Exact repetition in grammar and discourse</i>	HS 14
<b>AG3</b>	<i>What drives syntactic computation? Alternatives to formal features</i>	HS 4
<b>AG4</b>	<i>VO-OV: Correlations of head-complement order in grammar and lexicon</i>	HS 5
<b>AG5</b>	<i>Co- and subordination in German and other languages</i>	HS 6
<b>AG6</b>	<i>The prosody and meaning of (non-)canonical questions across languages</i>	HS 15
<b>AG7</b>	<i>Universal biases on phonological acquisition and processing</i>	HS 19
<b>AG8</b>	<i>Normalität in der Sprache</i>	HS 16
<b>AG9</b>	<i>Varieties of positive polarity items</i>	HS 10
<b>AG10</b>	<i>Perspective-taking</i>	HS 11
<b>AG11</b>	<i>Big data: new opportunities and challenges in language acquisition research</i>	HS 17
<b>AG12</b>	<i>The development of iconic gestures as resources in language acquisition</i>	HS 17
<b>AG13</b>	<i>Proportions and quantities</i>	HS 12
<b>AG14</b>	<i>Modelling conditionality</i>	HS 12



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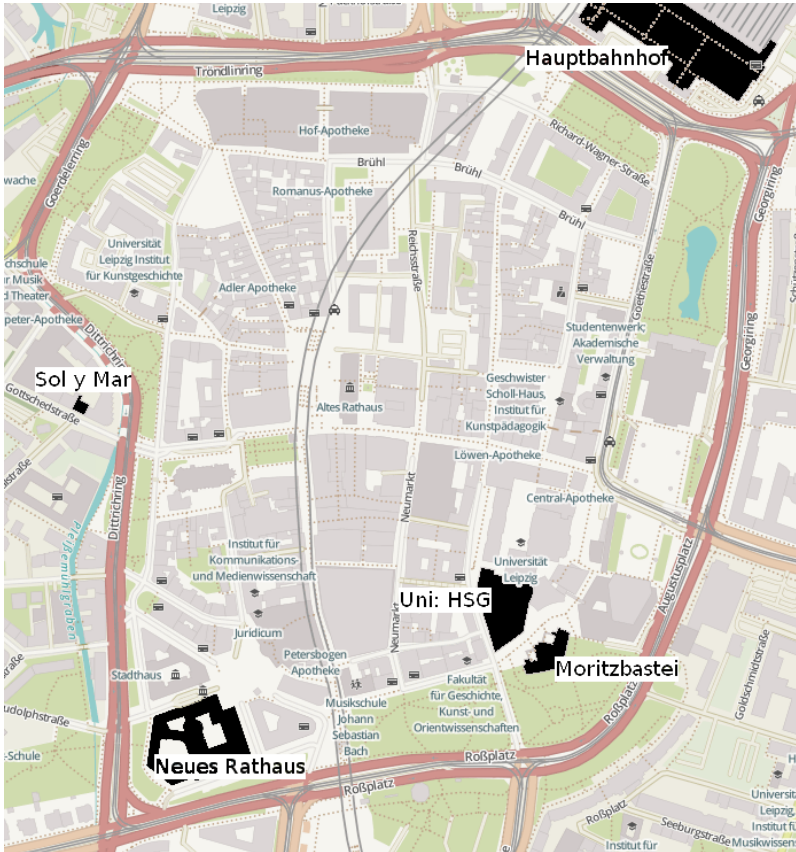
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<b>Doktorandenforum</b>	HS 19
<b>Arbeitskreis Linguistische Pragmatik</b>	HS 13
<b>Podiumsdiskussion “Publikationen”</b>	HS 4
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<b>CL-Tutorium</b>	HS 20











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## Essen und Trinken

Das folgende ist ein Ausschnitt von Restaurants, Kneipen, Bars und Cafés in Leipzig. Die meisten davon liegen im Zentrum. Angegebene Preise beziehen sich auf Hauptgerichte.



### Asiatisch

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>An Nam, Vietnamesisch</i> Gottschedstr. 13	Zentrum 6–9€	täglich 12–24
<i>Pho Viet, Vietnamesisch</i> Katharinenstr. 15 <a href="http://www.phoviet-leipzig.de">www.phoviet-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum 6–15€	täglich 11–23
<i>Chang, Thailändisch</i> Gottschedstr. 18 <a href="http://www.chang-leipzig.de">www.chang-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum 8–17€	Mo–Fr, 12–15 und 17:30–23
<i>Tobagi, Koreanisch</i> Riemannstr. 52 <a href="http://www.tobagi.de">www.tobagi.de</a>	Zentrum Süd 7–14€	täglich 18–23
<i>Mr. Moto, Japanisch</i> Große Fleischergasse 21 <a href="http://www.mrmoto.de">www.mrmoto.de</a>	Zentrum 3–30€	Mo–Mi 12–23, Do–Sa 12–1, So 12–22
<i>Indian Garden Kurkuma</i> Universitätsstr. 16	Zentrum 4–10€	täglich ab 11
<i>Indian Garden</i> Nikolaistr. 40/Ecke Brühl <a href="http://www.indian-garden.de">www.indian-garden.de</a>	Zentrum 5–17€	Mo–So ab 11

### Sächsisch/Gutbürgerlich

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Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Alte Nikolaischule</i> Nikolaikirchhof 2 <a href="http://www.alte-nikolaischule.de">www.alte-nikolaischule.de</a>	Zentrum 10–25€	täglich ab 11
<i>Auerbachs Keller</i> Grimmaische Str. 2–4 <a href="http://www.auerbachs-keller-leipzig.de">www.auerbachs-keller-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum 10–26€	täglich ab 11:30
<i>Thüringer Hof</i> Burgstr. 19 <a href="http://www.thueringer-hof.de">www.thueringer-hof.de</a>	Zentrum 10–22€	täglich ab 11
<i>Barthels Hof</i> Hainstr. 1 <a href="http://www.barthels-hof.de">www.barthels-hof.de</a>	Zentrum 10–20€	täglich 11–24



### Vegetarisch/Vegan

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Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Deli</i> Wolfgang-Heinzestr. 12a <a href="http://www.leipzig-deli.tumblr.com">www.leipzig-deli.tumblr.com</a>	Connewitz 3–5€	Di–Fr 12–22 Sa–So 13–22 und
<i>Symbiose</i> Karl-Liebknechtstr. 112 <a href="http://www.symbiose-leipzig.de">www.symbiose-leipzig.de</a>	Südvorstadt 10–14€	Di–Sa ab 17, So 10–15, ab 17
<i>Vleischerei</i> Zschochersche Str. 23 <a href="http://www.vleischerei.de">www.vleischerei.de</a>	Plagwitz 3–6€	Di–Do 12–23, Sa 13:30–24 und So 13:30–20
<i>Zest</i> Bornaische Str. 54 <a href="http://www.zest.leipzig.de">www.zest.leipzig.de</a>	Connewitz 12–16€	Mi–Mo ab 11

## Südeuropäisch

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Alfredo, Italienisch</i> Riemannstr. 50	Zentrum Süd ab 6,50€	Di–Fr, Sa 18–23 und So 17–23
<i>Don Camillo &amp; Peppone</i> <i>Italienisch</i> Barfußgässchen 11	Zentrum 7–22€	Mo–Fr 7–10:30, Sa–So 8–10:30, So–Do 11–23
<i>Sardinia, Italienisch</i> Nikolaikirchhof 5	Zentrum 9–24€	Mo–Sa 11:30–24
<i>Barcelona, Spanisch</i> Gottschedstr. 12	Zentrum West 3–18€	Mo–Sa ab 17
<i>Café Madrid, Spanisch</i> Klostergasse 3–5 <a href="http://www.cafe-madrid.de">www.cafe-madrid.de</a>	Zentrum 12–29€	Mo–Sa ab 11:30 und So ab 10
<i>Sappho, Griechisch</i> Reichelstr. 1 <a href="http://www.sappho-leipzig.de">www.sappho-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum West 9–18€	Di–So 11–14:30 und 17:30–23



## Modern

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Panorama Tower</i> Augustusplatz 9 <a href="http://www.panorama-leipzig.de">www.panorama-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum 17–27€	Mo–Do 11–24, Sa 11–1 und So 9–23
<i>Telegraph</i> Dittrichring 18–20 <a href="http://www.cafe-telegraph.de">www.cafe-telegraph.de</a>	Zentrum 12–20€	Mo–Fr ab 8 und Sa–So ab 9
<i>Macis</i> Markgrafenstr. 10 <a href="http://www.macis-leipzig.de">www.macis-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum 8–30€	Mo–Sa 8–14:30 und 17:30–22:30

## International

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Aladin, Arabisch, Fast Food</i> Burgstr. 2	Zentrum	täglich 11–23
<i>Acapulco, Mexikanisch</i> Karl-Liebknecht-Str. 42	Südvorstadt 5–20€	täglich ab 16
<i>Beirut Night, Arabisch</i> Münzgasse 7 <a href="http://www.restaurantbeirutnight.de">www.restaurantbeirutnight.de</a>	Zentrum Süd 6–25€	Di–Fr, So 17–24 und Sa 18–24
<i>Shady, Arabisch</i> Körnestr. 2 <a href="http://www.shady-leipzig.de">www.shady-leipzig.de</a>	Südvorstadt 10–20€	Di–Sa ab 17 und So ab 9
<i>Schiller</i> <i>Currywurst bis Französisch</i> Schillerstr. 3 <a href="http://www.restaurant-schiller.com">www.restaurant-schiller.com</a>	Zentrum 7–32€	Mo–Do 10–23  Fr–Sa 10–24 und So 10–18
<i>Vodkaria</i> <i>Nord-Ost-Europäisch (Vodka!)</i> Gottschedstr. 15 <a href="http://www.vodkaria.de">www.vodkaria.de</a>	Zentrum 7–12€	Mo–So 18–1

## Pubs

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>KillyWilly</i> Karl-Liebknechtstr. 44 <a href="http://www.killywilly.de">www.killywilly.de</a>	Zentrum Süd 5–8€	Mo–Mi, So 10–3 und Do–Sa 10–5
<i>McCormacks</i> Karl-Liebknechtstr. 75 <a href="http://www.mc-cormacks.com">www.mc-cormacks.com</a>	Südvorstadt 4,50–10€	täglich ab 17
<i>Morrison's Irish Pub &amp; Restaurant</i> Ritterstr. 38–40 <a href="http://www.morrisons-pub.de">www.morrisons-pub.de</a>	Zentrum 4–15€	Mo–Sa 15–2 So 17–2

## Szene und Bars

Name & Adresse	Lage & Preis	Öffnungszeiten
<i>Pilot</i> Bosestr. 1 <a href="http://www.enk-leipzig.de">www.enk-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum West 5–18€	täglich ab 9
<i>Luise</i> Bosestr. 4 <a href="http://www.luise-leipzig.de">www.luise-leipzig.de</a>	Zentrum West 7–13€	Mo–Sa 9–3 und So 10–3
<i>Beyerhaus</i> Ernst-Schnellerstr. 6 <a href="http://www.beyerhaus.de">www.beyerhaus.de</a>	Zentrum Süd 4–9€	Mo–Sa 19–13 und So 19–24
<i>Café Cantona</i> Windmühlenstr. 29 <a href="http://www.cafecantona.com">www.cafecantona.com</a>	Zentrum Süd 6–24€	Mo–Fr ab 8 und Sa–So ab 9
<i>Kowalski</i> Ferdinand-Rhodestr. 12 <a href="http://www.das-kowalski.de">www.das-kowalski.de</a>	Südvorstadt 5–15€	Mo–Sa 9–24 und So 9–22
<i>Lucca Bar</i> Ratsfreischultstr. 10 <a href="http://www.lucca-bar.de">www.lucca-bar.de</a>	Zentrum 4–12€	Mo–Fr ab 9 und Sa ab 10
<i>Spizz</i> Markt 9 <a href="http://www.spitz.org">www.spitz.org</a>	Zentrum ab 5€	täglich ab 9
<i>Bricks</i> Brühl 52	Zentrum Cocktails ab 6€	täglich ab 20
<i>Sixtina</i> Sternwartenstr. 4 <a href="http://www.sixtina.de">www.sixtina.de</a>	Zentrum Ost Absinth 2,50–8€	Do–So ab 16 und Fr–Sa ab 14







# Programmübersicht und AG-Programme



# Programmübersicht

## Dienstag, 3. März

- 08:45–18:00 Arbeitskreis Linguistische Pragmatik
- 09:30–17:00 DGfS Doktorandenforum
- 10:00–17:00 CL-Tutorium (Sektion Computerlinguistik)
- 15:00–17:30 Workshops Lehramtsinitiative
- 15:30–17:30 Podiumsdiskussion “Linguistikpublikationen”
- 18:00–19:00 Plenarvortrag Lehramtsinitiative
- ab 18:00 Mitgliederversammlung des Arbeitskreises  
Linguistische Pragmatik
- ab 19:00 Warming-up im *Sol y mar*, Gottschedstr. 4

Programm

## Mittwoch, 4. März

- 09:30–10:00 Begrüßung
- 10:00–11:00 Plenarvortrag: Lisa Matthewson  
(University of British Columbia)
- 11:00–11:30 Verleihung des “Wilhelm-von-Humboldt-Preises”
- 11:30–12:30 Plenarvortrag: Mark Baker  
(Rutgers University)
- 12:30–14:00 Mittagspause
- 13:00–14:00 Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS-Sektion Computerlin-  
guistik
- 14:00–16:00 Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
- 16:00–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–18:30 Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
- ab 19:00 Geselliger Abend in der *Moritzbastei*

**Donnerstag, 5. März**

09:00–11:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
11:00–11:30	Kaffeepause
11:30–13:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
13:00–14:30	Mittagspause
13:00–14:30	Poster und Demos der Sektion Computerlinguistik
14:30–18:30	DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung
19:00	Empfang durch die Stadt Leipzig im <i>Neuen</i> Rathaus

**Freitag, 6. März**

09:00–10:00	Plenarvortrag: Juliette Blevins (City University of New York)
10:00–11:00	Plenarvortrag: Tom Wasow (Stanford University)
11:00–11:30	Kaffeepause
11:30–14:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

## AG-Programme

**AG1**

### **Strong versus weak prosodic positions: possible variation and relevance for grammar**

Renate Raffelsiefen & Marzena Żygis

**Hörsaalgebäude, HS 20**

**Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

Programm

- 14:00–15:00 *Rachel Walker*  
The interplay of positional prominence and consonant blocking in vowel harmony
- 15:00–15:30 *Aaron Kaplan*  
Long-distance licensing in Harmonic Grammar
- 15:30–16:00 *Hani Dhanian Samion & Andrew Nevins*  
Onset clusters vs. monosyllabicity in Malay nasal fusion contexts
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:00 *Yanyan Sui*  
The metrical foot in Standard Chinese
- 17:00–17:30 *Violeta Martínez-Paricio & René Kager*  
Prominence relations in a metrical framework with internally layered feet
- 17:30–18:00 *Peter Staroverov*  
Edge-only glide insertion
- 18:00–18:30 *Geoffrey Schwartz*  
Predicting boundaries in Polish and English – a parametric view of strong vs. weak prosodic positions

### Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- 09:00–09:30 *Avivit Ben-David & Outi Bat-El*  
Strong vs. strong, but which is stronger? Stressed and final syllables in language acquisition
- 09:30–10:00 *Conxita Lleó*  
Phonological constituency and prosodic prominence as decisive factors
- 10:00–10:30 *Birgit Alber, Alessandro Vietti & Barbara Vogt*  
Laryngeal neutralization in the first syllable – the case of Tyrolean
- 10:30–11:00 *Renate Raffelsiefen & Fabian Brackhane*  
Constraints on word edges in German
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:30 *Yi Xu*  
Prosodic strength: articulatory-functional mechanisms vs. epiphenomena
- 12:30–13:00 *Kristján Árnason*  
Two types of prominence: Faroese syllable types and rhythm

Programm

### Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:00 *Edoardo Cavirani*  
Modeling phonologization in Lunigiana dialects
- 12:00–12:30 *Barış Kabak & Anthi Revithiadou*  
Domain defining processes at the morpho-syntax-phonology interface
- 12:30–13:00 *Karolina Broś*  
The prosodic word – weak or strong? Evidence from Spanish
- 13:00–13:30 *Ander Egurtzegi*  
The role of prosodic prominence in Basque aspirate distribution
- 13:30–14:00 *Zofia Malisz, Marzena Żygis & Petra Wagner*  
Acoustic correlates of prosodic structure in Polish

## Alternates

*Carolyn Schmid*

An acoustic comparison between stressed and unstressed vowels in Standard Austrian German and Standard German

Programm

## AG2

### Exact repetition in grammar and discourse

Rita Finkbeiner & Ulrike Freywald

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 14

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 14:00–14:30 | <i>Rita Finkbeiner &amp; Ulrike Freywald</i><br>Introduction   |
| 14:30–15:30 | <i>Thomas Stolz</i><br>On telling repetition and reduplication apart. A set of guidelines                  |
| 15:30–16:00 | <i>Vadim Kimmelman</i><br>Repetition, reduplication, and doubling in Russian Sign Language                 |
| 16:00–16:30 | Coffee Break   |
| 16:30–17:00 | <i>Thomas Schwaiger</i><br>The derivational nature of reduplication and its relation to boundary phenomena |
| 17:00–17:30 | <i>Anke Lensch</i><br>A quick fixer-upper of English word-formation reduplication in derivation            |
| 17:30–18:00 | <i>Christoph Petermann</i><br>A corpus-based study on total reduplication in Modern Japanese               |
| 18:00–18:30 | <i>Yanyan Sui</i><br>Reduplication in Standard Chinese   |

Programm

Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 09:00–10:00 | <i>Laurence R. Horn</i><br>The lexical clone: pragmatics, prototypes, and productivity |
| 10:00–10:30 | <i>Chris Cummins</i><br>Repetition versus implicatures and presuppositions             |



- 10:30–11:00 *Sonja Gipper*  
 Repetition and language change: Repeating responses in conversation as amplifiers of linguistic innovations
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Mary Jill Brody*  
 Exact repetition in Tojolab'al Maya
- 12:00–12:30 *Daniela Rossi*  
 Creative uses of reduplication as legitimate instances of total reduplication: arguments from French
- 12:30–13:00 *Kathleen Schumann & Heike Wiese*  
 Exact repetition: the case of focus marking *so* and other German particles

### Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:00 *Rita Finkbeiner*  
 Exact repetition in syntactic constructions: a pragmatic view
- 12:00–12:30 *Kaitlin Cannava*  
 The many forms of repetition: an analysis of ways to measure verbal mimicry
- 12:30–13:00 *Matthias Eitelmann & Britta Mondorf*  
 The role of cognate objects in language variation and change
- 13:00–13:30 *Betül Erbaşı*  
 Turkish doubled verbs as doubled TPs
- 13:30–14:00 *Gerrit Kentner*  
 Rhyme and ablaut reduplication in German

## AG3

## What drives syntactic computation? Alternatives to formal features

Dennis Ott & Radek Šimík

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 4

**Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

- 14:00–14:30 *Dennis Ott & Radek Šimík*  
Introduction
- 14:30–15:00 *Pritha Chandra*  
Agreement variations without uninterpretable features
- 15:00–15:30 *Hedde Zeijlstra*  
Uninterpretable features as triggers for movement: differences between language and music
- 15:30–16:00 *Omer Preminger*  
Syntactic operations exceed what the interfaces can account for
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:00 *Hadas Kotek*  
Against a feature driven view of *wh*-movement
- 17:00–17:30 *Éric Mathieu*  
The *wh*-parameter and radical externalization
- 17:30–18:30 *Norvin Richards*  
tba

**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–09:30 *Jun Abe*  
Dynamic antisymmetry for labeling
- 09:30–10:00 *Andreas Blümel*  
Category avoidance in root contexts – the case of V2C
- 10:00–10:30 *Volker Struckmeier*  
Relational output configurations as alternatives to formal features

- 10:30–11:00 *Ángel Gallego*  
 Criterial positions without features: consequences for  
 labeling and cartography
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Thomas Graf*  
 A computational guide to the dichotomy of features and  
 constraints
- 12:00–13:00 *Gereon Müller*  
 Removal of structure: an argument for feature-driven  
 Merge

### Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:00 *Andrew Murphy*  
 Ellipsis as morphological impoverishment: an alternative  
 to the E-feature
- 12:00–12:30 *Elly van Gelderen*  
 Forced asymmetry causing language change
- 12:30–13:00 *Nagarajan Selvanathan*  
 Movement to FocP without focus features in copula clau-  
 ses
- 13:00–14:00 *Kriszta Szendrői*  
 The syntax of information structure and the PF interface

Programm

### Alternates

- Carlos Munoz-Perez*  
 On set-theoretic chain formation and cyclic movement
- Thomas McFadden & Sandhya Sundaesan*  
 Prosodic EPP, no formal features!
- Halldór Sigurðsson*  
 The computation and formal gender

## AG4

### VO-OV: Correlations of head-complement order in grammar and lexicon

Walter Bisang, Balthasar Bickel, Gisbert Fanselow & Hubert Haider

**Hörsaalgebäude, HS 5**

**Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

- 14:00–15:00 *Matthew Dryer*  
Grammaticalization accounts for word order correlations
- 15:00–16:00 *Jürg Fleischer*  
Areality and OV-VO in central Europe: evidence from the Wenker surveys
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:30 *Stavros Skopeteas*  
Adjunct order in languages with V-final and V-initial VPs
- 17:30–18:30 *Waltraud Paul*  
“Deconstructing” correlations of head-complement order in the grammar: the case of Chinese

Programm

**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–10:00 *Gerard Kempen & Karin Harbusch*  
In spoken German and Dutch, high-frequent finite verbs populate main clauses more densely than subordinate clauses, but much less so in spoken English: a corpus-linguistic study into VO versus OV word order
- 10:00–11:00 *Norvin Richards*  
Selectional contiguity
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:30 *Balthasar Bickel, Walter Bisang, Gisbert Fanselow & Hubert Haider*  
Focusing on SOV in a structural, typological, and field-linguistic perspective

**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

- 11:30–12:30 *Ad Neeleman*  
Two asymmetries between pre- and post-head order and  
their implications for syntactic theory
- 12:30–13:30 *Federica Cognola*  
The correlation between VO and the fronting of question  
words beyond typology

## AG5

### Co- and subordination in German and other languages

Ingo Reich & Augustin Speyer

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 6

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- 14:00–14:30 *Ingo Reich & Augustin Speyer*  
Alternations in co- and subordination: phenomena and challenges
- 14:30–15:00 *Gabriela Matos & Madalena Colaço*  
Coordination, subordination and paratactic relations
- 15:00–15:30 *Rosemarie Lühr*  
Weil-Sätze in altindogermanischen Sprachen
- 15:30–16:00 *Ira Eberhardt*  
German causal conjunction *zumal*: another PAC?
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee break
- 16:30–17:00 *Stefanie Pitsch*  
Syntax and semantics of causal nachdem-clauses in German
- 17:00–17:30 *Alessandra Tomaselli & Ermenegildo Bidese*  
The decline of asymmetric word order in Cimbrian subordination
- 17:30–18:00 *Werner Frey*  
Über verschiedene Realisierungstypen von Kausalsätzen
- 18:00–18:30 *Ulrike Freywald*  
Parataktische Konjunktionen – Syntax, Funktion und Entstehung einer Konnektorenklasse

Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- 09:00–10:00 *Mailin Antomo & Markus Steinbach*  
Dependent V2 – the assertion hypothesis revisited

- 10:00–10:30 *Josep Quer*  
Preposed and postposed adverbial clauses in sign languages: insights from the visual-gestural modality
- 10:30–11:00 *Christian Fortmann*  
Daccapo *je-desto*
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee break
- 11:30–12:00 *Emanuela Sanfelici, Alexander Thiel, Corinna Trabandt & Petra Schulz*  
Alternating V2 and V-final in German relative clauses: new insights from acquisition
- 12:00–12:30 *Hans-Martin Gärtner*  
Approaching V2 from the north: a macrosyntactic view on dependent V2 variation in Icelandic
- 12:30–13:00 *Nicholas Catasso & Roland Hinterhölzl*  
On the question of subordination or coordination in V2 relatives in German

Programm

## Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:30 *Marga Reis*  
Zu einigen rätselhaften Fällen ‘adverbialer’ V2-Subordination im Deutschen
- 12:30–13:00 *Sophie von Wietersheim*  
Binding as evidence for clausal attachment
- 13:00–13:30 *Robert Külpmann & Vilma Symanczyk-Joppe*  
Imperative or “pseudo-imperative”? Argument omission in imperative – and/or – declarative constructions
- 13:30–14:00 *Patrick Brandt, Beata Trawiński & Angelika Wöllstein*  
Kontrolle und Obviation im Polnischen und Deutschen

## Alternates

*Anna Schmidt*

From V3 to V2: temporal clauses and their development on the left periphery

## AG6

### The prosody and meaning of (non-)canonical questions across languages

Daniela Wochner, Nicole Dehé, Bettina Braun,  
Beste Kamali & Hubert Truckenbrodt

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 15

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 14:00–14:30 | <i>Daniela Wochner &amp; Jana Schlegel</i><br>The prosody of rhetorical questions   |
| 14:30–15:00 | <i>Meghan Armstrong</i><br>The early rise-fall as a marker of positive epistemic bias in American English   |
| 15:00–15:30 | <i>Kambiz Elhami</i><br>Reversed polarity questions (RPQs) in American films: corpus based study of relationships of prosodic features and discourse-pragmatic values |
| 15:30–16:00 | <i>Olga Kellert</i><br>The contribution of particles to the rhetorical question interpretation: a case study of Italian particles <i>mai/cazzo/cavolo</i>             |
| 16:00–16:30 | Coffee Break  |
| 16:30–17:00 | <i>Jan Michalsky &amp; Jörg Peters</i><br>Pitch scaling as a marker of interrogativity in canonical questions of German   |
| 17:00–17:30 | <i>Martina Wiltschko &amp; Johannes Heim</i><br>Requesting confirmation with intonation and sentence-peripheral discourse markers                                     |
| 17:30–18:30 | <i>Nancy Hedberg</i><br>Non-canonical question intonation in American English   |

Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 09:00–09:30 | <i>Hubert Truckenbrodt &amp; Beste Kamali</i><br>On wh and F in German and Turkish |
|-------------|--|



- 09:30–10:00 *Diana Forker*  
Question, focus and modality in Nakh-Daghestanian: the case of Sanzhi Dargwa
- 10:00–10:30 *Miriam Butt, Tina Bögel & Farhat Jabeen*  
Immediately postverbal questions in Urdu/Hindi
- 10:30–11:00 *Peter Öhl*  
Interaction of scope and modality: *wh*-words, negation and interrogativity in English, German and Persian
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Daniel Gutzmann & Robert Henderson*  
Expressive questions, much?
- 12:00–13:00 *Sigrid Beck*  
Interpretation of echo-questions

**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

- 11:30–12:00 *Frank Kügler*  
Focal lowering in German interrogatives
- 12:00–12:30 *Tatjana Scheffler*  
Meaning variations in German tag questions
- 12:30–13:00 *Dina El Zarka & Anna Gazdik*  
Question words as topics and foci in Hungarian multiple questions
- 13:00–13:30 Final discussion

## AG7

### Universal biases on phonological acquisition and processing

Dinah Baer-Henney & Natalie Boll-Avetisyan

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 19

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- 14:00–14:30 *Dinah Baer-Henney & Natalie Boll-Avetisyan*  
Universal biases on phonological acquisition and processing: theoretical and methodological issues
- 14:30–15:00 *Outi Bat-El*  
The trochaic bias: Nature or nurture?
- 15:00–15:30 *Brigitta Keij & René Kager*  
The nature of the universal trochaic bias: Dutch-learning and Turkish-learning infants
- 15:30–16:00 *Paul Olejarczuk & Vsevolod Kapatsinski*  
Learnability of weight-sensitive stress by English speaking adults
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee break
- 16:30–17:00 *Christophe dos Santos, Laetitia de Almeida & Sandrine Ferré*  
The ease of labial first: evidence from a non-word repetition task aimed for bilinguals
- 17:00–17:30 *Anne Gwinner & Janet Grijzenhout*  
Universal biases in the realization of weak syllables: A production study with German and Italian-German children
- 17:30–18:30 *Sharon Peperkamp*  
Phonological rule learning and consolidation after sleep

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Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- 09:00–10:00 *Elliott Moreton*  
The comparative study of inductive bias

- 10:00–10:30 *Sophia Kao*  
Phonological learning bias in tone retention
- 10:30–11:00 *Jagoda Bruni, Daniel Duran & Grzegorz Dogil*  
The role of social and functional biases in the investigation of the unintuitive voicing behavior
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee break
- 11:30–12:00 *Job Schepens & Florian Jäger*  
L2 phonological learning in adults: the role of language background, length of exposure, and age of acquisition
- 12:00–13:00 Poster session

### Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:00 *Adam Albright & Youngah Do*  
The source of the paradigm uniformity preference
- 12:00–12:30 *James White, Yun Jung Kim, Adam Chong & Megha Sundara*  
Phonetic similarity as a bias in infant phonological learning
- 12:30–13:00 *Ocke-Schwen Bohn*  
An update on learners' universal bias favoring peripheral vowels in L1 and L2 acquisition
- 13:00–13:30 *Jeannine Schwytay & Barbara Höhle*  
The consonant-vowel-asymmetry in early word learning of German
- 13:30–14:00 *Sho Tsuji, Nienke Dijkstra, Titia Benders, Reiko Mazuka & Paula Fikkert*  
How universal is the special status of coronals in perception? A developmental, crosslinguistic perspective

Programm

### Poster session

- Michael Brooks, Bozena Pajak & Eric Baković*  
Faithfulness bias in learning hidden phonological interactions
- Ewan Dunbar & Emmanuel Dupoux*  
The typology of inventories: Non-trivial patterns without non-trivial bias

*Nadja Kerschhofer-Puhalo*

Biases in non-native vowel identification – universal and/language specific difficulties and preferences

*Christiane Ulbrich & Richard Wiese*

Processing of phonotactic constraints: a cross-linguistic EEG-study

# AG8

## Normalität in der Sprache

Franz d'Avis & Horst Lohnstein

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 16

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- 14:00–14:30 *Franz d'Avis*  
Einführung
- 14:30–15:30 *Franziska Buchmann & Nanna Fuhrhop*  
Was ist normal in der Fremdwortschreibung?
- 15:30–16:00 *Holden Härtl*  
Compounding as deviation from default: a pragmatic perspective
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:30 *Julia Kolkman*  
English pre-nominal possessives as an instance of default interpretations: a pragmatic re-analysis
- 17:30–18:30 *Eva Breindl*  
Konnexion bei Muttersprachlern und bei Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache: Sprachspezifische und über-einzelsprachliche Präferenzen

Programm

Donnerstag, 5.3.2015

- 09:00–10:00 *Sonja Müller*  
Normalität im Diskurs – Implikationsverstärkung in (*halt eben-leben halt*-) Assertionen
- 10:00–11:00 *Maria Mushchinina*  
Zur passiven und aktiven Realisierung von Normvorstellungen bei Fachleuten
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee break
- 11:30–12:30 *Frederike Eggs*  
Das indefinite Personalpronomen *man*

12:30–13:00 *Sven Müller*  
Konzessivität, Normalvorstellungen und Commitment

**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

11:30–12:30 *Daniel Gutzmann & Katharina Turgay*  
Normalexklamationen – normal!

12:30–13:30 *Olav Mueller-Reichau*  
Normal, but not too normal: event properties in Russian  
existential imperfectives

13:30–14:00 Schlussdiskussion

## AG9

**Varieties of positive polarity items**

Mingya Liu &amp; Gianina Iordăchioaia

**Hörsaalgebäude, HS 10****Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

- 14:00–15:00 *Osamu Sawada*  
Varieties of positive polarity minimizers in Japanese
- 15:00–15:30 *Makoto Kaneko*  
Diversity of the source of positive polarity – with special reference to Japanese *WH-ka*
- 15:30–16:00 *Chungmin Lee*  
*Wh*-indefinites as PPIs and *wh*-indefinites plus *-to* ‘even’ as NPIs: In Korean and other languages
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:30 *Anamaria Fălăuș*  
Positive polarity indefinites? On how (not) to identify them
- 17:30–18:00 *Andreea Nicolae*  
The positive polarity aspect of weak disjunction
- 18:00–18:30 *Sumiyo Nishiguchi*  
Bipolar items and positive polarity

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**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–10:00 *Vincent Homer*  
Wide-scope taking PPIs
- 10:00–10:30 *Hedde Zeijlstra*  
Self-anti-licensors: the case of universal quantifier PPIs
- 10:30–11:00 *Manfred Sailer*  
Doing the devil: an unrescuable PPI
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Olga Kellert*  
Positive polarity items under clause-mate negation

- 12:00–12:30 *Elena-Castroviejo & Berit Gehrke*  
On extreme degree and positive polarity
- 12:30–13:00 *Mingya Liu*  
Positive polarity of conventional implicatures

**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

- 11:30–12:30 *Jack Hoeksema*  
Positive polarity predicates
- 12:30–13:00 *Pierre-Yves Modicom*  
Discourse particles as PPIs? Elements from English, German and French
- 13:00–13:30 *Mihaela Zamfirescu*  
Experimental data for the licensing of PPIs in Romanian
- 13:30–14:00 Final discussion

Programm



**AG10**

**Perspective-taking**

Stefan Hinterwimmer, Petra B. Schumacher &  
Hanna Weiland

**Hörsaalgebäude, HS 11**

**Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

- 14:00–14:30 *Stefan Hinterwimmer, Hanna Weiland & Petra B. Schumacher*  
Perspective taking: An introduction
- 14:30–15:00 *Regine Eckardt*  
Speakers and utterances: An event-based analysis of indirect speech
- 15:00–15:30 *Corien Bary*  
Perspective shifts in person and time
- 15:30–16:00 *Susanna Salem, Thomas Weskott & Anke Holler*  
Does narrative perspective influence the spatial point of view in readers' mental representation of a text? A psycholinguistic study on free indirect discourse
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:30 *Barbara Dancygier*  
Viewpoint phenomena in constructions and discourse
- 17:30–18:00 *Johannes Gerwien, Abbassia Bouhaous & Christiane von Stutterheim*  
Typological differences in spatial and aspectual perspective taking in descriptions of dynamic scenes
- 18:00–18:30 *Sonja Zeman*  
Confronting perspectives: Modelling perspectival complexity in language and cognition

Programm

**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–10:00 *Dale Barr*  
Perspective taking and its impostors

- 10:00–10:30 *Jessica Wang, Steven Frisson & Ian Apperly*  
Cognitive load affects theory of mind-use in the director task
- 10:30–11:00 *Kristen Secora, Karen Emmorey, Jennie Pyers & Pamela Perniss*  
Perspective taking in manually-produced spatial descriptions and the role of inhibitory control
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Mindaugas Mozuraitis, Craig G. Chambers & Meredith Daneman*  
Coordinating privileged knowledge about object identity in real-time referential processing
- 12:00–12:30 *John Michael Tomlinson & Camilo Rodríguez Ronderos*  
Perspective-taking and inference: do speakers alter partial answers as a function of their epistemic states?
- 12:30–13:00 *Alessia Tosi, Holly Branigan & Martin Pickering*  
The role of agency, visual awareness and experiential context on visuo-spatial perspective taking

### Freitag, 6.3.2015

- 11:30–12:00 *Elsi Kaiser*  
Perspective-taking and anaphora: a psycholinguistic investigation
- 12:00–12:30 *Dagmar Bittner*  
Emergence of linguistic means of perspectivization in German children's picture book stories
- 12:30–13:00 *Ditte Boeg Thomsen*  
One syllable, two perspectives: children's acquisition of inconspicuous viewpoint constructions
- 13:00–13:30 *Franziska Köder*  
The attraction of self-ascription in children's interpretation of quoted second-person pronouns
- 13:30–14:00 *Daniel Hole*  
Logophoricity and complement pronominalization with German relational nouns

## Alternates

*Lu Zhang, Jan Ries, Barbara Höhle & Isabell Wartenburger*

Perspective taking and common ground effects on reference resolution

*Eleni Peristeri, Ianthi Tsimpli & Georgia Fotiadou*

Exploring perspective-taking in Greek-speaking individuals with High Functioning Autism: insights from the use of pronominals in one-sentence and written narrative contexts

**AG11**

**Big data: new opportunities and challenges  
in language acquisition research**

Christina Bergmann, Alex Cristia & Sho Tsuji

**Hörsaalgebäude, HS 17**

**Mittwoch, 4.3.2015**

- 14:00–15:00 *Katherine Demuth*  
The challenges and rewards of Big Data approaches to language acquisition research
- 15:00–15:30 *Rémi Lavalley & Kay Berkling*  
A hyper-linked web-interface to spellings of words written by children of different ages and school-types
- 15:30–16:00 *Thomas Hills & Hanako Yoshida*  
Using semantic structure to understand language learning in monolinguals and bilinguals
- 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
- 16:30–17:00 *Michelle McGillion, Jane Herbert, Julian Pine & Danielle Matthews*  
A RCT to test the causal role of caregiver contingent talk in infant language learning
- 17:00–17:30 *Nienke Dijkstra, Titia Benders & Paula Fikkert*  
How to handle a big set of baby language data
- 17:30–18:00 *Sonja Eisenbeiss, Massimo Poesio, Victoria Manning & Katherine Youngs*  
The BabyExp corpus, release 1.0 and first findings about child-directed speech
- 18:00–18:30 *Sho Tsuji, Christina Bergmann & Alex Cristia*  
Looking back to move forward: community-augmented meta-analyses

## AG12

### The development of iconic gestures as resources in language acquisition

Friederike Kern & Katharina J. Rohlfing

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 17

**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–10:00 *Erica Cartmill, Miriam Novack & Susan Goldin-Meadow*  
The development of embodied iconicity: representational gesture over the first 5 years of life
- 10:00–10:30 *Reyhan Furman, Paula Marentette & Elena Nicoladis*  
How do young children use iconic gestures in speech disambiguation?
- 10:30–11:00 *Carina Lüke*  
Iconic gestures support novel word learning in children with specific language impairment
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Catherine Laing*  
The iconic mapping of onomatopoeia in early word learning
- 12:00–12:30 *Susanne Vogt & Christina Kauschke*  
Iconic gesture as a resource for word learning in typically developing children and children with specific language impairment
- 12:30–13:00 General discussion

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**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

- 11:30–12:00 *Friederike Kern & Katharina J. Rohlfing*  
Contextual relations of iconic gestures
- 12:00–12:30 *Bettina Radlmaier & Katrin Lindner*  
Examining the integrated system of gesture and prosody in children between 14 and 18 months of age
- 12:30–14:00 General discussion

## AG13

### Proportions and quantities

Uli Sauerland & Stephanie Solt

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 12

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015

- |             |  |
|-------------|--|
| 14:00–14:30 | <i>Dorothy Ahn &amp; Uli Sauerland</i><br>Reversal of proportional quantifiers   |
| 14:30–15:30 | <i>Ricardo Etxepare &amp; Urtzi Etxeberria</i><br>Measures and counters in Basque  |
| 15:30–16:00 | <i>Benjamin Spector</i><br>The source of the ambiguity of numerals   |
| 16:00–16:30 | Coffee Break   |
| 16:30–17:00 | <i>Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin &amp; Ion Giurgea</i><br><i>Le plus</i> and <i>(the) most</i>   |
| 17:00–17:30 | <i>Dominique Blok</i><br>The semantics and pragmatics of directional numeral modifiers   |
| 17:30–18:30 | <i>Chris Kennedy &amp; Elisabeth Coppock</i><br>What do comparative and superlative modifiers have to do with comparatives and superlatives? |

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### Alternates

- Chris Cummins*  
The granularity of fractions
- Viola Schmitt & Hedde Zeijlstra*  
An even weaker theory of number

## AG14

### Modelling conditionality

Eva Csipak & Ryan Bochnak

Hörsaalgebäude, HS 12

**Donnerstag, 5.3.2015**

- 09:00–10:00 *Kai von Fintel*  
Conditionals without *if*
- 10:00–10:30 *Yurie Hara*  
Topicalized interrogatives are conditional questions: a case study of wide-scope exhaustification
- 10:30–11:00 *Christian Wurm & Gisella Ferraresi*  
On the syntax and semantics of German indicative V1 conditionals
- 11:00–11:30 Coffee Break
- 11:30–12:00 *Hadil Karawani*  
What makes counterfactuals counterfactual?
- 12:00–12:30 *Janneke van Wijnbergen-Huitink*  
Differences in counterfactual strength explained
- 12:30–13:00 *Fabienne Martin*  
Tense and aspect in swing conditionals

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**Freitag, 6.3.2015**

- 11:30–12:00 *Desalegn Asfawwesen*  
Accounting for the subordinating use of *-nna* ‘and’ in Amharic
- 12:00–12:30 *Gabriel Roisenberg Rodrigues & Ezra Keshet*  
Conditional conjunctions in Brazilian Portuguese
- 12:30–13:00 *Robert Külpmann & Vilma Symanczyk Joppe*  
Argument omission in conditional imperatives

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- 13:00–13:30 *Anna Mönnich*  
“Wenn du deine Augen zumachst, dann kann dich keiner sehen.” On the semantics of conditionals sentences in L1 acquisition
- 13:30–14:00 *Cleo Condoravdi & Sven Lauer*  
Hypothetical facts and hypothetical ideals in the temporal dimension



# Arbeitsgruppen und Abstracts



## Plenarvorträge

### Discourse particles in Gitksan

Lisa Matthewson / *University of British Columbia*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 10:00–11:00

Discourse particles such as German *ja* or *doch* have a rich tradition of investigation (see Zimmermann 2011, Grosz 2014 for recent overviews), and continue to intrigue researchers due to the analytical challenges they pose. While discourse particles are common cross-linguistically, they are notoriously difficult even to describe accurately – let alone analyze – in a language the researcher does not speak natively. Consequently, they often remain in the ‘too difficult basket’ long after a language has undergone extensive semantic analysis. In this talk I attack the ‘too difficult basket’ from both a general and a specific perspective. I begin by laying out a storyboard-based methodology for investigating discourse particles in a fieldwork situation (Burton and Matthewson 2015). I then illustrate the methodology with respect to two discourse particles in Gitksan, an endangered Tsimshianic language spoken in British Columbia, Canada.

The particles under investigation, *k’ap* and *ist*, both convey a pre-theoretic notion of ‘emphasis’. *K’ap* is glossed as ‘certainly, indeed, for sure’ by Rigsby (1986) and as ‘must, have to, absolutely, simply, really, no getting out of it, no two ways about it, no choice about it’ by Tarpent (1987) (in the closely related Nisga’a). *Ist* is glossed as ‘interact’ by Rigsby and as ‘affirmative’ by Tarpent. I argue that *k’ap* is used when the discourse context provides a contrasting proposition, while *ist* conveys that the speaker wishes to downgrade the Question Under Discussion (following Gutzmann and Castroviejo Miró’s 2011 analysis of verum focus). This analysis captures Tarpent’s (1987) intuition that *ist* conveys a meaning of ‘as you should know’, and correctly predicts that *k’ap* and *ist* can co-occur in contexts where a proposition is both contrary to expectations and obviously settles the QUD.

PV

## Theories of case assignment meet the varieties of ergative and active languages

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Mark Baker / *Rutgers University*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 11:30–12:30

Ergative languages are languages that use a special case marker on the subjects of transitive verbs, which distinguishes them from the subjects of intransitive verbs and from direct objects. Although about one third of the languages that have overt case marking are ergative in this sense, ergative languages have been controversial and problematic for generative theory because case marking and grammatical functions do not line up as smoothly as they do in more familiar accusative languages (i.e. not all subjects get the same case). To address this, three distinct types of theories of ergative case assignment can be identified in the recent generative literature: (i) theories in which case is assigned by designated functional heads under an agreement relationship (Chomsky 2000, 2001), (ii) theories in which ergative is inherent case assigned by *v* to the argument that it theta-marks (e.g. Woolford 2006, Legate 2008); (iii) theories in which ergative case is “dependent case” assigned to the higher of two NPs in the same spell out domain (Marantz 1991, Baker 2014). I begin by briefly comparing the top-down theory-driven predictions of these three approaches for canonical ergative languages like Shipibo and Chukchi, arguing that the predictions of type-(iii) theories are the most accurate.

With this as background, I then turn to typological data, comparing the distribution of true ergative languages to that of so-called active languages – languages in which the subjects of agentive intransitive verbs are marked like subjects of transitive verbs, but subjects of nonagentive intransitive verbs are marked like objects of transitive verbs. I highlight the fact that active languages are, if anything, more common than ergative languages in agreement-rich head marking languages. In contrast, they are notably rarer than true ergative languages in dependent marking languages (see Mithun 1991, Dixon 1995, Comrie 2005, etc.). I show that this is exactly what we expect from dependent case theory, where case on NPs is determined only by the number of NPs in the clause, plus their hierarchical relationship – not by the thematic roles of the NPs or their relationship to agreeing heads. In contrast, the inherent case theory predicts active dependent-marking languages more readily than ergative ones, and the agreement-driven theory predicts no differences in alignment type between head marking languages and dependent marking

languages. I offer this as a positive example of the convergence and synergy that is possible between top-down theoretical research and typological investigations of how linguistic features correlate over a wide range of languages.

Indeed, investigation into the 5-6 languages that have been put forward in this literature as having dependent marking and active systems (Pomo, Georgian, Basque, Hindi, Imondo, Drehu) suggests that in none of those is the case marking truly determined by the argument's thematic role; in each instance there is either lexical idiosyncrasy or a prominent interaction with tense-aspect. In other words, there may in fact be no attested active languages with dependent case marking. If so, that would be an instance of a typological universal explained by a specific theory of how case marking happens in Universal Grammar. (Note: Much of this work has been pursued in collaboration with Jonathan Bobaljik.)

## Phonological diversity: some implications for models of grammar

Juliette Blevins / *City University of New York*  
Freitag, 6.3., 9:00–10:00

PV

The 21st century has brought major advances in our understanding of sound patterns, their phonetic basis, and their cross-linguistic diversity. Properties that were once thought to be universal, from phonological features, to prosodic units like the syllable, have shown themselves to be highly variable across languages, and to sometimes fail at the very specific organizational role they are meant to play within sound systems. In this paper I consider the implications of phonological diversity for models of grammar, with special attention to: rare sound patterns; the origins of statistical tendencies in phonological systems; differences in learnability between spoken and signed language phonology; and phonological change across the lifespan.

## The non-categorical character of most linguistic generalizations

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Tom Wasow / *Stanford University*

Freitag, 6.3., 10:00–11:00

For over half a century, almost all theories of grammar have formulated rules, principles, and parameters in categorical terms, making an absolute distinction between what is generated and what is not. But variation is pervasive in language, and most grammatical generalizations have exceptions or counterexamples. The practice among syntacticians and semanticists of relying on introspective judgments as the primary source of data has made it easier to maintain the fiction that grammatical generalizations hold categorically. Usage data and systematic experiments collecting judgment data demonstrate clearly how extensively (in Sapir's words) "grammars leak". However, many of the discoveries and insights of research in generative grammar over the decades can be salvaged if they are reformulated in probabilistic terms. This is illustrated with selected case studies. Modeling syntactic knowledge in probabilistic terms not only makes accommodating exceptions more straightforward, it facilitates integrating linguistic theory with ideas from psychology, sociology, and other neighboring disciplines.

# Arbeitsgruppe 1

## Strong versus weak prosodic positions: possible variation and relevance for grammar

*Renate Raffelsiefen  
Marzena Żygis*

### Workshop description

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Both phoneticians and phonologists have found reason to distinguish “strong” and “weak” positions referring to constituents of the prosodic hierarchy, including higher constituents, whose boundaries align with morphosyntactic boundaries, as well as lower constituents such as foot and syllable. Strength is commonly associated with initial positions and with stress whereas weakness is associated with non-prominent positions. Reference to strong versus weak positions has been invoked in articulatory phonetics (target overshoot, i.e. enhancement of the duration and/or magnitude of articulatory gestures, in strong positions versus target undershoot in weak position) as well as auditory phonetics (lower rate of misperception in strong positions versus higher rate in weak position). It has also been invoked to account for potential contrast, more distinctiveness being associated with strong positions (cf. the notions of “positional faithfulness” and “positional markedness” in Optimality Theory). Although reference to “strong” versus “weak” positions appears to be universally grounded in prominence and although it seems to be taken for granted that positions considered strong for the purpose of one area of phonetics or phonology implies strength for the purpose of others there is evidence for disparity. For instance, the word-initial position is associated with strong potential contrast by Beckman (1998), whereas Trubetzkoy links both margin positions of words to low contrastiveness (e.g. neutralization of the voicing

AG1

contrast for all consonants in word-initial position in Erza-Mordwin, Trubetzkoy (1958, 212ff). Similarly, the word-initial position is associated with target overshoot (e.g. aspiration of voiceless plosives) in English or German, but also exhibits fewer contrasts in fricatives than for instance the foot-internal position. The latter nonetheless exhibits target undershoot (flapping in American English). In view of these discrepancies, the workshop will provide a forum for phonologists and phoneticians to discuss associations between segmental phenomena and prosodic positions from a cross-linguistic point of view, focusing on questions like:

- Which prosodic positions need to be distinguished in terms of weakness versus strength to account for what sort of phenomenon (enhancement of articulatory gestures, perceptual discriminability, potential contrast).
- To what extent do these phenomena overlap?
- Is there evidence that weak versus strong positions could be language-specific?
- What are the implications for the modeling of grammar, e.g. is there a need to distinguish a phonemic level (contrast) from phonetics, the latter modeled as implementation?

## AG1

### **The interplay of positional prominence and consonant blocking in vowel harmony**

Rachel Walker / *University of Southern California*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–15:00

In this paper I examine consonantal interactions with two types of vowel harmony in Romance dialects – metaphony and post-tonic harmony. Distinct typologies of consonantal blocking are found for each harmony type, supporting metaphony as driven by positional licensing, while post-tonic harmony is a maximal licensing phenomenon, where spreading lacks a target licensing position (Walker 2011). In metaphony, a stressed vowel undergoes height harmony with a post-tonic vowel. In some dialects, metaphony operates from /u/ only when the intervening consonant is palatal or /ll/, both considered to involve tongue body raising (Maiden 1988). For example, in the Valsesia dialect (Spoerri 1918, Maiden 1987), metaphonic raising of /ɛ/ to [e] by /u/



are found only in the reflex of the suffix [ $*\text{'ellu}$ ] as [ $\text{'el}$ ] or before a palatal consonant.

- (1) a.  $\text{i'tf-el}$  'bird'  
 b.  $\text{vetf} < *'\text{vɛkl-u}$  'old (M)'

Post-tonic harmony shows different blocking effects. In some dialects, post-tonic harmony from the final vowel is restricted to transliquid contexts, as in Sant' Oreste (2-a); otherwise a nonfinal post-tonic vowel is neutralized to [i] (2-b) (Elwert 1958, Maiden 1995, Canalis 2009).

- (2) a.  $\text{bif'ʃəkala} < *'\text{stjɔkkola}$  'lizard'  
            $\text{'arbulu} < *'\text{arberu}$  'tree'  
 b.  $\text{'ʃtɛfine} < *'\text{stefanu}$  'Stephen'  
            $\text{'skɔmmida}$  *Ital.*  $\text{'skɔmoda}$  'uncomfortable (F)'

The insight pursued here is that contexts that better support cues for the harmonizing features in stressed position are more likely to allow metaphony. This is analyzed using positional licensing constraints that select contexts that are maximally perceptually robust for the harmonizing features. In particular, a sequence of a stressed vowel and palatalized consonant provides especially robust cues to the harmonizing features, [+high, -low, +ATR].

Unlike metaphony, post-tonic harmony does not spread to a prominent position. Post-tonic harmony is proposed to be driven by a maximal licensing constraint which promotes harmony from vowels in a weak context (post-tonic) to every vowel in the word. Positional faithfulness restricts harmony to the post-tonic domain. Assuming that consonants participate in vowel harmony, I propose that nonliquid consonants block harmony due to a constraint that penalizes features associated across dissimilar segments (Kaun 1995); specifically, GESTURALUNIFORMITY([F], [approx]) restricts harmony to approximants.

This analysis posits two sources for blocking. Blocking by nonliquid consonants is attributed to a lack of similarity between the blockers and triggers, consistent with several patterns of consonantal blocking in the world's languages (McCarthy 1998). In contrast, restriction of metaphony to transpalatal contexts, is understood as an effect of the cues they offer for the harmonizing features.

## Long-distance licensing in Harmonic Grammar

Aaron Kaplan / *University of Utah*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

This paper examines the role of weak positions in assimilation patterns that target prominent positions. In central Veneto, e.g., a post-tonic high vowel triggers raising of the stressed vowel and any vowels between those positions: /órden-i/ → [úrðin-i] ‘order (2sg. pres. ind.).’ In such systems, under Walker’s (2011) OT analysis, LICENSE([F],P) outranks IDENT and requires the feature [F] (e.g. [+high]) to appear in position P (e.g. the stressed syllable).

But under Harmonic Grammar these constraints are pathological. Assimilation requires  $w(\text{LICENSE}) > w(\text{IDENT})$ . Failure to assimilate violates LICENSE once, and spreading to  $n$  segments violates IDENT  $n$  times. Increasing the distance between the trigger and target increases IDENT’s penalty, and for any weights, eventually  $n(w(\text{IDENT})) > w(\text{LICENSE})$ : if there are too many intervening positions, spreading becomes less harmonic than failure to spread. For example, if  $w(\text{LICENSE}) = 5$  and  $w(\text{IDENT}) = 2$ , spreading to two positions occurs (/ée-i/ → [íi-i]), but not spreading to three (/éee-i/ → [éee-i]). In both cases, failure to spread incurs a penalty of  $-5$  (one LICENSE violation). Assimilation has a penalty of  $-4$  in the first case (two IDENT violations) and  $-6$  in the second (three violations). Languages like this are unattested.

The solution developed here reinterprets LICENSE as a positive constraint (Kimper 2011): it rewards spreading to the prominent target and any intervening positions. This counters IDENT’s increasing penalties because the reward for spreading increases with the number of intervening positions. For assimilation to  $n$  positions, LICENSE gives a reward of  $n(w(\text{LICENSE}))$ , and IDENT a penalty of  $-n(w(\text{IDENT}))$ . Under  $w(\text{LICENSE}) > w(\text{IDENT})$ , assimilation always receives a positive score and is most harmonic because the no-spreading candidate has a score of 0 (no penalty/reward from IDENT or LICENSE).

This result provides support for positively formulated constraints, which require implementation in Serial HG to avoid runaway derivations (Kimper 2011); therefore, the necessity of positive LICENSE argues for Serial HG. More broadly, weak positions that participate in prominence-targeting processes shed light on the proper formulation of prominence-based constraints.

**References:** Kimper, Wendell. 2011. *Competing Triggers: Transparency and Opacity in Vowel Harmony*. PhD Thesis, Univ. of Massachusetts, Amherst. • Walker, Rachel. 2011. *Vowel Patterns in Language*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

## Onset clusters vs. monosyllabicity in Malay nasal fusion contexts

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Hani Dhanial Samion, Andrew Nevins /  
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Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

In an experimental task of nasal fusion in Malay monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems with varying onset complexities and initial syllable weight, results exhibit productivity of non-fusion and zero-schwa in nonce words. It appears that the complexity of the onset holds a heavier influence on the licensing of nasal fusion in comparison to syllable size. This study suggests that a word minimality condition, MINWd, as mentioned by Topintzi (2013), is at work. Striking evidence is derived from clustered onsets in monosyllables, where despite maintaining their monosyllabicity on the surface, appear to behave similarly to disyllables. The consonant cluster in /plag/ contributes to the weight of the onset, with the first segment /p/ bearing a mora of its own, thereby automatically satisfies the MINWd condition. On the other hand, non-clustered monosyllables, for instance /pos/, are supplemented with schwa epenthesis in order to satisfy this condition. This is in line with Gil (2013), who proposed the spreading of a complex onset into two syllables within a core foot. This study proposes a new set of constraints and hierarchy to account for the role of clusters in various syllable sizes. No other work has uncovered a different role of consonant clusters in monosyllables, which makes the debate about it more refined.

**References:** Gil, David. 2013. Monosyllabic words, foot structure, ludlings and dialectal variation in Malay/Indonesian. Paper presented at the *Seventeenth International Symposium on Malay/Indonesian Linguistics*, Universitas Bung Hatta, Padang, Sumatra Barat, Indonesia. • Topintzi, Nina. 2010. *Onsets: Suprasegmental and prosodic behaviour*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

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## The metrical foot in Standard Chinese

Yanyan Sui / *Nankai University*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

**Hypothesis:** This paper argues for a foot level representation in the prosodic hierarchy of Standard Chinese, and it articulates that Standard Chinese has a generalized trochee (Kager 1992) system with word-initial stress – syllabic trochees are created cyclically regardless of syllable weight, when syllabic trochees cannot be created, monosyllabic bimoraic trochees are formed, but monomoraic feet are prohibited.

**Phonological evidence** Tonal contrasts are sustained in metrically strong positions, but can be neutralized in metrically weak positions. In metrical heads not only underlying tonal associations are maintained, but when a toneless syllable is placed in a foot-head through a morphological process such as reduplication, a high-level tone is inserted, [(biè **niū** /niǔ/)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘awkard’ > [(biè bie /biè/)<sub>Ft</sub> (**niū** niū)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘very awkward’. In contrast, toneless syllables are restricted to metrical non-heads, *hú-zi* ‘beard’, *wěi-ba* ‘tail’, and underlying tones can be deleted in metrically weak positions, [(dè zui~**zui** /zui/)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘offend’, [(dǐng **zhen** /zhēn/)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘thimble’. Systematic tonal alternations in accordance to metrical structure are observed in verb-particle constructions. The particles preserve tones in metrical heads but become toneless in metrically weak positions, [(chū **lai** /lái/)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘come out’, [(chū -bu /bù/-)<sub>Ft</sub> (**lái**)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘cannot come out’.

**Phonetic evidence** Strong and consistent patterns are exhibited in the acoustic properties of tones and segments in different syllable positions of words. The study of 1997 Mandarin Broadcast News (HUB4-NE) corpus (LDC98S-73, LDC98T24) shows that in metrical heads tones tend to be realized more faithfully to their tonal templates – high tones tend to be realized even higher, low tones even lower, and the rising and the falling tones tend to have steeper tonal slopes, meanwhile, vowels tend to be realized more peripheral in the F1/F2 vowel space. But in metrically weak positions tones are susceptible to reduction, and vowels tend to be centralized. Durational enhancement is also shown in metrical heads. Final lengthening in polysyllabic words and before a pause in utterance medial positions is distinguished from durational

enhancement in metrical heads. Final lengthening demarcates boundaries of higher prosodic constituents.

**Morphological evidence** The placement of infixes makes reference to metrical structure. Infixes are placed restrictively to metrically weak positions, *hù du* ‘muddled’ > [(hú **-li-**)<sub>Ft</sub> (hú dū)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘very muddled’, *suān jī jī* ‘unpleasantly sour’ > [(suān **-bu-**)<sub>Ft</sub> (jī jī)<sub>Ft</sub> ]<sub>Wd</sub> ‘unpleasantly sour’.

**Discrepancies of prominence judgments from metrical structure** Reference to metrical structure is also involved in native speakers’ judgments of the prominence patterns of words. Based on findings from Deng (2010), utterance-medially before no pause, syllables in metrical heads show a strong tendency to be judged prominent, but meanwhile, prominence judgment is susceptible to the influence of various factors including tone and final lengthening effect, especially in metrically weak positions where the metrical strength is lacking. As a result, prominence judgment may not faithfully represent metrical structure output. Grammatical implications: The congruent evidence from phonological, morphological and phonetic aspects suggest that metrical structure determines the distribution and the phonetic realization of tones and segments in words, as well as the placement of infixes. It is necessary to assume the metrical foot in Standard Chinese. And the metrical constituent of foot comprises the prosodic level between syllable and prosodic word in the prosodic hierarchy of Standard Chinese, although metrical structure is not primarily employed to distinguish word meanings in Chinese.

**References:** Deng, Dan. 2010. *Hanyu Yunluci Yanjiu. An experimental study of Chinese prosodic word*. Peking University, Beijing. • Kager, René. 1992b. Shapes of the generalized trochee. In J. Mead (ed.), *The Proceedings of the Eleventh West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 298–312. CSLI, Stanford. Publications. • 1998, 1997 Mandarin Broadcast News Speech (HUB4-NE). Linguistic Data Consortium, Philadelphia.

## Prominence relations in a metrical framework with internally layered feet

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<sup>2</sup>*Utrecht University*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

In recent developments of metrical stress theory, a weak syllable may occasionally be adjoined to an adjacent foot  $Ft^x$ , giving rise to an intermediate foot layer between  $Ft^x$  and the prosodic word, e.g.  $[((\sigma_s \sigma_w)_{Ft} \sigma_w)_{Ft}]_{PrWd}$ . Numerous studies have shown that reference to this layered foot provides a unified account of a wide range of metrically-conditioned phenomena: the maximum size of stress windows (Caballero 2008, Kager 2012), binary and ternary rhythmic stress patterns (Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2013, based on Selkirk 1980, Prince 1980, Hayes 1980) and several cases of foot-conditioned phonotactics and tonotactics (Davis 2005, Bennett 2012, 2013, Martínez-Paricio 2013, Buckley 2014).

The goal of our talk is to demonstrate that there is yet another theoretical and descriptive advantage of the internally layered foot (ILF): it allows to account for a greater number of phonological strength distinctions, which go well beyond the dual weak vs. strong dichotomy. We will argue that these strength subdivisions are crucially needed in the account of various phonological augmentation and weakening processes, as well as several cases of foot-conditioned phonotactics. Note that once a language allows ILF, its phonology might exploit the structural difference between three types of unstressed syllables (i.e. the dependent of a foot, the adjunct of an IL foot, an unfooted syllable) and two types of strong syllables (i.e. the head of a foot and the head of an IL foot, the latter being stronger due to its double-headed status) and hence, a framework with ILF provides an optimal model to account for subtle strength distinctions, branching out the traditional foot-head vs. foot-dependent contrast.

The bulk of our talk will be dedicated to the analysis of three Dutch foot-conditioned processes, which need to distinguish various degrees of strength: (i) vowel reduction, (ii) glottal insertion and (iii) [h] preservation/deletion. However, additional phonological processes in other Germanic (English, Old English) and non-Germanic languages (Wargamay, Yidiny, Chugach, Gilbertese) will be discussed in support of the idea that languages may differentiate

between more than one type of strong position and more than one weak position. In the course of our talk we will also corroborate the hypothesis that the relative strength of the constituents of a foot is not only determined by their head/dependent status, but also by their relative position within the foot, with the foot-initial constituents being generally stronger (and/or more eager to strengthen) than foot-medial and foot-final constituents (Kiparsky 1979, Leer 1985, Bennett 2013).

## Edge-only glide insertion

Peter Staroverov / *Universität Leipzig*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:00

Edge-only glide insertion is predicted by the theories of prosodic structure where relative strength is related to prosodic hierarchy, such as Generalized Alignment (McCarthy & Prince 1993) or Onset/PCat (Flack 2007; 2009). On the other hand, evolutionary or distinctiveness-based approaches to epenthesis (Blevins 2008; Steriade 2008; Uffmann 2007) predict that edge-only insertion of glides should be rare or non-existent. A detailed study of the reported cases of edge-only glide insertion shows that none of these cases are robust, contrary to the predictions of purely structural theories.

**Problem** Many OT theories of prosodic structure incorporate a requirement that higher-order prosodic constituents start with a consonant (Flack 2007; 2009; Itô & Mester 1999; McCarthy & Prince 1993). Given the general setup of OT, such a requirement predicts that glide insertion, which commonly fills word-medial onsets, should also occur at word or phrase edges in languages where word-medial vowel sequences are allowed (hence *edge-only*).

However, homorganic glides are perceptually most similar to vocalic transitions (Delattre et al. 1955; Liberman et al. 1956; O'Connor et al. 1957). Therefore, word-medial vowel sequences are the most likely source for a glide percept (Blevins 2008; Steriade 2008). Similarly, in the intervocalic environment, inserted glides are minimally distant from their surroundings in sonority (Uffman 2007). In word- or phrase-initial position, there is no common diachronic or perceptual source for epenthetic glides (Blevins 2008), and the sonority requirements are arguably the opposite of word-medial (Uffman 2007). Thus if the occurrence of epenthetic glides is related to their relatively low distinctiveness, edge-only glide insertion should be rare or non-existent.

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**Analysis** This paper presents a detailed analysis of reported edge-only glide insertion in Woleaian, Koya, and Tamil. The existing sources on Koya (Subrahmanyam 1968; Tyler 1969) do not provide enough data to support edge-only glide insertion. In Tamil, glide-zero alternations are attested both word-medially and word-initially (Christdas 1988), and both of these alternations can be analyzed as insertion (Wiltshire 1998). Finally, a novel survey of Woleaian data (Sohn 1972; Sohn 1975; Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976) demonstrates that glide insertion in this language occurs both word-initially and word-medially. To summarize, the reported cases of edge-only glide insertion do not survive close scrutiny.

**Conclusion** The results of the present study do not support the existence of edge-only glide insertion, and hence they cast doubt on the theories where prosodic strength and prosodic well-formedness is determined in purely structural terms.

**References:** Blevins, Juliette. 2008. Consonant epenthesis: natural and unnatural histories. In J. Good (ed.): *Linguistic Universals and Language Change*. OUP, Oxford. • Christdas, Prathima. 1988. *The phonology and morphology of Tamil*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University. • Delattre, Pierre C., Alvin M. Liberman & Franklin S. Cooper. 1955. A coustic loci and transitional cues for consonants. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 27: 769–773. • Flack, Kathryn. 2007. *The sources of phonological markedness*. PhD dissertation, Umass Amherst. • Flack, Kathryn. 2009. Constraints on onsets and codas of words and phrases. *Phonology* 26: 269–302. • Itô, Junko & Armin Mester. 1999. Realignment. In R. Kager, H. v.d. Hulst & W. Zonneveld (eds.): *The prosody-morphology interface*, 188–217. CUP, Cambridge. • Liberman, Alvin M., Pierre C. Delattre, Louis J. Gertsman & Franklin S. Cooper. 1956. Tempo of frequency change as a cue for distinguishing classes of speech sounds. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 52: 127–137. • McCarthy, John J. & Alan Prince. 1993. Generalized Alignment. Ms, UMass Amherst and Rutgers University. • O'Connor, Joseph D., Louis J. Gertsman, Alvin M. Liberman, Pierre C. Delattre & Franklin S. Cooper. 1957. Acoustic cues for the perception of initial /w, j, r, l/ in English. *Word* 13: 24–43. • Sohn, Ho-min. 1972. *a*-raising in Woleaian. *University of Hawaii working papers in linguistics* 3: 15–36. • Sohn, Ho-min. 1975. *Woleaian reference grammar*. University Press of Hawaii. • Sohn, Ho-min & Anthony F. Tawerilmang. 1976. *Woleaian-English dictionary*. University Press of Hawaii. • Steriade, Donca. 2008. The Phonology of Perceptibility Effects: the P-map and its consequences for constraint organization. In K. Hanson & S. Inkelas (eds.): *The Nature of the Word: Essays in Honor of Paul Kiparsky*, 151–180. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. • Subrahmanyam,



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## Predicting boundaries in Polish and English – a parametric view of strong vs. weak prosodic positions

Geoffrey Schwartz / Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

The prosodic hierarchy has traditionally been seen as an autonomous phonological entity that is imposed from ‘above’, while segments are assumed to reside at a ‘lower’ level. Segments are typically linked to higher-level structures by means of association lines. In this presentation, I will argue that association lines constitute a representational barrier that has crept into the consciousness of phonologists from nearly all theoretical backgrounds. As a consequence, a descriptive priority in traditional work, identifying the appropriate prosodic domains to capture a given segmental generalization, has avoided the important question of where those domains come from in the first place. Consider English *got you* and Polish *kot jest* ‘the cat is’. In English, whatever boundary that may be posited between the lexical items *got* and *you* is typically absent, allowing for the coalescence of the /t/ and /j/ into an affricate (*got-cha*). In the Polish example, there is no coalescence. A boundary is clearly present. Polish speakers do not pronounce \*/kotɕest/. Why does the boundary appear in Polish but not in English? One might invoke prosodic weakness of the pronoun *you* in English. However, this merely restates the observation that there is no boundary. It offers no explanation for the fact that in Polish *kot jest brudny* ‘the cat is dirty’, in which the word *jest* may also be weak (with the final /t/ deleted), the boundary-spanning /tj/ remains intact without any coalescence. Language-specific differences in prosodic boundary formation may be explained in the Onset Prominence framework (OP; Schwartz 2013), in which segments and prosodic constituents are built from the same representational materials. Association lines are eliminated and the formation of

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prosodic boundaries falls out naturally from the standard phonotactic mechanisms of the framework. One such mechanism, submersion, provides a parametric view of prosodic ‘weakness’ to give a unified explanation for a number of apparently unrelated aspects of Polish and English phonology. We will illustrate how these facts are derived from parameter in the OP framework, showing the compatibility of OP representations with phonetic findings, and outlining predictions for future phonetic study.

### **Strong vs. strong, but which is stronger? Stressed and final syllables in language acquisition**

Avivit Ben-David, Outi Bat-El / *Tel-Aviv University*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–9:30

Studies on language acquisition identify two strong positions – final syllable and stressed syllable (Echols & Newport 1992, Gerken 1994). This observation is based primarily on target-production correspondence, where target unstressed non-final syllables are truncated while stressed and final syllables are preserved in children’s productions (e.g. Arabic *bārtāqālā* → *qālā* ‘orange’, Hebrew *télefon* → *téfon* ‘phone’, Russian *sabāka* → *bjāka* ‘dog’).

In both adults and children’s languages, a stressed syllable is considered a strong position, probably for the same reason: due to the acoustic prominence of stressed syllables, their segmental content is more accessible and thus resists alternation.

The difference between adults and children’s languages arises with respect to the two edges (Dinnsen & Farris-Timble 2008): in adults’ languages, the left edge is strong (Beckman 1998, Steriade 2001) while in children’s languages the right edge is a strong. This difference can be exemplified with truncation of the name *daniéla*: an infant truncates it to *éwa* / *éla* while an adult to *dáni*.

Two questions will be addressed in this talk. The 1st question is: *Which of the two strong positions in children’s languages is stronger, the stressed or the final syllable?* We will provide quantitative data from Hebrew and Arabic suggesting that the final syllable is stronger than the stressed one. We will show that children make significantly more errors in stressed syllables than in final ones, where errors refer to syllable truncation, consonant deletion, and segmental substitution (harmony and context-free).

The 2nd question is: *Why is the left edge strong in adults' grammars while the right edge in children's grammar?* The two edges have different functions (Beckman 1998): The left edge facilitates word recognition (Marslen-Wilson 1987, Marslen-Wilson & Zwitserlood 1989), as processing proceeds left-to-right. The right edge, like a stressed syllable, is perceptually stronger due to the extended duration of the vowel. During their early stages of acquisition, children are not preoccupied with word recognition but rather with word perception, as they still have to establish a lexicon. Therefore they attend to the right edge and neglect the left one.

We will emphasize in the talk the distinction between the two types of strengths, processing/recognition and perceptual, and highlight the difference between child and adults' languages.

**References:** Beckman, Jill. 1998. *Positional Faithfulness*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. • Dinnsen, Daniel A. & Ashley W. Farris-Timble. 2008. The prominence paradox. In D.A. Dinnsen & J. Gierut (eds): *Optimality Theory, Phonological Acquisition, and Disorders*, 277-308. Equinox, London. • Echols, Catherine & Elissa Newport. 1992. The role of stress and position in determining first words. *Language Acquisition* 2: 189-220. • Gerken, LouAnne. 1994. A metrical template of children's weak syllable omission from multisyllabic words. *Journal of Child Language* 21: 565-584. • Marslen-Wilson, William. 1987. Functional parallelism in spoken word recognition. *Cognition* 25: 71-102. • Marslen-Wilson, William & Pienie Zwitserlood. 1989. Accessing spoken words: The importance of word onset. *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 15: 576-585. • Steriade, Donca. 2001. Directional asymmetries in place assimilation. In E. Hume & K. Johnson (eds): *The role of speech perception in phonology*, 219-250. Academic Press, San Diego.

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## Phonological constituency and prosodic prominence as decisive factors

Conxita Lleó / Universität Hamburg  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:30-10:00

Phonological theory assumes a correspondence between strong/weak prosodic positions and strong/weak segments. Such a correspondence is confirmed in L1 phonological acquisition, both in perception and production:

1. Perception. Gerken 1992 shows that function words are better perceived in the first, prominent syllable of a trochee than in the second, less

prominent syllable. Moreover, function words are hardly perceived if they belong to an unfooted syllable.

2. Production. Children truncate unfooted syllables more often than footed ones, truncation appearing more often in Germanic than in Romance languages (Lleó & Demuth 1999, Lleó 2002). Moreover, unfooted syllables are reduced under reduplication (Lleó 1989).

It is important to note that unfooted syllables are often in initial position, as e.g. the first syllable of *ba.na.na*. However, word initial syllables may also constitute a strong position, as e.g. in relation to aspiration of stops in German and English, or glottal stop insertion in German.

A relevant question to ask on the basis of these data is how to define strong/weak prosodic positions. Often the definition is based on location: i.e. initial vs. non-initial positions. However, the initial syllable of a certain metrical foot (the trochee) is strong for being the prominent syllable of a metrical constituent, not for being initial. Moreover, unfooted syllables are in extrametrical positions. Thus, what counts is the fact that feet are metrical/prosodic units, whereas unfooted syllables are extrametrical/extraprosodic units. In the Germanic and Romance languages what counts is constituency more than spatial location, and the definition of positional strength should be based on constituency. However, the two language families are different with regard to the effects of constituency, being greater in Germanic than in Romance. The difference is related to the Germanic languages being stress-timed and the Romance languages being syllable-timed, because stress-timed languages have a larger difference of prominence than syllable-timed languages. This can also be observed in the diachronic development from Latin to Romance. Although Spanish goes through stages of simple syllables, it also enters a certain “anomalous” stage, in which under Germanic influence, vowels are deleted and the hanging consonantal onsets become codas that close the previous open syllable (Lleó 2003).

Once more it becomes clear that both phonetics and phonology must run together. Although the initial definition was based on constituency (i.e. phonology), the prominence difference between stressed and unstressed syllables (i.e. phonetics) makes an important contribution, too.

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Markedness in the Acquisition of Complex Prosodic Structures by German-Spanish Bilinguals. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 6: 291–313. • Lleó, Conxita. 2003. Some Interactions between Word, Foot and Syllable Structure in the History of the Spanish Language. In D.E. Holt (ed.): *Optimality Theory and Language Change*, 249–283. Kluwer, Dordrecht. • Lleó, Conxita & Kathrine Demuth. 1999. Prosodic Constraints on the Emergence of Grammatical Morphemes: Crosslinguistic Evidence from Germanic and Romance Languages. In A. Greenhill, H. Littlefield & Ch. Tano (eds.): *Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development* 2: 407–418. Cascadilla Press, Somerville.

## Laryngeal neutralization in the first syllable – the case of Tyrolean

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Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

The first syllable of the word is usually considered to be a psychologically prominent position, important for word-recognition, where contrasts are preserved, rather than neutralized (Beckman 1998). However, our acoustic study of Tyrolean (Southern Bavarian) shows that there are languages where contrasts are neutralized, in this position (see Mascaró & Wetzels 2001 for a similar pattern in Bakairi). Tyrolean speakers vary from complete neutralization of the laryngeal contrast of [voice] for stops in word-initial position to preservation of contrast in at least part of their production. Neutralization, furthermore, correlates with place of articulation (POA): labials are neutralized more often than velars and velars more often than alveolars. Outside of the first syllable of the word, Tyrolean follows the typical Standard German (SG) pattern where obstruent contrasts are preserved in the syllable onset and neutralized in the coda. Differently from SG, stops are not aspirated. The following data illustrates the distribution of word-initial contrast for speakers who preserve it only for alveolars:

- |     |                                       |  |   |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| (1) | [p]aam<br>[t]iir vs. [d]ir<br>[k]iebl | compare with SG: [b]aum<br><br>compare with SG: [g]iebel | ‘tree’<br>‘door’/‘you’ (2SG,DAT)<br>‘gable’ |
|-----|---------------------------------------|--|---|

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We follow Smith (2002), who claims that the only markedness constraints targeting the first syllable of the word – and thus leading to neutralization – are constraints favoring left-edge demarcation. She proposes a series of  $[\ast\text{Onset}/X]/\sigma 1$  constraints organized in a universal markedness hierarchy, banning respectively glides, rhotics, laterals, nasals, voiced obstruents and voiceless obstruents from the onset of the first syllable of the word:

- (2)  $[\ast\text{Onset}/\text{Gli}]/\sigma 1 \gg [\ast\text{Onset}/\text{Rho}]/\sigma 1 \gg [\ast\text{Onset}/\text{Lat}]/\sigma 1 \gg$   
 $[\ast\text{Onset}/\text{Nas}]/\sigma 1 \gg [\ast\text{Onset}/\text{D}]/\sigma 1 \gg [\ast\text{Onset}/\text{T}]/\sigma 1$

Our data show that although  $[\ast\text{Onset}/X]/\sigma 1$  constraints successfully account for word-initial neutralization, they cannot be organized in a universal markedness hierarchy, since in Tyrolean voiced stops are banned from word-initial position while glides, rhotics, laterals and nasals are allowed. Tyrolean shows us furthermore that word-initial neutralization is sensitive to POA. We account for the Tyrolean pattern with a freely rankable family of set inclusion constraints which are in a stringency relation to each other (Prince 1999) and target sets of places of articulation:

- (3) a.  $\ast\text{OnsetB}/\sigma 1$ : no voiced labial stops in the onset of  $\sigma 1$   
b.  $\ast\text{OnsetB, G}/\sigma 1$ : no voiced labial and velar stops in the onset of  $\sigma 1$   
c.  $\ast\text{OnsetB, G, D}/\sigma 1$ : no voiced labial, velar and alveolar stops in the onset of  $\sigma 1$

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Depending on the position of these constraints with respect to the faithfulness constraint IDONSLAR (Lombardi 1999) favoring faithful realization of voiced stops in onsets, speakers will neutralize contrast in initial position for all POA, for a subset of POA, or preserve contrast.

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## Constraints on word edges in German

Renate Raffelsiefen, Fabian Brackhane / IDS Mannheim

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

This paper sets out to compare the contrastive potential and the evidence for phonetic strengthening processes in various prosodic positions in German. The positions include both margins of phonological words, the foot-initial strong syllable, and the foot-internal onset (of a weak syllable). It will be shown that maximal contrastiveness and phonetic strength correlate for the foot-initial strong syllable. Specifically the maximal contrast of 15 vowel qualities correlates with the position of maximal lengthening of tense vowels in German. By contrast, the word-initial position and the foot-internal onset show a disparity between the properties in question. The word-initial position exhibits a reduced potential for contrast, compared to the foot-internal onset, yet it is marked by phonetic enhancement (aspiration, glottalization). The evaluation of the word-final position in German hinges upon controversial issues, which will be briefly discussed. These findings agree with Trubetzkoy's notions of "centrifugal neutralization", which associates both margins of the word/morpheme with neutralization of contrast, and "reductive neutralization", which associates syllables other than those carrying stress or tone with neutralization (1958, 212ff). If valid cross-linguistically, they would support a restriction of positional faithfulness constraints to syllables carrying stress or tone. "Centrifugal neutralization" motivates positional markedness constraints targeting word and morpheme edges. The findings further indicate the need to distinguish a phonemic level of representation from phonetic implementation. Word margins are frequently subject to articulatory strengthening processes, whereas foot-internal onsets of weak syllables, which may exhibit maximal contrast, are perhaps never singled out for that purpose.

**References:** Trubetzkoy, Nikolai. 1958. *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

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## Prosodic strength: articulatory-functional mechanisms versus epiphenomena

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Yi Xu / *University College London*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:30

Traditionally, articulatory strength is defined in terms of stress, prominence, hyper-/hypo-articulation and degree of contrastiveness. In this presentation I argue that there is a need to explicate the articulatory as well as functional mechanisms behind these observational dimensions. Based on the target approximation model of speech production (Xu & Wang, 2001; Xu & Liu, 2013), observed phonetic patterns result from articulatory movements toward ideal underlying targets. These movements are driven by muscular forces against both inertia and the duration assigned to each target. I will examine how well articulatory strength corresponds to the traditionally assumed strong and weak positions. From the functional perspective, articulatory movements are used to encode communicative functions. The functions encoded by prosody include lexical contrast, focus, sentence type and boundary marking. I will discuss cases where articulatory strength is likely used to encode functional contrasts, and cases where strength is unlikely used as a code. Overall, I will show that position has a more direct relationship to duration than to articulatory strength, but it is the interaction of duration and articulatory strength that generates many production and perception patterns that are traditionally interpreted as due to prosodic strength.

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**References:** Xu, Yi & Liu, Fang. 2012. Intrinsic coherence of prosodic and segmental aspects of speech. In O. Niebuhr & H. Pfitzinger (eds.): *Understanding Prosody – The Role of Context, Function, and Communication*, 1–26. De Gruyter, New York. • Xu, Yi & Wang, Q. Emily. 2001. Pitch targets and their realization: Evidence from Mandarin Chinese. *Speech Communication* 33: 319–337.



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‘south-west wind.DAT’ than in other types of environment. Thus the distinction is more likely to be maintained when a nasal follows, as in *manninum* [manninun] ‘the man-DAT-DEF’. In some varieties the weak syllables have no vowel, relying on an optional epenthesis, dependent on rhythm.

**References:** Árnason, Kristján. 2011. *The Phonology of Icelandic and Faroese*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Hagström, Björn. 1967. *Ändelsevokalerna i färöiskan: en fonetisk fonologisk studie*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm. • Harris, John. 2005. Vowel reduction and information loss. In P. Carr, J. Durant & C. Ewen (eds.): *Headhood, Elements, Specification and Contrastivity. Phonological Papers in Honour of John Anderson*, 119–132. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Rischell, Jørgen. 1961. Om retskrivningen og udtalen I modern færøsk. In Jacobsen, M.A. & Christian Matras: *Føroysk donsk orðabók*, XII–XXXVI. 2. útgáva. Føroya fróðskaparfelag, Tórshavn. • Weyhe, Eivind. 1996. Bendingarnmunur í føroyskum málførum. *Íslenskt mál* 18: 71–118.

## Modeling phonologization in Lunigiana dialects

Edoardo Cavarani /

Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

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Carrarese (C) and Pontremolese (P) are two Lunigiana (Italy) dialects. This area extends over the political and linguistic borders of Emilia, Liguria and Tuscany. This partly explains the high rate of linguistic micro-variation characterizing Lunigiana. Indeed, C and P depict tiny differences in the phonetic and phonological sides of unstressed vowel reduction (R) and vowel insertion (I).

As for R, both C and P regularly apply apocope (in paroxitones) if the resulting consonant cluster abides by the Sonority Sequencing Generalization (SSG) (CŌL(A)PHU(M) > C [kolp], P [kurp]). In proparoxytones, P regularly applies syncope. On the other hand, C produces forms where unstressed vowels are either both present, only one is present, or both are absent, no matter whether or not the resulting cluster violates SSG (SILVĀTĪCU(M) > P [ser'vadgʷ] vs. C [səl'vatʰkʷ] / [səl'vatək] / [səl'vatʰk] / [səl'vatkʷ] / [səl'vatk]). Similarly, C tolerates paroxitones with a word-final SSG violating cluster, P resorting instead to I (LĪBRU(M) and LĪBĚRU(M) > C ['libər] / [libʰr] / [librʷ] / [libr] vs. P ['libər]). A significant difference concerns the melodic

content of C and P inserted vocoids: depending on adjacent consonants' featural content, P inserts either a low or a back vowel (MÄCRU(M) > ['mager] vs. ÄSĪNU(M) > ['asuj]), C showing instead a schwa-like vocoid.

Another difference concerns the phonological contexts triggering I. P does not make any difference between pre-consonantal and pre-pausal phrasal contexts: if the word-final cluster violates SSG, P applies I in both the cases. C, instead, more frequently 'repairs' the SSG-violating clusters if followed by a consonant-initial word than by a pause.

These data are accounted for with reference to the BiPhon model (Boersma 2011). This allows to predict/formalize the typology and trajectory of the changes under concern. For instance, the I patterns displayed by C and P are argued to represent two different and consecutive steps along the same process: the phonologization/stabilization of a schwa-like consonant release. As for the representational side, Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm & Vergnaud 1990) and Element Theory (Bacley 2011) are resorted to account for, respectively, the prosodic weak-strong asymmetry and the acoustic nature of the phonetics-phonology interface.

**References:** Bacley, Phillip. 2011. *An introduction to element theory*. Edinburgh University Press. • Boersma, Paul. 2011. A programme for bidirectional phonology and phonetics and their acquisition and evolution. In A. Benz & J. Mattausch (eds.): *Bidirectional Optimality Theory*, 33–72. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Kaye Jonathan, Jean Lowenstamm & Jean Roger Vergnaud. 1990. Constituent structure and government in phonology. *Phonology* 7: 193–231.

AG1

## Domain-defining processes at the morphosyntax-phonology interface

Barış Kabak<sup>1</sup>, Anthi Revithiadou<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>University of Würzburg, <sup>2</sup>Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

Phonological phenomena are traditionally classified into those that distinguish meaning units and those that delimit them (Trubetzkoy 1939). Here we show that processes that strive towards strengthening or weakening of contrasts may also serve to unite morpho-syntactic structures into single phonological units by establishing phonological cohesion within that unit. Although weakening is typically attributed to the neutralization of contrasts, which may

blur morphosyntactic boundaries, we show that strengthening can also serve to turn phonological outputs into unitary phonological domains. In this paper, we will unite these phenomena under the rubric of domain-defining processes and survey their properties on the basis of data from different languages.

Canonically, domain-defining processes are weakening in nature, whereby contrasts are neutralized across a morpho-syntactic stretch. These can be observed in several languages that apply contrast-neutralizing processes like vowel harmony and assimilation across morphosyntactic sequences that are larger than a lexical word. For example, Korean lateralization, sibilant and nasalization apply across words with the same magnitude as within words, blurring word boundaries. In Patras Greek, the /t/-/d/ distinction is neutralized within a clitic cluster, e.g. /θa ta páro/, [θada páro] ‘I will take them’ but not within the word, e.g., /atáraxos/, \*[adáraxos] ‘calm’. As a result, the chunk of structure projected above the phonological word (PW), called the *extended PW domain* (Itô & Mester 2009; Kabak & Revithiadou 2009), is demarcated by minimizing consonant contrasts compared to the host word. However, complex constructions (compounds, clitic clusters, etc.) can also be prosodified by way of protecting the contrasts (i.e., by strengthening). In Dodecanese Greek CCC sequences are permitted within words but not when clitics are attached, e.g., /sin-psixo/, /símpsixo/, \*[sinepsixo] ‘togetherness’ vs. /θa ton psini/, [θa tone psíni] ‘s/he will be grilling him’. In the latter example, the final consonant of the clitic *ton* fails to assimilate to the initial consonant of the host. Instead, a vowel is inserted to break up the illicit sequence, disturbing a string that would otherwise be perceived as a single prosodic unit. Although this might be at first sight construed as boundary demarcation (or strengthening, from the viewpoint of perception), closer inspection reveals that epenthesis also achieves a simplified syllable structure that creates a coherent syllable pattern in the entire stretch. In a similar vein, Turkish optionally resolves adjacent vowel sequences by coalescence. While word-internal  $V_1V_2$  sequences are subject to left-to-right assimilation, e.g., /air/, [aar]/\*[ıır] ‘heavy’, those across words exhibit right-to-left assimilation, e.g., /yirmi#üç/, [yirmü:ç]/\*[yirmi:ç] ‘twenty-three’. As such, the change in the directionality of the rule application indicates a difference in domain. Although coalescence merges two different lexical nodes into one unit (thereby defining a unitary domain),  $V_2$  – the word onset, and not  $V_1$ , is protected, which can be simultaneously construed as boundary strengthening.

Accordingly, in this talk we bring together well-known domain-defining rules and argue that they are not confined to positions, which may be guided by universal phonetic factors (e.g., Steriade 1997). Instead, we show that the

functions of strengthening and weakening are triggered by specific morpho-syntactic outputs and, as such, they aspire at the same goal: to signal a domain as a distinct albeit coherent unit. Ultimately, they are initiated in order to ease the processing of morphosyntactic chunks in speech comprehension and production.

**References:** Steriade, Donka. 1997. *Phonetics in phonology: The case of laryngeal neutralization*. Ms. UCLA. • Itô, Junko & Armin. Mester. 2009. The extended prosodic word. In *Phonological domains: universals and deviations*, Grijzenhout, J. & B. Kabak (eds.), 135–194. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Kabak, Barış & Anthi Revithiadou. 2009. An interface approach to prosodic word recursion. In *Phonological domains: Universals and deviations*, Grijzenhout, J. & B. Kabak (eds.), 105–132. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Trubetzkoy, Nikolai. 1939/1969. *Principles of phonology*. University of California Press.

## The prosodic word – weak or strong? Evidence from Spanish

Karolina Broś / *University of Warsaw*  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

Spanish dialects show substantial variation in the treatment of coda *s*, most of them showing some degree of segment weakening: debuccalisation to *h* inside words and at word edges, analysed as spontaneous or effort-driven lenition. This gives rise to systemic changes whereby an otherwise non-existent sound (*h*) is added to the inventory and another sound (*s*) slowly vanishes.

The general process of *s* weakening encompasses a series of strategies employed to deal with a marked structure: *s* standing in a prosodically weak position. It extends from preconsonantal contexts inside words and at word boundaries to prepausal environments and prevocalic position in the most advanced Spanish varieties where it is obscured by resyllabification (Lipski 1996). Given the fact that onset *s* seems immune to such weakening, it may be confirmed that the coda is a weak prosodic position. Nevertheless, a bigger prosodic constituent should be considered in terms of relative strength in some contexts. Although internal coda *s* typically weakens to *h*, prefix-final *s* not necessarily follows suit, not to mention prefix-final codas resyllabified into onsets (*esto* [eh.to] ‘this’ vs. *despertar* [des.per.tar] ‘to wake’, *deshecho* [de.se.tʃo] ‘undone’).

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In the most radical dialects a further mismatch can be observed: in Chilean coda *s* is dispreferred altogether and deleted unless it would disrupt morpheme contiguity (casas verdes [ka.sa.βer.ðe] ‘green houses’ but *conozco* [ko.noh.ko] ‘I know’ – ‘weaker’ lenition). Interestingly, prefix-final *s* resists deletion although such a process would have no effect on the integrity of the stem (e.g. *descalzar* [deh.kal.sar] ‘to unshoe’). It seems that the morphophonological relationship is of crucial importance: morpheme contiguity needs to be extended to encompass the whole prefixed word. Although the affix is traditionally considered a weak position (Casali 1996), the whole prosodic word containing the prefix should be considered a strong position as it inhibits radical changes to the underlying segment in the same way they are banned morpheme-internally. The boundary between the prefix and the stem is somehow protected by the grammar despite the weak coda position.

The aim of this paper is to look for an integrated theory of positional weakening based on evidence from Spanish and confront the presented data with evidence from other dialects where strong positions are affected (e.g. onsets, by extension in accordance with the laws of language change), as well as discuss the notion of contiguity and crucially extend it to the supramorphemic level.

**References:** Beckman, Jill. 1997. *Positional Faithfulness*. PhD dissertation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts. • Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. Holt, New York. • Browman, Catherine & Louis Goldstein. 1992. Articulatory Phonology: an Overview. *Phonetica* 49: 155–180. • Casali, Roderic F. 1996. *Resolving hiatus*. UCLA dissertation. • Lipski, John. 1983. Reducción de /s/ en el español de Honduras. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 32: 272–88. • Lipski, John. 1996. El español de América. Cátedra, Madrid. • Lipski, John. 1999. The many faces of Spanish /s/-weakening: (Re)alignment and ambisyllabicity. In J. Gutiérrez-Rexach (ed.) *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics. Papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistic Symposium*. Cascadia Press, Somerville. • Rabanales, Ambrosio. 1953. Introducción al estudio del español de Chile. Anejo nr.1 del Boletín de Filología. Universitaria, Santiago. • Rubach, Jerzy. 2011. Syllabic repairs in Macedonian. *Lingua* 121: 237–268. • Ségéral, Philippe & Tobias Scheer. 2008. Positional factors in lenition and fortition. In J. Brandão de Carvalho, T. Scheer & P. Ségéral (eds.), *Lenition and Fortition*. 131–172. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Trubetzkoy, Nikolai. 1939. *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.

## The role of prosodic prominence in Basque aspirate distribution

Ander Egurtzegi / *University of the Basque Country*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

Zuberoan (Souletin), the easternmost Basque dialect, possesses a series of aspirated stops /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/ as well as two contrastive laryngeals, /h/ and nasalized /ñ/ (Hualde 1993; Egurtzegi 2013), which resulted from older intervocalic \*n (cf. Igartua 2008), e.g. Zub. Bsq. *uñiure* from Lat. *honōre(m)* ‘honor’. The distribution of these segments is limited to a foot formed by the first two syllables of the word (cf. Mod. Bsq. *hau* ‘this’, *hiru* ‘three’, *ahuntz* ‘goat’, *ethorri* ‘to come’, *ikhusi* ‘to see’). In addition, no more than one such segment occurs in each word (Michelena 1977 [2011]; MacEachern 1999). However, the situation was different in older stages of the language.

Common Basque (5th–6th century) is reconstructed with an unrestricted distribution of aspiration and, crucially, with phrase-level pitch accent (Egurtzegi 2014). During the Middle Ages, phrase-level accent gave rise to word-level peninitial stress in the Central and Eastern dialects (Hualde et al. 2002; Egurtzegi & Elordieta 2013). This accentual shift created strong and weak positions within the word: the first two syllables of the word formed a prosodically strong iamb while the rest of the word was weak. Subsequently, phonetic reduction affected certain segments and features in weak position, such as the aspiration of aspirates /h/ and /ñ/ and aspirated stops /p<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /k<sup>h</sup>/. In a potential case of structure-preserving sound change (Blevins 2004), some aspirates underwent perceptual metathesis (Blevins & Garrett 2004) from weak to strong position. All aspirates in weak position that failed to metathesize were systematically dropped: compare Comm. Bsq. *\*areña* > Mod. Bsq. *harea* to Comm. Bsq. *\*baleña* > Mod. Bsq. *balea* from Lat. *arēna* ‘sand’ and Lat. *ballaena* ‘whale’, respectively. Thus, the loss of /h/ and /ñ/ in weak position yielded a larger number of segmental contrasts in strong position. In addition, stop aspiration is only contrastive in the initial foot; outside of that, the voiced/voiceless contrast in oral stops is encoded differently, by voicing alone. In short, this paper will argue that the prosodic prominence of the word-initial iamb not only favored a larger number of contrastive segments in strong position, but also attracted, by means of metathesis, segments that would be dropped should they have remained in weak position.

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- References:** Blevins, Juliette. 2004. *Evolutionary phonology: the emergence of sound patterns*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Blevins, Juliette & Andrew Garrett. 2004. The evolution of metathesis. In B. Hayes, R. Kirchner & D. Steriade (eds.), *Phonetically based phonology*, 117–156. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Egurtzegi, Ander. 2013. Phonetics and Phonology. In M. Martínez-Areta (ed.), *Basque and Proto-Basque: Language-Internal and Typological Approaches to Linguistic Reconstruction*, 119–172. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main. • Egurtzegi, Ander. 2014. *Towards a phonetically grounded diachronic phonology of Basque*, PhD dissertation, UPV/EHU. • Egurtzegi, Ander & Gorka Elordieta. 2013. Euskal azentueren historiaz. In R. Gómez, J. Gorrochategui, J.A. Lakarra & C. Mounole (eds.), *3rd Conference of the Luis Michelena Chair*, 163–186. UPV/EHU, Vitoria-Gasteiz. • Hualde, José Ignacio. 1993. Topics in Souletin phonology. In J.I. Hualde & J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), *Generative Studies in Basque linguistics*, 289–327. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Hualde, José Ignacio, Gorka Elordieta, Iñaki Gaminde & Rajka Smiljanić. 2002. From pitch-accent to stress-accent in Basque. In C. Gussenhoven & N. Warner (eds.), *Laboratory Phonology VII*, 547–584. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Igartua, Iván. 2008. La aspiración de origen nasal en la evolución fonética del euskera: un caso de rhinoglottophilia. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology* 42: 171–189. • MacEachern, Margaret. 1999. *Laryngeal Co-occurrence Restrictions*. Garland, New York. • Michelena, Luis. 1977 [2011]. *Fonética histórica vasca* [Obras completas VI], Donostia. DFG, UPV/EHU, Vitoria-Gasteiz.

## AG1

### Acoustic correlates of prosodic structure in Polish

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<sup>3</sup>ZAS Berlin, <sup>4</sup>Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

We present a study of acoustic correlates of word stress, phrasal accent and boundary in Polish (PL). We designed a set of word stimuli with six target syllable forms differentiating lexical stress positions: primary (S1) (*tulipa'ny*), secondary (S2) (*'papierosy*) and unstressed (*kopali'ny*). Stimuli were embedded in sentences in positions of –focus and +focus and at, or no intonational phrase boundary. Sentences were elicited via a simulated question-answer task with twenty native speakers of PL (N=2222). We investigated the following acoustic parameters: duration, pitch, intensity and spectral emphasis as a function of stress, focus and boundary.



Our results show that vocalic duration is a systematic correlate of S1 and focus. S2 causes syllable onset lengthening.  $f_0$  peaks do not differ across word stress conditions in –focus. If pitch accent is present, only S1 syllables significantly depart in pitch from all others. Similar conclusions can be drawn wrt average intensity peaks and spectral emphasis in the /a/ vowel portions of the target syllables. In PL,  $f_0$  is rather a correlate of intonation structure, with S1 syllables serving as landing sites for pitch accents (Dogil 1999, Malisz 2012).

Given that a) an initial word boundary effect on onsets might trump S2 position effects in the acoustic domain (White 2014) and b) in emphatic speech styles pitch accents are shifted onto the S2 syllable (Dogil 1999), we discuss the interrelations of boundary and stress/focus effects on the phonological and phonetic status of S2 and the perception of prominence in PL.

**References:** Dogil, Grzegorz. 1999. The phonetic manifestation of word stress in Lithuanian, Polish, German and Spanish. In H. van der Hulst (ed.): *Word prosodic systems in the languages of Europe*, 273–311. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Malisz, Zofia & Petra Wagner. 2012. Acoustic-phonetic realisation of Polish syllable prominence: A corpus study. *Speech and Language Technology. Studies in honour of Wiktor Jassem* 14/15: 105–114. • Newlin-Lukowicz, Luiza. 2012. Polish stress: looking for phonetic evidence of a bidirectional system. *Phonology* 29: 271–329. • White, Laurence. 2014. Communicative function and prosodic form in speech timing. *Speech Communication* 63: 38–54.

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## Arbeitsgruppe 2

### Exact repetition in grammar and discourse

*Rita Finkbeiner*  
*Ulrike Freywald*

#### Workshop description

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Most linguists will agree that iteration is a pervasive phenomenon in language and an important notion for linguistic analysis. Traditionally, the process of repetition is related to the domains of text and discourse, and associated with specific pragmatic effects (e.g., emphasis), while the process of reduplication is restricted to the domains of phonology and morphology, and associated with specific semantic effects (e.g., intensification). In phonological and syntactic theory, reduplication has mainly been discussed as a local copying process, while in typology, it has been described as a morphological marker of inflection or word formation. Repetition phenomena, in contrast, have been claimed to apply above word level. In interactional linguistics, the focus has been on functions of repetition such as marking of agreement and disagreement. In recent years, however, one has come to realize that the borderline between reduplication and repetition is rather fuzzy (Stolz et al. 2011). For example, in contrastive focus reduplication (e.g. salad-salad ‘prototypical salad’), it is not quite clear whether we have to do with a “grammatical” or rather a “pragmatic” process. Moreover, while most European languages traditionally have been regarded as lacking reduplication altogether, there is now evidence that there are niches of productive (total) reduplication also in alleged “reduplication avoiders” such as German (Finkbeiner 2014, Freywald in prep.). The workshop aims at bringing together linguists interested in the phenomenon of exact repetition, understood broadly as the complete iteration

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of items on all levels of linguistic description, including phonology, lexicon, syntax, text, and discourse. Special attention will be paid to languages traditionally regarded as reduplication avoiders as well as to the borderline between reduplication and repetition. Studies on the acquisition and change of exact repetition are very welcome, as are descriptive studies of exact repetition in various languages, registers and genres.

**References:** Finkbeiner, Rita. 2014. The grammar and pragmatics of N *hin*, N *her* ('N *thither*, N *hither*') in German. To appear in: *Pragmatics & Society* 5. • Freywald, Ulrike. In prep. Total reduplication in German. To appear in: *Studies in Language* • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011. *Total Reduplication. The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal*. Berlin: Akademie.

## On telling repetition and reduplication apart. A set of guidelines

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Thomas Stolz / *Universität Bremen*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:30

Two classic texts of reduplication research – Pott (1862) and Brandstetter (1917) – propagate a relatively broad definition of reduplication in the sense that it is allocated in the same class as various kinds of repetition. This practice of lumping together the two phenomena is tightly connected to the putative impossibility to neatly separate reduplication from repetition. Gil (2005) assumes that there is a continuum which connects reduplication and repetition via a sequence of other phenomena which are related to each other according to the model of family resemblance. In Stolz (2007), I argue that, to get a firm grasp on proper reduplication, it is necessary to discriminate this phenomenon neatly from repetition on both sides of the linguistic sign, i.e. as to expression and content. Stolz, Stroh & Urdze (2011) elaborate on this idea and postulate a prototype of reduplication that is maximally distant from repetition. A recent follow-up study which advocates the prototype approach is Stolz, Urdze, Nintemann & Tsareva (under review).

In the referenced contributions, special care is taken to define the concept of reduplication properly. However, since it is usually not assumed that repetition is just some kind of “unorderly” reduplication, in a manner of speaking, we need to know how the prototype of repetition looks like in order to determine exactly which deviations from the two prototypes have the effect

of blurring the distinction REDUPLICATION vs. REPETITION. With reference to the relative literature, Mattes (2014, 34) mentions syntactic repetition as possible “borderline case of reduplication”. My talk will take syntactic repetition as a starting point for a functional-typologically inspired discussion of hard-to-decide cases of REDUPLICATION and/or REPETITION in a variety of languages of all continents. The discussion of the empirical facts is meant to provide the guidelines for testing similar cases language-independently.

**References:** Brandstetter, Renward. 1917. *Die Reduplikation in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen*. Kantonatsschule, Luzern. • Gil, David. 2005. From repetition to reduplication in Riau Indonesian. In B. Hurch (ed.): *Studies on Reduplication*, 31–64. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Mattes, Veronika. 2014. *Types of Reduplication. A Case Study of Bikol*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Pott, August F. 1862. *Doppelung (Reduplikation, Geminatio) als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprache, beleuchtet aus Sprachen aller Welttheile*. Meyer, Lemgo, Detmold. • Stolz, Thomas. 2007. Das ist doch keine Reduplikation! Über falsche Freunde bei der Suche nach richtigen Beispielen. In A. Ammann & A. Urdze (eds.): *Wiederholung, Parallelismus, Reduplikation. Strategien der multiplen Strukturanwendung*, 47–80. Brockmeyer, Bochum. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011. *Total Reduplication. The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin. • Stolz, Thomas, Aina Urdze, Julia Nintemann & M. Tsareva. under review. When some dots turn a different color ... Thoughts on how (not) to determine whether or not reduplication is universal. Submitted to *Studies in Language*.

## Repetition, reduplication, and doubling in Russian Sign Language

Vadim Kimmelman / *University of Amsterdam*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

AG2

Recently it has become clear that sign language data must be included in typological and theoretical studies. However, most important theoretical works on reduplication (Stolz et al. 2011, Inkelas & Zoll 2005) make no mention of sign languages. This paper aims to fill this gap by demonstrating some relevant examples from Russian Sign Language (RSL).

RSL, like many other sign languages, uses reduplication as a productive morphological mechanism (Burkova & Filimonova to appear). One of the functions of reduplication is to express distributive plurality, which is also

expressed by reduplication in spoken languages. The formal side of this mechanism is modality-specific: locating the reduplicated sign in several locations in the signing space. Interestingly, as Zajtseva (1987) found out, this reduplication applies to full clauses as well: the whole clause can be repeated in several locations to express distributivity. However, many approaches, for instance Stolz et al. (2011) would not analyze this as reduplication, therefore missing the generalization that distributive localization in RSL applies to all kinds of constituents. Inkelas & Zoll (2005), however, claimed that a single mechanism can apply in syntax (yielding syntactic doubling) and in morphology (yielding reduplication), so they would account for both types of distributive repetition in RSL.

RSL has yet another reduplication mechanism, namely syntactic doubling whereby a syntactic constituent appears in the sentence twice separated by some other constituents. According to Stolz et al. (2011) contiguity is a necessary feature of reduplication, so doubling would not be classified as such. However, if we analyze distributive reduplication as reduplication irrespective of the domain of application, it is reasonable to analyze doubling as a related mechanism. Therefore, RSL data can be easier accounted for in terms of Inkelas & Zoll's (2005) theory of reduplication.

**References:** Burkova, Svetlana. I. & Elena. V. Filimonova. to appear. Reduplikatsija v russkom žestovom jazyke. In *Russkij jazyk v naučnom osveščenii*. • Inkelas, Sharon & Cheryl Zoll. 2005. *Reduplication: Doubling in morphology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011. *Total Reduplication. The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin. • Zajtseva, Galina. L. 1987. Metody izučenija sistemy žestovogo obšenija gluhih. *Defektologija* 1: 3–11.

## The derivational nature of reduplication and its relation to boundary phenomena

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Thomas Schwaiger / *Universität Graz*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

In modern linguistics, reduplication has mainly been treated for its phonological characteristics from a theoretical viewpoint, leading to the relative neglect of its morpho-semantic properties in much pertinent research up to the present day. More curiously, even despite the slower rise of functional-typological

approaches and the ensuing (re)introduction of the concept of iconicity to appropriately capture the form-meaning relationship in reduplication, the status of the process within morphology as inflectional as well as derivational seems to have been taken for granted also in more semantically oriented studies.

The present paper assumes reduplication to be of an essentially derivational nature. Although already entertained by Saperstein (1997, 160–163), this possibility has only recently come into narrower focus (Inkelas 2014; Schwaiger *forthc.*).<sup>1</sup> Here, the propensity for derivation is argued to be tied to reduplication's iconic saliency, making the process prone to express more concrete semantics as opposed to the rather abstract notions found in inflection.

The above reclassification of reduplication within morphology is based on a typological survey of languages in the Graz Database on Reduplication.<sup>2</sup> Crucially, what emerges is a hitherto unexplored criterion for distinguishing between reduplication, repetition and all sorts of boundary phenomena, be they fully or partially repeated constructions (see also Schwaiger 2011).

**References:** Inkelas, Sharon. 2014. Non-concatenative Derivation: Reduplication. In R. Lieber & P. Štekauer (eds.): *The Oxford handbook of derivational morphology*, 169–189. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Saperstein, Andrew. D. 1997. *A Word-and-Paradigm Approach to Reduplication*. PhD thesis, The Ohio State University. • Schwaiger, Thomas. 2011. The relation between prototypical and marginal morphology: The case of reduplicative constructions. *Linguistica* 51: 121–134. • Schwaiger, Thomas. *forthcoming*. Reduplication. In P. O. Müller, I. Ohnheiser, S. Olsen & F. Rainer (eds.): *Word-formation: An international handbook of the languages of Europe*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011, *Total reduplication: The areal linguistics of a potential universal*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin.

<sup>1</sup>For total reduplication, this view is supported by Stolz et al.'s (2011, 194) list of cross-linguistically non-occurring reduplicative meanings like gender, case or negation.

<sup>2</sup><http://reduplication.uni-graz.at/redup/>

## A quick *fixer-upper* of English word-formation. Reduplication in derivation

Anke Lensch / Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

It is generally assumed that the morphological system of neither British English nor that of American English has a productive pattern of derivation involving repetition or reduplication. Some consider these phenomena to be “extra-grammatical” (Matinello 2013), only to be found on occasion (Cappelle 2010, 335) and they are said so far to be “elusive in standard corpora of historical and contemporary English” (Chapman 2008, 265).

However, retrieval in a large collection of mega-corpora shows that they are more pervasive than expected (*The Guardian* 1990–2005, *The BNC*, *The Daily Mail* 1993–2000, *The Washington Times* 1990–1992, *The Detroit Free Press* 1992–1995, *The New York Times* 1989–1994, *The Los Angeles Times* 1992–1999, *COCA*). It seems that English does allow for an “affix reduplication phenomenon” (McIntyre 2013, 44) in which a derivational pattern applies to both parts of a complex word-formation resulting in the formation of an agentive noun:

- (1) “Some other *filler-inners* were Mike Gazella, Cedric ...”  
(The Detroit Free Press 1993)

Some derivations of this type (i.e. verbal base +{-er} particle +{-er}) are recorded only as hapax legomena in the data:

- (2) “It’s nicknamed the *anti-tennis-shoe-eater-upper*.”  
(The Washington Times 1991)
- (3) “He is a rather gifted *self-messer-upper*.”  
(The Guardian 2005)

Others can be found much more frequently such as *fixer-upper*, which even has an entry in the OED and denotes “a house [...] in need of repair” or “a person who or thing which repairs or arranges things” (cf. OED). The fact that this lexeme has been included in the OED (cf. Cappelle 2010, 337, 345) gives evidence for the productiveness of this pattern.

Interestingly, nouns involving reduplicative derivation can take fairly complex patterns.



- (4) “The automatic *blanket putter onner and offer*”  
(The Guardian 2005)

Furthermore, the data points to an interesting difference between British and American English: In comparison, the former displays a bigger number of hapax legomena and but has a lower frequency of the pattern. In the American English data the pattern is attested more frequently which suggests that it is more established in this variety.

On the basis of a large-scale quantitative and qualitative corpus study this talk will shed light on reduplicated derivational affixes in nominalizations of phrasal verbs and on the question how productive these allegedly marginal formations actually are in Present Day British English and American English.

**References:** Cappelle, Bert. 2010. *Doubler-upper* nouns: A challenge for usage-based models of language? In A. Onyko & S. Michel (eds.): *Cognitive Perspectives on Word Formation*, 335–374. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Chapman, Don. 2008. *Fixer-uppers* and *passers-by*: Nominalization of verb-particle constructions. In S. M. Fitzmaurice & D. Minkova (eds.): *Studies in the History of Language IV*, 265–299. De Gruyter, Berlin. • McIntyre, Andrew. 2013. English particle verbs as complex heads: Evidence from nominalization. In H. Härtl (ed.): *Interfaces of Morphology*, 41–57. Akademie Verlag, Berlin. • Matiello, Elisa. 2013. *Extra-Grammatical Morphology in English. Abbreviations, Blends, Reduplications and Related Phenomena*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Wentworth, Harold. 1936. On Adding the Suffix of Agency, *-er*, to Adverbs. *American Speech* 11: 369–370. • The Oxford English Dictionary: *fixer-upper*. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/261952?redirectedFrom=fixer-upper\#eid>, date of retrieval 28/11/2014.

## A corpus-based study on total reduplication in Modern Japanese

Christoph Petermann / *Freie Universität Berlin*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17.30–18:00

This presentation will introduce findings from a study conducted within the context of a doctoral dissertation on total reduplication in Modern Japanese. Although reduplicative forms are part of the general vocabulary in Modern Japanese, there seems to be no consensus on the nature of the word formation patterns involved. This is largely due to the fact that, while Hachiya (1998)

provides a rather in-depth analysis of the phenomenon in Old Japanese, reduplication in Modern Japanese has been subject to comparatively little research.

In the study to be presented potentially reduplicative forms are elicited from a web-based corpus of Modern Japanese (Srdanović et al. 2008; ca. 400 000 000 tokens). The elicited forms serve as the basis for identifying the reduplicating word formation patterns of Modern Japanese. Search results from the corpus will be presented to illustrate some of the challenges facing this approach:

- a. Should the underlying word formation patterns be defined by category of the base, by category of the resulting form or should other criteria be taken into consideration?
- b. What role do semantic aspects play?
- c. How are the so-called sound-symbolic words to be treated?
- d. What evidence do the elicited forms provide regarding the potential for morphological innovation (cf. Bauer 2001) of reduplication in Modern Japanese?

Answers to questions a. and b. vary, depending on which theoretical model of morphology is applied. Several approaches will be discussed briefly. Surface form-oriented models such as Construction Morphology (Booij 2010) will be given special attention. Question c. concerns the category of sound-symbolic words which can entail repetition – often, but not necessarily – of segments that do not occur on their own. Treating forms like these as reduplication can be problematic due to the semantic emptiness of the repeated segment (cf. Stolz et al. 2011, 33f.). Examples from the category of sound-symbolic words, involving both, segments that do and do not occur independently, will be used to illustrate the “fuzziness” of the border between phonological repetition and “reduplication proper”. Question d. will be discussed by means of examples representing possible new coinages.

The study aims to contribute not only to a deeper understanding of total reduplication in Modern Japanese but also to the general discourse on reduplication and related phenomena.

**Selected References:** Akita, Kimi. 2010. *A Grammar of Sound-Symbolic Words in Japanese: Theoretical Approaches to Iconic and Lexical Properties of Mimetics*. Doctoral dissertation. Kobe University. • Bauer, Laurie. 2001. *Morphological Productivity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Booij, Geert. 2010. *Construction*

*Morphology*. Oxford University Press, New York. • Hachiya, Masato. 1998. *Koku-go chōfukugo no gokōseironteki kenkyū*. [Morphological Studies on Reduplication in Japanese.] Hanawa shobō, Tōkyō. • Srdanović, Irena, Tomaš Erjavec & Adam Kilgarriff. 2008. A web corpus and word sketches for Japanese. *Shizen gengo shori* 15: 137–159. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011, *Total reduplication: The areal linguistics of a potential universal*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin.

## The reduplication in Standard Chinese

Yanyan Sui / Nankai University

Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

**Proposal:** In Standard Chinese both compounding and suffixation employ reduplication to specify the phonological content of component morphemes. Meanwhile, they impose constraints on the phonological shape of the reduplication output, which leads to different copying mechanisms that account for the variety of tonal patterns exhibited in reduplication.

**Suffixational reduplication:** Nominative and verbal reduplications are suffixational in nature. The reduplicative suffixes are toneless, (1), the same as in standard suffixes, i.e. *-zi* in *piàn-zi* ‘cheat-NOM, swindler’, and *-tou* in *tián-tou* ‘sweet-NOM, profit’. With respect to the copying mechanism, nominative reduplication does not copy the tone of the base morpheme, while verbal reduplication does. So if the base has a low tone, verbal reduplication triggers 3rd tone sandhi, as a result the low tone of the base becomes a rising tone. After the application of tone sandhi the conditioning low tone of the reduplicant is deleted to observe the toneless suffix constraint, (2).

**Compounding reduplication:** Adjective and adverbial reduplications are compounding, in which the reduplicant fully copies the phonological content of the base, including tone, (3). When the base has a low tone, the copied low tone of the reduplicant triggers 3rd tone sandhi. But compounding reduplication preserves the reduplicant’s tone in the output,

**Conclusion:** Reduplication specifies the phonological content of morphemes through certain identical correspondence with the base (McCarthy & Prince

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1986, 1995). It may be employed in multiple morphological processes, including compounding and suffixation, which also impose constraints on the phonological shape of the reduplication output.

- (1) Nominative reduplication
- xīng /xīng/ xing ‘N. star’
  - jiě /jiě/ jie ‘N. sister, address term’
- (2) Verbal reduplication
- cháng /cháng/ chang ‘V. have a taste’
  - zǒu /zǒu/ zou ‘V. take a walk’
- (3)
- |        | Nominative reduplication | Verbal reduplication       |
|--------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| UR:    | /jiě/-RED                | /zǒu/-RED                  |
| PC:    | jiě- <b>jie</b>          | zǒu- <b>zǒu</b>            |
| 3rdTS: | N.A.                     | <b>zǒu</b> zǒu             |
| TD:    | N.A.                     | zǒu <b>zou</b>             |
| SR:    | [jiě-jie] ‘N. sister’    | [zǒu zou] ‘V. take a walk’ |
- (UR=underlying representation; PC=phonological copying; 3rdTS=3rd tone sandhi; TD=tonal deletion; SR=surface representation)
- (4) Adjective reduplication
- lán /lán/ lán ‘Adj. blue’
  - lǎn /lǎn/ lǎn ‘Adj. lazy’
- (5) Adverbial reduplication
- cháng /cháng/ cháng ‘Adv. often’
  - wǎng /wǎng/ wǎng ‘Adv. usually’
- (6)
- |        | Adjective reduplication | Adverbial reduplication    |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| UR:    | /lǎn/-RED               | /wǎng/-RED                 |
| PC:    | lǎn lǎn                 | wǎng wǎng                  |
| 3rdTS: | lán lǎn                 | wáng wǎng                  |
| SR:    | [lán lǎn] ‘Adj. lazy’   | [wáng wǎng] ‘Adv. usually’ |

**References:** McCarthy, John & Alan Prince. 1986. *Prosodic morphology*. Technical report #32. Rutgers University Center for Cognitive Science. • McCarthy, John & Alan Prince. 1995. Faithfulness and reduplicative identity. In J. Beckman, S. Urbanczyk & L. W. Dickey (eds.): *University of Massachusetts occasional papers in linguistics 18: Papers in optimality theory*, 249–384. Amherst, MA.

## The lexical clone: pragmatics, prototypes, and productivity

Laurence R. Horn / *Yale University*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

The boldfaced examples in (1)–(4) exemplify the “Lexical Clone” construction in English, a.k.a. the “Double” (Dray 1987), “Contrastive Focus Reduplication” (Ghameshi et al. 2004), or “Identical Constituent Compounding” (Hohenhaus 2004).

- (1) Saying slavery was the cause of secession isn’t politically correct, it’s **CORRECT correct**.  
(Larry Wilmore on “The Daily Show”, 9 Dec. 2010)
- (2) Joanne Webster’s a doctor. Not a **DOCTOR doctor**, more of a dead person doctor, but a doctor nonetheless.  
(Dr. Brennan on “Bones”, 9 Sept. 2014)
- (3) Do you love it? Or do you **LOVE it love it**?  
(commercial for Cold Stone Creamery ice cream)
- (4) A: You’re really not supposed to be here.  
B: You mean ‘**HERE here**’? Or here more generally.  
(exchange in Meg Wolitzer’s 2013 novel *The Interestings*)

While varying across categories (adjective, noun, VP, adverb) and illocutionary function (affirmation, negation, question), the cases above all illustrate the prototype use of clones on which I will focus; in other environments, clones can also be used for scalar strengthening (**TALL tall**). The prototype clone functions as a pragmatic slack regulator (Lasersohn 1999), inducing a partition of the relevant set and picking out the subset corresponding to what (given the context and/or common ground) count as core or literal category members, effecting a parallel domain-narrowing to that induced by *real/really* and its cross-linguistic analogues (e.g. *echt*): “The function of ‘real’ is not to contribute positively to the characterization of anything, but to exclude possible ways of being *not* real” (Austin 1963, 70).

Cloning is typically facilitated by syntagmatic priming: An instance of *XX* is more natural when it follows an earlier discourse occurrence of *X* that raises the salience of the relevant set or category, as in (1)–(4). A similar priming effect is frequently found with other pragmatically licensed semi-productive word- (or compound-) formation processes in colloquial English, from deictic

compounds (Downing 1977) and denominal verbs (Clark & Clark 1979) to un-nouns (Horn 2005) and un-verbs (Horn, in prep.).

This presentation surveys the semantic and pragmatic motivations for – and effects of – cloning, addressing the conventionalization or lexicalization of specific clones, the role of discourse and grammatical context in coercing a given interpretation, the relevance of contrast and prosodic focus (indicated by capitalization in (1)–(4)), the resources available for designating membership in the complement of the **XX** subset, and the sociolinguistic variables accounting for which groups of speakers are (or are perceived to be) more likely to use clones and when.

## Repetition versus implicatures and presuppositions

Chris Cummins / *University of Edinburgh*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

From a pragmatic perspective, the exact repetition of material has interesting consequences. A notable example is so-called metalinguistic negation, as discussed by Horn (1985), in which a negation applied to exactly repeated material serves not to negate the original proposition but to object to some aspect of it. In (1), the negation cancels the quantity implicature conveyed by *like* (i.e. “not love”), whereas (2) objects to the register of the preceding utterance rather than its factual accuracy.

- (1) I don’t like reggae, I love it. (10cc, *Dreadlock Holiday*, 1978)
- (2) Grandma isn’t “feeling lousy”, she is indisposed. (Horn 1985, 133)

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Recent experimental work suggests that exact repetition also affects interpretation in several other circumstances. For instance, implicatures can be suppressed by exact repetition where negation is not involved. Cummins, Sauerland and Solt (2012) show that the interpretation of (4) as conveying an upper bound (for instance, “not more than 100”) is less readily available if (4) occurs as a response to (3b) rather than (3a).

- (3) a. How many people were present?  
b. Were more than 80 people present?
- (4) More than 80 people were present.

Similarly, expressions that would normally trigger presuppositions do not always do so (or at least, do not always project their presuppositions to the discourse level) when they are repeated under the scope of negation. For instance, (6) is felicitous as a response to (5), and is also internally coherent in this case. This suggests that the speaker of (6) does not mean to presuppose that “Mary is guilty”, but can nevertheless freely (re-)use the presupposition trigger “realise”.

- (5) Does John realise that Mary is guilty?  
 (6) John doesn't realise that Mary is guilty, because she isn't.

In this presentation, I discuss the recent data and argue that it can all be accommodated by a model that incorporates some reasonable and empirically motivated assumptions about dialogue. Specifically, I show that the patterns of usage and interpretation are predictable if we assume that hearers are rational and that speakers are disposed to prefer exact repetition. I consider two possibilities as to how that preference could arise: first, as a result of priming effects (of the kind elaborated by Pickering and Garrod 2004), or secondly, as a result of discourse-level considerations such as Question Under Discussion (building upon the approach of Roberts 1996). I conclude by considering whether these approaches can usefully be integrated.

**References:** Cummins, Chris, Uli Sauerland & Stephanie Solt. 2012. Granularity and scalar implicature in numerical expressions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 35: 135–169.  
 • Horn, Laurence. R. 1985. Metalinguistic negation and pragmatic ambiguity. *Language* 61: 121–174. • Pickering, Martin & Simon Garrod. 2004. Towards a mechanistic psychology of dialogue. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 27: 169–226. • Roberts, Craige. 1996. Information structure in discourse: towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. In J. H. Yoon & A. Kathol (eds.): *OSU Working Papers in Linguistics* 49: *Papers in Semantics*, 91–136. Ohio State University, Columbus.

## Repetition and language change: repeating responses in conversation as amplifiers of linguistic innovations

Sonja Gipper / *Universität Köln*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

Repeating an utterance by another speaker is a conversational strategy described for various languages, like English (e.g. Stivers 2005) Finnish (Sorjonen 1996), and Tzeltal (Brown 1998). Such repeats can be full or partial, and they can be modified or unmodified. In this paper, it is argued that such repeating responses can function as facilitators of language change. Conversational data from Yurakaré (isolate, central Bolivia) are presented to support this claim. Repeating responses can serve different purposes in Yurakaré: They can convey knowledge-related actions like confirmation, agreement, or news receipt; they can express different kinds of attitude toward information, like amusement, surprise, or disbelief; and they can function to initiate repair, indicating that there is some trouble with the preceding utterance by the other speaker. In this presentation, it is argued that in all these cases, repeating responses provide a vehicle for the amplification of linguistic innovations in that they facilitate the diffusion of linguistic items. Evidence from Yurakaré conversational data is presented to show that repeating responses can significantly increase the frequency of code-switching into Spanish. An example is given in lines (1)–(4). (DEM: demonstrative, INTJ: interjection, PL: plural, REP: reportive, SBJ: subject, SP: Spanish.)

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- (1) A: nülüla-w        ushta    ati  
                          drag-3PL.SBJ before DEM  
                          “They had dragged it there before?”
- (2) B: nülüla-w=ya        ushta    **esa**        **noche**  
                          drag-3PL.SBJ=REP before DEM(SP) night(SP)  
                          “They had dragged it that night?”
- (3) A: **ë**        **esa**        **noche**    nülüla-w  
                          INTJ DEM(SP) night(SP) drag-3PL.SBJ  
                          “Ah, they dragged it that night.”
- (4) B: **esa**        **noche**    nülüla-w=ya  
                          DEM(SP) night(SP) drag-3PL.SBJ=REP  
                          “They had dragged it that night.”



In line 1, speaker A asks speaker B a question, which B answers in line 2 with an utterance containing a code-switch to Spanish (*esa noche* ‘that night’). Speaker A responds to this with a repeating response with a news-receiving function (line 3). In line 4, speaker B gives another repeating response, this time expressing a reconfirming function. In both repeating responses, the Spanish code-switch from line 2 is repeated. It will be argued that by increasing the frequency of Spanish code-switches in Yurakaré discourse, the strategy of repeating responses can in turn increase the frequency of Spanish borrowings in the language. Repetitions in conversation thus fulfill a significant function in language change, which suggests that conversational structure may provide a built-in mechanism for spreading linguistic innovations. This connects to an idea by Jäger & Rosenbach (2008), who suggest that priming is a mechanism for replicating linguistic items and thus an important factor in language change. Since responses in the form of repetitions can be analyzed as a specific case of priming, the research presented in this paper supports this idea.

**References:** Brown, Penelope. 1998. Conversational structure and language acquisition: The role of repetition in Tzeltal. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8: 197–221. • Jäger, Gerhard & Anette Rosenbach. 2008. Priming and unidirectional language change. *Theoretical Linguistics* 34: 85–113. • Sorjonen, Marja-Leena. 1996. On repeats and responses in Finnish conversations. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. A. Thompson (eds.): *Interaction and grammar*, 277–327. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Stivers, Tanya. 2005. Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 38: 131–158.

## Exact repetition in Tojol-ab'al Maya

Mary Jill Brody / Louisiana State University  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

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Tojol-ab'al Mayan is an indigenous language spoken in the state of Chiapas in Mexico. It is characterized by repetition in all discourse genres, especially in conversation (Brody 1986, 1994). I argue here that repetition serves as a discourse marker in Tojol-ab'al. Discourse markers are defined by Schifffrin as “sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk” (1987: 31). Although this definition has been refined by subsequent authors (Fraser 1999,

Jucker and Ziv 1998, among others), it serves to introduce the general function of this category of linguistic items. However, repetition has not, as far as I know, been proposed as serving a discourse marker function in any language other than Tojol-ab'al (Brody 2010). In this presentation I show how in Tojol-ab'al conversation and narrative, repetition functions to offer an opportunity for change of topic, or for current speaker to continue. The example below is from conversational narrative.

- (1) entonse ti=xa wa-x-ajyi-0      moch-an jach jiman      b'a  
then    then    PROG-INC-be-3A tie-NDR    thus hang-NDR LOC  
nalan    cha'an  
middle high  
"Then it is tied up and hung up."
- (2) ti    wa-x-takj-iy-0=a  
then PROG-INC-dry-IVM-3A-CLT  
"Then it dries."
- (3) ti    wa-x-takj-iy-0=a  
then PROG-INC-dry-IVM-3A-CLT  
"Then it dries."
- (4) ti    wa-x-ch'ak-0      xoj=a  
then PROG-INC-finish-3A xoj=CLT  
"Then it is consumed by xoj." (discussion of xoj)

In this conversational narrative the narrator repeats the exact phrase *ti waxtakjiya* before changing topic from discussion of the umbilical cord to discussion of the animal that eats it. This type of exact repetition occurs also in conversations between interlocutors to indicate that the interlocutor is willing to continue listening; if the repetition persists, then it signals readiness on the part of both interlocutors to change topic.

**References:** Brody, Jill. 1986. Repetition as a rhetorical and conversational device in Tojolabal (Mayan). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 52: 255–74. • Brody, Jill. 1994. Multiple repetitions in Tojolab'al conversation. In B. Johnstone (ed.): *Repetition in Discourse: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, vol. 2, 3–14. Ablex, Norwood, N.J. • Brody, Jill. 2010. "Sticky" discourse markers in language contact between unrelated languages: Tojolab'al (Mayan) and Spanish. In C. Chamoreau, Z. E. Fernández & Y. Lastra (eds.): *A New Look at Language Contact in Amerindian Languages*, 9–36. Lincom Europa, Munich. • Fraser, Bruce. 2006. Towards a theory of discourse markers. In K. Fischer (ed.): *Approaches to Discourse Particles*, 189–204. Elsevier,

Amsterdam. • Jucker, Andreas & Yael Ziv. 1998. *Discourse Markers: Descriptions and Theory*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

## Creative uses of reduplication as legitimate instances of total reduplication: arguments from French

Daniela Rossi / *Université Libre de Bruxelles*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–12:30

This paper focuses on French Creative Total Reduplication (CTR), a kind of exact repetition occurring quite spontaneously in conversation, with a high degree of productivity (examples quoted from real exchanges):

- (1) C'est un *vieux vieux* jeu vidéo ("That's an *old old* video game")
- (2) On a été se balader tu vois mais on a *marché marché*  
("We went for a walk you see but we have *walked walked*")
- (3) Comment on prépare un *café café* avec la moka?  
("How can you make a *coffee coffee* with the moka?")

Following Stolz (2008), Total Reduplication (TR) realizes "[t]he adjacency of two phonologically, morphologically and semantically identical syntactic words which together have a meaning/function which is [sometimes only slightly] different from the one associated with the simplex". The aim of this paper is to show that CTR matches this definition, offering arguments in favor of the idea that CTR works as a unit of form and meaning on its own and should be considered as a legitimate instance of TR, intended to obtain new consistent linguistic forms. As TR, CTR fulfills a semantic function, expressing semantic categories, i.e. intensity: in (1), *vieux vieux* ("old old") = "very old"; expansion in time/space: in (2), *marché marché* ("walked walked") = "walked for a long time/on a long distance"; restriction-specification: in (3), *café café* ("coffee coffee") = "real/authentic coffee". This aspect constitutes the explicit meaning of CTR, whose inference is necessary to the very comprehension of the expression. Moreover, it will be argued that CTR conveys an affective meaning expressing affective evaluations towards the state of affairs in terms of "good/bad", "pleasant/unpleasant": depending on the context of utterance, a *vieux vieux* ("old old") video game may be "pleasant" or "unpleasant" to (re)discover, having *marché marché* ("walked walked") may be

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a “pleasant” or “unpleasant” activity, a *café café* (“coffee coffee”) is usually “good” to drink. It will be also argued that such meanings are recovered by the hearer as conversational “affective” implicatures. Those elements will allow me to distinguish CTR from repetition:

- (4) C’est *Marie Marie*? (Is she *Mary Mary*?)  
 (5) *Marie, Marie, viens ici!* (Mary, Mary, come here!)

While the former have autonomous meaning (the ‘real’ Mary, not just someone looking like her), the latter is performed in order to reinforce communication (Gil 2005). Relying on Speech Acts Theory (Searle 1983; Kissine 2013), I will argue that repetition may be used to increase the degree of strength of the illocutionary point or of the mental state expressed, while CTR contributes to determining the propositional content of the Speech Act.

**References:** Gil, David. 2005. From repetition to reduplication in Riau Indonesian. In B. Hurch (ed.): *Studies on Reduplication*, 31–65. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Kissine, Mikhail. 2013. *From Utterances to Speech Acts*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Searle, J. 1983. *Intentionality: An Essay in the Philosophy of Mind*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Stolz, Thomas. 2008. Grammatica ex nihilo? Total reduplication and grammaticalisation. *New reflections on grammaticalization* 4. University of Leuven (<http://wwwling.arts.kuleuven.be/nrg4/>).

## Exact repetition: the case of focus marking *so* and other German particles

Kathleen Schumann, Heike Wiese / *Universität Potsdam*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13:00

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In general, German is regarded as a repetition avoider. However, in the case of German *so* ‘such’, when used as a focus marker (similar to colloquial English *like*), we find frequent usages where *so* forms a bracket around its co-constituent, based on an exact and total repetition of this particle, as illustrated in (1) (cf. Wiese 2011; capitalisation indicates main stress):

- (1) *Doctor explaining the application of two kinds of cream to a patient:*

Die ist für die NACHT, und diese so für TAGSüber so.  
 this is for the night and this.one SO for day.over SO

“This one is for the night, and this one, for daytime.”

This usage has been observed for informal spoken German in different contexts, including youth language in multilingual and monolingual settings, as captured in KiDKo (*KiezDeutschKorpus*), a corpus of spontaneous peer-group conversations among adolescents in Berlin (Wiese et al. 2012, Rehbein & Schalowski 2014). Focus marking *so* can also precede or follow its co-constituent. By comparison, bracketing is the least frequent option, but one that is nevertheless documented across speakers and speech communities. This pattern of repetition might be restricted to *so* only in its usage as a pragmatic marker.

Interestingly, KiDKo provides examples for repetitions of some other particles that also seem to point to bracketing, as illustrated in (2) for the particle/adverb *noch* ‘yet/still’ in a multiethnic (*Mu*) but also in a monoethnic (*Mo*) setting, respectively:

- (2)      und dann brauch ich noch    SOMmersachen noch  
             and then need    I    NOCH summer.clothes NOCH  
             “And then, I will also need some summer clothes.” (KiDKo, MuH19WT)

In this example, *noch* also occurs as identical, phonologically overt full copy. Similarly as for *so*, such constructions seem to support the delimitation of the domain for focused elements. Syntactically, the repetition seems to build on an option to occupy not only one, but two possible syntactic positions at the same time, which might be another parallel to *so* brackets.

In our talk, we will analyse in how far these observations can shed further light on *so* brackets, and discuss possible relations between the repetition patterns for these particles and focus marking *so*. By doing so, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of exact repetition in German and its pragmatic and syntactic nature.

**References:** Rehbein, Ines & Sören Schalowski. 2014. “STTS goes Kiez.” Experiments on annotating and tagging urban youth language. *Journal for Language Technology and Computational Linguistics* 28: 199–227. • Wiese, Heike. 2011. *So* as a focus marker in German. *Linguistics* 49: 991–1039. • Wiese, Heike, Ulrike Freywald, Sören Schalowski & Katharina Mayr. 2012. Das KiezDeutsch-Korpus. Spontansprachliche Daten Jugendlicher aus urbanen Wohngebieten. *Deutsche Sprache* 40: 97–123.

## Exact repetition in syntactic constructions: a pragmatic view

Rita Finkbeiner / Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

In many languages, there are syntactic constructions pairing together two identical elements non-adjacently, cf. English X *or no* X (e.g., *war or no war*), German N *hin*, N *her* (e.g., *Finanzkrise hin*, *Finanzkrise her* “financial crisis thither, financial crisis thither”), Swedish X *och* X (e.g., *ny och ny* “new and new”), or the NPN construction, which is attested in most European languages (e.g. *student after student*, *hand in hand*).

While in the typological literature on reduplication, these cases are regarded as “borderline cases”, whose status “in the phenomenology of reduplication remains doubtful” (Stolz 2009, 100), in the literature on the syntax-semantics-interface, some of these constructions have gained more attention recently (e.g. Pullum & Rawlins 2007, Jackendoff 2008, Zwarts 2013). However, these approaches mostly have little to say about the role of pragmatics in the meaning constitution of utterances containing these constructions. On the other hand, while contextualist pragmatic theories have emphasized the role of pragmatic principles in the interpretation of lexical doubling (e.g., Horn 1993, Huang 2009), they have neglected patterns of non-adjacent reduplication.

In my talk, I point to the commonalities between different syntactic constructions that feature non-adjacent exact repetition in German and argue that these constructions are not a marginal phenomenon, but a widespread linguistic means that may fulfil powerful discursive functions. Consequently, we are in need of a comprehensive approach that takes into account not only their (partly idiosyncratic) syntactic and semantic properties, but also the general pragmatic principles that are at work here. More generally, I argue that theories of reduplication are in need of incorporation of a systematic interface to pragmatics.

## The many forms of repetition: an analysis of ways to measure verbal mimicry

Kaitlin Cannava / *Louisiana State University*

Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

Currently there are various ways to operationalize verbal repetition. In verbal mimicry people match speech characteristics and patterns, but also match speech rate, utterance duration, accents (Giles and Coupland 1991; Cappella and Planalp 1981), and syntax (Bock 1986). In general, repetition and mimicry influence a range of communicative perceptions and outcomes, but this influence may also be a function of how repetition is operationalized. This study analyzed how two different operationalizations of repetition, language style matching (LSM) (Ireland et al. 2011) and what I call “local lexical repetition” (LLR) (Cannava 2014) were used to predict how dyads of various relational histories use language similarly or repeat each other. Depending on the operationalization of verbal repetition, we get different pictures of dyadic coordination patterns; how researchers choose to measure repetition influences results and interpretation.

Using computerized textual analysis software, both LSM and LLR were calculated. LSM is thought to be a marker of involvement, similar psychological states across partners, and a marker of relationship status (Ireland et al. 2011). LSM is the matching of nine word categories, specifically function words, between speakers. LLR is the average of the percentage of shared words between speakers over every turn with a conversation; LLR is a turn-by-turn analysis of repeated lexical items. LSM and LLR were calculated from transcripts of 270 dyads engaged in a 5 minute conversation in which one person told about a problematic event while the other listened to that disclosure; 151 dyads were strangers, and 119 were friends.

Results showed no significant difference between strangers and friends with respect to LSM,  $F(1, 268) = .144, p = .704$ . There was, however, a significant difference between strangers and friends for LLR,  $F(1, 254) = 4.28, p = .040$ . These results suggest that friends ( $M = 14.31, SD = 4.78$ ) repeated each other more than strangers ( $M = 13.02, SD = 5.13$ ). In other words, LSM scores did not differ between relationship types, whereas friends tended to repeat each other more. This result is surprising because LSM was conceptualized as a way to determine relationship status, meaning that more intimate people should have higher LSM scores. This was not the case; in fact LLR

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did a better job at predicting relationship status over LSM. Perhaps LLR is a better way to conceptualize dialogue and notions of common ground; people repeat lexical items more frequently with a stronger relational history.

**References:** Giles, Howard, Justine Coupland & Nikolas Coupland. 1991. *Contexts of accommodation: Development in applied sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Cappella, Joseph & Sally Planalp. 1981. Talk and silence sequences in informal conversations: III. Interspeaker influence. *Human Communication Research* 7: 117–132. • Ireland, Molly, Richard Slatcher, Paul Eastwick, Lauren Scissors, Eli Finkel & James Pennebaker. 2011. Language style matching predicts relationship initiation and stability. *Psychological Science* 22: 39–44. • Cannava, Kaitlin. 2014. *ReTurn: Repetition Analysis of Turns*. [Software]. Available from <http://spowers.net/Words/>.

## The role of cognate objects in language variation and change

Britta Mondorf, Matthias Eitelmann /  
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

From cognate object constructions such as *to snore a good snore*, which constitute a borderline case of reduplication phenomena (see Stolz et al. 2011, 65–67), involve the occurrence of an otherwise intransitive verb in combination with an object that is etymologically and semantically related to the verb. While some studies have approached cognate objects from the framework of Cognitive Linguistics (cf. e.g. Höche 2008), addressed the challenges they pose to syntactic theories (cf. Jones 1988) or focused on cross-linguistic similarities and differences (see, e.g., Mittwoch 1998 for Hebrew data or Lavidas 2012 for Greek), their functional and historical distribution has not yet been comprehensively analyzed. The present paper seeks to shed some new light on the trajectory of change of cognate objects in the diachronic development from Old English to the present (examples based on Visser 1970, 416):

- (1) OE: **slæpon slæp heora** ‘they slept their sleep’ (10th c.)
- (2) ME: The ladye **lough a loud laughter** As shee sate by the king (c1470)
- (3) EModE: I haue labored and **strieu a good strife**. (1528)



(4) LModE: Catharine **blushed a blush of anger**. (1828)

The syntactic status of these cognate objects raises intriguing questions concerning their argument structure, particularly as they occupy the internal argument position of a verb that does not normally license an NP. On close inspection, they constitute pseudo-objects in that they fail certain tests for objecthood, i.e. cognate objects are not easily passivized (*?A good snore is snored by him*), and not easily extracted (*?It was a good snore that he snored*). What is more, it is striking that cognate objects tend to occur as indefinite NPs which are often supported by attributive adjectives or other modifications (*to snore a good snore*).

Against this backdrop, the aim of the present paper is threefold. First, it provides an empirical corpus-based study investigating the occurrence of cognate object constructions throughout several centuries. Second, it puts cognate object constructions into the larger context of English pseudo-object constructions (e.g. *way*-constructions such as *to snore one's way through a lecture*, dummy *it* such as *to leg it* or light verb constructions such as *to take a snore*) in order to evaluate the systematicity with which English makes use of transitivity strategies. Third, it explores the processing-related function of cognate object constructions that considerably lengthen the verb phrase – even at the cost of lexical repetition, which English rather prefers to avoid (cf. Mittwoch 1998, 328).

**References:** Höche, Silke. 2008. *Cognate Object Constructions in English. A Cognitive-Linguistic Account*. Narr, Tübingen. • Jones, Michael Allan 1988. Cognate Objects and the Case Filter. *Linguistics* 24: 89–110. • Lavidas, Nikolaos. 2012. Unaccusativity and the Diachrony of Null and Cognate Objects in Greek. In E. van Gelderen, M. Cennamo & J. Barðal (eds.): *Argument Structure in Flux: The Naples-Capri Paper-se*, 307–342. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. • Mittwoch, Anita. 1998. Cognate Objects as Reflections of Davidsonian Event Arguments. In S. Rothstein (ed.): *Events and Grammar*, 309–332. Kluwer, Dordrecht. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011. *Total Reduplication. The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. • Visser, Fredericus. 1970. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language. Part One: Syntactical Units with One Verb*. Brill, Leiden.

## Turkish doubled verbs as doubled TPs

Betül Erbaş / *Boğaziçi University*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

This paper investigates the internal structure of Inflected Doubled Verbs (DVs) in Turkish (1), where two identical verb stems with a root, person and tense-aspect markers appear adjacently.

We propose that DVs result from doubling a TP and form one unit. This unit functions as iterative adverbs, modifying the main verb. DVs are TPs because (i) they have to have a tense-aspect marker (2), and (ii) some TP-internal objects and adverbs can be doubled with the verb stem (3).

DVs – as TPs – should not have above-TP projections like topics (Rizzi, 1997). Hence, a matrix clause with a DV should have only one position for topic, focus, questions and higher adverbs provided by the main verb. Examples in (4)-(7) support this.

This proposal shows that a TP, an intermediate level between a word and a sentence, can be doubled, supporting the recent proposals that doubling/reduplication is more widespread in languages than previously thought (Stolz et al., 2011) and occurs at various levels of Grammar (Hurch et al., 2008; Stolz et al., 2011).

- (1) Her gün/\*Şimdi yürü-yor-um yürü-yor-um kilo  
every day/\*now walk-PROG-1SG weight  
ver-e-m-iyor-um  
give-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1SG  
“I keep walking (but) I just cannot lose weight.”
- (2) Her gün yürü-yor-um yürü-yor-um/\*yürü-yor-um yürüüüm kilo  
every day walk-PROG-1SG weight  
ver-e-m-iyor-um  
give-ABIL-NEG-PROG-1SG  
“I keep walking (but) I just cannot lose weight.”
- (3) Bu konu-yu **kitap oku-du-m kitap oku-du-m** öyle  
this topic-ACC book read-PAST-1SG this.way  
öğren-di-m  
learn-PAST-1SG  
“I kept doing book reading and in this way, I learnt this topic.”
- (4) İnsan-lar-ı (onlar hakkında) o kadar kitap  
human-PL.ACC (them about) it (as) much book

*oku-du-m oku-du-m* (hala) anla-ya-ma-dı-m  
 read-PAST-1SG (still) understand-ABIL-NEG-PAST-1SG  
 “I kept reading so many books about humans (but) I (still) have not understood them.”

- (5) \**KİTABI okudum okudum İYİ* anlayamadım  
 “I kept reading THE BOOK but I was not able to understand it WELL.”
- (6) a. *İyi çalış-tı-m çalış-tı-m* bol kazan-dı-m  
 well work-PAST-1SG much earn-PAST-1SG  
 “I kept working well (and thus) I earned a lot.”  
 b. *Nasıl çalıştın çalıştın* bol kazandın? (*can be real question*)  
 “How did you keep working (and thus) you earned well?”  
 c. *İyi çalıştın çalıştın* (peki) nasıl/ne kadar kazandın? (*can be real question*)  
 “You kept working well (and) how/how much did you earn?”  
 d. *İyi mi çalıştın çalıştın* bol mu kazandın?  
 “Intended: Is it the case that you kept working well and (by doing so) you earned a lot?”
- (7) \**Malesef kitab-ı oku-ma-dı-m oku-ma-dı-m* bitir-di-m  
 unfortunately book-ACC read-NEG-PAST-1SG finish-PAST-1SG  
 “Intended: I unfortunately did not keep reading the book (but still) I finished (it).”

**Selected References:** Demircan, Ömer. 1988. A systematic approach to non-echoic-base reduplications. In S. Koç (ed.): *Studies on Turkish Linguistics*, 231–264. Middle East Technical University, Ankara. • Hurch, Bernhard, Motomi Kajitani, Veronika Mattes, Ursula Stangel & Ralf Vollmann. 2008. Other reduplication phenomena. The Graz Database on Reduplication. • Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.): *Elements of grammar. Handbook in generative syntax*, 281–337. Kluwer, Dordrecht. • Stolz Thomas, Cornelia Stroh & Aina Urdze. 2011. *Total reduplication, The areal linguistics of a potential universal*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

## Rhyme and ablaut reduplication in German

Gerrit Kentner / *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

German exhibits a great variety of reduplicating patterns that have hitherto been considered unproductive (Bzdęga 1965; Schindler 1991; Wiese 1990). I suggest that the diversity and their use in mainly non-standard registers have obscured the productivity of two kinds of reduplication, viz. rhyme (1-a) and ablaut reduplication (1-b). Evidence comes from a corpus of >200 reduplicated items. Here, I propose i) a taxonomy of different reduplicating structures in German, which paves the way for ii) an analysis of rhyme and ablaut reduplication, formalized in terms of Optimality Theory (OT).

- (1) a. *Hasemase, Kallepalle, Schorlemorle, Michipichi, Schickimicki*  
b. *Mischmasch, tippeltappel, Quitschquatsch, schwippschwapp*

**Taxonomy** Reduplication creates a morphologically complex word by copying of (some part of) a base. That is, reduplication proper has to be distinguished from phonological doubling which results in simple stems (*Mama, Kuckuck*); furthermore, (special) cases of compounding (e.g. identical constituent compounding, Hohenhaus 2004, or blending) require two stems and thus do not qualify as reduplication. Sequences that are open to syntactic fission (*hopp hopp* vs. *hopp, na los, hopp*) cannot be considered words and thus do not meet the above criteria.

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**OT analysis** Several generalizations can be formulated on the basis of the corpus: 1. Reduplication results in bipedal words with trochaic foot structure; 2. Non-trochaic bases cannot undergo reduplication; 3. Nonidentity is observed by rhyme or ablaut. The proposed OT grammar successfully models these generalizations. Certain correlations regarding reduplicative word formation and poetic devices, such as rhyme and meter, will be discussed.

**References:** Bzdęga, Andrzej. 1965. *Reduplizierte Wortbildung im Deutschen*. PAN, Posnan • Hohenhaus, Peter. 2004. Identical constituent compounding – a corpus based study. *Folia Linguistica* 38: 297–331. • Schindler, Wolfgang. 1991. Reduplizierende Wortbildung im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 44: 597–613. • Wiese, Richard. 1990. Über die Interaktion von

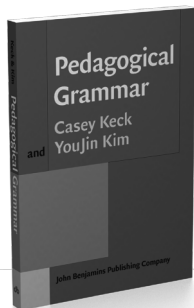
Morphologie und Phonologie – Reduplikation im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung* 43: 603–624.

# New Text Books

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Casey Keck and Youjin Kim

Boise State University / Georgia State University



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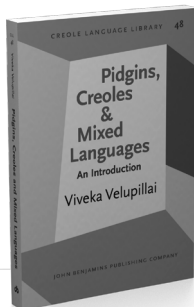
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## Arbeitsgruppe 3

### What drives syntactic computation? Alternatives to formal features

*Dennis Ott  
Radek Šimík*

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#### Workshop description

Formal features (FFs) continue to figure prominently in various areas of syntactic theorizing. Displacement in particular is widely held to be effected by FFs or their properties (strength, EPP, etc.). However, various researchers have expressed skepticism toward this reliance on oftentimes arbitrary triggers (e.g., Chomsky 2001:6, Fanselow 2006), and some have sought more principled replacements. This workshop aims to explore and assess such alternative approaches to the causal forces underlying syntactic operations and their effects on interpretation and externalization. Various lines of research have emerged that all seek to minimize the role of syntactically encoded featural triggers. Seminal work by Reinhart (1995) argues that notions such as referentiality, scope, or focus cannot be reduced to FFs, despite their close association with syntactic operations (e.g., scrambling, QR, focus fronting). Instead, these operations are taken to apply freely in syntax, their legitimacy being contingent solely on their effects on interpretation and prosodic realization (cf. Szendrői 2001, Fox 2002, Bobaljik 2002). Moro (2000, 2004) and Ott (2012) argue that movement creates structural asymmetries required at the interfaces, an approach which Chomsky (2013) extends to the “EPP” problem and the vexing case of intermediate movement steps. Even the traditional assumption that movement of *wh*-phrases is triggered by corresponding FFs in

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the C-system has not gone unquestioned (cf. Šimík 2012). Richards (2010) argues that the *wh*-movement parameter is derivative of the prosodic requirements of *wh*-phrases and *wh*-questions in a given language, which can be achieved by either syntactic or prosodic means. As a result, stipulations of “feature strength” and the like become obsolete. Below the word level, frameworks such as Nanosyntax emphasize the role of morpho-phonology in driving syntactic computation (cf. Starke 2011). Sublexical movement is motivated indirectly, by the need to arrive at syntactic configurations for which there is a matching lexical item: what feature-based systems would take to be a “crashing” derivation here corresponds to the impossibility of lexicalizing a syntactic subtree – that is, an independent output condition. Despite these promising developments, FFs still reign supreme in various domains of syntactic theory where they are no less problematic (see e.g. Thoms’ 2010 critique of Merchant’s 2001 “E[llipsis]-feature”). This workshop will seek to explore the prospects, scope and limits of alternative ways of motivating syntactic computation, by asking questions such as the following:

- Can syntactic theory avoid recourse to FFs entirely, or is their postulation inevitable – and perhaps even desirable – in at least some domains (e.g. minimality effects, parametric variation)?
- Can a model that eschews featural triggers be appropriately restrictive? What is the locus and nature of the restrictions, and (how) can they be implemented without syntactic “look ahead”?
- Is a FF-free syntax a suitable instrument to capture optionality and obligatoriness of operations? Is there genuine grammatical optionality after all (cf. Biberauer & Richards 2006)?

In the current paper, I show that some recalcitrant cross-linguistic (both simple and conjunct) agreement variations can be accounted for in a system without uninterpretable ( $\phi$ ) features, provided: (i) displacement occurs at all



‘points of symmetry’, created when two non-lexical items (LIs) merge, enabling the Labeling Algorithm to project either of the two merged elements, and (ii) the probe-goal relation Agree (Feature Sharing) relation of Pesetsky and Torrego (2007) is replaced by the local (sisterhood) Feature Sharing mechanism stated in (1).

(1) Feature Sharing:

A head X with no interpretable features will share or get the values of the interpretable features of YP it immediately agrees with.

With Moro (2000), I assume that Move occurs to break points of symmetry at XP-YP or X0-Y0 mergers. This necessitates movement of one of the merged items, with the consequence that only one of them projects. Assuming that only LIs selected from the lexicon are ‘pure’, unprojected heads, conventional specifier-‘head’ relations are also XP-YP structures, and hence label-less unless displacement comes to the rescue. I argue, with Georgi and Müller (2010) that ‘reprojection’ supercedes head-movement, such that v to T movement now creates a vP to which v merges. Feature sharing of +V, +T between the two heads is morphologically manifested as default agreement. In instances, where a DP moves to TP, DP shares +PNG features with T/C, resulting in the overt manifestation of complete phi-agreement. Agreement variations with VS and SV orders are thus accounted for in an uninterpretable feature-less system.

The system also takes care of conjunct agreement variations involving double layered points of symmetry at DP-&P and &P/DP-vP mergers. DP/&P structures are labeled either DP or &P. When this newly created DP/&P is merged with vP, either DP/&P or vP moves, enabling labeling. If v moves and creates a v-T structure, the v-T complex can either agree with DP in gender, or with &P in number. First and last conjunct agreement variations result from this mechanism and some PF parameters.

In summary, this paper argues that agreement varies depending on which of the two merged elements moves to allow labeling of the created structures. This view of grammar presents an underspecified UG that allows competing alternatives at every point of symmetry: these are possibly resolved via (IInd Factor) experience with visible, interpretable inflectional features on syntactic items.

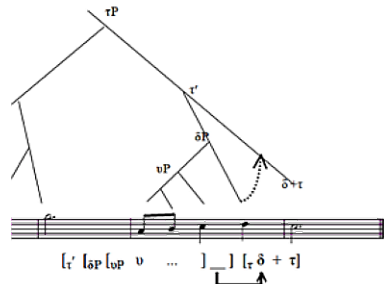
**Reference:** Georgi, Doreen & Gereon Müller. 2010. Noun Phrase Structure by Reprojection. *Syntax* 13: 1–36. • Moro, Andrea. 2000. *Dynamic Antisymmetry*. MIT Press, Cambridge. • Pesetsky, David & Esther Torrego. 2007. *The Syntax of Valuation and*

the Interpretability of Features. In S. Karimi, V. Samiian & W. Wilkins (eds.): *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture: Syntactic Derivation and Interpretation*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

## Uninterpretable features as triggers for movement: differences between language and music

Hedde Zeijlstra / *Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

In an influential paper Katz & Pesetsky (2011) present the identity thesis for language and music, stating that ‘all formal differences between language and music are a consequence of differences in their fundamental building blocks (arbitrary pairings of sound and meaning in the case of language; pitch-classes and pitch-class combinations in the case of music). In all other respects, language and music are identical.’ Katz & Pesetsky argue that just like syntactic



structures, musical structures are generated by (binary) Merge, for which they provide a number of arguments. In addition, they take movement phenomena (i.e. the application of Internal Merge) to be present in both language and music. While fully endorsing the view that musical structures are the result of multiple application of External (binary) Merge, this paper argues that the arguments in favour of the presence of Internal Merge in music are at best inconclusive and arguably incorrect. This is, however, not taken as an argument against the identity thesis for language and music; rather we take it to speak in its favour. If Internal Merge in language is driven by particular features (in casu uninterpretable features, cf. Chomsky 1995, 2001, Bošković 2007) that are language-specific and not applicable to music, the direct consequence is that Internal Merge cannot apply in music either.

The evidence Katz & Pesetsky provide in favour of movement in musical structure comes from the phenomenon full cadence. In full cadences, the final chord, the tonic ( $\tau$ ), which determines the key and counts as the head of the entire musical structure, must be preceded by a dominant ( $\delta$ ), which has at

least one dependent. Since the structure requires some full  $\delta P$  as the complement of  $\tau$  and at the same time  $\delta$  and  $\tau$  form a single unit, where  $\delta$  acts as the dependent of  $\tau$ , Katz & Pesetsky argue that  $\delta$  undergoes head-movement to  $\tau$  (see picture). These facts, however, do not necessarily reflect head movement. In head-final configurations, as Bobaljik (1995) has pointed out, head movement is not necessary at all, since the requirement that  $\delta$  and  $\tau$  are string adjacent, a necessary condition for the Stray Affix filter, is already fulfilled, thus rendering  $\delta$ -to- $\tau$  movement superfluous. Since full cadences necessarily involve head-final tonics, all instances of full cadences can thus be explained in this way without alluding to head movement: full cadency simply requires that the  $\delta$  and  $\tau$  heads must be string-adjacent.

**References:** Bobaljik, Jonathan D. 1995. *Morphosyntax: The Syntax of Verbal Inflection*. PhD. dissertation, MIT. • Bošković, Željko. 2007. On the locality and motivation of Move and Agree: An even more minimal theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 589–644. • Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In M. Kenstovicz (ed.): *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, 1–54. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Katz, Jonah & David Pesetsky. 2011. *The Identity Thesis for Language and Music*. LingBuzz 000959.

## Syntactic operations exceed what the interfaces can account for

Omer Preminger / *University of Maryland*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

Chomsky's (2004) Strong Minimalist Thesis (SMT), if true, means that the "driving force" in a syntactic derivation is the need to satisfy legibility requirements, imposed upon the result of the derivation when this result is handed over to the interface(s). On this view, syntactic operations—whatever they may be—will occur freely, and may *appear* to be obligatory only insofar as their application turns out to be crucial to the eventual legibility of the resulting syntactic object. Thus:

### (1) **Corollary of SMT:**

a syntactic operation  $\omega$  is obligatory **iff** all derivations in which  $\omega$  has not applied would yield an interface-illegible syntactic object.

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In this talk, I provide two illustrations that (1) is false. One involves case assignment, and is based on data from Sakha (Turkic; Baker & Vinokurova 2010, Kornfilt & Preminger 2013, Levin & Preminger in press). The other involves  $\phi$ -feature agreement, and is based on data from Kaqchikel (Mayan; Preminger 2014). In both domains, the application of a particular operation (case-assignment, agreement) is obligatory, yet the claim that non-application of the operation yields an interface-illegible object yields a contradiction.

Broader implications: (i) the SMT is false (since (1), entailed by the SMT, is false); (ii) the two instances of feature-calculus that are perhaps most canonical (*viz.* case & agreement) are modeled incorrectly within minimalism. As a result, attempts to derive the behavior of current minimalist feature mechanisms from “deeper” principles (e.g. the nature of the interface(s)) are measuring their success against a false yardstick.

**References:** Baker, Mark C. & Nadya Vinokurova. 2010. Two modalities of Case assignment: Case in Sakha. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 593–642. • Chomsky, Noam. 2004. Beyond explanatory adequacy. In A. Belletti (ed.), 104–131. Oxford University Press, New York. • Kornfilt, Jaklin & Omer Preminger. 2013. Nominative as no case at all: an argument from raising-to-acc in Sakha. Paper presented at *WAFSL* 9, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University. • Levin, Theodore & Omer Preminger. in press. Case in Sakha: are two modalities really necessary? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. • Preminger, Omer. 2014. *Agreement and its failures*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

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## Against a feature driven view of *wh*-movement

Hadas Kotek / McGill University

Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

AG3

In this talk, I argue that *wh*-movement is not in general feature-driven, but is instead driven by the semantic needs of the *wh*-phrase. The argument comes from empirical observations about the real-time processing of in-situ *wh*-phrases in English multiple *wh*-questions and from parallelism between English and German questions in the context of focus intervention effects.

The argument here from covert *wh*-movement allows us to isolate the contribution of Core Syntax and LF from that of PF, as covert movement is not affected by the need to overtly front a *wh*-phrase to the edge of the clause in languages like English and German.

**Background** Theories of interrogative syntax/semantics adopt two strategies for the interpretation of *wh*-in-situ: covert movement (Karttunen 1977, a.o.) and focus-alternative computation (Hamblin 1973, a.o.). Several recent theories have proposed that both strategies can be used within the interrogative system of the same language—even in the computation of a single question (Pesetsky 2000; Cable 2010, a.o.). Covert movement is traditionally assumed to be all-or-nothing: the in-situ *wh* covertly moves to C or else stays in-situ at LF and is interpreted using focus-alternatives.

**The argument** I present evidence from real-time processing of English multiple *wh*-questions that *wh*-phrases require *both* covert movement and focus-alternative computation, in a novel order of operations: surface in-situ *wh*-phrases partially move covertly, and are then interpreted via focus-alternatives between their landing site and C. The length of the partial movement is by default short, but can be modulated by the presence of a focus intervener (Beck 2006): covert movement must target a position above the intervener, with consequences for real-time sentence processing. **This behavior does not reflect sensitivity to syntactic features. Instead, it reflects the semantic needs of the in-situ *wh* and thus of covert *wh*-movement.**

I furthermore draw a parallel between these results and the behavior of in-situ *wh*-phrases in German multiple questions: as is well known, such *wh*-phrases must overtly scramble above any potential interveners in the sentence to avoid an intervention effect. I argue that the behavior of English can be modeled as covert scrambling, providing advantages for our understanding of language acquisition and the cross-linguistic typology of questions.

**References:** Beck, Sigrid. 2006. Intervention effects follow from focus interpretation. *Natural Language Semantics* 14: 1–56. • Cable, Seth. 2010. *The grammar of Q: Q-particles, wh-movement, and pied-piping*. Oxford University Press. • Hamblin, Charles. 1973. Questions in Montague English. *Foundations of Language* 10: 41–53. • Karttunen, Lauri. 1977. Syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1: 3–44. • Pesetsky, David. 2000. *Phrasal movement and its kin*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

## The *wh*-parameter and radical externalization

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Éric Mathieu / *University of Ottawa*

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015, 17:00–17:30

The hypothesis introduced in this paper is that whether a language is a *wh*-in situ or a *wh*-movement language depends entirely on whether the language associates focus with prosody in a purely demarcative fashion. This is inspired by Richards (2010) but, as we shall see, with important differences. I concentrate on French *wh*-in situ (Boeckx 1999; Mathieu 1999; 2002; Zubizarreta 2003; Adli 2004; Mathieu 2004; Hamlaoui 2011) and thus contribute directly to the prosodic literature that already exists on the topic (Cheng and Rooryck 2000; Adli 2004; Déprez et al. 2010; Hamlaoui 2011). However, my implementation of the facts and my conclusions are rather different from those found in these papers since the aim of my contribution is typological. Chinese, Japanese, Sinhala, Turkish, etc. will be shown to share with French crucial intonational properties that set them apart from *wh*-movement languages. I argue that the key to understanding the licensing of *wh*-in situ in French (and other languages) is to be found in a proper understanding of the way focus is licensed in the language that exhibits *wh*-in situ. I propose that, although CP (complementizer phrase) is universal (it is present in all languages and so is *wh*-scope), variation in question formation, i.e. whether the *wh*-word remains in situ or raises to the left periphery of the clause, is conditioned independently by prosodic factors. The generalization appears in (1).

- (1) i A language tends to be a *wh*-in situ language if prominence/focus can be expressed prosodically and in a way that is purely demarcative, i.e. without pitch accents and only with prosodic rephrasing/dephrasing and/or segmental cues (such languages tend to have no lexical stress);
- ii A language tends to be a *wh*-movement language if prominence/focus can be expressed prosodically and in a fashion that is culminative, i.e. via pitch accents followed by deaccenting (such languages tend to have lexical/flexible stress).

(1) sheds light on why so many tone languages are *wh*-in situ languages: East Asian (e.g. Vietnamese, Thai, Chinese, etc.) and most Bantu languages (Chichewâ, Zulu, Kinyarwanda, etc.): these languages have no lexical stress. Although many languages (e.g. English), somehow use both demarcative and

culminative strategies, the point of the generalization is that *wh*-in situ correlates with languages that have only the demarcative strategy. In diachronic terms, languages can go from i) to ii) or vice versa depending on what happens to the general prosodic system. The logic and the details of my proposal are compatible with the idea that syntax is mainly invariant (Newmeyer 2005; Kandybowicz 2009; Boeckx 2010; Berwick and Chomsky 2011; Boeckx 2011). My account nevertheless leans towards radical externalization in that I do away with “strength” parameters. In Chomsky’s system (Chomsky 2005), some variation is kept in syntax by way of features (strong or weak), especially for cases such as the *wh*-parameter. Since I abandon such features, my theoretical stance is thus much closer to that of Boeckx (2012), who claims that syntactic parameters simply do not exist.

**References:** Boeckx, Cedric. 2012. *Considerations pertaining to the nature of logodiversity, or How to construct a parametric space without parameters*. Universitat de Barcelona: lingBuzz/001453 • Büring, Daniel. 2009. Towards a typology of focus realization. In M. Zimmermann & C. Féry (eds.): *Information Structure*, 177–205. OUP. • Déprez, Viviane, Kristen Syrett & Shigeto Kawahara. 2013. The interaction of syntax, prosody, and discourse in licensing French *wh*-in-situ questions. *Lingua* 124: 4–19 • Féry, Caroline. 2001. Focus and phrasing in French. In C. Féry & W. Sternefeld (eds.): *Audiatur Vox Sapientiae. A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*, 153–81. Akademie-Verlag: Berlin. • Kandybowicz, Jason. 2009. Externalization and Emergence: On the Status of Parameters in the Minimalist Program. *Biolinguistics* 3: 94–99. • Nespor, Marina & Irene Vogel. 1986. *Prosodic phonology*. Foris, Dordrecht. • Newmeyer, Frederick J. 2005. *Possible and probable languages: A generative perspective on linguistic typology*. OUP. • Richards, Norvin. 2010. *Uttering trees*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

## Dynamic antisymmetry for labeling

Jun Abe / Tohoku Gakuin University

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–9:30

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In this paper, I argue for the thesis proposed by Chomsky (2013) that antisymmetry is required for labeling. Chomsky proposes that labeling is conducted via minimal search, so that when a given syntactic object SO consists of X, YP, then the head X is picked out for the labeling of SO, whereas when it

consists of XP, YP, then the label of SO remains undetermined, hence uninterpretable. Chomsky claims that one way to circumvent this situation is to move one of the constituents out of it, on the assumption that the copy left behind by movement is invisible for labeling. Here a question arises: Why does movement of XP or YP make its copy left behind invisible for labeling? To answer this question, I propose the following:

- (1) a. Movement is a composite of Copy and Merge.  
(cf. Hornstein 2009, among others)
- b. To copy a syntactic object X makes the original inactive in syntactic computation.

I argue that Copy can be independently motivated as part of the operation of Transfer. Given this, it follows from (1b) that the transferred material becomes inactive in syntactic computation. I argue that the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) is basically attributed to the nature of this copy operation. One good consequence of the PIC is that it derives the successive-cyclicity of movement. To derive this effect, I hypothesize the following:

- (2) a. Transfer applies to a whole phase domain as soon as relevant operations are completed.
- b. Any SO in a phase domain can make its copy before Transfer.
- (3) Order Preservation Condition (OPC) (Fox and Pesetsky 2005)  
Information about linearization, once established at the end of a given Spell-out domain, is never deleted in the course of a derivation.

Given these, a moved phrase needs to be shifted at the left edge of each phase domain to preserve the OPC. Further, following (2b), the moved phrase needs to make its own copy before Transfer. Thanks to this copying, the moved phrase becomes visible for the next phase domain. On the other hand, its original copy becomes inactive due to (1b), and hence the sister node is correctly picked out for labeling at each phase domain. As empirical consequences of our system, I discuss what Rizzi (2006) calls “criterial freezing” and *that*-trace effects. I argue that these phenomena can be naturally explained under our system of labeling and Transfer.

**References:** Chomsky, Noam. 2013. Problems of projection. *Lingua* 130: 33–49. • Fox, Danny & David Pesetsky. 2005. Cyclic linearization of syntactic structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 31: 1–45. • Hornstein, Norbert. 2009. *A theory of syntax: Minimal operations and universal grammar*. Cambridge University Press, New York. • Rizzi,



Luigi. 2006. On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects. In L. Cheng & N. Corver (eds.): *Wh-Movement: Moving on*, 97–133. MIT Press, Cambridge MA.

## Category avoidance in root contexts – the case of V2-C

Andreas Blümel / *Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:30–10:00

A recent effort in syntactic theorizing is to rid the grammar of endocentricity. According to Chomsky (2013) the cases that do speak in its favor can be made to follow from minimal search, i.e. efficient detection of the structurally closest head, ultimately a Third Factor principle. Within that approach two strategies exist to endow structures of the form XP-YP with a *label*, i.e. structures, where detection of the closest head fails (as in the trivial case Head-XP): (a) symmetry-breaking movement turns one member into a discontinuous element such that the in-situ element is detected, (b) both X and Y share a prominent feature and have undergone AGREE, so that the common feature provides the label.

This contribution argues that V2-structures in (mostly) Germanic provide evidence for the necessity to avoid labeling in root (-like) contexts, i.e. instantiate systematic and obligatory failures of the two mentioned strategies to label XP-YP: in declarative root clauses the prefield must be occupied to prevent specification of category of  $\alpha = \{XP, CP_{V2}\}$ . The analysis explains the lack of specificity of the prefield-XP as shown by e.g. expletives (1), externally merged XP (2) (cf. Frey 2006) and category indifference (3): it does not matter how labeling is subdued as long as it is subdued.

- (1) \*(Es) haben hier viele Leute übernachtet.  
EXPL have here many people spend-the-night  
'Many people have spent the night here.'
- (2) Kein Wunder spricht Peter so gut Französisch.  
no wonder speaks Peter so well French  
'No surprise Peter speaks French so well.'
- (3) a. [ $\alpha$  [<sub>DP</sub> Maria] hat t<sub>DP</sub> den Mann gestern gesehen].  
Mary has the man yesterday seen  
'Mary saw the man yesterday.'

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- b.  $[_\alpha [_{AdvP} \text{ Gestern}] \text{ hat Maria den Mann } t_{AdvP} \text{ gesehen } ]$ .  
 c.  $[_\alpha [_{vP} \text{ Den Mann gesehen}] \text{ hat Maria gestern } t_{vP} ]$ .

**Selected Reference:** Frey, Werner. 2006. Contrast and movement to the German pre-field. In V. Molnár & S. Winkler (eds.): *The architecture of focus*, 235–264. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Relational output configurations as alternatives to formal features

Volker Struckmeier / *Universität Köln*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

Formal features (FFs) are used, e.g., to enforce movement. We point out an alternative to these mechanisms and demonstrate how *relational* mechanisms can replace FFs in German *scrambling*.

To trigger scrambling, some authors propose [Topic] heads above vP that attract [TOPIC] phrases to their specifiers. We propose that syntacto-semantic *relations* can replace FFs: German is a *scope-transparent* language, i.e. displays scopal relations overtly (cf. Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2012). The *relation* between QP2 and Neg (and no attracting head) licenses scrambling in:

- (1)  $[_{QP_2} [_{Neg} [_{vP} DP_1 QP_2 V+v] ]]$  (QP<sub>2</sub> > Negation)

Groat (in prep.) proposes that *Spell-out* removes elements from the derivation whose features have been licensed. Assume that spellout of vP is triggered *before* T merges in German, since modal particles count as phase heads (cf. Struckmeier 2014a). Early spellout removes v, V and DP<sub>acc</sub> in:

- (2) a.  $MP_{PH} [_{DP_{nom}} [_{DP_{acc}} V_{\theta,\theta} ] v_{*acc*}]$  spellout yields:  
 b.  $MP_{PH} [_{DP_{nom}} [_{\cancel{DP}_{acc}} \cancel{V}_{\theta,\theta} ] \cancel{v}_{*acc*}]$

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Since only DP<sub>nom</sub> is still active in the derivation, the structure (a “vP”, under standard assumptions) is labeled by DP<sub>nom</sub>’s(!) features (Chomsky 2013), so that T raises this “vP<sub>D</sub>”:

- (3)  $[_{TP} [_{D} DP_{nom,\phi} [_{\cancel{DP}_{acc}} \cancel{V}_{\theta,\theta} ] \cancel{v}_{*acc*}] \dots$   
 $\dots [_{MP} [_{D} DP_{nom,\phi} [_{\cancel{DP}_{acc}} \cancel{V}_{\theta,\theta} ] \cancel{v}_{*acc*}] ] T_\phi ]$

A relational explanation ensures that no FFs are at stake for the  $vP_D$  movement: The MP in (4) precedes  $vP_D$ , despite being embedded in a head-final TP – exactly the kind of configuration predicted *not* to exist by the *Final-over-Final constraint* (cf. Biberauer et al. 2014). Thus,  $vP_D$  displaces to ensure proper ordering relations. In sum:

- The semantics interpret hierarchies between EoO-moved phrases. German spellout rules ensure that interpretations spell out *transparently*, so that semantically driven displacements ensue (4-a).
- Spellout *also* determines the ordering for copies with *no* hierarchical relation (e.g., DPs in two  $vPD$  copies, Struckmeier 2014b): *Precedence* relations between *prosodically* marked elements explain *asemantic* scrambling (4-b).

- (4) a. weil [<sub>D</sub> der Arzt ... ] [ ALLe Patienten [ nicht [<sub>D</sub> ~~der Arzt~~ alle Patienten heilen ] ] ] kann (salient:  $\forall \neg$ )
- b. weil [<sub>D</sub> der Arzt /ALLe Patienten ... ] [ NICHT [<sub>D</sub> ~~der Arzt~~ alle Patienten heilen ] ] ] kann (salient:  $\neg \forall$ )

We can therefore tentatively offer a complete derivation driven by *relational* output configurations.

**References:** Biberauer, Theresa, Anders Holmberg & Ian Roberts 2014: A Syntactic Universal and Its Consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45: 169–225. • Bobaljik, Jonathan & Susi Wurmbrand 2012: Word order and scope: Transparent interfaces and the 3/4 signature. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43: 371–421. • Chomsky, Noam 2013: Problems of projection. *Lingua* 130: 33–49. • Groat, Erich (in prep.): *Transfer Remnants and Total Transfer*. Ms., Goethe University Frankfurt. • Struckmeier, Volker 2014a: Ja doch wohl C? Modal Particles in German as C-related elements. *Studia Linguistica* 68: 16–48. • Struckmeier, Volker 2014b: *Scrambling ohne Informationsstruktur?* De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Criterial positions without features: consequences for labeling and cartography

Ángel J. Gallego / *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

This paper analyzes left periphery (LP) interpretations in configurational terms. Adopting the I-syntax framework of Hale & Keyser's (1993), we put forward an approach to LP interpretations that dispenses with feature checking. Assuming this, this paper explores (1):

- (1) The Configurational Thesis:  
LP interpretations are emergent properties of configurations

The gist of HK's project was that thematic roles and lexical categories are few in number because phrase structure relations are few in number. If correct, the same should hold for LP interpretations. Therefore, both criterial and thematic interpretations should be limited, and subject to two interface-oriented principles: (i) Unambiguous Projection and (ii) Full Interpretation. (ii) is fairly standard, but (i) has been subject to much recent debate. Here we adopt Chomsky (2013), focusing on two components: One is the idea that labels determine (endocentric) interpretation; the other is a labeling algorithm in (2):

- (2) In  $\{H, XP\}$ , H an LI, H is the label ( $H = \text{head}$ )

(2) is inoperative with  $\{YP, XP\}$  structures, where the label cannot be determined. Chomsky (2013) suggests that the same problem emerges in movement scenarios, which he takes to account for successive cyclic movement without the need to postulate ad hoc features. This is key, for LP interpretations precisely involve movement to a specifier, and thus the  $\{YP, XP\}$  configuration. Given that XPs that move to the LP stay there in violation of (2), Chomsky (2013) argues that when a, say, *wh*-phrase and the C head merge, the label is the feature they share:

- (3)  $\{\{Q, WhP\}, C_Q, \{\dots t_{\{Q, WhP\}}\}\}$  label  $\rightarrow Q$  feature

(3) reintroduces Spec-Head agreement or else entails a new conception of Agree. Worse yet, it also jeopardizes the structural dependencies between

Probes and Goals. We claim that there are three outcomes of movement, depicted in (4), which can account for the basic LP dependencies: clause typing (a), non clause typing (b), and successive cyclic movement (c):

- (4) a.  $\{\{C, XP\}, \{\dots t_{XP}\}\}$   
 b.  $\langle XP, \{C, \{\dots t_{XP}\}\} \rangle$   
 c.  $\{XP, \{C, \{\dots t_{XP}\}\}\}$

This approach has two clear advantages. First, it adheres to the simplest formulation of (2). Second, if the moved XP becomes the complement of C (as in (4-a)), then TP in turn becomes a non-complement: a specifier. Now, if specifiers are opaque, this can account for the wh-island constraint.

**References (selected):** Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Chomsky, Noam. 2013. Problems of Projection. *Lingua* 130: 1–33. • Hale, Kenneth & Samuel J. Keyser. 1993. On the argument structure and the lexical expression of syntactic relations. In *The view from building 20*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Rizzi, Luigi. 2004. Locality and Left Periphery. In A. Belletti (ed.), *Structures and Beyond*. Oxford: OUP. • Rizzi, Luigi. 2006. On the Form of Chains: Criterial Positions and ECP Effects. In L. Cheng & N. Corver (eds.): *Wh-Movement: Moving on*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

## A computational guide to the dichotomy of features and constraints

Thomas Graf / *Stony Brook University*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

I draw on various result from mathematical linguistics to argue that feature-based accounts and constraint-based ones should not be viewed as competing with each other but rather as complementing each other. In particular, recent results on Minimalist grammars show that features and constraints are interchangeable; one can do the work of the other. Even simple c-selection/subcategorization is powerful enough to handle very complex syntactic constraints, including transderivational ones such as Focus Economy and the Shortest Derivation Principle. Moreover, this basic feature checking mechanisms is already too powerful and opens up various loopholes in our theories, for instance by allowing phrases to seemingly be extracted out of islands. The same problem arises with constraints, where even very weak constraints can

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be co-opted to do a tremendous amount of work. The real problem, then, is that both types of devices – constraints and features – are too powerful.

Hence we should not focus on choosing between the two at this point. Instead we need a better understanding of the properties that characterize the class of well-formedness conditions in natural language and how we can use these properties to restrict the power of the formalism in a principled manner. Since features and constraints are interchangeable, it ultimately does not matter from which perspective one approaches this issue. In some areas the relevant conditions might be more apparent when viewed through the lens of features, in others constraints might prove more fruitful. Once we have suitably formalized theories of empirically adequate feature systems and constraint classes, one can investigate whether there are formal reasons to prefer one over the other, e.g. succinctness. But as long as this is not the case, we should freely choose between the two as we see fit in an effort to pinpoint the right level of generative capacity.

## Removal of structure: an argument for feature-driven Merge

Gereon Müller / *Universität Leipzig*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–13:00

Assuming that it needs to be decided at some point whether a given  $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta)$  operation is legitimate, there are two basic possibilities. The first one is that (at least) one of the two categories is equipped with an intrinsic formal property requiring, or permitting, the other one to be its sister. The standard way to implement this is via formal features: Designated features for structure-building on  $\alpha$  must be matched by  $\beta$ , and are discharged as a consequence of carrying out the operation. The second possibility is that Merge applies freely throughout, and that filters (of potentially diverse provenance – syntactic, semantic, prosodic, information-structural, stochastic) check the output representation and decide about the legitimacy of the operation.

While the two approaches may often be extensionally equivalent, there is one context where they potentially make very different predictions. Suppose that  $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta)$  is followed by another operation that removes  $\beta$ . Then, an approach in terms of feature-driven Merge will have no problem determining the legitimacy of  $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta)$ : It has already been checked (counter-

bleeding). In contrast, problems may arise for an approach where only the final output representations are checked (bleeding may be predicted).

The obvious case to look at is movement: Internal Merge always follows some external Merge operation, and internal Merge may also follow internal Merge. For most (but, as I will show, not all) cases, this problem can be addressed in the free Merge approach by postulating that  $\beta$  is not actually removed here (traces, copies, multidominance); thus the original configuration required by the output filters is preserved.

However, suppose now that  $\text{Merge}(\alpha, \beta)$  is followed by another operation that does not *build* structure by merging  $\beta$  anew but rather *reduces* structure by removing  $\beta$  from the derivation. If such an operation exists, the legitimacy of the original Merge operation cannot be checked by output filters.

I argue that such an operation does indeed exist: *Cut* is a mirror image of Merge that has otherwise identical properties (it is feature-driven, it obeys strict cyclicity, it recognizes the head/phrase dichotomy, etc.). *Cut* is conceptually justified; more importantly, it is empirically motivated in that it provides the core of a new, principled theory of conflicting structure assignments. Based on data mostly from German, I will show this for cases where either  $\beta$ , or only  $\beta$ 's head, is removed in the course of the derivation (passive, applicative, sluicing vs. restructuring, extraction, reanalysis).

## Ellipsis as morphological impoverishment: an alternative to the E-feature

Andrew Murphy / *Universität Leipzig*  
Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

Since Merchant (2001), it is standardly assumed that ellipsis is triggered by an E-feature on a syntactic head licensing deletion of its complement at PF. The exact location of the E-feature turns out to be somewhat arbitrary depending on the language (cf. van Craenenbroek & Liptak 2013 for sluicing) and seems to simply mirror where we observe ellipsis happening. The approach to ellipsis I propose locates ellipsis in the postsyntactic component as the result of an impoverishment rule reducing redundant and therefore marked structures. In this approach, ellipsis is the result of insertion of a null exponent following the complete reduction of the feature set of a given node via Impoverishment rather than failure of parsing at PF (Merchant 2001) or Vocabulary Insertion (Aelbrecht 2011). As well its theoretical appeal, I will

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show that this approach has empirical gain as it can derive certain facts about the directionality of gapping across languages (Ross 1970). I follow recent approaches to ellipsis (Chung 2013, Rooryck & Schloorlemmer 2014) and propose that the notion of the *subset* is central to ellipsis licensing. If there are two identical lexical items A and A' in a given structure, then A can be elided only if the feature set of A is a proper subset of A' ( $A \subset A'$ ). This is the condition imposed on a postsyntactic impoverishment rule I call *Total Impoverishment*. This reduces the feature set of a terminal node to the empty set ( $\emptyset$ ) and thus a null exponent is inserted following the Subset Principle. This approach allows for a syntactic approach to identity under ellipsis without resorting to strict isomorphism. It also avoids empirical problems w.r.t. P-stranding in sprouting (Chung 2013) and languages allowing both forward and backward gapping (e.g. Turkish; Kornfilt 2000) if impoverishment rules can apply after other postsyntactic operations (e.g. linearization).

**References:** Aelbrecht, Lobke. 2011. *The Syntactic Licensing of Ellipsis*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Chung, Sandra. 2013. Identity in ellipsis - How much and why? *Linguistic Inquiry* 44: 1–44. • Craenenbroek, Jeroen van & Anikó Lipták. 2013. What sluicing can do, what it can't, and in which language. In L. Cheng & N. Corver (eds.): *Diagnosing Syntax*, 502–536. OUP, Oxford. • Kornfilt, Jaklin. 2000. *Directionality of identical verb deletion in Turkish coordination*. In S. Chung & J. McCloskey (eds.): *An Electronic Festschrift for Jorge Hankamer*. • Merchant, Jason. 2001. *The syntax of silence*. OUP, Oxford. • Rooryck, Johan & Erik Schloorlemmer. 2014. *Mistaken identity: ellipsis, mismatches, and underspecification*. Talk at LSA 2014. • Ross, John. R. 1970. Gapping and the Order of Constituents. In J. Alderete, C. Han & A. Kochetov (eds.): *Progress in Linguistics*, 388–396. Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Somerville, MA.

## Forced asymmetry causing language change

Elly van Gelderen / Arizona State University

Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

AG3

Transformations and movement have been at the core of generative syntax. In the early work (Chomsky 1957), transformations are divided into obligatory and optional but no rationale for why they apply is given. In the late 1970s and early 1980s (Chomsky 1981), NPs are moving to certain positions to get Case. In the Minimalist Program of the 1990s, there are ad-hoc triggers for



movement: weak and strong features of various kinds, e.g. the EPP features which determine if a (now) DP moves to the Specifier of TP or not. Based on work by e.g. Moro (2000) and Ott (2012), Chomsky (2013) abandons features as triggers for movement. Instead, he argues that symmetric structures cannot be labeled by the labeling algorithm and that this forces movement. Apart from providing a new account for movement, Chomsky's latest work has problematized projection, specifiers, and labeling. Where earlier Phrase Structure Grammar and X-bar theory take for granted that a phrase is headed, labeled, and expands to a maximal projection with a specifier, head, and complement, the current work only assumes a labeling algorithm that only allows sets like X, YP but not XP, YP and X, Y at the conceptual-intentional interface. Such an algorithm automatically rules out certain configurations, for instance, ones with a specifier. Chomsky (2013, 43) provides two solutions to labeling problems: (A) modify SO so that there is only one visible head, or (B) X and Y are identical in a relevant respect, providing the same label, which can be taken as the label of the SO.

If we look at language change, there is one persistent pattern that can be explained because it constitutes a resolution to a labeling paradox, as in case (A), namely that from specifier to head. I will provide three instances of this change. Other work that has looked at this change is van Gelderen (2004: 2011), Jäger (2005; 2010), Weiß (2007), Willis (2007), Bayer & Brandner (2008), but they have not put it in terms of a resolution of the labelling paradox. Like Chomsky (2013), in case (B), I argue that features are crucial in the avoidance of asymmetrical structures but that they do not trigger movement. In this talk, I will show how some diachronic changes can be explained as resolutions of the labeling paradox and themselves shed light on the precise nature of the labeling algorithm proposed in Chomsky (2013).

**References:** Bayer, Josef & Ellen Brandner. 2008. On wh-head-movement. In: C. Chang & H. Haynie (eds.): *Proceedings of the 26th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 87–95. Cascadilla, Somerville, MA. • Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. Mouton, The Hague. • Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Foris, Dordrecht. • Chomsky, Noam 2013. Problems of Projection. *Lingua* 130: 33–49. • Gelderen, Elly van. 2004. *Grammaticalization as Economy*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Gelderen, Elly van 2011. *The Linguistic Cycle*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Jäger, Agnes 2005. Negation in Old High German. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24: 227–262. • Jäger, Agnes 2010. Der Komparativzyklus und die Position der Vergleichspartikeln. *Linguistische Berichte* 224: 467–493. • Ott, Dennis 2012. *Local instability*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Weiß, Helmut. 2007. A question of

relevance: Some remarks on standard languages. In M. Penke, A. Rosenbach (eds.): *What Counts as Evidence in Linguistics: The case of innateness*, 181–208. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Willis, David 2007. Specifier-to-Head Reanalyses in the Complementizer domain: evidence from Welsh. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 105: 432–480.

## Movement to FocusP without focus features in copular clauses

Nagarajan Selvanathan / *Rutgers University*  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

I argue for the existence of a small clause periphery Focus Phrase based on Tamil data and show that movement to this Spec, FocP position is not motivated by features but by the need to avoid a relativized minimality violation (Rizzi 1990). This is seen in the derivation of a certain type of copular clause, commonly known as a specificational clause (SC).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>(1)    Balan en    nanban<br/>                Balan my friend<br/>                “Balan is my friend.”</p> | <p>(2)    en    nanban Balan<br/>                my friend    Balan<br/>                “My friend is Balan.”</p> |
|--|---|

(1) shows a predication clause and (2) shows an SC. A prominent analysis of (2) is that of predicate inversion where the small clause predicate moves to Spec, TP (Moro 1997). I claim that in structures such as (2), there is additional movement to a small clause periphery FocP by *Balan*.

- (3)    [TP en    nanban<sub>j</sub> [FocP [ Balan<sub>i</sub> ] [PredP t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> ]]]  
        my friend                      Balan  
        “My friend is Balan.”

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The movement of interest is indicated by the movement of *Balan* to Spec, FocP at the periphery of PredP. I show that certain scrambling facts in Tamil can only be explained if we posit this additional movement. However, I also show that in other environments in which a constituent has contrastive focus, the same type of focus that *Balan* in (2) has, the evidence indicates that movement to a FocP has not occurred. I argue that these facts show that movement to Spec, FocP in SCs is motivated by the need to obviate a minimality violation that occurs by the movement of *en nanban* to Spec, TP which crosses over

Spec, PredP. I also show, following Bošković (2011), that the lower trace of *Balan* does not count as an intervener. In addition, I also show that this movement is predicted by Chomsky (2013)'s analysis of labelling as the motivation for displacement. I show that if the PredP subject remains in situ, a labelling conflict necessarily arises which is solved if the PredP subject moves to Spec, FocP instead. This analysis is adapted from Moro (2009).

## The syntax of information structure and the PF interface

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Kriszta Szendrői / *University College London*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–14:00

In recent years there has been a series of proposals seeking an alternative to the cartographic treatment of information structure (Rizzi 1997 and subsequent work). It has been proposed that sometimes the motivation for information structure-related movement lies in the PF interface (Szendrői 2001, Hamlaoui 2009, Gryllia 2011 etc.). Others have explored the idea that movement is motivated directly by its semantic/pragmatic import (Neeleman & van de Koot 2008, Neeleman & Vermeulen 2013; Fanselow & Lenertova 2011). In this talk, I will explore how far the influence of the PF interface goes on the syntactic computation. I will propose that certain 'footprints' of the involvement of the PF component can be identified and thus used to determine the extent of its effect on the syntactic computation in a wide range of cases. I will show that this explanation is in many cases more satisfying than a feature-based alternative.

## On set-theoretic chain formation and cyclic movement

Carlos Muñoz Pérez / *Universidad de Buenos Aires*  
alternate

Copy Theory (Chomsky 1995) is based on the idea that the displacement property of language is an epiphenomenon based on how chains are phonetically realized. However, at the moment there are no theories attempting to explain the most fundamental property of chains under Copy Theory: non-distinctiveness, the idea that all the links in a chain are ‘the same’ in some relevant way.

Here, it will be proposed that non-distinctiveness is based on an inclusion relation between the features of syntactic objects: higher copies receive additional features when they agree with non-defective heads, so they become supersets of their lower counterparts. Moreover, if conditions on recoverability on deletion are considered (Chomsky 1965), this system predicts that the copy with more features in each chain is the one receiving phonetic realization. The idea is stated in (1):

- (1) Pronounce the superset  
In a chain, pronounce the link containing the features of each remaining link.

The objective of this paper is exploring the predictions of this system regarding cyclic movement. There are currently two main approaches to cyclic movement in the literature. The first one is based in the idea that each short movement is motivated by the necessity of checking some uFF (usually, the EPP) in a head (e.g., Chomsky 2001). As Bošković (2007) observes, there are some empirical and conceptual reasons to call into question this kind of theory (e.g., evidence for lack of checking in intermediate specifiers, look-ahead). The second kind of approach assumes that a constituent needs to escape from a domain in which its features cannot be satisfied, so it will move until it reaches a relevant head (cf. Bošković 2007). This second approach, however, requires assuming the existence of derivational time-bombs in the derivation (Preminger 2011).

There is, however, a third possibility: cyclic movement may be free but requires to comply with some conditions (cf. Chomsky 1981). One of those conditions may be derived from the principle in (1): since it presupposes some kind of asymmetry between the links in a chain, it is expected that any

chain containing two links equally appropriate for pronunciation will produce a crash (Boeckx 2003 for a similar idea). This is exactly the case of cyclic movement: it involves displacement to specifiers of defective heads that cannot assign additional features to the moving element. Still, if after those “vacuous” operations the element moves to the specifier of a non-defective head (e.g., finite T, interrogative C), the chain will be licensed.

**References:** Boeckx, Cedric. 2003. *Islands and Chains: Resumption as Stranding*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Bošković, Željko. (2007). On the locality and motivation of Move and Agree: An even more minimal theory. *Linguistic Inquiry* 38: 589–644. • Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Foris, Dordrecht. • Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Preminger, Omer. (2011). *Agree-ment as a fallible operation*. Doctoral Dissertation, MIT.

## The computation and formal gender

Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson / *Lund University*  
alternate

The idea (Chomsky 1995 and related work) that Formal Features (FF) are first introduced in syntax and then eliminated under Agree is unattractive. Nevertheless, the FF model is fairly close to the mark. Building on Context-linked Grammar (Sigurðsson 2014, etc.), I pursue the following ideas.

The computation is driven by the need for grammar to relate a phase to its context (neighboring phases and the speech act context). Any phase edge contains a set of (locally) silent edge linkers and these linkers are pivotal for the relational computation. Agreement (as opposed to abstract Agree) is a morphological process in the externalization component (“PF”) of languages, dependent on but disjoint from syntactic processes. Features that get no semantic/syntactic interpretation are exclusively formal; such features, for example formal gender, are added in the externalization component of individual languages (for non-syntactic communicative purposes), thus nonexistent in syntax.

I will demonstrate some of the virtues of this general approach by analyzing gender as a DP phase edge linker, the basic claim being that gender languages have an unvalued gender feature,  $G_\alpha$ , in the left edge of any DP phase, as sketched in (1).

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- (1) [DP ...  $G_\alpha$  ... [NP ... [ $N \sqrt{X-n}$ ] ... ]]

$G_\alpha$  gets valued either “lexically” (i.e., under Agree with N) or contextually. We see contextual valuation of  $G_\alpha$  under coreference across CP-boundaries at work in the Icelandic (2).

- (2) Myndin<sub>i</sub> er skemmtileg. Ég sá hana<sub>j</sub>/\*hann<sub>j</sub>/\*það<sub>j</sub> í gær.  
 movie-the.F is fun.F.SG I saw “her”.F/\*M/\*N in yesterday  
 ‘The movie is fun. I saw it yesterday.’

Facts of this sort are pervasive in gender agreement languages. The pronoun *hana* ‘her/it’ does not have any lexical or syntactic gender, instead entering the derivation as a lexically empty and a non-phi-specified DP-shell of the form [DP ...  $G_\alpha$  ... [NP ... [ $N \sqrt{\emptyset-n}$ ] ... ]], copying the value F (fem) from its overt antecedent, regardless of its semantic interpretation. Also the agreement morphology of the matrix predicate (*skemmtileg* F.SG) is void of semantic/syntactic import (as suggested by simple comparison with English, German, etc.), thus being purely formal, arguably added in the externalization morphology of Icelandic.

The present DP phase edge linker approach to gender suggests that the computation is driven by the need for grammar to relate a phase to its context. In addition, it provides an analysis of coreference that is superior to earlier approaches (“accidental coreference”, Lasnik 1976, and antecedent movement, Kayne 2002). An edge linker must get valued in relation to its context, for example by copying (the gender and) reference of a contextual antecedent.

**References:** Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. MIT Press. • Kayne, Richard S. 2002. Pronouns and their antecedents. In S. Epstein & D. Seely (eds.): *Derivation and Explanation in the Minimalist Program*, 133–166 Blackwell, Oxford. • Lasnik, Howard. 1976. Remarks on coreference. *Linguistic Analysis* 2: 1–22. • Sigurðsson, Halldór. Á. 2014. Context-linked Grammar. *Language Sciences* 46: 175–188.

## Arbeitsgruppe 4

### VO-OV: Correlations of head-complement order in grammar and lexicon

*Walter Bisang  
Balthasar Bickel  
Gisbert Fanselow  
Hubert Haider*

#### Workshop description

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The distinction between OV and VO order in a clause is usually taken to be a good predictor of further serialization facts, and one can find several proposals for an explanation of the corresponding correlations in the literature. Possible further correlates of the VO-OV distinction in domains other than word order such as the following have been investigated to a much lesser extent. The data represented in WALS show that the percentage of languages without a morphological system of case is lower among the OV languages. Likewise, there are more OV than VO systems among the languages with an ergative case pattern, while VO languages are overrepresented among the languages which position question words at the clause's left periphery.

Other correlations have been proposed on the basis of much smaller language samples. Thus, it has been claimed that free constituent order (scrambling) and the absence of typical subject-object asymmetries are concomitant of OV order, and it has been argued that OV languages have a higher N:V ratio in the lexicon. There are interesting proposals as to how such correlations can be modeled in a theory of language.

The workshop invites contributions that investigate in a cross-linguistically well-founded style grammatical or lexical properties correlating with head-complement order. Relevant topics are, e.g.: Are there correlates of head complement/modifier order in domains different from basic serialization? This prominently includes the SOV syndrome, that is, the particular grouping of syntactic properties characteristic of SOV languages. Are there effects outside grammar, e.g., in frequency patterns in corpora or the lexicon? Which areal, diachronic, psycholinguistic or theoretical properties allow us to understand the correlates of head complement/modifier order? How can we account for deviations from the general pattern in individual languages or language groups?

We welcome bottom-up (descriptive & analytic) as well as top-down (theoretical & predictive) approaches, with a strong preference for a solid empirical basis in terms of cross-linguistic empirical coverage as well as a theoretically-informed analysis in each case. Ideally, the final workshop schedule will list contributions focusing on tightly connected properties from different language families as well as from different families of linguistic thought whose joint aim is providing well-analyzed empirical input and empirically well-founded generalizations on cross-linguistically assessed dispositions of head-final vs. head initial phrases and in particular sentence structures.

## Grammaticalization accounts for word order correlations

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Matthew S. Dryer / *University at Buffalo*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–15:00

One of the approaches to explaining at least some of the correlations with the order of object and verb is that it reflects the results of grammaticalization (as argued for in various works by T. Givón, for example).

In this talk, I discuss how well this approach accounts for various correlations. I argue that there are some cases, where it clearly plays a major role, most notably in determining whether a language has prepositions or postpositions: I show how grammaticalization can account for certain cases of postpositions in VO languages. I argue, however, that there are many correlations that grammaticalization cannot account for. One of these is the correlation between the order of object and verb and the order of relative clause and noun. Another is the correlation between the order of object and verb and the



order of adpositional phrase and verb. This last case, however, is different in that the two pairs of elements that correlate both involve dependents of the verb.

While I have argued in Dryer (1992) that the word order correlations cannot be explained in terms of some principle favouring consistently head-initial or consistently head-final languages, I argue here that there is a weaker principle whereby dependents of the same head tend to occur on the same side of that head, and that this principle does account for many correlations that grammaticalization cannot account for.

### **Areality and OV/VO in central Europe: evidence from the Wenker surveys**

Jürg Fleischer / *Philipps-Universität Marburg*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–16:00 Uhr

The Continental West Germanic languages German, Dutch, and Frisian are classified, depending on the analysis, either as languages with no dominant word order (e.g. WALS: Dryer 2005) or as OV-languages (e.g. Haider 2010). Their neighboring languages, belonging to several different groups, are classified as VO; this holds for French (Romance), Danish (North Germanic), and for the Slavic languages (e.g. Czech, Polish), unless Slavic is classified as a ‘third type’ (cf. Haider 2010: 333). Crucially, the generalization of Continental West Germanic as differing from the neighboring languages with respect to basic word order is primarily based on the standard languages. In this paper it is investigated whether this equally holds true on the dialectal level, and whether there are areality effects to be observed, not in line with the aforementioned generalization.

The empirical basis for the study is provided by the so-called Wenker sentences, a collection of more than 55 000 dialectal translations of 40 Standard German or Standard Dutch sentences, respectively, which were collected between 1879 and 1934. They constitute the world’s largest dialectal parallel corpus (cf. Cysouw/Wälchli on the usefulness of parallel corpora in typological research), which covers the entire Continental West Germanic territory as well as (parts of the territory of) languages adjacent to this area (e.g. French, Danish, Kashubian, Polish, Lithuanian) or included as pockets within this area (e.g. Sorbian). On the basis of this huge corpus sample analyses of the

entire territory as well as exhaustive analyses for (potential) transition areas between OV and VO are carried out, e.g. for the contact zone between southern mainland Scandinavian and neighboring Continental West Germanic.

The analyses take into account several phenomena that provide cross-linguistic variation with respect to the OV/VO-distinction. The crucial empirical question is whether there is, on the dialectal level, a smooth transition or, rather, a sharp boundary between areas of OV and VO. An answer to this question can provide interesting insights into the characteristics of this central word order parameter.

**References:** Cysouw, Michael & Bernhard Wälchli (eds.) 2007. *Focus on parallel texts. Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* (Thematic Issue) 60.2. • Dryer, Matthew S. 2005. Order of subject, object, and verb. In Martin Haspelmath et al. (eds.): *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford University Press. Updated online version: <http://wals.info/chapter/81>. • Haider, Hubert. 2010. *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## Adjunct order in languages with V-final and V-initial VPs

Stavros Skopeteas / *Universität Bielefeld*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:30

Temporal adjuncts (precisely, adjuncts temporally localizing the event, e.g. *yesterday*) and manner adjuncts (e.g., *slowly*) belong to different layers of the clause structure, such that temporal adjuncts are in layer containing the manner and the event (as observed in different frameworks, e.g., Dik 1997, Cinque 1999, Ernst 2002). This asymmetry motivates expectations for the linearization of temporal and manner adjuncts. If no particular restrictions on adjunct order apply, we expect to find a Temporal-Manner-V order in head-final languages, and a V-Manner-Temporal order in head-initial languages.

We examined these possibilities in a sample of OV languages (Turkish, Armenian, Georgian, Basque) and in a sample of VO languages (Greek, Spanish, Bahasa Indonesia) through a questionnaire study with acceptability judgments (on an 1-to-5 scale). In each language, we tested: (a) the factor ADJUNCT ORDER (Temporal-Manner vs. Manner-Temporal) and (b) its relation

to the VERB POSITION (V-Adjuncts vs. Adjuncts-V). The questionnaires contained 16 different lexicalizations of the target conditions (randomized in a Latin-square design) and were filled in by 32 native speakers of each language.

The results from OV languages reveal a robust preference for the Temporal-Manner, when the V appears in the final position. When the V precedes the adjuncts, speakers' intuitions are not affected in Georgian, Armenian and Basque, which is in line with the view that these languages allow for V-fronting (in the sense of Haider & Rosegren 2003; Vikner 2001). In the same languages, there is no significant difference between adjunct orders in the postverbal domain, in which case adjuncts are right dislocated.

The results from VO languages are not straightforward. Bahasa Indonesia reveals a clear preference for the V-Manner-Temporal order, which is in line with the expectations for head-initial languages. However, in Greek and Spanish speakers have a slight preference for the V-Temporal-Manner order, which is clearly not the predicted option. It seems that in these languages linearization preferences are influenced by further factors, in particular the fact the nuclear stress is placed clause-finally.

**References:** Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Dik, Simon C. 1997. *The theory of functional grammar*, Part 1: The structure of the clause. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Ernst, Thomas. 2002. *The syntax of adjuncts*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Haider, Hubert & Inger Rosegren. 2003. Scrambling: Nontriggered chain formation in OV languages. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 15: 203–267. • Vikner, Sten. 2001. *Verb movement variation in Germanic and Optimality Theory*. Habilitationsschrift, Univ. of Tübingen.

## Deconstructing correlations of head-complement order in the grammar: the case of Chinese

Waltraud Paul / *CRLAO, CNRS-EHESS-INALCO, Paris*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:30

Newmeyer (2005) and Whitman (2008) provide extensive evidence against the head parameter as part of the grammar to be acquired by the child. The present abstract adopts their claim. It demonstrates that uniform head-complement directionality (HCD) across categories is in fact less pervasive than presented in the literature, because often not taking into account functional categories. Importantly, it does not have the status of a principle of Universal Grammar. In fact, data bases such as WALS contribute to the ‘deconstruction’ of the HCD insofar as their enlarged data sets have already invalidated several cross-categorical correlations originally formulated by Greenberg (1963), such as the correlation between adjective-noun order and OV/VO word order (cf. Dryer 1992, 2009).

Chinese with its attested history of more than 3000 years is an ideal test case. Since its earliest documents from pre-Archaic Chinese (13th c. BC) up to today, it has shown (the ‘non-correlation’ between) VO word order and a head-final NP (cf. Djamouri 1988, 2001; Whitman 2000, Djamouri, Paul & Whitman 2013; contra Li & Thompson’s 1974 still widely cited scenario of major word order changes in Chinese). It has had a head-final split CP since 6th c. BC, challenging Dryer’s (1992, 102; 2009) ‘exceptionless’ universal that head-final CPs exclusively occur in OV languages.

If the disharmonic nature observed for Chinese (and other languages such as Mande, Persian etc.) is indeed real and supports the view that cross-categorical correlations are not part of the synchronic grammar to be acquired by a child, how can we then explain their relative statistic weight? According to Whitman (2008), the key to this statistical predominance is to be found in language change. For example, if languages consistently reanalyse adpositions from verbs, we obtain prepositions for VO languages and postpositions for OV languages. However, if adpositions are reanalysed from both verbs and nouns, as e.g. in Chinese, we obtain a ‘mixed’ category adposition with prepositions and postpositions. Visibly, reanalyses from a verbal source are common enough across (time and) languages to have been noted as a typological tendency since Greenberg (1963). On the other hand, reanalyses from non-verbal sources are attested as well, as witnessed by the ‘exceptions’. The

simple fact that these ‘exceptions’ increase with the number of languages examined in typological surveys highlights the fundamentally statistical nature of uniform head directionality.

**In spoken German and Dutch, high-frequent finite verbs populate main clauses more densely than subordinate clauses, but much less so in spoken English: a corpus-linguistic study into VO versus OV word order**

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Gerard Kempen<sup>1</sup>, Karin Harbusch<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>*MPI for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen,*  
<sup>2</sup>*Universität Koblenz-Landau*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

As part of a study into the frequency of VO and OV orders in spoken German and Dutch, we extracted all occurrences of finite verbs in a German (Verbmobil; Stegmann et al., 2000) and a Dutch (CGN2.0; see Eerten, 2007) treebank. (We excluded forms that can only occur in main clauses, e.g. imperatives, and added the frequencies of all finites belonging to the same citation form.) For both languages, we found a correlation between the total corpus frequency of a finite verb on the one hand, and the distribution of its exemplars across main (VO) versus subordinate (OV) clauses on the other: High-frequent finites populate main clauses more densely than subordinate clauses; lower-frequent finites tend toward a balanced VO/OV distribution when frequency drops. Specifically, the proportion of finites functioning as head of a main clause (expressed as a percentage of their total frequency) decreases when going from highest- to lowest-frequency verbs: 92%-to-58% in German, 83%-to-56% in Dutch. To check whether the effect is due to within-clause linear order (VO/OV) or to hierarchical position of the clause (main/subordinate), we conducted the same study with spoken English, where all clauses are VO (SWITCHBOARD; Godfrey et al., 1992). The German/Dutch pattern returned in essence, but in much weakened form: 65%-to-54%.

A possible explanation departs from two assumptions. First, high-frequency verbs have a higher level of cognitive availability (accessibility) than low-frequency ones, and thus can enter the grammatical encoding process earlier.

Second, hierarchically higher clauses tend to be encoded prior to hierarchically lower clauses. In German and Dutch, high-frequent finite verbs facilitate the grammatical encoding of main clauses in two ways: Available early, they are more likely than low-frequent verbs (1) to end up in hierarchically higher clauses, e.g. main clauses, and (2) to be ready for an early position within those clauses, i.e. VO rather than OV. In English, the second factor cannot work.

The observation that the verb frequency effect is stronger in German than in Dutch, could reflect the more posterior position of finite verbs in German than in Dutch subordinate clauses, due to contrasting rules for placement of finite verbs in verb clusters, and of other constituents in the Endfield/Nachfeld.

The sketched availability-based mechanism invites speculations on whether it could have been a driving force behind historical (S)OV-to-(S)VO developments.

**References:** Godfrey, John J., Eduard C. Holliman & Jane McDaniel. 1992. SWITCHBOARD: Telephone speech corpus for research and development. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Audio, Speech and Signal Processing (ICASSP-92)*. 517–520. • Stegmann, Rosemary, Heike Telljohann & Erhard W. Hinrichs. 2000. *Stylebook for the German Treebank in Verbmobil*. Saarbrücken: DFKI Report 239. • Eerten, Laura van. 2007. Over het Corpus Gesproken Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 12: 194–215.

## Selectional Contiguity

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Norvin Richards / *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–11:00

### (1) Selectional Contiguity

In a structure containing heads X and Y in a Selection relation, X and Y must be linearly adjacent at some point in the derivation.

Selectional Contiguity often fails in the final representation:

### (2) Do you think [that John has left]?

Here *do* and *think* are adjacent before *do* moves to C: *that*, as a phase head, is separated by Spell-out from *has*, dividing structure into parts within which Contiguity holds.

**Ergativity and verb-peripherality** Movement of the subject from Spec vP to Spec TP can make T and v Contiguous. If the subject remains in situ in Spec vP, T and v must create Selectional Contiguity by either:

- V-to-T head-movement → Verb-initial
- V, v, T head-final → SOV

Trask (1979) observes that ergative languages must be verb-initial or SOV within TP. If ergative languages must leave the subject in Spec vP, Trask's generalization reduces to Selectional Contiguity.

**Verb-initiality and *wh*-movement** Potsdam (2009) notes that verb-initial languages never have obligatory *wh*-in-situ. In the typology in Richards (2010), this means that verb-initial languages always have head-initial C. SVO languages like Chinese, by contrast, may have final interrogative C, and hence *wh*-in-situ.

Heads enter the derivation initial, and become final via an operation ROTATION, which reverses the order of a pair of sisters. If TP has no specifier (that is, if the language is verb-initial), then Rotation of C is blocked by Selectional Contiguity: C and T are adjacent when C is Merged, and C cannot become final. Final-over-Final Constraint Rotation must be motivated, either:

- (3) a. to make structures linearizable by LCA, or
- b. for Selectional Contiguity.

(3-a) always holds at the bottom of the tree, where there is at least one pair of sisters which are both heads, unlinearizable by the LCA. Rotation makes one sister final. (3-b) can then apply to subsequently Merged heads.

If a lower head X becomes final, then a higher head Y has a motivation to Rotate to become Contiguous with X. If X remains initial, then higher Y has no motivation to Rotate, and cannot become final. We thus predict that head-finality may apply to the lowest head in the tree (5a), and may “percolate” upward (3-b), but that once a head is initial, all heads above it must be initial, up to the next phase head (2). This is the FOFC of Biberauer, Holmberg, and Roberts (2014).

**References:** Biberauer, Theresa, Anders Holmberg & Ian Roberts. 2014. A syntactic universal and its consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45: 169–225. • Potsdam, Eric. 2009. Austronesian verb-initial languages and *wh*-question strategies. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 27: 737–771. • Richards, Norvin. 2010. *Uttering trees*.

MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. • Trask, Larry. 1979. On the origins of ergativity. In F. Plank (ed.) *Ergativity: towards a theory of grammatical relations*, 385–404. Academic Press, New York.

## **Focusing on SOV – in a structural, typological, and field-linguistic perspective**

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Balthasar Bickel<sup>1</sup>, Walter Bisang<sup>2</sup>,  
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Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:30

In each of the three perspectives named in the title, ‘SOV’ (as one of the major Greenbergian word order syndromes) plays a different role and is conceived differently. In one view, SOV is regarded as a word order property to be read off from the order patterns of simple clauses. In the other view, SOV is the name for a structural property of phrases, viz. the head-final property of a VP. Typology mainly favors a bottom-up perspective and tries to extract stable correlation patterns from extensive samples of languages. Structural syntax mainly favors a top down approach and tries to predict correlation patterns on the basis of a small sample of extensively analyzed languages. The field-linguist tries to solve an extensive amount of descriptive problems every time s(he) is confronted with a language that is still insufficiently described. Obviously, each camp would benefit from empirically founded and corroborated insights produced in one of the other camps.

In this joint presentation, these perspectives will be highlighted by means of illustrative empirical and theoretical issues. The center of attention will be on areas of shared interests rather than on areas of disagreement.



## Two asymmetries between pre- and post-head order and their implications for syntactic theory

Ad Neeleman / *University College London*

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:30

Greenberg's (1963) Universal 20 can be roughly summarized as 'demonstrative, numeral and adjective display fixed word order preceding the head, but variable word order following it' (see Cinque 2005 and Abels & Neeleman 2012 for details). The cross-linguistic distribution of scrambling/case adjacency displays the opposite pattern: objects and adverbials display variable word order preceding the head (scrambling), and fixed word order following it (case adjacency).

These generalizations are of course not on a par: Universal 20 describes cross-linguistic word order variation, while scrambling is a language-internal phenomenon. Nevertheless, it can be demonstrated that popular analyses of U20 and scrambling/case adjacency clash at a fundamental level. In particular, in order to capture U20, it must be assumed that neutral orders can be derived only by movement of (a constituent containing) the lexical head. Movement analyses of scrambling either violate this constraint or cannot capture the correlation between scrambling and headedness.

This incompatibility can be avoided if (i) the idea of a single functional hierarchy spanning the entire verbal extended projection is rejected (Bobaljik 1999), and (ii) the syntax is sensitive to linear order. Assumption (i) allows variation in base-generated structures for elements that belong to different hierarchies. Assumption (ii) makes it possible to formulate constraints requiring that some element occur leftmost in its checking domain (Janke & Neeleman 2012). I show that satisfaction of such constraints is trivial in head-final structures, but requires adjacency to the head in head-initial structures.

In the resulting proposal, the position of the lexical head is associated with further word order restrictions in a way approaching the ideal of a parameter that has consequences beyond the data that trigger its setting. The table below gives details of the typological variation predicted (all structures not given are ruled out).

	XP and YP belong to a single hierarchy	elsewhere	
		XP must be leftmost in its checking domain	elsewhere
head final	[XP [YP h]]	[XP [YP h]] [YP [XP h]]	[XP [YP h]] [YP [XP h]]
head initial	[[h YP] XP] [h [XP [t YP]]]	[h [XP [t YP]]] [[h XP] YP]	[[h YP] XP] [[h XP] YP]
	<i>parametric variation</i>	<i>language-internal variation</i>	

The solution proposed here is not available in all frameworks. In particular, the analyses of U20 and scrambling must remain incompatible if antisymmetry is adopted.

**References:** Abels, Klaus & Ad Neeleman. 2012. Linear asymmetries and the LCA. *Syntax* 15: 25–74. • Bobaljik, Jonathan. 1999. Adverbs: The hierarchy paradox. *Glott International* 4.9/10. • Cinque, Guglielmo. 2005. Deriving Greenberg’s universal 20 and its exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36: 315–332. • Greenberg, Joseph. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In: J. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Human Language*, 73–113. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Janke, Victoria & Ad Neeleman. 2012. Ascending and descending VPs in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43: 151–190.

## The correlation between VO and fronting question words beyond typology

Federica Cognola / *Università degli Studi di Trento*  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:30

In the data available in WALS (Dryer & Haspelmath 2013) it emerges that most of the languages in which question words are fronted to the left periphery are VO languages.

In this talk I discuss data from two mixed OV/VO languages, Mòcheno, a Germanic dialect spoken in the Fersina valley (Trentino, Northern Italy, Cognola 2013), and Dinka, a Nilo-Saharan language spoken in South Sudan (Andersen 1991, van Urk & Richards to appear), and I demonstrate that this correlation i) is very pervasive, since it is also found within some mixed OV/VO languages; ii) it must be seen as a sub-effect of extraction and

not of the fronting of question words per se, and iii) it results from specific properties of V<sup>0</sup>.

The first aim of the talk, i.e. showing that the correlation between VO and the fronting of question words is also found within mixed OV/VO languages, will be shown by relying on Mòcheno. The general view on this language is that it allows for both OV and VO word orders with all XPs in both main and embedded clauses (cf. Rowley 2003). I show that the two word orders possible in Mòcheno are not in free distribution, but are constrained by the XP moved to the left periphery. In particular, extraction of *wh*-elements blocks OV word order and forces VO in both main and embedded clauses, whereas OV word order is obligatory and VO is ungrammatical with extracted topics. By discussing Dinka data (cf. Andersen 1991, van Urk & Richards to appear), I demonstrate that the distribution of OV/VO word orders found in Mòcheno is closely (though not identically) replicated in Dinka. The most important difference between the two languages is that Dinka distinguishes between direct/indirect objects vs. all other XPs (not between *wh*-elements vs. topics, unlike Mòcheno) with the former XPs blocking OV and the latter forcing OV when fronted to the left periphery in both main and embedded clauses. This I take to indicate that the correlation between VO and the fronting of question words must be reconsidered in a much general way as the relationship between VO and extraction. The empirical facts observed in the two languages will be shown to follow from the presence of an EPP feature on both C. The asymmetries between them derive from the fact that the same syntactic structure is associated with different semantics in the two languages.

**References:** Andersen, Torben. 1991. Subject and Topic in Dinka. *Studies in Language* 15: 265–294. • Cognola, Federica. 2013. The mixed OV/VO syntax of Mocheno main clauses: on the interaction between high and low left periphery. In Th. Biberauer & M. Sheehan (eds.): *Theoretical Approches to Disharmonic Word Orders*, 106–135. Oxford University Press. • Dryer, Matthew & Martin Haspelmath (eds.) 2013. *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. MPI EVA, Leipzig (<http://wals.info>, accessed on 2014-08-25). • Rowley, Anthony. 2003. *Liacht as de spròch. Grammatica della lingua mòchena*. Palù del Fersina: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Mòcheno di Cultura. • Urk, Coppe van & Richards Norvin. To appear. Two components of long-distance extraction: Successive cyclicity in Dinka. *Linguistic Inquiry*.



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## **Subtraktive Nominal- morphologie in den Dialekten des Deutschen**

Ein Beitrag zur Interaktion von Phonologie und Morphologie

**Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik – Beiheft 156**

Die Pluralbildung gehört zu den schwierigeren Aspekten der deutschen Standardsprache – dies gilt in noch in höherem Maße für die Dialekte des Deutschen. Während die Situation in der Standardsprache vor allem durch eine Konkurrenz verschiedener Endungen und deren An- oder Abwesenheit geprägt ist, kann in den Dialekten des Deutschen sprachliches Material der Singularform ausgetauscht oder gar entfernt werden, um den Plural zu bilden.

Letzteres Phänomen, das in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Literatur meistens Subtraktion genannt wird, behandelt das vorliegende Buch. Außer der Pluralmorphologie wird auch die Kasusmorphologie thematisiert. Die Leitfrage lautet: Wie kommt es, dass sich die Dialekte des Deutschen anscheinend eines Verfahrens bedienen, das in den Sprachen der Welt äußerst selten ist? Anhand eines aus allen Dialekten des Deutschen zusammengestellten Datenkorpus wird das Phänomen sprachgeographisch, sprachhistorisch und sprachtheoretisch untersucht.

Die Arbeit versteht sich somit als Beitrag sowohl zur Sprachgeschichte und Dialektgeographie als auch zur sprachwissenschaftlichen Theoriebildung.

### **Aus dem Inhalt**

*Einleitung: Motivation und Ziele der Arbeit | Aufbau der Arbeit → Phänomen und Hypothese: Der Begriff „subtraktive Morphologie“ | Sprachtypologie → Sprachgeographie: Vorgehensweise | Auswertung des Datenkorpus | Zusammenfassung → Datierung: Historische Quellen | Evidenz aus deutschen Sprachinseln | Deutung der Befunde → Diachronie: Numerusprofilierung und Kasusnivellierung | Die Entstehung subtraktiver Formen | Typologische Einordnung der Prozesse → Synchrone Analyse: Subtraktion in strukturalistischen Morphologiemodellen | Subtraktion in der Natürlichen Morphologie | Subtraktion in der Optimalitätstheorie | Eigene Analyse → Zusammenfassung und Ausblick → Literaturverzeichnis*

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## Arbeitsgruppe 5

### Co- and subordination in German and other languages

*Ingo Reich*  
*Augustin Speyer*

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#### Workshop description

In recent years, research on coordination and subordination saw a lively debate and substantial empirical progress in the field of non-canonical complex sentences. In particular alternating constructions like e.g. *weil*-V-final vs. *weil*-V2 (see e.g. Steinbach & Antomo 2010, Reis 2013), V-final vs. V1-conditionals, or symmetric vs. asymmetric coordination have been in the focus of recent research.

Despite the substantial empirical progress, the theoretical concepts to model those properties in syntax and semantics are still poorly understood and somewhat vague. So e.g. the concept of assertoric force, often associated with V2-alternatives, needs to be delineated from other relevant concepts like e.g. backgrounding. And it is still unclear how to precisely model the different kinds of non-canonical complex sentences. We think it promising to start from recent empirical discussions and contrast precise analyses in different frameworks (e.g. minimalism, HPSG, LFG, Construction Grammar).

Moving away from German, it has to be asked to what extent other languages show comparable variation, and whether such variants show similar syntactic, semantic and pragmatic behavior. This should also be looked at from a diachronic perspective. A final question we want to discuss in this AG concerns the use of such constructions: Why do languages provide alternating

constructions? Do they differ in their (pragmatic) functionality? Or do we have to take psycholinguistic considerations into account like the processing of old and new information or uniform information density?

The AG is of interest to researchers working on the syntax/semantics/pragmatics interface specializing in subordination and working on German or any other language from a theoretical (synchronic/diachronic), L1-acquisition and/or typological perspective.

**References:** Antomo, Mailin & Markus Steinbach. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: *Weil-V2*-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29, 1–37. • Reis, Marga (2013). “*Weil-V2*”-Sätze und (k)ein Ende? Anmerkungen zur Analyse von Antomo & Steinbach (2010). *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 32, 221–262.

## Alternations in co- and subordination: phenomena and challenges

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Ingo Reich, Augustin Speyer / *Universität des Saarlandes*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–14:30

In recent years, research on co- and subordination saw a lively debate and substantial empirical progress in the field of non-canonical complex sentences. In particular alternating constructions like *weil-V-final* vs. *weil-V2*, *obwohl-V-final* vs. *obwohl-V2*, *V-final-* vs. *V1-conditionals*, *V-final-* vs. *V2-relatives* symmetric vs. asymmetric coordination or standard vs. pseudo-conditionals have been in the focus of recent research. This empirical progress is well documented in recent collections like Ehrich et al. (2009) and Meibauer et al. (2013).

While empirical progress was in fact substantial, the theoretical concepts to model those properties are still rather poorly understood and somewhat vague. Also, recent research showed a strong focus on German data. In this AG, we would like to widen the perspective and to ask, to what extent other languages show comparable variation, comparable alternating constructions, and whether these constructions show similar syntactic, semantic and pragmatic behavior.

In this introductory lecture, we will give a first sketch of the main phenomena and the crucial challenges in this area (at least as we see it). We will

focus on the syntax and semantics of V2 as well as on variational aspects (mainly diachronic) of alternating constructions.

**References:** Ehrich, Veronika, Christian Fortmann, Ingo Reich & Marga Reis (Hgg.) 2009. Koordination und Subordination im Deutschen. *Linguistische Berichte*, Sonderheft 16. Buske, Hamburg. • Meibauer, Jörg, Markus Steinbach & Hans Altmann (Hgg.) 2013. Satztypen des Deutschen. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Coordination, subordination and paratactic relations

Gabriela Matos, Madalena Colaço / *University of Lisbon*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:00

Within Minimalism the distinction between coordination and subordination is not captured in terms of constructions, which are assumed as pre-theoretical devices, nor structural representations, since both are built up on the basis of the same configurations: Specifier-Head-Complement (completive subordination and integrated coordination) or Adjunction (adverbial and parenthetical clauses, including parenthetical coordination, Potts 2002, de Vries 2009). Thus, the distinction between coordination and subordination must rely on the features that characterize the functional heads Conj(unction) or C(omplementizer), together with the properties of the items selected from the lexicon to instantiate Conj or C. Still, across languages there are some connectors that resist to their inclusion in the subordinator or coordinator classes. This is the case of the causal explicative connectors *pois*, *que* and *porque* ‘because’ in Portuguese: like (finite) complementizers, they only select (finite) sentential constituents, (1-a); like coordinators, the sentences they head cannot be fronted, (1-b):

- (1) a. Ela saiu, pois as luzes \*(estão/\*estar) apagadas.  
“She left, because the lights \*(are/\*be) off.”
- b. \*Pois as luzes estão apagadas, ela saiu.  
“Because the lights are off, she left.”

Yet, despite their subordinate behavior, causal explicatives establish a paratactic bound with the sentences they are related to, since they behave as parentheticals. To account for them, we adopt De Vries’s (2007, 2009) Specifying Coordination approach. In fact, causal explicatives in Portuguese exhibit the

properties of parenthetical specifying coordination, namely, they present a specifying value and preclude c-command from the host sentence.

**References:** De Vries, Mark. 2007. Parenthesis as B-merged adverbial phrases. In N. Dehé & Y. Kavalova (eds.): *Parentheticals*, 203–234. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • De Vries, Mark. 2009. Specifying coordination. In C. Dreyer (ed.): *Language and Linguistics*, 37–98. New Science Publishers, New York. • Potts, Christopher. 2002. The syntax and semantics of *as*-parentheticals. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 623–689.

## weil-Sätze in altindogermanischen Sprachen

Rosemarie Lühr / *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

In altindogermanischen Sprachen sind ebenso wie in heutigen Sprachen die Illokutionen eines Textes nach koordinativen und subordinativen Verknüpfungen strukturiert. In dem altindischen Beispiel (1) wird eine in der Vergangenheit liegende Handlung einer 1. Person mit einem Wunsch dieser Person begründet.

- (1) *hotrād ahām varuṇa bíbhyad āyaṃ / néd evā mā yunájann átra devāḥ /*  
 „Aus Furcht vor dem Hotar-Amt bin ich gegangen, Varuṇa, denn nicht sollten mich die Götter darin einspannen.“ (RV X 51,4)

Auch eine Aufforderung kann durch einen Wunsch des Sprechers, der ebenso als Aufforderung formuliert ist, begründet werden.

- (2) *śatrūyatām ā bharā bhōjanāni // vadhéna dásyūm prá hí cātáyasva /*  
*váyāḥ kṛṇvānās tanvè svāyai*  
 „Bringe den Wohlstand der Feindseligen her!“ „Denn [ich wünsche:] vertreibe mit der Waffe den Dasyu, deinem eigenen Leibe Stärke zulegend.“ (RV V 4,5f.)

Neben diesen dt. *denn*-Sätzen vergleichbaren Sätzen bezeichnen auch echte Kausalsätze mit Konjunktion Sprechaktbegründungen:

- (3) *kvà tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ / śacāvahe yád avrkām purā cit*  
 „Wohin ist diese Freundschaft zwischen uns gekommen, da wir früher ohne Feindschaft verkehrten?“ (RV VII 88,5)



Im Altindischen gibt es also den deutschen *weil*-V-final vs. *weil*-V2 inhaltlich entsprechende Strukturen. Die pragmatischen Unterschiede werden aufgezeigt und mit dem Griechischen verglichen.

**References:** Lühr, Rosemarie. 2004. Sprechaktbegründungen im Altindischen. In T. Krisch, T. Lindner & U. Müller (eds.): *Analecta homini universali dicata* 130–144. Stuttgart. Bd. 1.

## German causal conjunction *zumal*: another PAC?

Ira Eberhardt / Universität Tübingen

Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

In this paper we will discuss the grammatical properties of German adverbial clauses introduced by the conjunction *zumal* ‘the more so as’ as in (1). We will show that they have some exceptional characteristics with respect to their embedding. We will further show that the diachronic development provides important cues for their synchronic analysis.

(1) Wir müssen jetzt nach Hause gehen, *zumal* es bald gewittert.

The majority of standard integration tests (cf. Reis 1997; Antomo & Steinbach 2010) indicate that *zumal* clauses are syntactically non-embedded. At the same time *zumal* clauses are marginally possible in the Spec C position of the MC and thus resemble the clauses analyzed in Frey (2011), because they are likewise prosodically integrated when in the Spec C position of the MC, while prosodically disintegrated when following it.

We will show that – contrary to the PACs in Frey (2011) – the unusual syntactic properties of *zumal* can be explained as an effect of its diachronic development. According to our hypothesis, *zumal* is the result of the reanalysis of a causal complementizer in the scope of a focus particle.

In this paper we will use the (internal and external) syntactic features of *zumal* clauses to confirm our diachronic hypothesis. It will be shown that they behave identically to embedded clauses in the scope of a focus particle. This and also a detailed semantic analysis support the proposed hypothesis. While it is not an ultimate answer for all German PACs, this analysis gives a plausible diachronic explanation for one type of German PACs – *zumal*-clauses – and thus indicates the need for different analyses for different PACs.

**References:** Antomo, Mailin & Markus Steinbach. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: Weil-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29: 1-37. • Frey, Werner. 2011. Peripheral adverbial clauses, their licensing and the prefield in German. In E. Breindl, G. Ferraresi & A. Volodina (eds.): *Satzverknüpfung – Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion*, 41–77. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Reis, Marga. 1997. Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In Ch. Dürscheid, K.-H. Ramers & M. Schwarz (eds.): *Sprache im Fokus. Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag*, 121–44. Niemeyer, Tübingen.

## Syntax and semantics of causal *nachdem*-clauses in German

Stefanie Pitsch / Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

Various grammars of standard German subsume *nachdem* under the group of genuinely temporal subjunctions denoting temporal precedence, see (1). Although rarely discussed, there are instances of *nachdem*-clauses which cannot be interpreted temporally but receive a causal interpretation as in (2):

- (1) Nachdem der Zug abgefahren war, erreichte er den Bahnsteig.  
“After the train had left, he arrived at the platform.”
- (2) Nachdem mein neues Zimmer 10m<sup>2</sup> groß ist, habe ich nur einen Teil meiner Möbel mitgenommen.  
“Since my room has 10m<sup>2</sup>, I only took some of my furniture.”

In my talk I will argue that the causal interpretation of *nachdem* is the result of a compositional process. In contrast to earlier analyses (a.o. Herweg 1991) I will show that it arises under specific grammatical conditions: it is licensed by the imperfect aspect of the embedded predicate. Although aspect is not morphologically expressed in German, an explanation for the different interpretations of (1) and (2) can be given by following Klein’s (1994) analysis of tense and aspect. *Nachdem* itself will be analysed as a semantically underspecified subjunction which may adjoin to different projections in the matrix clause. Depending on the grammatical information encoded in the *nachdem*-clause, it either adjoins to the VP or IP.

**References:** Herweg, Michael. 1991. Temporale Konjunktionen und Aspekt. Der sprachliche Ausdruck von Zeitrelationen zwischen Situationen. *Kognitionswissenschaften* 2: 51–90. • Klein, Wolfgang. 1994. *Time in Language*. Routledge, London. • Reis, Marga. 1997. Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In Ch. Dürscheid, K.-H. Ramers & M. Schwarz (eds.): *Sprache im Fokus. Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag*, 121–44. Niemeyer, Tübingen.

## The decline of asymmetric word order in Cimbrian subordination

Ermenegildo Bidese<sup>1</sup>, Alessandra Tomaselli<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>University of Trento, <sup>2</sup>University of Verona  
 Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

As has been recently pointed out (Grewendorf & Poletto 2009, 2011, Kolmer 2012, Bidese, Padovan & Tomaselli 2012), Cimbrian declarative and relative clauses display a unique pattern among the German dialects w.r.t. subordination. In fact, a double system of complementizers prompts different positions of the finite verb as crucially shown by the alternation *ke* versus *az*, which trigger, respectively, embedded-V2 with postverbal negation versus asymmetric-word-order with preverbal negation, (1-b) vs. (1-c) in comparison with (1-a):

- (1) a. *Root clause*  
       Du **geast** nèt ka Tria (you-go-not-to-Trient)                   (V Neg)  
       b. *Embedded clause introduced by ke*  
       I boaz ke du **geast** nèt ka Tria (you-know-that- ...)       (V Neg)  
       c. *Embedded clause introduced by az*  
       I bill az-to nèt **geast** ka Tria (I want that-you ...)       (Neg V)

The aim of our talk is twofold: i) to extend the analysis to adverbial clauses (temporal, comparative, concessive and causal); ii) to propose a theoretical analysis that according to Abraham (2012) goes beyond the contact-induced influence and highlights the crucial difference between the categorial status of the subordinating element (head versus specifier) and its feature characterization at both the syntactic and the semantic level. Particularly revealing is the syntax of Cimbrian *umbrómm*, which, like Italian *perché*, introduces both interrogative, direct and indirect (2-a), (2-b), and causal clauses (2-c), crucially maintaining Germanic subject-inversion in root context (2-a):

- (2) a. *Root interrogative clause* (Wh V-S.cl Neg)  
 Umbromm **izz-ar** *nèt* khent? (why-is-he-not-come)  
 Perché **lui** *non è* venuto?
- b. *Embedded interrogative clause* (Wh S V Neg)  
 I vors-mar umbromm **dar iz** *nèt* khent (I ask-me-why-...)  
 Mi chiedo perché **lui** *non è* venuto
- c. *Causal clause (epistemic and non-epistemic)* (S V Neg)  
 Håns iz gestånt dahuam umbromm **dar iz** *nèt* gestånt gerècht  
 Gianni è rimasto a casa perché (**lui**) *non sta* bene  
 Gianni is stayed home why (he) not stayed well

Cimbrian *umbrómm* clearly shows that: i) the pressure of Italian as model language is possibly limited to the semantic extension of the subordinator like *umbrómm* from the interrogative to the causal context (neutralizing the German lexical choice between *warum* and *weil*); ii) the word order pattern introduced by an autochthonous Cimbrian subordinator requires embedded V2 (2-b,c) exactly as the functional loan word *ke* (1-b); iii) embedded-V2 cannot be explained as a contact-induced phenomenon but represents the generalization of a well-attested option among the Germanic varieties both intra- and interlinguistically.

**References:** Bidese, Ermenegildo, Andrea Padovan & Alessandra Tomaselli. 2012. A binary system of complementizers in Cimbrian relative clauses. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 90: 1–21. • Grewendorf, Günther. & Cecilia Poletto. 2009. The hybrid complementizer system of Cimbrian. In V. Moscati & E. Servidio (eds.): *Proceedings XXXV Incontro di Grammatica Generativa*, 181–194. • Grewendorf, Günther & Cecilia Poletto. 2011. Hidden verb second: the case of Cimbrian. In M. Putnam (ed.): *Studies on German language-islands*, 301–346. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Kolmer, Agnes. 2012. *Pronomina und Pronominalklitika im Cimbro. Untersuchungen zum grammatischen Wandel einer deutschen Minderheitensprache in romanischer Umgebung*. Steiner, Stuttgart. • Abraham, Werner. 2012. Philologische Dialektologie und moderne Mikrovarietätsforschung. Zum Begriff des Erklärstatus in Syn- und Diachronie. In M.M. Glauninger & B. Barabas (eds.): *Wortschatz und Sprachkontakt im Kontext oberdeutscher Wörterbücher, Sprachatlanten und Sprachinseln. Werner Bauer zum 70. Geburtstag*, 171–190. Praesensverlag, Wien.

## Über verschiedene Realisierungstypen von Kausalsätzen

Werner Frey / ZAS Berlin

Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:00

Gegenstand des Vortrags sind verschiedene Typen des K(ausal-)Satzes: integrierter (1-a), desintegrierter (1-b), und semi-integrierter Verb-letzt-Satz (1-c), und konjunktional eingeleiteter Verb-zweit-Satz (1-d).

- (1) a. Die Straße ist nass, weil es geREGnet hat.
- b. Es hat geREGnet, \ weil die Straße NASS ist.
- c. Weil die Straße nass/NASS ist, hat es (wohl) geREGnet.
- d. Es hat geREGnet, weil die Straße ist NASS.

Der semi-integrierte Typ ist hier illustriert durch einen epistemischen VL-Satz im Vorfeld. Dieser Typ gehört zur Klasse der peripheren Adverbialsätze. Als solcher ist er in der C-Domäne seines Bezugssatzes basisgeneriert. Daher kann er epistemischen Bezug aufweisen (anders als ein int. VL-KSatz), aber keinen Sprechakt-Bezug, (2-a), anders als desint. KSätze, (2-b,c). Letztere sind syntaktische ‘Orphans’. Dies wird am Einbettungsverhalten deutlich, (3). Der unterschiedliche syntaktische Status von int., semi-int. und desint. KSätzen korrespondiert mit prosodischen Unterschieden der Satzverbindungen (Frey & Truckenbrodt im Ersch.).

- (2) a. \*Weil das dich doch am meisten interessiert, habe ich den Job gekündigt.
- b. Ich habe den Job gekündigt. Weil das interessiert dich doch am meisten. (Antomo & Steinbach 2010)
- c. Ich habe den Job gekündigt. \ Weil das dich doch am meisten interessiert.
- (3) a. Weil die Straße nass ist, hat es (wohl) geregnet, vermutete Max.
- b. \*Max vermutete, es hat geregnet, weil die Straße ist nass.

Im Gegensatz zu integrierten und semi-integrierten KSätzen konstituieren desintegrierte KSätze eigenständige Sprechakte (4), ihr assertierter Gehalt ist aber bezüglich der Diskursrelevanz zurückgestuft (Holler 2009).

Resultate: Für die These ‘je geringer die syntaktische und prosodische Integration, desto mehr potentielle Lesarten’ bilden semi-integrierte KS ein bestätigendes Zwischenglied. Sprechaktbezug des abhängigen Satzes setzt seine vollständige syntaktische Desintegration voraus.

- (4) a. \*Weil ich Ihnen hiermit kündige, werden Sie erstaunt sein.  
b. Sie werden erstaunt sein, weil ich kündige Ihnen hiermit.

**References:** Antomo, Mailin & Markus Steinbach. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: Weil-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29: 1–37. • Frey, Werner & Hubert Truckenbrodt. Im Ersch. Syntactic and prosodic integration and disintegration in peripheral adverbial clauses and in right dislocation/afterthought. In: A. Trotzke & J. Bayer (Hrsg.): *Syntactic Complexity across Interfaces*. • Holler, Anke. 2009. Informationsreliefs in komplexen Sätzen. In: Ehrich, V., I. Reich & M. Reis (Hrsg.): *Koordination und Subordination im Deutschen*, 135–158. LB, Sonderheft 16.

## Parataktische Konjunktionen – Syntax, Funktion und Entstehung einer Konnektorenklasse

Ulrike Freywald / Universität Potsdam  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

Der Beitrag behandelt Konjunktionen, die im Deutschen sowohl Verbletz-Adverbialsätze einleiten als auch Hauptsatzförmige Sätze anschließen können. Neben *weil* zählen hierzu insbesondere *obwohl*, *wobei*, *während* und *wo(hin)gegen*. Ich werde im Vortrag dafür argumentieren, dass diese Konjunktionen eine eigenständige Subklasse konstituieren, die ich als *parataktische Konjunktionen* bezeichne. Sie verfügen über Eigenschaften, die sie kategorial sowohl von subordinierenden als auch von koordinierenden Konjunktionen unterscheiden (Freywald 2014). Gemeinsam ist den parataktischen Konjunktionen, dass die (stets mindestens satzförmigen) Konnekte kaum formalen Beschränkungen unterliegen. Dies geht einher mit pragmatischer Selbstständigkeit und großer Variabilität hinsichtlich der zulässigen Illokutionstypen. Es ist daher nicht plausibel, hier von genereller Verbstellungsva-riation im Nebensatz oder von “V2-Nebensätzen” zu sprechen:

- (1) Der [= Interregio] fährt täglich, *obwohl*, fährt der eigentlich auch am Sonntag?  
(Günthner 1999, 425)
- (2) Räum bitte dein Zimmer auf, *weil* wohin sonst mit dem Gast?  
(Reis 2013, 225)

- (3) GT2 konnte ich hier keinen testen, aber reizen würde mich der auch wegen Mezger und Handschaltung. *Wobei* ob der für mein Einsatzgebiet passt und im Regen auch fahrbar ist?  
(Internetbeleg; <http://www.pff.de>, Juli 2013)

Eine Voraussetzung für die Entstehung parataktischer Konjunktionen scheint zu sein, dass die betreffende Subjunktion imstande ist, unintegrierte VL-Adverbialsätze einzuleiten. Erst dies ermöglicht offenbar ein ‘Umspringen’ zur Interpretation als parataktische Verknüpfung, d.h. zur Reanalyse der Konjunktion. Historisch gesehen liegt hier eine lexemübergreifende konvergente Entwicklung vor, die zur Herausbildung einer eigenständigen Konnektorenklasse geführt hat, die – wie Korpusdaten der letzten 60 Jahre belegen – bis heute ausgebaut und profiliert wird. Die mittels Korpora greifbare rezente Diachronie zeigt zudem, dass dem oft als musterhaft angesehenen parataktischen *weil* dabei weder chronologisch noch quantitativ eine Vorreiterrolle zukommt.

**References:** Freywald, Ulrike. 2014. Parataktische Konjunktionen. Zur Syntax und Pragmatik der Satzverknüpfung im Deutschen – am Beispiel von *obwohl*, *wobei*, *während*, *wogegen* und *dass*. Dissertation. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. • Günthner, Susanne. 1999. Entwickelt sich der Konzessivkonnektor *obwohl* zum Diskursmarker? Grammatikalisierungstendenzen im gesprochenen Deutsch. *Linguistische Berichte* 180: 409–446. • Reis, Marga. 2013. “*Weil*-V2”-Sätze und (k)ein Ende? Anmerkungen zur Analyse von Antomo & Steinbach (2010). *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 32: 221–262.

## Dependent V2 – the assertion hypothesis revisited

Mailin Antomo, Markus Steinbach / *Universität Göttingen*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

With respect to the occurrence of Main Clause Phenomena in English dependent clauses, Hooper & Thompson (1973) observe that they are only licensed in clauses that are assertional, whereas presupposed dependent clauses never show Main Clause Phenomena. This “assertion hypothesis” has often been adopted to explain the licensing of V2 order in German dependent clauses (amongst many others Gärtner 2001 for relative clauses, Truckenbrodt 2004 for complement clauses, Antomo & Steinbach 2010 for adverbial clauses).

In our talk, we will discuss several examples showing that the adoption of the assertion hypothesis to dependent V2 in German is confronted with two fundamental problems: (i) not all dependent clauses showing V2 order are assertional, and (ii), not all dependent clauses that are assertional can undergo V2 movement. An alternative analysis, based on a question-driven discourse model as elaborated in Roberts (1996), is proposed.

**References:** Hooper, Joan & Sandra Thompson. 1973. On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 465–497. • Roberts, Craige. 1996. Information structure: towards an integrated theory of formal pragmatics. *OSU Working Papers in Linguistics* 48: 91–136. • Gärtner, Hans-Martin. 2001. Are there V2 relative clauses in German? *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 3: 97–141. • Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 2004. Zur Strukturbedeutung von Interrogativsätzen. *Linguistische Berichte* 199: 313–350. • Antomo, Mailin & Markus Steinbach. 2010. Desintegration und Interpretation: Weil-V2-Sätze an der Schnittstelle zwischen Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29: 1–37.

## Preposed and postposed adverbial clauses in sign languages: insights from the visual-gestural modality

Josep Quer / *Universitat Pompeu Fabra*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

Clause combining into complex sentences in sign languages (SLs) has received limited attention to date. Visual-gestural languages display some of the typical means like conjunctions to mark the combination of clauses into larger units, but also resort to modality-specific means: non-manual markers are often the only overt explicit signal of dependency. As in other SLs, brow raise in Catalan SL (LSC) surfaces as a marker of conditional antecedents (1), temporal, reason, concessive and purpose clauses appearing in the left periphery of the sentence. The manual sign IF/EXAMPLE can introduce the protasis, but it is optional, contrary to the obligatoriness of brow raise extending over the dependent clause.

- br
- (1) (IF/EXAMPLE) RAIN, EXCURSION CANCEL  
'If it rains, the excursion will be cancelled.'



Different types of complex sentences that contain adjunct clauses in the left periphery are argued to share the property of having a common origin as complex NP structures (bare NP adverbs, cf. Larson 1985), i.e., as clauses modifying a head noun. Despite having been classified as complementizers, the signs introducing the dependent clauses are lexical nouns (e.g., IF=EXAMPLE in LSC). If they were real conjunctions, they should appear in the last position of the embedded clause, for LSC is strictly head final in the functional domain: however, if no other topic-like constituent precedes them, they are the first element on the left edge. In this, LSC aligns with other spoken languages (e.g., Diyari, Adyghe) that use one syntactic type for the expression of subordinate clause meanings of different kinds (argumental, relative, adverbial). It will also be shown that when such clauses seem to be in the right periphery of the sentence, they turn out to be juxtaposed. This clearly points to a different syntax, and is parallel to the availability of main clause phenomena like V2 in initial vs. final adverbial clauses in Germanic (see Diessel 2013 for an overview).

### Daccapo *je-desto*

Christian Fortmann / Universität Tübingen

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

Reis (2009) und Speyer (2011) diskutieren *komparative Korrelativkonstruktionen* im Deutschen, wie:

- (1) Je fetter der Braten ist, desto schwerer liegt er im Magen.

Reis plädiert für eine Analyse, bei der die *je*-Protasis unmittelbar (ohne Bewegung) als Adjunkt der Apodosis generiert wird. Speyer hingegen motiviert, gegründet auf distributionelle Parallelen zu restriktiven Relativsätzen, eine Analyse unter der die *je*-Protasis als Konstituente der *desto*-Phrase basigeneriert wird und nach Umstellung an die Matrix CP adjungiert wird. Die auf eine syntaktische Desintegration deutenden Sachverhalte (Zweiteilung der FHG) werden auf unabhängig gesetzte Anforderungen kontrastiver Fokussierung zurückgeführt. Hieran anknüpfend möchte ich zunächst weitere distributionelle Parallelen zu restriktiven Relativsätzen aufzeigen, wie in:

- (2) a. [ Je fetter der Braten ist desto schwerer ] liegt er im Magen.

- b. [ Wer sich darin nicht auskennt der ] sollte die Finger von der Sache lassen.

und eine ebenso parallele Analyse beider Strukturen vorschlagen. *Je-/Relativsätze* unterliegen gleichen Bedingungen der (Un-)Abtrennbarkeit, beide können im Mittelfeld vorkommen (bei Berücksichtigung je spezifischer Anforderungen an die Fokussierung) und unterliegen parallelen Bedingungen bei der Extraposition. Hieraus ergibt sich u.a. eine Analyse von (1) als Umstellung der *je*-Protasis innerhalb der *desto*-Phrase. Ferner möchte ich vorschlagen, *desto* nicht als Phrase, sondern als Kopf einer Korrelat-Phrase anzusehen, welcher die Vergleichsrelation etabliert, was u.a. eine Erklärung gewisser Unterschiede zwischen *je-desto*- und *je-je*-Gefügen erlaubt.

**References:** Reis, Marga. 2009. Zur Struktur von *je-desto*-Gefügen und Verwandtem im Deutschen. In: Ehrich, V., I. Reich & M. Reis (Hrsg.): *Koordination und Subordination im Deutschen*, 223–244. LB, Sonderheft 16. • Speyer, Augustin. 2011. Je stärker der Fokus, desto geringer die Einbettung? Zum Status des *je*-Satzes in *je-desto*-Gefügen. *Linguistische Berichte* 225: 43–61.

## Alternating V2 and V-Final in German relative clauses: new insights from acquisition

Emanuela Sanfelici, Alexander Thiel,  
Corinna Trabandt, Petra Schulz /  
*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

This study investigates verb placement, V2 vs. verb final (VFin), in the acquisition of German restrictive relative clauses (RCs). German RCs are VFin, (1-a), but, under specific conditions, so called integrated V2 structures (iV2) as in (1-b) are licensed (cf. Gärtner 2001, a.o.).

- (1) Hier gibt es eine Frau ...  
here gives it a.ACC woman  
“There is a woman here, ...”  
a. ... die eine braune Ziege **gemalt hat**.  
who a.ACC brown goat painted has  
“... who painted a brown goat.”

- b. ... die **hat** eine braune Ziege **gemalt**.  
 who has a.ACC brown goat painted

Some authors treat iV2 as involving two main clauses coordinated as in (2) (de Vries 2006, a.o.).

- (2) [CoordP [CP<sub>1</sub> ... DP<sub>i</sub> ... ] [ Coord [CP<sub>2</sub> Demonstrative<sub>i</sub> V ... ]]]

Given that main clauses are mastered earlier in acquisition than subordinate configurations of VFin (Rothweiler 1993), (2) entails a prediction for acquisition: children produce iV2 (1-b) earlier than VFin RCs (1-a).

We tested this prediction using a picture-supported delayed-imitation task comprising 12 items: 6 with V2 and 6 VFin, as in (1). We measured whether and how often children changed the verb placement of the test sentence in their repetitions. The results show that children repeated VFin RCs significantly more often correctly than iV2 and changed iV2 to VFin significantly more often than VFin into iV2. Our findings cast doubts on the syntactic analysis in (2), suggesting that iV2 structures may entail a more complex structure. Elaborating on den Dikken's (2005) idea, we propose a null Topic<sup>0</sup> mediating between the two clauses, which specifies the second clause as a comment on the first clause.

**References:** Den Dikken, Marcel. 2005. A comment on the topic of topic-comment. *Lingua* 115: 691–710. • Gärtner, Hans Martin. 2001. Are there V2 relative clauses in German? *Journal of Comparative German Linguistics* 3: 97–141.

## Approaching V2 from the north: a macrosyntactic view on dependent V2 variation in Icelandic

Hans-Martin Gärtner / *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–12:30

In most Germanic V2 languages, the distribution of dependent V2 is restricted to environments supporting “Main Clause Interpretation” (MCI). Along with Yiddish, Icelandic belongs to the languages where these restrictions are less strong. Thus, non-subject initial V2 is possible in the complement of non-assertive predicates like *doubt* and *not expect*. I'll call the two patterns “narrow” and “broad” V2 (NV2/BV2).

To understand Icelandic BV2, one must note that it lacks three important surface cues for dependent V2: (i) in VO languages there is no (automatic) ordering reversal between finite verbs and VP internal constituents under V2. (ii) V2 argument clauses retain their complementizers in Icelandic. (iii) Due to “V-to-I,” V2 is usually not detectable in subject-initial clauses. These facts conspire against the usefulness of V2 in signaling MCI.

At the same time, BV2 is not an “anything goes” in Icelandic. Many of the restrictions on V2 in dependent interrogatives and adjunct clauses and subregularities concerning predicate classes are reminiscent of NV2. And Icelandic comes in two varieties, one displaying BV2 (Icelandic A), and the other an “ordinary” NV2 language like Mainland Scandinavian (MSc) (Icelandic B). This makes Icelandic an ideal testing ground for hypotheses concerning the forces at work in the licensing of dependent V2.

Building on previous work, I will focus on the role of a factor that has not been appreciated enough as decisive in the debate on Icelandic BV2. Thus, Icelandic possesses a regular and robust indicative/subjunctive alternation. In particular, subjunctive is a reliable indicator of subordination in many environments. The intensively studied *veit*-V2 phenomenon plays out analogously: non-MCI environments ban V2 in German and require subjunctive in Icelandic.

My hypothesis therefore is that clausal dependencies are marked by verbal mood in Icelandic A. Through this, V2 is “liberalized” and plays the role – via the filling of a clause initial specifier – of information structural profiling, much as does scrambling and frame setting in OV languages. This idea has the further benefit of making the divide between Icelandic A and B amenable to a “classical” account: decay and loss of subjunctive. Thus, the rise of an “(Indicative)-Dialect” in the domain of long-distance reflexive licensing was reported, and an “age effect,” such that evidence for BV2 is attested more frequently with older speakers was found.

## On the question of subordination or coordination in V2 relatives in German

Nicholas Catasso<sup>1</sup>, Roland Hinterhölzl<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>*Ludwig-Maximilians Universität München,*

<sup>2</sup>*University of Venice*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13:00

In the vivid debate on the role of so-called ‘V2 relatives’ (V2Rs) in German, Gärtner (2002) proposed for these structures a paratactic analysis assigning the *d*-clause proto-assertional force, thereby raising the question as to the exact impact of V2 in relatives, since the same readings are available in Vfinal relatives (VfRs). A context in which V2Rs and VfRs clearly differ are relatives with indefinites as head nouns (cf. (1)). While the VfR allows for a *de re* and a *de dicto* reading of the indefinite (1-a), the V2R is restricted to the *de re* reading (1-b). The same kind of contrast is evidenced by the distinction between indicative vs. subjunctive in relatives in Italian, as in (1-c).

- (1)    a.    Hans sucht eine Frau, die blaue Augen hat        (de re, de dicto)  
          b.    Hans sucht eine Frau, die hat blaue Augen        (de re, \*de dicto)  
          c.    Gianni cerca    una donna    che ha        gli occhi blu  
              John   looks-for a   woman that has.IND blue eyes        (de re)

This parallelism between V2R and VfRs in German and relatives with indicative and subjunctive mood in Italian is corroborated by the observation that those contexts that require subjunctive (e.g. in RCs with final/consecutive interpretation, or with a negated head) do not admit V2Rs in German. The role of V2 is thus to fix the world interpretation of the embedded domain to the actual world, while Vfin is compatible with a bound interpretation of the world variable in the embedded domain. Building on comparative and internal evidence, we argue for a hypotactic analysis of German V2Rs in which V-movement in the relative serves to set the reference of the embedded event to the actual world. It is in this sense that the embedded clause receives a so-called root interpretation. Since V2 in the matrix does not have the same semantic effect as V2 in the RC, we propose that the two operations target different positions in C: Force in main clauses and Mood in RCs.

**References:** Blühdorn, Hardarik. 2007. Zur Struktur und Interpretation von Relativsätzen. *Deutsche Sprache* 35: 287–314. • Den Dikken, Marcel. 2005. A comment on

the topic of topic-comment. *Lingua* 115: 691–710. • Gärtner, Hans-Martin. 2002. On the force of V2 declaratives. *Theoretical linguistics* 28: 33–42.

## Zu einigen rätselhaften Fällen ‘adverbialer’ V2-Subordination im Deutschen

Marga Reis / *Universität Tübingen*  
Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:30

Nichtkonstruktionelle Analysen von subordiniertem V2 im Deutschen sind wesentlich von 3 Ideen geprägt: (i) Subordinierte V2-Sätze sind stets Alternativen zu ‘geborenen’ Subordinationsstrukturen (d.h. durch Subjunktion eingeleiteten V-letzt-Sätzen), (ii) sie sind lizenziert dadurch, dass die aus den Hauptsatzvorkommen ableitbaren konstitutiven Eigenschaften von V2-Strukturen mit den Eigenschaften des jeweiligen Subordinationskontexts überlappen, (iii) die dabei zentralen Eigenschaften sind, in Tandem, (a) die Strukturbedeutung von V2-Hauptsätzen (“assertive Kraft”) und (b) syntaktische bzw. informationsstrukturelle Hauptsatzprivilegien (Desintegriertheit bezügl. sentenzialer Umgebung bzw. eigene Fokusdomäne). Auch wenn diese je nach Subordinationskontext modifiziert bzw. abgeschwächt auftreten, sollten dementsprechend subordinierte V2-Strukturen durchweg semantisch auf einen ‘assertiven’ Nenner zurückführbar und syntaktisch-informationsstrukturell ‘hauptsatzähnlicher’ als die alternierende ‘echte’ Subordinationsstruktur sein. Mit anderen Worten: subordinierte V2-Fälle des Deutschen sollten einer im Kern einheitlichen Analyse zugänglich sein.

In meinem Vortrag werde ich mich mit der deskriptiven Reichweite dieser 3 Ideen für die Analyse von subordiniertem V2 im Deutschen befassen. Vergleichend ausgehend von den mehr oder minder gut bekannten Verhältnissen bei sog. V2-Komplementen und V2-Relativa stelle ich dabei, vor allem zum Test auf (iii), bisher wenig untersuchte bzw. noch immer rätselhafte Fälle von (augenscheinlicher oder so genannter) ‘adverbialer’ V2-Subordination in den Mittelpunkt: konsekutive Fälle wie (1), V2 nach Präferenzprädikaten wie (2), und nach Möglichkeit V2 in ‘asymmetrischer Koordination’ wie (3).

- (1) Er sprach so abgeklärt über V2, man konnte nur staunen.
- (2) Fürs Wohlbefinden ist es besser, man lässt seine Finger von V2.
- (3) Wenn ich das neue ZS-Heft aufschlage und der erste Artikel ist über V2 ...

Eine ‘sweeping solution’ der vor allem für (ii)-(iii) auftretenden Probleme werde ich nicht zu bieten haben, zumindest aber ein vernünftiges Ergebnis zur Möglichkeit ‘adverbialer’ V2-Subordination, sowie einige neue Datenmuster und Analysedetails, an denen sich die zukünftige V2-Forschung kompositionell und/oder konstruktionsell weiter abarbeiten kann.

## Binding as evidence for clausal attachment

Sophie von Wietersheim / *Universität Tübingen*

Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

Subordinate clauses of different types are assumed to show varying degrees of integration into their main clause (Reis 1997, Haegeman 2004, Frey 2011). Some (e.g. temporal) adverbial clauses may be more deeply integrated than others (e.g. adversative). Since these degrees of integration affect possible binding relations, authors have used evidence from binding as a test of integration. The work reported here examines these phenomena experimentally.

We conducted a series of experiments on English and German testing both Principle C and variable binding. We compared a range of clause types including both temporal and adversative clauses with *während/while* (1-a,b), and temporal clauses with *nachdem/after* (1-c).

- (1) a. Jeder Läufer<sub>i</sub> hört Musik, **während** er<sub>i</sub> durch den Park joggt.
- b. Jeder Athlet<sub>i</sub> geht morgens joggen, **während** er<sub>i</sub> abends schwimmen geht.
- c. Jeder Sportler<sub>i</sub> geht duschen, **nachdem** er<sub>i</sub> Fußball gespielt hat.

We tested these sentence types in four conditions: clause order (main clause first, sub-clause first) and location of binder (in main clause, in sub-clause). The key test is the degree of acceptability of the conditions with successful binding by the quantifier phrase *jede NP*.

The results confirm that clauses with different structural integration show correspondingly varying binding behaviours, thus confirming the claim that binding is a symptom of integration (Reis 1997, Frey 2011). We observed a clear difference between temporal and adversative clauses with the same connector (e.g. German *während*, English *while*).

Our data shows (contra Pauly 2013) that binding is a robust measure of integration, and reveals the predicted multiple degrees of integration (Reis 1997, Frey 2011).

**References:** Frey, Werner. 2011. Peripheral adverbial clauses, their licensing and the prefield in German. In E. Breindl, G. Ferraresi & A. Volodina (eds.): *Satzverknüpfung – Zur Interaktion von Form, Bedeutung und Diskursfunktion*, 41–77. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Haegeman, Liliane. 2004. The syntax of adverbial clauses and its consequences for topicalisation, *Antwerp Papers in Linguistics* 107: 61–90. • Reis, Marga. 1997. Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In C. Dürscheid, K.-H. Ramers & M. Schwarz (eds.): *Sprache im Fokus*, 121–144. Niemeyer, Tübingen. • Pauly, Dennis. 2013. *Grenzfälle der Subordination : Merkmale, Empirie und Theorie abhängiger Nebensätze*. Dissertation, Universität Potsdam.

## Imperatives or “pseudo-imperatives”? Argument omission in imperative – *and/or* – declarative constructions

Robert Külpmann, Vilma Symanczyk-Joppe /  
*Bergische Universität Wuppertal*  
Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

Our talk will deal with constructions like (1-a) an (1-b), in which an imperative sentence is conjoined/disjoined with a following declarative sentence:

- (1) a. Drück auf den Knopf, und ich betätige den Regler.
- b. Drück auf den Knopf, und wir sind alle gerettet!

Some of these constructions (1-a) behave more like symmetrically coordinated pairs of speech acts, others (1-b) more like asymmetrically coordinated pairs, the first conjunct representing a condition for the situation described in the second conjunct. We will consider the following possibilities how the differences between these constructions could be captured:

- (2) a. Both constructions are fully compositional. Pragmatic principles are responsible for formal and functional differences (cf. Clark 1993).
- b. Both constructions are fully compositional. Polysemous conjunctions (*und*<sub>1</sub>, *und*<sub>2</sub>) are responsible for formal and functional differences (in analogy to German *weil*; cf. Uhlmann 1998).
- c. The constructions (or one of them) should be interpreted holistically.



First, we will analyze the behaviour of the first conjunct, following Kaufmann (2012), who shows that an exclusively conditional interpretation corresponds with the first conjunct's loss of many formal characteristics of plain imperatives. In a second step, we will present data from our empirical study on argument omission, which lead to similar conclusions: the imperative part differs significantly from plain imperatives with respect to the omissibility of the direct argument. In a last step, we will relate these findings to the possibilities (2-a-c), favouring a holistic interpretation.

**References:** Clark, Billy. 1993. Relevance and Pseudo-Imperatives. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16: 79–121. • Kaufmann, Magdalena. 2012. *Interpreting Imperatives*. Springer. • Uhmann, Susanne. 1998. Verbstellungsvariation in *weil*-Sätzen: Lexikalische Differenzierung mit grammatischen Folgen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 17: 92–139.

## Kontrolle und Obviation im Polnischen und Deutschen

Patrick Brandt, Beata Trawiński, Angelika Wöllstein /  
IDS Mannheim

Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

Bezüglich des Zusammenhangs zwischen semantischer Fusionierung und syntaktischer Integration besonders interessant sind von obviativen Verben (*anordnen*, *billigen* etc.) selegierte Infinitive. Entgegen der für Infinitive typischen Kontrolle darf deren implizites Subjekt gerade nicht mit einem Argument des Matrixprädikats identifiziert werden.

(1) Otto ordnete an, PRO ( $\neq$  Otto) die Katze zu streicheln. **Obviation**

Im Deutschen stehen keine overtten Mittel zur Verfügung, die zwischen obviativen Infinitivkonstruktionen und (Subjekt-)Kontrollkonstruktionen unterscheiden, vgl. (1) und (2):

(2) Otto versprach, PRO (= Otto) die Katze zu streicheln. **Kontrolle**

Im Polnischen dagegen werden obviative Infinitivkonstruktionen im Gegensatz zu Subjekt-Kontrollkonstruktionen offenbar regelhaft mittels des Komplementierers *żeby* markiert:

- (3) Otto zarządził, \*(żeby) PRO ( $\neq$  Otto) pogłaskać kota.  
 Otto ordnete-an dass streicheln Katze  
 “Otto ordnete an, die Katze zu streicheln.” **Obviation**
- (4) Otto obiecał, \*(żeby) PRO (= Otto) pogłaskać kota.  
 Otto versprach dass streicheln Katze  
 “Otto versprach, die Katze zu streicheln.” **Kontrolle**

Bei einer Reihe von Klassen von Verben im Polnischen hängt die (Blockierung der) Identifizierung des Subjekts mit einem Matrixargument bei infiniten wie auch bei finiten (subjunktiven) Satzkomplementen alleine am Auftreten von *żeby*, vgl. (5):

- (5) a. Otto lubi PRO (= Otto) głośno śpiewać.  
 Otto mag laut singen  
 “Otto mag es, laut zu singen.” **Kontrolle**
- b. Otto lubi, żeby PRO ( $\neq$  Otto) głośno śpiewać.  
 Otto mag dass laut singen  
 “Otto mag, dass man laut singt.” **Obviation**
- c. Otto lubi, żeby *pro* ( $\neq$  Otto) głośno śpiewał.  
 Otto mag dass laut singen.3P.SG  
 “Otto mag, dass er laut singt.” **Obviation**

Wir schlagen vor, dass *żeby* in der C-Domäne subordinierter Sätze semantische Fusion verhindert und mithin ein Gegenstück zu Verbbewegung in asymmetrisch koordinierten Sätzen darstellt (vgl. Reich 2008). Wir prüfen, ob die eventuelle Parallelität der relativ transparenten Verhältnisse im Polnischen (vgl. Citko 2012) mit den im Deutschen vorhandenen Kontrollmustern in Abhängigkeit von weniger offensichtlichen syntaktischen Eigenschaften die Annahme eines kovernten Elements analog zum overtten *żeby* rechtfertigt.

**References:** Citko, Barbara. 2012. *Control and Obviation: A View from Polish*. Handout zum Vortrag bei der Tagung *SinFonIJA 5*, Wien. • Reich, Ingo. 2008. From Discourse to ‘Odd Coordinations’ – On Asymmetric Coordination and Subject Gaps in German. In C. Fabricius-Hansen & W. Ramm (Hrsg.): ‘Subordination’ vs. ‘Coordination’ in *Sentence and Text*, 281–303. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

## Arbeitsgruppe 6

### The prosody and meaning of (non-)canonical questions across languages

*Daniela Wochner*  
*Nicole Dehé*  
*Bettina Braun*  
*Beste Kamali*  
*Hubert Truckenbrodt*

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#### Workshop description

There has been a recent spur of research aiming to understand interrogatives from multiple perspectives including prosody, semantics, and pragmatics. In bringing together research on canonical and non-canonical questions, we aim to provide a forum where cutting edge theoretical approaches meet highly detailed empirical assessment.

For canonical questions, the workshop is particularly interested in the relation between questions and focus in the different modules of grammar, and in the role of the intonation contour in different questioning types. Where do questions show question-specific stress- or phrasing patterns? Where do *wh*-phrases show similarities to focused phrases? Why do the alternatives in alternative questions show focus prosody? Intervention effects are an important topic in the interaction between focus and *wh*-phrases and/or alternatives in alternative questions. Are there other interactions as well? What question-specific intonation contours or question-specific assignment of intonation contours do different languages show, and how is the variation to be understood?

The non-canonical questions that the workshop is interested in include those which (i) besides being used as requests for information, have further pragmatic dimensions; (ii) have non-interrogative syntax; and/or (iii) may be identified as non-canonical through their prosody, or any combination of these properties. Example types are declarative questions, tag questions, and rhetorical questions. We would like to see if various well-known – but not uncontroversial – properties of non-canonical questions stand up to closer scrutiny: Are declarative questions and tags always confirmation-seeking rather than information-seeking? Do declarative questions always have rising intonation and why? How to approach the illocutionary force of assertion in rhetorical questions and to what extent can their prosody inform us? How do modal particles such as *schon* in German contribute to the rhetorical question pragmatics?

This workshop is of interest to a broad audience working on syntax, semantics, prosody, and their interfaces, with a focus on interrogatives and related phenomena.

## The prosody of rhetorical questions

Daniela Wochner, Jana Schlegel / *Universität Konstanz*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–14:30

The aim of this paper is to investigate the cues people need to understand and produce rhetorical questions (RQs) and to explore the phonological and phonetic parameters in communicative situations. We address the question of whether parameters such as pitch (e.g. the nuclear contour), duration and context are important and reliable cues for the understanding of rhetorical questions. According to Han (2002), RQs are questions with the illocutionary force of assertions of the opposite polarity, terminating in L% which indicates their assertive function. In a first step we investigated the influence of the context on a target utterance in the discourse. In a web-based experiment identical interrogative polar and *wh*-sentences were embedded in semantically formal contexts that provide either a rhetorical or an information-seeking interpretation. In a web-based experiment 132 participants were asked to judge the contexts with respect to their interpretation (rhetorical vs. information-seeking). In a subsequent step a production study based on the stimuli of the web-based experiment was designed addressing the role of pitch contour and phonetic parameters (e.g., duration, semitone difference). We tested sixteen

participants in pairs (speaker/addressee). Both were visually presented with context situations (32 experimental contexts from the web-based study, 16 fillers) on computer screens. The productions were recorded and analyzed using GToBI (Grice et al. 2005). Furthermore, duration was measured. The results showed that polar questions (N=118) were mostly produced with high boundary tones (85% in rhetorical, 92% in information-seeking contexts), and *wh*-questions (N=120) with low boundary tones (97% in rhetorical and 85% in information-seeking contexts). Position had no effect. The duration of the accented sentence-final objects were longer in RQs than in ISQs; this difference was even more pronounced in *wh*-questions. Addressees' answers were coded as matching (response to an RQ and answer to an ISQ) or not. On average, 65% of the items resulted in matching responses (69% for ISQ, 31% for RQs). In a subsequent step we will analyze the acoustic differences between RQs that resulted in matching and mismatching responses. Our preliminary results argue against claims that RQs are terminated by L%, which is said to indicate their assertive illocutionary force (Han 2002). Instead, duration seems to play an important role in the production of RQs. Furthermore, in a perception study we will investigate the relevant cues that result in a rhetorical or information-seeking interpretation of a question.

**References:** Grice, Martin, Stefan Baumann, Ralf Benzmlüller. 2005. German Intonation in Autosegmental-Metrical Phonology. In: S. Jun (ed.): *Prosodic Typology: The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*, 55–83. Oxford University Press. • Han, Chung-hye. 2002. Interpreting interrogatives as rhetorical questions. *Lingua* 112: 201–229.

## The early rise-fall as a marker of positive epistemic bias in American English

Meghan E. Armstrong / *University of Massachusetts Amherst*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:00

Sadock (2013) has recently observed a previously undescribed intonation contour used for syntactically marked polar questions (PQs) in American English, realized with what he calls “falling-then-flat intonation”. This contour, henceforth the early rise-fall PQ contour (ERF), shows a prenuclear ac-

cent labeled phonetically as  $L+<_iH^{*3}$ , and a  $L^*L-L\%$  nuclear configuration. The “early rise” can be described as a rise throughout the tonic syllable of the inverted NP in the PQ (i.e. on *Ana* in (1-a)), which reaches its peak on a post-tonic syllable. The rise happens on the contracted verb in preposed negation questions (i.e. on *Isn’t* in (2)). In terms of syntactic restrictions, the ERF is only felicitous on inverted PQs, and never on declarative questions.

- (1) a. ✓ Is Ana coming to the party? (ERF)  
 b. # Ana’s coming to the party? (ERF)

(1-a) conveys a positive epistemic bias on the part of the speaker about the propositional content, that Ana will come to the party. I claim, following Romero & Han (2004), that the ERF is a verum focus morpheme that results in a positive epistemic implicature. Romero & Han argue that negation preposing in English also works as a verum focus morpheme, since PQs like (2) also convey a positive epistemic bias, regardless of intonation.

- (2) Isn’t John a Republican?

The ERF is compatible with these “outer negation” questions (Ladd 1981), where Romero & Han claim that there is a positive epistemic implicature. In fact, it seems that that when the ERF is used with outer negation questions, their presence intensifies the positive epistemic meaning conveyed. However, the positive epistemic implicature generated by the ERF can be canceled by specific verum morphemes. In non-contracted negatively biased questions such as (3), when the speaker has just inferred that  $\neg p$ , the positive bias of the ERF is canceled, and only the “biased” meaning of the contour is preserved.

- (3) Is John not a Republican? (ERF)

Similarly this happens with PQs showing the verum focus morpheme *really*, which triggers negative epistemic implicatures, as in (4):

- (4) Is Elsa really married?

When the ERF is used in questions with *really*, which Romero & Han claim to be a verum-marking morpheme, the positive bias implicated through the ERF is canceled, resulting in a negative epistemic bias implicature. As in

<sup>3</sup>The  $_i$  diacritic indicates that the peak is realized high in the speaker’s pitch range, and the  $<$  diacritic indicates a delayed peak. Observe that  $L+<_iH^*$  is not a phonological category in the Mainstream American English ToBI system.

(3), the PQ in (4) gives rise to a negative epistemic implicature regardless of whether the PQ is realized with canonical PQ intonation or with the ERF. I claim that it is the “positive” meaning of the implicature of the ERF that is canceled by *really*, while the *epistemic* meaning survives. As a result, the negative epistemic bias implicated through the use of *really* is intensified.

I provide experimental evidence to support the data above. I argue that an analysis treating the ERF as encoding bias based on first-hand evidence (Sadock 2013) therefore does not seem suitable to explain the data. Rather, it seems more appropriate to analyze the ERF as an intonational verum morpheme that triggers positive epistemic implicatures on syntactically inverted PQs.

**References:** Ladd, Robert D. 1981. A first look at the semantics and pragmatics of negative questions and tag questions. In *Proceedings from the 17th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 164–171. • Romero, Maribel and Chung-Hye Han. 2004. On negative *yes/no* questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 27: 609–658. • Sadock, Jerry. 2013. Formal features of questions. In J.P. de Ruiter (ed.): *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives*, 103–122. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## Reversed polarity questions (RPQs) in American films: corpus-based study of the relationships of prosodic features and discourse-pragmatic values

Kambiz Elhami / *Université Blaise Pascal, Clermont II*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

In this talk I present a fine-grained analysis of the relationships between the prosodic features and discourse values/functions of RPQs uttered by professional actors in American movies. RPQs (also called rhetorical Qs) are Qs that require no answer, whether an answer is given or not. I argue that these Qs (in both *wh*- and polar forms) have an assertion-like content, with a sort of statement value, and their particular illocutionary force is due to a polarity reversal that makes them different from other types of Qs (information seeking/confirmation-seeking/permission-seeking Qs, etc.). The objective of the paper is to explore, from an interactional linguistic perspective, to what extent prosody and the elements of discourse-pragmatic situation contribute to the assertion-like content of RPQs. The instrumental analyses carried out

in this work support the principle, now widely accepted, that the production and interpretation of an utterance in situ depends largely on the interplay between its prosody and underlying discourse interactional organization because the utterance is a situated unit of discourse (Fonagy 1982, Bolinger 1986, Selting 1992, Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 1996, Wichmann 2000, Local 2003, Di Cristo et al. 2003, Szczepek Reed 2011). The speech corpus of the present work consists of several American films (*North Country*, *The Good German*, *Rain man*, *Who's afraid of Virginia Woolf?*, etc.), digitized into WAV audio files in order to visualize and measure the acoustic features of the data extracts. What makes this particular quasi-spontaneous corpus distinct from read-aloud laboratory corpus is the fact that it is natural sounding from both prosodic and interactive perspectives, and is perceived as roughly the same as a talk in a real-time naturally occurring interaction. The actors whose mundane and non-institutional face-to-face conversation RPQs constitute the corpus of this study are vocally well-trained and have a quite natural performance in terms of their verbal and non-verbal gestures, as well as bodily displays, etc. The prosodic features examined here are the following: pitch accents, nuclear contours, F0 peaks, intensity variations, segmental durations, speech rate variations, presence or absence of pause, prosodic boundaries and the speaker's voice quality. In this work, particular attention will be paid to both the linguistic and paralinguistic functions of prosody as well as the interactive roles played by prosody in turn-in-talk transitions (Schegloff 1998, 2007). In this respect, the prosody of RPQs in conversation will be viewed in relation to turn-construction units (TCUs). TCUs are minimal constituents of the speaker turn. The discourse-pragmatic perspective concerns the structure and patterns of interactions between interaction participants (e.g. husband-wife interaction, mother-child interaction, etc.) related to their turn taking, sequence structure (sequential development of interaction), timing, etc. As for the semiotic resources of discourse situation contributing to the recognition of RPQs, all relevant elements will be examined, including the visual channel of face-to-face conversation, which is considered a communicatively meaningful resource.

**References:** Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth & Margaret Selting. 1996. Toward an interactional perspective on prosody and a prosodic perspective on interaction. In Couper-Kuhlen, E. & M. Selting (eds.): *Prosody in Conversation: Interactional studies*, 11–56. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Di Cristo, Albert, Cyril Auran, Roxane Bertrand, Catherine Chanet & Cristel Portes. 2003. An integrative approach to the relations of prosody to discourse: towards a multilinear representation of an interface



network. (HAL: hal-00353729, version 1) • Fonagy, Ivan. 1982. *Situation et signification*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Local, John. 2003. Phonetics and talk-in-interaction. In *Proceedings of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Barcelona, 115–118. • Schegloff, Emanuel. A. 1998. Reflections on studying prosody in talk-in-interaction. *Language and Speech*, 41: 235–267. • Schegloff, Emanuel. A. 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction: a primer in conversation analysis*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Selting, Margaret. 1992. Prosody in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 17: 315–345. • Szczepek Reed, Beatrice. 2011. *Analysing conversation: an introduction to prosody*. Palgrave Macmillan. • Wichmann, Anne. 2000. *Intonation in text and discourse*. Longman, London.

## The contribution of particles to the rhetorical question interpretation: a case study of Italian particles *mai / cazzo / cavolo*

Olga Kellert / Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

The first aim of this abstract is to give a semantic analysis of Italian questions with particles (PRTs) *mai/cazzo/cavolo* in (1) that contribute to the rhetorical question interpretation indicated by the doubt-paraphrase in brackets in (1) (see Coniglio 2008):

- (1) Cosa *mai/cazzo/cavolo* pensi      che potresti fare? Strangolar-mi?  
       what            PRT            think.2SG that do.COND make strangle-me  
       ‘What do you think you can do to me? Strangle me? (I doubt that you  
       can do anything.)’

The second goal is to study the mapping of interpretation of questions with PRTs onto their intonation. I assume that the PRT described above enlarge the set of possible answers to the question (2-a) (see Den Dikken & Giannakidou 2002), negate them (2-b) and exhaustify the set of negated answers (2-c). I will spell out the function of PRTs within a modified version of Hamblin’s (1973) question semantics (see Guerzoni 2003) and assume that the syntax of (1) contains a focus operator *O* (semantically similar to the focus operator *only*) which exhaustifies question alternatives in e.g. (3) (see Nicolae submitted).

- (2) a. Extension of the answerset of (1) =  
       {you can do  $x$  to me, you can do  $z$  to me}  $\rightarrow$   
       {you can do  $x$  to me, you can do  $z$  to me, you can do  $m$  to me}  
   b. { $\neg$ you can do  $x$  to me,  $\neg$ you can do  $z$  to me,  $\neg$ you can do  $m$  to me}  
   c. The answerset in b. is complete
- (3) [CP [ Cosa mai ]<sub>j</sub> [FocP O(nly) [TP potresti fare  $t_j$  ]]  
       ‘What (on earth) could you do to me?’

The analysis in (2) predicts that questions with PRTs are not used as information asking questions, since they negate the truth of all possible answers. I will provide data that test this assumption. As to the intonation, I will compare the F0 of questions with PRTs and information seeking questions without PRTs in CORAL and see whether there are differences with respect to pitch accents and boundary tones in information seeking questions and questions with PRTs in (1).

**References:** Coniglio, Marco. 2008. Modal particles in Italian. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 91–129. • CORAL Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages. In Cresti, E./ Moneglia, M. (2005) (eds.): Amsterdam/ Philadelphia. • Den Dikken, Marcel & Anastasia Giannakidou. 2002. From hell to polarity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 31–61. • Guerzoni, Elena. 2003. *Why Even Ask? On The Pragmatics of Questions and the Semantics of Answers*. Ph. D. Dissertation, MIT. • Hamblin, Charles. 1973. Questions in Montague English. *Foundations of Language* 10: 41–53. • Nicolae, Andreea. submitted. NPIs in Constituent Questions. *Natural Language Semantics*.

## Pitch scaling as a marker of interrogativity in canonical questions of German

Jan Michalsky, Jörg Peters /  
*Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg*  
 Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

Current research on question intonation focuses on semantic aspects of tonal patterns associated with single question types, like assertivity (Bartels 1999, Truckenbrodt 2009) or bias (Kügler 2003), whereas other approaches suggest more abstract semantic functions, such as incompleteness (Cruttenden 1981,

Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990, Peters 2014). The question, however, whether interrogativity as such can be signalized by intonational means, remains an open issue. On the one hand, studies of conversational speech raise doubts about a direct connection between the interrogative mode of canonical questions and the choice of the intonational contour (Gussenhoven 1984, Selting 1995, and Peters 2006). On the other hand, evidence from Swedish, Finnish, Danish, French, and Dutch, amongst others, suggests that variability in the phonetic realization, in particular pitch scaling, may play a role in signalizing interrogativity (e.g. Gårding 1983, Iivonen 1998, Grønnum 1995, and Haan 2002). The aim of the present paper is to show that pitch scaling is a marker of interrogativity in canonical questions in German as well. A series of production experiments have shown that the phonetic scaling varies significantly as a function of interrogativity, regardless of speaking style or gender (Michalsky 2014). Subsequent perception experiments revealed that interrogative and declarative utterances can be distinguished by differences in pitch scaling but with no intervening category boundary. On the basis of these data we argue that questions represent an utterance type that is not directly expressed by means of a categorical tonal distinction but by a combination of a more abstract tonal feature like incompleteness with features relating to uncertainty, surprise and/or dependence, which derive from the phonetic realization of the pitch contour. This analysis is in line with the view that discrete linguistic functions may be realized through a phonetic continuum (Ladd & Morton 1997, Gussenhoven 2004).

**Selected references:** Haan, Judith. 2002. *Speaking of questions: an exploration of Dutch question intonation*. Utrecht: LOT Graduate School of Linguistics. • Kügler, Frank. 2003. Do we know the answer? Variation in *yes-no*-question intonation. In S. Fischer, R. Vogel & R. van de Vijver (eds.): *Experimental studies in linguistics*, 9–29. Universitätsverlag, Potsdam. • Ladd, Robert & Rachel Morton. 1997. The perception of intonational emphasis: continuous or categorical? *Journal of Phonetics* 25: 313–342. • Michalsky, Jan. 2014. Scaling of final rises in German questions and statements. In *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 7, Dublin, Ireland, May 20-23, 2014*, 978–982. • Peters, Jörg. 2014. *Intonation*. Universitätsverlag Winter, Heidelberg.

## Requesting confirmation with intonation and sentence-peripheral discourse markers

Martina Wiltschko, Johannes Heim/  
*University of British Columbia*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

AG6

Aside from canonical information questions formed via subject-auxiliary inversion we find biased questions that serve as a request for confirmation. In English, this type of question can be formed in two ways: either via rising intonation in rising declaratives (Gunlogson 2003) as in (1-a), or via sentence peripheral discourse markers (confirmational), such as *eh*, as in (1-b).

- (1) A: I have to go home to feed my dog.  
a. B: You have a new dog?  
b. B: You have a new dog, eh?

Both rising declaratives and declaratives followed by a confirmational can be used if Speaker B has reasons to believe that the proposition (p) may be true. However, the two types differ as shown in the following context in (2) where only the conformational *eh* but not the rising declarative is felicitous. Here, B is perfectly aware of the truth p. *eh* is used to confirm that the Addressee (A) believes p, rather than to confirm only the truth of p.

- (2) A: Are you flying to Europe this summer?  
a. B: No. #I have a new dog?  
b. B: No. I have a new dog, eh?

In this talk we account for differences in context of use associated with the different types of confirmation requests. We propose a complex structure above CP that can host speaker-oriented confirmational, addressee-oriented confirmational, and a call on the addressee at different levels. An intonational morpheme associates with the confirmational or, in the absence of such a particle, with the full clause. Empirical support comes from dialects of English and German via story-board elicitation and an acceptability study.

**References:** Gunlogson, Christine. 2013. *True to form: Rising and falling declaratives as questions in English*. Routledge. • Haegeman, Liliane & Virginia Hill. 2013. The syntactization of discourse. In R. Folli, C. Sevdali & R. Truswell (eds.): *Syntax and its Limits*, 370–390. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. • Portes, Cristel,

Claire Beyssade & Amandine Michelas. 2014. The dialogical dimension of intonational meaning: Evidence from French. *Journal of Pragmatics* 74: 15–29. • Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 2012. The interface of semantics with phonology and morphology. In C. Maienborn, K. von Stechow & P. Portner (eds.): *Semantics*, 2039–2069. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Non-canonical question intonation in American English

Nancy Hedberg / *Simon Fraser University*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:30

This talk will discuss the results and implications of a corpus-based project conducted by Nancy Hedberg and Juan M. Sosa on *yes-no* and *wh*-question intonation in American English. We used ToBI to annotate the intonation of 410 *yes-no* questions and 200 *wh*-questions extracted from two telephone conversation corpora: the Call-Home Corpus and the Fisher Corpus. We then analyzed the questions for meaning.

We found that *yes-no* questions are canonically pronounced with L\*H-H% nuclear tunes and convey the canonical meaning of requesting information. Falling *yes-no* questions, such as H\*L-L% and L\*L-L%, are used to convey non-canonical meanings such as requests for action and announcements of information. We discovered that *yes-no* questions that we had annotated as ending in a H\*H-H% tune had canonical meaning but tended to end in material which was Given in the discourse and which could have been left unaccented. We concluded that the H\* pitch accent in many such cases was actually a post-nuclear accent that served to make prominent a word occurring in the final rise of a canonical L\*H-H% nuclear tune.

We found that *wh*-questions are canonically pronounced with H\*L-L% nuclear tunes. Rising *wh*-questions, such as L\*H-H% and H\*-H-H%, are used to convey non-canonical meanings such as asking for clarification or asking for supplementary information.

The talk will discuss implications of these findings for theories of the intonational meaning of ToBI categories such as Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg 1990, Bartels 1999, Truckenbrodt 2012, and Steedman 2014.

On *wh* and F in German and Turkish

Hubert Truckenbrodt, Beste Kamali / ZAS Berlin

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–9:30

In this talk we argue that *wh*-movement languages like German employ a complex Q-marker [Q, q] and that *wh*-in-situ languages like Turkish separate [Q] and [q] and therefore do not show overt syntactic movement. The complex Q-marker is semantically motivated. We employ [Q,  $q_{YN}$ ], [Q,  $q_{ALT}$ ] and [Q,  $q_{WH}$ ]. Here [Q] marks the scope of the question and selects the true answer(s). [ $q_{YN}$ ], [ $q_{ALT}$ ] and [ $q_{WH}$ ] collect the possible answers in different ways for *yes/no*-questions, alternative questions and *wh*-questions, respectively (Karttunen 1977). Overt movement occurs, we maintain, iff both the target and the potentially moving element are lexical (Truckenbrodt 2013). In German, [Q,  $q_{WH}$ ] is lexical (of category C) and the *wh*-word in the *wh*-phrase is lexical, so movement is overt. In Turkish the split [ $q_{WH}$ ] is not lexical but freely assigned in the structure, so no overt movement occurs; the elements are connected by unselective binding:

- (1) [Q](lexical) ... [ $q_{WH}$ ](not lexical) ... [*wh*-word](lexical)

We support this analysis with four arguments in Turkish: (a) Though *wh*-arguments do not obey islands, two simultaneous *wh*-arguments are restricted in the way they are bound by two higher Q-markers. The restrictions follow with the split Q-marker. (b) The stress pattern observed in the preceding case is unexpected without a split Q-marker but follows given a split Q-marker. (c) Experimental results show that the interaction of focus with *wh*-phrases is different in Turkish from German (see Beck 2006 on English and German). The difference can be derived in terms of the split Q-marker. (d) These cases also show an unexpected stress pattern that likewise requires the split Q-marker.

**References:** Beck, Sigrid. 2006. Intervention effects follow from focus interpretation. *Natural Language Semantics* 14: 1–56. • Karttunen, Lauri. 1977. Syntax and semantics of questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1: 3–44. • Truckenbrodt, Hubert. 2013. An analysis of prosodic F-effects in interrogatives: prosody, syntax, and semantics. *Lingua* 124: 131–175.

## Questions, focus and modality in Nakh-Daghestanian: the case of Sanzhi Dargwa

Diana Forker / *Universität Bamberg, James Cook University*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:30–10:00

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This talk investigates formal and functional properties of questions in Sanzhi Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian). Sanzhi Dargwa belongs to the Dargi sub-branch of the family and is spoken by approximately 150-200 speakers living in the Daghestanian lowlands (Russia). In Sanzhi Dargwa, questions can be marked via interrogative enclitics, intonation and interrogative pronouns. Interrogative enclitics belong to a special class of predicative particles that are responsible for the finiteness of the utterance. This means that in questions containing periphrastic verb forms they are obligatorily used instead of auxiliaries and encliticize to the converb or participle in order to form an independent interrogative clause.

In my talk I focus on two topics.

**1. Questions & focus** I will show that questions share many properties with focus marking in declarative clauses, which is, in fact, typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Kalinina & Sumbatova 2007, Sumbatova 2009, Nichols 2011, 712ff.). For example, interrogative enclitics optionally impose a cleft-like structure on the interrogative sentence in which they are used. This means that the interrogative pronoun is clefted and occurs in the absolutive (1-a,b). Interrogative pronouns are not positioned after the verbal complex and the same restriction is also attested for other narrow focus constructions. Furthermore, intonation is only a marginal way of marking focus in Sanzhi. Similarly, the marking of questions by intonation is optional. Frequently questions and assertions are not distinguishable on the basis of their intonation.

- (1) a. **hil=e**            t'ult'-e    d-uc'-an?  
           who.ERG=Q bread-PL NPL-bake.IPFV-PTCP  
           'Who ill bake the bread?'  
       b. **ča=ja**            t'ult'-e    d-uc'-an?  
           who.ABS=Q bread-PL NPL-bake.IPFV-PTCP  
           'Who is it that will bake the bread?' or  
           'WHO will bake the bread?'

**2. Non-canonical questions & modality** Sanzhi has a dedicated enclitic functioning as a complementizer with embedded questions (2a). This enclitic

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belongs to the predicative particles. I will show how the use of this enclitic has been extended to mark rhetorical questions (2b) and further into a modal particle expressing epistemic uncertainty (2c) and indefinite pronouns.

- (2) a. [iʃ-ti q:alpuz-e=**jal**] aʁ:u  
 that-PL watermelon-PL=INDQ not.know  
 ‘I don’t know whether these are watermelons.’  
 b. cet’le her?-an-ne=**l**, aj Allah!  
 how say.IPFV-PTCP-CVB=INDQ oh Allah  
 ‘How should I say this, oh Allah!’  
 c. heš-ti-a-l sud b-irq’-ul=**el**  
 this-PL-OBL-ERG trial N-do.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ  
 ‘They are probably making a trial.’

The data analyzed in this talk originate from a corpus of more than 6 hours of natural texts collected in Daghestan since 2012.

**References:** Kalinina, Elena & Nina Sumbatova. 2007. Clause structure and verbal forms in Nakh-Daghestanian. In I. Nikolaeva (ed.): *Finiteness: Theoretical and empirical foundations*, 183–249. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Nichols, Johanna. 2011. *Ingush Grammar*. University of California Press, Berkeley. • Sumbatova, Nina. 2009. Constituent questions and argument-focus constructions: Some data from the North-Caucasian languages. In J. Helmbrecht (ed.): *Form and function in language research: Papers in honour of Christian Lehmann*, 313–327. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Immediately postverbal questions in Urdu/Hindi

Miriam Butt, Tina Bögel, Farhat Jabeen/  
*Universität Konstanz*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

Urdu/Hindi is a language with SOV default word order in which polar questions have a declarative syntax and in which constituent-questions have generally been characterized as being *in situ*. However, as Urdu/Hindi allows major constituents to scramble, including *wh*-constituents, *wh*-words may also be found in various postverbal positions. For example, the sentences in (1) have recently been discussed in the literature on Hindi *wh*-movement (Bhatt & Dayal 2007, Manetta 2012) with a focus on determining the syntactic conditions governing the movement.



- (1) a. Sita=ne d<sup>h</sup>yan=se **kis=ko** dek<sup>h</sup>-a t<sup>h</sup>-a?  
 Sita.F=ERG carefully who.OBL=ACC see-PERF.M.SG be.PAST-M.SG  
 ‘Who had Sita looked at carefully?’ (*wh-in-situ/preverbal focus*)
- b. Sita=ne d<sup>h</sup>yan=se dek<sup>h</sup>-a t<sup>h</sup>-a **kis=ko**?  
 Sita.F=ERG carefully see-PERF.M.SG be.PAST-M.SG who.OBL=ACC  
 ‘Sita had looked at carefully at who?’ (*wh* postverbal, echo q. possible)
- c. Sita=ne d<sup>h</sup>yan=se dek<sup>h</sup>-a **kis=ko** t<sup>h</sup>-a?  
 Sita.F=ERG carefully see-PERF.M.SG who.OBL=ACC be.PAST-M.SG  
 Reading 1: ‘Who had Sita looked at carefully?’ (*wh* in verbal complex)  
 Reading 2: ‘Who had Sita really looked at carefully?’  
 (i.e., she had not looked at anybody carefully) (rhetorical question)

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In this talk, we concentrate on the immediately postverbal occurrences of *wh*-constituents as in (1-c), for which to date no very good account exists. Instead of seeking to develop a purely syntactic account, we bring in evidence from intonation and pragmatics to show that instances as in (1-c) in which the *wh*-constituent is immediately postverbal, must be understood as involving a secondary structural focus position. The position appears to be used primarily for contexts in which no answer is expected to the question (leading to a type of rhetorical question). We propose to understand this in terms of the *Alternative Semantics* approach to information structure developed by Krifka (2008) and argue that these cases receive their particular pragmatic import because they depict a situation in which **no real alternative** is opened up.

## Interaction of scope and modality: *wh*-words, negation and interrogativity in English, German and Persian

Peter Öhl / *Bergische Universität Wuppertal*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

This paper is intended to shed more light on the scope relations between the features Q (‘interrogativity’), NEG and *wh*. Verbs like *see* in its epistemic reading do not license the feature Q, even though a Q-feature in the complement may be pragmatically licensed (1-a). Öhl (2007) argued that these sentences have a marked interpretation exactly because the feature is not formally licensed through a well formed dependency (cf. Sportiche 1998, 389). However, Q seems to be licensed if the same verb is in the scope of negation (1-b). This phenomenon has been referred to as ‘unselected embedded questions’ (UE-Qs; cf. Adger & Quer 2001). Öhl (2007) argued that Q is in fact a feature that

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must be part of a nonveridical dependency (cf. Giannakidou 1998). The same kind of verbs obviously independently license a *wh*-feature (1-c).

- (1) a. #Julie saw **if/whether** the bartender was happy with this solution.  
 b. Julie did not see **if/whether** the bartender was happy ...  
 c. Julie saw **who** was happy with this solution.

Other verbs do not license *wh*-clauses unless they are negated. They never allow *if*-clauses, however.

- (2) a. #His own family **believed who** he was.  
 b. His own family did **not believe who** he was.  
 c. His own family did **not believe** \*if/ **that** it was him.

In my view, this indicates that *wh* may but does not have to scope over propositional variables. If it does, this is syntactically encoded by Q. It seems obvious that *wh*-clauses selected by predicates not selecting Q do not contain Q. This is crucial especially in contexts of subordination and/or negation.

- (3) a. He did not know what they had read.  
 (They hadn't read anything.)  
 b. He did not believe what they had read.  
 (#They hadn't read anything.)  
 (4) a. She asked who had called. (Noone had called.)  
 b. He specified who had called. (#Noone had called.)

Under Q, operation on the truth value is licensed, which corresponds to potential falseness of propositions.

- (5) a. Who has conspired against Hugo? **No one**.  
 b.  $\Rightarrow \neg \exists e \exists x$  [conspired-against(*e*,*x*,Hugo)]  
 c.  $\nRightarrow \exists e \neg \exists x$  [conspired-against(*e*,*x*,Hugo)]

Comparative evidence comes from Persian, which has an interrogative particle *āyā* that is used both in main and subordinate clauses. Even though Persian has *wh*-in situ-properties (6-a), there is long-distance-movement of *wh*-items (6-b) indicating an operation on individual variables but not the truth variable.

- (6) a. man ne-mīdānam **ke āyā ū** **či-o** mīxānad.  
 I NEG-know SUB Q what-ACC he/she studies  
 'I wonder what he/she studies.' (Ahmad Lotfi, p.c.)

- b. **čī-o<sub>i</sub>** ān porsīd **ke** **āyā** to t<sub>i</sub> xāndi.  
 what DEM asked COMP Q you studied  
 ‘What did he/she ask whether you studied?’ (#Nothing.)

What determines selection of Q and/or wh? What difference is there between predicates lexically selecting Q and/or wh? The answer will be sought by elaborating on the assumption of interacting scope operations.

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**References:** Adger, David. & Joseph Quer. 2001. The syntax and semantics of unselected embedded questions. *Language* 77: 107–133. • Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. Polarity sensitivity as (non)veridical dependency. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Öhl, Peter. 2007. Unselected Embedded Interrogatives in German and English. S-Selection as Dependency Formation. *Linguistische Berichte* 212: 403–437. • Sportiche, Dominique. 1998. Sketch of a reductionist approach to syntactic variation and dependencies. In: D. Sportiche. *Partitions and atoms of clause structure: subjects, agreement, case and clitics*. Routledge, London.

### Expressive questions, much?

Daniel Gutzmann<sup>1</sup>, Robert Henderson<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main,*

<sup>2</sup>*Wayne State University*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

In this talk we investigate a non-canonical interrogative construction, which we dub *expressive much* or *x-much* construction. It involves the use of *much* together with a target phrase.

- (1) Angry, much?

It has special, semantic and pragmatic properties, which we will discuss, and it cannot syntactically be modified or embedded by any kind of operator.

- (2) \*{Not/maybe/what did she do and} angry, much?

Despite occurring with question marks, *x-much* is not a genuine answer-seeking question, as the difference in use of answer particles illustrates. But while committing the speaker in some way to its content, is not an assertion either, as it cannot answer questions.

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- (3)    a.    A: Are you angry much?                    B: No. / Yes.  
        b.    A: Angry, much?                            B: #No. / #Yes.  
        c.    A: What's up with Harry?                B: #Angry, much?

We propose that the *x-much* construction is a biased *expressive question*, using a multidimensional framework. In particular, it expressively conveys that a salient individual has the property in question and expresses an evaluative attitude about that fact. More specifically, our analysis involves two proposals. (i) *x-much* is a shunting operator in the sense of McCready (2010), which targets a gradable predicate and adds a speaker's evaluative attitude about the degree to which an individual stands out on the relevant scale. (ii) It interacts with rising question intonation which, following considerations in Davis (2011), tries to attribute the expressive attitude to the hearer as well, thereby rendering the entire construction into a expressive counterpart to a biased y/n-question.

**References:** McCready, Eric. 2010. Varieties of conventional implicatures. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 3: 1–57. • Davis, Christopher. 2011. *Constraining interpretation. Sentence final particles in Japanese*. PhD thesis. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts.

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## Interpretation of echo-questions

Sigrid Beck / *Universität Tübingen*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–13:00

Reis (2014) argues that Echo-questions (“You bought WHAT?”, “Bill went to the movies with Jane and WHO?”) do not contain a question operator. Instead, the echo question gets its interpretation from the focus on the interrogative feature of the *wh*-expression and the information structural properties of the echo-sentence structure. This analysis has yet to be implemented compositionally. The talk presents a proposal for how to derive the interpretation of echo-questions in an alternative semantic framework. Two points are of particular interest semantically: (i) the interpretation of focus on an element that already introduces alternatives without focus, and (ii) alternatives that are not all of the same semantic type.

## Focal lowering in German interrogatives

Frank Kügler / Universität Potsdam

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

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Evidence from numerous languages shows that focus prominence leads to higher scaling of pitch peaks, both in tone languages (e.g. Mandarin, Xu 1999) and intonation languages (e.g. German, Féry & Kügler 2008). Focal raising usually shows up in declaratives answering corresponding context questions. Interrogatives may show different intonation patterns from declaratives. In German, canonical *yes-no*-questions may, among other intonational patterns, employ a rising pitch accent (e.g. Féry 1993). This paper argues on the basis of an experimental investigation of low or rising pitch accents in German interrogatives that (i) focal lowering occurs in German besides focal raising, (ii) and focus affects the pitch register, which mediates tonal scaling of pitch accents.

In read speech, rising pitch accents occur frequently (though not exclusively) in certain interrogatives in German (e.g. Féry 1993). To elicit rising intonation patterns in different focus conditions an interactive game (“Lingo-bingo”) was created inspired by Krahmer & Swerts (2001). A lingo ticket had coloured figures on it, and each participant had to ask the experimenter for each coloured figure to put on the plate. The task was to use the same syntactic structure of the question illustrated in (1) since the recordings would be used for training of a speech synthesis system. Two focus conditions were thus elicited: (a) broad focus (first instance of the question), and (b) narrow corrective focus (repetition of the question when the experimenter provides a wrong coloured figure). Two hypotheses on the effect of focus on the realisation of rising accents were tested. H1: rising pitch accents are raised under narrow corrective focus given focal raising of H\* accents (Féry & Kügler 2008); H2: rising pitch accents are lowered under narrow corrective focus given L tone lowering in an engaged speech style (Grice et al. 2009).

Ten speakers of German uttered 96 questions each. Rising pitch accents occurred in the majority of cases. Results show that all speakers realize significantly lower F0-valleys in case of narrow corrective focus conditions. The results are interpreted such that focus has an effect on the pitch register enhancing the phonological structure. The results are also discussed in light of universals of intonation (cf. Gussenhoven 2004), and are compared to other languages which show a focal lowering effect, e.g. pitch register lowering in

Akan for both lexically High and Low tones (Kügler & Genzel 2012) and lower pitch peak scaling in Italian (Gili-Fivela 2008).

- (1) Kannst du mir ein/einen X Y geben?  
 can you me a X Y give?  
 ‘Can you give me a X Y?’  
 X = green / yellow / blue / brown  
 Y = triangle / rectangle / circle / cylinder

**References:** Féry, Caroline. 1993. *German Intonational Patterns*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.  
 • Féry, Caroline & Frank Kügler. 2008. Pitch accent scaling on given, new and focused constituents in German. *Journal of Phonetics* 36: 680–703.  
 • Gili-Fivela, Barbara. 2008. *Intonation in Production and Perception: The Case of Pisa Italian*. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa.  
 • Grice, Martine, Stefan Baumann & Jagdfeld, Nils. 2009. Tonal association and derived nuclear accents – The case of downstepping contours in German. *Lingua* 119: 881–905.  
 • Gussenhoven, Carlos. 2004. *The Phonology of Tone and Intonation*. CUP, Cambridge.  
 • Krahmer, Emiel & Marc Swerts. 2001. On the alleged existence of contrastive accents. *Speech Communication* 34: 391–405.  
 • Kügler, Frank & Susanne Genzel. 2012. On the prosodic expression of pragmatic prominence – The case of pitch register lowering in Akan. *Language and Speech* 55: 331–359.  
 • Xu, Yi. 1999. Effects of tone and focus on the formation and alignment of f0 contours. *Journal of Phonetics* 27: 55–105.

## Meaning variations in German tag questions

Tatjana Scheffler / Universität Potsdam

Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

Tag questions (TQs) have been argued to express three distinct discourse functions: confirmation seeking, acknowledgement seeking, and genuine (neutral) information questions (Reese & Asher 2007). This paper investigates the individual variations in discourse function between German TQ variants, by examining a corpus of 24 million German Twitter messages. In order to pinpoint the differences in meaning and discourse function between the tag variants, we studied their co-occurrence with German modal particles that interact with common ground, information status, or sentence type (Zimmermann 2011). Using this methodology, we address the following questions: (i) Do German TQs allow for a neutral information seeking function? (ii) Which

types of TQs express a lack of confidence (Lakoff 1975)? (iii) Which TQ variants are confirmation seeking or acknowledgement seeking? (iv) What is the speech act status of TQs, which have been alternately analyzed as assertions (Reese & Asher 2007) or (multidimensional) questions (Mamemi 2008)?

**Findings** (i) Our data show that German TQs almost never express neutral questions and are incompatible with the question particle *denn*. (ii) TQs also rarely co-occur with the epistemic weakening particle *wohl*, which may be due to the fact that the TQ itself expresses epistemic weakening (non-confidence). However, some tag types like *wa?* signal a high confidence (aggressiveness) instead. (iii) The distribution of particles shows that TQs with *nä?* and *ne?* are used mostly in acknowledgement contexts, often marked by *ja*. In contrast, *oder?*-questions are usually confirmation seeking or biased questions, signalled by *doch*. (iv) Similar to evidential-marked utterances or sentences with epistemic particles, TQs seem to make a contribution to the discourse without full commitment (assertion) from the speaker. The exact nature of this contribution is an interesting issue for future work intersecting the meaning and function of particles and tag questions.

**References:** Lakoff, Robin. 1975. *Language and woman's place*. Harper & Row, New York. • Mamemi, Morgan. 2008. *Epistemic Implicatures and Inquisitive Bias: A Multidimensional Semantics for Polar Questions*, M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University. • Reese, Brian & Nicholas Asher. 2007. Prosody and the interpretation of tag questions. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 11. • Zimmermann, Malte. 2011. Discourse Particles. In K.v.Heusinger, C. Maienborn & P. Portner (eds.): *Semantics (HSK 33.2)*. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Question words as topics and foci in Hungarian multiple questions

Anna Gazdik, Dina El Zarka / *Universität Graz*  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

This pilot study examines the focus-status of question words (QW) in Hungarian in 3 types of multiple questions and the corresponding elements in the answers.

In Hungarian, foci tend to be immediately preverbal and topics sentence-initial, usually associated with specific prosodic patterns (Szendrői 2004). We

investigate the IS of the QWs and their correspondents in the answers in A) Pair-list questions: 2 preverbal QWs, answer is list of pairs (1). B) Single-pair questions: QWs coordinated in ‘focus position’; answer contains two elements (only 1 preverbally) corresponding to the QWs (2). C) Multiple answer questions: question like in B, answer contains a series of single-pair answers (similar to the A): (3).

- (1) Q: Ki mikor hozta el az öccsét az oviból?  
 who when picked up the brother.POSS.ACC the kindergarten.ELAT  
 ‘Who picked up his younger brother from the kindergarten when?’  
 A: Anna már kora délután, Nóra 5-kor, Juli pedig csak 7-kor.  
 Anna already early afternoon Nora 5-at Juli whereas only 7-at  
 ‘Anna already in the early afternoon, Nora at 5, whereas Juli only at 7.’
- (2) Q: Kivel és mikor találkozol legközelebb?  
 who.INSTR and when meet.PRES.2SG next time  
 ‘Who are you meeting next time?’  
 A: Marival találkozom 3-kor.  
 Mari.INSTR meet.PRES.1SG 3-at  
 ‘I’m meeting Mary at 3.’
- (3) Q: Kivel és mikor beszéltél a problémáról?  
 who.INSTR and when talk.PST the problem.DEL  
 ‘With whom did you talk about the problem and when?’  
 A: Annával a múlt héten beszéltem, Nórával a  
 hétvégén, Julival pedig tegnap.  
 Anna.INSTR the last week talk.PST Nora.INSTR the weekend Ju-  
 li.INSTR whereas yesterday  
 ‘With Anna I talked last week, with Nora on the weekend, and with Julia yesterday.’

We will test Gazdik’s (2011) hypothesis that in A), the first QW shares its formal and discourse-semantic properties with topics, being D-linked and the Sorting-key (Comorovski 1996), the preverbal QW has focal properties. The answer contains contrastive topic-focus pairs (Büiring 2003). In B), both QWs and the corresponding elements of the answer are foci, C) is like B); one QW is the Sorting-key of the answer, resulting in a layered pair-list answer, similar to A).

We expect the non-preverbal QW to be realized with a level mid-tone or with a rising accent and the preverbal QW with the nuclear ‘eradicating’ fal-



ling accent (Kálmán 1985) and a low-level contour to the end of the question.

Besides, we will look into the prosody of the answers to see whether a difference between cases (2) and (3) can be discerned.

**References:** Büring, Daniel. 2003. On D-Trees, Beans, and B-Accents. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 26: 511–545. • Comorovski, Ileana. 1996. Interrogative Phrases and the Syntax-Semantics Interface. Kluwer, Dordrecht. • Gazdik, Anna. 2011. *Multiple Questions in French and Hungarian. A Lexical-Functional Analysis with Special Emphasis on the Syntax-Discourse Interface*. PhD Thesis, Université Paris 7. • Kálmán, Laszló. (1985b). Word order in non-neutral sentences. In: Kenesei, I. (ed.): *Approaches to Hungarian*, 25–37, Jate, Szeged. • Mycock, Louise. 2006. *A New Typology of Wh-Questions*. PhD thesis, Manchester University. • Szendrői, Kriszta. 2003. A stress-based approach to the syntax of Hungarian focus. *The Linguistic Review* 20: 37–78.

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## DUDEN

Wenn, dann richtig.

## Arbeitsgruppe 7

### Universal biases on phonological acquisition and processing

AG7

*Dinah Baer-Henney  
Natalie Boll-Avetisyan*

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#### Workshop Description

Typological research indicates that many languages share specific patterns regarding their phoneme inventories, syllable structures, phonotactics and prosodic systems. A recurrent topic in acquisition research is the question of whether typologically well-attested patterns reflect universal biases on phonological acquisition and/or speech processing. This workshop aims at discussing the nature of these biases and to what extent they influence phonological acquisition and processing of L1 and L2 in children and adults.

There seems to be a strong consensus among researchers that phonological acquisition is guided by universal biases. Yet, the specific nature of these biases is unclear: Are they functional or analytical, domain-general or domain-specific? What is it that makes some patterns, often called natural patterns, more easily accessible and learnable than others: Are they innate or are they triggered by experience with language? In addition, it is debated whether there are time limits on the operating periods of biases (possibly reflecting difficulties in L2 phonological acquisition, i. e., a critical period), or whether they also influence L2 phonological acquisition. If they influence the L2, what happens when the L1 phonological system is in conflict with the L2? In addition, the question arises to what extent universal biases might be

at work even during speech processing after acquisition is completed. These classical questions have recently received new attention and benefit from the revival of artificial language paradigms, which enable us to investigate language acquisition and processing likewise.

The goal of the workshop is to discuss effects of biases on L1 and early L2 phonological acquisition and their relation to age of acquisition from theoretical and empirical perspective. We aim to contribute to the current debate by assembling new insights to get a more concrete comprehension of the nature of universal biases. We invite contributions investigating monolingual and bilingual (L2) infant, child and adult phonological acquisition of segmental and suprasegmental structures in natural and artificial language learning. Contributions that may build a bridge between empirical findings and linguistic theory are particularly welcome.

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### The trochaic bias: nature or nurture?

Outi Bat-El / *Tel-Aviv University*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:00

One of the oldest and probably most controversial biases in the acquisition of phonology is the trochaic bias, according to which “the natural metric form of children’s words is trochaic” (Allen & Hawkins 1978, 176). The talk will address the trochaic bias in the context of the nature vs. nurture debate, and will provide old and new data from the acquisition of Hebrew, which support the claim that the trochaic bias is a universal constraint.

There are two opposing, though partially overlapping approaches to language acquisition – the generative approach and the usage-based approach – corresponding to the well-known nature vs. nurture controversy. Both approaches grant children with innate tools essential for the acquisition of their first language, but they differ with respect to the characteristics of the toolbox from which these tools are drawn. For the usage-based approach (Tomasello 2001), children rely entirely on the general cognitive toolbox, which allows them to draw generalizations from the input provided by the ambient language. For the generative approach, in addition to the input and the general cognitive capacity, there is a toolbox containing universal principles specific to linguistic knowledge. In the context of the trochaic bias, the term ‘nature’ refers to the universal constraint ranking TROCHEE  $\gg$  IAMB, which reflects

the preference for trochaic feet, in particular in quantity insensitive languages like Hebrew (Hayes 1995). The term ‘nurture’ refers to two properties: (i) the frequency of the structure in the ambient language, and (ii) the phonetic grounding of the structure and its effect on perception. The trochaic bias has gained support with data from Hebrew (Adam & Bat-El 2009), where stress is predominantly iambic (about 75% final stress). The preference for trochee (penultimate stress) by Hebrew-acquiring infants suggests that nature (universal grammar) plays a role in early stages of acquisition (though nurture eventually takes over). However, frequency is not the only property of nurture in the context of the trochaic bias. The trochaic bias is phonetically grounded, since the final and the stressed syllables are acoustically more prominent due to their lengthened vowel and thus more accessible. That is, children are faithful to the target stressed and final syllables, and thus end up with trochaic productions (Echols & Newport 1992), when the target is not stress final.

In this paper we provide new data from Hebrew, where productions are not entirely faithful to the final and stressed syllables, but the trochaic bias is nevertheless supported. The least faithful productions are those where children shift stress from the final to the penultimate syllable (e.g. *katóm* → *tátom* ‘orange (color)’). In other cases, a final stressed syllable does not remain at the edge of the word due to vowel epenthesis (e.g. *xúm* → *xúma* ‘brown’, *xitúl* → *otúla* ‘diaper’). We will thus support the claim that the trochaic bias is universal, and the fact that it is also phonetically grounded does not serve as a counter argument but rather as further support, since phonetic grounding is often the foundation and trigger of the evolution of a universal constraint.

## The nature of the universal trochaic bias: Dutch-learning and Turkish-learning infants

Brigitta Keij, René Kager / *Universit t Utrecht*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

In this study we compare infants learning rhythmically opposing languages, namely Dutch-learning infants (dominant SW pattern, similar to English) and Turkish-learning infants (dominant WS pattern, similar to Hebrew). We use an innovative looking-while-listening eye-tracking procedure in which infants are presented with single pseudo-word stimuli spoken by a speaker of a third

language, namely Spanish, in order to avoid an advantage for one of the language groups. Do Dutch- and Turkish-learning infants show a native rhythmic preference and at what age does this preference appear? In total, 90 Dutch-learning and 90 Turkish-learning infants aged 4, 6 and 8 months have been tested. The results of the Dutch-learning infants show a SW preference, which is strongest at 6 months of age ( $F(1,3443) = 7.170, p=.007$ ). However, the Turkish-learning infants also show a SW preference, which is strongest at 4 months age ( $F(1,3443) = 11.992, p=.001$ ).

These results could be interpreted as evidence for a universal trochaic bias. However, we interpret these results in light of a study investigating Hebrew-learning infants at 9 months of age (Segal & Kishon-Rabin 2012). This study shows that Hebrew-learning 9-month-olds demonstrate a WS preference when listening to a speaker of Hebrew. However, when listening to a speaker of English, Hebrew-learning infants showed a SW preference. Consequently, it seems to matter whether infants are listening to a speaker of their native language or not. We propose that infants resort to a 'default' universal trochaic bias, when they are not listening to a speaker of their native language. Alternatively, we would like to propose a native language dependency hypothesis. Therefore, adequate testing of language-specific rhythmic preferences probably requires a speaker of the native language.

In this paper we present the results from a follow-up study testing 24 Dutch-learning and 24 Turkish-learning infants at 6 and 8 months of age with a speaker of their native language instead of a speaker of a foreign language in an otherwise similar procedure. The results, however, present us with a replication of our earlier results from the experiment with a foreign language speaker: the Dutch-learning infants again demonstrate a SW preference at 6 months of age and the Turkish-learning infants do not demonstrate a strong preference for either pattern at this age. These results seem to suggest that there is no influence of the native language of the speaker the infants are listening to, at least not for these age groups.

**References:** Segal, Osnat & Liat Kishon-Rabin. 2012. Evidence for language-specific influence on the preference of stress patterns in infants learning an iambic language (Hebrew). *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 55: 1329–1341.

## Learnability of weight-sensitive stress by English-speaking adults

Paul Olejarczuk, Vsevolod Kapatsinski /  
University of Oregon

Mittwoch, 4.3.2015, 15:30–16:00

AG7

The Weight-to-Stress Principle (WSP) is a constraint that formally captures the attraction between stress and heavy syllables (Prince 1990). This attraction is both phonetically natural and typologically robust across quantity-sensitive systems (Gordon 2002). In English, WSP is exemplified in Latin Stress (LS; Hayes 1995), a pattern wherein heavy penults attract stress while light penults pass it leftward (*se.'man.tic* vs. *'se.mi.nal*). This study asked whether WSP biases English-speaking adults to generalize and learn LS beyond the predictions of lexical statistics alone.

Exp. 1 compared the prevalence of LS in the SUBTLEXus corpus with its rate of generalization to nonce forms. If WSP serves as an inductive bias in adults, we expected the latter to exceed the former. Twenty subjects produced LHL and LLL pseudowords from orthographic prompts. Results revealed penult stress on 49.5% of LHL and 27.8% of LLL items. These rates matched corpus data (50.8% LHL, 25.0% LLL), indicating unbiased generalization.

Exp. 2 asked whether WSP would bias artificial language learning. Thirty-nine subjects were divided between two training groups. The Latin group trained to stress items according to LS (L'HL, 'LLL). The Anti-Latin group trained on the opposite pattern ('LHL, L'LL). Learning was assessed by comparing stress patterns on novel test items to the results of Exp. 1, which served as a baseline. Mixed-effects models revealed that the Latin group increased the use of the 'LLL pattern (13.7% over baseline,  $z = -2.1$ ,  $p < .05$ ) but not the L'HL pattern ( $z = -.91$ , n.s.). The Anti-Latin group increased the use of L'LL (24.7% over baseline,  $z = 2.86$ ,  $p < .005$ ) but not 'LHL ( $z = -1.65$ , n.s.). Thus, the Latin group did not appear to benefit from WSP – if anything, the Anti-Latin subjects learned more.

Together, the results of both experiments suggest that adult speakers of a quantity-sensitive system do not rely on WSP when productively extending lexical stress patterns or learning new vocabulary.

**References:** Gordon, Matthew 2002. A phonetically-driven account of syllable weight. *Language* 78: 51–80. • Hayes, Bruce 1995. *Metrical Stress Theory: Principles and case studies*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. • Prince, Alan 1990. Quantitative consequences of rhythmic organization. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 26: 355–398.

## The ease of labial first: evidence from a non-word repetition task aimed for bilinguals

Christophe dos Santos, Laetitia de Almeida, Sandrine Ferré /  
*Université François-Rabelais, Tours*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

AG7

In first language acquisition, consonants in children's productions tend to be identical for place features in babbling and in the first words (Kern et al, 2009). L1 learners acquire non-harmonic patterns for place features gradually; this acquisition is influenced by positional constraints: generally, children first produce words beginning with a labial consonant and, later, word initial dorsal consonants are allowed (Fikkert & Levelt 2008).

As these non-harmonic patterns appear later, our first question is about the mastering of such patterns by children with Specific Language Impairment (SLI) and children acquiring a second language (L2 learners). Our second question is about the repair strategies of these populations: are they qualitatively the same as the one reported in first language acquisition?

Our empirical data consist of the productions of 39 typically-developing (TD) bilingual children learning French; 19 bilingual SLI children; 15 monolingual French SLI children and 12 TD monolingual French children. All the children are between 5;02 and 8;11. Their elicited productions were collected using a non-word repetition task (LITMUS NWR-French).

The results show that, generally, children tend to perform better at [Lab ... Dor] sequences than at [Dor ... Lab] sequences. The repair strategies involving segmental properties consist mainly on consonantal harmony and metathesis. Consonantal harmony can either consist on a Labial or a Dorsal harmony but Labial harmony is only regressive whereas Dorsal harmony can either be regressive and progressive. The possible effects of L1 influence and type of acquisition (L1 vs. L2, TD vs. SLI) will be discussed.

**References:** Fikkert, Paula & Claartje Levelt. 2008. How does place fall into place? The lexicon and emergent constraints in children's developing grammars. In P. Avery & B. E. Dresher (eds.): *Contrast in Phonology: Theory, Perception, Acquisition*. 231–268. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Kern, Sophie, Barbara Davis & Inge Zink. 2009. From babbling to first words in four languages: Common trends, cross language and individual differences. In J. M. Hombert & F. D'Errico (eds.): *Becoming eloquent: Advances in the Emergence of language, human cognition and modern culture*, 205–232. John Benjamins, UK.



## Universal biases in the realization of weak syllables: a production study with German and Italian-German children

Anne Gwinner, Janet Grijzenhout / *Universität Konstanz*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

AG7

Early production studies on children's acquisition of lexical stress, rhythm, lexical words and function words showed that the first realizations of polysyllabic words and determiners often depend on preferences for strict strong-weak alternations. Gerken (1994, 1996), for instance, found that English children are more likely to produce definite articles when they can be parsed into trochaic feet. There have been only a few studies on how the acquisition of morphology is conditioned by prosody with two competing lexica (e.g., Lleó, 2006 on Spanish speech data by Spanish-German bilingual children), but not much research has been conducted on bilinguals' acquisition of prosody and morphology over a longer period of time.

Our experimental study presents production data from a longitudinal study with monolingual and bilingual children. We investigated the interaction of phonological and morphological constraints especially in children who acquire two languages simultaneously: one with a strong trochaic bias and a relatively simple inflectional system (German) and one with less strong trochaic bias and a richer verbal morphology (Italian).

We tested monolinguals from Southwest Germany, aged 1;8–3;10 and Italian-German bilinguals from Southwest Germany, aged 2;6–5;6. The children were recorded separately in a quiet room at their kindergarten every four to six months. With the help of picture books and puppets, we elicited words and sentences that differed in complexity of prosodic structure. The test words contain either a simplex or a complex syllable onset, or begin in a weak syllable. The sentences are either trochaic or exhibit a stress lapse. The weak syllable is (i) a definite article, (ii) the prefix *ge-*, or (iii) a syllable at the left edge of a noun (*Be-/Ge-*):

The younger monolingual and bilingual German-speaking children score similarly in the strong-weak condition, but apply different strategies to resolve the lapse (i. e. they may delete either of the two adjacent weak syllables, except for the past participle prefix *ge-*). For the German definite article we find the same deletion rates as were found for English, even though the German article has more exponents. The older children do not omit as many weak

	English	German	Italian
definite article	not marked for gender, number, case (low complexity)	marked for 3 genders, 2 numbers, 4 cases (higher complexity)	marked for 2 genders, 2 numbers (higher complexity)
verbal prefix (infl.)	n.a.	ge-	n.a.
initial weak syllable	possible	possible	possible

syllables, but when they do, the syllable that carries more grammatical information is retained.

We were able to reveal that monolingual and bilingual children acquiring German adhere to trochaic rhythmical patterns at the cost of realizing morphological information.

AG7

**Phonological rule learning  
and consolidation after sleep**

Sharon Peperkamp /  
*Laboratoire de Sciences Cognitives et Psycholinguistique*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:30

Recent years have seen a growing interest in the use of experimental methods to investigate possible learning biases to explain typological patterns in phonology. This research has typically used artificial language-learning experiments in which participants are exposed to a novel rule and tested on how well they have learned the rule. It has thus been shown that cross-linguistically common rules are learned more easily than (certain types of) rare ones. I will review some of this work, and report on an ongoing study that investigates the role of sleep in the consolidation of phonological rule learning. Specifically, the aim of this research is to examine whether sleep differentially influences the consolidation of various types of newly learned rules.

## The comparative study of inductive bias

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Elliott Moreton /  
*University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill*  
Donnerstag, 5.3, 9:00–10:00

All inductive learning depends on inductive biases, and phonological learning is no exception. One line of research, starting from observed asymmetries in natural-language typology, has sought and in some cases found, evidence of analogous inductive biases in artificial-phonology learning. This talk is about a complementary approach, which starts with observations and models of learning outside phonology, then compares them with biases in artificial-phonology learning and asymmetries in phonological typology.

The comparative approach is based on the hypothesis that a major source of inductive biases is the architecture of the learning process, and that the same architecture may characterize learning in different domains. A few basic architectural ideas dominate modelling of pattern learning in phonology, morphology, and non-linguistic concept learning. This talk focuses on two: rule-based algorithms, in which formula-like hypotheses are serially tested and discarded, and cue-based ones, in which the importance of predicates in a large population is gradually adjusted. They are empirically distinguishable by differences in inductive bias, time course of learning, distribution of learning outcomes, and accessibility to conscious introspection. Experimental evidence will be presented that phonological learning can use rule- or cue-based processes depending on task conditions. Implications of this finding will be discussed for the relation between artificial-phonology learning, first- and second-language acquisition, and natural-language typology.

AG7

## Phonological learning bias in tone retention

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Sophia Kao / *Stony Brook University*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

In many languages, vowel hiatus is prohibited and resolved by vowel deletion. In Marghi, where vowels carry lexical tone, the tone of the deleted vowel is realized on the surviving vowel, which carries a contour tone. Deletion of a High tone vowel before a Low tone vowel results in a falling tone on the surviving vowel as shown in (1). Goldsmith (1976) has claimed that contour

tones are made up of a sequence of level tones. If this is correct, it would be surprising to find a language in which deletion yields the opposite pattern.

Following research which has suggested that it is easier to learn a natural phonological pattern than an unnatural one (Wilson 2006), this experiment investigates the learnability of two artificial language patterns: ‘the natural’ pattern and the ‘unnatural’ pattern that is rare or unattested, as in (2).

1. Margi Contour Tones

Noun+Definite Article	Gloss	Tonal Pattern
/cédè + àrì/ → [cédě̀rì]	“the money”	/H.L+H.L/ → [H.LH.L]

2. Two Tonal Patterns

Natural patterns:	H+L → HL	and	L+H → LH
Unnatural patterns:	H+L → LH	and	L+H → HL

An experiment was conducted with Chinese speakers and English speakers. The participants were trained to learn nonsense words with a VCV structure. Each VCV word was associated with a picture of either an animal or a fruit, e.g. [ewe] ‘monkey’ with the tonal pattern [H.L] or [owu] ‘banana’ with [H.H]. Participants first heard the sound of the animal and the fruit, and then they were presented with possessive noun phrases, e.g. [ewowu] ‘monkey’s banana’. One group was trained on NN phrases with a natural tonal pattern and the other group on an unnatural pattern. They then carried out a forced choice task where they were asked to choose the best NN combination.

The results suggest that speakers who learned the natural pattern have a higher rate in extending the pattern to novel forms than speakers who learned the unnatural pattern. The results are consistent with the hypothesis of a learning bias toward cross-linguistically more common patterns.

**References:** Goldsmith, John. 1976. *Autosegmental phonology*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT, Cambridge, MA. • Wilson, Colin. 2006. Learning Phonology with Substantive Bias: An Experimental and Computational Study of Velar Palatalization. *Cognitive Science* 30: 945–982.

## The role of social and functional biases in the investigation of the unintuitive voicing behavior

Jagoda Bruni, Daniel Duran, Grzegorz Dogil /  
*Universität Stuttgart*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

AG7

This study describes preliminary work concerning phonetic simulations of unintuitive voicing behavior in Tswana. According to studies conducted by [1] and [5], languages from the Sotho-Tswana group of Bantu languages demonstrate unintuitive voicing behavior in devoicing of post-nasal voiced plosives (/mb/ → [mp]), unintuitive in that greater articulatory effort is required to terminate voicing than to maintain it [7]. Nasals preceding stop consonants are said to have appeared in Bantu languages in order to facilitate production of voicing during the stop segment and were lost later during language evolutionary changes in languages like Swahili, Sotho or Duala [3]. Current studies on Tswana and Shekgalagari ([1]; [2]; [5]), however, demonstrate that nasal segments remained in those languages, surprisingly not only before voiced stops but also before voiceless ones.

The aim of this work is to apply exemplar-based phonetic simulations in order to investigate factors influencing post-nasal devoicing and its evolution over time. Adapting Nettle's Social Impact Theory model [4], we simulate the /mb/ → [mp] transition over populations where interacting individuals pass through five lifestages before death. The goal of the simulation is to examine the complex interplay between social influence, social bias, frequency of occurrence and functional biases (e.g. ease of speech production/discrimination), in how they might account for this unintuitive phonetic transition. The learning process is based on competition between the two variants where individuals learn one variant or move gradually towards the other variant during their lifecycle. The impact of social biases, frequency, and functional biases can all be manipulated, across generations, in the model. In this way, we can establish the kind of influences that would lead to a gradual/abrupt /mb/ → [mp] transition. Since not all speakers reported by [1] exhibit post-nasal devoicing, we also employ our in-house instantiation of Wedel's exemplar model [6] to examine the behavior of these contrasting realizations across speakers, in particular with regard to the acoustic parameters. The model simulates the emergence and maintenance of contrast in the context of speaker/hearer interactions and a production/storage loop where exemplar-based categories compete for assignment and storage of incoming

percepts and the production process is biased towards gesture re-use. By employing this model we can ascertain, via simulation, how the contrasting realizations can emerge and stabilize within a generation, inspect the selection processes which yield these realizations, and examine the acoustic changes which bring about the contrast.

## AG7

**References:** [1] Coetzee, Andries & Rigardt Pretorius. 2010. Phonetically grounded phonology and sound change: The case of Tswana labial plosives. *Journal of Phonetics* 38: 404–421. • [2] Hyman, Larry M. 2001. On the limits of phonetic determinism in phonology: \*NC revisited. In: E. Hume & K. Johnson (eds.): *The role of speech perception phenomena in phonology*, 141–185. Academic Press, New York. • [3] Meinhof, Carl 1932. *Introduction to the phonology of the Bantu languages*. Dietrich Reimer, Verlag Berlin. • [4] Daniel Nettle. 1999. Using Social Impact Theory to simulate language change. *Lingua* 108: 95–117. • [5] Solé, Maria-Josep, Larry M. Hyman & Kemmonye C. Monaka. 2010. More on post-nasal devoicing: The case of Shekgalagari. *Journal of Phonetics* 38: 604–615. • [6] Andrew Wedel. 2004. Category competition drives contrast maintenance within an exemplar based production/perception loop. In: *Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the ACL Special Interest Group in Computational Phonology. SIGMorPhon '04*, 1–10. Stroudsburg, PA. • [7] Westbury, John R. & Patricia A. Keating. 1986. On the naturalness of stop consonant voicing. *Journal of Linguistics* 22: 145–166.

## L2 phonological learning in adults: the role of language background, length of exposure, and age of acquisition

Job Schepens<sup>1</sup>, Florian Jaeger<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>Radboud University, <sup>2</sup>University of Rochester  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

Adults' ability to acquire the phonology of new languages (L2) is subject to – sometimes persistent – limitations (though there is individual variability). Common explanations for these limitations involve maturational effects, such as reduced plasticity of the adult brain and native language (L1) influence on L2 phonological learning (Birdsong 2014).

Drawing on normed proficiency assessments of 47,601 L2 Dutch learners from 54 L1 backgrounds, we investigate the effects of L1-to-L2 similarity in phonology on L2 Dutch proficiency (measured in terms of the number of

new features of each new L2 sound). We do so while simultaneously controlling for – among other variables – age of acquisition, length of exposure, and their interactions with L1-to-L2 phonological similarity (via multilevel regression). We find that L2 proficiency increases with younger age of acquisition, longer exposure, and increasing L1-to-L2 phonological similarity. Additionally, the effect of L1-to-L2 phonological similarity interacts with age of acquisition and length of exposure, such that transfer from L1 to L2 a) becomes stronger the later in life the L2 is acquired, and b) weaker with increasing exposure to L2. That is, we find that L1 has a continued influence on L2 phonological learning. This influence is stronger when the learner had more experience with L1 (later age of acquisition of L2) and decreased as experience with L2 increases. Taken together, these three effects on L2 learning support experienced-based accounts that emphasize the continued role of prior language experience in L2 learning (Hakuta, Bialystok & Wiley 2003), and specifically, the pivotal role of similarity-based transfer (for a recent review, see Pajak, Fine, Kleinschmidt & Jaeger submitted). We end by discussing additional evidence for this type of account, showing the same type of transfer from L2-to-L3.

**References:** Birdsong, David. 2014. The Critical Period Hypothesis for Second Language Acquisition: Tailoring the Coat of Many Colors. In M. Pawlak & L. Aronin (eds.): *Essential Topics in Applied Linguistics and Multilingualism*. Springer. • Hakuta, Kenji, Ellen Bialystok, & Edward Wiley 2003. Critical Evidence. A Test of the Critical-Period Hypothesis for Second-Language Acquisition. *Psychological Science* 14: 31–38. • Pajak, Bozena, Alex Fine, Dave Kleinschmidt & Florian Jaeger. Submitted. Learning additional languages as hierarchical probabilistic inference: insights from L1 processing. *Language Learning*.

## Faithfulness bias in learning hidden phonological interactions

K. Michael Brooks<sup>1</sup>, Bozena Pajak<sup>1</sup>, Eric Baković<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>*Northwestern University*, <sup>2</sup>*UC San Diego*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., Poster Session 12:00–13:00

AG7

In order to probe learners' inferences about how phonological processes might impact each other in the absence of direct evidence, 61 native English speakers were trained on two processes in independent contexts under the guise of learning to compound words in one of two new languages. In the "Assimilation" language, the key processes are epenthesis and assimilation; these potentially interact on sequences like /...f/ + /s.../ because assimilation has the potential to create sequences of identical consonants ([ss]) and epenthesis applies between identical consonants. In the "Labialization" language, the key processes are epenthesis and labialization; these do not potentially interact and sequences like /...f/ + /s.../ should undergo labialization alone ([fs]).

In task 1, we evaluated learners' inferences through an open-response test with novel words and/or word combinations. The results revealed that Assimilation learners considered a wide range of possible ways of resolving critical /...f/ + /s.../ sequences, with no change being the most frequent.

In task 2, we probed the degree to which learners would accept epenthesis alone as a repair for the critical /...f/ + /s.../ sequences. This repair is employed in an analogous context in the English past tense (e.g., 'wait': /weɪt/+/d/ → /weɪtəd/). 50 of the participants who had just completed task 1 were presented with pairs of words with their potential compound, and rated them on a 1(poorly formed)–5(well-formed) scale. Assimilation learners rated epenthesis in the critical context higher than in other inappropriate contexts (i.e., between non-identical Cs), and higher than Labialization learners. At the same time, the rating of this repair was low relative to the ratings of changes that were explicitly taught, indicating that learners might have been considering other potential repairs as more appropriate.

Overall, our results show that learners are able to infer an interaction between phonological processes indirectly: that is, from observing their application in independent contexts alone. Critically, learners maintain uncertainty about the exact repair that should be applied in cases of such an interaction, but appear to be strongly biased in favor of preserving faithfulness when the application of a learned process would result in a disallowed sequence.



## The typology of inventories: non-trivial patterns without non-trivial bias

Ewan Dunbar, Emmanuel Dupoux / *ENS/EHESS/CNRS Paris*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., Poster Session 12:00-13:00

Each language has a different inventory of phonemes, which we think are represented as bundles of binary features drawn from a universal repertoire ([+voice, –continuant], [–high, +back, +tense], and so on). We have known for a long time that phoneme inventories do not make fully efficient nor fully inefficient use of this binary feature system. If an inventory makes use of  $K$  features, it will not generally have a full set of  $2^K$  different phonemes, but it will have more than  $K$  phonemes (i.e., only one phoneme for each feature contrast; Clements 2003). Put another way, inventories are neither fully systematic (each phoneme has a minimal partner phoneme along each feature dimension) nor fully asystematic.

We show that these properties do not derive from articulatory grounding of features, nor from phonology-specific Universal Grammar principles, but match the properties of random feature matrices. We show this by summarizing all the featurally analyzed inventories in a large database of languages (Moran 2012) as binary trees, showing which sets of phonemes have feature-contrasting pairs, i.e., contrastive hierarchies (Dresher 2009). We then compute a statistic over these trees to see how balanced they are, which tells us how systematic the inventory is (sum of balance, or SB statistic: Colless 1982). Across 250 real vowel inventories, the relative prevalence of different SB scores shows an idiosyncratic pattern, with certain degrees of systematicity much more prevalent than others, but not tending towards full or zero systematicity. This confirms what we already know.

However, we then show that the resulting typological tendencies match nearly perfectly what we find across 250 fake inventories, generated by uniform random sampling of binary valued matrices with their contrasts analyzed using the same contrastive hierarchy tree generating algorithm. This strongly suggests that the reason we do not see full systematicity or full asystematicity is just that neither would be likely by chance. The patterns for symmetry or non-symmetry in the world's phoneme inventories are accidental. This is not at all the conventional wisdom in phonology; but it therefore sheds light on something which might have been thought to be a strong tendency arising from our genetic endowment (an urge toward symmetry) but which is apparently not. We finish by explaining how symmetry could still play an important role in infants' acquisition of the phonetic value of phonemic categories.

AG7

## Biases in non-native vowel identification – Universal and/or language-specific difficulties and preferences

Nadja Kerschhofer-Puhalo / *Universität Wien*

Donnerstag, 5.3., Poster Session 12:00–13:00

AG7

Studies in linguistic typology, synchronic variation, historical sound change, child language and foreign language acquisition provide ample evidence of preferences for specific linguistic patterns in production as well as perception. Typological studies reveal a striking recurrence of specific vowel types and typical constellations in vowel systems. These patterns – it has been argued – can be considered as universal. Theories on vowel contrasts and vowel systems refer to a general preference or bias for vowel qualities that are maximally distinct and for constellations of vowel systems motivated by maximal contrast, i. e. perceptual distinctiveness (at minimal articulatory cost). A number of studies have argued that these preferences are grounded in characteristics of human speech organs and the human auditory system, i. e. that they are grounded phonetically. However, universal preferences are commonly assumed to be cognitive in nature.

This contribution asks for the nature of perceptual biases in L2 acquisition and presents evidence from a cross-linguistic study on German vowel categorization by L2 listeners. Experimental data from a forced-choice identification task with adult non-native listeners from different language backgrounds (10 sub-samples) will be presented to reveal typical patterns of bias in L2 vowel perception.

The listeners' vowel identifications reveal language-specific as well as more general difficulties in vowel categorization and preferences for specific response categories. The German vowel system is a comparatively large system. The number of vowels in the listeners' L1 varies from 5 to 14 distinct vowel qualities. Despite a number of differences between the listeners' L1, several common patterns of perceptual substitutions are observed in the data. Substitution processes are assumed to operate as mental operations with physical motivations and functions that operate for classes of sounds presenting a specific common difficulty.

The data show that L2 listeners of different L1 origin have less difficulties with vowel types that are typologically favored in the world's languages. However, an analysis of the "targets" of perceptual substitutions shows

striking asymmetries in the listeners' preferences for specific response categories. Substitutions of /e:/ > /i:/, /ø:/ > /y:/ and /o:/ > /u:/ are significantly more common than perceptual substitutions in the opposite direction. These preferences or biases are observed in several L2 sub-samples of the present study. A large portion of the listeners' difficulties and perceptual confusions, i. e. their wrong responses, are phonetically motivated. However, asymmetric preferences for /i:/, /y:/ and /u:/ in the listeners' responses are considered here as cognitive biases.

The contribution will discuss different types of biases, their universal and/or language-specific nature and their phonetic and/or cognitive motivation. A model to account for the observed asymmetries will be presented that integrates phonetic similarity with different types of biases and their effect on the perceived similarity of vowel categories within the target language system.

AG7

### Processing of phonotactic constraints: a cross-linguistic EEG-study

Christiane Ulbrich, Richard Wiese /  
*Philipps-Universität Marburg*

Donnerstag, 5.3., Poster Session 12:00–13:00

Meaningful units such as words in spoken language consist of strings of phoneme-like entities. Perceiving and producing sequences of these phonological entities involves the identification of the meaningful unit by means of its component sounds. The distributions of these entities underly universal as well as language-specific restrictions and thereby form meaningful units. Governing phonotactic rules and constraints thus define what sound combinations may or may not be possible in a particular language (Norris et al. 1997).

We report the results of a learnability experiment with German and Polish speakers, investigating the role of universal phonotactic constraints and language use in language processing. More specifically, we contribute to the debate about universal and languages-specific phonotactic constraints by examining the electrophysiological responses to two factors which determine the appearance of consonant clusters, namely the sonority sequencing of the clusters as well as their existence or non-existence in the languages at hand.

The two factors play an important role in the current debate between opposing theoretical frameworks of Universal Grammar (Chomsky & Halle, 1968) and usage-based approaches (MacWhinney, 1999). The paper discusses these issues by looking at word-final consonant clusters of German, as a language with relatively strict phonotactic requirements, and Polish, as a language with less strict phonotactic requirements and frequent violations of them, studying their role in the processing of nonce words.

Previous studies have shown that licit and illicit words and nonce words are learned and processed differently (Berent et al, 2014; Chambers et al, 2010; Domahs et al, 2009). Making use of an artificial language paradigm, we constructed nonce words with existent and non-existent German and Polish final consonant clusters adhering to or violating sonority sequencing principles postulated for consonant clusters in the respective languages. Behavioural data and event-related brain potentials (ERP) in response to these cluster properties were obtained twice, during the process of learning word-picture-pairs. The results show that overall nonce-words can be learned after relative short exposure by both German and Polish participants. The behavioural data reveal a cross-linguistic difference in that learning of final consonant clusters is facilitated by adherence to the sonority hierarchy in German, but not in Polish. However, EEG responses indicate that, regardless of the differences in language-specific phonotactic restrictions between German and Polish, sonority plays a role in the processing of final consonant clusters in both languages.

In addition we found evidence in both languages that existence of well-formed and ill-formed consonant clusters aids processing mechanisms. Thus, both implicit knowledge of universal phonotactic principles and frequency-based factors are demonstrated to play a role in the online-processing of words, regardless of their language-specific phonotactic requirements. The conclusion is that the two competing views argued for in current phonological theory have some merit in that phonological knowledge is based both on abstract principles such as sonority and on input patterns such as prior existence.

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AG7

## The source of the paradigm uniformity preference

Adam Albright<sup>1</sup>, Youngah Do<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>Massachusetts Institute of Technology,

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Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

Data from numerous domains, including first language acquisition, language change, and artificial grammar experiments, show that learners favor uniform paradigms. Recent work in Optimality Theory has attributed this preference to an innate bias, in the form of a set of constraints demanding uniformity (Input-Output Faithfulness), and has hypothesized that learners initially ranked these constraints highly, inhibiting alternations (McCarthy 1998, Hayes 2004). An alternative possibility, however, is that the preference for uniform paradigms is learned on the basis of the large number of lexical items that have uniform paradigms simply because they do not contain the segments that undergo alternations (Albright 2006). The current study tests these hypotheses by varying the absolute and relative amount of input learners receive for alternating and non-alternating paradigms. The OO-Faith account predicts that increased exposure to alternating paradigms should increase production rates for alternations, while increased exposure to non-alternating paradigms should have no effect. The learned uniformity account, on the other hand, predicts that increased exposure to non-alternating items should decrease production rates for alternations. Using an implicit artificial grammar learning paradigm, we exposed 250 adult English speakers to one of five conditions in (1), varying the number of alternators and non-alternators. Stop-final stems showed voicing alternations, and nasal or fricative-final stems served as non-alternators. In addition, each condition included 8 items with an orthogonal alternation

(*l~r*). Participants were trained on sg~pl pairs such as *sep~seibi* (alternator) and *fous~fousi* (non-alternator). In the test phase, participants chose plural forms for untrained singular forms; the options included non-alternation and voicing.

(1)

	A	B	C	D	E
Voicing alternators	4	8	12	8	8
Non-alternators	8	8	8	4	12
Fillers	20	16	12	20	12

Participant responses were analyzed using mixed effects logistic regression, modeling the probability of applying voicing alternations. The results show that participants in the 5 conditions did not differ significantly overall in their ability to notice alternations, but increasing the number of training items with stop voicing alternations significantly increase the probability of choosing voiced stops in the test phase ( $p < .01$ ). Increasing the number of non-alternators, on the other hand, does not significantly decrease the probability of selecting voicing alternations; in fact, participants in lng E show significantly *higher* rates of alternation ( $p < .01$ ). These results are consistent with the predictions of an initial Output-Output Faithfulness bias, which does not require reinforcement by additional data about non-alternation, but must be suppressed with increased exposure to alternations.

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## Phonetic similarity as a bias in infant phonological learning

James White<sup>1</sup>, Yun Jung Kim<sup>2</sup>,  
Adam Chong<sup>2</sup>, Megha Sundara<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>University College London, <sup>2</sup>UCLA  
Freitag, 6.3, 12:00–12:30

AG7

Researchers have suggested that learners are biased to prefer phonological alternations between sounds that are phonetically similar (Steriade, 2001; White, 2014). We tested this claim in two studies involving 12-month-old infants, one artificial language study and one natural language study.

In the first study, we tested whether infants' generalization of newly learned alternations depended on the phonetic similarity of the sounds involved. Using the Visual Fixation procedure, infants were familiarized with phrases in an artificial language (e.g., *rom poli, na voli...*) that provided evidence for a phonological alternation. At test, we found asymmetric generalization: infants who learned an alternation between dissimilar sounds (e.g., [p ~ v]) generalized to similar sounds (e.g., [b ~ v]) but not *vice versa*, suggesting that infants were biased by phonetic similarity.

In the second study, we investigated the acquisition of the tapping alternation in American English (e.g., *patting* and *padding* are both realized as ['pæɾɪŋ] with a tap). A corpus study revealed that infants hear far more taps derived from /t/ than from /d/. Thus based on input statistics alone, infants should learn the [t ~ ɾ] alternation before the [d ~ ɾ] alternation. However, if infants are biased to prefer alternations between phonetically similar sounds, they should learn the [d ~ ɾ] alternation first because [ɾ] is more similar to [d] than it is to [t]. Using the Headturn Preference Procedure, we found evidence for a similarity bias: American English-learning 12-month-olds map ['pæɾɪŋ] to *pad*, but not yet to *pat*, despite the fact that there is greater support for the [t ~ ɾ] alternation in their input.

Overall, these two studies suggest that input statistics alone cannot account for how infants learn phonological alternations. In particular, this learning appears to be biased by a preference for alternations involving phonetically similar sounds.

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## **An update on learners' universal bias favoring peripheral vowels in L1 and L2 acquisition**

Ocke-Schwen Bohn / *Aarhus University*

Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

AG7

This presentation provides an update on studies which have shown that both adult (non-native) and infant (native) learners' vowel perception is guided by a universal bias favoring vowels which are relatively peripheral in the acoustic/articulatory vowel space. This bias is universal in the sense that it acts as a perceptual default which is unrelated to previous language experience. The perceptual preference for relatively peripheral vowels, as described in the Natural Reference Vowel (NRV) framework of Polka and Bohn (2011), is observed in both infant and adult learners for vowel contrasts in the early stages of learning. Specific experience with a vowel contrast leads to a "loss" of this bias, which is otherwise maintained in the absence of specific experience. The presentation focuses on the possible origin of this bias, discusses apparent counterevidence to NRV predictions (Bohn & Polka 2014), and addresses the question of whether and how a similar bias can be identified for learners' consonant perception.

## **The consonant-vowel-asymmetry in early word learning of German**

Jeannine Schwytay, Barbara Höhle / *Universität Potsdam*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

The consonant-vowel-hypothesis (Nespor et al. 2003) predicts that consonants have a more influential role for lexical distinctions and for word learning than vowels. This important role of consonants for lexical processing is well-explored in adults (e. g., Cutler et al. 2000). Several studies have investigated the proposed bias in early word learning and provided inconsistent results: while a consonantal bias was found for French 16-month-olds (Havy & Nazzi 2009; Nazzi 2005) English learning infants showed this bias only at the age of 30 months (Flocchia et al., 2014; Nazzi et al. 2009). The results could be explained by different ratios of consonants and vowels within syllables in English and French. The aim of our study was to explore the sensitivity



to consonantal and vocalic information in early German word learning. Since there are no studies on German we have focused on the investigation of 20-month-old infants in a first step. Based on the assumption that different syllable structures between languages correlate with the ability to use consonantal information in word learning we expected a pattern more similar to the results with English learning infants.

We tested eighty 20-month-old infants from monolingual German speaking families with different conditions (task and consonant-vowel-information) in a word learning paradigm. In a first task with three unknown labels (name based categorization (NBC), developed by Nazzi & Gopnik 2001 and used in Nazzi 2005) infants were simultaneously taught pseudoword-labels for three unknown objects and then tested on their ability to recognize and categorize the objects based on their labels. A second task with only two unknown labels and two objects was a simplified version of the NBC task without a categorization demand. In both tasks the pseudoword-labels differed either in a minimal (one feature) consonantal or a minimal vowel contrast in the word-initial position (e. g., consonantal difference: /def/ - /gef/ or vocalic difference: /ʔi:p/ - /ʔe:p/).

We found initial evidence that vowels and consonants are used differently in early word learning of 20-month-old German learning infants. Unexpectedly our results are contrary to the predictions of the consonant-vowel-hypothesis as they confirm a vocalic bias. We will discuss the influence of several factors, in particular cross-linguistic distinctions with respect of phonological properties of languages.

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AG7

## How universal is the special status of coronals in perception? A developmental, cross-linguistic perspective

Sho Tsuji<sup>1</sup>, Nienke Dijkstra<sup>2</sup>, Titia Benders<sup>2,3</sup>,  
Reiko Mazuka<sup>4</sup>, Paula Fikkert<sup>2</sup> /

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Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

Coronal place of articulation has been attributed a special status in the phonologies of the world (Paradis & Prunet 1991), and numerous studies suggest a perceptual equivalent: Participants accept a labial or dorsal mispronunciation of a coronal target, but not vice versa. Whether this perceptual asymmetry reflects universal biases (Lahiri & Reetz 2010) or language-specific experience (Mitterer 2011) is an unresolved debate. In three developmental, cross-linguistic studies, we assessed whether perceptual asymmetries exist early in infancy (experience-independent), and whether they are attenuated by language exposure in the first two years of life.

We first built a strong test case for an experience-independent asymmetry by assessing 4-6-month old Dutch and Japanese infants' discrimination between labial *ompa* and coronal *onta*. Infants from both languages were able to discriminate labial-to-coronal, but not coronal-to-labial changes. Considering that perception of infants younger than 9 months is not yet tuned to native consonant categories (cf. Kuhl 2004), and that Japanese and Dutch are two languages with markedly diverse phonologies, these results strongly support that universal biases dominate early perceptual asymmetries.

We then longitudinally assessed 8-, 12-, and 16-month-old Dutch infants' discrimination of coronal-to-labial (*taan-paan*), coronal-to-dorsal (*taan-kaan*), and dorsal-to-coronal (*kaan-taan*) changes (Dijkstra & Fikkert 2010 showed that infants discriminate labial-to-coronal *paan-taan*). Infants from 8 months on discriminated the dorsal-to-coronal change, but the coronal-to-labial change

remained unnoticed. Findings for the coronal-to-dorsal change reflected a developmental change, with infants at 12, but not 8 and 16 months showing evidence of discrimination. The universal biases that dominate early perceptual asymmetries thus become attenuated already within the first year of life.

Finally, we assessed whether 18-month old Japanese and Dutch toddlers were sensitive to changes from coronal place in a lexical task. Consistent with the infant studies, Dutch toddlers remained insensitive to the coronal-to-labial change. Japanese toddlers, on the other hand, now noticed the coronal-to-labial change. Both groups were sensitive to the coronal-to-dorsal change. The infant's language environment thus determines which universal asymmetries the child overcomes before the second birthday.

Our findings reveal a clear, prelexical, cross-linguistic labial-coronal asymmetry, as well as first evidence for a prelexical dorsal-coronal asymmetry. These results support the possibility that universal biases play a role in perceptual asymmetries. The dorsal-coronal asymmetry is attenuated in both Japanese and Dutch toddlers, whereas only Japanese toddlers overcome the labial-coronal asymmetry. These results provide the first evidence that language experience modulates these biases in the first years of life.

**References:** Dijkstra, Nienke & Paula Fikkert. 2011. Universal constraints on the discrimination of place of articulation? Asymmetries in the discrimination of 'paan' and 'taan' by 6-month-old Dutch infants. In N. Danis, K. Mesh & H. Sung (eds.): *Boston University Conference on Language Development (BUCLD)* 35: 170–182. • Kuhl, Patricia K. 2004. Early language acquisition: cracking the speech code. *Nature reviews Neuroscience* 5: 831–43. doi:10.1038/nrn1533 • Lahiri, Aditi & Henning Reetz. 2010. Distinctive features: Phonological underspecification in processing. *Journal of Phonetics* 38: 44–59. doi: 10.1016/j.wocn.2010.01.002 • Mitterer, Holger 2011. The mental lexicon is fully specified: Evidence from eye-tracking. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 37: 496–513. doi:10.1037/a0020989 • Paradis, Caroline & Jean-François Prunet (eds.) 1991. *The special status of coronals: internal and external evidence (Phonetics and Phonology 2)*. Academic Press, San Diego.

## **Austrian Standard German** Biography of a National Variety of German

James Pfrehm  
*Ithaca College*

In today's academic circles, the idea has become widely accepted that each nation within the greater German-speaking geographic area presides over its own standard variety of the German Language: German Standard German (GSG) in Germany; Swiss Standard German (SSG) in Switzerland; Luxembourgian Standard German (LSG) in Luxembourg; and Austrian Standard German (ASG) in Austria, to name the most salient national varieties. Indeed, this linguistic reality lies at the heart of the pluricentricity argument. For ASG in particular, the path to national variety recognition was centuries in the making, having come to fruition within the last few decades.

In this Biography of a National Variety of German we will address key questions pertaining to the historical emergence of the Austrian national variety. Among others, we will consider: At what point in the history of the German language was the notion of an Austrian national variety of German conceived of; specifically, when were its forms and functions shaped, accepted as a sociolinguistic reality, and implemented? Which individuals contributed to the shaping, acceptance, and/or implementation of ASG? And finally, which historical contexts played a role?

ISBN 978 3 86288 588 6. **LINCOM Studies in German Linguistics 29.** 156pp. EUR 70.20. 2014.

## **Verbal Communication** Pragmatics, Relevance and Cognition

Xosé Rosales Sequeiros  
*University of Liverpool*

This book explores current pragmatic theory, focussing on a number of key aspects within utterance interpretation, communication and cognition. It argues against traditional approaches to the study of pragmatic interpretation, such as the Gricean framework, and discusses an alternative account based on the notion of relevance, which integrates the role of context and cognition within verbal communication.

This alternative view shows that it is possible to provide a unified account of pragmatics by taking into account two fundamental aspects of human cognition: processing effort and cognitive effects. The interaction

between these aspects and communicative cognition provides the basis for a comprehensive account of utterance interpretation, which resolves many of the problems encountered by earlier approaches.

In applying and developing these pragmatic concepts, a number of areas are covered within verbal communication. Firstly, the current framework is considered as a general approach to pragmatics. Secondly, the distinction between explicit and implicit meaning is applied to a range of constructions. Thirdly, there is a discussion on the role of pragmatics in disambiguation processes. Finally, the new approach is applied to irony and metaphor, including a discussion on the new research area of lexical pragmatics.

ISBN 978 3 86288 587 9 (Hardcover). **LINCOM Studies in Pragmatics 26.** 270pp. EUR 132.80. 2014.

## **Semantics of Body Part Terms** General Trends and a Case Study of Swahili

Iwona Kraska-Szlenk  
*University of Warsaw*

The book discusses lexical semantics of body part terms within the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics. Based on extensive data of European and non-European languages it focuses on cross-linguistic tendencies in semantic extensions of body part terms in multiple domains, such as, emotions, social relations, grammaticalization and others. It is also argued that universal embodiment and cognitive patterns must be investigated in relation to cultural traditions and language usage. The second part of the book provides a corpus-based analysis of major body part terms in Swahili as a detailed case study. It highlights the importance of metonymy and pragmatic strengthening in conventionalization and lexical transfer demonstrating how specific senses are constructed in an array of various contexts.

In general, the book contributes to research on embodiment in conceptualization and language use, it adds to studies on metaphor, metonymy and pragmatic inference in shaping lexical categories, it supports the hypothesis of regularity of semantic change mediated through cultural models and language conventionalization. It also provides new data and analyses of Swahili and additional languages discussed for comparison (e.g. English, Polish, Arabic, Turkish) and contains references to the issues of body part terms in over 80 other languages.

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## Arbeitsgruppe 8

### Normalität in der Sprache

Franz d'Avis  
Horst Lohnstein

AG8

#### Workshop description

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Das Konzept der Normalität spielt in vielen Bereichen der Sprache eine zentrale Rolle. Ein möglicher Grund dafür ist, dass Annahmen über Normalität – Normalerwartungen oder Normalvorstellungen – die Komplexität sprachlichen Handelns reduzieren und damit Kommunikation vereinfachen bzw. erst ermöglichen: Bestimmte Ereignisse sind erwartbarer als andere, sie “verstehen sich von selbst” und müssen nicht sprachlich verhandelt werden. Unter Bezug auf Konzepte wie Default, Salienz, Präferenz, Common Ground, Stereotyp, Prototyp oder Frame, die alle in unterschiedlicher Form auf die Kategorie der Normalität rekurrieren, wurden Phänomene der Syntax (z.B. normale Wortfolge, Default-Reihenfolge bei Argument Linking), der Semantik (z.B. generische Sätze, präferierte Lesarten) und der Pragmatik (z.B. Implikaturen, Frage-Antwort-Paare, Normalkontext) zu erfassen versucht. Trotzdem gibt es bisher keine kohärente linguistische Theorie der Normalität. Z.B. nutzt man ein Konzept von Default für die Analyse von skalaren Implikaturen (*Einige Schüler waren pünktlich.* → *Nicht alle Schüler waren pünktlich.*). Neo-Grice'sche Analysen gehen davon aus, dass die Implikatur ‘nicht alle’ normalerweise, d.h. in Abwesenheit von speziellen Umständen, mit dem Ausdruck *einige* assoziiert wird. Geurts (2010, 93) weist nun allerdings darauf hin, dass “authors who claim that implicatures are defaults [...] almost never endeavour to explain why”. Darüber hinaus gibt es eine Vielzahl sprachlicher Ausdruckstypen, bei deren Analyse man vermutlich auf ein Konzept

von Normalerwartungen von Sprecher und/oder Hörer zugreifen muss, z.B. konzessive Konstruktionen, Exklamative. Solche Ausdruckstypen werfen die Frage auf, welchen Status Normalerwartungen von Sprechern in einer linguistischen Theorie haben sollen. Ziel der AG ist es, Linguist/inn/en zusammenzuführen, die sich aus verschiedenen Perspektiven mit Phänomenen linguistischer Normalität und Normalerwartung beschäftigen, um so die vorhandene Forschung in diesem Bereich zu bündeln und neue Perspektiven zu eröffnen. Mögliche Fragestellungen der AG sind:

- Was ist Normalität in der Sprache?
- In welchen Typen von Konstruktionen ist Normalität sprachlich kodiert?
- Wie wird Normalität sprachlich etabliert?
- Was sind normale Äußerungen (Antworten, Fragen, ...)?
- Wie viel Abweichung trägt die Normalität?
- Welche Rolle spielt der Kontext für die Etablierung von Normalitätserwartungen?
- Was ist der Zusammenhang zwischen Normalität und Norm?

Der angesprochene Interessentenkreis kommt aus Semantik, Pragmatik, Psycholinguistik und Sprachphilosophie.

## Was ist normal in der Fremdwortschreibung?

Franziska Buchmann, Nanna Fuhrhop /  
*Universität Oldenburg*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14.30–15:30

Im Gegensatz zu anderen Gebieten hat die Schreibung eine ‚Norm‘ – einige Sprachen haben eine Orthographie. Im deutschen Sprachraum tagte die I. Orthographische Konferenz 1876; der Auftrag war, eine einheitliche, für den deutschen Sprachraum verbindliche Norm zu schaffen. Texte vor 1876 zeigen aber natürlich systematische Züge, sie stellen eine ‚Normalität‘ dar, die in einem interessanten – und auch zu klärendem – Verhältnis zu den dann geschaffenen Normen steht.

Bei genauerer Betrachtung der Beschlüsse der I. Orthographischen Konferenz ist aber festzustellen, dass viele Änderungen direkt oder indirekt mit dem Fremdwortbereich zusammenhängen (Nerius 2007, 343ff.). Die zunächst

teilweise und anschließend durchgängige Abschaffung von <th>-Schreibungen führt ja dazu, dass <th> im heutigen System ein Fremdwortmarker ist, was es vorher nicht war. Im Gegensatz dazu wurde die *iren/ieren*-Schreibung ‚vereinheitlicht‘ zu der vermeintlich passenderen Schreibung mit <ie> – *ieren* ist heute ein Suffix. Nach der Analyse von Paxa 2013 widerspricht aber diese Schreibung der Intuition der Schreiber/innen (was viel subtiler ist und daher nachgewiesen werden muss); es hat direkte Auswirkungen auf die Sicherheit in der Fremdwortschreibung. Eine ‚Fremdwortsensitivität‘ gehört ohne Zweifel zu der Intuition kompetenter Schreiber/innen und stellt damit eine ‚Normalität‘ dar. Wird die Intuition gestört, entwickelt sich eine ‚Sogwirkung‘ auf vergleichbare Fälle.

Das führt aber eben auch zu der Frage, was überhaupt ‚normal‘ an der Fremdwortschreibung ist. Die Fremdwortschreibung befindet sich klassischerweise zwischen der Schreibung in der Gebersprache und einer Schreibung in der Zielsprache, die möglicherweise die Fremdheit zeigt. In diesem Sinne möchten wir die Fremdwortschreibung von 1850–1900 genauer unter die Lupe nehmen, um genau hier Fragen von ‚Norm‘ und ‚Normalität‘ zu untersuchen. Wie werden zugelassene Varianten akzeptiert?

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AG8

## Compounding as deviation from default: a pragmatic perspective

Holden Härtl / *Universität Kassel*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15.30–16.00

Word-formation products in German have often been argued to be particularly prone to function as names for concepts and, as such, be stored in the mental lexicon, cf., e. g., Bücking (2009); Motsch (2004). In this talk, I will argue that the naming inclination of newly formed compounds is rooted in their deviance from the default expression, that is, a phrasal expression. Thereby, a novelty effect is produced, which, in turn, brings about a re-interpretation of the expression as kind name.

Focusing on novel adjective-noun compounds, e. g., *Blauschachtel* ('blue\_box'), *Schalmesser* ('slim\_knife'), we will start from a conservative, lexicalist position and put the assumption that word-formation is the preferred route for establishing a concept's name in German to a number of tests and prove it correct. For example, the contrast in acceptability between (1-a) and (1-b) can be attributed to the more pronounced naming function of *Kurzbericht* ('short\_report') as compared to *kurzer Bericht* ('short report') and, specifically, to the fact that *fast* ('almost'), as a scalar particle, implicates that some property of the modified element is not fully attained and that its complement still holds: *almost X*  $\rightarrow$  *not X*, see Rotstein & Winter (2004):

- (1) a. Das ist ein kurzer Bericht, fast schon ein Kurzbericht.  
 b. ??Das ist ein Kurzbericht, fast schon ein kurzer Bericht.

Thus, the scalar contrast involved in the felicitous example in (1-a) can be characterized as an intensification of a category match, where the compound predicative introduced by *fast* in the second conjunct corresponds to the "stronger" category, i. e., a kind name.

For the theoretical implementation, I will argue for a systematic relation to hold between the "markedness" of a novel adjective-noun compound and its interpretation as a kind name as well as its affinity to be lexicalized. Crucially, this relationship will be traced back, along the lines of Levinson's M-principle, to a pragmatic principle. It holds that deviance from a default form – in our case, from a phrasal expression like *schmales Messer* ('slim knife') – implies deviance from the meaning of this form, which, in turn, results in a re-interpretation as kind name and in semantic specialization. Consequently, interpretation as kind name and semantic specialization in compounds will be described as the cause for potential lexicalization and not as its effect, as is often proposed in the literature. Some remarks about the compatibility of the proposed analysis to alternative, non-rule-based approaches (e. g., Construction Grammar) will conclude my paper.

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- Rotstein, Carmen & Yoad Winter. 2004. Total Adjectives vs. Partial Adjectives: Scale Structure and Higher-Order Modifiers. *Natural Language Semantics* 12: 259–288.



## English pre-nominal possessives as an instance of default interpretations: a pragmatic re-analysis

Julia Kolkman / University of Manchester  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 16.30–17.30

The English pre-nominal possessive construction is capable of expressing a multitude of relations, e.g. kinship (*John's mother*), location (*Oslo's capital*), part-whole (*the dog's tail*), and time (*yesterday's newspaper*). This relation is an aspect of implicit meaning and has to be recovered by the hearer on an utterance by utterance basis. Clearly, the choice of the pre-nominal possessive construction on any given occasion is a matter of style: speakers generally have the option to explicate the relation which holds between the two entities to more or less explicit degrees (e.g. by opting for *the tail that is attached to the dog* as opposed to *the dog's tail*), with the pre-nominal possessive construction arguably constituting the least explicit option. However, the general ease with which we appear to be able to interpret utterances of this construction even in low-information contexts which lack any evidence of the kind of relation expressed (e.g. *John walked into the pub. His coat was wet from the snow.*) means that we generally opt for the least explicit option, relying on the hearer to be able to identify the intended referent picked out by the pre-nominal possessive phrase.

The fact that many pre-nominal possessive phrases seem 'interpretable' in null-contexts has given rise to the idea that they are interpreted by default, where 'default' equates to a non-inferential, automatic mechanism which resembles a mere decoding of semantic content (cf. Vikner & Jensen 2002). A consequence of this account is that the majority of relations are viewed as constituting part of the semantics of the possessee noun and/or the -s marker.

Contra pragmatic theories which interpret the use of pre-nominal possessive phrases as a matter of default meaning which is attached to the respective phrase (cf. e.g. Levinson 2000), I adopt a more flexible notion of defaults (cf. Jaszczolt 2005), where 'default' is defined with respect to the particular context and the particular speaker. Using collected natural language data as well as the results of an online survey on possessive interpretations involving native speakers of English, I develop an account of pre-nominal possessives as giving rise to pragmatic defaults, where the recovery of the relation is a matter of pragmatic inference as opposed to the decoding of semantic content. One of the major implications of such an account is that even the derivation of relations such as kinship, which are supposedly 'encoded' in relational nouns such as *mother* and *brother*, will be regarded as fully pragmatic in nature.

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**References:** Jaszczolt, Katarzyna 2005. *Default semantics: Foundations of a compositional theory of acts of communication*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Vikner, Carl & Per Anker Jensen. 2002. A semantic analysis of the English genitive. Interaction of lexical and formal semantics. *Studia Linguistica* 56: 191–226.

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## Konnexion bei Muttersprachlern und bei Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache: Sprachspezifische und übereinzelsprachliche Präferenzen

Eva Breindl / *Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17.30–18.30

Für die Kodierung semantischer Relationen zwischen Propositionen wie Kausalität, temporale Sequenz, Adversativität etc. steht im Deutschen wie in vielen anderen Sprachen ein reichhaltiges Inventar von Konnektoren zur Verfügung (vgl. Breindl, Volodina & Waßner 2014). Viele semantische Relationen müssen aber überhaupt nicht explizit kodiert werden, da sie auf der Basis von Normalerwartungen aus den Bedeutungen der Konnekte erschließbar sind, wobei konstruktioneller Ikonismus (GRUND vor FOLGE, FRÜHERES vor SPÄTEREM) eine wichtige Rolle spielt.

Kontrastive Untersuchungen (Fabricius-Hansen 2010, Rosén 2006) haben gezeigt, dass es sprachspezifische Tendenzen bei der Kodierung interpropositionaler semantischer Relationen gibt, die je nach Standpunkt als unterschiedliche Grade von Lakonizität bzw. Ausführlichkeit charakterisiert werden können.

Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint es lohnend, die Kodierung interpropositionaler Relationen bei fortgeschrittenen Lernern des Deutschen als Fremdsprache zu untersuchen. Auf der Basis eines Lernerkorpus mit schriftlichen Essays fortgeschrittener Deutschlerner aus Schweden, China und Weißrussland (KobaltDaF-Korpus) und eines muttersprachlichen Kontrollkorpus wird den folgenden Fragen nachgegangen:

- Lassen sich bei den Lernern Muster in der Explizitheit der Kodierung von Satzverknüpfungsrelationen erkennen? Stimmen diese Muster eher mit der L1 oder mit der Zielsprache überein?

- Lassen sich übereinzelsprachliche Muster erkennen?
- Lassen sich Prinzipien erkennen, die die Setzung von Konnektoren steuern?
- Gibt es bei den Lernern im Vergleich zum muttersprachlichen Kontrollkorpus underuse bzw. overuse von Konnektoren bestimmter semantischer Relationen?
- Gibt es underuse bzw. overuse in der lexikalischen Konnektorenauswahl bei der Kodierung einzelner semantischer Relationen wie Kausalität, Adversativität etc.?

**References:** Breindl, Eva, Anna Volodina & Ulrich H. Waßner. 2014. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Teil 2: Semantik*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Fabricius-Hansen, Cathrine. 2010. Deutsch im Kontrast textbezogen. In: Nübling, Damaris, Antje Dammel & Sebastian Kürschner (Hg.): *Kontrastive Germanistische Linguistik*, 171–199. Olms, Hildesheim. • Rosén, Christina. 2006. „Warum klingt das nicht Deutsch?“ *Probleme der Informationsstrukturierung in deutschen Texten schwedischer Schüler und Studenten*. Lund.

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## Normalität im Diskurs – Implikationsverstärkung in (*halt eben-/eben halt*-)Assertionen

Sonja Müller / Universität Bielefeld  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9.00–10.00

Dieser Vortrag beschäftigt sich mit Normalität in der Diskursorganisation. Ziel ist es, anhand von (un)markierten assertiven Kontextveränderungen Abfolgebeschränkungen von Modalpartikeln (MPn) in Kombinationen zu erfassen.

Eine gängige Annahme in der Literatur zu MPn in Kombinationen ist, dass ihre relative Ordnung fest ist. Kombinationen aus *halt* und *eben* stellen insofern eine Ausnahme dar, als dass beide Abfolgen nachweisbar sind.

Auf der Basis von eigenen Korpusuntersuchungen sowie Akzeptabilitätsstudien gehe ich davon aus, dass *halt eben* die unmarkierte und *eben halt* die markierte Abfolge dieser beiden MPn ist. Ich schlage eine Erklärung für diesen Markiertheitsunterschied vor, indem ich argumentiere, dass eine Form von Ikonizität beteiligt ist. Den Bedeutungsbeitrag von *halt* und *eben* in Isolation modelliere ich innerhalb des formalen Diskursmodells aus Farkas &

Bruce (2010), wobei ich entscheidenderweise annehme, dass die Bedeutung von *eben* die Bedeutung von *halt* impliziert. Die Markiertheit der Abfolge *eben halt* führe ich dann auf die unabhängige Beobachtung zurück, dass Assertionen, die eine Verstärkung von Implikationen mit sich führen, markiert sind (vgl. z. B. Horn 1976, 63ff., Levinson 2009, 120).

Die Verstärkung von implizierter Information involviert eine Abweichung von ‚normalen‘ assertiven Kontextwechseln in Form von diskursstruktureller Redundanz. Obwohl dies nicht einen deutlichen Akzeptabilitätsverlust mit sich führt, wird die Abfolge, die die Information non-redundant darbietet, klar bevorzugt.

Horn (1991) verweist allerdings auf Fälle, in denen unter ganz bestimmten Bedingungen gegen diese Beschränkung verstoßen wird.

Vor diesem Hintergrund habe ich untersucht, in welchen Kontexten die markierte Abfolge *eben halt* in den Korpusdaten auftritt. Ein Vergleich der Verteilung von *halt eben* und *eben halt* in restriktiven und appositiven Relativsätzen (rRS, aRS) in DECOW2012 zeigt die Tendenz, dass *eben halt* den aRS bevorzugt, wohingegen *halt eben* keine Präferenz zwischen den beiden Typen von RSen zeigt. Daraus folgere ich, dass *eben halt* aus Äußerungsteilen mit (lokal) höherem Mitteilungswert/Vordergrundinformation ausgeschlossen ist, während *halt eben* gleichermaßen in hinter- und vordergrundierenden Kontexten auftritt. Dies leite ich wiederum daraus ab, dass *halt* in Äußerungsteilen mit hohem Mitteilungswert dominant ist und sich die Implikationsverstärkung bei *eben halt* unter diesen Umständen umso deutlicher ergibt, weil die implizierte Information noch besonders hervorgehoben wird. Hintergrundierende Äußerungsteile (und zwar auch aRS) sind ein sprachlicher Kontext, in dem auch unabhängig implizierte Information vermittelt werden kann, wenn der Implikationsauslöser im Kontext bereits vorweg gegangen ist.

**References:** Farkas, Donka & Kim Bruce. 2010. On Reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27: 81–118. • Horn, Laurence R. 1976. *On the Semantic Properties of Logical Operators in English*. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, Indiana. • Horn, Laurence R. 1991. Given as new: When redundant affirmation isn't. *Journal of Pragmatics* 15: 305–328. • Levinson, Stephen C. 2009. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Schäfer, Roland & Felix Bildhauer. 2012. Building large corpora from the web using a new efficient tool chain. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation 2012*. Zugänglich über: • [http://rolandschaefer.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/SchaeferBildhauer\\_LREC2012\\_Building-LargeCorpora.pdf](http://rolandschaefer.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/SchaeferBildhauer_LREC2012_Building-LargeCorpora.pdf)

## Zur passiven und aktiven Realisierung von Normvorstellungen bei Fachleuten

Maria Mushchinina / *Hermann Paul School of Linguistics, Basel-Freiburg*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10.00–11.00

Der Beitrag setzt sich mit dem Phänomen der Normvorstellung bei Fachleuten auseinander. Fachleute verwenden in ihrem Berufsalltag Texte, die oft ein hohes Ausmaß an Konventionalität aufweisen. Diese Konventionen bestehen auf unterschiedlichen sprachlichen Ebenen und sind die Grundlage für die Normvorstellungen bei Textbenutzern. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass je intensiver Fachleute bestimmte Fachtexte verwenden, desto genauer sind ihre Normvorstellungen über die sprachlichen Eigenschaften dieser Texte.

Während aber die konventionellen sprachlichen Eigenschaften einer Fachtextsorte durch die Auswertung von Textkorpora bestimmt werden können, wäre zu prüfen, wie diese Konventionen durch Fachleute tatsächlich gewichtet werden und wie die Fachleute auf den eventuellen Konventionsbruch reagieren. Diese Reaktion kann allerdings nur beobachtet werden, wenn sie explizit ist. Unter der passiven Realisierung der Normvorstellungen werden dabei solche sprachlichen Handlungen der Textrezipienten verstanden, die keine Korrektur des Konventionsbruchs herbeiführen. Das sind vor allem allgemeine Bewertungen der Texteigenschaften. Bei der aktiven Realisierung von Normvorstellungen handelt es sich im Gegensatz dazu um konkrete Vorschläge zur Textoptimierung durch die Textrezipienten. Zur Aktivierung der Letzteren bedarf es in höherem Maße einer Anleitung zum sprachlichen Handeln.

Die aktive und passive Realisierung der Normvorstellungen wurde am Beispiel der Fachtextsorte Wirtschaftsvertrag im Russischen beobachtet. Dabei wurden unter Vertragsmanagern und fachexternen Probanden Befragungen durchgeführt. Den Probanden wurden Textbeispiele vorgelegt, in denen einige konventionelle Texteigenschaften (hoher Nominalisierungsgrad, visuelle Textgestaltung u. a.) systematisch verändert wurden. Im Beitrag wird aufgezeigt, welche Faktoren die passive und aktive Realisierung der Normvorstellungen beeinflussen.

**References:** Baumann, Klaus-Dieter. 2005. Das komplexe Normensystem der Fachkommunikation. *Fachsprache* 27: 32–47. • Engberg, Jan & Nina Janich. 2007. Über

die Komplexität fachkommunikativer Sprachkompetenz und ihrer Beschreibung. In Ehlich, Konrad & Heller, Dorothee (eds.): *Studien zur Rechtskommunikation*, 209–234. Lang, Frankfurt/Main, Berlin & Bern. • Krause, Wolf-Dieter. 2007. Text, Textsorte, Textvergleich. In Adamzik, Kirsten (ed.): *Textsorten: Reflexionen und Analysen*, 45–76. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Sauer, Nicole. 2002. *Corporate Identity in Texten: Normen für schriftliche Unternehmenskommunikation*. Logos, Berlin. • Seiler, Falk. 2012. *Normen im Sprachbewußtsein: Eine soziolinguistische Studie zur Sprachreflexion auf Martinique*. Praesens Verlag, Wien.

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## Das indefinite Personalpronomen *man*

Frederike Eggs / Universität Hamburg  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 11.30–12.30

Das indefinite Personalpronomen *man* kann auf unterschiedliche Weisen gebraucht werden. Neben partikulär-indefiniten Verwendungen wie in (1) lassen sich eine Reihe von Verwendungen unterscheiden, die in einem ersten Zugriff als generalisierend beschrieben werden können (vgl. (2) und (3)); die Forschung spricht in diesem Fall auch vom generischen Personalpronomen (vgl. Haspelmath 1997, Zifonun 2001):

- (1) Letzte Nacht hat **man** bei uns eingebrochen und neun Welpen gestohlen.  
(<http://www.rp-online.de/nrw/staedte/kreis-heinsberg/einbrecher-stehlen-neun-hunde-welpen-aid-1.3402616>, 27.8.2014)
- (2) Beim Essen rülpst **man** nicht, desgleichen schnäuzt **man** sich nicht ins Tischtuch.  
([www.medievalsteel.de/Seiten/Ritter/Rittertugenden.htm](http://www.medievalsteel.de/Seiten/Ritter/Rittertugenden.htm), 27.8.2014)
- (3) [...] irgendwie schaffen es Streetstyle-Bloggerinnen stets, einen richtigen Riecher zu haben, was Trends angeht [...]: **Man** trägt jetzt wieder Dutt!  
([http://www.desired.de/dutt-high-bun-die-streetstyle-looks-des-frisuren-klassikers/id\\_64894570/index](http://www.desired.de/dutt-high-bun-die-streetstyle-looks-des-frisuren-klassikers/id_64894570/index), 29.8.2014)

Sowohl (2) als auch (3) sind im Spannungsfeld von Normalität und Norm zu verorten: Mit (2) wird eine Benimmregel bei Tisch versprachlicht, mit der die Einhaltung einer Norm eingefordert wird; dabei impliziert sie, dass das in ihr Beschriebene bei Rittern Normalität ist und zielt darauf ab, dass dies auch so

bleibt. Demgegenüber benennt die *man*-Äußerung in (3) einen neuen Trend, also etwas, das erst dabei ist, Normalität zu werden.

Innerhalb der generalisierenden Verwendungen besonders interessant sind Fälle, in denen *man* anstelle einer Personaldeixis gebraucht wird:

- (4) Wie fühlt **man** sich so, als frisch gebackene Mama?  
([http://forum.gofeminin.de/forum/fertilite/\\_f2388\\_p9\\_fertilite-Wer-hilft-mir-beim-Abwarten.html](http://forum.gofeminin.de/forum/fertilite/_f2388_p9_fertilite-Wer-hilft-mir-beim-Abwarten.html), 27.8.2014)
- (5) Karl-Heinz Böckle (geb. 1929, Hitlerjunge in Bad Rappenau): 1942 kam mein Vater auf Urlaub. Er war ja nun auch wieder Soldat geworden, und ich lag schon im Bett und dann da hörte ich, wie er in der Küche zu meiner Mutter sagte ‚Wenn nicht bald den Hitler einer dotschießt, dann führt der uns ins Verderben.‘ Für mich war das furchtbar, dass mein Vater über unsern geliebten Führer so etwas sagen konnte, **man** war halt so erzogen, **man man** hatte nichts anderes erlebt und äh ähm ich weiß noch, dass ich mir sogar überlegt habe, ob ich das nicht melden müsste.  
(Guido Knopp, 2009, Hitlers Kinder, Teil I)

Durch die Nutzung von *man* anstelle einer Hörerdeixis in der Frage in (4) bringt die Sprecherin zum Ausdruck, dass sie an den generalisierbaren Empfindungen der Hörerin interessiert ist, an denjenigen also, die frisch gebackene Mütter normalerweise haben.

Normalitätszuschreibungen mit *man* können schließlich auch zur Legitimation problematischer Erlebnisse eingesetzt werden. Denn wer wie in (5) sein Ich durch ein *man* ersetzt, tritt den Rückzug in die Anonymität an und versteckt sich in der Menge (vgl. Marschall 1996, Bredel 1999).

Im Vortrag soll *man* auf sein Potential, Normalität sprachlich zu kodieren, hin untersucht werden. In Fällen wie (5) soll *man* ferner mit seinen Konkurrenzformen, den genuin hörerdeiktischen Ausdrücken *du* und *Sie*, kontrastiert werden, die ebenfalls als allgemeine Platzhalter gebraucht werden können („*du* warst halt so erzogen, du hattest nichts anderes erlebt“ / „*Sie* waren halt so erzogen, Sie hatten nichts anderes erlebt“).

**References:** Bredel, Ursula. 1999. *Erzählen im Umbruch. Studie zur narrativen Verarbeitung der ‚Wende‘* 1989. Stauffenburg, Tübingen. • Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns*. Clarendon, Oxford. • Marschall, Gottfried R. 1996. Was bezeichnet *man*? Das indefiniteste „Indefinitpronomen“ und seine Verwandten. In M. Pérennec (ed.): *Pro-Formen des Deutschen*, 87–97. Stauffenburg, Tübingen. • Zifonun, Gisela. 2001. *Grammatik des Deutschen im europäischen Vergleich. Das Pronomen. Teil I: Überblick und Personalpronomen*. IDS Mannheim.

## Konzessivität, Normalvorstellungen und Commitment

Sven Müller / Universität Mainz

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13.00

Bei der Analyse der Bedeutung konzessiver Konstruktionen (KK) der Art *Obwohl es regnet, ist Tilda im Garten* wird neben der wahrheitskonditionalen Bedeutung (1-a) standardmäßig von einem impliziten, konditionalen Bedeutungsbestandteil (1-b) ausgegangen (wobei  $P = \text{Es regnet}$ ;  $Q = \text{Tilda ist im Garten}$ ), welcher jedoch in seiner Gültigkeit eingeschränkt wird (vgl. u.a. Eisenberg & König 1984).

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- (1) a.  $P \wedge Q$   
b. normalerweise:  $P \rightarrow \neg Q$

Das Konditional in (1-b) (*Wenn es regnet, ist Tilda normalerweise nicht im Garten*) wird dabei als sprecherinnenseitige NORMALVORSTELLUNG analysiert, die einerseits mittels der KK ausgedrückt wird und der mit dieser zugleich widersprochen werden soll (vgl. Breindl 2004). Sie wird als annäherungsweise Generalisierung interpretiert, welche Ausnahmen nicht nur erlaubt, sondern zu beinhalten scheint (vgl. d'Avis 2013).

Hierin kann eine grundlegende Problematik der Standardanalyse von KK gesehen werden: Zu einem eingeschränkten Konditional (1-b) beziehungsweise einer nicht generalisierenden Normalvorstellung steht die wahrheitskonditionale Bedeutung (1-a) nicht in einem Widerspruchsverhältnis und mit diesem werden zentrale Bedeutungsaspekte wie Gegensätzlichkeit, Negation und Abweichung aufgelöst oder abgeschwächt.

Ich werde daher für eine semantisch-pragmatischen Analyse argumentieren, welche das interne Widerspruchsverhältnis bewahrt und gleichzeitig der Tatsache Rechnung trägt, dass KK unmarkierte Äußerungen darstellen (vgl. Pasch 1994). Dabei werde ich Konzessivität als Ausdruck verringerten SPEAKER COMMITMENTS (vgl. Izutsu 2008) interpretieren.

**References:** Breindl, Eva. 2004. Konzessivität und konzessive Konnektoren im Deutschen. *Deutsche Sprache* 32.1: 2–31. • d'Avis, Franz. 2013. *Normalität und Sprache*. Unveröff. Habil., Universität Mainz. • Izutsu, Mitsuko. 2008. Commitment to an implicit aspect of meaning. In P. de Brabanter & P. Dendale (eds.): *Commitment*, 137–154. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Eisenberg, Peter & Ekkehard König. 1984.



Zur Pragmatik von Konzessivsätzen. In G. Stickel (ed.): *Pragmatik in der Grammatik*, 313–323. Schwann-Bagel, Düsseldorf. • Pasch, Renate. 1994, *Konzessivität von wenn-Konstruktionen*. Narr, Tübingen.

## Normalexklamationen – normal!

Daniel Gutzmann<sup>1</sup>, Katharina Turgay<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, <sup>2</sup>Universität Landau

Freitag, 6.3., 11.30–12.30

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Während Normalität üblicherweise linguistisch nicht speziell kodiert wird, da sie „mitverstanden“ wird und somit durch pragmatische Anreicherung kommuniziert werden kann, gibt es einige Ausnahmen zu dieser Regel. In diesem Vortrag betrachten wir eine spezielle Konstruktion im Deutschen, die zumindest vordergründig Normalität zu kodieren scheint. Dabei handelt es sich um reduzierte, syntaktische Strukturen wie in (1-B), die wir *Normalexklamationen* nennen (was wie ein Oxymoron klingen mag).

(1) A: Was machst du so für Sport?      B: **Normal – McFit!**

Interessant dabei ist, dass diese Struktur als „nicht-normal“ zu bezeichnen ist und dass sie neben der ausgedrückten Normalität zusätzliche pragmatische Aspekte kommuniziert, was zeigt, wie schwer es die Sprachökonomie macht, pure Normalität auszudrücken.

Syntaktisch gesehen sind Normalexklamationen besonders, da die fragmentarische Form in (1) nicht elliptisch aus einer Matrixsatzeinbettung wie in (2) abgeleitet wird.

(2) (Es ist) normal, (dass ich) McFit Sport (mache).      ≠ (1B)

Wenn überhaupt, lässt sich (1) aus einer Struktur mit einem Adverb ableiten, das einen Kommentar zur Antwort abgibt und in einer peripheren, syntaktisch und intonatorisch unintegrierten Position steht (links oder auch rechts).

(3) Normal – Ich mache bei McFit Sport.

Diese Struktur steht im Kontrast zu dem kanonischen, integrierten Adverb *normalerweise*.

(4) Normalerweise mache ich bei McFit Sport.

Normalexklamationen unterscheiden sich syntaktisch, semantisch und pragmatisch von (4). Syntaktisch steht *normal* im Gegensatz zu *normalerweise* nicht im Vorfeld, semantisch ist es nicht Teil der Wahrheitsbedingungen des Satzes und pragmatisch impliziert (3) im Gegensatz zu (4) *nicht*, dass der Sprecher auch einen anderen Sport macht. Stattdessen drückt (3) expressiv die Sprechereinstellung aus, dass die gegebene Antwort „normal“ und erwartbar ist. Diese zeigt sich auch darin, dass Normalexklamationen nicht diskursinitial verwendet werden, sondern immer nur reaktiv.

- (5) [initial:] {#Normal – Ich mache immer bei McFit Sport / Normalerweise mache ich immer bei McFit Sport}, aber wollen wir heute nicht mal klettern gehen?

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Pragmatisch kann eine Normalexklamation zudem eine Verwunderung darüber kommunizieren, dass die Frage überhaupt gestellt wurde.

Ziel des Vortrages ist, die Syntax und Semantik dieser nicht-kanonischen Form zu dokumentieren und mithilfe formaler Methoden zur Modellierung nicht-wahrheitskonditionaler Bedeutungsaspekte und Einstellungen der Diskurspartizipanten zu analysieren. Die Grundidee ist, dass *normal* in Normalexklamationen nicht direkt den propositionalen Gehalt als Argument nimmt, sondern stattdessen etwas über die Normalität der Assertion prädiziert. Paradoxerweise ist dies nur dann notwendig, wenn es aus Sicht des Sprechers einen scheinbaren Defekt im Common Ground gab und dieser folglich nicht „normal“ war.

## Normal, but not too normal: event properties in Russian existential imperfectives

Olav Mueller-Reichau / Universität Leipzig  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:30

Not only perfectives (Pf), but also imperfectives (IpF) can be used in Russian to refer to completed events (e.g. Rassudova 1968, Glovinskaja 1982, Padučeva 1996). There are two varieties, presuppositional IpF and existential IpF (Grønn 2004). The talk is about the second.

Existential IpFs (IpFx) are known to display a number of features that set them apart from Pf: a non-specific topic time, non-uniqueness of event descriptions etc. In the talk, I discuss a peculiarity of IpFx that has not yet received

ved much attention: while the VP-property of Ipfx must be, in a way, “normal, but not too normal”, the VP of Pf is not subject to this restriction. The VP-property must be “normal” in the sense that Ipfx is degraded if the VP describes an activity which is not conventionalized, but rather ad hoc, and it must be “not too normal” in the sense that Ipfx will be infelicitous if the VP describes an action whose realization is too ordinary to be noteworthy.

With Grønn (2004) I assume that Pf semantically encodes target state validity (the target state must include the end of the topic time), and that the use of semantically underspecified Ipfx will trigger an implicature to the effect that target state validity is abandoned. In the case of Ipfx, “the validity of the target state is irrelevant in the discourse situation” (Grønn 2004, 274), which means that “the speaker does not refer [...] to a[n] event token, there is no focus on the particular target state” (Grønn 2004, 242). But where does the speaker refer to if not to the event token? Grønn does not tell, but an answer is frequently suggested in the literature (e.g. Dahl & Hedin 2000; Šatunovskij 2009; Mehlig 2001, 2013): to the event kind. What is relevant, then, is no longer a consequence of the event token (the target state), but a consequence following from the realization of the event kind identified by the sentence VP.

This approach implies two things. First, the VP-property must identify an event kind which, being a kind, is grounded in background knowledge. This accounts for the oddness of Ipfx with “unnatural”, ad hoc event categories. Second, the event kind must be such that its realization implies an interesting, “not too normal” consequence – otherwise the utterance would be void of relevance.

**References:** • Dahl, Östen & Eva Hedin 2000. Current relevance and event reference. In Ö. Dahl (ed.), *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, 385–401. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Glovinskaja, Marina J. 1982. *Semantičeskie tipy vidovych protivopostavlenij russkogo glagola*. Nauka, Moskva. • Grønn, Atle. 2004. *The Semantics and Pragmatics of the Russian Factual Imperfective*. Acta Humaniora, Oslo. • Mehlig, Hans R. 2001. Verbal Aspect and the Referential Status of Verbal Predicates: On Aspect Usage in Russian Who-Questions. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 9: 99–125. • Mehlig, Hans R. 2013. *Obščefaktičeskoe i edinično-faktičeskoe značeniya nesoveršennogo vida v russkom jazyke*. Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta 9 (4). • Padučeva, Elena V. (1996). *Semantičeskie issledovanija*. Jazyki russkoj kul'tury, Moskva. • Rassudova, Olga P. (1982[1968]). *Upotreblenie vidov glagola v sovremennom russkom jazyke*. Russkij jazyk, Moskva. • Šatunovskij, Ilja B. (2009). *Problemy russkogo vida*. Jazyki slavjanskich kul'tury.

**narr**  
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**francke**  
VERLAG

**attempto**  
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**Annelies Häcki Buhofer · Marcel Dräger  
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**JETZT BESTELLEN!**

## Arbeitsgruppe 9

### Varieties of positive polarity items

Mingya Liu  
Gianina Iordăchioaia

AG9

#### Workshop description

In the past, the rich literature on polarity sensitivity mostly focused on negative polarity items (NPIs); positive polarity items (PPIs) were believed to be less impressive in number, productivity, and strength (Horn 1989, 157). Recent literature, however, shows that PPIs are empirically just as robust as NPIs and raise theoretically intriguing questions at the interfaces between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In this workshop, we seek to bring to discussion questions about:

- language-specific and cross-linguistic varieties of PPIs and
- their formal modeling in different theoretical frameworks.

Positive polarity is known to be highly language-dependent. Speaker-oriented adverbs such as *unfortunately/leider* act as PPIs in English and German, but their Czech correspondents do not (Junghanns 2006). Similarly, Zeijlstra (2013) argues that, unlike in English, the universal quantifier *iedereen* ‘everybody’ in Dutch is a PPI. This diversity challenges the plausibility of a unified account of positive polarity. One of the main theoretical debates in this respect concerns the nature of PPIs in relation to the better-studied NPIs. In Szabolcsi (2004), for instance, anti-additivity is as important for PPIs as downward entailment for NPIs. Another concern is the relevance of notions

such as scalarity and scope to the modeling of PPIs within and across individual languages. Nilsen (2004) and Sawada (2011) analyze PPI modal adverbs like *probably* and Japanese minimizer PPIs like *chotto/sukoshi* ‘a bit’ by means of scales, but others propose alternate non-scalar approaches (e.g., Ernst 2009, Giannakidou 2011, Liu 2012, Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2013, Homer t.a.). While most PPIs can outscope negation, a promising research question relates to PPIs that ban negation altogether (see German *\*schon nicht/\*nicht schon*, Löbner 1999) and their modeling by comparison to inversely licensed NPIs (see Korean *amwu-to* ‘anyone’ in Sells & Kim 2006).

Our workshop will provide the ideal platform for such empirical and theoretical discussions, but also for experimental (see Saddy et al. 2004), diachronic and computational studies towards a better understanding of polarity in natural language.

## AG9

### Varieties of positive polarity minimizers in Japanese

Osamu Sawada / Mie University

Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–15:00

In Japanese, there are multiple lexical items for positive polarity minimizers (minimizer PPIs), each of which can differ in meaning and distribution patterns. For example, while both *sukoshi* and *chotto* ‘lit. a bit’, can directly modify a gradable predicate as in (1), only *chotto* can be used for weakening the degree of illocutionary force, as in (2):

- (1) Kono hon-wa    *sukoshi/chotto* takai  
       this book-TOP a bit/a bit    expensive  
       ‘This book is a bit expensive.’
- (2) *Chotto/\*sukoshi* hasami aru?  
       a bit/a bit                scissors exist  
       At-issue: Do you have scissors?  
       Non-at-issue meaning: I am weakening the degree of force of my request.  
       (Matsumoto 1985, Sawada 2010)

In this talk, I will investigate variations in the meanings and uses of Japanese minimizers, and claim that although both *sukoshi* and *chotto* have the same scalar meaning, i.e. ‘a bit’, they differ in the non-at-issue component. That is, *sukoshi* conventionally implies that the speaker’s manner of measurement is

precise, while *chotto* conventionally implies that it is not precise. I will argue that this distinction can naturally explain why *chotto*, but not *sukoshi*, was able to develop a speech act modifying use. The degree of illocutionary force is not something that we can measure precisely. Interestingly, the distinction between precise and imprecise modes of measurement can also be observed in negative polarity minimizers (minimizer NPIs), but they do not have a role in modifying the degree of illocutionary force.

This paper provides new perspectives for the study of minimizers/ quantifiers and the relationship between PPIs and NPIs.

**References:** Matsumoto, Yoshiko. 1985. A sort of speech act qualification in Japanese: *chotto*. In *Journal of Asian Culture* IX: 143–159. • Sawada, Osamu. 2010. *Pragmatic aspects of scalar modifiers*. Dissertation, University of Chicago.

## Diversity of the source of positive polarity – with special reference to Japanese *WH-ka*

AG9

Makoto Kaneko / *Okayama University*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

This study critically examines three representative analyses of PPIs mainly based on Japanese indefinites, *WH-ka* ‘WH-or’, and Japanese disjunction, *A ka B ka* ‘either A or B’. i) Contrary to Giannakidou’s (2011) analysis according to which only specific indefinites can serve as PPIs, Japanese *WH-ka*, while taking wide scope over clause-mate negation, may be out-scoped by modal operators; ii) According to Szabolcsi’s (2004) analysis in terms of double NPI features, PPIs should take the narrowest scope when co-occurring with both of external and clause-mate negations (i.e. external NEG > clause-mate NEG > PPI). On the other hand, *WH-ka* takes an intermediate scope in such contexts (i.e. external NEG > *WH-ka* > clause-mate NEG); iii) Spector (2014) attributes positive polarity to obligatory exhaustivity effect: French PPI, *A ou B* ‘A or B’, is thus not licensed in downward entailing contexts because its scalar inference, ‘not A and B’, does not hold there. He then distinguishes local and global PPIs: in the former case (ex. French *A ou B*), the scalar inference (ex. ‘not A and B’) holds only in the same clause; in the latter (ex. French *soit A soit B*), the scalar inference should hold globally in the root clause. As regards Japanese *WH-ka* and *A ka B ka*, their above-mentioned

intermediate scope crucially distinguishes them from French local and global PPIs which take the narrowest scope in the same context. To account for these distributions of Japanese PPIs, I refer to Kataoka's (2010) hypothesis that, being situated at the clause-final position and suffixed to a verb, Japanese negation basically takes, for its c-command domain, only the verb, and not VP. Items in argument and adjunct positions therefore are not c-commanded (and therefore not out-scoped) by clause-mate negation, but are out-scoped by c-commanding external negation. If this hypothesis is on the right track, in cross-linguistic studies of PPIs, it is important to take into account not only their internal features, but also external factors, like NEG's position in the linear order and in the clause structure in each language.

**References:** Kataoka, Kiyoko. 2010. Hiteekyokusee-to toogoteki zyookken (Negative polarity and syntactic conditions). In Y. Kato, A. Yoshimura & I. Imani (eds.): *Hitee-to gengoriron (Negation and linguistic theories)*. Kaitakusya, Tokyo. • Spector, Benjamin. 2014. Global positive polarity items and obligatory exhaustivity. Semantics Archive.

AG9

## ***Wh*-indefinites as PPIs and *wh*-indefinites plus -to 'even' as NPIs: in Korean and other languages**

Chungmin Lee / *Seoul National University*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

Why do *wh*-indefinites in many languages behave as PPIs whereas *wh*-indefinites plus -to 'even' function as NPIs? PPIs are anti-licensed or cannot be under the immediate scope of a non-embedded sentential negation and some are anti-licensed by other weaker DE or nonveridical operators. If the anti-licensor is in the scope of a DE-operator, the PPI is rescued. Interestingly, both (1-a) and (1-b) turn out to be equivalent, polarity-wise, to (2) with a PPI *someone* in a positive S. Doubling of classical negation yields  $\neg\neg A \vdash A$  but doubling of intuitionistic negation does not.

- (1) a. It is not (the case/true) that Mom didn't call someone. [K(orean) *emma-ka nwukwu-rul an pwuru-n kes-un ani-ya*; -**rul** obj, *an(i)* 'not', -(*n*)un C(ontrastive) T(opic) marker]
- b. It is not (the case/true) that Mom didn't call anyone. [K *emma-ka nwukwu-to an pwuru-n kes-un ani-ya*; -**to** 'even']



- (2) Mom called *someone*. (typically with CT intonation [B accent ( $L + H * LH\%$ )])

Then, what makes the pair *not some* (*wh*-indef PPI) and *not any* (NPI) be virtually equivalent, embedded in an external negation? I take the position of having an existential indefinite plus covert ‘even’ for NPIs (Lee and Horn 1994, Lee 1997, Lahiri 1998, Crnic 2014). What would be the nature of the indefinite PPI here? Arbitrary? Epistemic? Referentially vague? Duality between *-to* ‘even’ and CT *-nun*? Shielding/intervention? More questions than answers.

Evaluative/quantificational adverbials such as *a little* are manifested variously by prosody/marker (for scalarity/*wh*-domain alternatives) as an understating PPI (maximizer *totally*), an NPI with ‘even,’ a metalinguistic negation target and a CT.

**References:** Crnič, Luka. 2014. Nonmonotonicity in NPI licensing. *Natural Language Semantics* 22: 169–217. • Lee, Chungmin. 1997. Negative Polarity and Free Choice: Where do they come from? *Amsterdam Colloquium*.

AG9

## Positive polarity indefinites? On how (not) to identify them

Anamaria Fălăuș / CNRS, Laboratoire de Linguistique de  
Nantes

Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:30

In order to build a unified, cross-categorical account of positive polarity, we need (i) consensus on the object of study, and (ii) reliable tests to circumscribe the phenomenon under investigation. To this end, the present paper focuses on different ‘marked’ indefinites in Romance and argues that (i) positive polarity behavior may be triggered by an arguably independent property (e.g. scalarity, free-choiceness), and (ii) wide scope (or resistance) to clause-mate negation can be a misleading test for positive polarity. In view of the facts discussed here then, the first step towards an empirically adequate and explanatory theory of positive polarity is to eliminate as much as possible interfering factors. A number of indefinites in Romance (e.g. Romanian ‘un NP oarecare’, Italian ‘un NP qualunque’, French ‘quelque N’) have been shown to display the locality, shielding and rescuing effects familiar from the

study of PPIs like *someone* (e.g. Săvescu-Ciucivara 2005, Jayez & Tovena 2007, Chierchia 2013). This might be taken as evidence that positive polarity may be a more pervasive property of indefinites (at least in Romance). I argue against a PPI-treatment of these indefinites and show that their behavior stems from their alternative-inducing semantics, a property that makes them very similar to free-choice and negative polarity items, not PPIs like *someone*. Adopting the framework in Chierchia (2013), I demonstrate that these indefinites activate scalar and domain alternatives (see also Krifka 1995).

A more general lesson to be drawn from the study of marked indefinites concerns their interaction with negation. Although obligatory wide scope with respect to (or ban under) clause-mate negation is the standard identification method for positive polarity, I present evidence suggesting we need further diagnostics. Specifically, I discuss several indefinites that behave in all relevant respects as negative polarity items, yet cannot (easily) occur under clause-mate negation (e.g. German ‘irgendein’, Romanian ‘vreun’, Spanish ‘algún’), a ban that has been assimilated to a blocking effect (e.g. Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002; Fălăuş 2014). Crucially then, if resistance to clause-mate negation is so widely attested among negative polarity items, it can no longer reliably be put to use to distinguish positive from negative polarity.

AG9

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## The positive polarity aspect of weak disjunction

Andreea Nicolae / ZAS Berlin

Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:00

The goal of this talk is to provide an analysis of positive polarity items in light of the differences between weak and strong disjunction. It has been long noted that weak and strong disjunction differ in terms of the strength of their scalar inference, with the inference “not both” being stronger for strong disjunction, *either or*, than for weak disjunction, *or*. Spector (2014) argues that this difference can be attributed to whether or not the scalar alternative of disjunction, conjunction, is obligatorily integrated into meaning, namely if it is obligatorily exhaustified via the covert alternative-sensitive operator *exh* (cf. Chierchia et al 2012): whereas conjunction is obligatorily exhaustified in the case of strong disjunction, it is not in the case of weak disjunction. Disjunctions are also known to exhibit positive polarity behavior in some languages: in French both weak, *ou*, and strong disjunction, *soit soit*, are PPIs, whereas their English counterparts are not. In this talk we tackle this issue and provide

an analysis that reconciles the strength of the scalar inference with the PPI status of disjunction.

I argue, building on a claim by Spector (2014) regarding the distribution of *soit soit*, that PPI-hood more generally comes about as a result of the restrictions an element imposes on the result of its exhaustification: namely that the exhaustified meaning be stronger than its non-exhaustified meaning, in other words, that exhaustification not be vacuous. Whereas this set of constraints (non-vacuous exhaustification for PPIs and obligatory exhaustification of scalar alternatives for strong disjunction) can account for the distribution of strong disjunction, be it a PPI or not, it cannot account for the distribution of weak PPI disjunction. By virtue of being a weak disjunction, I claim that the only alternatives at play for such elements are its domain alternatives (cf. Sauerland 2004, Fox 2007 and Nicolae 2012). As a PPI, however, the exhaustification of these alternatives will be vacuous in both positive and negative environments, contrary to what we see. In order to account for this discrepancy I propose to invoke a rescuing mechanism whereby a null assorteric modal is adjoined below the exhaustivity operator (Chierchia 2013, Meyer 2013). The insertion of this operator will not only deliver a strengthened meaning in positive (but crucially not in negative contexts), but that strengthened meaning will be shown to amount to the ignorance inference “I don’t know which” that accompanies disjunction.

AG9

## Bipolar items and positive polarity

Sumiyo Nishiguchi / Tokyo University of Science

Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

Bipolar items (BPIs) show NPI and PPI features (van der Wouden 1997). Dutch *ooit* ‘ever’ requires weak, medium or extra-clausal negation but dislikes antimorphic environment. Hungarian *is*-series and Serbo-Croatian *i*-NPIs behave similarly. Both negative and positive emotives license BPIs:

- (1) Ik **betreur** (het) dat ik dat **ooit** gedaan heb.  
I regret it that I that ever done have  
‘I regret of what I have ever done.’
- (2) **Sretan** sam da Milan **i(t)ko-ga** voli.  
happy be.1SG that Milan anyone-ACC loves  
‘I am happy that Milan loves anyone.’

Without additional devices like weakened DE (Asher 1987) or Strawson DENess (von Fintel 1999), attitude predicates are non-monotonic.

Japanese additive *mo* ‘also/even’ attached to wh-words forms strong NPIs or negative concord items (Kato 1985, Watanabe 2004). *Mo* takes a wide scope over a proposition (Numata 2000) and requires certain speaker attitudes.

The discourse-initial *mo* is a BPI anti-licensed by clausemate negation-decreasing context, and emotives (3) implicit emotions, either negative or positive, are indispensable.

- (3) Yo-**mo** fukete-ki-te **zannen-da**.  
night-also late-become-PAST.and regretful-be  
‘I am sorry that it got late.’

In this talk, I will argue based on further cases e.g. Korean *to* ‘also/even’ and Mandarin *ye* ‘also’ that BPI licensors are either monotone decreasing, anti-additive, extra-clausal antimorphic negation, or non-monotonic explicit/implicit emotives.

**References:** Kato, Yasuhiko. 1985. Negative sentences in Japanese. *Sophia Linguistica* 14: 1–229. • Numata, Yoshiko. 2000. Toritate (focus). In S. Kinsui et al. eds., *Toki, hitei to toritate*, 151–216. Tokyo: Iwanami. • Watanabe, Akira. 2004. The genesis of negative concord: Syntax and morphology of negative doubling. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35: 559–612.

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## Wide-scope taking PPIs

Vincent Homer / *Institut Jean Nicod, Paris*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

Typically, PPIs cannot be interpreted in the scope of a clausemate negation (barring shielding and rescuing). This means that when a given PPI is such that its scope is uniquely determined by its surface position, as is the case with e.g. *would rather*, the effect of putting it under a clausemate negation is plain ungrammaticality.

- (1) a. John would rather leave.  
b. \*John wouldn’t rather leave.

With indefinites, such as *some*, things are different: they can appear in that same configuration, provided that they are interpreted with wide scope over negation, which, in their case, is an available option.

(2) John didn't understand something.      ✓ SOME ≫ NOT; \*NOT ≫ SOME

In fact, indefinites are independently known to be able to take free wide scope: it is thus a priori possible that a mechanism whereby indefinite PPIs escape out of anti-licensing environments is the same that gives them wide scope out of syntactic islands, i.e. they can be interpreted by choice functions. In this talk, I address the question of the nature of the mechanism at play when, *for polarity purposes*, elements take wider scope than where they appear on the surface. I present arguments from English and Hindi that, when a PPI surfaces in an anti-licensing environment, the wide scope mechanism that salvages it is movement (covert in English, overt in Hindi), not existential closure of a function-variable.

AG9

## Self-anti-licensors: the case of universal quantifier PPIs

Hedde Zeijlstra / Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

Why have Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) that are universal quantifiers only been attested in the domain of modal auxiliaries (cf. Homer t.a., Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2010, 2013) and never in the domain of quantifiers over individuals? No PPI meaning *everybody* or *everything* has ever been reported. In this paper, I argue that universal quantifier PPIs actually do exist, both in the domain of quantifiers over individuals and in the domain of quantifiers over possible worlds, as, I argue, is predicted by the Kadmon & Landman (1993) / Krifka (1995) / Chierchia (2006, 2013) approach to NPI-hood. However, since the covert exhaustifier that according to Chierchia (2006, 2013) is induced by these PPIs (and responsible for their PPI-hood) can act as an intervener between the PPI and its anti-licenser, it is concluded in this paper that universal quantifier PPIs may scope below it and thus appear in disguise; their PPI-like behaviour only becomes visible once they morpho-syntactically precede their anti-licenser. Another conclusion of this paper is that Dutch *iedereen* 'everybody', opposite to English *everybody*, is actually a PPI.

**References:** Chierchia, Gennaro. 2006. Broaden your views. Implicatures of domain widening and the “Logicity” of language. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37: 535–590. • Chierchia, Gennaro. 2013. *Logic in Grammar: polarity, free choice and intervention*. Oxford University Press. • Homer, Vincent. t.a. Neg-raising and Positive Polarity: The View from Modals. *Semantics & Pragmatics*. • Iatridou, Sabine. & Hedde, Zeijlstra. 2010. On the scopal interaction of negation and deontic modals. In: M. Aloni, H. Bastiaanse, T. De Jager & K. Schulz (eds): *Logic, language and Meaning*. Springer, Berlin. • Israel, Michael. 1996. Polarity Sensitivity as Lexical Semantics. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 19: 619–666. • Kadmon, Nirit & Fred. Landman. 1993. Any. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 16: 353–422. • Krifka, Manfred. 1995. The semantics and pragmatics of polarity items in assertion. *Linguistic Analysis* 15: 209–257.

AG9

## Doing the devil: an unrescuable PPI

Manfred Sailer / Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

The paper discusses the idiomatic German negator *einen/den Teufel tun* (literally: *do a/the devil*) (TT for short), which is followed by an infinitival or a conjoined VP (which will be called *the second part of TT*). As shown in (1), TT licenses strong NPIs such as *ein Sterbenswörtchen sagen* (*say a dying word*) in its second part, just as an n-word does in its scope.

- (1) Ich werde einen/den Teufel tun und ein Sterbenswörtchen sagen/, ein  
 I will a/the devil do and a dying word say/ a  
 Sterbenswörtchen zu sagen.  
 dying word to say  
 ‘I will certainly not say a dying word.’

I will show that TT has challenging PPI-properties: (i) TT does not allow any clausemate negation (no clausemate rescuing or shielding), and (ii) extracausal negation is possible as long as the proposition expressed in the second part of TT is counterfactual. These properties are not in line with current approaches to PPIs, such as Szabolcsi 2004, which rely on the rescuability of a PPI.

I will show that the ban on clausemate negation sets apart TT from *some- or already-type* PPIs, evaluative adverbs and other markers of negation such as n-words. Thus (ii) is not reducible to any more principled properties and

must be boldly stated in the lexical entry of TT. A representational account of polarity items such as Sailer (2007) allows us to express this restriction. On the other hand, the counterfactivity effect can be captured as a conventional implicature (in the lines of Potts 2005).

**References:** Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*, Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Sailer, Manfred. 2007. Intervention effects for inverse scope readings: A DRT account. In M. Aloni, P. Dekker & F. Roelofsen (eds.): *Proceedings of the 16th Amsterdam Colloquium*, 181–186. ILLC/Department of Philosophy, University of Amsterdam. [www.illc.uva.nl/uploaded\\_files/proceedings-AC07.pdf](http://www.illc.uva.nl/uploaded_files/proceedings-AC07.pdf). • Szabolcsi, Anna. 2004. Positive polarity – negative polarity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 409–452.

## Positive polarity items under clause-mate negation

Olga Kellert / Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

AG9

This study deals with Positive Polarity Items (PPI) (e.g. Italian *già* ‘already’) in questions with clausemate negation as in (1), which are biased.

- (1) Chi non è già battezzato (in Italia)? (biased question)  
     ‘Who hasn’t been baptised already (in Italy)?’  
     (inference: all are baptised already)

I will argue against approaches that consider the clausemate negation in biased questions like (1) as expletive (Espinal 1997) and assume that the negation in (1) is a truth-conditional one. PPIs are licensed by a second covert negation which gives us the universal meaning as a consequence of double negation and thereby licenses the PPI *già* in (1) (see also Han 2002). I assume Hamblin’s semantics of questions which denote a set of possible answers enriched by a *whether*-operator which quantifies over functions of type  $\langle t, t \rangle$  (Guerzoni 2003). The *whether*-operator allows us to derive negative propositions as alternatives (see (iii.) below), thereby deriving the universal meaning and licensing the PPI *già*:

## (2) LF of (1)

- i. [ whether<sub>j</sub> [ who<sub>i</sub> [ Q [ già [ t<sub>j(t,t)</sub> [ ¬ t<sub>i(e)</sub> baptised ]]]]]]
- ii.  $\llbracket LF \rrbracket = \lambda p. \exists f \langle t, t \rangle \exists x [x \in \{\text{person}\} \& p = \lambda w' : \text{già} (f (x \text{ is not baptised in } w'))]$
- iii.  $\{\exists x [x \in \{\text{person}\} \& p = \lambda w' : x \text{ is not baptised in } w' \vee \exists x [x \in \{\text{person}\} \& (p = \lambda w' : \neg x \text{ is not baptised in } w')]\} \approx \{M. \text{ is not baptised} \vee \neg M. \text{ is not baptised}, D. \text{ is not baptised} \vee \neg D. \text{ is not baptised}\}$

Under this approach, PPIs are computed later than NPIs, because they have scope over the *whether*-variable  $t_{(t,t)}$ . If this account is on the right track, it predicts that *if*-clauses that contain an overt *whether*-operator, should also license the PPI *già* under clausemate negation (cf. Szabolcsi 2004).

**References:** Espinal, Maria Teresa. 1997. Non-Negative Negation and Wh-Exclamatives, in: D. Forget, P. Hirschbühler, F. Martineau & M. L. Rivero (eds.): *Negation and Polarity: Syntax and Semantics*, 75–93. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Guerzoni, Elena. 2003. *Why Even Ask? On The Pragmatics of Questions and the Semantics of Answers*. MIT Dissertation.

AG9

### On extreme degree and positive polarity

Elena Castroviejo<sup>1</sup>, Berit Gehrke<sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup>ILLA, CCHS-CSIC,  
<sup>2</sup>CNRS, Paris Diderot

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–12:30

The goal of this paper is to discuss the behavior of degree expressions under negation and interrogation. Specifically, we propose a formal analysis that accounts for the positive polarity distribution of the adjectival modifier *ben* ‘well’ in Catalan, a degree intensifier. Based on the observation that Spanish expressions of extreme degree such as *extremadamente* ‘extremely’ or *bien* ‘well’ are incompatible with negation and cannot occur in questions, Bosque (1980b), Hernanz (2007), and González-Rodríguez (2006) argue that they should be analyzed as positive polarity items (PPIs). We focus on Catalan ad-adjectival *ben* ‘well’, which much like Spanish *bien*, cannot occur under negation or in a question (unless it receives an echo interpretation), (1).



- (1) a. En Pere (\*no) és ben alt.  
           the Peter (\*NEG) is well tall  
           ‘?Peter is (\*NEG) pretty tall.’  
       b. \*En Pere és ben alt?  
           the Peter is well tall

In a nutshell, we argue that relative ‘ben’ cannot be in the scope of negation or interrogation, because on top of the entailed content that the subject meets the standard of Adj-ness (i.e.  $Pos-Adj(x)$ ), it conventionally implicates that  $Pos-Adj(x)$  is a good property ascription. Hence, rather than providing an explanation in terms of (non)-veridicality (Giannakidou 1999, Ernst 2009) or domain shrinkage (Nilsen 2004) our analysis brings together degree intensifiers and expressive items in the sense of Potts (2005). The positive polarity distribution of *ben* follows from characterizing a saying event and hence delivering an emphatic meaning, amenable to a conventional implicature. The broader picture that emerges, then, is that items that contribute expressive meanings could be added to the elements that display properties of PPIs, but it remains to be seen whether a treatment of these items as PPIs in and by itself helps to understand their behavior.

AG9

## Positive polarity of conventional implicatures

Mingya Liu / Universität Osnabrück

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13:00

It is well acknowledged that conventional implicatures typically take semantic wide scope over their embedding contexts such as negation. However, this is not able to explain the unembeddability of certain conventional implicatures. This paper intends to advocate the idea that presuppositions can stand orthogonal w.r.t. the at-issue and the conventional implicature dimension, the implementation of which results in a three-dimensional semantics with at-issue, conventional implicature and conventional presupposition dimensions  $L_{CP/CI}$  (Liu 2012).

In the talk, I will 1) present the details of  $L_{CP/CI}$ , 2) argue that a three-dimensional semantic approach can provide a formal account for the positive polarity of e.g. factive evaluative adverbs (EADVs) in Mandarin Chinese (e.g. *\*meiyou kexi* ‘have-not regrettably’) and German (e.g. *\*nicht leider* ‘not unfortunately’), and 3) apply a three-dimensional semantic analysis to the

‘pleonastic negation’ in the Mandarin construction *chadian-mei* ‘almost not’ (which does not occur in entailment-cancelling contexts, like factive EADVs), in which *mei* is treated as a presupposition-carrying conventional implicature, i.e. is NOT semantically vacuous, as is often claimed in the literature (Liu, in preparation).

**References:** Liu, Mingya. 2012. Multidimensional Semantics of Evaluative Adverbs. Brill, Leiden/Boston.

## Positive polarity predicates

Jack Hoeksema / *University of Groningen*

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:30

AG9

PPIs are not fully predictable from their lexical semantics. Yet PPI status is not random. Names for objects are never PPIs, nor are verbs denoting actions. The lexical domains where we find PPIs are largely the same as those where we find NPIs: measure constructions, adverbs of degree, determiners, modal expressions, verbs and verbal idioms denoting mental states or evaluations, stance adverbs, etc.

Some PPIs require wide scope, other PPIs may be scopally inert. This paper will focus on predicates that are PPIs, such as the English construction *have his N* (where *his* is bound to the subject, compare *Membership has its privileges*, *Jones has his flaws*), the idiomatic predicate *have had it with* (where *it* is a dummy pronoun), and many others. These PPIs have the following properties: (a) They are disallowed in any downward increasing context (unlike *some*). *Many/\*few people have had it with this guy*, *Everybody/\*nobody has their flaws*. (b) Nonveridical contexts, such as (non-rhetorical) questions or disjunctions are likewise degraded: ??*Did Fritz have his flaws?* ??*Mary had her good points or her bad points*. (c) They are disallowed in the context of higher (non-clausemate) negation, except when the matrix predicate is inherently negative or factive (cf. *Don't forget that Fred has his flaws*). (d) They are disallowed in denial contexts, unlike e.g. *some* (for the latter, cf. Seuren 1985, Horn 1989): *\*Jones does NOT have his flaws* / OK: *Jones did NOT kill some snipers*. (e) Double negation contexts are generally OK (same as for *some*, cf. Szabolcsi 2004): *You haven't had it with this guy, I certainly have*. (f) They are not scalar items that are to be analyzed in terms of alternative semantics.

I propose that PPIs and NPIs receive their special status from the interaction of global requirements and local (compositional) properties. Kadmon & Landman (1993) argue for *any* that its distribution can be derived from two requirements: widening and strengthening. For PPIs, the requirement is frequently that a high degree must be expressed (cf. Israel 2011), but other requirements may be operative as well. For *have his N*, I argue that this is the requirement that the presupposition associated with *his N* may not be contradicted by the assertion. I present an overview of these and a variety of other PPIs, based on a corpus collection, comparing them with NPIs.

## Discourse particles as PPIs? Elements from English, German and French

Pierre-Yves Modicom / *Université de Paris Sorbonne*  
Donnerstag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

AG9

Discourse markers (in the broad sense) are often seen as polyfunctional items, the same form being sometimes a modal particle, sometimes a connective and sometimes a standard lexical item. One of the classical criteria to identify discourse markers as such is the fact that they cannot fall into the scope of sentential negation (e.g. Ducrot 1980, Nolke 1993, Métrich & Faucher 2009). If this is so, discourse markers are some sort of PPIs. This would not be very surprising, since other kinds of illocution-related adverbials have been described as PPIs (Ernst 2009). In this study, I will challenge this view, focusing on concessive respectively adversative connectives such as *in spite of that* or its German and French equivalents *trotzdem* and *malgré tout*.

First, it appears that we have to distinguish degrees of polarity-sensitivity for connectives. For instance, corpus data show that inside a conditional clause, *trotzdem* (or French *malgré tout*, *quand même*) does not scope outside its downward-entailing environment, whereas *allerdings* (French *toutefois*) normally takes wide scope and escapes the domain of the conditional subordinator. I propose an account for the behavior of *trotzdem*-like connectives based on a parallel with peripheral adverbial clauses as described a.o. by Frey (2011). I also discuss the possibility of extending this account to temporal or causal connectives, which would split into peripheral and central connectives, with the corresponding properties regarding negation.

Then I turn to the syntax and semantics of *allerdings*-like connectives and examine the asymmetry between the two types of connectives in several

domains, most notably in their syntactic behaviour (using observations from Breindl 2011). This leads me to propose a functional account in which the Force domain of the clause is split into several heads. I thus derive the scope properties of these connectives regarding sentence mood, illocutionary force and negation.

The conclusion is that the negation criterion is not sufficient to obtain a satisfactory classification of connectives, but that going fine-grained into the interaction of these markers with negative-polarity contexts is still a promising way.

## Experimental data for the licensing of PPIs in Romanian

Mihaela Zamfirescu / *University of Bucharest*  
Donnerstag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

AG9

**1. Aim and Claim** The aim of this paper is to present experimental evidence with native Romanian speakers with respect to the licensing of lexical positive polarity items in Romanian. This study works in the framework proposed by Szabolcsi (2004) and Ton van der Wouden (1997) and shows that most PPIs in Romanian are compatible with downward entailing operators (*puțini* - ‘few’, *cel mult N* - ‘at most N’ etc.) and with anti-additive operators (*fără* - ‘without’, *neagă* - ‘deny’ etc.) and cannot occur in the immediate scope of clausemate negation, the antimorphic operator *nu* - ‘not’.

**2. Analysis** It has been argued in the literature on PPIs that they exhibit strong scoping preferences with respect to overt negation, or that PPIs do not have licensors but they seem to be anti-licensed by classical negation. Working in the framework proposed by Szabolcsi (2004) we notice that whenever the PPI occurs in the immediate scope of clausemate negation, the two semantically negative features incorporated in the PPI get activated, but the problem is that only one of the negative features can be licensed by resumption with the higher operator not, and this is the reason why the sentence is considered ungrammatical. The only way to rescue the sentence is to embed the configuration in a context where there is another NPI-licenser and thus, the doubly-marked PPIs occurs in the scope of two licensors, specifically: in the scope of *puțini* (‘few’) – the downward-entailing operators – and in the scope of *nu* (‘not’) – the antimorphic operator – at the same time.

**3. Conclusion** This paper shows that native speakers of Romanian are sensitive to the occurrence of lexical PPIs in different types of negative contexts and proposed that the adequate semantic mechanism in the interpretation of PPIs in Romanian is similar to the one proposed by Szabolcsi (2004), where the licensing of PPIs involves the checking and activation of two negative features.

**References:** Fălăuş, Anamaria. 2008. Positive and negative polarity: a matter of resumption. *Proceedings of ConSOLE XVI*, 51–68 • Israel, Michael. 2001. Minimizers, Maximizers, and the Rhetoric of Scalar Reasoning. *Journal of Semantics* 18: 297–331 • Ladusaw, William. 1979. *Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relations*. Dissertation. University of Texas at Austin. • Szabolcsi, Anna. 2004. Positive Polarity-Negative Polarity. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 22: 409–425 • Van der Wouden, Ton. 1997. *Negative Contexts: Collocation, Polarity and Multiple Negation*. Routledge, London.



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# Arbeitsgruppe 10

## Perspective-taking

*Stefan Hinterwimmer  
Petra B. Schumacher  
Hanna Weiland*

### Workshop description

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Pragmatic theories assign an important role to speakers and their intentions and beliefs. The perspective conveyed by a particular utterance impacts the interpretation of speaker meaning and it may even change the truth-values of an utterance (cf. Travis 1997). Theory of mind, which accounts for the ability to attribute mental states to oneself or others, and the notion of common ground think of perspective in a less restricted way. In language processing, the ability of shared mental states has been investigated with adults, children and in language disorders like Asperger Syndrome. These studies provide a first indication of the impact of perspective. Additionally, there are subtle variations in perspective in different pronominal forms. In this regard, typological research reveals intriguing effects of perspective. The workshop will focus on the phenomenon of perspective-taking both from a processing and a theoretical view and address the following questions:

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- Which aspects of perspective-taking are important for the interlocutors to succeed in daily communication?
- Which linguistic or general cognitive abilities are required to compute perspectival aspects during language processing?
- Are there default strategies that are adopted during processing (cf. e.g., Keysar et al. 2000 on the priority of egocentric perspective under certain conditions)?

- Is perspective-taking a marginal pragmatic phenomenon or a key part of human communication?
- How is perspective expressed linguistically (e.g., demonstratives or logophors may convey specific perspective cues)?
- Which distinctions are available (e.g., self-directed, hearer-directed, other-directed speech; self/source/pivot)?
- How should perspective be represented (i.e. as unarticulated constituents of the sentence or as common ground)?

We are interested in contributions from researchers who work on perspective-taking from a theoretical or empirical stance.

**References:** Keysar, Boaz, Dale Barr, Jennifer Balin & Jason Brauner. 2000. Taking Perspective in Conversation: The Role of Mutual Knowledge in Comprehension. *Psychological Science* 11: 32–38. • Travis, Charles. 1997. Pragmatics. In B. Hale & C. Wright (eds.): *A Companion to the Philosophy of Language*, 87–10. Blackwell, Oxford.

## AG10

### Speakers and utterances: an event-based analysis of indirect speech

Regine Eckardt / *Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:00

Analyses of indirect speech traditionally focus on the interpretation of tenses in embedded contexts. However, more indexical expressions shift reference in indirect speech, such as *of course* which in (1) expresses that the speaker thinks that some fact is obvious, whereas in (2), it is Bob who thinks that some fact is obvious.

1. IBM, of course, will accept this offer.
2. Bob said that IBM, of course, would accept this offer.

Free indirect speech shows similar shifts and invites us to think of indirect speech as a constellation with two utterance contexts (rather than two utterance *times*, as traditional theories have it). In (3), the expression *of course* as well as the past futurate are interpreted relative to Bob's context of utterance.



3. Bob sighed. IBM, of course, would accept this offer.

The study of free indirect speech allows to determine how context parameters can refer to a salient utterance context as part of the story. Context parameters also show up in embedded indirect speech and thought.

4. Every analyst said that IBM would, of course, accept the offer.

Traditional analyses focus on the analyses of embedded tenses (*would accept*) and neglect further context parameters such as speaker, addressee and place. Taking indirect speech in the reportative subjunctive in German as my starting point, I investigate how matrix verb – embedded clause are connected to context of utterance – shifted indexicals. I propose that they are tied together by **the event of speaking** introduced in the matrix clause. In (5), the commentary *natürlich* and the tense *würde ... annehmen* both refer to the context defined by the analyst's *sagen*:

5. Der Analyst sagte, dass IBM das Angebot natürlich annehmen würde.

The event of saying ‘visible at LF’ instantiates the context parameters in the embedded clause. My syntax-semantics interface makes use of (Neo-) Kaplanian characters that capture perspectivised sentence contents. This allows to solve an apparent paradox: Context-oriented expressions should not be part of binding at LF, and yet, (4) shows quantification of *Every analyst* over embedded clause indexicals (*of course*). The utterance context as central parameter allows us to model all dimensions of perspective, which goes beyond earlier accounts like Abusch (1997), von Stechow (1995), Ogihara (1996) or Fabricius-Hansen & Sæbø (2004). On the other hand, the theory allows matrix quantifiers to bind embedded speech, which increases coverage in comparison to Schlenker (2004).

AG10

**References:** Abusch, Dorit. 1997. Sequence of tense and temporal de re. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 20: 1–50 • von Stechow, Arnim. 1995. On the proper treatment of tense. In M. Simons et al. (eds.): *SALT V*, 362–386. Cornell University, Ithaca, NY. • Ogihara, Toshiyuki. 1996. *Tense, Attitude and Scope*. Kluwer, Dordrecht. • Fabricius-Hansen, Cathrine & Kjell Johan Sæbø. 2004. In a mediative mood. *Natural Language Semantics* 12: 213–257. • Schlenker, Philippe. 2004. Context of thought and context of utterance. *Mind & Language* 19: 279–304.

## Perspective shifts in person and time

Corien Bary / *Radboud University Nijmegen*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

By comparing Free Indirect Discourse with two other linguistic phenomena often used as narratological devices, viz. the historical present and a construction recently identified as Unembedded Indirect Discourse, this talk aims to contribute to a better understanding of perspective shifts in discourse and their place in an overall interpretation model.

Free Indirect Discourse (FID) is the narratological technique in which the thought or utterance expressed by a sentence is attributed to a character rather than the narrator (speaker) but where this thought/utterance is not embedded under an attitude verb or a verb of saying (and where it is neither purely direct discourse). This technique has drawn considerable attention in both linguistics and narratology and has recently become a popular topic in formal semantics (e.g. Schlenker 1999, 2004, Sharvit 2008, Eckardt 2012, Maier to appear). Still, existing formal-semantic theories ultimately remain somewhat unsatisfactory as explanations of the phenomenon. Two questions that do not receive a full answer are:

1. Descriptively speaking, FID is a mix of features of direct discourse (exclamations, direct questions, character-oriented NPs etc.) and indirect discourse (its tenses and pronouns). This mix yields the interpretational effect that we ‘look through the character’s eyes’. Why is it that this *specific* mix yields this effect?
2. What is the place of the effect of ‘looking through the character’s eyes’ in an overall interpretation model?

In this talk I discuss possible ways to make head-way in answering these questions. I compare FID with two other linguistic phenomena that are used as narratological tools, namely the historical present and Unembedded Indirect Discourse (Bary and Maier 2014). This comparison aims to help us understand the role of several factors in perspectival shifts, among which (i) person versus time, (ii) grammatical versus lexical elements, (iii) the (stage of the) language (the perspectival shifts with the historical present are already found in Ancient Greek, whereas FID is not), and (iv) syntactic (un)embeddedness.

As such, the talk hopes to contribute to a better understanding of perspective shifts in discourse in general.

**References:** Eckardt, Regine. 2012. Particles as speaker indexicals in Free Indirect Discourse. *Sprache und Datenverarbeitung* 36: 1–21. • Maier, Emar. 2012. Quotation and Unquotation in Free Indirect Discourse. Ms. Groningen. [semanticsarchive.net/Archive/Dg3MmNmY/](http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/Dg3MmNmY/). • Schlenker, Philippe. 2004. Context of thought and context of utterance: a note on Free Indirect Discourse and the Historical Present. *Mind and Language* 19: 279–304. • Sharvit, Yael. 2008. The puzzle of free indirect discourse. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31: 353–395.

## Does narrative perspective influence the spatial point of view in readers' mental representation of a text? A psycholinguistic study on free indirect discourse

Susanna Salem, Thomas Weskott, Anke Holler /  
Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

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In literary texts, free indirect discourse (FID) is a ubiquitous device to tell a story from the subjective point of view of a character. The exposure to a character's point of view is assumed to enhance identification with that character (Leech & Short 1981). Sato et al. (2012), employing the sentence-picture verification method reported in Brunyé et al. (2009), showed that the mention of thoughts and emotions in third-person narration is associated with a mental representation of the situation from the internal viewpoint of the protagonist.

**Question** Does FID evoke a mental representation of the described scene from the spatial point of view of the protagonist?

**Method** After reading short texts, participants verified whether a picture showed an action which was mentioned in the text. Texts either contained no reference to thoughts/emotions (*It was quiet on this sunny morning.*), or reported on the mental life of the protagonist employing FID (*Oh, it was wonderfully quiet! And what a marvelously sunny morning!*) or psycho-narration (cf. Cohn 1978) (*She enjoyed the silence. The sunny morning made her feel cheerful.*). Adopting the method described in Brunyé et al. (2009), pictures

were taken either from an internal (actor-like) or an external (observer-like) perspective. Filler items with mismatching pictures were included.



Sample pictures matching the sentence: *She began to iron the pants.*

**Prediction** For the FID and psycho-narration condition faster reaction times for internal than for external pictures were expected.

**Results** Overall, our data provide no clear-cut evidence that readers adopt the spatial point of view of a protagonist when reading perspectivized texts. However, a post-hoc analysis introducing a group factor (median split on reading times) revealed a significant perspectivization effect for the group of participants which read at a slower pace. We speculate that pragmatic effects like the unfolding of perspectivized content might profit from the additional processing time provided by slower reading.

**References:** Brunyé, Tad, Tali Ditman, Caroline Mahoney, Jason Augustyn & Holly Taylor. 2009. When you and I share perspectives: Pronouns modulate perspective-taking during narrative comprehension. *Psychological Science* 20: 27–32. • Cohn, Dorrit. 1978. *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*. Princeton University Press. • Leech, Geoffrey & Mick Short. 1981. *Style in Fiction, A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*. Longman, London. • Sato, Manami, Hiromu Sakai, Jennifer Wu & Benjamin Bergen. 2012. Towards a Cognitive Science of Literary Style: Perspective-Taking in Processing Omniscient versus Objective Voice. In *Proceedings of the 34th annual meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, 959–964.

## Viewpoint phenomena in constructions and discourse

Barbara Dancygier / *University of British Columbia*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:30

In this talk, I argue for an approach which treats viewpoint phenomena in terms of discourse driven viewpoint networks prompted by a range of linguistic forms. I discuss three aspects of viewpoint phenomena in language:

- constructions which specialize in the construal of viewpoint configurations;
- grammatical forms which can naturally be seen as expressions of viewpoint in such constructions; and
- the interactions between them.

My examples range over a family of constructions known as XYZ, One person's X is another person's Y, X's Y includes Z (an emergent construction in Canadian English), negative constructions with stance verbs, etc. Within these constructional patterns, I discuss pronouns, articles, case, adjectives, and the role of negation.

In the second part of the talk I consider viewpoint construals in newly emergent discourse types. The discussion will include the 'said no one ever' meme and some recent variants of Speech and Thought Representation constructions. Finally, I discuss the use of selected viewpoint devices (such as pronouns and articles) in narrative discourse and political speeches, to clarify the viewpoint-structuring nature of such linguistic choices in discourse. I show how these forms prompt readers and listeners to construct larger viewpoint networks.

The proposed analyses of these specific instances illustrate a new approach to viewpoint phenomena, drawing on construction grammar, frame semantics and conceptual integration theory. Rather than seek an explanation of viewpoint expressions in the focus on selected grammatical forms, I represent viewpoint in language in terms of networks characterizing various types of discourse. The approach suggests that lowest level viewpoint markers (such as pronouns, genitives or articles) participate in the emergence of viewpoint networks, some of which contribute to constructional meaning, while others characterize discourse structures. The argument is additionally supported by data from gesture and newly emerging forms of online communication.

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Overall, the approach proposed sees viewpoint as a pervasive element of meaning construction and argues for the understanding of discourse interpretation in terms of viewpoint networks.

## **Typological differences in spatial and aspectual perspective taking in descriptions of dynamic scenes**

Johannes Gerwien, Abbassia Bouhaous,  
Christiane von Stutterheim /  
*Universität Heidelberg*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:00

In motion event descriptions, languages differ with respect to what information must be or is preferably specified during perspective-taking. This process, from the psycholinguistic view, takes place during speech planning (conceptualization). Numerous studies (overview in v. Stutterheim et al. 2012) point to the grammar as the source for this variability. In the present study we focus on both temporal and spatial information and how information from these two domains interact and complement each other when speakers talk about motion events. The cross-linguistic approach chosen exploits the fact that the languages under investigation differ with respect to typological features in the temporal (aspect vs. non aspect) and spatial (verb-framed vs. satellite-framed) domain.

Speakers of three different languages took part in a language production study (German, Tunisian, Modern Standard Arabic, N=60). Their task was to view short real-world video clips depicting motion events and to describe them as soon as possible. The stimuli differed with respect to path contours and evidence for a potential endpoint of the motion: (a) endpoint reached, (b) short trajectory to endpoint, (c) long trajectory to endpoint. We registered the participant's eye movements while they fulfilled the task.

The linguistic data clearly show differences in information selection and perspective-taking between the speaker groups. Furthermore, with respect to the eye tracking data, significant differences were detected at a very early stage in the process from visual information uptake to overt speech (0ms–500 ms after stimulus onset), a phase that relates to the process of conceptualization. We argue that the different patterns of attention allocation reflect the language-driven saliency of specific processing routines.

Our results suggest that choosing a specific referential frame on an event, as well as the processing of visual information relevant for perspective-taking is, to some extent, determined by typological features of a given language-system.

**References:** Stutterheim, Christiane von, Martin Andermann, Mary Carroll, Monique Flecken & Barbara Schmiedtova. 2012. How grammaticized concepts shape event conceptualization in the early phases of language production. Insights from linguistic analysis, eye tracking data and memory performance. *Linguistics* 50: 833–869.

## Confronting perspectives – modeling perspectival complexity in language and cognition

Sonja Zeman / *Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

*To be precise about how all of this takes place, we must break down both language and theory of mind into more basic components.*

*(Lohmann, Tomasello & Meyer 2005, 263)*

In search of a deeper understanding of perspective-taking, the paper aims at isolating the basic components of complex perspectivization tasks. Based on the assumption that perspectivization is a relational concept constituted by the dynamic relation between an internal ‘subjective’ point of view and external ‘objective reality’ and, as such, a concept which is shared by both language and cognition, the paper argues for a three-stage scale of perspectival complexity as reflected both in the developmental stages of cognitive perspectival tasks, grammatical perspectivization, and narrative discourse:

**(i) Basic mechanisms of perspectivization: Viewpoint shift** Based on a comparison of the ontogenetic development of perspectival capabilities in terms of Theory of Mind, linguistic perspectival tasks and grammatical principles of ‘shifting’ (Jakobson 1957) resp. ‘displacement’ (Bühler 1999[1934]), it is argued in line with Perner et al. (2002, 1466) that a mechanism of viewpoint shift as reflected in pretend plays and instances of direct discourse constitutes the prerequisite for more complex perspectival tasks.

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**(ii) Basic mechanisms of perspectivization: Viewpoint embedding** Whereas viewpoint shift is based on the potential of (at least) two possible viewpoints, viewpoint embedding relies on a hierarchical difference of viewpoints, whereby the primary origo is not canceled but maintained simultaneously with the second, shifted origo. The embedding structure thus leads to a qualitative difference of internal and external viewpoints, as shown both in the grammatical principle of ‘double displacement’ as well as phenomena of focalization on the textual level.

**(iii) Basic mechanisms of perspectivization: Shared viewpoint awareness** Whereas the ‘ability to state facts about imaginary situations’ seems to be cognitively more complex than ‘the ability to entertain imaginary situations from within’ (Recanati 2000, 81), grammatical markers of epistemicity, false-belief tasks, and narrative comprehension display an even more complex perspectival structure, since they are based on the maintenance of diverging viewpoints. It is thus hypothesized that it is the integration of internal and external viewpoints at the same time and the awareness of doing so, what makes it difficult to process confronting perspectives – and what lies at the bottom of perspectival complexity.

AG10

**References:** Bühler, Karl. 1934 [1999]. *Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*. Reprint Fischer, Jena. • Jakobson, Roman. [1957] 1971. Shifters, Verbal categories and the Russian Verb. In *Selected Writings II*, 130–147. Mouton, The Hague. • Lohmann, Heidemarie, Michael Tomasello & Sonja Meier. 2005. Linguistic communication and social understanding. In J. Wilde Astington & J. A. Baird (eds.): *Why language matters for Theory of Mind*, 245–265. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Perner, Josef, Sandra Stummer, Manuel Sprung & Martin Doherty. 2002. Theory of mind finds its Piagetian perspective: Why alternative naming comes with understanding belief. *Cognitive Development* 17: 1451–1472. • Recanati, François. 2000. *Oratio Obliqua, Oratio Recta. An Essay on Metarepresentation*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.



## Perspective taking and its impostors

Dale J. Barr / *University of Glasgow*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

One of the key puzzles in communication is how language users are able to attain shared understanding in the face of pervasive ambiguity. To overcome this ambiguity, language users must adapt how they speak and interpret language to the context. Perspective taking is often invoked as an explanation for shared understanding, and indeed, language users who engage in perspective taking are more likely to understand one another. However, the mere fact that interlocutors achieved shared understanding does not warrant the inference that they did so *because of* perspective taking. Indeed, language users have a variety of strategies at their disposal that can mimic perspective taking, but that require minimal or no consideration of shared knowledge (or “common ground”; see Clark & Marshall 1981).

In this talk, I will present a review of empirical research on perspective taking, highlighting four “impostors” of perspective taking – patterns of speaking and understanding that, at first glance, seem to implicate perspective taking, but that upon closer inspection, reveal themselves as the result of simpler mechanisms. These four impostors can be categorized into four “personality” types. The *Double* and the *Charlatan* operate through the heuristic of *attribute substitution* (Kahneman & Frederick 2002): substituting egocentrically available information for common ground. As the *Conspirator*, language users’ consideration of common ground at higher levels of cognitive processing can mask complete encapsulation from this information at lower levels. Finally, as the *Freeloader*, language users take advantage of interactive processes in conversation to reduce their perspective taking burden.

The existence of these “impostors” suggests a need for greater caution in interpreting evidence from studies of dialogue. At the same time, language users’ sophistication in deploying this variety of alternative strategies demands explanation.

**References:** Clark, Herbert & Cathrine Marshall. 1981. Definite reference and mutual knowledge. In A. Joshi, B. Webber & I. Sag (eds.): *Elements of discourse understanding*, 10–63. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Kahneman, Daniel & Shane Frederick. 2002. Representativeness revisited: Attribute substitution in intuitive judgment. In T. Gilovich, D. Griffin & D. Kahneman (eds.): *Heuristics and biases: The psychology of intuitive judgment*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

AG10

## Cognitive load affects theory of mind – use in the director task

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Jessica Wang, Steven Frisson, Ian Apperly /  
*University of Birmingham*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

In the director task (Keysar et al. 2000, 2003), objects are placed in a grid with a ‘director’ standing on the other side of the grid giving instructions to move objects. Some objects are blocked from the director’s view and only visible to the participant. In order to follow the director’s instructions correctly, participants have to take into account the director’s perspective. Several studies (see Apperly et al. 2010, for an overview) have shown that adults frequently make egocentric errors in such a task. Moreover, eye movements show that participants often fixate a privileged object earlier and for longer than when the same object is in common ground (but see Brown-Schmidt 2009; Hanna et al. 2003).

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We report a number of director task studies in which we measured both accuracy and speed of response and eye movements during instruction-comprehension and referent-selection, examining to what extent different task demands impacted upon egocentric behaviour. We systematically varied three possible sources, corresponding to different demands one faces in everyday communicative situations.

First, we found that the type of task instructions can greatly affect the amount of egocentric errors: when participants had to infer the way in which the director’s perspective constraint reference, they committed 40% egocentric errors on the critical trials. When participants received extensive instructions including an example of the way in which the director’s perspective constraint reference, the error rate dropped to 2%. However, even with this low number of errors the experimental condition engendered more errors and longer reaction times than the control condition, where it was not necessary to consider perspective information.

Second, the number of objects in common and privileged ground had no systematic effect on egocentrism, and that the total number of objects only affected overall reaction times but not accuracy or degree of egocentrism.

Third, when participants received more complex syntactic instructions (‘nudge the small ball one slot up’ vs. ‘nudge the small ball’) they were

slower to make a deciding fixation on the target in the experimental condition than the control condition. This was likely due to the demand on syntactic processing competing with the resources required to overcome egocentric tendencies.

To conclude, the current finding has clear implication on the interpretation of previous findings. It also highlights factors that should be considered in designing future studies. Finally, the factors examined correspond to the varied context communicators face in everyday social situations.

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## Perspective taking in manually-produced spatial descriptions and the role of inhibitory control

Kristen Secora<sup>1</sup>, Karen Emmorey<sup>2</sup>, Jennie Pyers<sup>3</sup>,  
Pamela Perniss<sup>4</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>San Diego State University, <sup>2</sup>UC San Diego,  
<sup>3</sup>Wellesley College, <sup>4</sup>University College London  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

Signed languages use the hands to represent objects iconically in space. For viewpoint-dependent spatial relations such as left/right, signers, like speakers, could describe a spatial scene from their own perspective or from their addressee's perspective; however for signers, the signer and addressee have conflicting visual perspectives of the signer's articulators (signs articulated on the left are perceived by the addressee on her right). We hypothesized that signers tend to produce egocentric spatial descriptions because the relative cost

of perspective-taking is greater for signers than for addressees in the visual-spatial modality. For signers to sign for the addressees' perspective they must manually represent a spatial array that is the opposite of the spatial relation they perceive, which likely requires inhibitory control (IC) in order to ignore the conflicting visual information from their hands and the scene.

Study 1 required non-signing participants to produce 12 gestural descriptions of left/right spatial arrangements from their own 'egocentric' perspective or from their addressee's 'non-egocentric' perspective. Producers were less accurate and slower from a non-egocentric perspective than from an egocentric perspective. There was no difference in accuracy or RT between the two perspective conditions for the perceiver. These results suggest that for visual-spatial descriptions, it is more cognitively challenging to produce than to comprehend a description from another's perspective. This greater cognitive load may be due to the increased IC necessary to inhibit the egocentric perspective/mental image while producing the non-egocentric perspective.

Study 2 (data collection ongoing) examined the relative cognitive cost for producers and perceivers and included measures of IC. Non-signing participants gestured and comprehended spatial gesture descriptions from their own or their addressee's perspective. Participants additionally gestured perspective-independent items that did not require a perspective-shift. We measured accuracy of gestural representation and key release time and computed the cost RT by subtracting average perspective independent RTs from perspective dependent RTs. Producers are expected to experience greater cognitive cost when producing non-egocentric spatial relations. IC measures are expected to correlate more strongly with the producer's performance on non-egocentric trials than with the perceiver's performance on non-egocentric trials, reflecting the additional executive control necessary to hold conflicting representations in mind to produce the description from the addressee's perspective. These results highlight the importance of modality when considering what factors contribute to speakers' perspective decisions. The additional cognitive load introduced by visual-spatial perspective transformations required in the visuospatial modality may drive speakers to produce more egocentric descriptions.

## Coordinating privileged knowledge about object identity in real-time referential processing

Mindaugas Mozuraitis, Craig G. Chambers,  
 Meredyth Daneman / *University of Toronto*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

Successful communication requires a sensitivity to interlocutors' perspective differences. In most studies of real-time conversational processing, perspectives are manipulated by varying knowledge about the presence/existence of entities (e.g., certain objects are hidden from one interlocutor's view) [1]. However, perspective differences may also involve knowledge of object identity, where interlocutors differ in their semantic categorization of objects. These cases are important to consider because developmental work shows egocentric knowledge about object identity is more challenging to overcome than knowledge about object existence [2]. Also, the attribution of identity plays a central role in certain semantic and pragmatic phenomena [3]. We examined listeners' ability to manage privileged knowledge about the identity of visually-misleading real objects (e.g., a yo-yo that looks like a baseball) occurring as competitor objects in two visual-world referential communication experiments where listeners followed instructions from a (confederate) speaker in a different room via video-chat.

Expt 1 manipulated competitor type and the knowledge attributed to the speaker (listeners always knew the actual identity of misleading objects). Competitors were either "regular" (actual yo-yo) or "misleading" (yo-yo that looks like a baseball) phonological competitors for a target object ("yogourt"), or were visual control objects (actual baseball). In the shared-knowledge condition, the true identity of misleading competitors was revealed to both listener and speaker before each trial while the video-chat system was online. In the privileged-identity condition, the identity of misleading competitors was revealed only to listeners before each trial, while the video-chat system was temporarily paused. In the privileged-existence condition, competitors were covered from the speakers' perspective (i.e., the standard manipulation in past studies) and the identity of misleading competitors was revealed to listeners, all while video-chat was paused. In the privileged-existence condition, listeners showed little consideration of all competitor types compared to the shared-knowledge condition ( $p < .05$ ), reflecting an ability to bypass privileged knowledge about object existence (cf. [4]). However, in the privileged-identity condition, listeners strongly considered misleading competitors (as much as as regular competitors,  $p > .1$ ) despite knowing that speakers could

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not plausibly be producing a description sharing onset sounds with the target name.

In Expt 2, speakers had previously referred to misleading objects using names that reflected their false belief (e.g., “baseball”, for yo-yo that looks like a baseball). Strikingly, despite this reinforcing information, listeners still strongly considered privileged knowledge about object identity. Together, the results highlight differences in the ability to manage privileged knowledge about object identity vs. object existence.

**References:** Keysar, Boaz, Dale Barr, Jennifer Balin & Jason Brauner. 2000. Taking perspective in conversation: The role of mutual knowledge in comprehension. *Psychological Science* 11: 32–38. • Moll, Henrike & Michael Tomasello. 2006. Level 1 perspective-taking at 24 months of age. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 24: 603–613. • Ludwig, Kirk & Greg Ray. 1998. Semantics for opaque contexts. *Philosophical Perspectives* 12: 141–166. • Hanna, Joy, Michael Tanenhaus & John Trueswell. 2003. The effects of common ground and perspective on domains of referential interpretation. *Journal of Memory and Language* 49: 43–61.

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### Perspective-taking and inference: do speakers alter partial answers as a function of their epistemic states?

John Michael Tomlinson, Camilo Rodríguez Ronderos /  
ZAS, Berlin

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–12:30

Research on perspective taking has focused primarily on how speakers and listeners accommodate each others’ mental states during reference resolution (Krauss & Fussell 1991; Barr & Keysar 2002). We extend our investigation beyond reference and examine speakers’ productions of partial answers, which license various pragmatic inferences. Consider the following example:

- (1) Were Nia and Tom at the party?
- (2) a. Only Tom was there  
b. TOM was there (pitch accent on Tom)  
c. ToM was thERE (rise-fall-rise contour)  
d. I saw Tom

In cases, (2-a) & (2-b), listeners are licensed to derive that the partial answer is exhaustive (only Tom came), however in cases (2-c) and (2-d) should derive ignorance inferences (the speaker only knows that Tom came, but doesn't know about Nia). Our main research question was to see if speakers reliably alter their answers to reflect their respective knowledge (epistemic) states. In an interactive speech production experiment, speakers provided answers to questions from conversational partner about attendees at various student parties. One hypothesis is that listeners should use more reliable productions to reduce ambiguity for the listener, e.g. cases (2-a) or (2-d). On the other hand, speakers could opt for more efficient means of production such as prosody, which requires less production effort from the speaker, however could result in more processing effort from the listener. Conversational dyads exchanged questions and answers in two different conditions: complete knowledge condition (saw all possible attendees) or the incomplete knowledge condition (briefly attended party and could not account for all possible attendees). Overall, the results suggest that speakers opted for more efficient and implied means for expressing their knowledge states. Over 80% of the responses were simple partial answers without distinct lexical markings, e.g. *Tom was there*. We further analyzed this subset of the data for response latencies to measure production effort and prosodic markings of the proper nouns in the partial responses. Exhaustive partial answers took longer to produce in the incomplete knowledge condition, whereas ignorant partial answers took longer to produce in the complete knowledge condition. Proper names in complete knowledge condition had larger pitch excursions on the first syllable than proper names in the incomplete knowledge condition, but the opposite pattern was found for the second syllable and verum focus,  $F(1, 10) = 4.43$ ,  $p < 0.04$ . We discuss these findings across several linguistics theories and psycholinguistic models of pragmatic inference.

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116: 42–55. • Huang, Yi Ting & Jesse Snedeker. 2009. Online interpretation of scalar quantifiers: insight into the semantics-pragmatics interface. *Cognitive Psychology* 58: 376–415. • Sauerland, Uli. 2004. Scalar implicatures in complex sentences. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27: 367–391.

## The role of agency, visual awareness and experiential context on visuo-spatial perspective taking

Alessia Tosi, Holly P. Branigan, Martin J. Pickering /  
*University of Edinburgh*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13:00

When interacting, people are able to put aside their own perspective and infer what the world looks like for another person, in order to understand and be understood (e.g., Schober 1993). Yet people adopt allocentric spatial perspectives even in non-interactive settings, when this is not functional to the task in hand (Tversky & Hard 2009). It remains contentious whether what triggers such allocentric perspective-taking is the presence of another human mind (Tversky & Hard 2009), the (potential) action of a (potential) referent (regardless of whether human or not) (Zwicker 2009) or agency-independent attention-orienting cues (Santesteban et al. 2014).

In three online studies, we investigated the conditions under which people spontaneously adopt an alternative spatial perspective to their own, examining the impact of four factors: the presence of an agentive (person) vs. non-agentive (plant) potential referent and its position within the scene (Experiment 1), the experiential context (Experiment 2), and the relevance of the potential referent's perspective (Experiment 3).

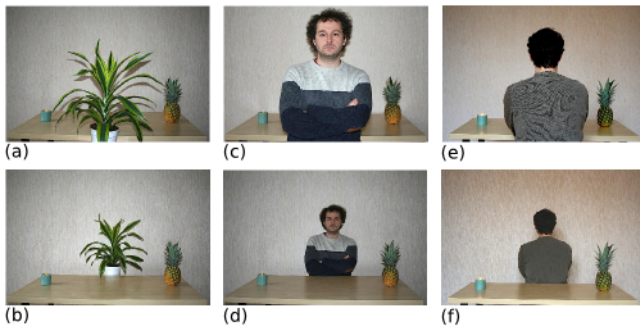
Participants saw photos of two objects on a table (Fig 1) and produced a description identifying the location of one object with respect to the other.

Experiment 1 showed that the presence of a potential referent increased the likelihood of spatial perspective-taking, irrespective of the referent's potential agency ( $p > .5$ ). However, this effect only held when the referent was located behind the objects/table ( $\beta_{Position} = 1.27$ ,  $p = .01$ ), suggesting an attention-orienting explanation. In Experiment 2, we controlled for possible carryover effects, presenting the different referent types in separate blocks. People engaged in allocentric perspective taking when the agentive but not the non-agentive referent was present, but only when it was positioned behind the objects ( $\beta_{Referent \times Position} = 1.49$ ,  $p = .029$ ). Experiment 3 showed that



the effect of the potential referent's perspective on participants' perspective taking was modulated by whether the referent could see the objects, thus by whether their perspective could be perceived as relevant ( $\beta_{\text{Congruency} \times \text{Relevance}} = -.91, p = .023$ ).

Overall, our results show that, even in non-interactive context, the presence of a person can lead people to spontaneously adopt that person's perspective, but only when the person's perspective is salient. This suggests that spontaneous allocentric perspective-taking may be modulated by the perception of other's affordances.



Examples of stimuli used in each condition:

- (a) Plant/From (Exp. 1, 2)
- (b) Plant/Behind (Exp. 1, 2)
- (c) Person/From (Exp. 1, 2) and Incongruent/Irrelevant (Exp. 3)
- (d) Person/Behind (Exp. 1, 2) and Incongruent/Relevant (Exp. 3)
- (e) Congruent/Relevant (Exp. 3)
- (f) Congruent/Irrelevant (Exp. 3)

Participants answered questions like: *On which side of the pineapple is the candle?*

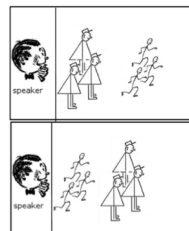
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## Perspective-taking and anaphora: a psycholinguistic investigation

Elsi Kaiser / *University of Southern California*

Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

According to Cantrall (1974) and Zribi-Hertz (1989), the alternation in ex. (1) encodes point-of-view: The pronoun *them* is claimed to allow a subject- and a speaker-oriented interpretation. On the speaker-oriented interpretation, the children are behind the men from the speaker's perspective (top picture). On the subject-oriented interpretation, the children are behind the men from the men's perspective (bottom picture). However, the reflexive *themselves* is claimed to only allow a subject-oriented interpretation.

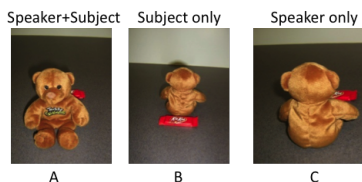


- (1) The men<sub>i</sub> were standing in the field, with the children behind  
{them<sub>i</sub>/themselves<sub>i</sub>}

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We report a psycholinguistic study on locative adjunct PPs like ex (1), testing Rooryck and Vanden Wyngaerd's claim (2011, R&VW) that (i) reflexive-containing locatives trigger subject-oriented interpretations (via syntax), and (ii) pronoun-containing locatives trigger speaker-oriented interpretations (via syntax) but also allow subject-oriented interpretations (via discourse-based processes). Participants (n=26) were presented with one sentence and two pictures on each trial, and chose which picture best matches the sentence. We manipulated anaphor type (pronoun/reflexive) and viewpoint configuration.

We had three picture types: (a) pictures matching both the speaker-oriented and subject-oriented interpretation (Image A), (b) pictures matching the subject-oriented interpretation (Image B), and (c) pictures matching the speaker-oriented interpretation (Image C).



- (i) Mr. Bear is sitting on the table, with the kit kat behind him.  
(ii) Mr. Bear is sitting on the table, with the kit kat behind himself.

On each trial, participants saw two pictures and one sentence.

Results: When choosing between “Subject-Only” and “Speaker-Only” pictures, participants mostly chose “Subject-only” (reflexives=96%, pronouns=95%, no sig diff). A subject-orientation also emerged when choosing between “Speaker+Subject” and “Speaker-only”: People mostly chose “Speaker+Subject” (reflexives=93%, pronouns=96%, no sig diff).

However, when choosing between “Speaker+Subject” and “Subject-Only”, participants chose “Speaker+Subject” (reflexives=79%, pronouns=67%, no sig diff) significantly more often than “Subject-Only” ( $p < .05$ ). With both pronouns and reflexives, participants show a significant preference for the convergent choice that allows them to maintain both the animal’s and their own perspective.

R&VW’s account captures this for pronouns using a ‘speaker perspective assumption’ but does not offer a straightforward way of explaining how reflexives (interpreted via an Agree relation between the self-form and an AxPart projection) can show a secondary sensitivity to speaker perspective.

We suggest that an egocentricity bias (cf. Horton & Keysar 1996) may explain participants’ preference for the convergent-perspective option. (However, our finding that people chose Subject-only over Speaker-only shows this bias does not outrank the Subject-orientation bias.)

In sum, we found a subject-orientation bias in locative PPs, and a secondary speaker-orientation bias, but no clear differences between pronouns/reflexives.

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## Emergence of linguistic means of perspectivization in German children’s picture book stories

Dagmar Bittner / ZAS, Berlin

Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

The talk will present some arguments that in German the opposition of personal vs. demonstrative pronouns (*er/sie* vs. *der/die*; P-/D-pronouns)

- a) takes part in opposing the point of view from which an event is narrated, and
- b) that this view-point-related-opposition is present in children’s narrations at age 5-6.

Narrative data of 50 5-year-olds reveal that children who choose more P- than D-pronouns tend to narrate the story more action and goal oriented using more action verbs and *sein*+participle II constructions. Children who choose more D- than P-pronouns, on the other hand, tend to narrate the story more situation and result oriented using more state verbs, modal+infinitive constructions, and more *da* 'over there'. The following examples illustrate these correlations:

- (1) Child with P-pronoun preference:

*Der Vogel kommt angefliegen und schnappt sich die Fischgräte.*  
'The bird is coming and is taking the fish bones.'

- (2) Child with D-pronoun preference:

*Da liegt ein Fisch auf dem Tisch und da kommt ein Rabe und will den Fisch klauen.*  
'There is a fish on the table and there is a raven coming and he wants to steal the fish.'

Given that there are some 5-year-olds who show reversed pronoun preferences in a second narration, the correlation of pronoun type preference and other linguistic elements suggest that children become capable to choose between a proximal experiencer-perspective vs. a distal reporter-perspective at about age 5.

An interesting question concerns the developmental path in the acquisition of anaphoric and perspective-taking functions of P- and D-pronouns. On the one hand, one could state that P- and D-pronouns in adult language can participate in narrative perspectivization only when they are not involved in referential disambiguation. This suggests the anaphoric function being primary and the perspective-taking function secondary. In acquisition, therefore, anaphoric functions should occur prior to use in perspectivization. However, 5-year-olds are well known for some confusion in their referential use of pronouns. An alternative claim would be that proximity/distance is a highly general but distinctive feature in pronoun type opposition. Therefore, children correlate P-pronouns with relational proximity and D-pronouns with relational distance early on. This basic opposition gives rise to parallel development of respective anaphoric as well as perspective-taking functions. We expect gaining more insight in this aspect from the comparison of the data of the 5-year-olds with that of the 6-year-olds.

## One syllable, two perspectives: children's acquisition of inconspicuous viewpoint constructions

Ditte Boeg Thomsen / *University of Copenhagen*

Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

During the first four years of life children come to develop a sophisticated understanding of others as mental beings with feelings and beliefs that may differ from the child's own and from reality (Tomasello et al. 2005, Wellman et al. 2001). The languages of the world present a variety of viewpoint constructions for putting these invisible human perspectives on stage (Evans 2010), and within each language children encounter many different linguistic strategies for explicating own and others' perspectives (cf. Verhagen 2005). Studies with complement-clause constructions (e.g. Brandt et al. 2010) and evidential affixes (Choi 2006) show that children begin to acquire such linguistic tools for communicating about perspectives early in development. The perceptually salient and/or obligatory constructions investigated are apt to stimulate children to search for associated functions, but it is less well known how children acquire viewpoint constructions that are less salient in their input, i.e. how motivated children are to look for interpersonal meanings without prominent linguistic signposts. Dialogic particles in Germanic languages offer a possibility to investigate acquisition of inconspicuous viewpoint constructions, and the present study examines Danish children's acquisition of these subtle perspective markers by means of a longitudinal spontaneous-speech analysis in a kindergarten corpus of peer conversations (106 hours, 15 children: 1;10-3;8 to 5;0-6;3 years). Danish dialogic particles are optional stressless, utterance-medial monosyllables specifying how interlocutors' understandings converge and differ, and the majority of the particles signal configurations of two perspectives such as shared knowledge with presupposed agreement (*jo*), shared knowledge with opposing viewpoints (*da*) and speaker uncertainty with privileged recipient knowledge (*vel*) (Davidsen-Nielsen 1996). To acquire dialogic particles, children must generalize over situations where configuration of perspectives is the critical recurring trait. The spontaneous-speech analysis shows that Danish preschoolers begin to use these inconspicuous particles in group interactions during their fourth year of life, and that they develop a nuanced repertoire during the following two years. This is a strong indicator of children's stable monitoring of perspectives and their motivation to generalize over situations with common perspectival traits even in the absence of salient linguistic incentives to look for similarities. Still, complement-clause constructions occur before dialogic particles even if the latter monosyllables

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are more frequent in child-directed speech. This suggests that children do not find it easier to acquire perspective-marking constructions in the shape of monomorphemic chunks than in the shape of more transparent complex constructions (as suggested by e.g. Diessel & Tomasello 2001).

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## The attraction of self-ascription in children's interpretation of quoted second-person pronouns

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Franziska Köder / *University of Groningen*  
Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

Wechsler (2010) claims that the comprehension of second-person pronouns is fundamentally different from the comprehension of first- and third-person pronouns. When an addressee hears the pronoun *you*, he maps it directly to his de se representation of himself. By contrast, to interpret *I* or *he*, the hearer has to infer the correct referents by linking the pronouns to others with the matching speech-act roles – a process which is cognitively more demanding than self-ascription. For empirical support Wechsler refers to developmental studies that show that children comprehend second-person pronouns before first-person pronouns (Charney 1980; Loveland 1984; Smiley, Chang & Allhoff 2011). In our study, we use a different method and test older children, 5- and 9-year-olds, to investigate whether *you* has indeed a special status in

comprehension. Participants had to interpret the pronouns *I*, *you* and *he* in either direct (1) or indirect (2) speech.

1. Direct speech: Elephant said, ‘You get the football’.
2. Indirect speech: Elephant said that you get the football.

Note that pronouns in direct speech have a shifted interpretation (Kaplan 1989). We also manipulated the interactional perspective from which participants interpreted the speech reports: Participants were either eavesdroppers (tablet study) or addressees of the speech report (puppet study). We found that children make more mistakes when interpreting pronouns in direct speech as compared to indirect speech, probably due to the perspective shift in direct speech. When children are eavesdroppers (tablet study), there is no significant difference between the accuracy of the pronouns *I*, *you* and *he* in indirect speech. This could indicate that children use the same inferential strategy in all cases. However, when children are addressees of the report (puppet study), *you* is the pronoun with the highest accuracy in indirect speech, but the lowest accuracy in direct speech. This could be evidence for a *de se* strategy for interpreting *you* as addressed listener. But whereas immediate self-ascription of the pronoun *you* leads to the correct interpretation in indirect speech, self-reference must be inhibited in the case of direct speech where *you* refers to the original addressee and not to the actual addressee, the child. The fact that children mostly fail to inhibit self-reference in this case could indicate that self-ascription of *you* is a highly automatic mechanism. Our findings provide support for Wechsler’s (2010) theory that children use different interpretational strategies for interpreting pronouns that refer to themselves as compared to others.

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## Logophoricity and complement pronominalization with German relational nouns

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Daniel Hole / *Universität Stuttgart*

Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

This talk aims at elucidating the distribution of German pronouns and anaphors in complements of propositional nouns and picture nouns with and without logophoric perspectivization, a task which has, to the best of my knowledge and quite surprisingly, so far not been addressed in the literature. (The generalizations defended here will render necessary experimental research or corpus studies to corroborate the intuitions reported on here. I consider it a legitimate methodology, though, to present a coherent theory based on introspection first and to put it to the test of experimental research only afterwards.) Relevant descriptive generalizations include (i)–(iii). (i) The use of *sich* in complement positions of relational nouns invariably requires a syntactic antecedent, but *ihn selbst* is likewise licensed in these structures. (ii) In cases in which *sich*, *ihn* and *ihn selbst* yield grammatical structures with identical referential patterns, the use of *sich* and *ihn selbst* always signals perspective-taking/logophoricity, whereas *ihn* signals the absence of logophoricity. (iii) Perspectivization/Logophoricity can occur at two levels: at the CP level and at the DP level. I propose lexical entries for pronouns, anaphors and determiners which allow for their compositional interpretation in a system which integrates perspective-taking/logophoricity in a way inspired by, but ultimately different from, Büring's (2005) proposal.

**References:** Büring, Daniel. 2005. *Binding Theory*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.



# Arbeitsgruppe 11

## Big data: new opportunities and challenges in language acquisition research

*Christina Bergmann  
Alex Cristia  
Sho Tsuji*

### Workshop description

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Language acquisition research on topics ranging from phonological processing to semantic knowledge has been built on meticulous examination of small data sets, such as case studies. While we have learned a lot from such careful work, some limitations quickly became evident. Most saliently, each child follows a unique path, and since only a handful of children represent each language, it can be difficult to separate individual quirks from language-specific, but more subtle, trends. A new horizon has opened as bigger, open data sets began to emerge. Early examples are the CHILDES and the MCDI projects, standardized tools for, respectively, spontaneous conversations, and the receptive and productive lexicon. While these tools provide a common platform, they are as yet limited to only a few, well-documented languages. Today, new technologies pave the way to some much needed crosslinguistic extensions, for instance, via automatic annotation of daylong audio (video) recordings in seldom described languages. It also becomes possible to include other linguistic levels (e.g., receptive knowledge through open repositories of experimental results).

The present workshop will provide a platform for language acquisition researchers to assess the progress towards high quality, big, and open data sets, and to discuss solutions for current challenges. Researchers who have

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collected large linguistic data sets from infants and children will discuss current insights and perspectives. In addition to presenting results from their own research, they will discuss challenges (such as data standardization, anonymization, barriers to data sharing), and consider how to facilitate crosslinguistic extensions.

## **The challenges and rewards of Big Data approaches to language acquisition research**

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Katherine Demuth / *Macquarie University*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–15:00

This talk will outline some of the challenges and benefits of collecting and using ‘big data’ in conducting research on child language acquisition. It will discuss methodological and theoretical issues regarding corpus design, collection, coding and analysis, as well as conducting crosslinguistic studies using previously collected corpora. It will then discuss issues of data sharing, and the future of ‘big data’ approaches to better understanding the nature of how language is acquired.

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## **A hyper-linked web-interface to spellings of words written by children of different ages and school-types**

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Rémi Lavalley, Kay Berkling / *DHBW Karlsruhe*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:00–15:30

In previously reported work, a children’s corpus of freely written text (1700 texts, >150 000 word tokens) was collected from children in grades 1-8 as described in detail in Berkling et al. (2014). This text has been automatically annotated using speech synthesis tools to classify spelling errors as described in Stüker, Fay & Berkling (2011). The spelling error categories are based on the definition given in the work of Fay (2010). We will talk about three topics that we were able to study as a direct result of the large data set that was collected: tools, research results, discussion of pitfalls.

Tool for Analysis: We propose to explain and demonstrate the use of a hyper-linked web-based interactive tool for the database that can be used for

research purposes by accessing the database in an anonymized manner at the word level. The interactive tool provides a lexicon of the words used in the database. It shows the distribution of occurrence and spelling errors as a function of grade-level, school-type, gender, and language-biography.

**Tool for Data Collection:** We also provide a website that allows people to contribute to our data collection. Any new contribution immediately becomes part of the data collection that forms the basis for the online lexicon. Data can be donated simply by providing original text in digitized form and its corrected transcription adhering to the transcription rules that are provided on the website. In addition, meta-data will be required (gender, age, grade, school-type, language biography). After submission of the text, the automatic spelling error analysis is provided to the user. In addition, we will present work that was done on analyzing sentence complexities and vocabulary sizes in various different text elicitation scenarios.

Discussion of pitfalls:

- annotation schemes that need to be adjusted iteratively
- automation vs. manual labor
- elicitation techniques and their degree of success

The authors are prepared to answer questions that will come up regarding the data collection effort as they were involved both in manual and automated parts including digital data collection, annotation, processing and analysis.

**References:** Berkling, Kay, Johanna Fay, Masood Ghayoomi, Katrin Hein, Rémi Lavalley, Ludwig Linhuber & Sebastian Stüker. 2014. A Database of freely written texts of German school students for the purpose of automatic spelling error classification. In *The ninth international conference on language resources and evaluation (LREC 2014)*. Reykjavik, Iceland. • Stüker, Sebastian, Johanna Fay & Kay Berkling. 2011. Towards context-dependent phonetic spelling error correction in children's freely composed text for diagnostic and pedagogical purposes. In *The 12th Annual Conference of the International Speech Communication Association (INTER-SPEECH 2011)*. Florence, Italy. • Fay, Johanna. 2010. Kompetenzfacetten in der Rechtschreibdiagnostik. Rechtschreibleistung im Test und im freien Text. In A. Bermerich-Vos (ed.), *Didaktik Deutsch: Symposium Deutschdidaktik 29*. 15–36. Schneider Verlag.

## Using semantic structure to understand language learning in monolinguals and bilinguals

Thomas Hills, Hanako Yoshida / *University of Warwick*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

Infants learn language in a sea of words. Understanding the statistical properties of early word learning has become increasingly possible by combining corpora of child-directed speech with developmental patterns in children's growing lexicons. I will report on recent work predicting the order of word learning in monolinguals and bilingual first language learners based on a hypothesis called the associative structure of language. This associative structure is computed from the combination of children's vocabularies (based on productive vocabularies acquired from communicative development inventories), adult norms of free associations, and the statistical structure around words derived from corpora of child-directed speech (CHILDES, MacWhinney 2000). The results of this work have provided numerous insights into children's early word learning. Foremost, children tend to learn words that are more contextually diverse in both adult and child-directed language. These words also have more associates in adult free-association norms. Further, adults produce more free associates around the earliest learned words (e.g., saying 'round' with the word 'ball') when speaking to children than they do when speaking to adults. In a recent analysis of more than 400 children's early vocabularies, we found that bilingual children show an amplification of the monolingual tendency to learn more associative words. Further, we find that compared to the two-languages-in-one-mind hypothesis, bilingual first language learners learn more cross-language synonyms than one would expect by chance – indicating semantic facilitation. Importantly, this is in direct contrast to the inhibition would one predict based on the principle of mutual exclusivity used to predict monolingual word learning. Collectively, these results demonstrate the power of big data in understanding children's early word learning.

**References:** MacWhinney, Brian. 2000. *The CHILDES Project: Tools for Analyzing Talk*, 3rd edn. Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey.

## A RCT to test the causal role of caregiver contingent talk in infant language learning

Michelle McGillion<sup>1</sup>, Jane Herbert<sup>1</sup>,  
Julian Pine<sup>2</sup>, Danielle Matthews<sup>1</sup> /

<sup>1</sup> *University of Sheffield*, <sup>2</sup> *University of Liverpool*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

Children from low SES families tend to have limited language skills compared to higher SES peers and this has important consequences for later life (Fernald, Marchman & Weisleder 2012). Recent studies point to parenting interventions as having the most potential to change this picture (Belsky et al. 2007). At the same time, naturalistic research has shown that caregiver contingent talk is strongly associated with early language development (e.g., Carpenter, Nagell & Tomasello 1998; Masur, Flynn & Eichorst 2005) especially for those at risk due to social disadvantage (Hoff 2003). Contingent talk refers to a style of communication whereby the caregiver talks about what is in the infant's current focus of attention (semantically contingent) and/or responds promptly to infant communicative acts (temporally contingent). However, based on correlational research, it is difficult to establish whether contingent talk is a cause of better language outcomes and whether it is possible to intervene in such a way as to promote language growth.

We address these issues with an ongoing properly-controlled intervention study (current baseline sample: 140 infants; half low SES based on education and income). Half of the families were randomized to a language training condition in which parents of 11-month-olds were shown an information video about contingent talk and asked to practice engaging in it for 15 minutes every day for a month. Semantically and temporally contingent talk was measured at baseline and after training (when infants were 12 months), by coding a 30-minute video of caregiver-infant interaction and by automatically analyzing 32 hours of LENA audio-recordings. Language outcomes are being measured at 15, 18 and 24 months with parental reports (OCDI, LUI), transcriptions of naturalistic child speech and standardized tests at 24 months. Control variables collected at baseline include the infants' ability to follow gaze/vocalize/point and a range of caregiver factors including goals, well-being, self-efficacy and social support (Pan, Rowe, Singer & Snow, 2005; Rowe & Casillas 2011). Preliminary analyses (n= 50) reveal that: 1) At baseline, caregiver education is significantly correlated with measures of semantically

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and temporally contingent talk; 2) at post-test, parents in the language intervention condition are using significantly more semantically contingent talk and this effect does not interact with SES; 3) parental reports of vocabulary at 15 months are significantly higher in the intervention condition. We will report these analyses for the full dataset and additional tests of child language outcomes at 18 and 24 months.

**References:** Belsky, Jay, Marian J. Bakermans-Kranenburg & Marinus H. Van IJzendoorn. 2007. For better and for worse: differential susceptibility to environmental influences. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 16: 300–304. • Carpenter, Malinda, Katherine Nagell, Michael Tomasello, George Butterworth & Chris Moore. 1998. Social cognition, joint attention, and communicative competence from 9 to 15 months of age. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 63: i–174. • Fernald, Anne, Virginia A. Marchman & Adriana Weisleder. 2013. SES differences in language processing skill and vocabulary are evident at 18 months. *Developmental Science* 16: 234–248. • Hoff, Erica. 2003. The specificity of environmental influence: Socioeconomic status affects early vocabulary development via maternal speech. *Child Development* 74: 1368–1378. • Masur, Elise F., Valerie Flynn & Do-reen L. Eichorst. 2005. Maternal responsive and directive behaviours and utterances as predictors of children’s lexical development. *Journal of Child Language* 32: 63–91. • Pan, Barbara A., Meredith L. Rowe, Judith D. Singer & Catherine E. Snow. 2005. Maternal correlates of growth in toddler vocabulary production in low-income families. *Child Development* 76: 763–782. • Rowe, Meredith L. & Allison Casillas. 2011. Parental goals and talk with toddlers. *Infant and Child Development* 20: 475–494.

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## How to handle a big set of baby language data?

Nienke Dijkstra<sup>1,2</sup>, Titia Benders<sup>1,3</sup>, Paula Fikkert<sup>1</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>Radboud University Nijmegen, <sup>2</sup>IMPRS for Language  
Sciences, Nijmegen, <sup>3</sup>University of Newcastle, Australia  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

The longitudinal Place Perception Production (PPP) project investigates early speech perception, early speech production, and the developmental relationship between perception and production. The PPP project focuses on the three major classes of Place of Articulation (PoA) of consonants: labials, coronals, and dorsals. In the context of this project, fifty-six Dutch infants at the ages of eight, twelve and sixteen months participated in perception experiments and

home recording sessions, and their parents filled out a battery of questionnaires.

The controlled perception experiments took place in the babylab. The first experiment tested the infants' discrimination between the PoA contrasts, and the second experiment investigated whether infants have a preference for frequent over infrequent PoA patterns.

The children's productions were recorded during three one-day recording sessions in the children's homes. The children wore a vest with the recorder, which allowed for recording the natural home situation without an experimenter present. These recordings provide many samples of children's spontaneous speech. Each session also contains a session of elicited word production, by means of objects and pictures that were provided to the parents. The speech by the other people in the homes has also been recorded and yields potentially valuable data, but is not the focus of our present study.

Further information about the children was collected in the form of questionnaires that parents filled out on each of the three recording days, as well as when their child was 30 months old: a babbling questionnaire, a CVC production questionnaire, the Dutch versions of the Communicative Development Inventory (N-CDI; Fenson, Dale, Reznick, Bates, Thal, & Pethick, 1994) 1, 2a, 3 and Words & Sentences, and the Dutch versions of the Infant Behavior Questionnaire (IBQ, Rothbart, 1981a) and the Early Childhood Behavior Questionnaire (ECBQ, Rothbart, 1981b).

**References:** Fenson, Larry, Philip Dale, J. Steven Reznick, Elizabeth Bates, Donna Thal, & Stephen J. Pethick. 1994. *Variability in early communication development*. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development. 59, 5, 242. • Rothbart, Mary K. 1981a. Measurement of temperament in infancy. *Child Development* 52: 569–578.

## The BabyExp corpus, release 1.0 and first findings about child-directed speech

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Sonja Eisenbeiss, Massimo Poesio, Victoria Manning,  
Katherine Youngs / *University of Essex*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:00

The BabyExp corpus provides video-recordings of a child's experience from 3 months to 3 years, collected by one of the authors of the paper, who recorded his (almost entirely English speaking) child's environment from October 2008 to July 2011. The two rooms in which the infant spent most of his time (his room, the living room and kitchen) were equipped with non-invasive cameras (LJD LJDNV15-101 FMC, 420 TVL resolution, infrared, CCD Sony SuperHAD) mounted at the four corners of the ceiling and with a powerful environmental microphone attached to one of the cameras. The recording equipment was turned on in the morning when the child woke up, and turned off when the family went out or the child went to sleep. The videos cover around 160 days per year, 1 to 8 hours per day (ca. 3 terabytes), and provide a very dense record of the child's experience in the years in which conceptual knowledge is formed to the point in which basic grammatical competence was acquired. Transcription and annotation of the entire corpus can only be done automatically; however, a necessary first step is the transcription of parts of the corpus to train automatic speech annotators. In this paper, we report on BabyExp 1.0, a 10-hour subset of the corpus. Transcriptions of all child and adult utterances were made independently by two native speakers and checked by a third native speaker, following the CHAT conventions of the ChildLanguageDataExchangeSystem (<http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/>; MacWhinney 2000). Individual utterances were time-linked to the video using the multi-media annotator ELAN (<http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/>). We will discuss ethical and methodological problems and present an analysis of child-directed speech. Studies with nursery-age children have found that parents produce sequences of utterances with a constant communicative intention, but variation in form; e.g. lexical substitution, rephrasing, or the addition, deletion or reordering of constituents, see e.g. the following example (Slobin et al. 2011):

- (1) you put it right in (age 2;1)  
you put it in there



Using such “variation sets” has been attributed to the need to convey a message to a non-comprehending/compliant listener, but we will show that they already occur in speech to pre-linguistic infants, who are unable to show comprehension or comply with requests. We will discuss implications for theories of child-directed speech.

**References:** Slobin, Daniel I., Bowerman, Melissa, Brown, Penelope, Eisenbeiss, Sonja, & Narasimhan, Bhuvana. 2011. Putting things in places: Developmental consequences of linguistic typology. In *Event representation in language and cognition*, 134–165). Cambridge University Press. • MacWhinney, Brian. 2000. *The CHILDES Project: Tools for Analyzing Talk*, 3rd edn. Erlbaum, Mahwah, New Jersey.

### Looking back to move forward: community-augmented meta-analyses

Sho Tsuji<sup>1,2</sup>, Christina Bergmann<sup>2</sup>, Alex Cristia<sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup>*RIKEN  
Brain Sciences Institute, Wako,*  
<sup>2</sup>*Laboratoire de Sciences Cognitives et Psycholinguistique,  
EHESS, DEC-ENS, PSL, CNRS, Paris*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 18:00–18:30

We present the concept of a community-augmented meta-analysis (CAMA; Tsuji, Bergmann & Cristia 2014), a simple, yet novel, tool that significantly facilitates the accumulation and evaluation of previous studies within a specific scientific field. A CAMA is a combination of a meta-analysis and an open repository, centered around a specific topic, and including methodological details and standardized effect sizes. Data in a CAMA do not remain undisclosed and static after publication. Rather, CAMAs can be used and extended by the research community, as anyone can download all information and/or add new data.

CAMAs have several uses. First, we can more easily determine which results are replicable. Second, we can spot the gaps in the literature. Third, we can identify the factors that account for most of the variance in the phenomenon of interest across studies, which might reflect the importance those factors play in actual language acquisition and/or the way language is captured by our methods. Finally, when results vary, it may be difficult to determine why without the systematic assessment of data from multiple studies.

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Three CAMAs exist so far, and we expect this number to grow substantially within the next years. The first database addresses perceptual narrowing in vowels, with results from over 200 behavioral and neuroimaging experiments ran on approximately 3,000 infants (Tsuji & Cristia 2014). The second CAMA focuses on recognition of words in natural speech; about 4,000 infants have participated in about 200 behavioral experiments (Bergmann & Cristia 2014). The third database summarizes data on stable individual variation in infant speech perception (Cristia et al. 2014).

Analyses of standardized effect sizes in each dataset revealed that method (e.g., headturn preference versus central fixation) accounts for some of the structured variance, suggesting that caution is needed when interpreting infants' success and failure patterns in different paradigms. Additionally, each dataset confirmed some widespread assumptions (e.g., native vowel discrimination increases with age,  $p < .05$ ; words at sentence edges are better recognized,  $p < .05$ ), and challenged others (non-native vowel discrimination decreases with age; switch from familiarity to novelty preferences with age). These examples illustrate the unique holistic perspective allowed by repository databases.

We will end our talk by a discussion of the unique advantages and challenges that come with a big data approach to language acquisition.

**References:** Bergmann, Christina & Alejandrina Cristia. 2014. Development of infants' word segmentation from real speech: A meta-analytic approach. under revision. • Cristia, Alejandrina, Amanda Seidl, Caroline Junge, Melanie Soderstrom & Peter Hagoort. 2014. Predicting individual variation in language from infant speech perception measures. *Child Development*, 85, 1330–1345. • Tsuji, Sho, Christina Bergmann & Alejandrina Cristia. 2014. Community-Augmented Meta-Analyses. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 9: 661–665. • Tsuji, Sho & Alejandrina Cristia. 2014. Perceptual attunement in vowels: A meta-analysis. *Developmental Psychobiology*, 56: 179–191.

## Arbeitsgruppe 12

### The development of iconic gestures as resources in language acquisition

*Friederike Kern  
Katharina J. Rohlfing*

#### Workshop description

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The use of gestures as resources for the construction of verbal actions has been a topic of interest in language acquisition for some time. Since pointing gestures are dominantly present in young children as well as in interaction with them, most studies focus on this type of gestures. Several studies look at forms and functions of young children's pointing gestures, and their connection with cognitive and linguistic abilities. Others show how older children may profit from a specific, task-adapted use of gestures [1], or, how caretakers adapt their gestures with regard to frequency and type to the developmental status of the child [2]. Relatively little known is about the use and development of early iconic gestures and their involvement in language acquisition. Iconic gestures are referred to as "representational" or "symbolic", and can be used in reference to absent objects or events. An important finding relates to children's later vocabulary development, which seems to benefit from earlier use of iconic gestures: Children who used iconic gestures earlier in their development, had richer vocabularies in their later development. However, only few studies show when and in what way (i.e. exhibiting what forms) iconic gestures emerge [3]. Furthermore, the different forms that iconic gestures might exhibit have barely been considered in developmental approaches. In addition, it is not clear whether different forms of iconic gestures are linked to different types of verbal actions systematically. Our panel will thus address

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the following research questions:

- Which aspects of objects are focused on, and how are they implemented in gestures (iconic mapping)?
- How are the gestures integrated into the grammatical surface (grammatical mapping)?
- How do different verbal actions affect the choice and use of iconic gestures (gestural mapping)?
- Does the physical foundation and thus bodily involvement of self-experienced events lay grounds for the acquisition and situated use of iconic gestures (embodied learning)?

Areas of interest: language acquisition, multimodal communication, pragmatics, semantics

**References:** [1] Goldin-Meadow, Susan, Susan Wagner Cook & Zachary Mitchell. 2009. Gesturing gives children new ideas about math. *Psychological Science*, 20, 267–272 • [2] Grimmer, Angela, Katharina Rohlfing, & Prisca Stenneken. 2010. Do mothers alter their pointing behavior in dependence of children's lexical development and task-difficulty? Analysis of taskoriented gestural input towards typically developed children and Late Talkers. *Gesture* 10, 251–278. • [3] Vogt, S. & S. Schreiber. 2006. Förderung von Gesten als Mitauslöser der lautsprachlichen Entwicklung. Theoretische und praktische Überlegungen für die logopädische Arbeit. *L.O.G.O.S. Interdisziplinär* 14, 179–185.

## The development of embodied iconicity: representational gesture over the first 5 years of life

Erica Cartmill<sup>1</sup>, Miriam A. Novack<sup>2</sup>, Susan Goldin-Meadow<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>University of California, Los Angeles, <sup>2</sup>University of Chicago  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

Children begin to gesture before they speak, but iconic gestures (those bearing an iconic relationship to their referents) typically emerge later in development and sharply increase in frequency around 26 months of age (Ozcaliskan & Goldin-Meadow 2012). The relationship of the sharp increase in overall iconic gesturing to children communicative, representational, and interactional abilities is not fully understood. This work aims to unpack the concept of iconicity in children's gesturing and situate the emergence of various types of

iconic representation in the broader landscape of children's communicative development.

In this talk, we explore the development of representational resources in iconic gesture during children's first 5 years of life. We present a longitudinal analysis of spontaneous iconic gestures from 14 to 50 months of age derived from a 700-hour video corpus of 50 English-speaking children interacting freely with their parents at home. The children in our study were engaged in the activities of daily life and the gestures naturally emerged during interactions with their family members. Our analysis focuses on the iconic mappings between gesture handshape, movement, and referent. We ask whether children's gestures contain more mimetic elements earlier in development (i.e., do they more closely resemble actions), and whether children copy gesture forms and movements from adult interaction partners. Finally, we discuss the relationship between gesture and speech during the emergence of iconic gesture, and ask whether gesture predicts or reflects changes in linguistic development.

**References:** Özçalışkan, Şeyda. & Susan Goldin-Meadow. 2012. Is there an iconic gesture spurt at 26 months? In G. Stam & M. Ishino (eds.), *Integrating Gestures: The Interdisciplinary Nature of Gesture*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

## How do young children use iconic gestures in speech disambiguation?

Reyhan Furman, Paula Marentette, Elena Nicoladis /  
University of Alberta  
Donnerstag, 5.3. 10:00–10:30

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Everyday language is rife with verbal ambiguity. One tool adult speakers and listeners use to deal with this problem is iconic gestures. For instance, when presented with sentences that contain a homonymous word (e.g. *John went through the records to see if anything was missing*) and asked to explain the ambiguities, speakers use gestures half the time to represent the relevant meaning (Holler & Beattie 2003). Likewise, adult listeners also use iconic gestures to resolve lexical ambiguities in speech and to disambiguate dominant and subordinate meanings of homonyms (Holle & Gunter 2007).

Currently, we know very little about whether children can benefit from a speaker's gestures to resolve lexical ambiguities in speech. The only study

that has investigated the developmental role gesture plays in the resolution of lexical ambiguity has focused on how children produce gestures to disambiguate homonym senses. Kidd & Holler (2009) found that while 3-year-olds rarely disambiguated between different senses, 4-year-olds used iconic gestures to do so. The production of gestures dropped in the 5-year-olds, as they were able to verbally resolve lexical ambiguities. Thus, gestures provided children who were just starting to understand homonymy with a valuable tool to communicate this understanding.

In the present study, we asked whether a speaker's iconic gestures help children resolve lexical ambiguity in speech. Twenty-four children aged 4 watched videoclips where a speaker uttered a sentence containing a homonym (e.g. *The glasses fell on the floor and broke*) that was accompanied either by a cospeech iconic gesture, or no gesture. Children were then given pictures that depicted the dominant and subordinate senses of the homonym and asked to choose which sense the speaker referred to. Preliminary analyses showed that 4-year-olds often had a preference for one of the senses of the homonyms, regardless whether this dominant sense was accompanied by a gesture. In contrast, the presence of iconic gestures significantly increased children's preference for the subordinate senses of homonyms.

Our results show that 4-year-olds, who are not yet able to verbally distinguish lexical ambiguities not only produce gestures to do so (Kidd & Holler 2009), but also rely on gestures in comprehension. They also indicate that children benefit from speakers' gestures selectively, only using them to comprehend senses that they would otherwise ignore. We argue that seeing different homonym senses represented in gesture helps young children better understand that one-to-many mappings are possible in language, and allows them to zoom in on senses that they have not yet fully acquired.

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**References:** Goodrich, Whitney & Carla L. Hudson Kam. 2009. Co-Speech gesture as input in verb learning. *Developmental Science* 12; 81–87. • Holle, Henning & Thomas C. Gunter. 2007. The role of iconic gestures in speech disambiguation: ERP evidence. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 19: 1175–1192. • Holler, Judith & Geoffrey Beattie. 2003. How iconic gestures and speech interact in the representation of meaning: are both aspects really integral to the process? *Semiotica* 146: 81–116. • Kidd, Evan & Judith Holler. 2009. Children's use of gesture to resolve lexical ambiguity. *Science* 12: 903–913.

## Iconic gestures support novel word learning in children with specific language impairment

Carina Lüke / *Technische Universität Dortmund*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

Gestures, as one of the first means of intentional communication in young children, are closely related to language acquisition (Crais, Watson & Baranek 2009). Capone Singleton (2012) has argued that iconic gestures function as semantic enrichment cues which contribute to a richer representation of novel words and facilitate word learning. Subsequent studies have applied this hypothesis for typically developed children (e.g., Capone Singleton 2012; Capone & McGregor 2005; McGregor, Rohlfing, Bean & Marschner 2009; Tellier 2008; for review, see McGregor 2008).

Children with difficulties in language acquisition may in particular profit from the support of gestures in novel word learning. Here, gestures may compensate for verbal deficits as they are processed in a non-verbal format. Children with specific language impairment (SLI) in particular might take advantage of gestures as SLI is defined as a developmental disorder in which the comprehension and/or language production is impaired in the absence of neurological, emotional, sensory or cognitive disorders (Bishop 2013). However, vocabulary acquisition is more difficult for those children compared to their age-matched peers (Kan & Windsor 2010).

The research question of the presented study was: Do preschoolers with SLI benefit from iconic gestures in novel word learning and hereby, in the fast mapping as well as in the slow mapping process? Both mapping processes are constitutive parts of word learning and are particularly vulnerable in children with SLI.

A between-subjects design was used to answer this question. Twenty preschoolers ( $M = 4;7$  years; 13 boys) with SLI participated in a short intervention study with three weekly intervention sessions and an additional follow-up testing a week later. Within the intervention sessions the children had to learn nine novel words as labels for unfamiliar cartoon characters, either with the support of iconic gestures (ico\_G) or without (0\_G).

Comparisons of the two groups, ico\_G and 0\_G, revealed no differences in their fast mapping results. But, in the extended word learning process, the slow mapping, children with SLI did benefit from gestures. The children within ico\_G named significantly more cartoon characters correctly compared to the children within 0\_G. This result shows that iconic gestures can be an

effective method to support children with SLI in word learning process, possibly especially within slow mapping.

**References:** Bishop, Dorothy V. 2013. Cerebral asymmetry and language development: Cause, correlate, or consequence? *Science* 340: 6138. • Capone Singleton, Nina C. 2012. Can semantic enrichment lead to naming in a word extension task? *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology* 21: 279–292. • Capone, Nina C. & Karla K. McGregor. 2005. The effect of semantic representation on toddlers' word retrieval. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Research* 48: 1468–1480. • Crais, Elizabeth R., Linda R. Watson & Grace T. Baranek. 2009. Use of gesture development in profiling children's prelinguistic communication skill. *American Journal of Speech-Language Pathology* 18: 95–108. • Kan, Pui F. & Jennifer Windsor. 2010. Word learning in children with primary language impairment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 53: 739–756. • McGregor, Karla K. 2008. Gesture supports children's word learning. *International Journal of Speech-Language Pathology* 10: 112–117. • McGregor, Karla K., Katharina J. Rohlfing, Allison Bean & Ellen Marschner. 2009. Gesture as a support for word learning: The case of under. *Journal of Child Language* 36: 807–828. • Tellier, Marion. 2008. The effect of gestures on second language memorisation by young children. *Gesture* 8: 219–235.

## The iconic mapping of onomatopoeia in early word learning

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Catherine Laing / *University of York*  
Donnerstag, 5.3. 11:30–12:00

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Contrasting views regarding the advantages of iconicity in infant language development have long been debated in the literature. In studies of infants' acquisition of gesture (Capirci, Contaldo, Caselli & Volterra 2005) it has been found that the less-than-arbitrary links between symbol and referent are more easily acquired by infants, though contradictory findings have shown that deaf infants are no more likely to acquire iconic signs in the early stages of sign acquisition (Orlansky & Bonvillian 1984).

The question of how the potential iconic advantage of gesture may be extended to the acquisition of spoken language has been addressed in the study of languages with sound symbolic properties (e.g. Japanese (Imai, Kita, Nagumo & Okada 2008)), which have been found to facilitate language development in young infants. However, sound symbolic features are rare in many of



the world's languages, and thus it is not possible to gain a comprehensive perspective on the benefits of these iconic linguistic properties across-the-board.

Onomatopoeic words feature prominently in the early lexicon across many languages, and provide a rich dataset for exploring the role of iconicity in language learning, owing to the more direct association between symbol and referent in these forms. Theoretical accounts have proposed that the prominence of onomatopoeia in the early vocabulary may result from the sound-meaning association – or iconicity – of these forms, which is thought to make them implicitly learnable (Werner & Kaplan 1963). However, without empirical evidence to support these claims we cannot determine whether this is really the case, and to date no alternative explanation has been found for the early acquisition of onomatopoeia.

This paper seeks to address this long established theory through a comprehensive analysis of the use of onomatopoeia in parent-child interactions. We will identify the use of iconic mapping in terms of onomatopoeia, observing the implementation of gestures alongside the production of these forms. A longitudinal analysis of 8 infants acquiring English and French will identify the changing use of iconic mapping over time, documenting the production of these forms by both mother and infant, and the context in which they occur. The use of vocal and physical gestures alongside these interactions will exemplify the dynamic learning that accompanies the acquisition of onomatopoeic words, which is prompted by joint attention and moulded by routine – routine which is first established by the caregiver and then adopted by the infant as a bootstrapping device into early language.

Results demonstrate the multimodality which encapsulates infants' experience of onomatopoeia. This highlights a role for iconicity – both vocal and gestural – in infants' early language development, providing evidence towards infants' dynamic approach to language learning. It is proposed that onomatopoeia do not occur so prolifically in the infant input due to the iconicity that is inherent in these forms, but rather because of the multimodal approach that is applied in parents' production of these words, including the production of physical and vocal gestures to enhance the salience of onomatopoeic forms.

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**References:** Capirci, Olga, Annarita Contaldo, Maria C. Caselli & Virginia Volterra. 2005. From action to language through gesture: A longitudinal perspective. *Gesture* 5: 155–177. • Orlansky, Michael D. & John D. Bonvillian. 1984. The Role of Iconicity in Early Sign language Acquisition. *Journal of Speech and Hearing Disorder* 49: 287–292. • Imai, Mutsumi, Sotaro Kita, Miho Nagumo & Hiroyuki Okada. 2008. Sound symbolism facilitates early verb learning. *Cognition* 109: 54–65. • Werner, Heinz & Bernard Kaplan. 1963. *Symbol Formation*. John Wiley & Sons, New York.

## Iconic gesture as a resource for word learning in typically developing children and children with specific language impairment

Susanne Vogt<sup>1</sup>, Christina Kauschke<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>Hochschule Fresenius, <sup>2</sup>Philipps-Universität Marburg

Donnerstag, 5.3. 12:00–12:30

The facilitatory role of gestures in language acquisition is widely recognized. Iconic gestures, the type of co-speech gesture under investigation here, have been suggested to facilitate children's word learning (Goodwyn et al. 2000; Capone & McGregor 2005). This rests on the idea that iconic gestures capture properties of a referent and thus serve as semantic enrichment cues. As a result, the gesture causes a deeper semantic understanding of the new word and enhances comprehension and retrieval. Previous research has shown that gestural cues particularly profit children for whom a task is complex (McNeil et al. 2000). Low language learners, such as children with specific language impairment (SLI), may benefit more from gestural cues since gesture seems to be more closely related to language in children with SLI (Botting et al. 2010). The present study investigates how iconic gestures impact on word learning of both typically developing children (TD) and children with SLI.

We conducted a training study (3 sessions) teaching 20 children with SLI (age 4) and 20 age-matched TD children new words (within-subjects design). At each session, children heard the same nouns and verbs coupled with a gesture. Half of these words were presented with iconic gestures illustrating a property of the particular referent, whereas the other half were presented with an attention-directing, however semantically meaningless gesture. Word learning was assessed through naming and comprehension tasks immediately after the first training session (T1) and 2 days after completion of the training (T2). Accuracy was analyzed between conditions.

The results of the training will be evaluated and findings concerning children's naming and comprehension of trained words will be reported. Particularly, the potential of iconic gesture as a resource for word learning in both TD and children with SLI will be discussed.

**References:** Botting, Nicola, Nicholas Riches, Marguerite Gaynor & Gary Morgan. 2010. Gesture production and comprehension in children with specific language development. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 28: 51–69. • Capone, Nina

- C. & McGregor, Karla K. 2005. The effect of semantic representation on toddlers' word retrieval. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research* 48: 1468–1480.
- Goodwyn, Susan W., Linda P. Acredolo & Catherine A. Brown. 2000. Impact of symbolic gesturing on early language development. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 24: 81–103.
  - McNeil, Nicole M., Martha W. Alibali & Julia L. Evans. 2000. The role of gesture in children's comprehension of spoken language: Now they need it, now they don't. *Journal of Nonverbal Behavior* 24: 131–150.

### Contextual relations of iconic gestures

Friederike Kern, Katharina Rohlfing / *Universität Bielefeld*

Freitag, 6.3. 11:30–12:00

Even though there is a growing body of experimental research on young children's use of iconic gestures, relatively little is known about their relation to the speech genres and the communicative situations they are embedded in. Thus, it is not clear whether the use of iconic gestures builds on general cognitive abilities or is tailored to the communicative context.

To gain answers to these questions, we conducted a pilot study that aimed at understanding more about possible learning environments, the relation between different dimensions of context, and the production of iconic gestures. We designed a semi-experimental setting in which communicative genres (i.e. 'game explanation', 'retelling of a story from a book', 'instruction', 'renarration of the instruction') and interactive situations with changing interactive roles (recipient to vs. producer of a speech genre) were systematically varied. Moreover, one group of children received only verbal input from an adult interlocutor whereas the other group received additional gestural input.

As a first step towards analysis, we want to arrive at a differentiated picture of the relation between the use of iconic gestures and various contextual dimensions. For this purpose, we use pragmatic linguistic theory, conversation analysis, and genre theory (Guenther & Knoblauch 1995). In our talk, our primary goal will be to present a theoretically and methodically sound description of the interrelation of communicative genres and the interactive settings they occur in. This will serve as a basis to further explore when and in which ways the children produce iconic gestures in our experimental setting.

Moreover, we will also report some preliminary findings. So far, the study suggests that the children's use of iconic gestures correlates with the type of

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speech genre, and the concepts represented by the gestures but not with gestural input. Another interesting finding concerns the types of iconic gestures used by the children: Whereas the children did not employ gestures representing different geometrical forms (“circle”, “square”, “moon”) no matter whether the adults used them or not, they performed dynamic gestures representing an action (e.g. “flying through”) rather a lot. Also in other situations and speech genres, the children used more gestures expressing action-related concepts than form-related ones. We discuss these results with regard to cognitive theories positing that actions are essential to children’s representations of the experienced scene (Mandler 2012).

**References:** Guenther, Susanne & Hubert Knoblauch. 1995. Culturally patterned speaking practices. The analyses of communicative genres. *Pragmatics* 5: 1–32.

### Examining the integrated system of gesture and prosody in children between 14 and 18 months of age

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<sup>1</sup>Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München,  
<sup>2</sup>Universität Bielefeld  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

In the course of language acquisition children have to master an enormous task. Already in their first years they make incredible progress in making use of the language system. However little is still known about how the factors gesture and prosody interact in early interaction of the caregiver and the child.

Clearly children learn in interaction with their environment. Their pre-speech utterances serve as indicator for later language development (Iverson & Thelen 1999). Likewise early use of gestures shows a positive relation to later language development (Karousou & López Ornat 2013).

Thus the research questions of the current are:

- How and to what extent do young children make use of gestural and prosodic behaviour in interaction with their caretakers and do they combine these in a certain way?

- Are there beneficial situations which promote children's use of gesture and prosodic cues? The current study examines gestural and prosodic behaviour of children and their mothers interacting in situations with familiar objects. The goal is to find out if and how recurring situations effect children's gestures and vocalizations.

The synopsis of results on specific language abilities such as use of gestures and prosody (separate or in combination, including closer examination on timing) and interactional factors like e.g. turn-taking and imitations of the partner, promises to provide an in-depth look into how children acquire language in interaction with their caretakers, especially if and how recurring situations, i.e. familiarity with the situation, effect children's gestures and speech.

The data was collected in an interdisciplinary DFG-Project at Bielefeld (directed by Katharina Rohlfing, Ulf Liskowsky and Ute Ritterfeld). This project investigates the role of gestures in language acquisition under consideration of social-interactional factors. Video-films and audiofiles were analyzed from 6 pairs of caregiver and child at two measuring points, at the age of 14 and of 18 months. In between these measurement points the children and their mothers were repeatedly (every two weeks) exposed to certain selected objects within the same experimental setting to foster familiarity. Analysis included close examination of gestures and temporal interaction of gestural and vocal behaviour via the program ELAN (Lausberg & Sloetjes 2009) as well as detailed study of prosodic contours via the program PRAAT (Boersma & Weenik 2008). Both types of analysis combined also provided evidence on how the partners interacted (for instance imitation of the partner, increase or decrease in turn-taking) .

It was found that children increasingly showed declarative gestures when focusing on familiar objects. Likewise children produced more prosodic behaviours when attending to familiar objects. Closer inspecting of the children's prosodic contours showed preference for level and falling contour types. On a multimodal level it was observed that combinations of gestures and speech occurred more often in reference to familiar objects. Considering the interaction of mother and child especially situations with familiar objects promoted turn taking.

These results (among others) support the assumption that familiar contexts arising from recurring situations bolster children's capacities to combine verbal and gestural expression and consequently promote their communicational abilities to a higher level. Areas of interest: language acquisition, hand gestures, prosody, object familiarity

**References:** Iverson, Jana M. & Esther Thelen. 1999. Hand, mouth and brain: The dynamic emergence of speech and gesture. *Journal of Consciousness Studies* 6: 19–40. • Karousou, Alexandra & Susana López Ornat. 2013. Prespeech vocalizations and the emergence of speech: A study of 1005 Spanish children. *Spanish Journal of Psychology* 16. • Lausberg, Hedda & Han Sloetjes. 2009. Coding gestural behavior with the NEUROGES ELAN system. *Behavior Research Methods, Instruments & Computers* 41: 841–849 • Boersma, Paul & Weenik, David. 2008. Praat: Doing phonetics by computer. (Version 5.0.34) <http://www.praat.org>

## Arbeitsgruppe 13

### Proportions and quantities

*Stephanie Solt*  
*Uli Sauerland*

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#### Workshop description

Several current debates in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics concern expressions of proportion and quantity: bare numerals like “three women” and just “three”, complex numerals like “one hundred and twenty-two”, modified numerals like “at least three women” and “more than three”, pseudo-partitives “three liters of water”, and proportional quantifiers like “one third of the women”. Some of the controversial questions are the following:

- How does the ontology of quantity and proportion scales capture granularity? (e.g. Fox & Hackl 2006, Krifka 2009; Solt 2014a)
- What syntactic structures do numerals, modified numerals, (pseudo) partitives, and quantity adjectives have? (e.g. Takahashi 2006; Ionin & Matushansky 2006; Gagnon 2013; Solt 2014b)
- When and how do quantity/proportion expressions get both an upper- and lower-bounded interpretation? (e.g. Geurts & Nouwen, 2007, Cummins et al. 2012; Kennedy 2013; Spector 2013; Cohen & Krifka 2014).
- How does cross-linguistic variation in morphosyntax affect the interpretation of quantity and proportion specifications? (e.g. Chierchia 1998; 2000; Bale & Khanjian 2014)

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This workshop invites contributions on syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of proportion and quantity expressions, either on the four questions mentioned

or on other questions relating to the theme of proportion and quantity. We are particularly interested in research that cuts across the syntax-semantics-pragmatics boundaries. Evidence from language variation and/or formal experiments have played some role in these debates, but in both areas rapid progress seems still possible. Therefore, contributions using evidence from language variation and/or formal experiments are especially encouraged to submit.

**References:** Bale, Alan & Hrayr Khanjian. Syntactic Complexity and Competition: The Singular-Plural Distinction in Western Armenian. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45: 1–26. • Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6: 339–405. • Cohen, Arik & Manfred Krifka. 2014. Superlative quantifiers and meta speech acts. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 37: 41–90. • Cummins, Chris, Uli Sauerland & Stephanie Solt. 2012. Granularity and scalar implicature in numerical expressions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 35: 135–169. • Fox, Danny & Martin Hackl. 2006. The universal density of measurement. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 29: 537–586. • Gagnon, Michaël. 2013. Part and parcel of eliding partitives. *Proceedings of SALT* 23, 316–335. • Geurts, Bart & Rick Nouwen. 2007. *At least* et al.: The semantics of scalar modifiers. *Language* 83: 533–559. • Herburger, Elena. 2000. *What Counts: Focus and Quantification*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass. • Ionin, Tanja & Ora Matushansky. 2006. The Composition of Complex Cardinals. *Journal of Semantics* 23: 315–360. • Kennedy, Christopher. 2013. A scalar semantics for scalar readings of number words. In I. Caponigro & C. Cecchetto (eds.): *From grammar to meaning: The spontaneous logicity of language*, 172–200. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Krifka, Manfred. 2009. Approximate interpretations of number words: A case for strategic communication. In E. Hinrichs & J. Nerbonne (eds.), *Theory and evidence in semantics*. CSLI, Stanford. • Shoichi Takahashi. 2006. More Than Two Quantifiers. *Natural Language Semantics* 14: 57–101. • Solt, Stephanie. 2014a. Measurement scales in natural language. In press in *Language and Linguistics Compass*. • Solt, Stephanie. 2014b. Q-Adjectives and the Semantics of Quantity. *Journal of Semantics*. 1–53 • Spector, Benjamin. 2013. Bare Numerals and Scalar Implicatures. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7: 273–294



## Reversal of proportional quantifiers

Dorothy Ahn<sup>1</sup>, Uli Sauerland<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>Harvard University, <sup>2</sup>ZAS Berlin  
 Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:00–14:30

A reverse proportion reading in English arises with: *MIT hired 30% WOMEN<sub>F</sub>* or *The MIT staff consists of 30% WOMEN<sub>F</sub>*. The restrictor and scope of the quantifier ‘30%’ are reversed: The sentence can be paraphrased as ‘30% of the people MIT hired were women.’ Reverse quantification with proportions has not been studied before. We focus on German and Korean data.

**German** Reverse proportions in German share the morphosyntax of apositive quantitatives (AQs). Gallmann & Lindauer (1994) show the following properties of AQs: i) verb agreement with either measure or substance noun, ii) impossibility of a full DP or pronoun in the measure noun position, iii) constituency for verb-second, and iv) inseparability. These properties argue that the measure noun phrase fills the determiner position of the substance noun in AQs. The case-agreement and properties i)–iv) also hold for reverse proportions: (1) illustrates i) and iii), ii) and iv) are shown in the talk.

- (1) Ein gut-es Prozent JAPANER<sub>F</sub> wohn-t / wohn-en in Boston  
 one good-SG percent Japanese.PL live-SG / live-PL in Boston  
 ‘More than one percent of Boston residents are Japanese.’

**Korean** In Korean, the so-called ‘quantifier float’ structure (2) is ambiguous between a conservative and reverse construal, but disambiguated by focus. We propose that, ‘20%’ in (2) must move in Korean overtly to an adverbial position before the subject DP moves to the nominative case position as shown schematically in (3). Subject movement must reconstruct.

- (2) KYOSWU<sub>F</sub>-ka isip-phulo wassta.  
 professor-NOM 20-% came  
 ‘20% of the people who came were professors.’

- (3)  $\{x \text{ professor}\}$  -NOM 20%  $\lambda x$  [ $x$  professor] came
- 
- The diagram shows a lambda expression  $\lambda x$  followed by the phrase  $[x \text{ professor}]$ . An arrow points from the '20%' in the previous line to the  $\lambda x$  position, indicating movement. Another arrow points from the  $\{x \text{ professor}\}$  set notation to the  $x$  in the lambda expression, indicating reconstruction.

The proposal extends to German if movement of ‘20%’ can be covert.

**References:** Gallmann, Peter & Thomas Lindauer. 1994. Funktionale Kategorien in Nominalphrasen. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur*.

## Measures and counters in Basque

Urtzi Etxeberria, Ricardo Etxepare / CNRS-IKER

Mittwoch, 4.3., 14:30–15:30

Basque vague weak quantifiers (*asko* ‘many/much’, *gutxi* ‘few’, *ugari* ‘abundant’, *pila bat* ‘a lot’, a.o.) optionally agree with the inflected verb in number. In (1-a), the auxiliary shows plural number agreement. (1-b) shows the alternative form, with the inflected verb showing default 3rd person singular agreement.

- (1) a. Mutil asko etorri dira    gaur.  
      boy many come aux.PL today  
      ‘Many boys came today.’  
      b. Mutil asko etorri da    gaur.  
      boy many come aux.SG today  
      ‘Many boys came today.’

The apparent optionality in (1) hides some intriguing asymmetries: first, the non-agreeing quantifiers (NAQs) are sensitive to the nature of the predicate. They cannot occur with (i) collective predicates; (ii) only-once predicates; and (iii) individual level predicates. The restrictions relate naturally to the fact that NAQs trigger a strong distributive interpretation in opposition to what happens with weak quantifiers that agree with the verb in plural which obtain either a collective or a distributive reading.

We propose that NAQs are Measure Phrases (MP), and that measures head their own projection in the structure of the NP. We assume that the measure function only applies to expressions that denote non-trivial part-whole structures. The measure function must, furthermore, be monotonic. Measures trivially apply to masses. In Basque though, they also seem to apply to count Ns which do not show number. We argue that the function that counts (number) and the function that individuates (classifier) must be different functions. We show that Basque must involve an independent Measure Head that can directly apply to CIPs. Counting can only operate through an extra number head, but this triggers number agreement in Basque. NAQs in Basque are therefore bare MPs. MPs can be taken to lack the functional structure necessary to

provide a discourse referent and saturate the predicate. We show that NAQs do not support reference, and do not allow cross-sentential anaphora. Unlike bare MPs, morphologically marked Number Phrases in Basque require the presence of D, which brings in reference. MPs combine with the predicate via a homomorphic function that measures the predicate.

## The source of the ambiguity of numerals

Benjamin Spector / *Institut Jean Nicod, Paris*

Mittwoch, 4.3., 15:30–16:00

It is well known that numerals give rise to an ambiguity between an upper-bounded meaning (*three* as *at least three*, and a ‘non-upper-bounded’ meaning). I will review four types of approaches to this ambiguity:

- a. the lexical approach according to which various type-shifting operations give rise to the various observed readings (Geurts 2006)
- b. the scopal approach (Kennedy 2013, 2014) where the relevant ambiguities arise as scopal ambiguities,
- c. the operator-based approach, which itself comes in two variants:
  1. the exhaustivity-based approach, according to which the upper-bounded reading is derived from the lower-bounded by means of an exhaustivity operator which associates with it (Spector 2013, a.o)
  2. the maximality-based approach, according to which the upper-bounding reading is derived by means of a maximality operator.

**References:** Geurts, Bart. 2006. Take ‘five’: The meaning and use of a number word. In S. Vogeleer & L. Tasmowski (eds.), *Non-definiteness and Plurality*, 311–329. Amsterdam, John Benjamins. • Kennedy, Christopher. 2013. A scalar semantics for scalar readings of number words. In I. Caponigro & C. Cecchetto (eds.), *From Grammar to Meaning: the Spontaneous Logicality of Language*, 172–200. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Kennedy, Christopher. 2014. A “de-Fregean” semantics for modified and unmodified numerals. Unpublished Ms., University of Chicago. • Spector, Benjamin. 2013. Bare numerals and scalar implicatures. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7: 273–294.

## *Le plus and (the) most*

Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin<sup>1</sup>, Ion Giurgea<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup> *Université (Diderot) Paris 7*, <sup>2</sup> *Romanian Academy*  
 Mittwoch, 4.3., 16:30–17:00

The aim of the talk is to answer two correlated questions. Why is it that certain languages, e.g., French, allow superlative quantitatives of the form *le plus de NP* ‘the more of NP’ to take relative/comparative readings, but not proportional readings? Why is it that other languages, e.g., English (as all the other Germanic languages, Slavic languages, Hungarian or Romanian) allow the proportional reading (in addition to the relative/comparative one)? The solution of the puzzle relies on the difference between superlative modifiers (type  $\langle et \rangle$ ) and superlative determiners (type  $\langle et, \langle et, t \rangle \rangle$ ) and the semantic universal stated in (1):

- (1) Superlative quantitative modifiers cannot be interpreted DP-internally (cannot take ‘absolute’ readings).

**The puzzle** The contrast in (2) shows that DPs of the form *le plus de NP<sub>pl</sub>* ‘the most of NP<sub>pl</sub>’ can take the relative reading but not the proportional reading.

- (2) a. \**Le plus d’enfants respectent leurs parents.*  
           the more of.children respect   their parents  
           ‘The most of children respect their parents.’  
       b. [*Parmi mes élèves* ] *Jean a lu le plus de livres.*  
           among my   students   Jean has read the more of books  
           ‘Among my students, John read the most of books.’

Note that the English counterpart of (2-a), built with *most*, is grammatical: ‘Most children respect their parents.’

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***Le plus* is necessarily a measure phrase** Because of its morpho-syntax, *le plus de [NP]* ‘the more [“most”] of NP’ is necessarily a Measure Phrase modifier (type  $\langle et \rangle$ ) rather than a Determiner (type  $\langle et \langle et, t \rangle \rangle$ ). Indeed, *le plus* requires its NP-complement to be preceded by *de* ‘of’, which signals a pseudo-partitive configuration, for which the following generalization holds:

- (3) In constituents of the form *XP of/de NP*, *XP* is necessarily a Measure Phrase (type  $\langle et \rangle$ ).

By contrast, *X(P)* in constituents of the form *[X(P) NP]* can have either a MeasP-denotation or a Det-denotation. When the *XP* is a MeasP, either an empty operator with the semantics of a choice function is projected under *D* or *D* is overtly filled. Being a MeasP, *le plus* is necessarily a superlative quantitative, disallowing the proportional reading.

## The semantics and pragmatics of directional numeral modifiers

Dominique Blok / *Utrecht University*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:00–17:30

**Introduction** On the basis of data from fifteen different languages I argue that directional numeral modifiers (DNMs) such as *up to* differ from other numeral modifiers with regards to the bounds they set. My study extends Schwarz, Buccola, and Hamilton's (2012) observations on English *up to* to other languages and provides an account to explain their and new observations.

**Bounds** Both the upper bound and the lower bound set by DNMs differ from the bounds set by other upper-bounded numeral modifiers such as *at most*. The upper bound of DNMs is defeasible, as (1-a) shows. Their lower bound, on the other hand, is not. This is demonstrated in (1-b).

- (1) a. Anna is allowed to choose {up to / #at most} ten presents, perhaps even more.
- b. There will be {#up to / at most} three students at the question session, if any.

**Analysis** I claim that DNMs assert a lower bound and only implicate an upper bound, and that all class B numeral modifiers (Nouwen 2010) require quantification over a range of numbers. I formalise this idea using inquisitive semantics (e.g. Ciardelli, Groenendijk, and Roelofsen 2012) in the framework of Coppock and Brochhagen (2013), as shown in (2).

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- (2)  $\llbracket \text{up to} \rrbracket = \{ \lambda n \lambda P. f \{ P(m) \mid s \leq m \leq n \} \mid f \text{ is a choice function} \}$   
where  $s > 0$  and  $s \neq n$

I will show that this explains not only the data in (1-a) and (1-b) but also certain other properties of DNMs discussed in Schwarz et al. for *up to*: the so-called *bottom-of-the-scale effect* and monotonicity properties.

**References:** Ciardelli, Ivano, Jeroen Groenendijk & Floris Roelofsen. 2012. *Inquisitive semantics*. NASSLLI 2012 lecture notes. • Coppock, Elisabeth & Thomas Brochhagen. 2013. Raising and resolving issues with scalar modifiers. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 6: 1–57. • Nouwen, Rick. 2010. Two kinds of modified numerals. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 3: 1–41. • Schwarz, Bernhard, Brian Buccola & Mike Hamilton. 2012. Two types of class B numeral modifiers: A reply to Nouwen 2010. *Semantics & Pragmatics* 5: 1–25.

## What do comparative and superlative modifiers have to do with comparatives and superlatives?

Chris Kennedy<sup>1</sup>, Elisabeth Coppock<sup>2</sup> / <sup>1</sup>*University of Chicago*,  
<sup>2</sup>*University of Gothenburg and  
Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study*  
Mittwoch, 4.3., 17:30–18:30

What is the relation between “degree comparatives” as in *Gloria is taller than Gil* and “comparative modifiers” as in *Gloria is more than an assistant professor*? What is the relation between “degree superlatives” as in *Gloria climbed the tallest mountain* and so-called “superlative modifiers” as in *Gloria is at least an assistant professor*? Are comparative and superlative modifiers related to each other in the same way that comparatives and superlatives are related to each other? With a few notable exceptions (Penka 2010, Solt 2011), these questions have remained largely unexplored. In this talk, we bring together work in degree semantics, alternative semantics, comparative and superlative morphosyntax, and the pragmatics of discourse strength to address them. We begin by arguing that comparative modifiers can be analyzed as a special case of “phrasal” comparatives in which the standard of comparison is contained in the target (cf. Aparicio 2014). We then show that composition of this meaning with superlative degree morphology (as in Bobaljik 2012, Szabolcsi 2012), plus a second expression that introduces a set of free-choice

alternatives (marked by *at* in English), derives a superlative modifier. We conclude with a discussion of how deriving comparative/superlative modifiers from degree comparatives/superlatives can help explain the distributional, semantic and pragmatic features of the former.

**References:** Aparicio-Terrasa, Helena. 2014. A compositional analysis for subset comparatives. In Etxeberria, U., A. Falaus, A. Iruztun & B. Leferman (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 18: 24–41. University of the Basque Country. • Bobaljik, Jonathan. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology: Suppletion, superlatives, and the structure of words*. MIT Press. • Penka, Doris. 2010. *A superlative analysis of superlative scalar modifiers*. Handout from Sinn und Bedeutung 15. • Solt, Stephanie. 2011. How many *most*'s? In Reich, I. E. Horsch & D. Pauly (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 15: 565–580. Saarland University Press. • Szabolcsi, Anna. 2012. Compositionality without word boundaries: (*the*) *more* and (*the*) *most*. In *Proceedings of SALT* 22: 1–25.

## The granularity of fractions

Chris Cummins / University of Edinburgh  
alternate

As discussed by Krifka (2009), simplicity of representation influences the way in which speakers use approximations. Fractions are used extensively to convey information about proportions, especially approximate information. However, the process by which speakers choose which expression to use is largely opaque. Mathematically, it is possible to approximate any real value arbitrarily closely with a fraction ('the rationals are everywhere dense in the reals'). In practice, though, we are limited by what we can compute, both as speakers and hearers: it would be unusual to hear a value around 69% described as 'about nine-thirteenths.' Parallel to this, the question of how hearers understand fractions appears to have been little-explored, including for instance the pragmatic effects caused by the existence of competing alternatives (e.g. 'two thirds' versus 'three fifths').

In this presentation, I discuss new data on the interpretation of fractions, elicited by adapting the methods of Cummins, Sauerland and Solt (2012). I explore what the results tell us about the space of alternatives entertained by the users of fractional expressions of quantity. I will argue that this study brings together, and sheds new light on, several important themes that have

been explored in the literature on quantity expressions: notably, the trade-off between precision and economy of expression, the role that numerical cognition plays in our understanding of quantity expressions, and the way that specific alternatives enter into our pragmatic reasoning about quantity. I also discuss the relation of fractions to other forms that can be used to convey information about proportions.

**References:** Cummins, Chris, Uli Sauerland, & Stephanie Solt. 2012. Granularity and scalar implicature in numerical expressions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 35: 135–169.  
• Krifka, Manfred. 2009. Approximate interpretations of number words: a case for strategic communication. In E. Hinrichs and J. Nerbonne (eds.), *Theory and Evidence in Semantics*, 109–132. CSLI, Stanford.

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### An even weaker theory of number

Viola Schmitt<sup>1</sup>, Hedde Zeijlstra<sup>2</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>Universität Wien, <sup>2</sup>Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
alternate

Sauerland *et al.* (2005) show that classical theories of plurality are too strong. They propose an alternative treatment that has three components: (i) number is interpreted as a sister of an individual-denoting constituent. (ii) Singular introduces a presupposition that its sister denotes an atom, Plural is the total identity function on  $D_e$ . The semantic contribution of the plural is the result of an implicature based on the hearer's assumption that whenever a speaker uses it, this is the strongest she could felicitously utter. We argue that this treatment is still too strong and depart from it in two respects. (i) the presupposition triggered by the singular makes reference to the potential extension of the restrictor-set. (ii) The singular merely presupposes that the restrictor-set could be a singleton containing only an atom. For instance, Sauerland *et al.* falsely predict no difference between the simplex case in (1-a) and the NP-conjunction in (1-b). However, if I talked to two children in total, one girl and one boy, (1-b) with plural-marking on the NP is ill-formed. If, on the other hand, I talk to three children in total, (1-c) is fine.

- (1) a. There were three children at the party. I talked to two girls.  
b. There were three children at the party. # I talked to two boys and girls.



- c. I saw four children at the party. I talked to three boys and girls.

Assume, for the sake of simplicity, that *and* here simply denotes set-union, but that the existential import of determiners distributes over the individual conjuncts. Then the minimal pair in (1-b,c) suggests that the plural cannot be used whenever a singular extension of the NP would still yield a potentially true sentence. This is the case in (1-b) – if there is only one boy in the situation and only one girl, (1-b) could still have a chance of being true. In (1-c), however, we cannot conclude for each NP that a singleton-extension would yield a potentially true sentence. Reversing the picture, this means that singular presupposes that a singular extension of the NP would yield a potentially true sentence – essentially what is captured by our proposal.

**References:** Sauerland, Uli, Jan Andersen & Kazuko Yatsushiro. 2005. The plural is semantically unmarked. In S. Kepser & M. Reis (eds.), *Linguistic Evidence*, 413–434. De Gruyter, Berlin.



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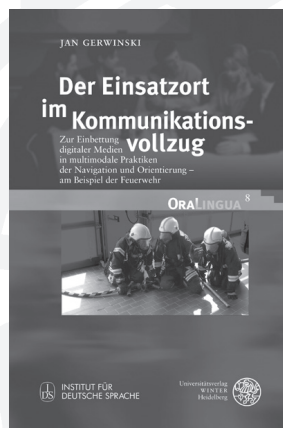
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## Arbeitsgruppe 14

### Modelling conditionality

*Eva Csipak*  
*Ryan Bochnak*

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#### Workshop description

Conditionals are a particularly interesting part of language because they offer insight into the way humans reason about possibilities. While analyses traditionally focus on the syntax and semantics of English hypothetical conditionals, other languages employ different strategies to talk about conditionality. Recently there has been an effort to broaden the focus from modelling only English hypothetical conditionals to include other languages (e.g. Halpert 2012 for Zulu), other types of conditionals (e.g. Franke 2009, Kaufmann and Schwager 2011, Condoravdi and Lauer 2012, Ippolito 2013), and insights from language processing (e.g. Fugard et al. 2010). Nonetheless modelling the interaction of different types of conditionals with tense and mood remains a difficult challenge to compositional semantics. This workshop aims to provide a forum to discuss models for the syntax and semantics of different conditional constructions in natural language (particularly understudied languages, but also English and German), and to challenge these models with experimental data. Topics for the workshop include, but are not limited to, the following questions:

- What constructions are used cross-linguistically to express conditionality, and how should this shape current theories of conditionals? How do these constructions influence our understanding of the nature of modals in general?

AG14

- How do recent analyses of relevance conditionals (*wenn du Hunger hast, ist da Pizza im Kühlschrank*), anankastic conditionals (*wenn du etwas essen willst, kannst du zu Salvatore gehen*) and Imperative-and/or-Declarative constructions (*Iss den Obstsalat und/oder du darfst nicht fernsehen*) hold up when tense and mood come into play?
- Does data from language processing support current theories of the syntax and semantics of conditionals? Can a probabilistic theory account for the “quirky” non-hypothetical conditionals?

**References:** Franke, Michael. 2009. *Signal to Act*. Doctoral dissertation, Universiteit Amsterdam. • Ippolito, Michela. 2013. *Subjunctive Conditionals*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press. • Kaufmann, Stefan & Magdalena Schwager. 2011. A Unified Analysis of Conditional Imperatives. In *Proceedings of SALT 19*, 239–256. CLC publications.

## Conditionals without *if*

Kai von Fintel / *Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 9:00–10:00

Much theorizing about conditionals has been focused on conditionals marked with elements like *if*. But there are many more options for expressing conditional meanings. I will compare and contrast several such options, illustrated here with English examples:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) V1 Conditionals<br>Had Alex gone in that room, Billy would have got very mad.                        | (5) Asyndetic/Paratactic Conditionals<br>Alex goes in that room, Billy will get very mad.                           |
| (2) Declarative Conditional Conjunction<br>Alex goes in that room and Billy will get very mad.           | (6) Sufficiency Conditional Conjunction<br>Alex only has to take a step into that room and Billy will get very mad. |
| (3) Imperative Conditional Conjunction<br>Go in that room and Billy will get very mad.                   | (7) <i>Suppose</i> Conditionals<br>Suppose Alex goes in that room. Billy will get very mad.                         |
| (4) <i>One More</i> Conditional Conjunction<br>One more step into that room and Billy will get very mad. |   |

I will discuss the theoretical challenges posed by each of these constructions. More generally, I will explore the puzzle of how minimally marked sequences of sentences (or even subsentential constituents) can convey conditional meanings, rather than constituting simply (conjunctive) sequences of more or less independent contents.

### Topicalized interrogatives are conditional questions: a case study of wide-scope exhaustification

Yurie Hara / *City University of Hong Kong*  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:00–10:30

Similarities between conditionals and topics are identified by many linguists (Haiman 1978, Ebert, Endriss & Hinterwimmer 2008, a.o.). This paper offers another piece of evidence for the virtual identity of topics and conditionals. In particular, I argue that topics have the same semantics as conditional antecedents in that both serve as context-shifters. In dynamic semantics, conditionals are defined in terms of a two- or three-step update procedure (Stalnaker 1968, a.o.).

An incompatibility arises between an interrogative and the Japanese *dake-wa* ‘only-TOP’ construction:

- (1) John-dake-wa ki-masi-ta.  
John-only-TOP come-HON-PAST  
‘Only as for John, he came.’  
(only>assertion)
- (2) \*John-dake-wa shinbun-o kai-masi-ta-ka?  
Intended: ‘Only as for John, I ask: did he buy a newspaper?’  
(only>question)

When *dake* ‘only’ is combined with the topic *wa*, the exhaustification by *dake* takes place at speech act level. Thus, the declarative construction marked with *dake-wa* as in (1) denotes exhaustification over assertion acts. In contrast, a parallel operation is not possible for interrogatives as shown in (2). I argue that the ungrammaticality of (2) is due to the violation of *Inquisitive Constraint* (Isaacs & Rawlins 2008), which dictates that any outstanding issue must be resolved before the conversation proceeds. I&R analyze conditional sentences with interrogative consequents (conditional questions) like *If we go*

to the party, will Mary be there? using a dynamic semantics for conditionals and a partition semantics of questions. Given the dynamic semantics of conditionals, a conditional question creates an issue on the derived context. If the topic-marking also creates a derived context, it also creates an issue on the derived context. In case of exhaustification, however, due to the focus particle, alternative question acts are created and cancelled, thus many of the issues raised are abandoned, which violates Inquisitive Constraint.

## On syntax and semantics of German indicative V1-conditionals

Christian Wurm<sup>1</sup>, Gisella Ferraresi<sup>2</sup>/  
<sup>1</sup>Universität Düsseldorf, <sup>2</sup>Universität Bamberg  
Donnerstag, 5.3., 10:30–11:00

We compare German indicative *wenn*- with V1-conditionals (cf. (1-a,b)).

- (1) a. Wenn ich heute nicht komme, komme ich morgen.
- b. Kommst du heut nicht, kommst du morgen.
- c. If I leave, they will wonder what to do.

Inferences are supposed to be relations between full propositions with aspect, mood etc. For conditionals, this is not necessarily the case (see (1-c)). The antecedent in (1-c) consists of a bare verb without temporal or aspectual anchoring (*\*I leave*). The difference between inferences and conditionals roughly corresponds to  $\vdash$  and  $\rightarrow$  in formal logic. This is not a mere notational variant: in non-classical, logics  $\alpha \vdash \beta$  implies  $\vdash \alpha \rightarrow \beta$ , but not vice versa. Interpreting two independent statements, we can separately assign them (modal and aspectual) features which situate them in the world, whereas this is problematic if we only have a single proposition.

Many peculiar properties of German (indicative) V1-conditionals (see Reis & Wöllstein 2010) can be best explained in these terms. Our main hypothesis is that *wenn*-conditionals can be interpreted either as a sequence of two judgments (hypothetical and assertive) or as a single assertion; V1-conditionals only allow for the reading as a single assertion. This hypothesis needs to account for the intuition that a single *wenn*-antecedent is readily understood as a conditional antecedent on its own, whereas a single V1-clause cannot be easily interpreted in this fashion. The reading of conditionals as a

sequence of two assertions is crucial for a number of interpretations, such as biscuit- and *ex-falso-quod-libet*-conditionals. The gradience of the data is very natural from our point of view, as we do not work with “hard” grammatical constraints, but our theory rather concerns the *interpretability* of a clause (not sentence) as a full proposition, which goes beyond the grammar itself.

**References:** Blaine & Déchaine. 2007. Evidential Types: Evidence from Cree Dialects. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 73: 257–291. • Reis, Marga & Angelika Wöllstein. 2010. Zur Grammatik (vor allem) konditionaler V1-Gefüge im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 29: 111–179.

## What makes counterfactuals counterfactual?

Hadil Karawani / *University of Amsterdam*

Donnerstag, 5.3., 11:30–12:00

Counterfactual conditionals come along with the inference that their antecedent is false or unlikely. Projection tests (cf. Levinson 1983 a.o.) and the ‘hey wait a minute’ test (von Stechow 2000) show that the falsity inference in counterfactuals behaves like a real presupposition. I conclude that it is a presupposition in dynamic semantics terms; and I show that a simple theory of morpho-syntactic markedness together with a semantic-pragmatic theory alluding to information states explains the falsity inference. Special examples which have been an obstacle for presupposition analysis are argued to not be special in the strict sense but examples of cases in which speaker and hearer disagree. For the falsity inference to be a presupposition in the dynamic sense, it amounts to claiming that for any state  $s$ ,  $s$ [*If it had been the case that  $\phi$ , then it would have been the case that  $\psi$* ] is defined only if  $s$  supports  $\neg\phi$ . In this account, the difference between indicative and subjunctive conditionals is captured in terms of the number of past tense morphemes (re-analysed as Non-Actual Veridicality, NAV) morphemes operating on worlds in the structure. Indicatives include no NAV marking, while subjunctives are distinguished by being singly or doubly marked. This three way distinction is captured semantically by making a difference between the expectations and the knowledge of the speakers. A state  $s$  is a triple  $\langle W, K, E \rangle$ , where (i)  $W$  is a nonempty set of worlds. (ii)  $K$  and  $E$  are nonempty subsets of  $W$  such that  $\emptyset \neq E \subseteq K$ .  $W$  is the set of logical possibilities the speaker has to take into account. Given what the speaker knows, the world is one of the elements in

$K$ . But among the possibilities in  $K$  some are more likely to be the real one than others. These are the elements of  $E$ ; they represent those possibilities that meet the speaker's expectations. The speaker knows  $\varphi$  iff  $\varphi$  is true in all worlds in  $K$ ; the speaker expects  $\varphi$  iff  $\varphi$  is true in all worlds in  $E$ . Given that  $E \subseteq K$ , the speaker expects every  $\varphi$  s/he knows. This means that (i) an indicative conditional presupposes *it might be the case that  $\varphi$*  – in other words,  $s[\emptyset\text{-NAV}]$  is defined only if  $K \cap \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket \neq \emptyset$ . (ii) A singly marked conditional presupposes *it's unlikely that  $\varphi$*  –  $s[1\text{-NAV}]$  is defined only if  $E \cap \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket = \emptyset$ . (iii) A doubly marked conditional presupposes *it's not the case that  $\varphi$*  –  $s[2\text{-NAV}]$  is defined only if  $K \cap \llbracket \varphi \rrbracket = \emptyset$ .

**References:** von Fintel, Kai. 2000. What is presupposition accommodation? Ms. MIT.  
 • Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## Differences in counterfactual strength explained

Janneke van Wijnbergen-Huitink / *University of Groningen*  
 Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:00–12:30

Counterfactual conditionals give rise to the inference that their antecedent is false. This is usually taken to be an implicature (or an implicated presupposition), because the inference is defeasible in Anderson-type contexts, and Modus Tollens would otherwise be question-begging. However, a number of languages appear to contain constructions for which the counterfactuality is more difficult to cancel (e.g. Karawani 2014 for Palestinian Arabic; Komoto 2011 for Japanese; Ippolito 2004, for Italian). The nature of this difficulty is not yet well understood.

My talk addresses this issue with special attention to Dutch. In this language, counterfactuals may be marked with a past modal and an infinitive, but it is also sufficient to put the verb in the past tense: *Als ze rijk was*, “If she were rich,”

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (1) <b>zou</b> ze een huis <b>kopen</b><br>would she a house buy<br>“she would buy a house” | (2) <b>kocht</b> ze een huis.<br>buy+PST she a house<br>lit. “she bought a house” |
|---|---|

I will make two claims. First, the two Dutch constructions cannot always be used interchangeably. The bare past is infelicitous in Anderson-type contexts,



yet is more natural in Modus Tollens arguments. Second, I claim that the bare past tense construction primarily signals the falsity of the *consequent*, while the construction with the modal suggests the falsity of the *antecedent*. The falsity inferences are not canceled in the same contexts, which explains the apparent difference in counterfactual strength.

**References:** Ippolito, Michaela. 2004. Imperfect modality. In J. Guéron & J. Lecarme (eds.): *The syntax of time*, 359–387. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA. • Karawani, Hadil. 2014. *The real, the fake, and the fake fake: In counterfactuals, crosslinguistically*, University of Amsterdam dissertation. • Komoto, Naoko. 2011. Internal past, external past, and counterfactuality: evidence from Japanese. In *Proceedings of SALT 20*, 618–635.

## Tense and aspect in swing conditionals

Fabienne Martin / Universität Stuttgart, Paris 8

Donnerstag, 5.3., 12:30–13:00

This paper focuses on past subjunctive conditionals (PSCs) in French. French PSCs have a *conditionnel 2* in the consequent. It is often assumed that French (like Greek) requires imperfective aspect as a counterfactual marker in the antecedent (Iatridou 2000). This should explain why we find in the antecedent of PSCs the *plus que parfait*, a double past combining an imperfective morphology to a first layer of past, cf. (1-a). Non-imperfective past tenses, a.o. the present perfect, are supposed to be banned, as confirmed by (1-b).

- (1) Si on avait réfléchi / \*a réfléchi, on n' aurait pas signé.  
 if we had thought has thought we NEG have.COND NEG signed  
 'If we had thought/ have thought about it, we wouldn't have signed.'

We found, however, many occurrences of conditionals with a *conditionnel 2* in the consequent and a present perfect in the antecedent in corpora, cf. (2).

- (2) Si un missile sol-air a effectivement été utilisé, il aurait  
 if a missile ground-air has indeed been used it have.COND  
 été tiré à partir d' un bateau.  
 been launched from a boat  
 'If a ground-air missile has indeed been used, it would have been launched from a boat.'

We show that conditionals as in (2) are true subjunctive conditionals, but differ from standard PSCs in several respects (a.o. the fact that they require the antecedent to be undecided relative to the current context) as well as from standard past indicative conditionals. The absence of the imperfective morphology is analysed as a case of agreement failure and signals, we propose, that subjunctivehood is obtained in other way than through the counterfactuality of the antecedent.

**Reference:** Iatridou, Sabine. 2000. The grammatical ingredients of counterfactuality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31: 231–270.

## Accounting for the subordinating use of *-nna* ‘and’ in Amharic

Desalegn Asfawwesen / *Stockholm University*  
Freitag, 6.3., 11:30–12:00

Leslau (1995) and Hailu (1980) state that at times *-nna* ‘and’ has meanings like ‘because’, ‘since’, ‘as’. In this talk, I show that such interpretations are determined by the interaction of the two asymmetric conjuncts/clauses. For instance, conditionality is encoded when the first conjunct has a verb in the imperative or jussive and the second conjunct has a verb other than in the imperative or jussive, respectively. In example (1), the conditional interpretation arises because the first conjunct has a jussive verb while the second one has an imperfect (cf. (2)).

- (1)    rat        ji-bla=nna                                ji-täññ-all  
         supper 2.MS.SBJ-eat.JUS=and 2.MS.SBJ-sleep.IMPF-TNS  
         ‘He sleeps if/when he eats supper’
- (2)    rat        ji-bla=nna                                ji-täññña  
         supper 2.MS.SBJ-eat.JUS=and 2.MS.SBJ-sleep.JUS  
         ‘Let him eat supper and sleep’

Imperatives/jussives have high level of irrealty or uncertainty (see Timberlake 2007). This makes them eligible to function as a protasis, which is generally tentative and hypothetical (cf. Keshet 2013 on English IaDs). First conjuncts with verbs like the perfect rather function as a cause (purpose) to the second conjunct. And the mismatch between the verbs of the two conjuncts is seen to mirror canonical subordinate-matrix clause constructions as

it is the second conjunct that determines the feature of the coordinate complex (in example (1), the coordinate complex has an imperfect reading). However, tense markers and the negative complementizer *-m* (which both do not attach to the imperative/jussive) and ‘to be’ verbs always give a ‘fossilized’ cause (purpose) interpretation to the clause without any restriction on the type of verbs that should succeed.

**References:** Hailu, Fulass. 1980. On imperatives. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 14: 87–96. • Keshet, Ezra. 2013. Focus on conditional conjunction. *Journal of Semantics* 30: 211–256. • Leslau, Wolf. 1995. *Reference Grammar of Amharic*. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden. • Timberlake, Alan. 2007. Aspect, tense, mood. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.): *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## Conditional conjunctions in Brazilian Portuguese

Gabriel Roisenberg Rodrigues<sup>1</sup>, Ezra Keshet<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>Michigan State University, <sup>2</sup>University of Michigan  
 Freitag, 6.3., 12:00–12:30

The core of this talk will be the so-called “Conditional Conjunctions” (CCs; Russell 2007, Klinedinst & Rothschild 2012, Keshet 2013, a.o.) and its expression in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Taking as a point of departure Keshet 2013, we will show that CCs in BP differ in crucial ways from English w.r.t. to Tense. Unlike English, CC constructions in BP can have mixed tenses (1). Furthermore, BP has an alternative CC construction, in which the first conjunct is headed by the copula *ser* ‘to be’; in a context like the one in (1), the copula can only be inflected in the present tense (2).

- (1) Aquela escola é bem rígida: tu chegou um minuto atrasado, e  
 that school is well rigid you came one minute late and  
 tu é suspenso  
 you are suspended  
 ‘That school is tough: if you arrive late, you get suspended’
- (2) Aquela escola é bem rígida: {é / #foi} tu chegar um minuto  
 that school is well rigid is was you to-come one minute  
 atrasado, e tu é suspenso.  
 late and you are suspended

We maintain Keshet’s basic architecture for CCs, but modify two assumptions: (i) each conjunct in CCs has a separate TP, and (ii) there is a higher T head above the two lower TPs, encoding the “Topic Situation” (Kratzer 2014). We take (2) as an instance of agreement of the first conjunct T head with the higher (Topic Situation) T head; furthermore, we propose (3) as the denotation of (1) and (2), where  $s$  is a situation and  $s_t$  is a topic situation.

$$(3) \quad \llbracket (1) \rrbracket = \text{GEN}(x, s_t, s)(\exists s' \subseteq s : \text{arrives-late}(x)(s'))(\text{suspended}(x)(s))$$

**References:** Keshet, Ezra. 2013. Focus on conditional conjunction. *Journal of Semantics* 30: 211–256. • Klinedinst, Nathan & Daniel Rothschild. 2012. Connectives without truth tables. *Natural Language Semantics* 20: 137–175. • Kratzer, Angelika. 2014. Situations in natural language semantics. In *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* • Russell, B. 2007. Imperatives in conditional conjunction. *Natural Language Semantics* 15: 131–166.

## Argument omission in conditional imperatives

Robert Külpmann, Vilma Symanczyk-Joppe/  
Bergische Universität Wuppertal  
Freitag, 6.3., 12:30–13:00

When an imperative sentence is followed by *and/or* and a declarative, it can lose its speech-act function and take on a conditional interpretation:

- (1) *Switch on the ventilators, and you'll blow the fuses!*  
'If you switch on the ventilators, you'll blow the fuses!'

It has often been noted (e.g. Kaufmann 2012; Declerck & Reed 2001) that the grammatical features of a conditional imperative (CI) like (1) differ from those of a plain imperative. We will connect this observation with our empirical study on argument omission (AO) in German, comprising acceptability judgments of sentences like (2) and (3), in which the verb’s direct argument is not realized. The acceptability of such sentences does not only depend on the verb, but also on the construction it appears in (Jacobs 2014).

- (2) *Ich schalte den Geschirrspüler ein.* decl 33%  
'I switch on the dishwasher.'

- (3) *Schnell, schalt das Navigationsgerät ein!* imp 80.7%  
 ‘Quickly, switch on the navigation system!’

Indeed, the CIs’ results clearly differ from the results of sentences with plain imperatives involving the same verb. We also present data about additional factors for AO in coordinated structures with a directive sentence as first conjunct: (a) *und* vs. *or*, (b) CIs vs. coordinated speech acts, (c) desirability of the second conjunct, (d) form of the first conjunct etc.

Our results not only suggest that AO is an additional formal criterion for the grammatical description of CIs and related phenomena. They also give further substance to the assumption that AO in German depends on many factors, including construction / sentence type.

**References:** Declerck, Renaat & Susan Reed. 2001. *Conditionals*. De Gruyter, Berlin.  
 • Jacobs, Joachim. 2014. Satztypkonstruktionen und Satztypsensitivität. In R. Finkbeiner & J. Meibauer (eds.): *Satztypen und Konstruktionen im Deutschen*, De Gruyter, Berlin.  
 • Kaufmann, Magdalena. 2012. *Interpreting Imperatives*. Springer, Dordrecht.

## ‘Wenn du deine Augen zumachst, dann kann dich keiner sehen.’ On the semantics of conditionals in L1 acquisition

Anna Mönnich / *Universität des Saarlandes*  
 Freitag, 6.3., 13:00–13:30

Among the most recent attempts to explain the semantics of conditional clauses is the analysis as referential (or definite) descriptions of possible worlds (cf. Schlenker 2004, Bhatt and Pancheva 2006, Schulz 2012). It is based on several commonalities between (free) relative clauses (RC) and conditional clauses (CC) (i.e. *abstraction over variables*, *Condition C effects*, *correlative structures* and functionality as (*sentence*) *topics* (cf. Schlenker 2004, Bhatt and Pancheva 2006). The main scope of my work is to investigate, whether the very assumptions based on this theory are reflected in and supported by early language acquisition data.

To this end, I analyze the most dense German L1-corpus (Leo on CHILDES) (cf. Behrens 2006). In this talk, I present the results of my investigation concentrating on structural parallels between CCs and RCs as well as on the order and the course of acquisition of CCs and RCs, with a special focus on

correlative structures (called CRC and CCC, respectively). It will be shown that most of the acknowledged parallels between CCs and RCs can be observed in the course of L1 acquisition. When analyzing the data however also surprising findings showed up: In contrast to what is suggested in the literature (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006), both RCs and CCs occur in the Leo corpus in structures which should, in principle, give rise to Condition C effects. Because these effects are unexpected in the corpus, they will require further discussion.

All in all my presentation provides new evidence from L1 acquisition data which, in principle, can be taken to support the referential approach to CCs. This is perhaps most evident with respect to the order and the course of acquisition of (C)RCs and (C)CCs.

**References:** Behrens, Heike. 2006. The input-output relationship in first language acquisition. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 21: 2–24. • Bhatt, Rajesh & Roumyana Pancheva. 2006. Conditionals. In: Everaert, M. & van Riemsdijk, H. (eds.): *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Blackwell Publishing. • Schlenker, Philippe. 2004. Conditionals as definite descriptions (a referential analysis). *Research on Language and Computation* 2: 417–62. • Schulz, Katrin. 2012. *The semantic anatomy of conditional sentences*. Ms, University of Amsterdam.

## Hypothetical facts and hypothetical ideals in the temporal dimension

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Cleo Condoravdi<sup>1</sup>, Sven Lauer<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Stanford University, <sup>2</sup>Universität Konstanz

Freitag, 6.3., 13:30–14:00

Sæbø (2001) argued that conditionalized priority modals with antecedents about hypothetical ideals (HICs; (2)) and those with antecedents about hypothetical facts (HFCs; (1)) differ in ways that resist a uniform analysis. Sæbø conjectured that the main semantic difference lies in the temporal dimension.

- (1) If you (ever) go to Harlem, you should visit the Apollo theater.
- (2) If you (ever) want to go Harlem, you should take the A train.

Investigating the temporal interpretation of HICs, we show that the constraints proposed by Sæbø are in fact too strong. Further, we show that the constraints

on HICs are different from those on purpose constructions like (3), providing a new argument against analyses that reduce the former to the latter (von Fintel & Iatridou 2005; von Stechow, Krasikova & Penka 2006).

- (3) To go to Harlem, you have to take the A train.

The correct temporal interpretation can be derived by combining the compositional analysis of HICs of Condoravdi & Lauer (2014) with the analysis of the temporal interpretation of modals in Condoravdi (2002). The antecedent of conditionals uniformly sets the temporal perspective of the modal. HICs and HFCs do not differ in their temporal semantics or mode of composition.

**References:** Condoravdi, Cleo. 2002. Temporal interpretation of modals: Modals for the present and for the past. In D. Beaver, L. Casillas Martínez, B. Clark & S. Kaufmann (eds.): *The construction of meaning*, 59–88. CSLI Publications, Stanford, CA. • Condoravdi, Cleo & Sven Lauer. 2014. Anankastic conditionals are just conditionals. Manuscript, Stanford and Konstanz. • Fintel, Kai von & Sabine Iatridou. 2005. *What to do if you want to go to Harlem: Anankastic conditionals and related matters*. Manuscript, MIT. • Sæbø, Kjell Johann. 2001. Necessary conditions in a natural language. In C. Féry & W. Sternefeld (eds.): *Audiatur vox sapientiae: A Festschrift for Arnim von Stechow*, 427–449. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin. • Stechow, Arnim von, Sveta Krasikova & Doris Penka. 2006. Anankastic conditionals again. In T. Solstad, A. Grønn & D. Haug (eds.): *A Festschrift for Kjell Johan Sæbø*, 151–171. Forfatterne, Oslo.





## Postersession der Sektion Computerlinguistik

### Speech act verbs in academic German

Melanie Andresen / *Universität Hamburg*

As academic language is in many respects very different from everyday language, students usually need to acquire it during their studies (Steinhoff 2007). Especially for those with German as a foreign/second language this can be challenging (Ehlich 1999). However, there is still a lack of empirical evidence for the specific features of Academic German. Therefore, this study aims at describing one of its aspects in comparison to journalistic language: the use of speech act verbs (SAV).

According to Harras & Proost (2005, 319), SAV can be defined as all verbs referring to situations that consist of ‘a speaker, a hearer and an utterance which, in the prototypical case, contains a proposition.’ This definition is complemented by Fandrych’s (2004) differentiation of simple/complex and direct/metaphorical verbal acts.

Two corpora were compiled: One consisting of 101 online journal articles from educational studies and, for comparison, a subsection of the German newspaper corpus DeReKo. They were lemmatized and PoS-tagged to enable a lemma search for the seven SAV *zeigen*, *darstellen*, *beschreiben*, *sagen*, *nennen*, *diskutieren*, and *behaupten*. The results were annotated manually in terms of grammatical and semantic properties and function.

The research indicates that there are significant differences in the use of SAV with regard to frequency, grammar, semantics and function. Moreover, it could be shown that most of the specific uses found in the corpus of academic language were not adequately represented in the most common German dictionary, the Duden (2011). In order to follow up the results, I intend to describe Academic German in a more holistic way in my doctoral thesis, which

aims at analysing variation within Academic German through methods of stylometry (e.g. Oakes 2009).

**References:** Duden. 2011. Deutsches Universalwörterbuch. Mannheim • Ehlich, Konrad. 1999. Alltägliche Wissenschaftssprache. *Info DaF* 26: 3–24. • Fandrych, Christian. 2004. Bilder vom wissenschaftlichen Schreiben. Sprechhandlungsausdrücke im Wissenschaftsdeutschen: Linguistische und didaktische Überlegungen. In Wolff, A., T. Ostermann & C. Chlosta (eds.), *Integration durch Sprache*. Fachverband DaF, Regensburg. • Harras, Gisela & Kristel Proost. 2005. The lexicalization of speech act evaluations in German, English and Dutch. In N. Delbecque, J.v.d. Auwera & D. Geeraerts (eds.), *Perspectives on variation*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Oakes, Michael. 2009. Corpus linguistics and stylometry. In A. Lüdeling & M. Kytö (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics 2*, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, 1070–1090. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Steinhoff, Torsten. 2007. *Wissenschaftliche Textkompetenz: Sprachgebrauch und Schreibentwicklung in wissenschaftlichen Texten von Studenten und Experten*. Niemeyer, Tübingen.

## Erstellung und Einordnung des DWDS-Untertitelkorpus

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Ausgehend von den Arbeiten von Brysbaert & New (2009) wurden in den vergangenen Jahren für viele Sprachen große Mengen an Untertiteln aus Filmen und Serien gesammelt und der Forschung in Form von Frequenzlisten zur Verfügung gestellt. Diese Frequenzlisten erfreuen sich vor allem in der psycholinguistischen Forschung großer Beliebtheit, da die resultierenden Wortfrequenzen im Vergleich zu solchen, die aus klassischen Textkorpora gewonnen werden, signifikant höhere Korrelationen zu Reaktions- bzw. Latenzzeiten in Experimenten zum lexikalischen Entscheiden bzw. Wortbenennen aufweisen und damit eine genauere Analyse solcher Aufgaben ermöglichen.

Unserer Ansicht nach sind Untertitelkorpora jedoch nicht nur in Form von Frequenzaggregationen ein wertvolles Instrument für die linguistische Forschung. Sie stellen vielmehr eine Möglichkeit dar, Belege gesprochener oder nahezu gesprochener Sprache in einem bisher nicht dagewesenen Umfang zu sammeln. Wir haben deshalb eine große Untertitelsammlung auf Basis des deutschen Teils von *opensubtitles.org*, der bekanntesten und größten

Plattform für die Veröffentlichung von Untertiteln, zusammengestellt. Diese weist jedoch typische Merkmale von Internetkorpora auf. Fehler in den Daten durch Heterogenität der Quellen, unterschiedliche Formate bzw. Kodierungskonventionen von Sonderzeichen, unvollständige bzw. fehlende Metadaten sowie falsche Sprachklassifizierung mussten daher zunächst bereinigt werden (Barbaresi 2014).

Das resultierende Korpus besteht aus 11.380 Untertiteldateien. Es ist 67,2 Millionen Tokens groß und umfasst 0,83 Millionen verschiedene lexikalische Einheiten. Recherche und Ansicht ist sowohl über die Korpusammlung des DWDS (Geyken 2007) als auch in aggregierter Form über die lexikalische Datenbank dlexDB (Heister et al. 2011) möglich.

Zum Zwecke der Einordnung der Eigenschaften der Sprache in Untertiteln stellen wir einen quantitativen Vergleich zu einem rein schriftsprachlichen Korpus und einem Korpus gesprochener Sprache vor.

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## Manuelle Korpusannotation mit GATE

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GATE (Cunningham 2011), eine ‘infrastructure for developing and deploying software components that process human language’ (Cunningham 2014, Introduction), enthält einen Annotationseditor, mit dem das manuelle Bearbeiten von Annotationen möglich ist. Hiermit und mit dem flexiblen Da-

tenformat eignet sich GATE für das manuelle Erstellen und Korrigieren von Korpusannotationen, wie sie auch im DFG-Projekt ‘Entwicklung der satzinternen Großschreibung im Deutschen’ erstellt werden. Das Poster stellt das Vorgehen sowie zwei im Projekt entstandene Plugins (den ‘Tabular Annotation Editor’ und einen PAULA-Exporter) vor, die GATE um Funktionen für die manuelle Annotation erweitern.

GATE bietet zur Bearbeitung der Annotation eine Textansicht. Annotationen sind hier als farbige Markierungen anzeigbar und können nur einzeln in einem Editorfenster bearbeitet werden. In GATE integrierte Tagger geben beispielsweise PoS-Tags als Feature von Annotationen aus, die jeweils ein Token umfassen. Sollen nun alle PoS-Tags manuell geprüft und ggf. korrigiert werden, stößt die Oberfläche von GATE an ihre Grenze. Eine tabellarische Ansicht, die alle Token und zugeordneten PoS-Tags gleichzeitig untereinander zeigt und bearbeiten lässt, fehlt hier. Das Plugin ‘Tabular Annotation Editor’ erweitert die Oberfläche von GATE um diese Funktion: Es erlaubt das Anzeigen und Bearbeiten von Annotationen und ihren Features eines wählbaren Annotationstyp in einer Tabelle. Die angezeigten Features lassen sich durch XML-Schemata festlegen, so dass die Oberfläche flexibel ist und für unterschiedliche Arten von Annotationen eingesetzt werden kann.

Am Ende sollten die im Projekt erstellten Daten in ANNIS (Zeldes et al. 2009) abfragbar sein. Mit Pepper<sup>4</sup> liegt eine Konvertierungsmöglichkeit für viele Formate in das von ANNIS verwendete relANNIS-Format vor. Das von GATE erzeugt Format GATE-XML zählt nicht dazu. Als Lösung wurde ein Exporter erstellt, der die GATE-Annotationen in PAULA-XML (Dipper et al. 2007) serialisiert. Hierdurch ist es möglich, in GATE erstellte Daten mit anderen Annotationen zusammenzuführen und in ANNIS zu importieren.

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<sup>4</sup><https://korpling.german.hu-berlin.de/p/projects/saltnpepper/wiki/>

## Automatically analyzing scientific publications – examples from archeology

Christian Chiarcos, Niko Schenk /  
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We describe the automated, domain-specific analysis of scientific literature from the field of archeology. Scientific publications and technical reports consist of a multitude of textual components, including meta data (title, author), abstract, textual body and reference section. On the one hand, these include unstructured text which makes up most of the content of a paper, on the other semi-structured enumerations, such as tables, bibliographic reference sections or appendices. We combine specialized components for both types of information, illustrated for the analysis of publications from the domain of archeology:

- An NLP pipeline deals with the semantic analysis of the textual body. A cascade of NLP tools performs plain text extraction from PDF files, tokenization, lemmatization, syntactic parsing, semantic role labeling, etc. These are used to generate machine-readable information in accordance with Semantic Web standards (RDFS, Brickley & Guha 2014, SKOS, Isaac & Summers 2009), which can be queried and visualized to provide access to the underlying semantic concepts of the document.
- With respect to semi-structured information and being inspired by the work described in Councill et al. (2008), we analyze bibliographical references with an ensemble of statistical sequence labelers to retrieve their structural components (authors' initials, first and second names, year, publisher, journal locations, series titles, etc), making up a total of 29 categories.

Using example data from Müller-Karpe et al. (1965–2014) and Fasti Online (1998–2014), we present preliminary evaluation results, illustrate different use cases with a live demonstration and discuss necessary modifications for domain adaptation.

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## Alignment of parallel and quasi-parallel historical corpora

Christian Chiarcos, Maria Sukhareva, Roland Mittmann /  
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Digital humanities has been gaining increasing momentum in recent years: various digitized historical resources and NLP methods were created and developed during the last decade. Our project on the processing of parallel and comparable Germanic corpora is aimed at providing historical linguists with automatic alignment and its user-friendly graphical visualization. The project is conducted in the context of two larger efforts, the Old German Reference Corpus and the LOEWE cluster “Digital Humanities”, in collaboration with the Applied Computational Linguistics group at the Goethe University Frankfurt (Chiarcos et al. 2014).

Currently, a corpus of parallel and quasi-parallel texts is being built: 271 texts with about 38.4M tokens have been processed, converted into XML format and fragment- aligned according to their original markup e.g. verse alignment was used in the case of Bibles or with a sentence aligner e.g. hunaligner<sup>5</sup>. Parallel texts were aligned by means of statistical word alignment tools. Subsequently, partial manual word alignment created by a historical linguist was used to facilitate the statistical alignment. The results were visualized by TreeAligner (Lundborg et al. 2007) for further manual annotation and inspection. In the case of comparable corpora, such as the Heliand in Old Saxon (OS) and the Diatessaron in Old High German (OHG), the texts were fragment aligned and the resulting alignment was visualized. The Heliand

<sup>5</sup><http://mokk.bme.hu/en/resources/hunalign/>

is a free poetic adaptation of the Gospels that is considered to be based on the Tatian's Diatessaron. There is a fair amount of literature on co-reference between the Diatessaron, the Heliand and the Gospels. For example, coarse-grained thematic alignment between different Gospels is provided by the Eusebian Canon Tables, and their subordinate Ammonian sections are extendable to the Latin Tatian. There is also a Latin translation of the Heliand that has co-references with the Diatessaron's fragments (Grein 1869). All the aforementioned co-references were manually extracted and extrapolated to create fragmentary alignment between various translations of the Heliand, the Diatessaron and the Gospels.

**References:** Chiarcos, Christian, Maria Sukhareva, Roland Mittmann, Timothy Price, Gaye Detmold & Jan Chobotsky. 2014. New technologies for old Germanic resources and research on parallel bibles in older continental western Germanic. In *Proceedings of the 8th workshop on language technology for cultural heritage, social sciences, and humanities (latech)*, 22–31. Association for Computational Linguistics, Gothenburg, Sweden. <http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W14-0604>. • Grein, Christian W. M. 1869. *Die Quellen des Heliand*. Heliand-Studien/C.W.M. Grein. Theodor Kay. <http://books.google.de/books?id=ZlYUAAAAYAAJ>. • Lundborg, Joakim, Torsten Marek, Maël Mettler & Martin Volk. 2007. Using the Stockholm TreeAligner. In *Proceedings of the 6th workshop on treebanks and linguistic theories*, 73–78.

## Atomic: an annotation platform to meet the demands of current and future research

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This poster presents Atomic, a multi-level annotation tool for linguistic data. In the past, a number of annotation tools – like Synpathy<sup>6</sup>, RSTTool<sup>7</sup>, and MMAX2<sup>8</sup> – have been developed in linguistics. Most of them have been implemented within research projects for a specific research question or a specific type of annotation, e.g., syntactic annotations or coreference chains. Unfortunately, some of these tools have not been developed further, beyond their respective project duration. In contrast, Atomic aims at being not Yet

<sup>6</sup><http://www.mpi.nl/tools/synpathy.html>

<sup>7</sup><http://www.wagsoft.com/RSTTool/>

<sup>8</sup><http://mmax2.sourceforge.net/>

Another Annotation Tool for Yet Another Research Question. It has been designed with a focus on adaptability, in order to future-proof it for new use cases.

Atomic is powered by Salt (Zipser & Romary 2010), a graph-based, theory-neutral, and semantic-free metamodel for linguistic data. The data abstraction via Salt and the inclusion of a generic, graph-based editor enable Atomic to handle potentially all types of annotations. Atomic was built on top of the Eclipse RCP (McAffer et al. 2010), an application framework with a sophisticated plugin technology which allows to easily extend the software for different research needs, e.g., with editors for specific annotation types. There are tried and tested annotation techniques – and editor types – for different types of annotations. In Atomic it is possible to include all of these, and make them all work on the same data model. The combination of a generic data model and a pluggable architecture, therefore, allows Atomic to outlive its original development context, as new editors and other tooling may always be added to support future theories and annotation types. To demonstrate its extensibility, Atomic ships with dedicated editors, such as a coreference editor. In order to further ensure the sustainability of the software, Atomic integrates the Pepper converter framework (Zipser et al. 2010), which enables it to read and write established linguistic formats like TigerXML<sup>9</sup>, the EXMARaLDA<sup>10</sup> and RST format, MMAX2, TCF<sup>11</sup>, ANNIS<sup>12</sup>, and many more.

**References:** McAffer, Jeff, Jean Michael Lemieux & Chris Aniszczyk. 2010. *Eclipse Rich Client Platform*. Addison Wesley, Amsterdam. • Zipser, Florian & Laurent Romary. 2010. A model oriented approach to the mapping of annotation formats using standards. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Language Resource and Language Technology Standards, LREC 2010*, Valletta, Malta. • Zipser, Florian, Amir Zeldes, Julia Ritz, Laurent Romary & Ulf Leser. 2011. Pepper – Handling a multiverse of formats. Poster presented at 33. Jahrestagung der DGfS, 22–25 Feb, Göttingen.

<sup>9</sup><http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/forschung/ressourcen/werkzeuge/TIGERSearch/doc/html/TigerXML.html>

<sup>10</sup><http://www.exmaralda.org/>

<sup>11</sup>[http://weblicht.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/weblichtwiki/index.php/The\\_TCF\\_Format](http://weblicht.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/weblichtwiki/index.php/The_TCF_Format)

<sup>12</sup><http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/annis/>



## Leaving traces – workflow tracking in computational linguistics

Kerstin Eckart, Markus Gärtner, Katrin Schweitzer /  
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An important part of work in computational linguistics is to prepare data, e.g. for linguistic studies or to create resources such as annotated corpora, tools and lexica based on this data. This process of data preparation usually involves many steps and often existing resources are made use of. For example, an existing corpus can be enhanced with annotations by a parser or by a manual annotation step, after which lexical information is extracted from the annotated corpus. The result of this process and thus the results of the studies conducted on the prepared data hence depend on each of the steps and resources involved in the preparation: utilizing a different version of the corpus, a different parser or a more fine-grained manual annotation will possibly yield differing results. Moreover the preparation process is rarely a linear endeavour; some preparation steps might have to be repeated due to unexpected outcomes, some might have to be iterated until a specific state is reached and sometimes several tools might be applied for the same step to compare or combine their results. Keeping track of the respective workflow for the data preparation is thus important (i) during preparation and (ii) for the users of the data, to be able to interpret the results. Relevant process metadata captures each step of the preparation process, keeping track of minor changes, such as in character encoding, up to information about which resources were applied.

On the poster we will show how tracking the workflow in detail increases the ability to compare and reproduce results. We will present an example on how to manage workflow information and we will also discuss possible visualisations as well as versioning schemes suitable for different language resources.

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## Annotation and automatic classification of situation entity types

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Linguistic expressions form patterns in discourse. One way to analyze text passages is in terms of the situation entities (SEs) that they introduce to the discourse. In her work on modes of discourse, Smith (2003) distinguishes several SE types, which are expressed at the clause level. STATES introduce specific properties of specific individuals to the discourse (*Carl is a cat*), EVENTS introduce a specific event (*Carl entered the room*), GENERALIZING SENTENCES report regularities related to specific individuals (*Mary often feeds my cats*) and GENERIC SENTENCES make statements about kinds (*Cats are popular*). There are also ABSTRACT ENTITIES, which are clausal complements of verbs of knowledge or belief (*I know/believe that Mary likes cats*).

Although these categories are clearly distinct from one another on theoretical grounds, in practice it can be difficult to cleanly draw boundaries between them. Our research project<sup>13</sup> aims to assess the applicability of the classification of types as described by Smith (2003): to what extent can situations be classified easily, which borderline cases occur, and how do humans perform on this task?

We annotate a corpus of clauses (from MASC<sup>14</sup> and Wikipedia) with their SE type, as well as information about several features which we found helpful for distinguishing SE types (Friedrich & Palmer 2014b). Clauses can make a statement about a particular individual or about a class or kind; we call this feature the genericity of the main referent. The verb's fundamental aspectual class in context, stative or dynamic, is marked. Finally, we mark the clauses' habituality, which expresses whether the clause makes a statement about some regularity or about an episodic event.

We develop and evaluate automatic systems classifying SEs, and sub-tasks which have (partially) been studied by the computational linguistics community, but for which no large annotated corpora are available. For example, we have worked on automatically predicting whether a verb is used with a stative or dynamic meaning (Friedrich & Palmer 2014a). Our next step

<sup>13</sup><http://sitent.coli.uni-saarland.de>

<sup>14</sup><http://www.americannationalcorpus.org/MASC/About.html>

focuses on the genericity of clauses and noun phrases, aiming at automatically detecting whether a clause makes a statement about a kind or class. In addition, we aim to improve prior work (Palmer et al. 2007) on automatically classifying clauses for SE types.

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## Vergleichende Evaluierung von Verfahren zur Extraktion monolingualer Termkandidaten aus deutschen Texten

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<sup>3</sup>Robert Bosch GmbH

Die Evaluierung von Ergebnissen der automatischen Termextraktion gestaltet sich als schwierig, da oftmals keine Goldstandard-Daten als Vergleichsmaterial verfügbar sind. Es ist auch nicht trivial, einen brauchbaren Goldstandard für Terme einer Domäne zu erstellen, da sich die Grenzen eines gegebenen Fachgebiets selbst durch Expertenmeinungen meist nicht genau spezifizieren lassen.

Wir berichten über Studien zum Vergleich verschiedener Ansätze zur Extraktion monolingualer deutscher Termkandidaten mit einem Schwerpunkt auf Mehrwort-Termen. Wir analysieren Texte aus dem Bereich des Heimwerkens (darunter ein Heimwerker-Handbuch, Forenbeiträge, FAQs, “Tipps and Tricks” für Heimwerker, ein Heimwerkerlexikon und Marketingtexte eines Unternehmens), aus denen ein Goldstandard abgeleitet wurde. Wir vergleichen verschiedene Stufen des Verhältnisses von Noise und Silence bei SDL Trados MultiTerm Extract (sog. Qualitätsfilter-Stufen) und verschiedene Varianten eines im EU-Projekt TTC (Gojun et al. 2012, Gojun & Heid 2012,

TTC Website<sup>15</sup>) entwickelten Forschungsprototypen. Dabei zeigen wir Ergebnisse der Nutzung verschiedener statistischer Ansätze zur Bestimmung von Mehrwort-Termen (C-value, Assoziationsmaße, statistische Tests, Pazienza et al. 2005) und von Experimenten zur Extraktion aus dependenzgeparstem Text (Mate-Tools, Björkelund et al. 2010, evtl. weitere).

Für den Goldstandard wurden verschiedene POS-Sequenz-Muster der Frequenz  $f > 3$  aus einem Korpus mit 2.689.383 Wörtern extrahiert; dies ergab insgesamt 18.611 Kandidaten. Diese Termkandidaten wurden anhand von vorab fixierten Richtlinien dreifach parallel annotiert. Aufnahme in den Goldstandard im engeren Sinne fanden Items, die von allen drei Annotatoren als terminologisch relevant angesehen wurden. In einem “liberaleren” Goldstandard sind auch Items enthalten, für die es eine 2:1-Mehrheit gab.

Das Poster stellt die Verfahren zur Entwicklung des Goldstandards (Richtlinien, Details zum Inter-Annotator-Agreement etc.), die untersuchten Extraktionsmethoden, die datenbankbasierte Evaluierungsinfrastruktur, die Ergebnisse und Beispiele aus der Fehleranalyse vor.

**References:** Björkelund, Anders, Bernd Bohnet, Love Hafdel & Pierre Nugues. 2010. A high-performance syntactic and semantic dependency parser: demo session. In *Proceedings of the 23rd international conference on computational linguistics: Demonstrations (coling'10)*, 33–36. • Gojun, Anita & Ulrich Heid. 2012. Term candidate extraction for terminography and cat: and overview of ttc. In *Proceedings of the 15th eualex international congress*, 585–594. • Gojun, Anita, Ulrich Heid, Bernd Weissbach, Carola Loth & Insa Mingers. 2012. Adapting and evaluating a generic term extraction tool. In *Proceedings of the eight international conference on language resources and evaluation (Irec 2012)*, 651–656. • Pazienza, Maria Teresa, Marco Pennacchiotti & Fabio Massimo Zanzotto. 2005. Terminology extraction: An analysis of linguistic and statistical approaches, *Knowledge Mining*, 255–279.

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<sup>15</sup>[www.ttc-project.eu](http://www.ttc-project.eu)

## Reducing teacher supervision in short answer grading

Andrea Horbach / *Universität des Saarlandes*

Short answer questions are a common means of assessment in (not only) foreign language learning, where students read or listen to a text and then answer questions about it, with an answer usually consisting of one to three sentences. Important for grading are only the semantic content of the answer and not spelling or grammatical errors.

Normally, those answers are manually corrected by a teacher. We investigate different methods how to reduce this human workload.

In a first set of experiments in the area of short answer scoring, we especially investigate the role of the text. We use an alignment-based scoring model in which we exploit both the connection between the learner answer and a target answer created by a teacher and between the answer and the text.

A second approach does not aim at automatic scoring but at assisting human scoring. We cluster answers and simulate having teachers grade whole clusters of answers instead of individual learner answers, thereby reducing the number of individual items that have to be graded.

This work is part of my PhD thesis and joint work with Alexis Palmer, Manfred Pinkal and Magdalena Wolska.

**References:** Horbach, Andrea, Alexis Palmer & Manfred Pinkal. 2013. Using the text to evaluate short answers for reading comprehension exercises. In *Sem 2013: Proceedings of the second joint conference on lexical and computational semantics*, Shared task: Semantic textual similarity. Association for computational linguistics, 286–295. Atlanta, Georgia, USA. • Horbach, Andrea, Alexis Palmer & Magdalena Wolska. 2014. Finding a tradeoff between accuracy and rater's workload in grading clustered short answers. In *Proceedings of the ninth international conference on language resources and evaluation (lrec'14)*, Reykjavik, Iceland. • Ostermann, Simon, Nikolina Koleva, Alexis Palmer & Andrea Horbach. 2014. CSGS: adapting a short answer scoring system for multiple-choice reading comprehension exercises. In L. Cappellato, N. Ferro, M. Halvey & W. Kraaij (eds.), *Working notes for CLEF 2014 conference*, 1427–1437. CEUR-WS.org.

## Coreference annotation of Kobalt – cases of doubt and guideline adaptations

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For coreference and bridging annotation in the Kobalt corpus (German as a foreign language, [www.kobalt-daf.de](http://www.kobalt-daf.de)) we used the online annotation platform WebAnno (Yimam et al. 2013) and a set of annotation guidelines of previous projects (Naumann 2006, Kaupat et al. 2013, Reznicek 2013). While these guidelines provide a good basic framework, we have encountered several phenomena in our data not adequately covered by the previous work.

We will present guidelines adaptations concerning special kinds of markables, recurring cases of doubt, and handling different perspectives on the text (narrator, observer, object), and their partial coercion – especially in case of pronouns for 1SG and the German generic pronoun *man* ‘one/you’. In addition, we spell out rules for double marking, which is necessary for situations where one NP is part of two separate annotation chains, and when a single element of a group is referenced later in the text (realized by defining two markables on the same tokens in WebAnno).

We will also present results of an inter-annotator study with students not involved in the project so far, in which the reliability of the modified guidelines will be tested. Based on this evaluation, we will discuss the usefulness of the conceptually motivated adaptations for actual corpus annotation.

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## A corpus-based study on the syntactic behaviour of German particle verbs

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Particle Verbs (PVs) are a very frequent and productive word class in German. They can occur in different syntactic paradigms. In verb-first and verb-second clauses which do not contain auxiliary verbs they occur syntactically separated. In other cases, the PV is written together as one word, but it still may occur morphologically separated, e.g. by the infinitive marker *zu*. Especially the syntactically separated paradigm may be problematic for NLP tasks, since parsers may not correctly identify the syntactic dependency between the verb and the particle. This has also consequences for lemmatization.

In German corpora we observed that there is a notable variance between individual PVs to occur in different paradigms. For example the verb *aus|sehen* occurs syntactically separated in 58% of the cases, while the verb *an|sehen* the same base verb, only occurs separated in 20% of the cases. Our research interest lies in finding out which factors affect the preferences of different PVs for different syntactic paradigms.

We distinguished four different morphosyntactic paradigms: fully inflected and syntactically separated occurrences in main clauses (*sieht ... an*), unseparated occurrences in infinitive verb forms (*an|sehen*) and morphologically separated occurrences in infinitival and participle verb forms with the separator *zu* (*an|zu|sehen*) and *ge* (*an|ge|sehen*).

We tested a range of hypotheses on the factors which possibly influence the frequencies of the PV in different syntactic paradigms. We examined possible influences of the different verb particles, the frequencies of the PVs and the lexical ambiguity of those. In order to test our hypotheses we use K-means as a widely used hard clustering algorithm. The normalized frequencies of PV per syntactic paradigms are taken as classification features. We use three standard evaluation metrics to evaluate the clusterings against the respective gold standards: purity, rand index and adjusted rand index. also present a qualitative analysis of the syntactic behavior of PVs and the influence of errors from automatic parsing.

The problem of syntactic separation of PVs have traditionally been addressed from an orthographical point of view (Jacobs 2005). Previous corpus-based studies (Bott & Schulte im Walde 2014), have identified the syntactic behaviour as a possible source of processing errors, but have not tried to quantify paradigms and associate them to other linguistic factors. To the best of our

knowledge the tendency of different PVs to occur in different paradigms with different frequencies has never been studied systematically from an empirical point of view. In this work we try to breach this gap and gain first insights in this phenomenon.

**References:** Bott, Stefan & Sabine Schulte im Walde. 2014. Optimizing a Distributional Semantic Model for the Prediction of German Particle Verb Compositionality. In *The ninth intern. conference on language resources and evaluation (LREC'14)*, 509–516. Reykjavik, Iceland. • Jacobs, Joachim. 2005. *Spatien: zum System der Getrennt- und Zusammenschreibung im heutigen Deutsch*. De Gruyter, Berlin.

## Kontextbasierte lexikalische Kontrolle von natürlichsprachlichen Anforderungsdokumenten

Jennifer Krisch / Universität Hildesheim

Die Kommunikation zwischen Auftraggeber und Auftragnehmer in Industrieprojekten verläuft meist über Pflichtenhefte und Lastenhefte. Diese Spezifikationsdokumente enthalten Anforderungen, die “eine Aussage über eine Eigenschaft oder Leistung eines Produktes, eines Prozesses oder der am Prozess beteiligten Personen” (Rupp 2007) machen. Da Spezifikationsdokumente eine zentrale Rolle in der Entwicklung spielen und sie die Kommunikationsbasis zwischen den Projektbeteiligten bilden, sollten solche Spezifikationsdokumente regelmäßig auf ihre Qualität hin kontrolliert werden. Unverständliche Anforderungen führen dazu, dass Interpretationsspielraum entsteht und die verschiedenen Projektbeteiligten zu unterschiedlichen Interpretationen der Anforderungen kommen. Aus diesem Grund ist es wichtig, Anforderungen auf bestimmte sprachliche Phänomene hin zu untersuchen und ggf. zu korrigieren. strukturelle Ambiguitäten

“Gute” Anforderungen im obigen Sinne sollen messbar, verständlich, atomar, widerspruchsfrei und inhaltlich korrekt sein. Das Poster präsentiert eine Typologie linguistischer Phänomene, die kontrolliert werden müssen, damit diese fünf Eigenschaften von Anforderungstexten erfüllt sind.

Es gibt bereits Werkzeuge, die eine sprachliche Analyse von Spezifikationsdokumenten durchführen, wie z.B. *ReQualize* (Heidenreich 2010) und *DESIRE®* (Stöckel et al. 2009). Sie analysieren die Texte aber in den meisten Fällen wortlistenbasiert. Für bestimmte Phänomene ist diese Herangehensweise ausreichend, für weitere Phänomene reicht eine wortlistenbasierte Analyse nicht aus, der Kontext muss miteinbezogen werden.



Das Poster soll einen Überblick darüber geben, welche Werkzeuge es für die Anforderungsüberprüfung bereits gibt und welche Arten von Phänomenen von den Werkzeugen jeweils analysiert bzw. abgefangen werden. Auf dem Poster soll im Detail auf das Kriterium Verständlichkeit und die damit zusammenhängenden sprachlichen Phänomene eingegangen werden.

Am Beispiel von Weak-Words soll gezeigt werden, wie kontextbasierte Regeln für die automatische Identifikation potenziell die Messbarkeit beeinträchtigender Phänomene aussehen können. Diese Regeln setzen auf POS-getagten Anforderungstexten auf (Krisch 2013). Außerdem soll eine Evaluation der Regelanwendungen nach Precision, Recall und F1-Measure präsentiert werden.

**References:** Heidenreich, Martin 2010. Metriken und Werkzeugunterstützung zur Überprüfung von Anforderungen. *OBJEKTSpektrum*. • Krisch, Jennifer. 2013. Identifikation kritischer Weak-Words aufgrund ihres Satzkontextes in Anforderungsdokumenten. • Rupp, Chris. 2007. *Requirements-Engineering und -Management: professionelle, iterative Anforderungsanalyse für die Praxis*. Hanser Verlag. • Stöckel, Frank, Philip Stolz, Ifthaker Uddin & Larissa Endriss. 2009. Desire@: Dynamic expert system for improving requirements.

## Metadaten für computerlinguistische Ressourcen – Anforderungen an die nachhaltige Dokumentation

Alisa Noha, Kerstin Eckart / *Universität Stuttgart*

Metadaten für computerlinguistische Ressourcen sind wichtig, um teuer entwickelte Ressourcen nachhaltig auffindbar zu machen. Jedoch müssen detaillierte Metadaten oft von Hand erstellt und in einem bestimmten Format zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Beispiele für solche Formate werden von der Dublin Core Metadata Initiative (DCMI) und der Component MetaData Infrastructure (CMDI) entwickelt. DCMI stellte 15 Kernelemente (Dublin Core), für die standardisierte Beschreibung von elektronischen Ressourcen zusammen, die für eine Großzahl verschiedener Ressourcen gelten. CMDI wurde im Rahmen des europäischen CLARIN-Projekts (<http://www.clarin.eu>) entwickelt und stellt ressourcentyp-abhängige Schemata für die Erfassung der Metadaten zur Verfügung.

Das Ausfüllen der Instanzen dieser Schemata kann in der Regel auf zwei Wegen erfolgen. Entweder entwicklungsbegleitend zur Ressource oder mithilfe ausführlicher Dokumentation über diese Ressource. Unzureichende Do-

kumentation kann zu Problemen bei späterem Gebrauch der jeweiligen Ressource führen. Einige Informationen, die für den Entwickler selbstverständlich oder gar unwichtig sind, können später nicht mehr reproduziert werden und im schlimmsten Fall wird diese Ressource für bestimmte weitere Verwendungen unbrauchbar. Daher wurde ein Leitfaden als Grundlage für systematische Dokumentation erarbeitet, der es ermöglichen soll Dokumentationen in Zukunft vergleichbarer und evtl. vollständiger zu gestalten. Durch diese zunächst "formlose" Vorlage für eine Dokumentation soll gewährleistet werden, dass Ressourcen künftig mit ein wenig investierter Zeit der Entwickler nachhaltigere Dokumentationen erhalten. Ausgehend von Dublin Core wurden daher einige Dokumentationsaspekte in Hinblick auf die Metadatenerstellung und somit auf die Nachhaltigkeit diskutiert. Außerdem wurde eine Benutzerstudie durchgeführt um ein Meinungsbild über zu dokumentierende Elemente und deren aktuellen Gebrauch zu bekommen. Auf dem Poster werden die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit präsentiert.

**References:** Broeder, Daan, Menzo Windhouwer, Dieter van Uytvanck, Twan Goosen & Thorsten Trippel. 2012. CMDI: a Component Metadata Infrastructure. In *Describing LRs with Metadata: Towards Flexibility and Interoperability in the Documentation of LR Workshop Programme*. • Kunze, John A. & Thomas Baker. 2007. The Dublin Core Metadata Element Set. • Noha, Alisa. 2014. *Metadaten für computerlinguistische Ressourcen - Anforderungen an die nachhaltige Dokumentation*. Bachelor's thesis, Universität Stuttgart.

## Austausch von historischen Texten verschiedener Sprachen über das LAUDATIO-Repository

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Carolyn Odebrecht, Thomas Krause, Anke Lüdeling /  
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LAUDATIO ist ein offenes Repository zur Speicherung historischer Texte und ihrer Annotationen. Das Ziel ist es, dass einmal erhobene Daten in neuen Projekten wiederverwendet werden können. So können Daten, die beispielsweise für geschichtswissenschaftliche Projekte erhoben wurden, unter anderen Fragestellungen auch für linguistische Forschung interessant sein. Um die Forschungsergebnisse, die auf diesen Daten basieren, nachvollziehen zu können, ist der langfristige Zugang zu der Dokumentation und zu den Quell- und Metadaten des Korpus notwendig. Dazu wurde ein umfangreiches

Forschungsdatenmodell und Metadatenschema basierend auf TEI (Odebrecht 2014) entwickelt, das als Grundlage für die Weboberfläche des Repositoriums dient. Bisher ist LAUDATIO nur auf die Anforderungen zur Speicherung von annotierten Korpora, die aus historischen deutschen Texten von Althochdeutsch bis zum modernen Deutsch bestehen, angepasst. Korpusprojekte aus verschiedenen Disziplinen stellen schon jetzt ihre Korpora mit insgesamt 2000 Texten und mit etwa zwei Millionen Wortformen über LAUDATIO mit freien Lizenzen<sup>16</sup> zur Verfügung. Sofern die Korpora in Formaten vorliegen, die mit den Konvertierungstool Pepper (Zipser & Romary 2014) konvertiert werden können, können sie auch auf unserer öffentlichen Installation der generischen Korpusmaschine ANNIS (Krause & Zeldes 2014) bereitgestellt werden. Damit ist ohne den Aufbau einer eigenen Infrastruktur nicht nur die langfristige Speicherung der Daten eines Projektes sichergestellt, sondern auch deren Analyse durch ANNIS.

Unser Ziel ist es, den Nutzerkreis von LAUDATIO zu erweitern und auch historische Texte anderer Sprachen und Zeitstufen zu unterstützen. Die Schwierigkeit besteht darin, das Forschungsdatenmodell und die Weboberfläche so weiterzuentwickeln, dass sie einerseits flexibel und generisch sind, aber andererseits auch die unterschiedlichen Texte und Annotationen umfassend und detailliert abbilden können. Durch solche Anpassungen können nun auch Korpora wie das “Historische Syntax des Jiddischen”<sup>17</sup>-Korpus oder die koptischen Korpora des Projektes “Scriptorium” (Zeldes & Schroeder 2014) in LAUDATIO integriert werden. In Zukunft wird LAUDATIO neben neuen Sprachen und Zeitstufen verstärkt auch Texte weiterer geisteswissenschaftliche Disziplinen aufnehmen.

**References:** Krause, Thomas & Amir Zeldes. 2014. Annis3: A new architecture for generic corpus query and visualization literary and linguistic computing. • Odebrecht, Carolin. 2014. Modeling linguistic research data for a repository for historical corpora. In *Digital humanities 2014 conference*. • Zeldes, Amir & Caroline Schroeder. 2014. Multi-layered annotation for multi-disciplinary research on digitized Coptic literature. In *Digital humanities 2014 conference*. • Zipser, Florian & Laurent Romary. 2014. A model oriented approach to the mapping of annotation formats using standards. In *Proceedings of the workshop on language resource and language technology standards, lrec 2010*.

<sup>16</sup>Creative Commons <http://de.creativecommons.org/>

<sup>17</sup>Ressource <http://hdl.handle.net/11022/0000-0000-24F9-F> und Projekt <http://www.indogermanistik.uni-jena.de/Web/Projekte/HSJ.htm>

## Annotation of topological fields in the KiezDeutsch-Korpus (KiDKo)

Ines Rehbein, Heike Wiese / *Universität Potsdam*

The KiezDeutsch-Korpus (KiDKo) is a spoken language corpus including self-recordings of informal dialogues between adolescents from multiethnic and monoethnic urban areas. The first release of the corpus is online available via ANNIS (Zeldes et al 2009) and includes the transcriptions, a normalisation layer and parts of speech, using a variant of the Stuttgart-Tübingen Tagset (STTS) extended for the annotation of spoken language.

The poster presents ongoing work on augmenting KiDKo with flat syntactic annotations (so-called chunks) and topological fields. Our annotation scheme follows that of the TüBa-D/Z (Telljohann et al. 2004). However, we find spoken language phenomena in Kiezdeutsch (and in spoken language, in general) that cannot be analysed according to the TüBa-D/Z stylebook. A case in point are non-canonical verb-third (AdvXV<sub>fin</sub>) structures motivated by information-structural and discourse preferences (Wiese 2011, Schalowski in press).

- (1) [ seit Tagen<sub>LA</sub>] [ ich<sub>VF</sub>] schlaf doch nicht zu Hause  
       since days       I       sleep but not at home  
       ‘It’s been days since I’ve been sleeping at home.’  
       *frame setter > topic*
- (2) [ danach<sub>LA</sub>] [ sie<sub>VF</sub>] fängt an zu schreien  
       afterwards she start<sub>3SG</sub> VPTCL to scream<sub>INF</sub>  
       ‘Afterwards she starts to scream.’  
       *discourse connective*

To capture these phenomena, we extended the annotation scheme and introduced a new left-peripheral field (Linkes Außenfeld, LA), between the (optional) field for left dislocation (Linksversetzung, LV) and the prefield (Vorfeld, VF). We illustrate our extensions to the annotation scheme and report on our experiences with annotating topological field structures in Kiezdeutsch.

**References:** Schalowski, Sören. In press. From adverbial to discourse connective. Multiple prefields in spoken German and the use of dann ‘then’ and danach ‘afterwards’. In M. Fried & E. Lehečková (eds.), *Connectives as a Functional Category: Between Clauses and Discourse Units*. Benjamins, Amsterdam. • Telljohann, Heike,

Erhard Hinrichs & Sandra Kübler. 2004. The Tüba-D/Z Treebank: Annotating German with a Context-Free Backbone. In *Proceedings of LREC 2004*, Lisbon, Portugal. • Wiese, Heike. 2011. The role of information structure in linguistic variation: Evidence from a German multi-ethnolect. In F. Gregersen, J. Parrott & P. Quist (eds.), *Language Variation - European Perspectives III*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. • Zeldes, Amir, Julia Ritz, Anke Lüdeling & Christian Chiarcos. 2009. ANNIS: A Search Tool for Multi-Layer Annotated Corpora. In *Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2009*, Liverpool.

### Framing patterns as constructions

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Pattern Grammar (Hunston & Francis 2000) is an approach to linguistic analysis that seeks to identify all the distinct syntactic environments that lexical items of the major lexical categories can occur in. It also seeks to determine all the lexical items that can occur in each pattern, grouping them into meaning groups. One example of a pattern is “V n n”, which captures among others the ditransitive construction.

FrameNet (Baker et al. 1998), building on the work of Fillmore (1982, 1985), has independently produced analyses of how syntax and semantics interrelate. It has taken the shared semantics of predicates as its point of departure and sought to document all the ways in which the semantics of each such class can be mapped onto syntax.

Here we compare the data in FrameNet and in a newly developed PatternBank. We ask three questions. First, how large is the overlap in verbal complementation patterns found in the PatternBank and in FrameNet? Second, how similar are the meaning groups associated with Patterns to FrameNet’s frames? To address this, we examine the meaning groups associated with various patterns. Finally, we go in the opposite direction and inspect for a sample of frames which patterns occur in them.

These studies are motivated as follows. First, since we ultimately want to build a construction recognizer, we would like to pool information from the PatternBank patterns and FrameNet. Comparing the resources allows us to validate the resources against each other. Secondly, the comparison allows us to ask the question whether more coherent sub-frames (or sub-meaning groups) could be derived based on the patterns (frames) that the predicates in

the frame (meaning group) actually co-occur in. Third, our study allows us to broaden the evidentiary base used in theoretical discussions within construction grammar (Goldberg 1995).

**References:** Baker, Collin F., Charles J. Fillmore & John B. Lowe. 1998. The Berkeley Framenet Project. In *Proceedings of the 36th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics and 17th International Conference on Computational Linguistics*, Association for Computational Linguistics. • Fillmore, Charles. 1982. Frame semantics. In *Linguistics in the morning calm*, 111–137. Hanshin Publishing, Seoul. • Fillmore, Charles. 1985. Frames and the semantics of understanding. *Quaderni di semantica* 6. 222–254. • Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Construction grammar*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. • Hunston, Susan & Gill Francis. 2000. *Pattern grammar: A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

## Erstellung eines historischen Korpus mit Mehrebenenannotation

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Im DFG-Projekt “Entwicklung der satzinternen Großschreibung im Deutschen” wird ein Korpus aus frühneuhochdeutschen Hexenverhörprotokollen (Macha et al. 2005) erstellt. Im Projekt wird der Einfluss unterschiedlicher Faktoren auf die Großschreibung untersucht. Hierzu wird eine Mehrebenenannotation der Texte durchgeführt. Für die einzelnen Ebenen sollen jeweils spezialisierte Annotationstools verwendet werden. Beispielsweise erfolgt die tokenbasierte Annotation halbautomatisch in GATE (Cunningham 2011) mit Hilfe von CAB<sup>18</sup>. Schließlich sollen die Annotationen mit ANNIS (Zeldes et al. 2009) durchsucht werden können. Die Texte durchlaufen unterschiedliche Phasen und Dateiformate, bevor die Annotationen am Ende in PAULA-XML (Dipper et al. 2007) zusammengeführt werden.

Neben der technischen Umsetzung der Annotationen ist es eine wichtige Aufgabe, die sprachlichen Besonderheiten der Textsorte zu erfassen. Existierende Annotationsrichtlinien, z.B. HiTS (Dipper et al. 2013) für die PoS-Annotation, decken nicht alle Aspekte der Textsorte ab und müssen daher an-

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<sup>18</sup><http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/doku/software/#cab>

gepasst bzw. erweitert werden. Als Beispiele seien hier die Unterscheidung von Nomina Propria und Appellativa genannt, sowie die schwer festzustellenden Satzgrenzen in den Texten, die von zentraler Bedeutung für die Erfassung der satzinternen Großschreibung sind.

Das Poster dokumentiert die Verzahnung der im Projekt entwickelten Skripte und verwendeten Tools in den einzelnen Annotationsphasen sowie Lösungen zu den an der Textsorte der Hexenverhörprotokolle exemplarisch deutlich gewordenen Annotationsproblemen und zeigt damit eine Möglichkeit auf, wie eine Mehrebenenannotation von historischen Texten generell konzipiert und durchgeführt werden kann.

**References:** Cunningham, Hamish, Diana Maynard & Kalina Bontcheva. 2011. *Text processing with GATE (Version 6)*. University of Sheffield, Department of Computer Science. • Dipper, Stefanie, Karin Donhauser, Thomas Klein, Sonja Linde, Stefan Müller & Klaus-Peter Wegera. 2013. HiTS: ein Tagset für historische Sprachstufen des Deutschen. *Journal for Language Technology and Computational Linguistics* 28: 1–53. • Dipper, Stefanie, Michael Götze, Uwe Küssner & Manfred Stede. 2007. Representing and querying standoff XML. In G. Rehm, A. Witt & L. Lemnitzer (eds.), *Datenstrukturen für linguistische Ressourcen und ihre Anwendungen*. Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen. • Macha, Jürgen, Elvira Topalović, Iris Hille, Uta Nolting & Anja Wilke (eds.). 2005. *Deutsche Kanzleisprache in Hexenverhörprotokollen der Frühen Neuzeit*. De Gruyter, Berlin. • Zeldes, Amir, Julia Ritz, Anke Lüdeling & Christian Chiarcos. 2009. ANNIS: A search tool for multi-layer annotated corpora. In *Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2009*, Liverpool.

## Random Manhattan Indexing: an incremental word space model

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This paper introduces the Random Manhattan Indexing technique. Random Manhattan Indexing is an incremental – thus efficient and scalable – word space model that computes semantic similarities using the City-Block metric (Zadeh & Handschuh 2014a,b).

Motivated by Harris's distributional hypothesis, distributional semantic models decipher meanings of linguistic entities, such as words and phrases, from their usages in large corpora. In distributional semantic models, vector

spaces are a dominant tool for bridging the gap between distributional statistics and meanings. The collected distributional statistics are perceived in a high-dimensional vector space. In this vector space, a notion of distance – such as the cosine of the angles between the vectors, Euclidean distance or the City-Block metric – is employed to compute semantic similarities and explain meanings. This quantitative approach to model meanings is often known as the word space methodology.

A major barrier to the scalability of word space methods is the high dimensionality of vector spaces. Often, for example, due to the Zipfian distribution of words in documents, adding a new entity to a word space model results in a rapid increase in the dimensionality of the model. This phenomenon deteriorates the performance of word space models. To alleviate the problem, incremental methods, such as Random Indexing, have previously been proposed (Sahlgren 2005). Although these incremental word space models have been successfully employed in many of applications, they can only be used when semantic similarities are computed using the cosine similarity and Euclidean distance. We tackle this limitation by introducing the Random Manhattan Indexing technique. In contrast to the Random Indexing technique and its variations, which employ very sparse Gaussian random projections, the proposed Random Manhattan Indexing method exploits Cauchy random projections. We delineate the introduced technique and show its ability in an experiment.

**References:** Sahlgren, Magnus. 2005. An introduction to random indexing. In *Methods and applications of semantic indexing workshop at the 7th international conference on terminology and knowledge engineering (TKE)*, Copenhagen. • Zadeh, Behrang Q. & Siegfried Handschuh. 2014a. Random Manhattan indexing. In *Proceedings of 25th international workshop on database and expert systems applications (DEXA)*, 203–208. IEEE Computer Society, München. • Zadeh, Behrang Q. & Siegfried Handschuh. 2014b. Random Manhattan integer indexing: Incremental l1 normed vector space construction. In *Proceedings of the 2014 conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*, Doha, Qatar: Association for Computational Linguistics.

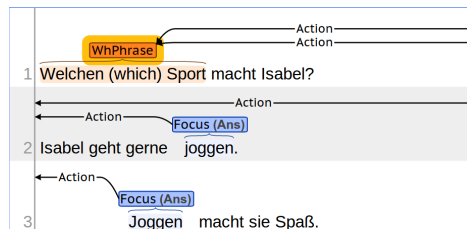


## A corpus of focus-annotated answers to reading comprehension questions

Ramon Ziai, Detmar Meurers / *Universität Tübingen*

When characterizing the information structure of sentences, the focus identifies the part of a sentence addressing the current question under discussion in the discourse. While this notion is well-defined in formal semantics and potentially very useful in theoretical and practical terms, it has turned out to be difficult to reliably annotate it in corpus data.

We present a new focus annotation effort designed to overcome this problem. Building on the explicit context in the task-based CREG corpus (Ott et al. 2012), we annotated the balanced CREG-1032 subset using a newly created focus annotation scheme. The annotation scheme operationalizes focus annotation as an incremental process, as demonstrated by the following screenshot of a sample annotation in the *brat* annotation tool, where the question is in line 1, the target answer in line 2 and the student answer in line 3:



As depicted above, our annotation scheme consists of the following three types:

- **Question Form** (here: WhPhrase) encodes the surface form of a question.
- **Focus** marks the focused words or phrases in an answer.
- **Answer Type** (here: Action) expresses the semantic category of the focus in relation to the question form.

We achieved substantial inter-annotator agreement ( $\kappa > 0.6$ ) between two annotators in our first evaluation study on one data subset (Ziai & Meurers 2014). Focus was also shown to improve the task of Short Answer Assessment (90.3% accuracy vs. 84.6%).

In this contribution, we present the fully focus-annotated and revised CREG-1032 corpus as a new resource to the (Computational) Linguistics community, consisting of 1032 student answers and 223 reference answers to 177 reading comprehension questions.

**References:** Ott, Niels, Ramon Ziai & Detmar Meurers. 2012. Creation and analysis of a reading comprehension exercise corpus: Towards evaluating meaning in context. In T. Schmidt & K. Wörner (eds.), *Multilingual corpora and multilingual corpus analysis, Hamburg Studies in Multilingualism (HSM)*, 47–69. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. <http://purl.org/dm/papers/ott-ziai-meurers-12.html>. • Ziai, Ramon & Detmar Meurers. 2014. Focus annotation in reading comprehension data. In *Proceedings of the 8th Linguistic Annotation Workshop (LAW VIII, 2014)*, 159–168. COLING Dublin, Ireland: Association for Computational Linguistics. <http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W/W14/W14-4922.pdf>.

## From TEI to linguistic corpora using Pepper

Florian Zipser, Martin Klotz, André Röhrig /  
*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

The linguistic analysis of historical texts has an impact on several fields, like linguistics, historical sciences, literature, philology, etc. All these fields can benefit from the reuse of data created in the other fields. Unfortunately, there exist some technical incompatibilities between them. Many historical texts from philological contexts are first digitised in the TEI format<sup>19</sup> (Text Encoding Initiative). In addition to the storage of pure text, TEI allows for annotation of many meta data e.g. authors, editors, codicological and paleographic information and simple linguistic annotations like word forms or morphology. However, TEI was not designed to handle a wide range of linguistic annotations<sup>20</sup>. More prevalent formats in linguistics are for instance the EXMARALDA format<sup>21</sup>, TCF<sup>22</sup> or the ANNIS format<sup>23</sup>, which are processed by

<sup>19</sup><http://www.tei-c.org/>

<sup>20</sup>The TEI for linguists SIG, is working on possibilities to expand the TEI for specific linguistic annotations, see [http://www.tei-c.org/Activities/SIG/TEI\\_for\\_Linguists/](http://www.tei-c.org/Activities/SIG/TEI_for_Linguists/)

<sup>21</sup>Storage format of the annotation tool EXMARALDA, see <http://www.exmaralda.org/>

<sup>22</sup>Process format of the NLP Pipeline WebLicht, see [http://weblicht.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/weblichtwiki/index.php/Main\\_Page](http://weblicht.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/weblichtwiki/index.php/Main_Page)

<sup>23</sup>Import format of the search and visualization tool ANNIS, see <http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/annis/>

manual and (semi-) automatic annotation or search tools.

On this poster we present Pepper<sup>24</sup>, a tool capable of overcoming these technical incompatibilities. Pepper is a pluggable framework for the conversion of linguistic data from one format into another. It utilises the linguistic meta model Salt<sup>25</sup> as an intermediate model. This means to convert data from a format *A* to a format *B*, they first have to be mapped from *A* to Salt and second from Salt to *B*. This approach reduces the number of mappings from  $n^2 - n$  (for a direct mapping) to  $2n$ . Pepper's pluggable architecture allows the implementation of plugins for further formats, which can consequently be converted into each of the existing formats. In addition to many plugins for other formats, Pepper now also contains a plugin to support the TEI format. Due to the use of the intermediate model Salt, Pepper can convert TEI-encoded data into all formats Pepper currently supports. On this Poster we illustrate an exemplary workflow to convert historical texts in TEI coming from the Ridges corpus<sup>26</sup> to a set of linguistic formats like the EXMARaLDA format, TCF or the ANNIS format. Pepper enables us to linguistically annotate (in a manual or automatic manner) and search corpora that originally come from non-linguistic fields.

## Interactive analysis of multi-layer linguistic corpora with ANNIS

Florian Zipser<sup>1</sup>, Thomas Krause<sup>1</sup>, Arne Neumann<sup>2</sup> /  
<sup>1</sup>*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, <sup>2</sup>*Universität Potsdam*

In this poster, we present new features of the ANNIS<sup>27</sup> search- and visualization system for multi-layered corpora. ANNIS was developed as a platform to explore a wide range of corpora. It is not limited to a specific type of annotation or a single corpus. Instead, ANNIS abstracts over the linguistic data and interprets them as a graph. Token or structural elements like phrases are represented as nodes and relationships between them are symbolized with edges. This abstraction allows vastly different corpora to be queried with the same query language. Furthermore, ANNIS comes with a set of different visualizations to display corpus specific annotation layers like syntactic trees,

<sup>24</sup><http://u.hu-berlin.de/saltnpepper>

<sup>25</sup><http://u.hu-berlin.de/saltnpepper>

<sup>26</sup><http://korpling.german.hu-berlin.de/ridges/>

<sup>27</sup><http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/annis/>

coreference chains, rhetorical structure trees and many more. To give the user a familiar feeling when searching through the data, these visualizations are very close to the ones used in the original annotation tools. The particular power of ANNIS is the combined search and visualization of several annotation layers at a time. This empowers linguists to search comprehensively for phenomena on several layers on an increasing number of multi-layered corpora like TüBa-D/Z<sup>28</sup>, PCC<sup>29</sup> or Falko<sup>30</sup>.

In addition to performance improvements, the latest ANNIS version features a frequency analysis module and improvements of the ANNIS query language AQL. The new module allows calculating frequencies of annotations without resorting to external tools. AQL now supports queries with logical alternatives and the possibility to search for multiple annotations with the same or different values. Furthermore, we simplified the syntax of AQL to make complex queries easier to read and write. The frequency module, in combination with these AQL improvements simplifies the interactive analysis of linguistic corpora and allows a wider range of linguistic analysis directly in ANNIS. We will show these improvements along with the revised multi-layered PCC 2.0 corpus at the live demonstration.

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<sup>28</sup><http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/en/ascl/resources/corpora/tueba-dz.html>

<sup>29</sup><https://www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/acl-lab/Forsch/pcc/pcc.html>

<sup>30</sup><https://www.linguistik.hu-berlin.de/institut/professuren/korpuslinguistik/forschung/falko>

# Tutorium der Sektion Computerlinguistik

## Korpusbasierter Vergleich von Varietäten

Felix Golcher, Anke Lüdeling / *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
Dienstag, 3.3., 10:00–17:00, HS 20

Dieses Tutorium richtet sich an LinguistInnen ohne tiefe statistische und korpuslinguistische Vorkenntnisse.

Für viele Forschungsfragen will man die Ausprägungen einer linguistischen Variable in verschiedenen Varietäten vergleichen: Wie verändern sich Kompositionsmuster zwischen dem Mittelhochdeutschen und dem Frühneuhochdeutschen? Wie unterscheiden sich Satzlängen in gesprochener Spontansprache von Satzlängen in Chat-Daten? Nutzen Lerner des Deutschen als Fremdsprache V-N-Konstruktionen anders als Muttersprachler des Deutschen? Solche Fragen lassen sich gut mit annotierten Korpora untersuchen.

In diesem Tutorium wollen wir anhand von geeigneten Korpusbeispielen die konzeptuellen und statistischen Voraussetzungen für solche Studien erarbeiten. Insbesondere wollen wir die folgenden Aspekte behandeln:

- Replizierbarkeit und Reproduzierbarkeit von Forschungsergebnissen
- Korpusdesign
- Normalisierung
- statistische Tests
- Varianz innerhalb eines Korpus im Vergleich mit Varianz zwischen Korpora.

Für weitere Informationen siehe: <http://linguistik.hu-berlin.de/institut/professuren/korpuslinguistik/events/dgfs2015>

Bitte melden Sie sich an. Dazu wählen Sie bitte bei der Anmeldung für die Haupttagung als Zusatzoption das CL-Tutorium aus. Maximale Teilnehmerzahl: 50



## **L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X for Linguists**

*Graduate School IGRA, Universität Leipzig*

Dienstag, 3.3., 9:30–17:00, HS 19

Every PhD student is faced with the same problem in the course of their academic pursuits: How do I present my work in a professional way? How can I handle large (and ever growing) documents that include many different types of objects efficiently? L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X is a powerful typesetting system that allows you to create professionally typeset and well-structured documents with minimal effort. Additional packages enable you to create high-quality presentations and posters, type linguistics symbols, draw trees, and create perfectly aligned glosses for examples as well as facilitating automatic numbering of examples and cross-referencing. It also provides an interface to bibliography management via BibT<sub>E</sub>X, a tool which stores all your references and will cite them coherently and conforming to various journal guidelines.

Although some aspects of coding in L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X are somewhat unintuitive and difficult to learn without assistance, the benefits of learning L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X far outweigh the initial difficulties one may encounter. In this one-day workshop, the faculty and doctoral students of the University of Leipzig IGRA Programme will provide an introduction to the basics of L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X as well as share tips and tricks on L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X for the working linguist.

The language of the workshop will be English. Bringing your own laptop is not required but participants are welcome to do so. We will send instructions on how to install L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X before the workshop. Participation is free for all interested but places are limited so participants are asked to register in advance by sending us an email. If you have any questions feel free to e-mail us at the above address!

**Dienstag, 03. März 2015 (HSG, HS 19)**

DF

09:30–10:45	Setting up a basic document/Basic commands
10:45–11:15	Coffee Break
11:15–12:30	Presenting Data
12:30–14:00	Lunch Break
14:00–15:15	Beamer & posters
15:15–15:45	Coffee Break
15:45–17:00	qtree & BibTeX

**Organisatoren**

Katja Barnickel,  
Matías Guzmán Naranjo,  
Johannes Hein,  
Sampson Korsah,  
Andrew Murphy,  
Ludger Paschen,  
Zorica Puškar,  
Sandhya Sundaresan,  
Joanna Zaleska



# Lehramtsinitiative

LAI

**Dienstag, 03. März 2015 (NSG)**

AG1: S220   AG2: S222   AG3: S224   AG4: S226   AG5: S228

Vormittags

## **Schulbesuche**

Susanne Michaelis, Hans Ulrich Schmid, Beat Siebenhaar, MPI EVA Leipzig/Universität Leipzig

15:00–15:15

**Begrüßung** (Foyer HSG, 2. Obergeschoss)

15:15–16:15

## **Arbeitsgruppen Block I:**

**AG1**   Christiane Neveling, Corinna Koch,  
Universitäten Leipzig/Paderborn  
*Mehrsprachigkeit in der Schule: Transfer aus zuvor  
gelernten Sprachen*

**AG2**   Markus Steinbach, Annika Herrmann,  
Universität Göttingen  
*Deutsche Gebärdensprache*

**AG3**   Claudia Müller, Ruhr-Universität Bochum  
*Literacy-Förderung im Rahmen des Erst- und Zweit-  
spracherwerbs*

**AG4**   Daniela Elsner, Universität Leipzig  
*Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle als Reflexionsanlass*

**AG5**   Beat Siebenhaar, Universität Leipzig  
*Sprachliche Variation in der Schule*

16:15–16:30

Pause

16:30–17.3:30 **Arbeitsgruppen Block II:**

- AG1** Doris Schönefeld, Universität Leipzig  
*Learning grammar and vocabulary from a corpus*
- AG2** Tanja Zybatow, Universität Flensburg  
*Grammatik und Informationsstruktur*
- AG3** Maria Geipel, Universität Jena  
*Kasusfehler = Kasusfehler? Gezielte Diagnose und Förderung*
- AG4** Ursula Bredel, Hrvoje Hlebec  
Universität Hildesheim  
*Interpunktion: Schreiben in der Sekundarstufe II*

18:00–19:00 **Plenarvortrag**

Peter Gallmann, Universität Jena  
*Wortartkonzepte und Schule*

Anmeldung zu den Workshops und weitere Informationen unter  
[lus.philol.uni-leipzig.de](http://lus.philol.uni-leipzig.de).

Es besteht die Möglichkeit, im Anschluss an Block II gemeinsam zum Plenarvortrag zu gehen. Dieser findet in der Leipziger Stadtbibliothek am Wilhelm-Leuschner-Platz statt. Treffpunkt: 17:40 Uhr vor dem Seminargebäude.

Für die Organisation des Lehrerinformationstages sind Björn Rothstein (Bochum) und Sandra Döring (Leipzig) von der DGfS-Lehramtsinitiative verantwortlich. Ohne das Engagement von (in alphabetischer Reihenfolge) Marcel Fischer, Irene Mey, Eva Metzger, Wiebke Pippel, Sandra Ponitka und Julianne Rost wäre die Ausgestaltung des Informationstages in dieser Form nicht möglich gewesen.

## Wortartkonzepte und Schule

Peter Gallmann / *Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*

Dienstag, 3.3., 18:00–19:00, Stadtbibliothek

Die 10-Wortarten-Lehre ist auf dem langsamen Rückzug. Ihre Inkonsistenzen sind bekannt – aber was ist die Alternative? Im Vortrag wird auf Vor- und Nachteile neuerer (und nicht mehr ganz neuer) Ansätze eingegangen – und auch auf einige konzeptionelle Ungenauigkeiten. Zur Sprache kommen insbesondere zwei paradigmatische Ansätze: die Klassifikation nach den Möglichkeiten der Flexionsformenbildung und die Klassifikation nach syntaktischen Gebrauchsmöglichkeiten. In beiden Fällen kommt man um eine Fokussierung auf Prototypisches nicht herum. Die beiden Ansätze scheinen in erstaunlichem Maß zu konvergieren – was zumindest auf den zweiten Blick nicht erstaunt: Flexion und syntaktischer Gebrauch hängen ja auf sachlicher Ebene zusammen. Wenn es stimmt, dass die beiden Ansätze in den Resultaten gar nicht so verschieden sind, kann man relativ unbelastet die Anschlussfrage stellen, welcher Zugang für die Schule der geeignetere ist – unter Umständen differenziert nach Schulstufe und Gegenstand im Einzelnen.

LAI

LAI

## Podiumsdiskussion Linguistikpublikationen

### Linguistikpublikationen im Umbruch: Wo wollen wir hin? Wohin werden wir getrieben?

---

Martin Haspelmath<sup>1</sup>, Alexander Bergs<sup>2</sup>,  
Stefan Müller<sup>3</sup>, Kai von Fintel<sup>4</sup> /

<sup>1</sup>*Universität Leipzig*, <sup>2</sup>*Universität Osnabrück*,  
<sup>3</sup>*Freie Universität Berlin*,

<sup>4</sup>*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*

Dienstag, 3.3., 15:30–17:30, HS 4

PD

In dieser Podiumsdiskussion soll der drastische Wandelprozess im Publikationssystem diskutiert werden und gefragt werden, was das für die Wissenschaft bedeutet. Welche Rolle spielen traditionelle Papierpublikationen in der Online-Welt? Wie begegnet man den Open-Access-Forderungen aus der Politik? Bewegt sich auch die Linguistik in die Richtung von Mega-Journals wie PLOS ONE? Werden wir angesichts von Academia.edu und ResearchGate in Zukunft überhaupt noch Verlage brauchen? Können und sollen Wissenschaftler versuchen, die gegenwärtigen dramatischen Veränderungen zu beeinflussen?

PD

# Arbeitskreis Linguistische Pragmatik

**Dienstag, 03. März 2015 (HSG, HS 13)**

08:45–09:00 **Begrüßung**

09:00–10:30 **Theoretische Reflexionen:**

Thomas Niehr, RWTH Aachen

*Angemessenheit – eine Kategorie zwischen Präskriptivität und Inhaltsleere?*

Mirco Limpinsel, Freie Universität Berlin

*Angemessenheit als Argumentationstopos*

Ulrike Krieg-Holz, Lars Bülow,

Universitäten Leipzig/Passau

*Angemessenheit als genuin pragmatistisches Kriterium*

10:30–11:00 Pause

11:00–12:30 **Aushandlungen von Angemessenheit**

Katharina König, Universität Münster

*“ziGEUner darf man ja eigentlich nicht sagen;” –*

*Die Verhandlung sprachlicher (Un-) Angemessenheit im Gespräch*

Konstanze Marx, Technische Universität Berlin

*Zur Angemessenheit von Unangemessenheit – Die Banter-Funktion auf dem Online-Prüfstand*

Georg Albert, Nadine Hahn,

Universitäten Koblenz/Landau

*Erwartungen an die sprachliche Form. Was in einem Online-Diskussionsforum als gute Ausdrucksweise “durchgeht”*

12:30–14:00 Mittagspause

ALP

14:00–15:30 **Angemessenheit und Gesprächskompetenz**

Kersten Sven Roth, Universität Düsseldorf  
*Spielregeln des Sprechens – Was bedeutet “Angemessenheit” in der Face-to-Face-Interaktion?*

Stefan Hauser, Martin Luginbühl,  
Universitäten Zürich/Neuchâtel  
*Aushandlung von Angemessenheit in argumentativen Gesprächen von Schulkindern*

Cordula Schwarze, Universität Innsbruck  
*Angemessenheit als Unterrichtsgegenstand und Bewertungsmaßstab in Auswertungsgesprächen an der Hochschule*

15:30–16:00 Pause

16:00–16:30 **Postersektion**

Hanna Acke, Universität Münster  
*Angemessener Sprachgebrauch in Leserkomentaren zu Artikeln in Online-Zeitungen*

Andreas Osterroth,, Universität Landau  
*Vorstellung des abgeschlossenen Promotionsverfahrens: Linguistisch begründete Sprachkritik in der Schule*

Sandra Reimann, Universität Regensburg  
*“Ich glaube, wir reden dermaßen aneinander vorbei” – Zur “Angemessenheit” des Sprachgebrauchs auf der Selbsthilfeplattform [www.hungrig-online](http://www.hungrig-online)*

16:30–17:00 **Formale Aspekte – Angemessenheit als Textqualität**

Bettina Bock, Universitäten Leipzig/Halle  
*Angemessenheit als Orientierungsraster für sprachliches Handeln: Angemessene Texte für spezifische Gruppen schreiben*

Sarah Brommer, Universität Zürich  
*Sprachliche Muster als Indikator für die Angemessenheit eines Textes – Grundlagen einer automatisierten Text- und Stilanalyse*

17:30–18:00 **Zusammenfassung, Ausblick**



## Notizen



















## **Gesamtübersicht der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen**

Mittwoch, 4. März

AG	Raum	14:00	14:30	15:00	15:30	16:00	Kaffeepause					
1	HS 20	Walker		14:30	15:00	15:30	16:00	Dhanian Samion & Nevins				
2	HS 14	Finkbeiner & Freywald	Stolz					Kimmelman				
3	HS 4	Ott & Simik	Chandra	Zeijlstra	Preminger							
4	HS 5	Dryer			Fleischer							
5	HS 6	Reich & Speyer	Matos & Colaço	Lühr	Eberhardt							
6	HS 15	Wochner & Schlegel	Armstrong	Elhami	Kelert							
7	HS 19	Baer-Henney & Boll-Avetisyan	Bat-El	Keij & Kager	Olejarz & Kapatsinski							
8	HS 16	d' Avis	Buchmann & Fuhrhop	Kaneko	Härtl							
9	HS 10	Sawada			Lee							
10	HS 11	Hinterwimmer et al.	Eckardt	Bary	Salem et al.							
11	HS 17	Demuth	Lavalley & Berkling	Hills & Yoshida								
12												
13	HS 12	Ahn & Sauerland	Etxepare & Etxeberria	Spector								
14												

Donnerstag, 5. März

AG	Raum	09:00	09:30	10:00	10:30	Kaffeepause				11:30	12:00	12:30
1	HS 20	Ben-David & Bat-El	Lleó	Alber et al.	Raffelsiefen & Brackhane					Xu	Árnason	
2	HS 14	Horn		Cummins	Gipper					Brody	Rossi	Schumann & Wiese
3	HS 4	Abe	Blümel	Struckmeier	Gallego					Graf	G. Müller	
4	HS 5	Kempen & Harbusch	Richards					Sanfelici et al.	Gärtner	Catasso & Hinterhölzl		
5	HS 6	Antomo & Steinbach		Quer	Fortmann					Gutzmann & Henderson	Beck	
6	HS 15	Truckenbrodt & Kamali	Forker	Butt et al.	Öhl					Schepens & Jaeger	Postersession	
7	HS 19	Moreton		Kao	Bruni et al.							
8	HS 16	So. Müller		Mushchinina						Eggs	Sv. Müller	
9	HS 10	Homer		Zeijlstra	Sailer					Kellert	Castroviejo & Gehrke	Liu
10	HS 11	Barr		Wang et al.	Secora et al.					Mozuraitis et al.	Tomlinson & Rodríguez Ronderos	Tosi et al.
11				—								
12	HS 17	Cartmill et al.		Furman et al.	Lüke					Laing	Vogt & Kauschke	General discussion
13				—								
14	HS 12	von Fintel		Hara	Wurm & Ferraresi					Karawani	van Wijnbergen-Huitink	Martin

Freitag, 6. März

AG	Raum	11:30 12:00	12:00 12:30	12:30 13:00	13:00 13:30	13:30 14:00
1	HS 20	Cavirani	Kabak & Revithiadou	Broś	Egurtzegi	Malisz et al.
2	HS 14	Finkbeiner	Cannava	Eitelmann & Mondorf	Erbaşı	Kentner
3	HS 4	Murphy	van Gelderen	Selvanathan	Szendrői	—
4	HS 5	Neeleman		Cognola		
5	HS 6		Reis	von Wietersheim	Külpmann & Symanczyk-Joppe	Brandt et al.
6	HS 15	Kügler	Scheffler	El Zarka & Gazdik	Final discussion	—
7	HS 19	Albright & Do	White et al.	Bohn	Schwytay & Höhle	Tsuji et al.
8	HS 16		Gutzmann & Turgay	Mueller-Reichau	Zamfirescu	Schlussdiskussion
9	HS 10	Hoeksema		Modicom		Final discussion
10	HS 11	Kaiser	Bittner	Boeg Thomsen	Köder	Hole
11				—		
12	HS 17	Kern & Rohlfing	Radlmaier & Lindner	General discussion		
13				—		
14	HS 12	Asfawwesen	Roisenberg Rodrigues & Keshet	Külpmann & Symanczyk-Joppe	Mönnich	Condoravdi & Lauer

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