Gottesteilchen der Sprache? Theorie, Empirie und die Zukunft sprachlicher Kategorien

36. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)

Philipps-Universität Marburg

5.-7. März 2014

Willkommen! Welcome!

Grußwort der Organisatoren

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen,

wir freuen uns sehr, Sie anlässlich der 36. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft an der Philipps-Universität Marburg begrüßen zu dürfen.

Die Sprachwissenschaft kann in Marburg auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken. Im Jahre 1876 wurde hier durch Georg Wenker das wohl erste sprachwissenschaftliche Institut der Welt gegründet. Der Geist Wenkers – sowie seine wegweisende Forschung zu deutschen Dialekten – wird heute vom *Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas* fortgeführt, an dem die Variationsmöglichkeiten der deutschen Sprache in Raum und Zeit mit modernsten Methoden erforscht werden.

Mit der Bewilligung eines integrierten Forschungsbaus für die Marburger Linguistik sowie der Förderung des Schwerpunktes "Fundierung linguistischer Basiskategorien" im Rahmen der hessischen Exzellenzinitiative *LOEWE* hat die sprachwissenschaftliche Forschung in Marburg in den letzten Jahren einen qualitativen Sprung erfahren. Im Rahmen des LOEWE-Projekts arbeiten Kolleginnen und Kollegen aus der theoretisch und historisch orientierten Linguistik, der Variationslinguistik und Sprachtypologie sowie der klinischen Linguistik und der Psycho-/Neurolinguistik gemeinsam an der Ergründung fundamentaler sprachlicher Eigenschaften.

Willkommen! Welcome!

Im Zeichen dieser Fragestellungen steht auch das – natürlich mit einem gewissen Schmunzeln zu verstehende – Rahmenthema der diesjährigen DGfS-Jahrestagung: "Gottesteilchen der Sprache? Theorie, Empirie und die Zukunft sprachlicher Kategorien".

Wir wünschen Ihnen eine interessante und produktive Tagung sowie einen schönen Aufenthalt in der Universitätsstadt Marburg.

Mit herzlichen Grüßen,

Ina Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, Michael Cysouw, Jürg Fleischer, Joachim Herrgen, Christina Kauschke, Roland Kehrein, Jürgen Erich Schmidt, Stefan Weninger, Richard Wiese, Isabel Zollna

Welcome to the DGfS annual meeting 2014

Dear colleagues,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to the University of Marburg on the occasion of the 36th annual meeting of the German Linguistics Society.

Linguistics in Marburg has a long and prestigious tradition. In 1876, the first linguistics institute in the world was founded here by Georg Wenker. Research in the spirit of Wenker's groundbreaking work is still being carried out today at the *Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas*, where variations of the German language are explored in time and space using contemporary methods.

With the approval of a new integrated research building for linguistics and funding of the grant "Exploring fundamental linguistic categories" within the excellence initiative *LOEWE* of the German state of Hesse, linguistic research in Marburg has recently progressed to a new dimension. Within the context of the LOEWE project, theoretical and historical linguists are collaborating with linguists interested in variation and typology, clinical linguists and psycho-/neurolinguists

in order to uncover fundamental characteristics of language. The theme of this year's annual meeting – " 'God particles' of language? Theoretical and empirical approaches and the future of linguistic categories" – which is, of course, not meant to be taken entirely literally, perfectly complements this research enterprise.

We wish you an interesting and productive meeting as well as a pleasant stay in Marburg!

With kind regards,

Ina Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, Michael Cysouw, Jürg Fleischer, Joachim Herrgen, Christina Kauschke, Roland Kehrein, Jürgen Erich Schmidt, Stefan Weninger, Richard Wiese, Isabel Zollna

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Information zur Tagung / Conference Information

Tagung	36. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft
Veranstalter	Philipps-Universität Marburg
Homepage	http://www.online.uni-marburg.de/dgfs2014/
Kontakt	Prof. Dr. Ina Bornkessel-Schlesewsky Institut für Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft Philipps-Universität Marburg Deutschhausstraße 3 35032 Marburg
Anmeldung	https: //dgfs.hosting-kunde.de/jtanmeldung/index.php
Tagungsgebühren	DGfS-Mitglieder

DGfS-Mitglieder

- regulärer Beitrag / mit Einkommen: 40 €
- reduzierter Beitrag / ohne Einkommen: 25 €

Nicht-Mitglieder

- mit Einkommen: 60 €
- ohne Einkommen: 30 €

Teilnahme am geselligen Abend: 35 €
Hinweis: Bei Registrierung nach dem 31.01.2014 werden zusätzlich 5,00 Euro erhoben.

Info

Unterkunft	Sie können Hotelzimmer in Marburg und Umgebung über die Marburg Tourismus und Marketing GmbH buchen (zur Buchungshomepage: http://www.marburg.de/de/107054). Bitte beachten Sie, dass eine frühzeitige Buchung sinnvoll ist, da die Hotelkapazitäten in Marburg begrenzt sind und bei einer späten Buchungsanfrage unter Umständen keine Zimmer mehr zur Verfügung stehen.

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- **EuroCar:** +49 (0)6421 999995
- **Marburg City Taxi:** +49 (0)6421 37777
- **Spar Car:** +49 (0)6421 999988
- **Taxi Ayse:** +49 (0)6421 44477
- **Taxi Gurhan:** +49 (0)6421 44414
- **Taxi Kazim:** +49 (0)6421 9488877
- **Taxi Sami Ali Saleh:** +49 (0)6421 62222
- **Taxi Sorany:** +49 (0)6421 484444
- **TAXI-RUF Wehrda:** +49 (0)6421 880099
- **Telecar:** +49 (0)6421 25100
- **Unicar:** +49 (0)6421 65565
- **VIP Car:** +49 (0)6421 66699

Erste Hilfe

Hörsaalgebäude
Biegenstr. 14
Raum +1/0090

Barrierefreiheit

Die Tagungsräume im Hörsaalgebäude (Biegenstraße 14) sind barrierefrei; in diesem Gebäude gibt es barrierefreie Toiletten. Der Zugang zur Alten Universität (nur erster Tag in der Früh) ist leider nicht barrierefrei, es gibt hier ca. fünf Stufen am Eingang und eine Stufe im Gebäude; barrierefreie Toiletten sind hier nicht vorhanden. Der gesellige Abend findet in der Mensa Erlenring statt; dieser Ort ist barrierefrei, mit barrierefreien Toiletten. Auskunft zur Barrierefreiheit der Unterkünfte beziehen Sie bitte jeweils direkt dort. Der Bahnhof in Marburg ist leider nicht barrierefrei; hier muss über die Mobilitätsservice-Zentrale der DB im Vorfeld eine Hilfeleistung angemeldet werden. Busse der Stadtwerke Marburg sind barrierefrei. Für weitere Fragen zur Barrierefreiheit für Menschen mit Behinderung wenden Sie sich bitte an Herrn Alexander Dröge. (alexander.droege@staff.uni-marburg.de)

For information in English, please see the conference website.

Anreise / Arrival

Hörsaalgebäude der Philipps-Universität
Biegenstraße 14
35037 Marburg

Mit dem Auto aus Richtung Kassel (Norden)

Sie verlassen die Stadtautobahn (B3) an der Ausfahrt Marburg-Bahnhofstraße. An der ersten Ampel bitte rechts abbiegen auf die Bahnhofstraße in Richtung Innenstadt (zurzeit befindet sich das Bahnhofsgelände im Umbau, daher kann die Verkehrsführung u.U. geändert werden). Sie fahren die Bahnhofstraße entlang. Hinter der nächsten Ampel die linke Fahrspur benutzen und am Ende der Bahnhofstraße nach links in die Elisabethstraße einbiegen. Bitte weiterhin die linke Fahrspur bis zur nächsten Ampel an der Elisabethkirche benutzen und dort nach links in die Deutschhausstraße abbiegen. Danach geht es über die nächste Ampel geradeaus, es folgt eine Rechtskurve und Sie haben die Biegenstraße erreicht. Nach etwa 300m befindet sich auf der rechten Straßenseite eine Kirche und unmittelbar daneben ist die Einfahrt zu den Parkplätzen des Hörsaalgebäudes.

Alternative Route: Sie verlassen die Stadtautobahn (B3) an der Ausfahrt Marburg-Mitte und fahren an der ersten Ampel nach rechts, und dann ausschließlich auf der rechten Fahrspur in Richtung Innenstadt. Nach zwei Fußgängerampeln überqueren Sie die Lahn und biegen an der nächsten Ampel nach rechts ab. Sie fahren am rechter Hand gelegenen Cineplex-Kino vorbei. Nach der übernächsten Fußgängerampel ist auf der linken Seite die Zentralverwaltung und danach die Einfahrt zu den Parkplätzen des Hörsaalgebäudes.

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Mit dem Auto aus Richtung Frankfurt/Gießen (Süden)

Sie verlassen die Stadtautobahn (B3) an der Ausfahrt Marburg-Mitte (Esso Tankstelle) und halten Sie sich ausschließlich rechts bis zur nächsten Ampel, an der Sie ebenfalls nach rechts in Richtung Innenstadt abbiegen. Dann geht es weiter auf der rechten Fahrspur nach drei Ampeln über die Lahn und hinter der Brücke biegen Sie an der nächsten Ampel nach rechts ab. Sie fahren am rechter Hand gelegenen Cineplex-Kino vorbei. Nach der übernächsten Fußgängerampel ist auf der linken Seite die Zentralverwaltung und danach die Einfahrt zu den Parkplätzen des Hörsaalgebäudes.

Mit der Deutschen Bahn

Vom Marburger Hauptbahnhof benutzen Sie entweder ein Taxi, das am Bahnhofsvorplatz wartet, um Sie in die Biegenstraße 14 zu bringen, oder eine der Bus-Linien 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 und 7 der Marburger Stadtwerke. Sie fahren bis zur Haltestelle "Stadthalle" und haben die Zentralverwaltung und das dahinter liegende Hörsaalgebäude erreicht.

Wir wünschen Ihnen eine sichere und angenehme Anreise!

Lageplan Hörsaalgebäude
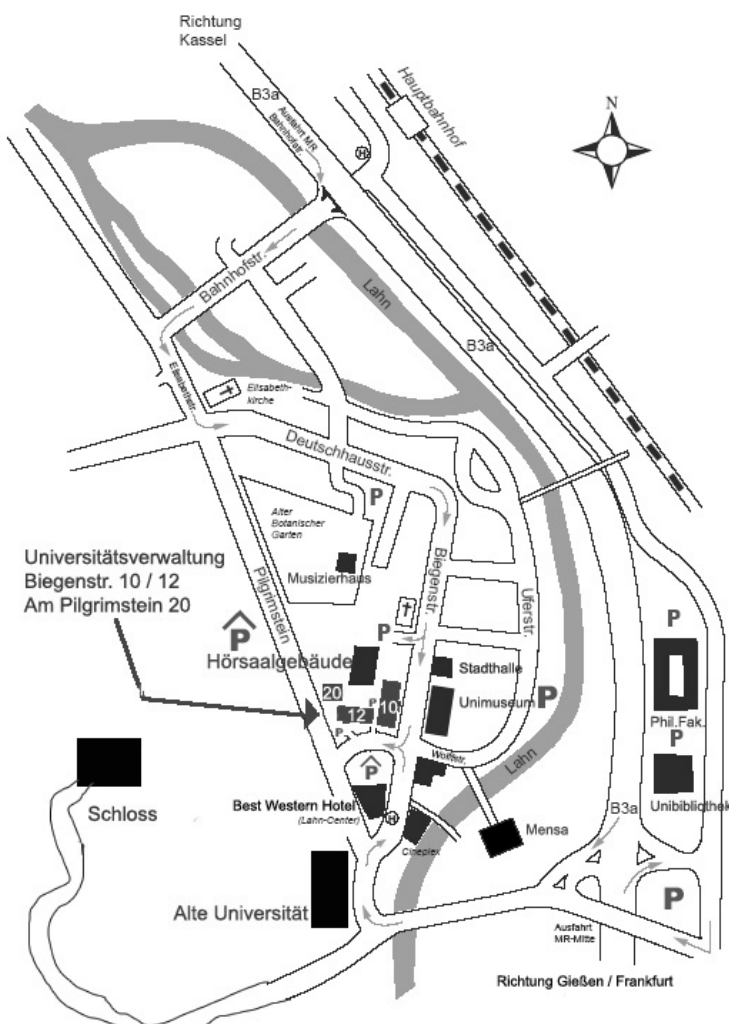
Essen und Trinken / Food and Drink

Name, Adresse, Telefon	Art der Küche
Athena Marburg Ketzerbach 20, Tel. +49 (0)6421 6905858 www.athena-marburg.de	Griechisch
Bottega Krebsgasse 1,ʳ +49 (0)6421 1605289 http://www.bottega-marburg.de	Nudeln (u.a. Italienisch)
Ceder Pilgrimstein 29,ᵖ Tel. +49 (0)6421 988885 http://ceder-marburg.com	Libanesisch
Colloseo Deutschhausstr. 35, Tel. +49 (0)6421 67899 http://www.colosseo-marburg.de	Italienisch
Curry Haus Ketzerbach 9, Tel. +49 (0)6421 889964 http://www.curryhaus.com	Indisch
Dromedar African Restaurant & Cocktailbar Am Grün 1, Tel. +49 (0)6421 1664299 www.dromedar-marburg.de	Afrikanisch (Eritreisch)
EinzimmerkücheBar Gerhard-Jahn-Platz 11,ᶜ Tel. +49 (0)6421 307766 http://einzimmerkuechebar.jimdo.com	Deutsch / Türkisch

Name, Adresse, Telefon	Art der Küche
Gartenlaube (n) Stadl Steinweg 38, Tel. +49 (0)6421 617662 www.gartenlaube-marburg.de	Deutsch
Gasthausbrauerei Elisabeth Steinweg 45, Tel. +49 (0)6421 1830544 www.elisabethbraeu.de	Deutsch
Hikari Gold Sushi Erlenring 2,ᵉ +49 (0)6421 9998783	Sushi / Japanisch
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Kalimera Lingelgasse 13,ᵉ Tel, +49 (0)6421 26688	Griechisch
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Metzgerei Bornemann Roter Graben 18, Tel. +49 (0)6421 96510	Gutbürgerlich
Restaurant Milano Biegenstraße 19, Tel. +49 (0)6421 22488	Italienisch
Restaurant Ratsschänke Markt 3, Tel. +49 (0)6421 13834 (Mittwochs Ruhetag) www.ratsschaenke-marburg.de	Deutsch
Restaurant Tandoori Biegenstraße 23, Tel. +49 (0)6421 690366 www.tandoori-marburg.de	Indisch
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Essen

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Tom & Sally's Gerhard-Jahn-Platz 15,^c Tel. +49 (0)6421 1864888 http://www.tom-sallys.de	Salat
Weinlädle Schloßtreppe 1, Tel. +49 (0)06421 14244 http://weinlädele.de	Deutsch

Außerdem befinden sich in der Nähe des Hörsaalgebäudes die Mensa (Erlenring 5) und zahlreiche Studentenkneipen (mit Essen) in der Oberstadt.

Essen

Anmerkungen:

[p] befindet sich in der Lahn**p**assage bzw. im Lahncenter in dem Gebäude hinter der Deutsche Bank Filale.

[r] unbedingt vor**r**eserverien!

[c] befindet sich am Platz neben dem **C**ineplex.

[e] befindet sich am **E**rlenring (hinter und neben der Mensa).

Programmübersicht & AG-Programme / Program Overview & Theme session schedules

Programm / Schedule

Dienstag, 04.03.2014

10.00 – 17.00 Uhr	CL-Tutorium (Sektion Computerlinguistik)
10.00 – 17.00 Uhr	Doktorandenforum
15.00 – 18.00 Uhr	Lehramtsinitiative: Plenarvortrag und Podiumsdiskussion
8.30 – ca. 20 Uhr	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)
ab 20.00 Uhr	Warming Up

Mittwoch, 05.03.2014

9.30 – 12.30 Uhr	Begrüßung, Plenarvorträge:
	W. Tecumseh Fitch (Wien) & Balthasar Bickel (Zürich)
	Preisverleihung Wilhelm-von-Humboldt-Preis

Programmübersicht & AG-Programme / Program Overview & Theme session schedules

12.30 – 14.00 Uhr	Mittagspause
12:45 – 13:45 Uhr	Präsentation: Language Science Press
13.00 – 14.00 Uhr	Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS-Sektion Computerlinguistik
14.00 – 16.00 Uhr	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
16.00 – 16.30 Uhr	Kaffeepause
16.30 – 18.30 Uhr	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
19.30 Uhr	Empfang der Stadt Marburg

Donnerstag, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 11.00 Uhr	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
11.00 – 11.30 Uhr	Kaffeepause
11.30 – 13.00 Uhr	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen
13.00 – 14.30 Uhr	Mittagspause
13.00 – 14.30 Uhr	Poster und Demos der Sektion Computerlinguistik
14.30 – 18.30 Uhr	DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung
ab 19.00 Uhr	Geselliger Abend

Programm

Freitag, 07.03.2014

9.00 – 11.00 Uhr	Plenarvorträge:
	Gabriella Vigliocco (London) & Karin Donhauser (Berlin)
11.00 – 11.30 Uhr	Kaffeepause
11.30 – 14.00 Uhr	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

Arbeitsgruppen / Theme sessions

AG 1: Petra Schulz, Esther Ruigendijk
Experimental and theoretical approaches to relative clauses reconciled

AG 2: Eefje Boef, Marco Coniglio, Eva Schlachter, Tonjes Veenstra
Demonstratives

AG 3: Björn Wiemer, Kasper Boye, Alexander Letuchiy
Clausal complementation and (non)factivity

AG 4: Josef Bayer, Volker Struckmeier
The syntax and semantics of particles

AG 5: Heike Behrens, Karin Madlener
Categories and categorization in first and second language acquisition

AG 6: Carola Trips, Richard Ingham, Achim Stein
Language in historical contact situations (LHC): diagnostics for grammatical replication

AG 7: Sandra Döring, Jochen Geilfuß-Wolfgang
Probleme der syntaktischen Kategorisierung: Einzelgänger, Außenseiter und mehr

AG 8: Dietmar Zaefferer, Roel M. Willems
Converging evidence? Embodied views of basic categories in language and cognition

AG 9: Nanna Fuhrhop, Renata Szczepaniak
(Kurz AG) **Sichtbare und hörbare Morphologie**

AG 10: Jörg Meibauer
(Kurz AG) **Pejoration**

AG 11: Felix Bildhauer, Roland Schäfer
Web data as a challenge for theoretical linguistics and corpus design

Programm

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AG 12:	Martin Haspelmath, Andreas Dufter, Aria Adli **Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics**
AG 13:	Leah Bauke, Erich Groat, Andreas Blümel **Labels and roots**

Programm

Raumbelegung / Room plan

Sektion		Raum
Plenarvortrag	Fitch Bickel	Alte Aula
	Vigliocco Donhauser	Audimax (+2/0010)
AG 1	Experimental and theoretical approaches to relative clauses reconciled	+1/0010
AG 2	Demonstratives	+1/0060
AG 3	Clausal complementation and (non)factivity	+1/0080
AG 4	The syntax and semantics of Particles	+1/0030
AG 5	Categories and categorization in first and second language acquisition	00/0070
AG 6	Language in historical contact situations (LHC): diagnostics for grammatical replication	+1/0040
AG 7	Probleme der syntaktischen Kategorisierung: Einzelgänger, Außenseiter und mehr	+2/0090
AG 8	Converging evidence? Embodied views of basic categories in language and cognition	00/0020
AG 9 (Kurz-AG)	Sichtbare und hörbare Morphologie	+1/0050
AG 10 (Kurz-AG)	Pejoration	+2/0100

Programm

Programmübersicht & AG-Programme / Program Overview & Theme session schedules

Sektion		Raum
AG 11	Web data as a challenge for theoretical linguistics and corpus design	+1/0120
AG 12	Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics	+1/0110
AG 13	Labels and roots	+2/0110
CL-Tutorium		01A03 Turm A, 1. Stock W.-Röpke-Str. 6
Doktorandenforum		01A03 Carolinenhaus Deutschhaus-str. 12
Language Science Press Präsentation		00/0020
Lehramtsinitiative Vortrag + Diskussion		Hörsaal 01H01 W.-Röpke-Str. 6
Mitglieder-Versammlung Computerlinguistik		+1/0030
Mitglieder-Versammlung		00/0020

Rahmenprogramm / Social events

Veranstaltung / Event	Ort / Location
Warming Up (Dienstag / Tuesday)	5 Jahreszeiten Reitgasse 5 neben der Alten Universität next to the Old University
Empfang der Stadt Marburg / Reception from the City of Marburg (Mittwoch / Wednesday)	Rathaus / City Hall Markt 1 Oberstadt / Upper City
Geselliger Abend / Social Evening (Donnerstag / Thursday)	Speisesaal der Mensa Main Hall of the Mensa

Programm

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AG 1: Experimental and theoretical approaches to relative clauses reconciled

Petra Schulz & Esther Ruigendijk
Raum / Room: +1/0010

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	Welcome
14.30 – 15.30	*Adriana Belletti*
	What is complex in Relative Clauses?
15.30 – 16.00	*Cornelia Hamann, Laurice Tuller*
	Intervention effects in the spontaneous production of relative clauses in typical and atypical language development of French children and adolescents
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Andreas Pankau*
	A Syntactic Argument for the Matching Analysis of Relative Clauses in German
17.00 – 17.30	*Frank Kirchhoff, Beatrice Primus*
	Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses – Experimental and corpus-based syntactic evidence
17.30 – 18.00	*Boban Arsenijevic*
	Factive and propositional relative clauses and the operator movement approach
18.00 – 18.30	*Nino Grillo, Giorgos Spathas*
	Tense and Aspect modulate RC Attachment: Testing the PR-Hypothesis in Greek

AG 1: Experimental and theoretical approaches to relative clauses reconciled

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Yifei He, Ina Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, Matthias Schlesewsky*
	Subject relative clause preference in Chinese: processing relative clause with two gaps
9.30 – 10.00	*Kalliopi Katsika, Shanley Allen*
	Subject and object relative clauses in Greek: processing complexity in a flexible word-order language
10.00 – 10.30	*Thomas Weskott, Sascha Bargmann, Christopher Götze, Anke Holler, Gert Webelhuth*
	What Can Experiments Tell Us About the Syntactic Analysis of Relative Clauses?
10.30 – 11.00	*Yair Haendler, Falvia Adani*
	Off-line and On-line Child Comprehension of Object Relative Clauses with Demonstrative and Personal Pronouns
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Claudia Poschmann*
	Relative Clause Extraposition and Prosody
12.00 – 12.30	*Marie-Anne Duffeler*
	On the Comprehension of Subject and Object Relative Clauses by French Learners of English
12.30 – 13.00	*Alexander Thiel, Corinna Koch, Emanuela Sanfelici*
	The role of focus structure in children's production of object relative clauses

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Caterina Donati, Carlo Cecchetto, Maria Teresa Guasti*
	Gross minimality and relative clauses in child grammar
12.00 – 12.30	*Emanuela Sanfelici, Cecilia Poletto*
	Subject-Object asymmetry in relative clauses: an investigation into Italian dialects
12.30 – 13.00	Coffee break
13.00 – 13.30	*Markus Bader, Jana Häussler*
	Locality and Anti-Locality in Processing German Relative Clauses
13.30 – 14.00	*Naama Friedmann, João Costa, Maya Yachini, Carolina Silva*
	Do grammatical function and grammatical category matter for intervention in relative clauses? The acquistition of PP relatives in Hebrew and European Portuguese

Programm

AG 2: Demonstratives

Eefje Boef, Marco Coniglio, Eva Schlachter & Tonjes Veenstra
Raum / Room: +1/0060

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 15.00	*Ekkehard König*
	Manner Demonstratives: A Neglected Domain of Deixis, Anaphoricity and Grammaticalization
15.00 – 16.00	*Carla Umbach*
	Demonstrative expressions of manner, quality, and degree
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.30	*Ellen Brandner*
	From demonstrative (?) *so* to reflexive and possessive pronoun
17.30 – 18.30	*Bettelou Los, Ans van Kemenade*
	Syntax and the morphology of deixis: the loss of demonstratives and paratactic clause linking

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Cecilia Poletto, Emanuela Sanfelici*
	The syntax of demonstratives and speech participants' features: new insights from a Lucan dialect
10.00 – 11.00	*Marjo van Koppen, Norbert Corver*

Programm

	Pronominalization and Variation in Dutch Demonstrative Expressions
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.30	*Sarah Cutfield, Michael Dunn, Nick Enfield, Stephen Levinson*
	Exophoric uses of demonstratives in crosslinguistic perspective
12.30 – 13.00	*Gudrun Vanderbauwhede*
	From phoric to non-phoric use: the semantic bleaching of the demonstrative determiner in contemporary French in comparison to Dutch

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Jin Cui*
	The unstressed distal demonstrative *na* as a definiteness marker in Chinese - An experimental research on the distribution of the unstressed distal demonstrative *na* in bridging
12.00 – 13.00	*Boban Arsenijević*
	Atypical demonstratives in an article-less language – the case of Serbo-Croatian
13.00 – 14.00	*Giuliana Giusti*
	Demonstratives as arguments and modifiers of N

Programm

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AG 3: Clausal complementation and (non)factivity

Björn Wiemer, Kasper Boye & Alexander Letuchiy
Raum / Room: +1/0080

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 15.00	*Sonia Cristofaro*
	Complementation hierarchies and the diachronic development of complement constructions
15.00 – 15.30	*Caroline Gentens, Kristin Davidse*
	Modality and factive complement clauses
15.30 – 16.00	*Zygmunt Frajzyngier*
	Direct speech complementizer as a marker of epistemic certainty
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Nina Dobrušina*
	Subjunctive marking in complement clauses
17.00 – 17.30	*Marie-Lousie Lind Sörensen, Kasper Boye*
	Knowledge-verb complementation
17.30 – 18.00	*Alexander Letuchiy*
	Russian *esli*-clauses: arguments or adjuncts? Factive or non-factive?
18.00 – 18.30	*Kerstin Schwabe*
	Wenn: adverbial conjunction or complementizer?

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Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Kasper Boye, Petar Kehayov*
	Complementizer semantics in European languages
9.30 – 10.00	*Eva van Lier, Eva Theilgaard Brink*
	Epistemic complementizers crosslinguistically
10.00 – 10.30	*Issa Kanté*
	Modality, endophoricity and selectional constraint in that noun complement clauses
10.30 – 11.00	*Björn Wiemer*
	On the markedness of (non)factive clausal complements and its relation to hierarchies of semantic groups of CTPs
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Ivana Vrdoljak*
	Labels and functions – a closer look at complementizers, nominalizations and verb forms
12.00 – 12.30	*Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk*
	Asymmetric event structures in English and Polish: a contrastive corpus-based perspective
12.30 – 13.00	*Tanya Caroli Christensen, Torben Juel Jensen*
	Foregrounding and reality: The semantics of word order in Danish complement clauses

Programm

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Denis Kir'janov*
	Complementation Strategies of Russian Verbs of Permission and Prohibition
12.00 – 12.30	*Elena Smirnova*
	Semantics of German directive-verb complement clauses: synchronic and diachronic aspects
12.30 – 13.30	*Kees Hengeveld*
	Complementation in Functional Discourse Grammar
13.30 – 14.00	Resumption and conclusion(s)

Programm

AG 4: The Syntax and Semantics of Particles

Josef Bayer & Volker Struckmeier
Raum / Room: +1/0030

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 15.00	*Hans-Martin Gärtner (invited speaker)*
	Modal Particles and Root Infinitives
15.00 – 15.30	*Urtzi Etxeberria, Aritz Irurtzun*
	An experimental test of the effects of focus in generating scalar meanings in Basque
15.30 – 16.00	*Daniel Gutzmann*
	Modal particles aren't modal particles (are modal particles). Towards a semantic analysis of variation amongst modal particles in German.
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Markus Egg, Johannes Mursell*
	On the syntax and semantics of discourse particles
17.00 – 17.30	*Roland Hinterhölzl, Nicola Munaro*
	Modal particles and speech acts
17.30 – 18.00	*Philippa Cook*
	Peripheral modifiers of Noun Phrase in German
18.00 – 18.30	*Malte Zimmermann*
	Wird schon stimmen! A unified analysis of modal and aspectual 'schon' as scale aligners

Programm

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Anna Cardinaletti (invited speaker)*
	Modal particles and marked word orders
9.30 – 10.00	*Pierre-Yves Modicom*
	Focus Particles beyond Information Structure: Small particle phrases and contrast-sensitivity
10.00 – 10.30	*Andreas Trotzke*
	Left peripheral particles, successive-cyclic movement, and emphasis
10.30 – 11.00	*Theresa Biberauer*
	Particles, peripherality and the Final-over-Final Constraint
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Sonja Müller*
	On the (allegedly) fixed order of modal particles: combining "ja" and "doch"
12.00 – 12.30	*Nathalie Scherf*
	Two Groups of Swedish Modal Particles
12.30 – 13.00	*Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson*
	Discourse particles in hvað-exclamatives

Programm

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.30	*Werner Abraham*
	Strong modality and truth disposability in syntactic subordination: What is the locus of the phase edge validating modal adverbials?
12.30 – 13.00	*Svetlana Petrova*
	Left-peripheral modal particles in Older Germanic?
13.00 – 13.30	*Sonja Thoma*
	Bavarian Discourse Particles – Grounding the Utterance
13.30 – 14.00	*Rosemarie Lühr*
	Betonte und unbetonte Partikeln in altindogermanischen Sprachen

AG 5: Categories and Categorization in First and Second Language Acquisition

Heike Behrens & Karin Madlener
Raum / Room: 00/0070

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	*Heike Behrens, Karin Madlener*
	Intro
14.30 – 15.30	*Ben Ambridge*
	Categories, categorization and verb argument structure generalizations
15.30 – 16.00	*Patrick Rebuschat*
	Abstract knowledge of syntactic patterns in the early stages of adult L2 acquisition
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Steffen Siebenhüner*
	Frames in the acquisition of the German adjective morphology
17.00 – 17.30	*Nikolas Koch, Niklas Horter, Thomas Franz*
	The development of productive schemata in German first language acquisition
17.30 – 18.00	*Christina Kauschke, Annegret Klassert*
	Acquisition and processing of nouns and verbs in monolingual and bilingual children
18.00 – 18.30	*Nadine Eichler, Natascha Müller*
	I take gender, you take number: What is a noun in early child language?

Programm

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Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Clemens Knobloch*
	"I spy with my little eye something ADJ" – Children's acquisition of adjective meanings and adjective functions
10.00 – 10.30	*Lorraine McCune*
	Sensorimotor cognition and motion event semantics define a single word category
10.30 – 11.00	*Katharina Rohlfing, Kerstin Nachtigäller, Karla McGregor*
	Generalizing word categories for spatial prepositions over untrained referents and materials
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Daniela Ahlberg, Heike Bischoff, Doreen Bryant, Barbara Kaup*
	Experiential traces in the second language acquisition of German spatial categories
12.00 – 12.30	*Sabine De Knop*
	The categorization of colours and their expressions in German and French: a contrastive and pedagogical study
12.30 – 13.00	*Andrea Weber, Adriana Hanulíková*
	Activation of word form and meaning in foreign-accented speech: the case of English *th*

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Katrin Schmitz*
	Differential Object Marking in Spanish speaking heritage speakers in Germany
12.00 – 13.00	*Detmar Meurers*
	On systematically characterizing learner language: a computational and corpus linguistic perspective
13.00 – 13.30	*Markus Dickinson, Marwa Ragheb*
	Investigating categories in a syntactically annotated corpus of second language learners of English
13.30 – 14.00	*Heike Behrens, Karin Madlener*
	Final discussion

Programm

AG 6: Language in Historical Contact situations (LHC): diagnostics for grammatical replication

Carola Trips, Richard Ingham & Achim Stein
Raum / Room: +1/0040

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	*Carola Trips, Richard Ingham, Achim Stein*
	Introduction
14.30 – 15.30	*Raymond Hickey (Universität Duisburg-Essen)*
	English and Celtic in historical contact
15.30 – 16.00	*Liosis, Nikos (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)*
	Remarks on the dichotomy "normal" vs "abnormal" borrowability
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Petros Karatsareas (University of the West of England and Open University of Cyprus)*
	A caveat for contact linguistics: lessons from Cappadocian Greek
17.00 – 17.30	*Jorge Vega Vilanova (Universität Hamburg)*
	Development of the Judeo-Spanish (Judezmo) verbal system in the context of the Balkan Sprachbund
17.30 – 18.00	*Susann Fischer, Christoph Gabriel, Elena Kireva (Universität Hamburg)*
	A contact language between archaism and innovation: analysing syntax and phonology of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish

AG 6: Language in Historical Contact situations (LHC): diagnostics for grammatical replication

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

18.00 – 18.30	*Carlotta Viti (University of Zurich)*
	Simplification, complexification, and maintenance in language contact between Indo-European and Semitic

9.00 – 10.00	*Tania Kuteva (Universität Düsseldorf)*
	Replica grammaticalization-as-recapitulation: A case study of a thetical
10.00 – 10.30	*Eugen Hill (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)*
	Grammatical replication below and beyond the word
10.30 – 11.00	*Francesco Gardani (Universität Graz), Frank Seifart (MPI Leipzig)*
	The borrowing of case formatives
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Borana Lushaj (Leiden University Centre for Linguistics)*
	Language contact and dialectal variation: a 'natural laboratory' of contact-induced change
12.00 – 12.30	*Ermengildo Bidese (University of Trento), Andrea Padovan (University of Verona), Alessandra Tomaselli (University of Verona)*
	The rationale behind contact. Bilingual competence and feature transfer in Cimbrian
12.30 – 13.00	*Mareike Keller (Universität Mannheim)*
	"Es ligt mir nit am opere, sed am verbo": Grammatical morphemes in bilingual discourse

Programm

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Julia Schultz (Universität Mannheim)*
	The influence of French on Middle English syntax
12.00 – 12.30	*Chiara Gianollo (Universität zu Köln)*
	Diagnosing grammatical replication in translations: the case of Greek and Latin affected possessors
12.30 – 13.00	*George Walkden (University of Manchester), Anne Breitbarth (University of Gent)*
	Sociolinguistic typology and syntactic complexity
13.00 – 13.30	*Ans van Kemenade (Radboud University Nijmegen)*
	Language contact effects on syntax and pragmatics: a case study from early English
13.30 – 14.00	*Carola Trips, Richard Ingham, Achim Stein*
	Summary

AG 7: Probleme der syntaktischen Kategorisierung: Einzelgänger, Außenseiter und mehr

Sandra Döring & Jochen Geilfuß-Wolfgang
Raum / Room: +2/0090

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 15.00	*Gisa Rauh, Wuppertal*
	Parts of speech versus Syntactic Categories: the case of English Adverbs
15.00 – 15.30	*Uta Reinöhl, Köln*
	Syntactically nouns, semantically relators: Zero-valent adverbs undergoing the genetive shift in post-Vedic Old Indic
15.30 – 16.00	*Wilhelm Geuder, Tübingen*
	Die Kategorie 'Adverb' in einem hierarchischen Modell der Wortarten
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Said Sahel, Bielefeld*
	Zur Abgrenzung von Determinierern und Adjektiven – Die Variation in der Adjektivflexion als Testfall
17.00 – 17.30	*Björn Rothstein, Sibel Ahmet, Bochum*
	Nochmal zum Partizipialen Haben-Konfigurativ
17.30	*Anna Volodina, Hans-Christian Schmitz, IDS Mannheim*
	Vom Verb zur Konjunktion und zurück?

Programm

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Peter Gallmann, Jena*
	Zum Status von 'ein(s)'
9.30 – 10.00	*Jussara Paranhos Zitterbart, Nürnberg-Erlangen*
	Lauter im Gegenwartsdeutsch – Probleme einer Wortartbestimmung
10.00 – 10.30	*Magdalena Steiner, Tübingen*
	sonderlich, groß, großartig in NPI-Funktion als syntaktische Sonderlinge
10.30 – 11.00	*Amir Zeldes, HU Berlin*
	German *voller* as a Productive Argument Structure *sui generis*
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Nele Hartung, Saarbrücken*
	'*Und*' als Diskursmarker?
12.00 – 12.30	*Hagen Hirschmann, HU Berlin*
	Außenseiter oder Alleskönner? – Die Problematik der Klassifikation pränominaler Wortarten im Deutschen am Beispiel des pränominalen *so*
12.30	*Eva Breindl, Erlangen-Nürnberg* Gemeinsam einsam: Gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten unter Einzelgängern?

Programm

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Tanja Ackermann, FU Berlin*
	Probleme der (morpho-)syntaktischen Kategorisierung von Eigennamen
12.00 – 12.30	*Christian Forche, FU Berlin*
	Wir misskategorisieren Verben häufig. Über die morphosyntaktische Struktur von Verben, die nicht in V2 stehen können
12.30 – 13.30	*Eric Fuß, IDS Mannheim*
	Merkmalskomplexe und grammatische Primitiva. Zum theoretischen Status syntaktischer Kategorien
13.30	Abschlussdiskussion

Programm

AG 8: Converging Evidence? Embodied Views of Basic Categories in Language and Cognition

Dietmar Zaefferer & Roel M. Willems
Raum / Room: 00/0020

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.05	*Roel Willems, Dietmar Zaefferer*
	Welcome
14.05 – 15.00	*Dietmar Zaefferer, Roel Willems, Patric Bach*
	Embodiment and converging evidence for basic categories in language and cognition
15.00 – 16.00	*Gabriella Vigliocco*
	The role of body-related information in lexico-semantic representation
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.30	*Giosuè Baggio*
	Perceptual adaptations and aftereffects in testing embodied hypotheses
17.30 – 18.00	*Berry Claus*
	Embodiment and modalisation: Grounding of desiderative modality
18.00 – 18.30	*Tyler Marghetis, Ernesto Guerra*
	Spatial grounding of "coordinating elements" in language and mathematics

Programm

AG 8: Converging Evidence? Embodied Views of Basic Categories in Language and Cognition

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Friedemann Pulvermüller*
	Action perception theory of cognitive cortical function: from actions to speech acts
10.00 – 10.30	*Francesca Citron, Adele Goldberg*
	Reading taste metaphors recruits primary and secondary gustatory cortices
10.30 – 11.00	*Marit Lobben, Laura W. Bakke*
	Neural representation of size domain Chinese nouns
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.30	*Daniela Sammler, Pascal Belin, Marie-Hélène Grosbras*
	Prosody perception in the laryngeal premotor cortex: A TMS study
12.30 – 13.00	*Pamela Perniss, David Vinson, Neil Fox, Gabriella Vigliocco*
	Involving the body in sentence comprehension: Action-sentence compatibility effects in British Sign Language and written English

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Benjamin Bergen*
	Pronouns, person, and perspective: how features of grammar modulate embodied comprehension
10.00 – 10.30	*Benjamin Straube et al.*
	Supramodal neural processing of abstract information conveyed by speech and gesture

Programm

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10.30 – 11.00	Coffee break
11.00 – 12.00	*Annika Herrmann and Markus Steinbach*
	What gesture and sign tell us about basic categories in language and beyond

AG 9: Sichtbare und hörbare Morphologie

Nanna Fuhrhop & Renata Szczepaniak
Raum / Room: +1/0050

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	*Karsten Schmidt (Universität Osnabrück)*
	Die graphematische Kodierung von Wortbildungsmorphologie
14.30 – 15.00	*Anna-Marleen Pessara (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*
	Phonologische und graphematische (Nicht-)Grenzmarkierung bei deutschen *un*-Adjektiven
15.00 – 15.30	*Melanie Bangel, Astrid Müller (Universität Hamburg)*
	Lesbare Morphologie: Zur Bedeutung morphologischer Bewusstheit für die Entwicklung basaler Lesefähigkeiten – Ergebnisse einer Interventionsstudie
15.30 – 16.00	*Kristin Kopf (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*
	Die Compositions-Fuge: Zur Herausbildung phonologischer und graphematischer Grenzmarkierungen in (früh)neuhochdeutschen N+N-Komposita
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Fabian Barteld (Universität Hamburg), Marc Schutzeichel (Universität Münster)*
	Die Binnenmajuskel in frühneuhochdeutschen Hexenverhörprotokollen. Funktionen und Kontexte
17.00 – 17.30	*Pia Bergmann (Universität Freiburg)*

Programm

Komplexe Wörter in der Spontansprache:
Morphologie und phonetische Realisierung von
Zweitgliedern

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Damaris Nübling, Jessica Nowak (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)*
	Schwierige Lexeme und ihre Flexive im Konflikt: Uniforme *s*-Endungen und Apostrophsetzungen als hör- und sichtbare Kontrasterhöhungen und Grenzverstärkungen
9.30 – 10.00	*Frank Domahs (Philipps-Universität Marburg), Lisa Bartha-Döring (Medizinische Universität Wien), Ulrike Domahs (Philipps-Universität Marburg, Universität zu Köln), Margarete Delazer (Medizinische Universität Innsbruck)*
	Wie muss ein "guter" deutscher Plural klingen?
10.00 – 10.30	*Kristian Berg (Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg)*
	Sichtbare Morphologie im Englischen
10.30 – 11.00	*Julia Homann, Ingo Plag, Gero Kunter (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf)*
	Testing homophony in morphology: The acoustic properties of English {s} morphemes

AG 10: Pejoration

Jörg Meibauer
Raum / Room: +2/0100

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Jörg Meibauer (Mainz)*
	Introduction: What is pejoration?
9.30 – 10.00	*Maria Paola Tenchini, Aldo Frigerio (Milano)*
	The semantics of pejoratives
10.00 – 10.30	*Antonio Fortin (Manchester)*
	The multidimensional semantics of pejorative affixes
10.30 – 11.00	*Antje Dammel (Mainz)*
	How do pejorative derivational meanings emerge? A bit of *Geforsche* or *Forscherei*
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*André Meinunger (Berlin)*
	The alleviative interpretation from the German intensifier *GANZ* – Resulting in a special case of pejoration
12.00 – 12.30	*Daniel Hole (Stuttgart)*
	Goethe oder nur Schiller? – Scalar evaluation with focus particles as clausal pejoration or diminuation
12.30 – 13.00	*Rita Finkbeiner (Mainz)*
	Bla bla bla in German

Programm

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Heike Wiese (Potsdam)*
	Constructional pejoration in a language-contact situation: *m*-doublets in urban German
12.00 – 12.30	*Renate Fischer, Simon Kollien (Hamburg)*
	Showing hearing people's interactive behavior in signed discourse (German Sign Language)
12.30 – 13.00	*Daniel Gutzmann, Eric McCready (Frankfurt/M./Aoyama)*
	Quantification with pejoratives
13.00 – 13.30	*Hyun Jung Koo, Seongha Rhee (Seoul)*
	Pejoratives in Korean
13.30 – 14.00	*Gerson Klumpp (Tallin)*
	Pejoration effects with nominal determination in Komi possessive marking

AG 11: Web Data as a Challenge for Theoretical Linguistics and Corpus Design

Felix Bildhauer & Roland Schäfer
Raum / Room: +1/0120

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	*Felix Bildhauer & Roland Schäfer (Freie Universität Berlin)*
	Web data as a challenge for theoretical linguistics and corpus design (Introduction)
14.30 – 15.00	*Sonja Müller (Universität Bielefeld)*
	How webdata can challenge traditional generalizations: a case study of the order of modal particles in German
15.00 – 15.30	*Susanne Flach (Freie Universität Berlin)*
	Solving the rare phenomenon problem? 'Quasi-serial' verb constructions in English
15.30 – 16.00	*Dirk Goldhahn, Uwe Quasthoff (Universität Leipzig)*
	Using corpus-based statistics for linguistic typology
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Adrien Barbaresi (ENS Lyon)*
	For a few points more: improving decision processes in web corpus construction
17.00 – 17.30	*Lea Helmers (Freie Universität Berlin)*
	Named entity recognition on German web corpora
17.30 – 18.00	*Vladimír Benko (Slovak Academy of Sciences)*
	Near-duplicate data in web corpora

Programm

| 18.00 | *Jack Grieve (Aston University), Asnaghi Costanza (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore), Tom Ruette (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)* |
| | Googleology is good science |

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Stefan Evert (invited talk)*
10.00 – 10.30	*Tom Ruette (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Jack Grieve (Aston University)*
	Cognitive sociolinguistics with Twitter: why do the Dutch swear with diseases?
10.30 – 11.00	*Kazuya Abe (Atomi University)*
	Twitter corpus and collection of German phrases
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.00	*Ines Rehbein (Universität Potsdam)*
	Using Twitter for linguistic purposes – three case studies
12.00	*Peter Grube (Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg)*
	A diachronic corpus of personal weblogs: possibilities and current constraints

AG 12: Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics

Martin Haspelmath, Andreas Dufter & Aria Adli
Raum / Room: +1/0110

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 15.00	*Martin Haspelmath, Aria Adli, Andreas Dufter*
	Introduction
15.00 – 16.00	*Balthasar Bickel*
	Hidden universals and multivariate typology
16.30 – 17.00	*Olga Lovick, Siri Tuttle*
	Microtypology of modality in Northern Athabascan. Separating form and function
17.00 – 17.30	*Sebastian Nordhoff, Siri Tuttle, Olga Lovick*
	Comparing comparative concepts. The OCCULT ontology
17.30 – 18.00	*Ana Tona*
	Grammatical categories in Tarahumara
18.00	*Renqiang Wang*
	Two-level word class categorization in analytic languages

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Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 9.30	*Theresa Biberauer*
	The universal component of emergent categories
9.30 – 10.00	*Thórhallur Eythórsson*
	How to advance linguistic theories. Icelandic and Universal Grammar
10.00 – 10.30	*Stefan Müller*
	The Methodology of the CoreGram Project
10.30 – 11.30	*Jan Rijkhoff*
	Functional categories in comparative linguistics
11.30 – 12.00	*Steven Moran*
	Universal phonetic and phonological categories
12.00 – 12.30	*Sascha Gaglia*
	A feature-geometric approach on forms of singular address in Chilean Spanish
12.30	*Eitan Grossman*
	'Antiapplicative' as a comparative concept. A cross-linguistic perspective

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Simon Kasper*
	Comparing languages by degrees of motivation and exploitation
12.00 – 12.30	*Agnieszka Schönhof-Wilkans*
	Comparing the incomparable. Diathesis, voice and case in Polish and Swahili

Programm

AG 12: Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics

12.30 – 13.00	*Ania Snarska*
	[group] is everywhere
13.00 – 13.30	*Zygmunt Frajzyngier*
	Semantic prerequisites for the typology of functional categories
13.30 – 14.00	*Ulrike Mosel*
	Comparative concepts in descriptive linguistics

Programm

AG 13: Labels and Roots

Leah Bauke, Erich Groat & Andreas Blümel
Raum / Room: +2/0110

Mittwoch/Wednesday, 05.03.2014

14.00 – 14.30	*Erich Groat, Andreas Blümel, Leah Bauke*
	Introduction: Roots, Categories, Projections, and Labels
14.30 – 15.30	*Daniel Seely*
	Labeling with Simplest Merge
15.30 – 16.00	*Marc Richards*
	Wrong path, wrong label: On the relation between labeling and leftbranch opacity
16.00 – 16.30	Coffee break
16.30 – 17.00	*Marijke De Belder*
	The root and nothing but the root: primary compounds in Dutch
17.00 – 18.00	*Artemis Alexiadou, Terje Lohndal*
	The structural configurations of categorization

Donnerstag/Thursday, 06.03.2014

9.00 – 10.00	*Marijke De Belder, Jeroen van Craenenbroeck*
	On functional vocabulary items at root positions
10.00 – 10.30	*Aleksandra Vercauteren*

	Features and labeling: the end of uninterpretable features?
10.30 – 11.00	*Dennis Ott*
	Labels, linearization, and syntactic satellites
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 12.30	*Caterina Donati, Carlo Cecchetto*
	Deciding between the external and internal definition of label
12.30 – 13.00	*Tom Roeper, Leah Bauke*
	Labelling and not labelling lexical structures

Freitag/Friday, 07.03.2014

11.30 – 12.00	*Petr Biskup*
	The constitution of labeled syntactic objects
12.00 – 13.00	*Miki Obata*
	Is transfer strong enough to affect labels?
13.00 – 14.00	*Hagit Borer*
	Heads and Segments

Programm

Tutorium der Sektion Computerlinguistik

"Syntaktische Korpusaufbereitung mit WebLicht"

Hannah Kermes (Saarbrücken) & Heike Zinsmeister (Hamburg)

Dienstag, 04.03.2014, 10:00–17:00 Uhr
Ort: Raum 01A03, Turm A (Wilhelm-Röpke-Str. 6, 35039 Marburg)

Die Sektion Computerlinguistik der DGfS bietet seit der Jahrestagung 2010 Tutorien an, die eine Einführung in ein computerlinguistisches Thema bieten, ohne besondere Vorkenntnisse zu erfordern, und deren Ziel es ist, ausgewählte computerlinguistische Methoden und Ressourcen bekannt zu machen und ihre Einsatzmöglichkeiten für die linguistische Forschung anhand geeigneter Beispiele zu illustrieren.

Das Thema dieses Jahr sind korpuslinguistische Methoden und Werkzeuge. Das Tutorium richtet sich an Linguisten, die eigene (Text-)Daten computerunterstützt aufbereiten und abfragen wollen. Ein besonderer Schwerpunkt wird auf der automatischen Annotation mit Wortarteninformationen und weiterführenden syntaktischen Analysen liegen sowie die Abfrage solcher Informationen aus den annotierten Korpora.

Das Tutorium führt dazu in die Nutzung der Online-Plattform WebLicht[1] ein, auf der eine ganze Reihe von Sprachwerkzeugen als Webservices zur Verfügung gestellt werden, so dass die Daten online verarbeitet werden können, ohne dass die Nutzer die einzelnen Programme lokal installieren müssen. Neben den in WebLicht angeboten Werkzeugen, stellt das Tutorium Korpusabfragen mit CQP sowie auf syntaktischer Ebene mit den Tools TigerSearch und ICARUS vor.

Die Teilnehmenden werden anhand eines Beispielkorpus lernen, wie man in WebLicht eine Pipeline für die syntaktische Annotation eigener Texte erstellt; wie man in annotierten Textkorpora nach linguistischen Phänomenen auf verschiedenen Ebenen (Wortebene, syntaktische Ebene) sucht;

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[1]http://weblicht.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/weblichtwiki/

welche Möglichkeiten es zur (statistischen) Analyse und Visualisierung der extrahierten Daten gibt und wie man die Ergebnisse einer solchen Untersuchung beispielhaft interpretiert.

Ausgerichtet wird das Tutorium von Hannah Kermes (Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin in CLARIN-D, Institut für Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft sowie Übersetzen und Dolmetschen, Universität des Saarlandes) und Heike Zinsmeister (Professorin für Linguistik des Deutschen / Korpuslinguistik, Universität Hamburg).

Die Teilnehmenden werden gebeten, ein internetfähiges Laptop mitzubringen.

Aktuelle Informationen zum Tutorium finden Sie auf der Webseite:

http://fedora.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/unserwiki/doku.php?id=corpus_tutorial:dgfs2014

Programm

Doktorandenforum

"Statistik für LinguistInnen – Eine praktische Einführung mit R"

Alexander Dröge & Steffen Schaub (Linguistik-AG des MARA Graduiertenzentrums Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften)

Dienstag, 04.03.2014, 10:00-17:00 Uhr
Ort: Seminarraum 01A03 im Carolinenhaus, CNMS (Deutschhausstr. 12, 35037 Marburg)

Das Doktorandenforum bietet in diesem Jahr allen DoktorandInnen und anderen Interessierten eine praktische Einführung in die statistische Analyse linguistischer Daten mit der Programmiersprache R an.

Wir bitten alle TeilnehmerInnen einen eigenen Laptop mitzubringen (R läuft auf allen gängigen Betriebssystemen). Außerdem können alle TeilnehmerInnen sehr gerne eigene Daten zur Auswertung mitbringen, am besten als Tabellen in einer txt-Datei oder csv-Datei. Sprache des Workshops ist Deutsch. Teilnahme ist kostenlos.

Bei weiteren Fragen wenden Sie sich bitte an Herrn Alexander Dröge.
E-Mail: alexander.droege@uni-marburg.de

Programm

10.00–12:00 Uhr	Vortrag: Dr. Marco Schilk (Stiftung Universität Hildesheim)
12.00–13:00 Uhr	Mittagspause
13.00–15:00 Uhr	Workshop – Teil 1
15.00–15:30 Uhr	Kaffeepause
15.30–17:00 Uhr	Workshop – Teil 2

Programm

Lehrertag der Lehramtsinitiative der DGfS

"Der Schrifterwerb als Tor für den Ausbau von sprachlichem Wissen"

Prof. Dr. Christa Röber (Freiburg)

Dienstag, 04.03.2014, 15.00 – 18:00 Uhr
Ort: Foyer, Hörsaal 01H01 (Wilhelm-Röpke-Str. 6, 35039 Marburg)

Seit einigen Jahren, vermehrt im letzten Jahr, zweifeln Eltern an der Wirksamkeit des Unterrichts zum Lesen- und Schreibenlernen in der Grundschule, und die Medien haben diese Zweifel bereitwillig aufgenommen. Die Fragen, die die Eltern sozusagen mit ihrem gesunden Elternverstand stellen, sind absolut nicht ungerechtfertigt. Sie ähneln auf einer vordergründigen Ebene der Kritik derjenigen, die die Aufgaben des Lesen- und Schreibenlernens nicht ausschließlich aus psychologischer und pädagogischer Position betrachten, sondern sie mit Aspekten des Lernens über die Strukturen von Sprache und Schrift, die zu erwerben sind, verbinden - die den Schrifterwerb also als unterste Stufe des Aufbaus von umfassenden sprachlichem Wissen sehen. So stellt diese Gruppe der Didaktiker die Frage nach der Gültigkeit der sprachlichen Prämissen, mit denen der derzeitige Unterricht zum Lesen- und Schreibenlernen arbeitet:

- Stimmt es, dass beim Lesen Buchstaben mit einer Lautung zu verbinden sind und diese in Verknüpfung (im "Zusammenziehen") mit anderen buchstabenbezogenen Lautungen die Bedeutung der geschriebenen Wörter erkennen lassen?
- Stimmt es, dass die schriftunkundigen Kinder die Regularitäten der Schreibung des Deutschen (die Orthographie des Deutschen) erlernen können, indem sie Wörter für das Schreiben nach "Lauten" abhören?

Diese Fragen zum Lesen- und Schreibenlernen sind so alt wie die Schrift, die für ein Verstehen des Geschriebenen in allen deutschen Sprachregionen gebastelt wurde, selbst, also 500 Jahre. Die Antworten, die damals für die Festlegung des Wie des Schreibens gefunden wurden, verfolgten nicht nur

Programm

das Ziel, den Menschen eine Lesetechnik vermitteln zu können, sondern sie sollten zugleich zu deren genereller geistiger Entwicklung beitragen. Darum bastelten sie die Schrift als eine Darstellung grammatischer Bezüge.

Die genialen Antworten dieser Pioniere der Schrift sind immer wieder in Vergessenheit geraten. Auch derzeit befinden wir uns wieder in so einer Phase des Vergessens dieser noch immer bewährten Überlegungen des Anfangs. Ich möchte mit meinem Vortrag an die Lösung unserer Vorväter erinnern, damit die Möglichkeit eines Neuanfangs aufzeigen und Formen seiner Ausführung zur Diskussion stellen - eines Neuanfangs, der schon lange überfällig ist.

Anschließend Podiumsdiskussion, geleitet von Frau Prof. Dr. Leßmöllmann

Programm

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP e.V.)

"Pragmalinguistik und kognitive Ansätze"

Dienstag, 04.03.2014, Beginn 8:30 Uhr
Ort: Raum 01A02, Turm A (Wilhelm-Röpke-Str. 6, 35039 Marburg)

Programm

8:30 – 8:45	Begrüßung
8:45 – 9:30	*Frank Liedtke (Leipzig)*
	Kognitive Pragmatik – sind Bedeutungen im Kopf?
9:30 – 10:15	*Nina Kalwa (Darmstadt)*
	Die Entstehung von Konzepten in Diskursen
10:15 – 11:00	*Jana Gamper/Stefan Tetzlaff (Münster)*
	Der Kontext als Zeichen. Von der Verdichtung prototypischer Wertungen zu Memes
11:00 – 11.30	Kaffeepause mit Posterpräsentationen**
11:30 – 12:15	*Ulrike Schröder (Münster/Belo Horizonte)*
	Die kognitiv-pragmatische Dimension kulturspezifischen Metapherngebrauchs im Rap
12:15 – 13:00	*Bettina Bock (Halle)*
	Metaphern und Textverständlichkeit – empirisch untersucht
13:00 – 14:30	Mittagessen
14:30 – 15:15	*Simon Meier (Berlin)*

Programm

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	Personalreferenz in Sport- und Politikinterviews. Zur pragmalinguistischen Relevanz einer kognitionslinguistisch fundierten Referenztheorie
15:15 – 16:00	*Konstanze Marx (Berlin)*
	"Gefällt mir": Zum Verstehensprozess einer Facebook-Floskel im Erklärungsrahmen kognitiver Textweltmodelle
16:00 – 16:30	Kaffeepause mit Posterpräsentationen**
16:30 – 17:15	*Tilo Weber (Halle-Wittenberg)*
	Zur wechselseitigen Bedingtheit von diskursfunktionalistischen und kognitivistischen Betrachtungsweisen. Anhand der Beispiele konversationeller Reparaturen und lexikalischer Kategorisierung
17:15 – 18:00	*Nadine Proske (Mannheim)*
	"°h ach KOMM; hör AUF mit dem klEInkram." – die Partikel *komm* zwischen Interjektion und Diskursmarker
18:00 – 18:45	*Pavla Schäfer (Greifswald)*
	Kognitive Mechanismen der Vertrauensförderung

Im Anschluss an die Tagung findet gegen 19.15 Uhr die Vollversammlung des Vereins ALP e.V. statt.

Für jeden Vortrag sind 30 Minuten Vortragszeit und 15 Minuten Diskussionszeit vorgesehen.

** In den beiden Kaffeepausen werden die folgenden Poster präsentiert:

- *Matthias Herz/Lars Bülow (Passau)*
Die Reanalyse des Partizipialsuffixes -end als Marker für genderengerechte Sprache – Empirische Analysen zur Einschätzung und Verwendung des generischen Maskulinums in verschiedenen Kontexten
- *Katharina Rohlfing/Vera Beste/Juliane Höfker/Kerstin Richter (Bielefeld):*

Kommunikativ-pragmatisches Verhalten von jungen Kindern während der Sprachproduktion

- *Judith Freier (Leipzig)*
Höflichkeit und politic behaviour. Sprachliche Angemessenheit in sozialen Interaktionen

Anmeldungen bis zum 20. Februar 2014 bei Robert Mroczynski: mroczynski@phil-fak.uni-duesseldorf.de

Programm

Abstracts

Plenarvorträge / Plenary Talks
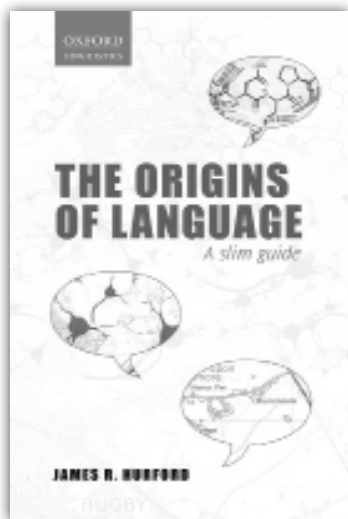
Origins of Language
A Slim Guide

James R. Hurford, University of Edinburgh

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• Resolves the puzzling tension between human uniqueness and continuous evolution from apes

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Hagit Borer, University of London

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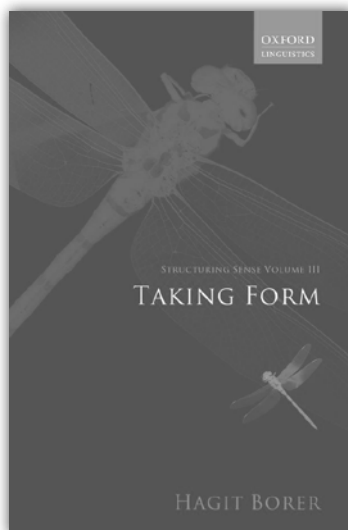
The Biological Roots of Universal Grammar

W. Tecumseh Fitch (University of Vienna)

Wednesday, March 5th, 9:30

Although most scholars agree that the human capacity to acquire language rests upon a species-specific biological basis, the nature of this basis remains sharply debated. I will suggest that several features differentiate humans from chimpanzees in this respect, including vocal learning, complex syntax, and a drive to communicate. However, at least some of these abilities have evolved convergently and are found in more distant relatives such as birds. This opens these features to comparative study. Regarding semantics in particular it seems that human conceptual abilities rest upon a deep and broadly shared cognitive "toolkit" whose components can be observed in many other species. Thus, although human language appears to be unique as a whole, many if not most of its individual components can be found individually in other species, and it may be that we are simply the only species lucky enough to have all of them. While this does not decrease the uniqueness of human linguistic abilities, it does make them more amenable to biological study.

Plenarvorträge

Linguistic Bibliography Online

Edited by **René Genis, Hella Olbertz, Sijmen Tol and Eline van der Veken**
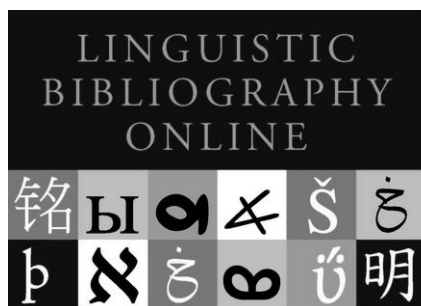
The *Linguistic Bibliography Online* is an essential linguistic reference tool that is unique in its field. It provides over 330.000 bibliographical references to scholarly publications in linguistics and is by far the most comprehensive bibliography in the field.

The *Linguistic Bibliography Online* covers all disciplines of theoretical linguistics, both general and language specific, from all geographical areas, including endangered and extinct languages, with particular attention to lesser-known Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages. Up-to-date information is guaranteed by the collaboration of some forty-five contributing specialists from all over the world. With annually over 20.000 records added and arranged according to a state-of-the-art system of subject and language descriptors, the *Linguistic Bibliography* remains the standard reference work for every scholar of linguistics.

The online edition contains all entries of the printed volumes from 1993 onwards and new records are added on a monthly basis. Annual volumes of the *Linguistic Bibliography* will continue to be published in print by Brill.

Beyond universals: exploring the conditions of language

Balthasar Bickel (University of Zurich)

Wednesday, March 5th, 11:00

Recent research has identified increasing problems in the traditional quest for universals of human language: the traditional quest suffers, in the Greenbergian tradition, from sampling problems and unclear causal modelling and, in the Chomskyan tradition, from dwindling support from learnability theory and evolutionary evidence. I will suggest that we move beyond this traditional quest and instead approach the evolution and distribution of linguistic structures from a predictive perspective, starting with the social/historical and biological/cognitive conditions within which languages operate and evolve over time. I will illustrate this with a case study on how population history and processing preferences jointly predict the way grammatical relation structures have developed across the globe.

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Plenarvorträge

Nouns and Verbs in the Brain: The state of the art

Gabriella Vigliocco (University College London)

Friday, March 7th, 9:00

Grammatical class (nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.) is one of the best candidates for being a linguistic universal. This fact has been taken to indicate that grammatical class is an organization criterion of linguistic information in the brain. However, it has also been argued that grammatical class is a property emergent from semantic distinctions and the statistical contextual information provided by connected speech. I will review the existing (behavioural, neuropsychological and imaging) literature, including our cross-linguistic work keeping into account: (1) that most studies have confounded semantic differences with the grammatical distinction between nouns and verbs, and (2) that the literature conflates studies concerned with mechanisms of single word processing with investigations concerned with sentence integration. The two overarching findings emerging are: the clear neural separability between the processing of object and action words, and the fact that grammatical class effects emerge or become stronger for tasks and languages imposing greater processing demands. I will conclude presenting a view in which two general principles are foundational in the learning and processing of grammatical class distinctions: pragmatic/semantic forces (which would provide a basic universal mechanism for learning to differentiate and use nouns and verbs) and probabilistic distributional cues in sentences (which would be especially useful for non-prototypical cases and can differ across languages).
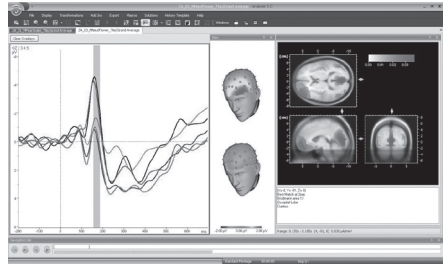
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Plenarvorträge
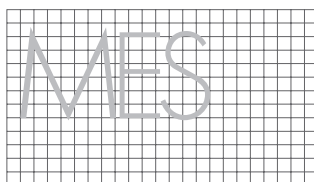
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"Chase the tiger ...!" – Jagdmöglichkeiten und Jagdstrategien der historischen Sprachwissenschaft

Karin Donhauser (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)

Friday, March 7th, 10:00

Die historische Sprachwissenschaft hat in den letzten Jahren viel Zeit und viele Ressourcen in den Aufbau tiefenannotierter Textkorpora investiert und sich damit Forschungstools geschaffen, die sie in die Lage versetzen, zentrale Forschungsfragen der historischen, aber auch der theoretischen Sprachwissenschaft neu zu adressieren. Der Vortrag stellt diese Möglichkeiten am Beispiel des DDD-Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch vor und plädiert für einen methodischen Neuansatz, der das tradierte, philologische Methodenarsenal der historischen Sprachwissenschaft um stärker naturwissenschaftlich geprägte, experimentelle Komponenten erweitert.

Kann die diachron ausgerichtete historische Sprachwissenschaft so den schon in den 80er Jahren erhobenen Anspruch einlösen, den "Tiger im Dschungel" besser sehen zu können als die synchrone Sprachwissenschaft?

Language Typology and Historical Contingency
In honor of Johanna Nichols

Edited by Balthasar Bickel, Lenore A. Grenoble, David A. Peterson and Alan Timberlake
University of Zurich / University of Chicago / Dartmouth College /
University of California, Berkeley and Columbia University
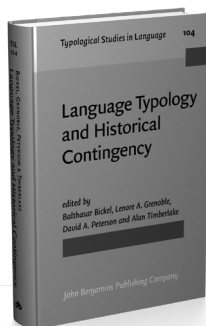
What is the range of diversity in linguistic types, what are the geographical distributions for the attested types, and what explanations, based on shared history or universals, can account for these distributions? This collection of articles by prominent scholars in typology seeks to address these issues from a wide range of theoretical perspectives, utilizing cutting-edge typological methodology. The phenomena considered range from the phonological to the morphosyntactic, the areal coverage ranges in scale from micro-areal to worldwide, and the types of historical contingency range from contact-based to genealogical in nature. Together, the papers argue strongly for a view in which, although they use distinct methodologies, linguistic typology and historical linguistics are one and the same enterprise directed at discovering how languages came to be the way they are and how linguistic types came to be distributed geographically as they are.

Contributions by: B. Bickel; M. Cysouw; M. Cysouw & B. Comrie; B.J. Darden; M. Donohue; N. Evans & E. Fenwick; M. Fortescue; V.A. Friedman; J. Good; L.A. Grenoble; L.M. Hyman; A.A. Kibrik; A.E. Kibrik; R.J. LaPolla; D.A. Peterson; K. Plaster, M. Polinsky & B. Harizanov; D.I. Slobin; S. Stoll & B. Bickel; A. Timberlake; R.D. Van Valin, Jr.; W.F. Weigel; A.C.L. Yu.

[**Typological Studies in Language, 104**] 2013. viii, 512 pp.

Studies in Language

Managing Editor: Balthasar Bickel and Ekkehard König
University of Zurich / Free University Berlin/Albert Ludwigs University, Freiburg

Studies in Language (SL) provides a forum for the discussion of issues in contemporary linguistics, with a particular focus on empirically well-grounded research in the functionalist tradition that recognizes the diversity and variability of human languages and of communication patterns, the historical dynamics of languages, and the embedding of language in both social practices and cognition.
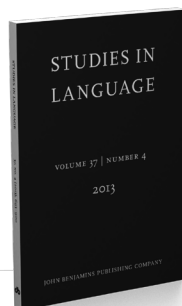
STUDIES IN LANGUAGE
VOLUME 37 | NUMBER 4
2013
JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

AG 01: Experimental and theoretical approaches to relative clauses reconciled

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Petra Schulz (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main)
Esther Ruigendijk (Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg)

Relative clauses have been at the center of research in linguistic theory, psycho- /neurolinguistics and language acquisition as well as cognitive psychology. However, these disciplines have so far generally focused on their own research agenda. One exception is the so-called object-subject asymmetry in relative clauses, which has been found in acquisition and processing studies across languages and which has recently been approached with the syntactic account of relativized minimality (cf. Friedmann/Belletti/Rizzi 2009). However, most facets of relative clauses have only received attention in parts of the field. For example, differences between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs have been investigated mostly from a semantic perspective. Likewise, research on different relative clause types, i.a. free relatives and continuative wh-relatives, and on the analysis of relative clauses (raising, modification, or matching, cf. Donati & Ceccetto 2011) has almost exclusively been undertaken in theoretical syntax. At the same time, aspects such as differences between center-embedding and right-branching, the effect of animacy and plausibility constraints have been mainly addressed in acquisition and/or processing research (e.g., Kidd et al. 2007, Mac Donald et al. 1994).

The primary goal of our workshop is to discuss current questions concerning the forms and functions of relative clauses both from a theoretical and experimental perspective in order to advance current linguistic research.

We invite contributions investigating relative clauses in processing and in monolingual, bilingual, and impaired language acquisition as well as theoretical contributions focusing on syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, phonological, typological, or historical aspects of relative clauses. We explicitly welcome research addressing comparisons across different types of relative clauses and/or languages and/or populations. As the workshop aims at bringing together researchers from experimental and theoretical linguistics, we particularly welcome contributions that may build a bridge between empirical findings and linguistic theory and open up more closely intertwined research agendas for both fields.

What is complex in Relative Clauses (?)

Adriana Belletti

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

The talk will reconsider the issue of the complexity of relative clauses with special focus on object relatives; comparisons will be made with related object dependencies such as, in particular, object clefts and their status with respect to subject clefts. The further related issue of the distance between the constituents involved in the dependency will be taken up; the interaction of the object dependency with passive will also be discussed, from the perspective of acquisition and the central role played by the morphosyntactic smuggling operation (Collins 2005, Belletti 2009, Contemori & Belletti 2013). The locality of object dependencies and the way in which it can be featurally modulated in the terms first proposed in Friedmann Belletti Rizzi 2009 will be the central focus of the discussion.

Intervention effects in the spontaneous production of relative clauses in typical and atypical language development of French children and adolescents

Cornelia Hamann & Laurice Tuller

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

Study of comprehension and production of relative clauses has identified several factors contributing to difficulties observed in children and adults: Movement, depth of embedding , intervention of new or of similar referents. The latter finds a syntactic parallel in Relativized Minimality (RM, Rizzi 1990, 2004), which blocks movements crossing an intervener of the same structural kind as the target. Facilitating factors have been identified in topichood and animacy of relative clause subjects (Mak et al. 2008, Arosio et al 2010).

+1/0010

Recently, different proposals attempt to explain children's difficulty with object relatives. Friedmann et al. (2009) suggest that children recognize the NP-restriction on an intervening full lexical DP, cannot compute the subset relation between the relative head and the relative subject, and therefore encounter an RM configuration. Blocking does not occur when the intervening subject is a pronoun (no NP restriction). Adani (2010) proposes that, due to slow processing in children, feature decay leads to RM configurations, whereas the animacy feature survives saving the derivation.

Integrating discourse factors in a natural way, our study investigates the spontaneous production of French children and adolescents (TD6, TD8, TD11 and TD14, N=12 in each group) providing a developmental view beyond the production of the first object relatives, adding a group of 16 children with SLI, age range 10-12, roughly MLU matched to TD 6. Though the overall production of relative clauses seems high (ca 30% of all embedded clauses in all groups), most of these are in fact pseudo-relatives and/or clefts, see (1). Genuine relatives, (2), increase from ca. 17% in TD6 to ca. 42% in TD8 and 56% in TD14, whereas SLI/10-12 produce 18% genuine RCs. There is a predominance of SRs vs. ORs and ARs (adjunct relatives) in SLI, TD6, TD8 and TD14, not for TD11, however. This shows the effect of intervention, at the same time calling for a closer analysis of the particular types of interveners occurring in spontaneous speech. Accounting for the NP-restriction, we considered "similar" and "different" head/subject combinations. The case avoided in Friedmann et al. 2009 ([+NP] head, [+NP] subject) was indeed very rare (4 in total). The predominant type of non-subject relative showed a [+NP] head and an unrestricted relative subject (PRO, pronoun, quantifier), these "easy" relatives becoming more frequent with age. Cases of similarity included headless relatives and cases of silent NPs (y'en a un...there is one...) together with pronominal subjects. The latter were more frequent than expected (68 different vs. 41 similar). When animacy was analyzed, however, an overwhelming tendency in ORs/ARs for [–an] heads and [+an] subjects emerged.

We conclude that even cases of similarity were not in fact "similar" since they were specified differently as to animacy. Animacy therefore plays a major role in avoiding similarity and intervention. This opens the question of the status of this feature for grammatical derivation.

AG 01

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(1)   y   a une petite fille qui l' a   pris TD 6, pseudo, SR
       there is a   littel girl who it has taken

       ' There's a littel girl who took it '

(2)   pui après   je vais regarder un DVD qu' on   m'
       and afterwards I' ll   watch   a DVD that somebody lent
       a   pretè TD 11, genuine, OR
       me

       ' and afterwards I'll watch a DVD that somebody lent me '

Arosio, F., Guasti, M.-T. & Stucchi, N. (2011). Disambiguating Information and Memory Resources in Children's Processing of Italian Relative Clauses. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 40, 137-154. **Adani, F. (2010).** Rethinking the acquisition of relative clauses in Italian: towards a grammatically based account. Journal of Child Language doi:10.1017/S0305000909990250 Friedmann, N., Belletti, A. and Rizzi, L. (2009). Relativized Relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. Lingua, 119, 67-88. Mak, W.M., Vonk, W, & Schriefers, H. (2008). Discourse structure and relative clause processing. Memory & Cognition 31. **Rizzi, L. (1990).** Relativized Minimality. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

A Syntactic Argument for the Matching Analysis of Relative Clauses in German

Andreas Pankau

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

The aim of this talk is to provide a novel argument for the Matching Analysis (henceforth MA). The standard approach to relative clauses, the Head External Analysis (henceforth HEA), has it that relative clauses contain a pronoun coindexed with the head noun (cf. 1a). Recently, the HEA has been disputed and evidence was given in favor of the MA, according to which the relative clause contains an erased copy of the head noun (cf. 1b).

(1)   a.   der Mann$_i$ [den$_i$ ich ' t ' mag]
             the man   who I   who like

       b.   der Mann$_i$ [[den Mann$_i$] ich ' t ' mag]
             the man   who man   I   ' t ' like

             ' the man who I like '

The evidence adduced so far for the MA comes from semantic effects, viz. reconstruction effects (Salzmann 2006). What has gone unnoticed is that the two analyses also entail a syntactic difference. The HEA predicts that the relative pronoun has the distribution of a pronoun, whereas the MA predicts the relative pronoun to have the distribution of a full NP. The question I want to investigate is whether there is purely syntactic evidence that allows one to decide between the different predictions of the two analyses. I aim to show that such evidence does in fact exist and that it speaks in favor of the MA. This evidence relies on antipronominal contexts (Postal 1994), henceforth ACs. ACs are syntactic contexts that permit full NPs but not pronouns, as exemplified in (2) for English and German.

(2) a. I painted my house √that color /*it.

b. Er spricht mit √leiser Stimme /*ihr /*der.
he speaks with quiet voice /it /that
' He speaks in a quiet manner (*it/*that). '

ACs provide the relevant diagnostic to decide between the two analyses. If the HEA is correct, relative pronouns are pronouns and should therefore be barred from ACs. But if the MA is correct, then relative pronouns are actually full NPs and should consequently be permitted in ACs. As the datum in (3a) shows, the prediction of the MA is correct. The grammaticality of (3a) is expected under the MA because the relative pronoun is not a pronoun, but a full NP with an erased noun (cf. 3b). But under the HEA, this is unexpected because the relative pronoun is a pronoun, and should therefore be barred from ACs (cf. 3c).

(3) a. In den 18 Jahren die ich jetzt die FVA leite habe ich 2
in the 18 years which I now the FVA lead have I 2
Fehler gemacht.
mistakes made

' I have made two mistakes during the 18 years that I run the FVA. '

b. in den 18 Jahren [[die Jahre] ich jetzt die FVA ' t ' leite

c. in den 18 Jahren [[die] ich jetzt die FVA ' t ' leite

To conclude, the MA is required because relative pronouns in German have the same distribution as full NPs.

Postal, P. M. (1994). Contrasting extraction types. Journal of Linguistics 30(1). 159–186. Salzmann, M. (2006). Resumptive prolepsis: A study in indirect A′-dependencies (LOT international series 136). Utrecht: LOT.

Restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses - Experimental and corpus-based syntactic evidence

Frank Kirchhoff & Beatrice Primus

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Differences between restrictive and non-restrictive (appositive) relative clauses (rRCs vs. aRC) such as the use of modal particles, scopal and binding phenomena and illocutionary force are basically semantic in nature (cf. Blühdorn 2007, Koev 2013). Genuinely syntactic criteria, such as the constituency status of rRCs as opposed to the syntactic orphanage of aRCs are highly controversial (cf. de Vries 2006, Arnold 2007, Holler 2007). In this talk, we will discuss a morpho-syntactic criterion that has been neglected in past research on the rRC/aRC-distinction: agreement in grammatical gender between nominal antecedent and relative pronoun is optional for aRCs and obligatory for rRCs. In order to test this hypothesis, we have conducted two acceptability judgement studies using minimal pairs of aRCs vs. rRCs that show agreement in grammatical vs. biological gender between nominal antecedent and relative pronoun. The results of these studies corroborate the above-mentioned hypothesis. Another formal criterion that sets off aRCs from rRCs is comma intonation, which inspired a syntactic treatment of aRCs in terms of a syntactic COMMA feature (Potts 2007). Indeed, in some languages, the comma is obligatory for aRCs and prohibited for rRCs. In the second part of our talk, we will present the results of a diachronic corpus study on the use of the comma with aRCs vs. rRCs and will conclude with an explanation for the use of the comma within a theory of punctuation.

Arnold, D. (2007). Non-restrictive relatives are not orphans. Journal of Linguistics 43.2, 271–309. Blühdorn, H. (2007). Zur Struktur und Interpretation von Relativsätzen. Deutsche Sprache 35.4, 287–314. Holler, A. (2007). Uniform oder Different? Zum syntaktischen Status Nicht-Restriktiver RelativsŠtze. Deutsche Sprache 35.3, 250–270. Koev, T. (2013). Apposition and the structure of discourse. PhD thesis Rutgers University. Potts, C. (2007). Conventional implicatures: A distinguished class of meanings. In G. Ramchand & C. Reiss (eds.), The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces. Oxford: University Press, 475–501. de Vries, M. (2006). The syntax of appositive relativization: On specifying coordination, false free relatives and promotion. Linguistic Inquiry 37, 229–270.

Factive and propositional relative clauses and the operator movement approach

Boban Arsenijević

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

The paper introduces novel data from Serbo-Croatian (S-C), which reveal further parallels between relative and complement clauses (RelCs and CompCs): they both can be factive or propositional, and this aspect of their interpretation is marked by the same pair of subjunctions. An analysis is proposed which deeply affects both our views of the distinction between RelCs and CompCs and the plausibility of their different types of analyses available in the literature.

While literature on S-C RelCs observes that next to the koji series, RelCs can be introduced by the element što, and while discussions can also be found of the so-called subjunctive RelCs introduced by the subjunctive item da (e.g. Mišeska-Tomić 2004), it has so far gone unobserved that: a) što-RelCs are necessarily factive, as illustrated in (1a) and therefore b) da- and što-RelCs fully parallel complement clauses (CompCs), which are also introduced by da and što, and where this pair establishes the same contrast, as in (1)-(2).

(1)   a.   prijatelj što sam   ti   ga   predstavio
                friend   što Aux1Sg you.Dat him.AccCl introduced
                (#ne postoji) S-C
                not exists

                'a/the friend that I introduced to you' – commitment to the truth of the content of RC

        b.   prijatelj da sam   ti   ga   predstavio
                friend   da Aux1Sg you.Dat him.AccCl introduced
                (ne postoji)
                not exists

                'a/the friend such that I introduced him to you' – no commitment of the type above

(2)   a.   Ostaje žal   što/*da nisam   uspeo
                 remains regret što/da NegAux1Sg succeed

                 'There remains the regret that I didn't make it' – commitment to the truth of the CompC

    b.   Ostaje žal   da/??što bih možda uspeo S-C
                 remains regret da/što   would.1Sg

                 maybe succeed

                 'There remains a regret that I could have made it' – no commitment of the type above

These facts not only lend further support to analyses along the lines of Manzini & Savoia (2003, 2005, 2011), Arsenijević (2009), Kayne (2010), under which CompCs in general are only a special type of RelCs, but also offer means to discriminate between: a) analyses treating only factive CompCs as RelCs (i.e. as operator movement structures), and propositional CompCs as CompCs proper (de Cuba 2007, de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009, Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010), and analyses under which all CompCs are RelCs (Arsenijević 2009, Kayne 2009) and b) analyses treating CompCs as free RelCs (Manzini & Savoia 2003, 2005, 2011) and those treating them as headed RelCs (Arsenijević 2009, Kayne 2010).

As to the former issue, the fact that there are propositional RelCs, on a par with factive RelCs, argues in favor of an operator movement analysis of all CompCs. The difference may rather be in the type of operator that moves. In factive clauses of both types, it comes with a speaker-bound (epistemic evaluator) variable, which induces the special syntactic effects, including islandhood, pointed out in de Cuba 2007, de Cuba & Ürögdi 2009, Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010. The presence of a speaker-bound variable, or at least its effects, have already been argued for in (Haegeman, 2006:1665).

The fact that the factive-propositional asymmetry obtains in relativization proper (i.e. in adnominal modification), in which there is no verb or noun of attitude, saying etc. supports the free RelC analysis of CompCs. Building on Manzini & Savoia (2003, 2005, 2011) and Arsenijević (2009), and following McCloskey's (1979, 1990, 2001, 2002) arguments that resumptive pronouns are fully disjoint from the operator movement involved in relativization, I propose an analysis as in (4), crucially involving the following views: a) in

addition to traditional CompCs and RelCs, there is a third type: adnominal CompCs, b) they are derived by the movement of the same type of operators as regular CompCs, c) but they are used to restrict individuals through a process that involves the coreference of one of its arguments with the DP projected by the head noun, which is facilitated by what is traditionally referred to as resumption (on this analysis: a conspiracy of the specificational nature of coordination and a weak nature of the resumptive pronoun). (4) An adnominal complement clause: [CoordP [DP]i &Specif [CP [OpEpist] [ForceP [OpEpist] [IP ...Proi ...]]]]

On this view, CompCs are free RelCs (as in Manzini & Savoia 2003, 2005, 2011, contra Arsenijević 2009 and Kayne 2010), which can be coordinated with an expression of the same semantic type, yielding traditional CompCs, or, licensed by resumption, with expressions denoting individuals / in which case an adnominal CompP is derived.

Tense and Aspect modulate RC Attachment: Testing the PR Hypothesis in Greek

Nino Grillo & Giorgos Spathas

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

Attachment. Cuetos & Mitchell (1988) reported crosslinguistic variation in Relative Clause attachment in complex NPs: Low Attachment (LA) is found in English and High Attachment (HA) in Spanish, challenging the universality of locality in parsing.

Pseudo Relatives. Grillo & Costa (2012) (G&C) argue that (everything else being equal) variation results from asymmetric availability of Pseudo Relatives Small Clauses (PR), which forces HA. PRs are available in Spanish type languages (1a) but not in English type languages (1b). i. LA arises with genuine RCs, ii. PR is preferred to RC parse when available.

(1)　He　　[Vbí visto [PR a Juan que corrC-a]].
　　　have.I　　seen　　a John that run.impf.
　　　'I saw John running.'

(2)   * I saw John that ran.

Greek PRs. Greek matches Spanish in preferring HA (Papadopoulou & Clah-sen, 2003). Following G&C we expect Greek to allow PRs. Although this hasnB4t been recognized so far, the prediction is correct. PRs are selected by perceptual verbs and require matching Tense between matrix and embed-ded Vs and the imperfective aspect in the embedded clause. G&C predicts HA when these conditions are met (3, which displays a PR/RC ambiguity), and LA when they are not.

(3)   Evlepa   ton fititi   pu   etrexe
      watch.imperf.past.1sg the student that run.imperf.past.3sg

      'I was watching the student running / I was watching the student who was running.'

(4)   a. Evlepa [SC ton fititi pu etrexe]
      b. Evlepa ton [NP fititi [RC pu etrexe]]

Experiment. In a questionnaire in Greek (n=48) we manipulated PR availability in a 2 [Matrix-Verb-Type: perceptual vs. stative] X 2 [Embedded-Tense/Aspect: imperfective.past vs. perfective.future] design (3). Condition A allowed for PR interpretation, condition B/C/D only allowed RC reading. As predicted by G&C, we found significantly higher HA in the PR (62.4%), than in the noPR (38.1%) condition. A mixed effects logistic regression revealed significant effects of both Matrix Verb Type (<.0001), Embedded Tense: (p<.01) and significant interaction (p<.0001).

A.   O   Janis evlepe   ton filo   tu   fititi   pu
     the John watch.past.imp the friend the.gen student that
     etrexe.   (PR / RC)
     run.past.imp.

B.   O   Janis evlepe   ton filo   tu   fititi   pu tha
     the John watch.past.imp the friend the.gen student that fut
     treksi.   (RC only)
     run.perf.

C. O   Janis emene   me ton filo   tu   fititi   pu
   the John lived.past.imp with the friend the.gen student that
   etrexe.   (RC only)
   run.past.imp.

D. O   Janis emene   me ton filo   tu   fititi   pu tha
   the John lived.past.imp with the friend the.gen student that fut
   treksi.   (RC only)
   run.perf.

Conclusion. PR-availability strongly influences attachment. Our results support G&C claim that residual cross-linguistic variation in RC attachment originates from grammatical variation.

Cuetos, F. and D. C. Mitchell (1988). Cross-linguistic differences in parsing. In: *Cognition 30*, pp. 73-105. **Grillo, N. and J. Costa (2012).** A novel argument for the universality of parsing principles. Paper presented at the 25th CUNY Conference on Human Sentence Processing. New York, USA. **Papadopoulou, D. and H. Clahsen (2003).** Parsing strategies in L1 and L2 sentence processing. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 25*, pp 501-528.

Subject relative clause preference in Chinese: processing relative clause with two gaps

Yifei He & Ina Bornkessel-Schlesewsky & Matthias Schlesewsky

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

The processing asymmetry between subject-extracted relative clause (SRC) and object-extracted relative clause (ORC) is an area of hot debate in psycholinguistics. Studies have revealed mixed results and have proposed diverse underlying mechanisms (c. f. Gordon & Lowder, 2012). Among these theories, syntactically-motivated processing theories such as the Minimal Chain Principle (MCP) and relativized minimality seem to successfully predict most experimental findings: they predict that SRC is generally preferred in both head-initial and head-final RC languages (De Vincenzi, 1991; Friedmann, Belletti, & Rizzi, 2009). However, ORC advantage is still reported in a number of studies such as in Basque and Chinese using different research paradigms.

In the current study, we aimed at investigating a complex but novel structure in Chinese: RCs with two potential gaps. To fulfill such construction,

a topicalized noun phrase (NP1) is embedded within an RC. As exemplified, (1) and (2) illustrate SRC and ORC respectively in Chinese: RCs in Chinese are strictly head-final, and the difference between an SRC and an ORC could be immediately spelt out from the surface word order within an RC. In (3) and (4), the embedded NP1 is topicalized; consequently, the NP1 in both conditions could be recovered to two possible gaps. However, in terms of processing, in (3), the subject preference (Wang, Schlesewsky, Bickel, & Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, 2009) drives the sentence into an ORC interpretation with 'student' being the subject of the event; in (4), on the contrary, the sentence will be parsed as an SRC at the relativizer DE because the animacy of 'course' makes it an unlikely subject.

Crucially, at this moment, the upcoming head-NP can still choose from two available gaps at the surface structure. As a result, if there is a general processing preference for SRC, the head-NP will take the subject position in (3), thus lead to a competition with the NP1 for the same position. On the other hand, in (4), the subject recovery of the head-NP will be effortless: there is no competition between the NP1 and the head NP for the same gap. Importantly, this potential effect is not dependent on the presence of the head-NP.

We implemented an ERP experiment (n=24) testing sentences such as (3) and (4). Additionally, we added two more conditions in which embedded verbs are biased towards object reading of NP1 (thus as SRC). We found that (3) elicited a P600-like effect in comparison to all other conditions immediately at the relativizer DE. We interpret this effect as an indication of structural reanalysis: in (3), as the preferred head-NP attachment to the subject gap (driven by MCP) faces the competition from the NP1, it has to be reanalyzed to the object gap.

Our results show that SRC is preferred over ORC and this preference is independent of the presence of the head-NP. Hence, the results could be considered as evidence supporting structurally-motivated processing accounts such as the MCP and the relativized minimality.

Subject-extracted relative clause (SRC):

(1)   [e_1 喜欢 学生   的] 老师 1 ...
        [e_1 xihuan xuesheng DE] laoshi1 ...
        [e_1 like   student   DE] teacher1 ...

'The teacher that likes the student …'

Object-extracted relative clause (ORC)

(2) [学生　　喜欢 e_2 的] 老师 2 …
[xuesheng xihuan e_2 DE] laoshi$_2$　…
[student　like　 e_2 DE] teacher$_2$ …

'The teacher that the student likes …'

(3) [那位 学生 $_{1/2}$ 啊，　　e_1 喜欢　e_2 的] 老师 $_{1/2}$　…
[nawei xuesheng$_{1/2}$-Ah,　e_1 xihuan e_2 DE] laoshi$_{1/2}$　…
[that　student$_{1/2}$-AhTOP, e_1 like　 e_2 DE] teacher$_{1/2}$ …

'The teacher that that student likes …" or "The teacher that likes that student …'

(4) [那　　学科 $_{1/2}$ 啊，　　e_1 喜欢　e_2 的] 老师 $_{1/2}$　…
[namen xueke$_{1/2}$-Ah,　　e_1 xihuan e_2 DE] laoshi$_{1/2}$　…
[that　course$_{1/2}$-AhTOP, e_1 like　 e_2 DE] teacher$_{1/2}$ …

'The teacher that likes that course …'

De Vincenzi, M. (1991). Syntactic parsing strategies in Italian : the minimal chain principle. Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer academic publ. Friedmann, N., Belletti, A., & Rizzi, L. (2009). Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. Lingua, 119(1), 67-88. Gordon, P. C., & Lowder, M. W. (2012). Complex sentence processing: A review of theoretical perspectives on the comprehension of relative clauses. Language and Linguistics Compass, 6(7), 403-415. Wang, L., Schlesewsky, M., Bickel, B., & Bornkessel-Schlesewsky, I. (2009). Exploring the nature of the 'subject'-preference: Evidence from the online comprehension of simple sentences in Mandarin Chinese. Language and Cognitive Processes, 24(7-8), 1180-1226.

Subject and object relative clauses in Greek: processing complexity in a flexible word-order language

Kalliopi Katsika & Shanley Allen

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

Psycholinguistic research on subject and object relative clause processing has provided interesting insight into the strategies that comprehenders apply for the interpretation of incoming linguistic input. Most current studies report an asymmetry in the processing difficulty between subject relative clauses (SRCs) and object relative clauses (ORCs), with ORCs being the hardest to process (see e.g. Levy, Fedorenko & Gibson, 2013). The vast majority of studies, however, have focused on languages with relatively rigid word order such as English (King & Just, 1991), German (Konieszny, 2000), Spanish (Betancort, Carreiras, & Sturt, 2009), and French (Cohen & Mehler, 1996). In order to further explore this asymmetry between SRCs and ORCs in a language with flexible word order, we conducted an online self-paced listening task in Greek. The advantage of using a morphologically rich language with free word order such as Greek (see also Levy et al, 2013 for Russian) is that such a language provides the possibility to examine whether RC processing difficulty stems from structural or morphological complexity, or it is a matter of constituent saliency.

We thus conducted an online self-paced listening experiment in which we manipulated the type of RC (SRC vs. ORC), the RC internal word order (canonical vs. scrambled), and the introductory word of the RC (case marked relative pronoun vs. complementizer). The materials included eight lists of twenty four experimental items (see examples for the relative pronoun condition in (1a) – (1d)) and forty eight filler sentences of various structures. One hundred native speakers of Greek (82 female, age range 20-32, mean age: 21.8, SD: 3.7) participated in our study.

The results of the online self-paced listening and the subsequent offline grammaticality judgment task showed that sentences containing RCs with canonical word order were processed faster and received higher grammaticality scores than the ones containing RCs with scrambled word order. In accordance with results from previous studies, SRCs were perceived as more grammatical and were processed faster in the canonical word order condition. Interestingly, however, this preference was reversed in the scrambled word order condition for which ORCs received higher grammaticality scores and were processed faster than SRCs when RCs were introduced with a relative pronoun. These results indicate that processing difficulty or RCs lies more on the number of dependents that intervene between the verb and the relative pronoun (local vs. non-local configurations) rather than on an SRC vs. ORC asymmetry per se (Levy, Fedorenko & Gibson, 2013).

Subject RC, Canonical word order (VO) / local configuration

(1)　a.　O　　　jiatros　　o　　　opios
The-NOM doctor-NOM who-NOM visit-PERF.3S
episkefthike ton　　　　astheni　　　eghrapse mia
the-ACC　　patient-ACC write- PERF.3S a　　　　new
nea　　　　　sintaghi.
prescription.
' The doctor who visited the patient wrote a new prescription '

Subject RC, Scrambled word order (OV) / non-local configuration

(1)　b.　O　　　jiatros　　　o　　　　opios　　ton
The-NOM doctor-NOM who-NOM the-ACC patient-ACC
astheni　　　episkefthike　　eghrapse mia nea
visit-PERF.3S write- PERF.3S　　　　new prescription.
sintaghi.

' The doctor who visited the patient wrote a new prescription '

Object RC, Canonical word order (SV) / non-local configuration

(1)　c.　O　　　　jiatros　　　ton　　　opio　o
The-NOM doctor-NOM who-ACC the-ACC patient-ACC
asthenis　　　episkefthike　　eghrapse mia nea
visit-PERF.3S write- PERF.3S　　　　new prescription.
sintaghi.

' The doctor who the patient visited wrote a new prescription '

Object RC, Scrambled word order (VS) / local configuration

(1) d. O   jiatros   ton   opio
         The-NOM doctor-NOM who-ACC visit-PERF.3S
         episkefthike o   asthenis   eghrapse mia
         the-ACC   patient-ACC write- PERF.3S a   new
         nea   sintaghi.
         prescription.
         ' The doctor who the patient visited wrote a new prescrip-
         tion '

Levy R., Fedorenko, E., & Gibson, T. (2013). The syntactic complexity of Russian relative clauses. Journal of Memory and Language, 69(4), 461–495. King, J., & Just, M. A. (1991). Individual differences in syntactic processing: The role of working memory. Journal of Memory and Language, 30(5), 580–602. Cohen, L., & Mehler, J. (1996). Click monitoring revisited: An on-line study of sentence comprehension. Memory & Cognition, 24(1), 94–102. Konieczny, L. (2000). Locality and parsing complexity. Journal of Psycholinguistic Research, 29(6), 627–645. Betancort, M., Carreiras, M., & Sturt, P. (2009). The processing of subject and object relative clauses in Spanish: an eye-tracking study. The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology, 62(10), 1915-1929.

What Can Experiments Tell Us About the Syntactic Analysis of Relative Clauses?

Anke Holler & Sascha Bargmann & Christopher Götze & Gert Webelhuth & Thomas Weskott

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

As the organizers note in their call for papers, one of the many unresolved issues in the study of relative clauses concerns their correct syntactic analysis. The theoretical options—Modification, Raising, and Matching—have so far been discussed from the perspective of theoretical syntax only (cf. Donati & Cecchetto, 2011). Given that classical introspection-based grammaticality judgments on RC data are highly controversial (cf. Bhatt 2002, Sauerland 2003, Salzmann 2006), what seems to be missing is a broader empirical foundation against which the predictions of the three different proposals could be tested.

The work to be presented represents our first steps towards laying such a foundation by bringing the data from controlled experiments to bear on the intricate issues of relative clause analysis. In a first series of experiments, we conducted four decision-cum-rating studies (a 2-alternative forced choice interpretation task followed by an acceptability rating on a 7-point rating

scale), in which we tested for binding-theoretic reconstruction effects in restrictive RCs of German. Our prediction was that, if participants prefer the bound interpretation in (1.a) more often, and rate the structures under this interpretation to be more acceptable, while at the same time preferring the unbound interpretation in (1.b) more often (accordingly for the ratings), then this would speak strongly for a reconstruction of the head into the RC, and thus, ultimately, for the Raising approach. The data of Exp.1 showed a mixed picture: as predicted by the reconstruction/Raising approach, 93% of the pronouns in the reflexive pronoun condition (1.a) were interpreted as bound; ratings went along with that preference. At the same time, we found an intriguingly high proportion (77%) of bound interpretations in the case of personal pronouns (1.b); again, ratings mirrored this preference. In three further rating experiments, we made sure that these results are reliable, and showed that they indeed are: essentially, the mixed picture withstood the manipulation of further factors like the syntactic complexity of the stimuli, and the presence and accessibility of further local and non-local antecedents. We concluded from this set of data that reconstruction must be possible for reflexive pronouns, while it must not be necessary for personal pronouns. These results, fitting rather nicely with related studies by Jeff Runner, admittedly did not get us much closer to answering the question about the right kind of analysis of RCs.

To attack the problem from a different angle, we decided to run a cross-modal lexical priming experiment in which we test for lexical reactivation of the RC head at a position inside the RC, compared to a number of control positions; see (2) for a schematic illustration. In addition, we test for our participant's interpretation of inverse scope sentences in order to control for interindividual differences in reconstruction preferences.

This study is currently under way, and its results will be presented along with potential follow-up studies concerning the processing of RCs in German, and their results will be discussed in the light of the three theoretical options.

(1) a. Diejenigen Geschichten über sich, die Pfarrer
         Those   stories   about himself that Minister
         Huber nicht hören mag, kursieren in der Regel am
         Huber not hear likes circulate in the rule   at

längsten in der Gemeinde.
longest   in the parrish.

'Those stories about himself that Minister Huber doesn't like to hear, usually circulate the longest in the parrish.'

b.   Diejenigen Geschichten über ihn, die Pfarrer Huber
Those   stories   about him that Minister Huber
nicht hören mag, kursieren in der Regel am längsten in
not   hear likes circulate in the rule at longest in
der Gemeinde.
the parrish.

'Those stories about him that Minister Huber doesn't like to hear, usually circulate the longest in the parrish.'

(2)   Ich habe gehört∇_1, dass Peter sich einen Sportwagen ∇_2 gekauft hat, mit dem er nach Auskunft seiner Freundin ∇_3 schon seit Jahren ∇_4 liebäugelt, und sie findet ∇_5 das total albern.

(Probes to be presented at the positions indicated by "∇")

Bhatt, R. (2002). The raising analysis of relative clauses: Evidence from adjectival modification. Natural Language Semantics, 40: 43-90. Donati, C. and Cecchetto, C. (2011). Relabelling heads: A unified account for relativization structures. Linguistic Inquiry, 42:519-560. **Salzmann, M. (2006).** Resumptive Prolepsis. A Study of Indirect A'- Dependencies. LOT Dissertation, Utrecht. **Sauerland, U. (2003).** Unpronounced heads in relative clauses. In Schwabe, K. and Winkler, S., editors, The Interfaces: Deriving and Interpreting Omitted Structures. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins, 205-226.

Off-line and On-line Child Comprehension of Object Relative Clauses with Demonstrative and Personal Pronouns

Yair Haendler & Flavia Adani

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Friedmann, Belletti & Rizzi (2009) explain the subject-object asymmetry in children's relative clause comprehension using intervention locality (Rizzi, 2013) as metric of syntactic complexity. They argue that object relatives (ORs) where only the moved or the embedded constituent is NP-restricted

(e.g., one is a full DP and the other is a pronoun) are easier for children than ORs where both constituents are NP-restricted (e.g., they are two full DPs). This account is confirmed by Hebrew ORs with an embedded null pronoun which are more accurate than their fully-fledged counterparts. Indirect support comes also from other studies that tested each only one pronoun type (e.g., Arnon, 2009). Furthermore, children's performance so far has been tested only off-line, an arguably more taxing modality (Brandt-Kobele & Höhle, 2010). In the present study, we look at off-line as well as on-line child comprehension of different types of ORs in German: ORs with two DPs (OR+2DP; 1), ORs with various pronominal subjects (OR+ich/es/sie 'I/it/she'; 2), and demonstrative-headed ORs (OR+dem; 3).

Nineteen German-speaking children (aged 5;0-5;11, M=5;6) watched videos with animals and were asked to name the color of one animal described by an OR. An audio-visual preamble preceding each trial made the successive reference to one of the animals with a pronoun (within the OR) natural. We collected accuracy data and proportion of looks to the target animal during scene inspection. In a pilot version, adults performed always at ceiling.

The analysis of correct responses (in %) reveals that OR+ich/es/sie are more accurate than OR+2DP (70% and 42% respectively; p<.01), but not so OR+dem (41%; p=.88). Separating 1st from 3rd person pronoun, OR+ich are more accurate than OR+2DP (97% and 42% respectively; p<.001), but not so OR+es/sie (42%; p=.99). Crucially, the eye-tracking data indicate that children processed correctly both OR+ich and OR+2DP: starting 1000ms upon hearing the relative pronoun, proportion of looks to target (PLT) in the OR+ich condition were constantly above chance level (p's<.05); at 2600ms, PLT in the OR+2DP condition also surpassed chance level (p<.05). In the conditions OR+es/sie and OR+dem, PLT remained below or at chance throughout the entire trial.

Contrary to the off-line data, the on-line data reveal correct processing of both OR+ich and OR+2DP, whereas OR+es/sie and OR+dem remain difficult for children. These results suggest that defining locality intervention exclusively in terms of lexical restriction is not sufficient. What distinguishes full DPs and 1st person pronouns, on the one hand, and 3rd person and demonstrative pronouns, on the other, is a direct co-reference to a discourse antecedent for the latter but not the former (Carminati, 2005). We propose that 'antecedent search' and 'lexical restriction' need to be inte-

grated within the notion of locality intervention and that they can create distinguishable effects in the comprehension of ORs.

(1)   Welche Farbe hat der Hase, den die Kuh jagt?
        what   color has the bunny that the cow chases?

(2)   Welche Farbe hat der Hase, den ich/es/sie jage/jagt?
        what   color has the bunny that I/it/she   chase/chases?

(3)   Welche Farbe hat der,   den die Kuh jagt?
        what   color has that (the one) that the cow chases?

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Relative Clause Extraposition and Prosody

Claudia Poschmann & Michael Wagner

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Whereas it is uncontroversial that restrictive relatives (RRCs) can extrapose and that their extraposition is affected by focus (Rochemont & Cullicover 1990), it is often claimed that appositive relatives (ARCs) cannot extrapose at all (Potts 2005). Recent literature has challenged the second claim (De Vries 2006) and suggested that focus on an ARC's head might favor extraposition (Heringa 2012). However, there is only very limited quantitative evidence to support these claims, and no study has looked at the interaction between focus and relative claus type (RC-type). This interaction seems crucial, however. When the RC's head is focused, RRCs form part of the focus while ARCs do not (Holler 2005). One would expect then that there are systematic interactions between RC-type and focus when it comes to extraposability.

Experiments: Our study looks at extraposition in German from subject position to the right of VP, across an intervening object. We tested the

acceptability of ARCs and RRCs in two separate experiments, each containing 18 different items with 6 conditions (Extraposed/Non-Extraposed * Wide/Subject/Object Focus). The two sets were matched as closely as possible, so we could compare RC-types across the experiments. Participants were recorded in pseudo-dialogues and asked after recording how natural they judged the sentence as an answer to the corresponding question.

Results: We found a significant effect of WordOrder (In all conditions extraposed RCs rated lower than non-extraposed RCs) and a significant interaction between Extraposition and Focus: Subject-Focus leads to better extraposability compared to Wide-Focus, and Wide-Focus to better extraposability than Object-Focus. There was no effect of Focus on non-extraposed RCs. Surprisingly, however, we found no significant effect of RC-type on extraposition, and no interaction of RC-type with Focus under extraposition. This challenges approaches which assume a strict adjacency requirement for ARCs (Potts 2005). Only in the non-extraposed case the two factors interacted: When the head of the RC was focused, non-extraposed ARCs rated significantly lower than non-extraposed RRCs. We can make sense of this if it is indeed the case that RRCs form part of the focus and ARCs do not. Based on these results, we will argue that extraposability of a RC is inversely proportional to the salience of an intervening object and demonstrate by evaluation of the acoustic data how the different prosodic properties of RRCs and ARCs interact with focus and extraposition.

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On the Comprehension of Subject and Object Relative Clauses by French Learners of English

Marie-Anne Duffeler & Martine Coene

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

Our research draws on recent development of the generative theory (Chomsky 2000; Rizzi, 2004) and follows a great number of papers devoted to relative clauses, and in particular to the asymmetry in processing subject and

object relative clauses (henceforth SR and OR) (Franck, Lassi, Frauenfelder & Rizzi, 2006; Friedmann, Belletti, Rizzi, 2009; Costa et al, 2011, Traxler et al, 2002, amongst many others). The fact that OR's are more difficult to process (in adults, in children, and in agrammatic populations) has been interpreted as evidence of their more complex syntactic structure (longer structural movement).

Our study's aims are (i) to determine whether L2-learners compare to native language speakers of English with respect to the attested asymmetries in comprehension performance between SR's and OR's, and (ii) to focus on oblique relative clauses with stranded preposition (The lion the horse is jumping over) as a particular sub-class of relatives yielding grammatical utterances in the targeted L2 (English) while being absent from the native language system of the language learner (*Le lion que le cheval saute au-dessus). The following hypotheses are tested: (i) the natural order of acquisition of SR's and OR's in L2 learners mirrors the pattern found in L1 developers, i.e. OR's are more difficult to process and are therefore more prone to comprehension errors than SR's; (ii) relatives with preposition stranding are less well understood by French learners of English than their pied-pied equivalents (The lion over which the horse is jumping) as the former are infelicitous in the native language of the L2-learner.

To test these hypotheses, a comprehension task has been offered to 59 adult French-speaking learners of English, who have been asked to participate in a three-item forced choice picture-selection task allowing an SR- or OR-oriented interpretation. All participants are Belgian university students, who have had to listen to 56 recorded sentences containing the various types of RC's and have been prompted to circle the character described in the sentence. The results of our statistical analysis reveal that, at group level and at individual level (pairwise comparisons), no significant differences are found between the percentages of correct scores obtained on SR's as compared to OR's. As for our second hypothesis, the percentage of correct scores for OR's with preposition stranding is significantly higher than that for pied-pied relatives. Additional research will have to show whether the absence of significant differences between the comprehension performance on SR's and OR's in L2 learners can be related to the participants' level of English (intermediate) or whether it is part of a broader theoretical question, i.e. whether principles guiding the natural order of emergence of syntactic structures in L1 differ from those found in L2 acquisition. These

results furthermore raise questions in terms of interlanguage grammar and how the acquisition of particular syntactic constructions in L2 may be influenced by their absence/presence in the learner's L1.

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The role of focus structure in children's production of object relative clauses

Alexander Thiel & Emanuela Sanfelici & Corinna Koch & Petra Schulz

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Relative clauses (RCs) have been widely investigated in the domain of language acquisition since the late 1970's. These studies unanimously confirmed the different status of subject vs. object relatives (SRCs, ORCs), with ORCs being more difficult than SRCs in processing as well as in comprehension (Tavakolian 1981, Hamburger & Crain 1982, King & Just 1991, Diessel & Tomasello 2005, Adani et al. 2012, among many others). This asymmetry has often been explained in terms of children's overly strict concept of Relativized Minimality (RM), i.e. intervention effects that block the required connection between the extracted element and its trace (Rizzi 1990, 2004). RM states that a chain cannot be formed between X and Y in the following configuration:

(1)   ...X ...Z ...Y ...

if the intervening element Z has certain morphosyntactic characteristics in common with X. Thus, changing the nature and number of the features of

a moved constituent in order to create a feature-mismatch between X and Z should, as predicted by RM (Rizzi 2004), have a melioration effect on the processing of the filler-gap-dependency. Indeed, this melioration effect has been robustly shown by recent studies on acquisition, which conclude that children's performance on ORCs improves if the morphosyntactic features of the relative head (X in (1)) and the RC's DP-subject (Z in (1)) differ (Friedmann et al. 2009, Adani et al. 2012, Contemori & Belletti 2013). It is still an open question, however, which and how many features are relevant to dissimilating the relative head and the intervener, particularly whether there is a difference among argumental and quantificational features in this respect. According to Rizzi (2004), both focus and wh- features turn a DP into a quantificational expression, which, according to Friedmann et al. (2009) favors the availability of chain formation if the potential intervener is non-quantificational (i.e. argumental).

This study investigates whether creating a mismatch between the relative head and the intervening subject DP in terms of a focus feature has an influence on children's performance on ORCs. To achieve this, we designed a picture-supported elicited production task, prompting 50 typically developing monolingual German-speaking children (20 male, 30 female; age range 3;3 to 6;3, mean 4;9) to produce 24 SRCs and 24 ORCs, both in 2 conditions: predicate focus, as in (2) on page 2, and argument focus, as in (3), where capitals indicate focal stress. If focus is relevant, children's performance should be better on ORCs without a focused intervener argument like (3) than on ORCs with predicate focus like (2), while there should be no difference within the SRCs.

Besides a clear confirmation of the subject-object asymmetry across focus configurations ($F(1, 49)=58,480$; p=.000, repeated measures ANOVA), the results indicate no effect of ORCs in argument focus configuration over ORCs in predicate focus configuration (p=.890, paired 2-sample t-test). As expected, there was also no effect of focus within SRCs (p=.798); see Table 1.

The interpretation of these results allows for the conclusions that in children a) focus is not a relevant feature in terms of RM, b) focus, (like wh-, cf. Friedmann et al. 2009) is not enough to define the intervener as a member of the quantificational class and therefore as distinct from the moved element and its trace, and c) manipulating quantificational features plays no

role in overcoming RM intervention effects in children's system. In conclusion, these results shed light on children's organization of feature classes, with the argumental class being the relevant one in the instantiation of A' dependencies.

Example ORCs in the two focus conditions

Predicate focus

(2)   Hier sind 2 Löwen und 1 Hund. Einen   Löwen   STREIchelt
        here are 2 lion:Pl and 1 dog. one:ACC lion:ACC stroke:3Sg
        der   Hund   und einen   Löwen   TRITT   der
        the:NOM dog:NOM and one:ACC lion:ACC kick:3Sg the:NOM
        Hund.   Welcher   Löwe   hat den   Hut   auf?
        dog:NOM Which:NOM lion:NOM has the:ACC hat:ACC on
        ' Here, there are 2 lions and 1 dog. The dog is stroking one lion
        and the dog is kicking one lion. Which lion is wearing the hat? '

Expected RC: Der Löwe, den der Hund STREIchelt. ('The lion that the dog is STROking.')

Argument focus

(3)   Hier sind 2 Papageien, 1 Löwe und 1 Bär. Einen   Papagei
        here are 2 parrot:Pl   1 lion and 1 bear. one:ACC parrot:ACC
        wäscht   der   LÖwe   und einen   Papagei
        wash:3Sg the:NOM lion:NOM and one:ACC parrot:ACC
        wäscht   der   BÄR.   Welcher   Papagei   hat
        wash:3Sg the:NOM bear:NOM which:NOM parrot:NOM has
        den   Hut   auf?
        the:ACC hat:ACC on
        ' Here, there are 2 parrots, 1 lion and 1 bear. The lion is washing
        one parrot and the bear is washing one parrot. Which parrot is
        wearing the hat? '

Expected RC: Der Papagei, den der BÄR wäscht. ('The parrot that the BEAR is washing.') |

RC type	focus configuration	mean % correct (n=50)	std dev (n=50)
	overall	59.92	.37
SRCs	argument focus	59.67	.38
	predicate focus	60.17	.37
	overall	9.83	.22
ORCs	argument focus	10.00	.23
	predicate focus	9.67	.22

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Gross Minimality and Relative Clauses in Child Grammar

Carlo Cecchetto & Caterina Donati & Maria Teresa Guasti

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

Friedmann et al. (2009) interpret children's difficulty with object relatives as a Relativized Minimality (RM) effect. If they are right, the same effect should occur in object which-questions. To test this prediction we administered to 32 Italian children (age range 5;0 to 7;0 (M=6;1)), two picture matching tasks, testing relatives (1) and indirect which-questions (2).

(1)   Show me the dragon that is chasing the magicians

(2)   Tell me which dragon is chasing the magicians

Statistical analysis with the R-package (Baayen, 2008) revealed that subject extraction was easier than object extraction in both conditions [$\chi 2$ (1)=38, 98, p<.001]: subject extraction was equally easy (percent correct around 86% in both cases), while object extraction was equally difficult (percent correct: 68,5% for RC and 70% for which-questions). This is the first result supporting Friedmann et al.'s proposal within subjects and with the same material. Although we agree that some sort of RM underlies children's behavior, we propose an alternative implementation that avoids the postulation of the +NP feature and relates it to an independently attested feature of child grammar.

Donati & Cecchetto (2011) propose that the label of a syntactic object is the feature(s) acting as a Probe of the operation creating it. The role of the label is (i) triggering further computation and (ii) making the object visible for selection. Nothing prohibits unprobed Merge, but there is a severe limitation: since the label is provided by the Probe, unprobed Merge yields a label-less object. Can linguistic objects remain unlabeled? Root clauses can: they do not require further computation and do not need to be selected. This derives the existence of movement operations (i.e. unprobed internal merge) that are restricted to the root, as robustly attested crosslinguistically (cf. the literature on root transformations).

Notice that unprobed and probed movement display another difference. When there is a Probe, the probed feature restricts the searching of the copy. This is classical RM. Unprobed movement cannot be restricted this way. Still, the two copies must be related. Assume that, if no feature can restrict the search, any intervening element may disrupt the computation. This is what we call Gross Minimality (GM). Minimality then works differently in root contexts, where unprobed operations resulting in a label-less layer are possible, and in embedded ones, where they are not. GM vs. RM will be illustrated with subject intervention in Romance direct vs embedded questions: (3-4).

direct questions

(3)   ?*Cosa Gianni ha   fatto?
        what   Gianni has done

indirect questions

(4)   Mi   chiedo cosa Gianni abbia fatto
        myself I ask   what Gianni has   done

Returning to children, the ungrammaticality of (6) vs (5) can be interpreted as a GM effect if children treat wh-movement as unprobed also in embedded contexts.

Subject RC (√ in child grammar)

(5)   La   fatina che tira   il   cavallo.
        the fairy   that pulls the horse

Object RC (* in child grammar)

(6)   Il   cavallo che la   fatina tira
        the horse   that the fairy   pulls

If so, the peculiarity of children is not due to the +NP feature. It concerns the availability of unprobed movement. In adults, this is restricted to root clauses (only root clauses can be unlabeled) but children allow it in embedded structures. Why are children more liberal? This is due to the fact that they treat embedded clauses as if they were root. This is a general feature of child grammar, a famous example being V2, which children extend to subordinate clauses (Schönenberg 2001). Ultimately, this has to do with the fact that embedded clauses are acquired at a later stage.

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Subject-object Asymmetry In Relative Clauses: An Investigation Into Itialian Dialects

Emanuela Sanfelici & Cecilia Poletto

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

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This work explores the syntax of subject (SRCs) and object (ORCs) relative clauses in the domain of diachronic and synchronic microvariation across Italian dialects. Several studies have argued that ORCs are more problematic to comprehend and process than SRCs (Traxler et al. 2002; a.m.o.). Data on relative clauses coming from Italian dialects through the ASIt project confirm that the same asymmetry is found in the dialectological corpus: SRCs are translated as such by informants, as in (1), while ORCs are usually translated as a different structure (2). In the same vein, Renaissance Italian texts like Machiavelli's Il principle show a significant difference in the distribution of relative clauses: SRCs (68,6%), ORCs (20,29%). Although the asymmetry is well known, it is still unclear how to account for it in a principled manner. The proposed accounts can be grouped in two classes: (i) one proposal, such as Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 1990; Friedman et al. 2009), assumes that this effect is rooted in the starting position of subjects and objects and its movement path; (ii) the other argues that the effect is ultimately due to processing motivations in terms of length of movement, as the Minimal Chain Principle (De Vincenzi 1991).

Here, we propose that there is at least one further possible factor that has to be taken into account to explain the asymmetry between SRCs and ORCs. Building on works by Bayer (1984) and Shlonsky (1994), we propose that this phenomenon has the same explanation as the that-trace effect: inside the CP layer there is a position where agreement with the subject is marked independently from the agreement between the subject and the verb inside TP, which we dub AgrCP following Shlonsky (1994).

Empirical evidence that there is actually subject agreement in the CP layer in Romance comes from those varieties that have a special complementizer for subject extractions like Friulian and Rhaetoromance, as in (3). Thus, extracting a subject is easier because the extraction is not a pure operator movement as in the case of the object, but a phenomenon similar to A-movement of the subject to a position where its agreement features are checked.

Our analysis makes a prediction not made by the other analyses, namely that the asymmetry should be confined to those languages where the AgrCP is active, in other languages there should not be any asymmetry. This is precisely the case of Basque, as claimed in Laka (2012). Hence, the effect is not due to a universal strategy, as the shortest link or intervention phenomena

predict, but is language specific and depends on the case system a language adopts.

Summing up: it is possible that the subject/object asymmetry found in relative clauses is due to cumulative factors, but we believe that at least one of them is language specific and has to do with the activation of a AgrCP projection containing the subject features which facilitates the extraction by means of an additional agreement feature similar to the one on T.

(1) La femm'n' CA pulezz' r' sc' l' staje' m' l' .
     the woman   rel cleans   the stairs   is   sick
     'The woman that cleans the stairs is sick.'(Venosa, Basilicata)

(2) U   brod' D mam't'   jè da loss   .
     the suop of mum-your is of pleasure
     'The soup of your mother is tasty.' (Venosa, Basilicata)

(3) a. Qualas mattas crajast   CHI/*CHA cumpraran quel
         which   girls   think.2SG Rel   buy.FUT   that
         cudesh .
         book
         'Which girls do you think will buy that book?' (Vallader, En-gadin valley, Switzerland)

     b. Qual cudesh crajast   CHA/*CHI las mattas cumpraran .
         which book   think.2SG Rel   the girls   buy.FUT
         'Which book do you think the girls will buy?' (Vallader, En-gadin valley, Switzerland)

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Locality and Anti-Locality in Processing German Relative Clauses

Markus Bader & Jana Häussler

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

For English, robust processing disadvantages are found for object relative clauses (ORCs) in comparison to subject relative clauses (SCRs) (Gordon & Lowder 2012).

(1)   a.   SRC: We know the man who t visited the director.

        b.   ORC: We know the man who the director visited t.

The difference between SCRs and OCRs is a locality effect: intervening material hampers processing (Gibson 2000; Friedmann et al. 2009). In English, intervention affects antecedent-trace and verb-argument dependencies in the same way: the subject intervenes in ORCs whereas nothing intervenes in SRCs. In German, the same holds for the antecedent-trace relation but not for the verb-argument relation. In both SRCs and ORCs, one argument intervenes between the other.

(2)   a.   SRC: Wir kennen den Mann, der   t den Direktor
                we know   the man who-NOM the director
           besuchte.
           visited

        b.   ORC: Wir kennen den Mann, den   der Direktor t
                we know   the man who-ACC the director
           besuchte.
           visited

In addition to locality effects, Konieczny (2000) found anti-locality effects in German verb-end clauses: verbs are read faster when preceded by an RC. In recent experiments, we investigated locality and anti-locality effects inside and outside of German RCs. In two experiments using a word-by-word self-paced reading procedure, students read either SRCs or ORCs varying in their internal composition. In Experiment 1, the second NP was either a definite NP or a pronoun. In Experiment 2, the RC contained an additional adverbial

phrase or not after the second NP. The experiments yielded the following results: (i) Both experiments yielded a small increase for ORCs in reading times on the RC verb, but the factor order (SRC/ORC) was not significant nor any interaction involving this factor. This recapitulates earlier ERP findings (Friederici et al. 1998), which failed to find an ORC disadvantage as in English. This argues against the antecedent-trace dependency being an important source of processing complexity.(ii) When the RC contained a first-person pronoun, the remainder of the RC was read significantly faster than when the RC contained a definite NP. This is a locality effect as expected by the Dependency Locality Theory.(iii) When the RC contained an adverbial, the remainder of the RC was read significantly faster than when the RC did not contain an adverbial. This is an anti-locality effect as observed before (Konieczny 2000).The first two experiments reveal both locality and anti-locality effects RC-internal. To explore this issue outside the RC, a further experiment lengthened the distance between the verb and its arguments by including adverbial material either within an RC or immediately following an RC. In these two cases, the verb is separated from its arguments by the same distance (measured as words or as new discourse referents). Nevertheless, in comparison to a control condition without RC, reading times on the clause-final verbs were significantly shorter only when the adverbial material was contained within the RC but not when the adverbial material followed the RC. We will use our results to evaluate recent evaluate recent distance- and expectation-based theories of parsing complexity.

Do grammatical function and grammatical category matter for intervention in relative clauses? The acquisition of PP relatives in Hebrew and European Portuguese

Naama Friedmann & João Costa & Maya Yachini & Carolina Silva

Friday, March 7th, 13:30

A considerable amount of research on the acquisition of relative clauses reveals that object relatives are harder than subject relative. Importantly, not all object relative clauses are equally hard. Object relative clauses are easier

when there is no intervening lexically restricted subject between the gap and the moved constituent, or when the moved object is not lexically restricted, as in the case in who questions and in free relatives (Costa, Grillo, & Lobo, 2012; Friedmann, Belletti, & Rizzi, 2009). Grillo (2008) and Friedmann, Belletti, and Rizzi (2009) explain the sensitivity to the lexical nature of the intervener and the moved constituent in terms of relativized minimality. The idea is that the identity of features is the factor creating difficulties in establishing the right interpretation of the gap. The next step (see also Adani, 2010, and Belletti et al., 2012), is to try to identify the atoms of intervention. What is the exact nature of what counts as an intervener?

The goal of this study is to contribute to a finer characterization of atoms of intervention. We explored two issues: the relevance of categorial features (PP vs. DP) for the emergence of intervention effects, and the relevance of grammatical function (complement vs. adjunct). To explore these questions, we compared nominal object relatives with prepositional object relatives, and complement and adjunct relatives in two unrelated language families: Romance (Portuguese) and Semitic (Hebrew). It is important to study unrelated languages to ascertain that there is crosslinguistic robustness, since we are dealing with abstract language properties.

The point of studying PP-relatives is the following: if children experience similar difficulties in producing and comprehending PP object relatives and DP object relatives, this may indicate that the categorial status (DP vs. PP) of the intervener is irrelevant. If, on the other hand, it turns out that children are better with PP object relatives than with DP object relatives, categorial feature identity proves relevant. Similarly, we tested the relevance of grammatical function. We see that a subject counts as an intervener in the path of a complement, but are intervention effects limited to crossing dependencies between arguments or is the argument/ adjunct asymmetry irrelevant? if adjunct relatives are easier than complement relatives, it would indicate that the grammatical function is relevant in the computation of intervention.

To assess these questions, we administered 4 experiments, in Hebrew and European Portuguese. A total of 80 typically developing monolingual children participated in the study, 40 European Portuguese-speaking participants aged 4;0-5;11 (M = 5;0, SD = 0;6) and 40 Hebrew-speaking participants aged 4;4-6;8 years (M = 5;5, SD = 0;8). Experiment 1 tested the comprehension of PP object relatives compared to subject- and DP object rela-

tives in Hebrew and European Portuguese using a picture selection task and 60 relative clauses. Experiment 2 tested the comprehension of 16 adjunct PP relatives in Hebrew in a sentence-picture matching task. Experiment 3 tested the production of subject relatives and DP and PP object relatives in Hebrew and European Portuguese using an adaptation of Friedmann and Szterman's (2006) preference task in order to include the elicitation of PP-object and adjunct relatives. This test included 24 items, eliciting subject relatives, DP object relatives, and complement and adjunct PP relatives. Experiment 4 tested PP relative production in the context of a definition task of 18 words.

The results, summarized in Tables 1-4, were that the comprehension and production of subject relatives in both languages was good, matching previous results. PP and DP object relatives are both comprehended and produced poorly in both languages, and, importantly, no significant difference was found between PP and DP object relatives. No significant difference was found between complement and adjunct relatives.

These results bear on atoms of intervention. They show that neither the categorial distinction (DP/PP) nor the grammatical function distinction (adjunct/complement) play a role in alleviating intervention effects. We also saw that this finding is crosslinguistically robust, and is found in two unrelated languages.

Adani, F. (2010). Re-thinking the acquisition of relative clauses in Italian: Towards a grammatically-based account. Journal of Child Language, 22, 1–25. Belletti, A., Friedmann, N., Brunato, D., & Rizzi, L. (2012). Does gender make a difference? Comparing the effect of gender on children's comprehension of relative clauses in Hebrew and Italian. Lingua, 122(10), 1053–1069. doi: 10.1016/j.lingua. 2012.02.007 Costa, J., Grillo, N., & Lobo, M. (2012). Minimality beyond lexical restriction: Processing and acquisition of headed and free wh-dependencies in European Portuguese. Revue Roumaine de Linguistique, 57(2), 143-160 Friedmann, N., Belletti, A., & Rizzi, L. (2009). Relativized relatives: Types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. Lingua, 119, 67–88. doi: 10.1016/j.lingua.2008.09.002 **Grillo, N. (2008).** Generalized minimality. Doctoral Dissertation, Utrecht. Institute of Linguistics OTS.

AG 02: Demonstratives

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Eefje Boef
Marco Coniglio
Eva Schlachter
Tonjes Veenstra

Demonstratives, as one of the few closed class categories universally present in language, are of central interest to linguistic theory. They raise important questions concerning their categorial status, their inherent featural make-up, their multi-functionality and distribution, as well as the grammaticalization processes they can take part in (cf. Diessel 2006, Himmelmann 1997). Furthermore, the study of demonstratives can shed light on the hierarchical organization of clause structure, specifically on the nominal domain and the complementizer domain (cf. Alexiadou, Haegeman & Stavrou 2007).

The main goal of this workshop is to create a platform to stimulate a structured discussion on these issues regarding the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of demonstratives. Among the many outstanding questions we hope to address are the following:

- *feature specification*; e.g. What is the exact semantic/pragmatic and morphosyntactic feature specification of demonstratives wrt. definiteness/specificity, deixis (distal/ proximal), anaphoricity, etc.? To what extent can the features of demonstratives be underspecified?

- *multi-functionality and distribution*; e.g. How do we account for the use of demonstratives as (relative) pronouns, complementizers, or Topic markers? Are they the same lexical items? What is the exact contribution of demonstratives in the functional part of the nominal and clausal domain?

AG 02

- *grammaticalization*; e.g. The loss of deixis and/or anaphoricity is often assumed to play a role in the grammaticalization process from demonstratives to definite articles (cf. Oubouzar 1992, Demske 2001). Can we describe the relevant features and grammaticalization contexts in more detail based on historical corpora?

We invite empirical and theoretical papers that approach these issues from a broad range of perspectives, including language variation, contact and change.

Alexiadou, Artemis, Haegeman, Liliane & Stavrou, Melita (2007). Noun Phrase in the generative perspective. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Demske, Ulrike (2001). Merkmale und Relationen. Diachrone Studien zur Nominalphrase im Deutschen. Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter (= Studia Linguistica Germanica 56). Diessel, Holger (2006). Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar. Cognitive Linguistics 17, 463-489. Himmelmann, Nikolaus (1997). Deiktikon, Artikel, Nominalphrase: Zur Emergenz syntaktischer Struktur. Tübingen: Niemeyer. Oubouzar, Erika (1992). Zur Ausbildung des bestimmten Artikels im AHD. In: Desportes, Yves (ed.): Althochdeutsch. Syntax und Semantik. Akten des Lyonner Kolloquiums. Lyon: Université Lyon III Jean Moulin, 71-87.

Manner Demonstratives: A Neglected Domain of Deixis, Anaphoricity and Grammaticalization

Ekkehard Koenig

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

Demonstratives are a subclass of deictic expressions, whose reference can only be established relative to a point of orientation ("origo"). More often than not the use of these expressions is accompanied by a pointing or mimicking gesture for the purpose of establishing a joint focus of attention between speaker and addressee(s). The semantic structure of these expressions is a very simple one, comprising as it does only two dimensions of meaning: (a) a deictic dimension strictu sensu, locating a referent in terms of distance, visibility and position relative to a center of orientation and (b) an ontologically dimension, identifying the referent as an entity (human being or object), a location, a direction, a time, etc. These simple and elementary properties make them part of the most basic layer of the vocabulary both in the phylogenetic development of languages and in language acquisition. Whereas the aforementioned ontological dimensions have been discussed in great detail in both language-specific and cross-linguistic studies (cf. Anderson & Keenan, 1985; Diessel, 1999; Himmelmann, 1997; Heine & Kouteva, 2002; Dixon, 2003, Krasnoukhova, 2012), three dimensions considered in this paper have been grossly neglected and have only recently been subjected to more systematic analyses (cf. C. Umbach; E. Brandner; A. Jäger, etc.) In contrast to the occasional observations made on "particles" like German so or Italian (co)si found in the last 30 years or so.

In the first part of my paper I will present a typological sketch of demonstratives of manner, of quality and of degree, showing that these three ontological dimensions and two or three deictic terms are differentiated in a variety of languages, so that the situation in Germanic languages where all three ontological dimensions can be encoded by a single expression (e. g. German so; English so) and no deictic distinctions are made is by no means typical. It will be shown that different deictic systems are also found in these three domains and that the relevant expressions are far more versatile in their

distribution than is assumed by the usual categorization into adnominal, nominal, adverbial, identificational demonstratives.

In the second part of my paper I will discuss another neglected aspect of the relevant demonstratives, viz. their role in processes of grammaticalization and thus in the genesis and development of various grammatical categories. The well-known extensions in the use of demonstratives from exophoric to anaphoric and cataphoric will be analyzed as the first steps in the processes of grammaticalization, which take demonstratives as their starting point and result in the development of such categories as propositional anaphors, comparative constructions, adverbial connectives as well as quotative, exclamative and approximative markers. As a consequence of these extensions of meaning and use, these demonstratives often lose their basic exophoric use and are renewed by local deictics (cf. Italian ecco si > cosi, English so > like this).

Anderson, S. & Keenan, E. (1985). "Deixis". In: Shopen, T. (ed.) Language Typology and Syntactic Description. Vol. III, 259-308. **Diessel, Holger (1999).** Demonstratives. Form, Functions and Grammaticalization. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Dixon, R.M.W. (2003).** "Demonstratives: A cross-linguistic typology", Studies in Language 27:1.61-112. Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania (2002). World Lexicon of Grammaticalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Himmelmann, N. (1997) Deiktikon, Artikel, Nominalphrase: Zur Emergenz syntaktischer Struktur. Tübingen: Niemeyer. **Koenig, Ekkehard (2012).** " Le rôle des déictiques de la manière dans le cadre d'une typologie de la deixis. " Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, CVII. 11-42.

Demonstrative expressions of manner, quality, and degree

Carla Umbach

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

In König (2012), demonstrative expressions of verbal manner, nominal quality and adjectival degree are investigated which have been largely neglected in standard analyses of demonstratives, e.g., Diessel (1999). Many languages have demonstratives expressing one (or two) of verbal manner, nominal quality and adjectival degree, and in a number of languages there is even a single expression covering all of these, like German *so/solch*, Polish *tak*, and Turkish *böyle*. Consider the German example in (1). In (a) Anna's height is characterized as being similar to the height of the person the speaker points to, in (b) the table Anna will buy is characterized as being similar in certain respects to the table the speaker points to, and finally, in (c) Anna's way of

dancing is characterized as being similar to the dancing event the speaker points to.

(1)   a.   (speaker pointing to a person): So groß ist Anna.

          'Anna is this tall.'

    b.   (speaker pointing to a table in a bar): So einen / einen solchen Tisch wird Anna kaufen.

          'Anna will buy a table like this.'

    c.   (speaker pointing to someone on the dancing floor): So tanzt Anna.

          'Anna dances like this.'

Grammatically, manner/quality/degree demonstratives function as modifiers of verbal or nominal or adjectival phrases. This raises the problem of determining the ontological status of the demonstrative: What is the speaker pointing at, for example in (1b)? On the natural assumption that it's the table in the bar the question arises of how this table can function as a modifier in the phrase referring to Anna's table? Another question relates to the common core of (1a-c): Why can a single demonstrative (assuming that there is no homonymy) occur as a manner modifier and as a nominal modifier and also as a degree modifier?

It has been suggested by Ehlich (1986) and Harweg (1990) and also by Anderson & Morzycki (to appear) that the target of the demonstration in the case of manner/quality/degree demonstratives are properties or kinds. This idea provides an easy solution to the ontological problem at the expense of additional stipulations. In the current paper it will be argued, that manner/quality/degree demonstratives do not require a special ontology but instead make use of the well-known cognitive procedure of classification by similarity. For example, in (1b) the speaker does in fact point to the table in the bar, but the meaning of the demonstrative is such that it expresses similarity instead of identity. Compare (1b) to (2). On the preferred reading of (2), *dieser Tisch* ('this table') requires (token-)identity of the target of the

demonstration and the referent of the NP, that is, Anna will buy the real table in the bar. In (1b), in contrast, *so ein Tisch* ('a table like this') only requires similarity, that is, Anna will buy a table similar to the one in the bar.

(2)   (speaker pointing to a table in bar): Diesen Tisch wird Anna kaufen.

'Anna will buy this table.'

The similarity interpretation applies to manner, quality and degree demonstratives alike. In each case there is an object (or event) the speaker points to and a verbal or nominal or adjectival phrase modified by the requirement that its referent is similar to the target of the demonstration (cf. Umbach & Gust to appear for details of the similarity relation). Please note that the similarity interpretation matches the meaning of complex expressions that can be used in the place of a manner/quality/degree demonstrative, e.g. English *like this* in (1c).

To conclude, it will be suggested in this paper to extend the standard classification system of demonstratives (cf. e.g. Diessel 1999) by a semantic feature encoding the relation between the target of the demonstration gesture and the interpretation of the phrase the demonstrative occurs in. This idea goes back to Nunberg (2004) who allowed identity to be replaced by other relations. In the current paper, replacement of identity is restricted to similarity, thereby accounting for the fact that, from a cognitive point of view, identity and similarity are closely intertwined.

Anderson, Curt & Marcin Morzycki (to appear). Degrees as Kinds. **Diessel, Holger (1999).** Demonstratives. Form, Functions and Grammaticalization. Amsterdam, Benjamins. **Ehlich, Konrad (1986).** so – Überlegungen zum Verhältnis sprachlicher Formen und sprachlichen Handelns, allgemein und an einem widerspenstigen Beispiel. In I. Rosengren (Hg.) Sprache und Pragmatik, Lunder germanistische Forschungen 55, 279-298. **Harweg, Roland (1990).** Studien zur Deixis. Universitätsverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer, Bochum **König, Ekkehard (2012).** Le rôle des déictiques de manière dans le cadre d'une typologie de la deixis. Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris CVII. **Nunberg, G. (2004).** Indexical Descriptions and Descriptive Indexicals. In M. Reimer & A. Bezuidenhout (eds) Descriptions and Beyond. Oxford University Press. Umbach, Carla & Helmar Gust (to appear). Similarity Demonstratives.

From demonstrative (?) *so* to reflexive and possessive pronoun

Ellen Brandner

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

The paper will explore and expand a proposal made by Leiss (2004), namely that the German(ic) reflexive sich (seg, sek...) can be decomposed into two subcomponents: the demonstrative particle so + the 1st Sg pronoun ich (eg, ek). Given the established assumption that the possessive pronoun sein- in German has a common root with the reflexive pronoun, a decomposition of the possessive pronoun into so + ein- (form of the indefinite article) seems plausible under the analysis of sich from above. The proposal that the possessive pronoun contains the indefinite article has already been made by Corver (2004) with (morphological) evidence from various Dutch dialects, see also Leu (to appear), I will add further evidence for this decomposition with diachronic data and from contemporary dialectal data – mostly drawn from Alemannic, showing that the possessive pronoun is e.g. indeed gender-neutral sein- and that the usage of the feminine/plural form 'ihr-' is super-imposed on the invariable form, cf. also the Romance languages where we find s-, irrespective of the gender of the possessor. As for the hypothesis that both the reflexive and the possessive pronoun contain the element so, we have to address the following questions:

\begin{exe} {a)} {how can so be characterized such that it may constitute a part of reflexive and possessive pronouns? What about the other components, i.e. -ich and -ein-?}\ {b)} {what is the syntactic structure such that it can be input to a reanalysis (grammaticalization) process?}\} \end{exe}

As for a), note first that reflexives are subject to Principle A of the Binding theory, i.e. they share one clausal domain. The same is true for possessor constructions, if we follow an analysis which takes the so-called possessor doubling construction dem Peter sein Haus (the-dat P. his house) as the basis for all DPs that contain a possessive pronoun whereas in the simple case, the dative possessor is simply realized by a (silent) pro, see Georgi & Salzmann (2011) for a recent account. Thus, both pronouns share the property that they require an antecedent within their relevant binding category. The question is how come that a demonstrative element like so can be bound in the sense of Principle A, given that a typical demonstrative expression like, e.g. this X, would surely count as an R-expression? The answer I will suggest is that it is a misconception to categorize 'so' as a demonstrative or deictic particle that may have in addition an anaphoric use, see e.g. Umbach & Ebert (2009), also Leiss (2004). Whereas a demonstrative establishes a referent, so is inherently relational in that it connects two entities via the relation of 'similarity', i.e. the equational function will be taken as the basic one. That

amounts to saying that a clause with a reflexive like Peter wäscht sich (P. washes himself) has a paraphrase like Peter washes an X like me. Although this might seem strange at first sight, if we abstract away from the deictic component of the personal pronoun and simply take it as the simplest expression for a bearer of properties and if we further look at other languages where the reflexive often contains a noun like 'body', the assumption seems well-motivated.

Following Carlson (1980), I will further assume that elements like so (such...) only combine with NPs that have a kind-reference, see also the paraphrase above, and this is the source of the indefinite article in the possessive pronoun where a paraphrase of dem Peter sein Haus would be: a house (of the kind) such that it belongs to P. Having thus seen that the decomposition of s-ein and s-ich leads to plausible semantic paraphrases, the question is how the co-referential resp. BE-AT (=possessive) interpretation comes about. This is where the syntax comes into play: recall that there are good reasons to assume that an equation/comparative construction is bi-clausal with subsequent ellipsis, e.g. Lechner (2004), i.e. both XPs in the equative/comparison construction have their own clausal domain. The claim is now that the grammaticalization process that leads to the co-referential resp. BE-AT interpretation is due to the fact that both components appear within one clausal/nominal domain, giving rise to a configuration for Principle A to apply. Note that this conception implies that it is not so much a (lexical) property of a reflexive (possessive) pronoun that it must be bound within its domain, rather the occurrence of it together with the two equative-XPs within one clausal/nominal domain leaves no other way than for a co-referential resp. BE-AT interpretation. In this sense then Principle A Binding is not a matter of binding in the sense of co-indexation – which is still a problematic matter in the minimalist framework– it is rather an equation configuration forced into one clausal/nominal domain - leaving no other way to interpret it as them being 'identical' resp. BE-AT (= having the same location).

In sum, the de-composition of s-ein and s-ich is not only well motivated by morphological and semantic issues, it furthermore may shed new light on our understanding of the nature of Principle A.

Corver, N.F.M. (2004). A note on micro-dimensions of possession in Dutch and related languages. In J. Koster (Eds.), Germania et alia. A linguistic Webschrift for Hans den Besten(pp. 1-12), Georgi, D. & M. Salzmann. (2011). P-internal double agreement is not double Agree: Consequences of Agree-based case assignment within DP. Lingua 121, 2069-2088 Lechner, W. (2004). Ellipsis in Comparatives. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter Leiss, E. (2004). Submorphematische Motiviertheit als Grammatikalisierungsergebnis: zur Grammatikalisierung von Reflexivpronomen. ZGL 32:2,233-244. Leu, Tom, (to appear). The indefinite article - Indefinite? - Article?, Penn

Syntax and the morphology of deixis: the loss of demonstratives and paratactic clause linking

Bettelou Los & Ans van Kemenade

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

The morphological paradigm that expresses deixis in OE included not only a gendered system of demonstratives (the s/þ system), but also an etymologically related set of time, place and manner adverbs (þær 'there', þus 'thus', swa 'so', swylc 'such'). The s/þ system interacts with the Spec,CP position in Old English (OE), facilitating a paratactic system of clause linking. The correlative system relies on s/þ elements in first position (Spec,CP) in OE, as in (1), where a demonstrative object – here in the genitive – in the first clause links to a second clause with a þ-element þæt 'that' in the first position:

(1)   heo þa... þæs   gefægnode, þæt heo hæfde... bigleofan
        she then that-gen rejoiced   that she had   livelihood
        ' she then rejoiced that she had...a livelihood '

(GD 1 (C) 9.69.12)

Bennis (1986) has demonstrated for Dutch that such second clauses are syntactic adjuncts when they have a correlative in the first clause, but syntactic arguments when the correlative pronoun is absent, showing that the second clause in a correlative is more independent, less integrated, less hypotactic. We can assume that paractactic þæt 'that' is in Spec,CP, but hypotactic þæt 'that' in C. It is often impossible to analyses such sentences in terms of main clauses and subclauses, see e.g. the OE correlative in (2):

(2)   þær Paulus ne mihte mid scipe faran, þær Petrus eode mid
        there Paul   not could with ship go   there Peter   went with
        drigum fotum.
        dry   feet

' Where St Paul could not cross with a ship, St Peter went with dry feet ' or ' St Paul could not cross with a ship, where St Peter went with dry feet '

(GD (C) 1 12.91.8)

OE demonstrative pronouns contrast with personal pronouns in that the latter continue a topic while the former indicate a switch to a new topic whose referent has been introduced in the immediately preceding discourse. Although the s/þ system does not yet force a Topic Shift reading in OE (as it does in Dutch and German), it marks a type of clause in OE that is paratactic (topic-promotion function of demonstrative, main-clause-like word order with V in C), contrasting with the hypotactic relatives that lack a demonstrative or verb movement but have þe, an invariant "universal embedder". Here, too, we see the development of a paratactic demonstrative linker in Spec,CP being reanalysed as an invariant hypotactic complementizer in C. We will show that the loss of functionality in the demonstrative paradigm could only be partly compensated for by personal pronouns (the h system) – personal pronouns have the feature gender, but lack the feature deixis, and hence cannot express the contrast required for Topic Shift and CLD that underpinned the correlative linking in OE.

Bennis, H. (1986). Gaps and Dummies. Dordrecht: Foris.

The syntax of demonstratives and speech participants' features: new insights from a Lucan dialect

Cecilia Poletto & Emanuela Sanfelici

Thursday, March 6th, 9:00

This paper examines the morphosyntactic feature specification of the distal demonstrative pronoun occurring as relative pronoun in appositive relatives in Venosano – a north-western Lucan dialect spoken in Basilicata –, which we argue to be particularly interesting in light of recent debate on

the syntax of demonstratives, on the one hand, and on the syntax of relative clauses on the other. In detail, the aim of this work is twofold: (i) comparing the behaviour of the distal demonstrative with that of anaphoric epithets, we provide evidence that demonstratives can grammaticalize into classifiers and that appositive relative clauses can, in turn, be headed by them; (ii) building on Dubinsky & Hamilton (1998), Sigurðsson (2004), and Giorgi (2010), we support the claim that the features of speech participants are inside clausal structure in the CP area. In Venosano appositive relative clauses display the relativizer chir/cor/quer ca, "that:DEM that:REL", namely an element that looks like the distal demonstrative pronoun, inflected for gender and number in agreement with the head of the relative clause, as in (1).

(1)   Van' vul' ndir' ala scola i fegl'touje   CHIR CA
      go   willingly   to.the school the children your that.M.PL rel
      stann' semb' a studjà .
      stay   always   to study
      'Your children, who always study, go willingly to school.'

We will argue that the distal demonstrative in this dialect strongly differs from the Standard Italian one with respect to its feature specification and, thus, its distribution. This is shown, among others, by the following facts. (i) In Standard Italian relative clauses can be introduced by the distal demonstrative pronoun plus the relativizer, as in (2a), but, notably, the function of the demonstrative is to restrict on the class of individuals whose name is Maria. Hence, the demonstrative cannot be use with nouns that have unique reference, as in (2b), which is pragmatically odd. since tuo padre has unique reference.

(2)   a   Maria   quella che conosci anche tu   è andata
          Maria that:F.SG rel know:2SG also   you   went to
          a   Roma .
          Rome
          'Mary, whom you also know, went to Rome.'

(2)   b   #ieri   ho incontrato tuo padre   quello che
          yesterday have.1SG met your father   that.M.SG rel was

è stato in   prigione .
in   jail
'#Yesterday I met your dad, who has been in jail.'

This is not the case in Venosano, as it is clear from (3).

(3) Aier   ajj   nguntrat a ppant   COR CA   jè stət
     yesterday have.1SG met   your father that.M.SG rel was
     ign carcər .
     in   jail

     'Yesterday I met your dad, who has been in jail.'

(ii) While in both Venosano and Standard Italian, the demonstrative is
used anaphorically, coindexed with the head of the relative clause,
only cor must occur under the right syntactic and discourse condi-
tions: (i) the reference of cor must not be a speech participant, neither
the speaker nor the addressee, but it must always be a third person;
(ii) cor can only refer to human beings, with the exception of domes-
tic animals; (iii) the presence of cor is crucially linked to the speaker's
evaluation, i.e. the complement of the demonstrative must entail the
speaker's judgment about the reference of the demonstrative – a be-
haviour which patterns with that of epithets. Given this anomalous
distribution, we then claim that the demonstrative in Venosa dialect
should be analysed as a classifier-like element used for humans se-
lecting a complement whose content carries the perspective of the
evaluator. The descriptive content constituted by the deictic feature
[distal] is still present: indeed, cor must refer to a person that is "not
here", with "here" meaning "here in the speech event". Summing up:
we suggest that among features usually identified, such as definite-
ness and deixis, the distal demonstrative in Venosano is also spec-
ified for speech features, [–speaker, –addressee], and semantic fea-
tures, [+human]. Moreover, the data coming from Venosano support
an analysis according to which appositive relatives are syntactically
double-headed (de Vries 2002): they have both an external and an in-
ternal head. Our contribution concerns the definition of the internal
head, which we claim to be a classifier-like element encoding +hu-
man, -speaker, -addressee features.

DUBINSKY, Stanley & Robert HAMILTON (1998). Squibs and Discussion. Epithets as antilogophoric pronouns. Linguistic Inquiry 29: 685-693. **GIORGI, Alessandra (2010).** About the Speaker. Towards a Syntax of Indexicality. Oxford: OUP. **SIGURÐSSON, Halldór Ármann (2004).** The syntax of Person, Tense and speech features. Italian Journal of Linguistics 16: 219-251. **VRIES, Mark de (2002).** The Syntax of Relativization. Utrecht: LOT.

Pronominalization and Variation in Dutch Demonstrative Expressions

Norbert Corver & Marjo van Koppen

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

1. Main issue/core data. Dutch dialects have an interesting quirk with respect to NP Ellipsis (NPE). Some dialects allow for an additional definite article in NPE-contexts with a demonstrative (or possessive pronominal) remnant. This additional definite article is exclusively used in NPE contexts. It is prohibited in the non-elided versions of the noun phrase. This is illustrated in (1).

(1)   a.   (*de) dien opa   a'.   de dien
               (the) that grandpa   the that

               'that grandfather'   'that one' (Southern Dutch)

    b.   dizzen(*-de) opa   b.'   dizzen-de
               this(-the) grandpa   this-the

               'this grandfather'   'this one' (North-Eastern Dutch)

This additional definite article precedes the demonstrative pronominal remnant in the Southern varieties of Dutch, as in (1a'), but it follows it in the North-Eastern varieties, as in (1b'); see also Corver & Van Oostendorp 2005 for possessive NPE-patterns. Interestingly, Standard Dutch (but also certain dialectal varieties) does not have the demonstrative construction involving the additional definite article in NPE; the demonstrative remnant must be bare: die opa (that grandpa); *(de) die (the that, 'that one'). In this respect, the demonstrative NPE-pattern in Standard Dutch differs from the possessive NPE-pattern, which requires the presence of the additional definite article in Dutch:* (de) mijne (the mine, 'mine'); see Corver & Van Koppen 2010)

+1/0060

2. Analysis. This talk aims to provide an analysis for the morphosyntactic microvariation displayed by the above-mentioned Dutch NPE-patterns with a demonstrative remnant. In particular we claim that (i) the definite article de appearing in constructions like (1a',b') is not a 'regular' definite article, but rather a weak pronoun (cf. Abney 1987, Corver & Delfitto 1999, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), (ii) this pronoun 'substitutes' for nP and (iii) like weak pronouns in the clausal domain, moves to a specifier position in the left periphery of the noun phrase. We provide several arguments in favour of the idea that de in (1a',b') is a pronoun and that it substitutes for part of the DP. We show, for instance, that the definite article in these constructions is in complementary distribution with the noun and the adjectives modifying the noun. We argue that this is so, because the definite article replaces the whole nP and everything in it (like adjectives).

3. Micro-variation The variation between the three types of dialects will be tackled in the following way. We argue that the variation is caused by (i) the base generation position of the demonstrative pronoun and (ii) the option to spell out multiple chain links within the noun phrase. This will lead to the position that the pronominal element de in these constructions is actually always head-initial, and that head-final (i.e., postnominal) position in the North-Eastern varieties (see (1b')) is only apparent. Standard Dutch allows the definite article to co-occur with the possessive pronoun, as in de mijne (see above). The possessive pronoun is taken to be generated below DP and the weak pronoun de moves to Spec,DP. The demonstrative pronoun and the definite article, however, compete for the same position, namely Spec,DP and hence cannot co-occur (*de die). The Southern Dutch varieties do not show this conflict. We argue this is so since the demonstrative pronouns in those dialects are base generated in a lower position than in standard Dutch (cf. Brugè 2002; Brugè & Giusti 1996). Arguments in favour of this position comes from (i) the agreement pattern on demonstratives in Southern Dutch and (ii) the distribution of demonstratives in these varieties. Finally, we argue that the Eastern-Dutch dialects have the option to incorporate the definite article in the demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative pronoun and the incorporated definite article move to Spec,DP in one movement operation. We provide evidence for this on the basis of the distributional

behavior of the definite article in these North-Eastern dialects.

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Exophoric uses of demonstratives in cross-linguistic perspective

Sarah Cutfield & Michael Dunn & Nick Enfield & Stephen Levinson

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Demonstratives function to single out and draw attention to the speaker's intended referent. It is commonly assumed that spatial semantics are privileged when indexing the intended referent in the speech location, and that such deictic semantics are even criterial for demonstratives (e.g. Levinson 1983, Anderson & Keenan 1985, Fillmore 1997, Dixon 2003, Aikhenvald 2013). This paper reports on the results of a cross-linguistic study of the non-contrastive use of demonstratives in exophoric reference and argues that spatial metrics alone do not account for the exophoric use of demonstratives; that spatial semantics are not universally attested in the exophoric use of demonstratives; and that non-spatial Horn-scale pragmatic oppositions are commonly attested in demonstrative paradigms.

Researchers working on 15 unrelated languages (all with at least two demonstratives) conducted the Wilkins Demonstrative Questionnaire (1999) in situ with native speakers. The questionnaire consists of 25 scenes and 'is meant to help a researcher begin to identify the (extensional) range of use of (some of the) basic spatial demonstrative terms in their research language' (1999:1). It tests the cross-linguistically common demonstrative semantics of: interlocutor anchoring; degrees of distance; and visibility of the referent. The questionnaire excludes contrast-semantic effects by only using one referent per scene.

The results show that: • spatially neutral terms are commonly attested in demonstrative paradigms, and, are commonly used in exophoric reference;

• spatial metrics do not (exclusively) determine the choice of demonstrative in the majority of cases; • pointing is a key factor in extending 'speaker-proximal' reference; • scalar implicatures are commonly reported; • no semantically-medial demonstratives found in the data, and 'medial semantics' only arise as a matter of implicature;

• deictic parameters such as visibility are not grammaticalised in any of the systems included in the study, but the forms used to index non-visible referents appear to play a role in evidentiality instead; and, • new deictic parameters are observed and described, e.g. 'problematic' forms, 'exterior' forms, 'shared-space' forms.

This study challenges long-standing assumptions about the privileged status of spatial semantics in the description of demonstrative paradigms; indicates that the usual descriptions of the spatial semantics of demonstratives are not adequate; and that the typology of the spatial semantics of demonstrative systems needs considerable revision.

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From phoric to non-phoric use: the semantic bleaching of the demonstrative determiner in contemporary French in comparison to Dutch

Gudrun Vanderbauwhede

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

This contribution focuses on a corpus-based contrastive study of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner. The study starts with a theoretical section in which we develop a systematic model of the referential uses of the demonstrative noun phrase (DemNP) by means of a critical literature study (see Bibliography below) combined with a qualitative analysis of authentic examples. This triangular model does not only account for the standard DemNP uses, such as direct anaphora and situational uses, but also for less

frequent and less documented uses, such as classifying generic uses and several meta-linguistic and meta-discursive textual uses.

Subsequently, we base our study for the most part on Granger's Integrated Contrastive Model (1996) and we combine several contrastive L1 and L2 analyses in order to distinguish translation mechanisms from structural and distributional differences between the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner and to investigate to what extent these differences have an impact on written L2 productions. In this talk, we will focus on the two L1 studies.

The first corpus study shows that only 48,45% of the demonstrative determiners are translated by a demonstrative in the L1 corpus. In 20,02% of the cases, the demonstrative determiner is translated by the definite article or vice versa while 31,54% is translated by another grammatical element (e.g. by an adverb, a personal pronoun, an indefinite determiner) or vice versa. These shifts can be explained by translation mechanisms as well as by the first indications of divergences between the use of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner. With respect to the translation mechanisms, we made a distinction between additions, omissions and reformulations on the level of the entire noun phrase, which are inherent in the translation process, and syntagmatic and paradigmatic explicitation and implicitation within the noun phrase, which are also inherent in the translation process but produce a specific determiner shift. By focusing then on the shifts on the determiner level, we observed, next to some (semi-)fixed constructions (e.g. à l'époque vs. in die tijd), 2,23 times more instances of French demonstrative – Dutch definite article (irrespective of the translation direction) than Dutch demonstrative – French definite article. This clearly points to distributional divergences between French and Dutch.

For the second corpus study we applied our model of the referential uses of the DemNP on French and Dutch L1 productions. This allowed us to determine quantitative divergences for direct (FR > DU) and indirect (FR < DU) anaphora, recognitial (FR > DU), situational (FR < DU) and text-deictic (FR < DU) uses. We propose three hypotheses in order to explain these divergences: bleaching of the referential force of the French DemNP compared to the referential force of the Dutch DemNP (e.g. ces dernières années vs. *deze laatste jaren, cette année 2013 vs.* dit jaar 2013, ?*ce présent ouvrage vs.* dit huidige / onderhavige boek), more global linguistic constraints (e.g. the availability of the Dutch determiner beide, the fixed use

of French NPs such as le Parlement and la Commission) and stylistic differences (e.g. more anaphoric variation in French).

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The unstressed distal demonstrative *na* as a definiteness marker in Chinese - An experimental research on the distribution of the unstressed distal demonstrative *na* in bridging

Jin Cui

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

Chinese is one of the languages that lack simple definiteness markers such as the definite article in German. In literature it is often claimed that demonstratives in Chinese are developing uses of a definite article but should still be analyzed as real demonstrative (cf. Xu 1987, Chen 2004). In this paper the distribution of the unstressed distal demonstrative *na* in bridging is chosen as the research basis. This unusual perspective shows that the unstressed distal demonstrative *na* has reached a further stage of the grammaticalization process from demonstratives to definite articles.

Basically, there are two ways in Chinese to formulate a simple definite bridging-NP: to use a bare noun in some particular syntactical position; or to use the unstressed distal demonstrative *na* to build a determinate NP. The first way is the most common way and the second way is marked and optional. In some bridging cases such as in (1) the use of bare noun is apparently preferred, whereas the use of unstressed *na* is odd; in some other cases such as in (2) both types of definite expression are competing

with each other. Eventually there are also cases such as in (3) where the unstressed distal demonstrative na, which is supposed to be marked and optional, becomes preferred, whereas the use of bare noun is not really allowed.

(1)   There is a house. The door is open. (bare noun » unstressed na)

(2)   Hans was murdered. The murder weapon was found at the crime scene. (bare noun ≈ unstressed na)

(3)   Hans was murdered. The knife was found at the crime scene. (bare noun « unstressed na)

Based on the above observations two experiments were carried out. In the first experiment, with regard to the discussion about the strong and weak definite article in German bridging by Schwarz (2009), the contrast between (1) and (2) was generalized as a contrast between part-whole-relationship and non-part-whole-relationship. In the second experiment the contrast between (2) und (3) was generalized as a contrast between attribute and value in Barsalou's terminology (Barsalou 1992). Both contrasts were proven as statistical significant (via t-test).

With respect to the fact that bridging is a special context for which the use of demonstratives is not appropriate (cf. Himmelmann 1997), the acceptance of *na* in contexts such as in (2) and the preference of *na* in contexts such as in (3) should be regarded as crucial evidence, that the unstressed *na* is no longer a real demonstrative but rather a definiteness marker. The distribution of unstressed *na* in comparison to the definite article and the demonstratives in German is briefly illustrated below.

	deictic	anaphoric	recognitional	bridging	abstract situation uses
def.art.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
dem.	yes	yes	yes	no	no
na	yes	yes	yes	yes (partial)	no

Since unstressed *na* is partially appropriate for the bridging uses but not acceptable for the larger situation uses I will argue that unstressed *na* should be regarded as a definiteness marker which is not fully grammaticalized yet. Taking the unstressed *na* as an intermediate stage of the grammaticalization process from demonstratives to definite articles will shed some light on the current discussion about the development of definite articles.

Barsalou, Lawrence W. (1992). Frames, concepts, and conceptual fields. In A. Lehrer & E. F. Kittay (eds.) Frames, fields, and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization, 21-74. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. **Chen, Ping. (2004).** Identifiability and definiteness in Chinese. Linguistics 42(6). 1129-1184. **Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. (1997).** Deiktikon, Artikel, Nominalphrase. Tübingen: Narr. **Schwarz, Florian. (2009).** Two types of definites in natural language. PhD. dissertation. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. **Xu, Yulong. (1987).** A study of referential functions of demonstratives in chinese discourse. Journal of Chinese Linguistics 15(1), 132-151.

Atypical demonstratives in an article-less language – the case of Serbo-Croatian

Boban Arsenijević

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

Literature on demonstratives points out two of their uses for their irregular behavior: the indefinite use (And then there was this man.) and the use with complete expressions offering no set of alternatives to be narrowed (Ah, that John Malkovich! / This sun is killing me!). These uses, which exhibit a dissociation of the demonstrative from definiteness, and an added pragmatic component, have been subjects of different accounts, from Perlman (1969) to von Heusinger (2011). I describe a novel, third problematic use from Serbo-Croatian (S-C), and propose a syntactic analysis which unifies the three uses and explains their shared properties.

S-C demonstratives show three distinct values along the proximity dimension, exhibiting both a morphology and a semantics related to the person system (proximal = 1st person proximal, medial = 2nd person proximal, and distal = non-proximal), as illustrated in (1). Having no articles, S-C resorts to a rich use of demonstratives and the items neki 'some' and jedan 'one', to mark the meaning typically contributed by articles. Neki contributes the presupposition that the speaker cannot identify the particular referent of the expression, and jedan that the speaker can do this, but the hearer cannot.

As demonstratives contribute a presupposition of accessibility of the referent to the speaker and/or the hearer (in the context or in the discourse),

it is expected that they cannot combine with neki and jedan. Interestingly, such combinations, as in (3), are not only possible, but highly frequent, even between taj and jedan (presupposing, respectively, that the referent is in the hearer's domain and that it is new to the hearer). This makes for another clash in definiteness, and next to it, just like the other two problematic uses above – adds a pragmatic contribution. Namely, jedan (in ovaj/taj/onaj jedan) contributes the presupposition of the speaker's affectedness by, responsibility for, or control over the referent, while neki (in ovaj/taj/onaj neki) rejects any such relation with either of the interlocutors.

I propose a syntactic analysis coached in a late lexicalization approach using feature specifications and assuming the superset principle (Starke2005). The three relevant items are specified as in (4a-c). Values Ø, 1 and 2 stand for the 3rd, i.e. non-person, 1st and 2nd person. RefP is the functional projection where (the type of) referentiality is specified, and EvalP is the one that introduces the subject of evaluation is for all evaluative predicates within the DP.

A syntactic structure as in (4b) is lexicalized as (4b'), depending on whether EvalP is specified or not (i.e. whether the structure specifies the evaluation component). Similar holds for (4c'). When both values are specified, but do not match, they need independent lexicalization, as in (4d-d', e-e'), where demonstratives head-move to Eval0, without semantic effects. A mismatch derives between the source of evaluation (EvalP) and the referential domain (RefP) of the referent, yielding the EvalP's pragmatic effect of control / affectedness / responsibility in respect of an interlocutor or other referent stronger.

A prediction of the account that evaluative adjectives in such constructions will be bound by the specification of Eval0 is confirmed, as illustrated in (5). Building on von Heusinger (2011), I extend the account to other problematic uses, accounting for the inhibited referential interpretation of a demonstrative by its base generation in EvalP.

(1)   ov- relates to the speaker's spatial/discourse domain (1st person), t- to that of the hearer (2nd person, cf. ti 'you.Sg') and on- to the complement of the two domains above (3rd, i.e. Ø person, cf. on 'he').

(3)   taj   neki tunel taj   jedan tunel
that.Med some tunnel that.Med one   tunnel

'[discourse-old, unknown to the speaker], [discourse-old, unknown to the hearer]'

(4)   a.   taj: [Prox:2], neki: [Epist:Ø], jedan: [Epist:1] (leaving aside gender, number and case features)

        b.   neki film [KP [Nom] ... ([EvalP [Epist:Ø]) [RefP [Epist:Ø] [NP film]]]]

        b'.   [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP neki [RefP neki [NP film]]]]

        c.   taj film [KP [Nom] ... ([EvalP [Prox:2]) [RefP [Prox:2] [NP film]]]]

        c'.   [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP taj [RefP taj [NP film]]]]

        d.   taj neki film [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP [Epist:Ø] [RefP [Prox:Ø] [NP film]]]]

        d'.   [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP taj neki [refP taj [NP film]]]]

        e.   taj jedan film [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP [Epist:1] [RefP [Prox:2] [NP film]]]]

        e'.   [KP [Nom] ... [EvalP taj jedan [RefP taj [NP film]]]]

(5)   Idemo da   jedemo taj   neki   strašno ukusni roštilj.
go.1Pl Sbjn eat.1Pl that.Med some horribly tasty   barbecue

'We're going to eat that reportedly incredibly tasty barbecue.'

Demonstratives as arguments and modifiers of N

Giuliana Giusti

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

Demonstratives have an unclear syntactic status as determiners or modifiers of N. Their uncertain categorization is particularly crucial for general theoretical issues, for example the analysis of articleless languages. The supporters

of a reduced structure claim that demonstratives in articleless languages are like adjectival modifiers (Willim 2000, Bošković 2005); while the supporters of a universal DP structure claim that demonstratives fill the head D in all languages (Progovać 1997, Pereltsvaig 2007). In this paper, I try to reconcile these apparently opposite perspectives and claim that demonstratives are external arguments of N in all languages.

1. As arguments, they are merged in a low position and are checked in a higher position.

2. As external arguments, they are maximal projections merged as specifier of N'.

3. The SpecHead configuration is shared with adjectival modifiers.

I start from the analysis of PossAPs set in Giusti (2008, 2013) where I argue that PossAP are merged in the same position of relational adjectives, where they concord with N, according to the language, but are later attracted by an Agr head (bundled with D in English but not in Italian):

(1) a. [DP Ø [D the] [last [NP [relAP American] [[N attack] [PP on Falluja]]]]]

  b. [DP [PossAP our] D+Agr [last [NP [PossAP <our>] [[N attack] [PP on Falluja]]]]]

(2) a. [DP Ø [D l'] [ultimo [F+N attacco] [NP [americano] [[N <attacco>] [PP a Falluja]]]]]

  b. [DP Ø [D il] [AgrP [PossP nostro] Agr [ultimo [F+N attacco] [NP [PossP <nostro>] [[N <attacco>] [PP a Falluja]]]]]]

I argue that the demonstrative is parallel to the PossAP with one crucial difference: DemP can provide the referential index of the NE. It is not an independent phase. Movement of DemP is not therefore triggered by Agree and does not target a non-phasal head (Richards 2007). On the contrary it targets the left edge of the NE, SpecDP in (1)-(2), since it carries the referential features of this object-referring phase (Hinzen 2012). There are cases however in which the demonstrative does not carry the index of the NE. In

these cases the demonstratives is a genuine modifier, like other adjectives that contribute to reference with additional discourse pragmatic features.

A number of apparently contrasting properties of demonstratives directly derive from this proposal, among others:

1.　　DemP is often found at the left edge of the Nominal Expression, but it can be in lower positions in some languages (cf. Giusti 1993, 1997, 2002; Brugè 1996, 2002; Bernstein 1997, Manolessou 2000, Campos and Stavrou 2004);

2.　　DemPs cooccur with locative adverbs inside the nominal structure (1);

3.　　In some languages but not in others DemPs are incompatible with complex event (Grimshaw 1990 vs Picallo 1991, Brito and Oliveira 1997), indefinite interpretation (Bernstein 1997), but also possessive modifiers (as is well-known) and proper names (cf Latin Atilius hic Gauianus ('A. this C.' Cic. Sest. 73), Themistoclem illum ('Th. that' Cic. Sest 141).

4.　　DemPs share many properties of adjectives, including inflectional morphology and (non-)strandability (Willim 2000, Bošković 2005 vs. Giusti and Iovino (2011);

Bernstein (1997). Demonstratives and Reinforcers in Romance and Germanic. Lingua. 102: 87-113. **Brito and Oliveira (1997).** Nominalization, Aspect and Argument Structure, in G. Matos, et.al (eds), Interfaces in Linguistic Theory, Lisbon: 57-80. **Brugè (2002).** The Positions of Demonstratives in the Extended Nominal Projection', in G. Cinque (ed.), 15-53. **Campos and Stavrou (2004).** Polydefinite constructions in Modern Greek and Aromanian. Balkan syntax and Semantics. Tomic (ed.) Benjamins 137-144. **Giusti (2002).** The functional structure of determiners. A bare phrase structure approach, in G. Cinque (ed), 54-90. **Giusti and Iovino (2011).** Evidence for a split DP in Latin. http://lear.unive.it/handle/10278/2584

AG 03: Clausal complementation and (non)factivity

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Björn Wiemer
Kasper Boye
Alexander Letuchiy

The workshop is meant to focus on three issues which, in the description of form:function relations of clausal complements, have remained understudied: (i) What is the role played by complementizer contrasts, especially in their relation to mood and the [±finite] distinction on the dependent verb? (ii) How tight is the association between Givón's (1990) "Semantic Integration Hierarchy" and a SoA—Proposition contrast contained in the clausal complement (Cristofaro 2003: 121f.)? (iii) How systematic is a [± factive] distinction for complements coding propositions, first of all after speech act verbs and verbs of epistemic attitude? Whereas the last-mentioned issue has been paid attention to, in particular, w.r.t. the indicative-subjunctive contrast in Romance, only very recently have researchers started discovering equivalent contrasts in the choice of complementizers with finite complements, which dominates in languages of the Eastern hemisphere of Europe (e.g., Pol. że vs. jakoby after speech and epistemic verbs, (Bulg. če vs. da, Rom. să vs. că, etc.). Since Noonan (2007 [1985]) such complementizer contrasts have not sufficiently been distinguished from the effects of mood choice.

We invite contributions to any of these issues concerning variation not only across languages, but also inside individual languages. We especially welcome talks on areal and/or genealogical biases in devices marking contrasts of [± factivity] and of SoA vs. Proposition, and case studies on the diachronic development of specific complementizers.

Cristofaro, Sonia (2003). Subordination. Oxford etc.: Oxford U.P. **Givón, T. (1990).** Syntax. A Functional-typological Introduction, vol. II. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. **Noonan, Michael (2007 [1985]).** Complementation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), Language Typology and Syntactic Description, vol. II: Complex Constructions (2nd edition), 52–150. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge U.P.

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Complementation hierarchies and the diachronic development of complement constructions

Sonia Cristofaro

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

A number of implicational hierarchies have been proposed in the typological literature (Givón 1980, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Cristofaro 2003, Noonan 2007) capturing the distribution of different complementation patterns across different main verb types. This distribution appears to be related to semantic factors such as the degree of integration between the states of affairs being described (including whether the complement clause describes a state of affairs or a propositional content), and whether the main verb predetermines certain semantic features of the complement clause, such as time reference or participants. This has been accounted for in terms of iconicity (the syntactic integration between main and complement clause reflects the semantic integration between the states of affairs being described) and economy (when certain semantic features of the complement clause are predetermined, they are not specified overtly, leading to the use of inflectionally reduced verb forms).

These explanations have been proposed on synchronic grounds, independently of how individual complement constructions, that is, particular combinations of main verbs and complementation patterns, actually originate from one language to another. The paper shows that in many cases the processes that can give rise to such patterns do not provide evidence in support of the synchronic explanations. Individual complementation patterns may be the result of the grammaticalization of highly specific source constructions, so what motivates their use with particular types of main verbs is the semantic compatibility between these verbs and the source construction. Also, individual patterns may be extended from one type of main verb to another (or possibly from adverbial or relative clauses to complement clauses) based on context-induced inferences. These processes are independent of factors such as semantic integration or predetermination of information, and suggest that the role of these factors in shaping complementation hierarchies might be more limited than previously assumed.

Cristofaro, S. (2003). Subordination. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Givón, T. (1980).** The binding hierarchy and the typology of complements. Studies in Language 4, 333–77. **Noonan, M. (2007).** Complementation. In T. Shopen (Ed.), Language Typology and Syntactic Description. 2nd Edition, Volume 2: Complex constructions, pp. 52–150. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Van Valin, Jr., R. D. and R. J. LaPolla (1997). Syntax. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Modality and factive complement clauses

Caroline Gentens & Kristin Davidse

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

'Factive' complement clauses (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971) have traditionally been defined as being presupposed true by the speaker, which entails, in our view, that the speaker has a commitment of full epistemic certainty to the proposition contained in them, as in (1).

(1)   Saddam did not accept that he lost the 1991 Gulf war. (WB)

Factive complements have also been claimed to have no, or only a 'deactivated', layer of speaker-related modality. If apparently speaker-related modal adverbs or auxiliaries occur in them, these are claimed not to express the hic et nunc assumption of a modal stance by the speaker but to be licensed by mechanisms such as echoicness (Haegeman 2006, Verstraete 2007). In this paper we will examine the issue of speaker-related, or 'subjective', modality and presupposed complements in attested, contextualized data. We will compile a dataset from WordbanksOnline (WB) of examples with factive complements containing potentially speaker-related epistemic and deontic auxiliaries and moods, and epistemic adverbs, which will require us to filter out markers of dynamic and objective deontic modality (Davies 2001, Nuyts 2001, Verstraete 2007). On the basis of this dataset we will verify whether the speaker-anchoring of the modal markers is always deactivated or whether some remain truly subjective.

(2)   I hate it that people might think I don't care. (WB)

(3)   Now I need it that you be great and mighty-magical Bertholt. (WB)

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Our starting hypothesis is that factive complements may contain truly speaker-related modal markers, as in (2-3), which are not deactivated but are better accounted for in terms of the notion of speaker-presupposition. This will allow us to broaden the current view on factive complements and redefine them as complements that presuppose the speaker's commitment to the propositions in them. This commitment can be to a degree of epistemic modality (with 100% certainty coded by the indicative, and lesser degrees by epistemic auxiliaries or adverbs) or to a specific deontic status (coded by subjective deontic modals or the subjunctive).

Davies, E. (2001). Propositional attitudes. Functions of Language 8(2): 217-251. **Haegeman, L. (2006).** Conditionals, factives and the left periphery. Lingua 116(10): 1651-1669. Kiparsky, P & Kiparsky, C. (1971). 'Fact'. D. Steinberg & L. Jacobovits (eds) Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics, and Psychology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 345-369. **Nuyts, J. (2001).** Epistemic modality, Language and Conceptualization. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia. Verstraete, J.-C. (2007). Rethinking the Coordinate-Subordinate Dichotomy. Interpersonal Grammar and the Analysis of Adverbial Clauses in English. Berlin: Mouton.

Direct speech complementizer as a marker of epistemic certainty

Zygmunt Frajzyngier

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that the direct speech complementizer can become a marker of epistemic certainty about the truth of the event. This process has not been demonstrated in the literature so far. In Wandala (Central Chadic, Frajzyngier, 2012) there is a direct speech complementizer dəgìyá, which in phrase-internal position may be realized as dəgí or dgí. The evidence that it is a direct speech complementizer is provided by the use of the first and second person pronouns in the complement clause, where the referents of those pronouns are participants in the narrated discourse (complementizer and pronouns are bolded):

(1) à   bà-ŋàn **dgí**   kà ná-n-nà   dùksə́ nà   wàtsə̀
     3SG say-3SG COMP.DIR 2SG see-3SG-see thing DEM it
     bà   jír-ìrè
     should be FOC true-NOM
     'He tells [himself], do you see this thing, it should be the truth.'

The evidence that dàgí can function as a complementizer with a modal function is provided by the fact that it is used as the epistemic modality marker after verbs of perception, including the verbs 'see' and 'hear' (not described in Frajzyngier 2012):

(2) kà ná-n-nà dàgí wkkúl nà à ndèr bà
2SG see-3SG-see COMP.DIR hen DEM 3SG fabricate FOC
dàbárì
business
'You saw for sure that the hen there has only cheated'

The direct speech complementizer can also be used as a marker of epistemic modality in the matrix clause, where the speaker begins his own speech with the marker of certainty:

(3) é dàgíy ún à bà ítàr wá wàtsè dábbà-hà tá
ah, COMP.DIR DEM 3SG say 3PL COM FUT animal-PL 3PL
sà sə́-m ùksè
come come-IN village
'Eh, [after a big rain], for sure, they say that the animals will come to the village.'

The form dàgíy is not an adverb, as all other examples with this form involve the complementizer function. The marker of epistemic certainty of clausal complements of verbs of perception provides the evidence that there is more to the modality after verbs of perception than just the distinction between the direct versus indirect perception.

Abbreviations (in addition to the standard): COM comment clause marker COMP.DIR direct speech complementizer

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. (2012). A grammar of Wandala. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Subjunctive marking in complement clauses

Nina Dobrushina

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Many languages distinguish between subjunctive and indicative complement clauses. In semantic terms, the types of propositions that can be marked by subjunctive vary significantly across the languages of the world. What is typically expressed by subjunctive complement clause is an open question which requires a cross-linguistic study.

There is another and related problem. The subjunctive is not a clearly defined theoretical notion. Grammars use this label for a wide and vague variety or irrealis meanings, differently in different languages and language families (see Elliott 2000, Palmer 2001). This also means that the 'subjunctive' can be referred to by other terms, including conditional, conjunctive, irrealis. Establishing the typical set of complement clauses which are expressed by what is called subjunctive in descriptions of different languages is thus not enough, as the researcher risks both to compare incomparable phenomena and to miss the relevant data.

In this paper, I suggest a functional approach to the study of subjunctive in complement clauses. The mood which is used in the complement clause is defined with respect to its other functions. To account for the usage of the non-indicative mood in the given type of complement clauses we must know whether it is also used in conditional clause, purpose clause, or has some other functions. This provides a basis for cross-linguistic comparison.

Key evidence supporting this approach comes from Hungarian where there are two different non-indicative moods used in complement clauses. The comparison of the functional scope of these two forms in complement clauses, on the one hand, and their other uses, on the other, helps us to identify the semantic notions which are coded in complement clauses, and to link the dependent usages of the non-indicative moods to their use in independent clauses. The distribution of Hungarian non-indicative moods finds parallels in Russian. Though the two Hungarian forms correspond to only one Russian form (periphrastic subjunctive expressed by particle by), there are two clearly distinct types of subjunctive complement clauses with semantics similar to what is observed in Hungarian.

Elliott, Jennifer R. (2000). Realis and irrealis: Forms and concepts of the grammaticalisation of reality. Linguistic typology, vol.4-1. P. 55-90. Palmer, Frank R. (2001). Mood and Modality. Second edition. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knowledge-verb complementation

Marie-Louise Lind Sørensen & Kasper Boye

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Perception verbs are known to display a contrast in meaning between direct and indirect perception. As illustrated in (1), this contrast can be analysed as bound up with a contrast in meaning pertaining to perception-verb complements: direct-perception readings go with entity readings or state-of-affairs (SoA) readings of the complements; indirect-perception readings go with propositional readings (e.g. Dik & Hengeveld 1991; Boye 2010).

(1)   a.   I saw him. (Direct perception of entity)
      b.   I saw him play the piano. (Direct perception of SoA)
      c.   I saw that he played the piano. (Indirect perception of proposition)

In contrast to perception verbs, knowledge verbs are generally viewed as semantically uniform, and as taking only propositional complements (e.g. Cristofaro 2003: 114; Noonan 2007: 129). The present paper argues that this view is wrong, and that knowledge-verb complementation exhibits a range of contrasts that are entirely parallel to perception-verb complementation. It is suggested that on crosslinguistic grounds a semantic distinction should be made between three types of knowledge as illustrated in (2).

(2)   a.   I know him. (Knowledge of entity)
      b.   I know how to play the piano. (Knowledge of SoA)
      c.   I know that he played the piano. (Knowledge of proposition)

In support of this distinction, it is argued that 1. | knowledge verbs are frequently found which allow of not only propositional complements, but also SoA and entity complements. 2. | the three types of knowledge are related in a predictable and systematic way, as revealed by a semantic map of knowledge verbs (which includes acquisition-of-knowledge verbs and

loss-of-knowledge verbs). 3. | knowledge-verb complements conform to a crosslinguistic tendency – originally observed to hold for perception-verb complements (Boye 2010) – for propositional complements to be morphologically more complex than SoA complements. The paper is based on data from a genetically stratified sample of 100 languages.

Boye, K. (2010a). "Reference and clausal perception-verb complements". Linguistics 48: 391-430. **Cristofaro, S. (2003).** "Subordination". Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Dik, S.C. & K. Hengeveld. (1991).** "The hierarchical structure of the clause and the typology of perception-verb complements". Linguistics 29: 231-259. **Noonan, M. (2007).** "Complementation". T. Shopen (ed.). Language typology and syntactic description 2: Complex constructions, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 52-150.

AG 03

Russian *esli*-clauses: arguments or adjuncts? Factive or non-factive?

Alexander Letuchiy

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

The Russian complementizer "čto" is used with factive ("znat'" 'know') and some non-factive ("polagat'" 'consider') predicates, with which "čtoby" is also used (see Dobrušina 2012). Yet, "čto" is impossible with factive verbs if the embedded clause denotes an unreal event, only supposed to be possible.

(Po)nravit'sja 'like' is a factive predicate: if (1) is true:

(1)   Mne ponravi-l-o-s'   čto   tam teplo.
        I.DAT like.PF-PST-SG.N-REFL COMP there warm

        ' I like the fact that it is warm here '

then it is also true that it is warm.

Contexts when the embedded event is unreal are covered by "esli" meaning also 'if':

(2)   Emu   ne ponrav-it-sja   esli ty   opozda-eš.
        he.DAT not like.PF-PRS.3SG-REFL if   you.NOM be.late-FUT.2SG

        ' If you are late he won't like it '

"Esli" in (2) does not seem to mark a conditional adjunct as in 'If someone takes my money, it will be bad'. It rather introduces a sentential argument. First, if esli introduced an adjunct, the stimulus argument of (po)nravit'sja 'like' would remain unexpressed which is normally impossible. Second, in (2) the "esli"-clause can only be situated after the matrix verb – the property it shares with sentential arguments marked with "čtoby", but not with adjuncts marked with "esli".

Does the "esli"-construction make "(po)nravit'sja" non-factive? It does not seem to be the case. It is logically possible to like or not to like someone's being late only if the addressee is really late, thus, "(po)nravit'sja" remains factive in (2) (contrary to "dumat'" 'think', for which it is possible to think that something is true even if something is not true). Rather, "esli" adds a conditional operator to the whole sentence: (2) means that the standard factive situation 'He won't like the fact that you will be late' will take place only if you are really late. This conditional semantics is more characteristic of conditional constructions like 'If you are late, he won't like it'.

Dobrušina, Nina R. (2012). Subjunctive complement clauses in Russian. Russian linguistics 36 (2). 121-156.

Wenn: adverbial conjunction or complementizer?

Kerstin Schwabe

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

The paper is about constructions where the clausal argument of a matrix predicate is introduced by wenn 'if' as in (1) Frank bedauert es, wenn Maria krank ist 'Frank regrets it if Maria is ill'. It shows that this wenn is not a complementizer like dass 'that' as suggested by Böttcher & Sitta (1972), but a conditional conjunction (cf. Williams 1974, Pullum 1987, Pesetsky 1991, and Rothstein 1995 for English, Fabricius-Hansen 1980 for German, and Quer 2002 for Spanish and Catalan). The wenn-clause is an adverbial because an obligatory propositional argument has to be realized by a correlate if it is preposed – cf. (2) Wenn Maria krank ist, bedauert *(es) Frank 'If Maria is ill, Frank regrets it' whereas preposed complement dass-, wh-, and ob-clauses leave a trace in the complement position thus prohibiting a correlate there.*

*Additionally, preference predicates admit wh-movement out of a dass-clause but they do not so if there is a wenn-clause – cf. Wohin zieht Frank vor, dass/*wenn Maria fährt? 'Where does Frank prefer that Maria will go?'. The argument status of a wenn-clause is encoded by the relationship between the wenn-clause and a propositional proform which is theta-marked in a canonical complement position (subject or direct object) by the embedding predicate: (i) The proform me-commands (Pesetsky 1991) the wenn-clause which is base-generated as VP-adjunct in extraposition – cf. (1). Or (ii), the proform is c-commanded by the wenn-clause which is in Spec, TP – cf. (2). As shown in relevant papers, argument conditionals are licensed by potentially factive predicates like bedauern 'regret'. Here, the wenn encodes an implication where the truth of the embedding construction depends on the validity of the embedded clause. As to the mostly overlooked preference predicate, the wenn encodes an implication where the truth of the embedding construction depends on the contingency of the embedded clause.*

Böttcher Wolfgang & Horst Sitta (1972): Zusammengesetzter Satz und äquivalente Strukturen. (Deutsche Gram-matik III). Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum. **Fabricius-Hansen (1980):** Sogenannte ergänzende wenn-Sätze. Ein Beispiel syntaktisch-semantischer Integration, in: Festschrift für Gunnar Bech: zum 60. Geburtstag am 23. März ed. by Gunnar Bech, Mogens Dyhr, Karl Hyldgaard-Jensen & Jørgen Olsen. (Kopenhagener Beiträge zur germanistischen Linguistik, Sonderband 1). København: Institut for germansk filologi, pp. 61-83. **Pesetsky, David (1991):** Zero Syntax: vol. 2: Infinitives. Unpublished manuscript, MIT. **Pullum, Geoffrey (1987).** Implications of English extraposed irrealis clauses. In ESCOL '87: Proceedings of the Fourth Eastern States Conference on Linguistics, Miller, Ann & Joyce Powers (eds.), 260-270. Columbus: The Ohio State University. **Quer, Josep (2002):** Non-logical If, in: Current issues in Romance languages: selected papers from the 29th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Ann Arbor, 8-11 April 1999 ed. by Teresa Satterfield, Christina Tortora & Diana Cresti. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 220). Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 241-254. **Rothstein, Susan (1995):** Adverbial Quantification over Events. Natural Language Semantics 3: 1-31. **Williams, Edwin (1974):** Rule Ordering in Syntax. Unpublished PhD thesis, MIT.

Complementizer semantics in European languages

Petar Kehayov & Kasper Boye

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

Complementizers may be defined as conjunctions that have the function of identifying clauses as complements (e.g. Noonan 2007: 55). Complementizers may have additional functions, however. Some of these additional functions may be characterized as pragmatic. For instance, omissible complementizers like English *that* may serve as pause markers (e.g. Kaltenböck 2009). Other functions are semantic in the sense that they represent conventional contributions to the meanings of the complements. The recog-

nition of semantic complementizer functions goes back at least to Frajzyngier (1995), who demonstrated that complementizers may have modal functions. This idea has recently been revitalized by Nordström (2010), but complementizer semantics remains heavily understudied. Accordingly, the following questions remain unanswered: How common is it for complementizers to have semantic functions?

Frajzyngier (1995) and Nordström (2010) claim that all complementizers are primarily modal, but is this correct? Which kinds of semantic functions may complementizers have? They can be modal, but can they encode aspectual, temporal or other values? How do semantic complementizer functions develop diachronically? How do (some of them) come to encode e.g. modal values? Typological evidence shows that the answers to these questions are often intertwined with the following structural issues: What qualifies complementizers for omission? Under which conditions may complementizers be combined?

This paper attempts to answer – or at least get closer to an answer to – the questions above in a survey of complementizer semantics in European languages. It focuses on finite-clause complementizers (in English, for instance, *that*, *if* and *whether*), but discusses also non-finite complementation marking devices. The generalizations and analyses proposed in the paper are based on indepth studies of more than 30 languages from 18 major European language families – carried out by leading experts on the relevant languages.

Frajzyngier, Z. (1995). "A functional theory of complementizers". J. Bybee & S. Fleischman(eds.). Modality in grammar and discourse. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 473-502. **Kaltenböck, G. (2009).** "Is that a filler? On complementizer use in spoken object clauses".Vienna English Working Papers 18.1. 28-63. **Noonan, M. (2007).** "Complementation". T. Shopen (ed.). Language typology and syntactic description 2: Complex constructions, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 52-150. **Nordström, J. (2010).** Modality and subordinators. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Epistemic complementizers crosslinguistically

Eva van Lier & Eva Theilgaard Brink

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

As pointed out by Frajzyngier (e.g. Frajzyngier 1995) and later Nordström (2010), complementizers may have a modal function. Consider, for instance, the Jacaltec complementizers chubil and tato.

Jacaltec (Craig 1977: 268)

(1)   xal   naj alcal   [chubil chuluj   naj presidente].
      said the alcalde COMP will.come the president.

      'The alcalde said that the president is going to come.'

(2)   xal naj [tato   chuluj   naj presidente].
      said the COMP will.come the president.

      'He said that the president is going to come.'

According to Craig (1977: 267), "the use of chubil denotes a high degree of credibility or certainty, and the use of tato introduces a notion of disbelief or reservation about a hearsay".

This paper presents a crosslinguistic survey of epistemic complementizers: complementizers which indicate degree of certainty about and/or type of information source of the proposition expressed by the complement clause. Based on data from a genetically stratified sample of 100 languages, the paper has three main goals:

1. It attempts to show that complementizers constitute a cross-linguistically widespread means for expressing epistemic stance towards embedded propositions.
2. It gives a survey of the epistemic meanings expressed cross-linguistically by complementizers.
3. It gives a survey of the range of epistemic complementizer systems found in languages with more than one epistemic complementizer.

The findings have important implications both for research on epistemic expressions and for research on complementizers. Firstly, the paper intro-duces a new set of data into the debate on the relationship between eviden-tiality and epistemic modality. The debate is currently intense, but comple-mentizers have so far largely been ignored. Secondly, the paper provides a crosslinguistic background against which common views of the function of well-known complementizers like English if, French si and German ob can be evaluated. Thirdly, the paper throws new light on complementizer "deletion".

Craig, C. (1977). The structure of Jacaltec. Austin: University of Texas Press. **Frajzyngier, Z. (1995).** "A functional theory of complementiz-ers". J. Bybee & S. Fleischman (eds.). Modality in Grammar and Discourse. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 473-502. **Hofling, C. A. (2000).** Itzaj Maya grammar. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press. **Nordström, J. (2010).** Modality and subordinators. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Modality, endophoricity and selectional constraint in that noun complement clauses

Issa Kanté

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

Nouns such as dogma, fact and philosophy governing that-noun complement clauses (NCC) are used to characterize a proposition, an event or a state of affairs (Biber et al. 1999, Schmid 2000). The challenge for linguists is to explain why such nouns can govern an NCC whereas religion/linguistics cannot. Linguists like Quirk et al. (1985) and Francis et al. (1998) have related this selectional constraint to abstractness. Others like Nomura (1993) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002) relate it to derivation or to modality as in Perkins (1983), Ballier (2010) and Kanté (2010). First, in addition to arguing that head noun selectional constraint cannot be explained through a single particular feature, we propose to deal with the phenomenon as depending on a set of common semantic features. Second, in comparison with French que NCC, the criteria [+MODALITY] and [+ENDOPHORICITY] appear to be the most predominant ones. When these nouns govern that/que NCC, they express modality, since they mark the speaker's position or report another speaker's position toward the propositional content. Finally, to show how [+ENDOPHORICITY] is a relevant feature in NCC governing, we proceed to a corpus-based analysis of patterns like to share + this/that N; to confirm + this/that N; to reveal + this/that N. Demonstratives are primarily used to focus the hearer's attention on objects/locations in the speech situation (Diessel (1999: 2, 94-112). Based on this pragmatic function of demonstratives, the pattern V + this/that + N appears to be a relevant lexico-semantic structure to show how head nouns involve endophoricity.

Ballier, Nicolas (2010). "La complétive du nom, un"dictum" pris en charge par personne ? " dans Les représentations linguistiques de la personne, J.A. Vicente Lozano, A. Blanc & N. Ballier (eds.), Rouen : Collection linguistique Épilogos, Publications Électroniques de l'ERIAC, p. 213-234. **Biber, Douglas et al. (1999).** Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English. Essex: Longman. **Diessel, Holger (1999).** Demonstratives. Form, function, and grammaticalization. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. **Francis, Gill et al. (1998).** Collins COBUILD grammar patterns 2: Nouns and adjectives. London: Harper Collins. Huddleston, Rodney and Pullum, Geoffrey (2002). The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Kanté, Issa (2010).** "Mood and modality in finite noun complement clauses: A French-English contrastive study." In M. Stefania; K. Heylen and G. De Sutter (eds.), Corpus Studies in Contrastive Linguistics. IJCL 15: 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 267-290. **Nomura, Masuhiro (1993).** "The semantics of the content clause construction in English". English Linguistics, 10, 184-210. **Quirk, Randolph et al. (1985).** A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language. London/New York: Longman. Schmid, Hans-Jörg (2000). English Abstract Nouns as Conceptual Shells: From Corpus to Cognition. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

On the markedness of (non)factive clausal complements and its relation to hierarchies of semantic groups of CTPs

Björn Wiemer

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Starting from a very vague distinction between 'indicative' and 'subjunctive', Noonan (2007: 102-111) generalised that in clausal complements this distinction is based on the factors [+/- realis] and [+/- assertive], the latter meaning discourse-dependent propositions serving as communicative background (see his Table 2.4). My talk pursues two aims. First, I show that a mismatch between 'realis'- and 'assertive'-status creates crosslinguistic variation, e.g. between and within Romance and Slavic. Most sensitive are factive CTPs ('regret', 'feel pity', etc.) and predicates of epistemic or doxastic attitudes ('assume, believe, trust'), but also "apprehensive" predicates ('be afraid, fear').

Second, in languages with poor systems of mood (understood as a morphological verbal category) complementizer contrasts doing an equivalent "job" seem to be considerably more productive, and their distribution (including intralinguistic variation) seems to be restricted along the same criteria as are moods, say, in Romance languages. Thus, in languages of the Eastern part of Europe we observe splits of complementizer use not only of the common types (THAT-IF, THAT-AS IF, THAT-HOW), but also of a distinction that contrasts a neutral THAT complementizer to a complementizer (i) used after negated predicates of epistemic or doxastic attitude, (ii) which splits up the field of proposition-coding complement clauses along Noonan's hierarchy, but also (iii) appears with non-finite complements encoding states-of-affairs (thus, with complements for which [+/- realis] is suspended). Compare, e.g., Russ. ?to-?toby, Pol. ?e-?eby or aby, Bulg. ?e-da, Mac. deka-da, Rom. c?-s?. Remarkably, in some of these languages apprehensive predicates differ from all other CTP-groups, because they allow for yet another complementizer to be chosen provided the complement gets negated (e.g. Russ. Bojus', (a) KAK BY NE pošel dožd' vs. (b) ?TO pojdet dožd' ? 'I'm afraid that it might/is going to rain').

Thus, in order to make areal biases (West-East clines) visible it seems advisable to distinguish between 'subjunctive? (and mood in general) as a morphological category of verbs, on the one hand, and complementizers (beside other "function words") as lexical modifiers of clauses, on the other hand. After all, the issues raised in this talk should help pave the way for an inventory of hierarchized factors that influence the (non)factive status of clausal complements.

Noonan, M. (2007, 2nd ed.). Complementation. In: Shopen, T. (ed.). Language typology and syntactic description, vol. II: Complex Constructions. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge U.P., 52-150.

Labels and functions – a closer look at complementizers, nominalizations and verb forms

Ivana Vrdoljak

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Some phenomena involved in complementation have often been tried to be explained by making use of the presumably fuzziest term in linguistics: modality. This not very well-defined domain is associated with a seemingly endless list of notions like 'ir(realis)', 'epistemic modality', 'counterfactuality' etc., but also with moods such as subjunctive. That especially the labels 'subjunctive' and 'irrealis' (which are often used interchangeably) have only been of little avail in determining the function of the units in question, has already been recognized in the literature (e.g. Mauri/Sansò 2012, Timberlake 2007).

A good example in this respect is the distribution of the Croatian/Serbian complementizer da 'that' which (together with finite verb forms) is used in Serbian as a substitute for the infinitive. But even in Croatian da-constructions are preferred with object control verbs, although there is a possibility of using the infinitive, e.g. Jovan je naredio Mariji da do?e 'Jovan ordered Marija to come' (cf. Stiebels 2007). Moreover, the presence of da in monoclausal environments, e.g. with optative and imperative semantics, as in Da si odmah došao 'Come here immediately', gave rise to discussion among scholars. The various uses tend to be labeled

'subjunctive' (e.g. Mišeska-Tomi? 2006) and/or 'insubordination', both terms leading to more confusion than clarification.

What has been neglected is that the different uses exhibit different scope properties in that they refer to distinct entities, namely propositions as opposed to state-of-affairs (Frajzyngier/Jasperson 1991, Hengeveld/Mackenzie 2008, Boye 2010). The present paper argues that blurred boundaries of domains and consequently vague terms could be more often avoided if this important distinction were taken as the starting point for further fine-grained descriptions. In this presentation, nominalizations, different complementizers and verb forms will be examined as devices referring to state-of-affairs and propositions involved in complementation; examples come mainly from Serbian/Croatian. Additionally, the presentation will have a closer look at syntax-semantic mismatches, i.e. at those instances where functional differences are not mirrored by morphosyntax.

Boye, K. (2010): Evidence for what? Evidentiality and scope. In: Wiemer, B., Stathi, K. (eds.): Database on evidentiality markers in European languages (STUF – Language Typology and Universals 63/4).358-369. Frajzyngier, Z. & Jasperson, R. (1991): That-clauses and other complements. Lingua 83. 133-153. Hengeveld, K. & Mackenzie, L.(2008): Functional Discourse Grammar. Oxford.
Mauri, C. & Sansò, A. (2012): What do languages encode when they encode reality status? Language Sciences 34. 99-106. Mišeska-Tomi?, O. (2006): Balkan Sprachbund Morphosyntactic features.Dordrecht.
Stiebels, B. (2007): Towards a typology of complement control. In: Stiebels, B. (ed.): Studies in Complement Control (= ZAS Papers in Linguistics 47). 1-80. **Timberlake, A. (2007):** Aspect, Tense, Mood. In: Shopen, T. (Ed.): Language Typology and Syntactic description, vol. III. Cambridge. 280-333.

Asymmetric event structures in English and Polish: a contrastive corpus-based perspective

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

It is assumed in the present paper that linguistic structures convey the speakers' conceptualization of an outside scene or event, i.e. their construal(Langacker 1987, 1991). Some of its properties will be discussed with reference to the concepts of (a)symmetry of events, elaborated on in Cristofaro (2003) and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2008).

In the first part of the paper the concept of equivalence across language complementation patterns will be discussed in terms of Cognitive

Grammar. The discussion in Part 2 involves differences in the construal relations between apprehensive complement constructions in Polish, juxtaposed to their English translational counterparts (cf. Dziwirek & Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2010; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Wilson 2013) such as:

(1)   Boj? si?, ?eby nie przyszed?

lit. *(I) fear so that he would not come / lest he would come* in the sense of 'I fear [lest] he might come' and a similar type introduced by the conjunction czy 'if/whether',

(2)   Boj? si?, czy (czasem) nie przyjdzie

lit. *(I) fear if s/he will (perhaps) not come* 'I fear that s/he might come'.

It is argued that they present unique semantic and constructional blending types built around three fundamental concepts of emotion - cognition - volition, anchored in the modality semantics (cf. Jaszczolt 2009), and show varying degrees of the property salience and conceptual cohesion. The conceptualizations of this type, exemplified with the Polish and English corpus data (nkjp.pl and BNC), are argued to be strongly motivated by the senses of the head verb and by the constructional meaning of the complement.

Cristofaro, S. (2003). Subordination Oxford: Oxford University Press. Dziwirek, K. & B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (2010). Complex Emotions and Grammatical Mismatches. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **Jaszczolt, K. M. (2009).** Representing Time. An Essay on Temporality as Modality. Oxford: OUP. Langacker, R. W. (1987, 1991). Foundations of Cognitive Grammar vols. 1 and 2, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. (ed.), (2008). Asymmetric Events, Amsterdam: Benjamins. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. & P. Wilson (2013). "English fear and Polish strach in contrast: The GRID paradigm and the Cognitive Corpus Linguistics methodology". In: J. J. R. Fontaine, K. R. Scherer & C. Soriano (eds.). Components of Emotional Meaning. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 425-436.

Foregrounding and reality: The semantics of word order in Danish complement clauses

Tanya Karoli Christensen & Torben Juel Jensen

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Modern Danish (as well the other mainland Scandinavian languages) distinguishes between two different word orders in complement clauses: the so-called main clause and subordinate clause word order. The first has sentence adverbials and negations after the finite verb (1), the second before the finite verb (1'):

det er også en af grundene til ('that is also one of the.reasons to')

(1) at vi tør næsten ikke at flytte (V>Adv)
    that we dare almost not to move

(1') at vi næsten ikke tør   at flytte (Adv>V)
    that we almost not dare to move

    ' That's also one of the reasons that we almost don't dare to move '

Under different headings, this has been the subject of numerous theoretically as well as empirically oriented studies, among these analyses of the relation between so-called main clause phenomena (in this case, V>Adv word order), assertivity and factivity. We have conducted a study of the word order difference in modern spoken Danish based on the LANCHART corpus (http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/). The sub-study of complement clauses (typically "that"-clauses) presented here is based on 3464 tokens. The main hypothesis tested was that main clause word order, V>Adv, signals foregrounded information. Several factors have been included in the analyses as an operationalization of foregrounding, ranging from type of matrix predicate to presence of conjunction. The effects of the different factors were assessed through mixed-effects modelling in R. Our results show that V>Adv is much more frequent in subordinate clauses than commonly assumed (amounting to 64% for complement clauses), and in general support the hypothesis of V>Adv as a foregrounding device (Jensen & Christensen 2013).

In our paper, we will discuss the relation between this function and the factuality or realis value of the complement as signaled by the matrix predicate and the complementizer. As expected from descriptions of factive predicates (stating that they in effect background their complements), we find little V>Adv word order in complements in this context (appr. 10%). Less easily explained from the foregrounding hypothesis are the results show-

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ing that clauses without complementizer clearly favour V>Adv word order, in contrast to "that"-clauses and especially "wh-"/"if"-clauses.

Jensen, T.J. & T.K. Christensen (2013). Promoting the demoted: The distribution and semantics of "main clause word order" in spoken Danish complement clauses, Lingua 137.

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Complementation Strategies of Russian Verbs of Permission and Prohibition

Denis Kirianov

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

The complements of Russian permissive and prohibitive verbs (razrešit', razrešat', pozvolit', pozvolyat' 'to allow', zapretit, zapreš?at' 'to forbid') may be encoded by different morphosyntactic types of sentential arguments [Itskovi? 1974: 43-51]: by an infinitive clause (1), by a nominalization (2) and by a finite clause introduced by a complementizer ?toby (3):

(1)   Ja razrešil   Petʼ -e   vstre?atsʼ a s   Maš-ej
      I   allow.PST Petja-DAT date.INF   with Masha-INS

      ' I allowed Peter to date Mary '

(2)   Ja pozvolil   Petʼ -e   vstre?-i   s   Maš-ej
      I   allow.PST Petja-DAT dating-PL with Masha-INS

      ' I allowed Peter to date Mary '

(3)   Ja zapretil   Petʼ -e   ?toby on vstre?alsʼ a s   Maš-ej
      I   forbid.PST Petja-DAT that   he date.PST   with Masha-INS

      ' I forbad Peter to date Mary '

It seems that the factors relevant to the choice of these morphosyntactic complement types have not been studied in depth. I carried out a corpus-based study based on the sample of about 1500 examples to find out what semantic and syntactic factors influence the distribution of the complement types under consideration. It turns out that the infinitive strategy is in general the most frequent one while the other two can be called peripheral. However, it is equally possible to distinguish the factors, which may lead to

the choice of non-infinitival strategies. Some of these factors may be applied to all the verbs under investigation while others are applicable only to some of them.

?toby-clause may be chosen if: 1) the matrix predicate is used in irreal modality (the action is not actually permitted, for example because the act of permission is negated (I didn't let him…)); 2) the speaker wants to convey strong emotions (how could it happen, that he permitted somebody to do something?!); 3) the permission (or prohibition) is not given directly to the addressee, but is sent via another person or act (usually a law). For example, if government allows something to its people, then it's likely that the permission is given via a law but not in the direct conversation in flash between an official and a citizen.

Nominalization strategy may be used if: 1) The style is formal; 2) It is used with a quantifier or in coordination with other nominalizations. Such types of syntactic contexts favour the nominal encoding of an argument rather than the verbal one. There are also some more complicated features to be analyzed in my paper.

Itskovi?, Viktor A. (1974). O?erki sintaksi?eskoj normy. In: Zolotova, Galina A. (ed.). Sintaksis i norma. ?.: Nauka, 43–106.

Semantics of German directive-verb complement clauses: synchronic and diachronic aspects

Elena Smirnova

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

This paper deals with the complements of German directive verbs and focuses on the contrast between finite dass 'that'-clauses and zu 'to'-infinitives. It has been generally assumed in the literature that verbs like bitten 'ask', befehlen 'command', etc. may occur with both finite and infinite complements without any noticeable difference in meaning, cf. (1) - (2):

> (1) Maria bittet/befiehlt Martin, später zu kommen.
> Maria ask/order.3sg.PRES Martin later to come.INF

(2)   Maria bittet/befielt   Martin, dass er später kommt.
       Maria ask/order.3sg.PRES Martin that he later   come.3sg.PRES

       'Maria asks/ orders Martin to come later'

Traditionally, these structures have been of interest in the theory of control. In this account, however, the semantic equivalence of finite and infinite complements is taken for granted and infinite complements are derived from finite complement clauses (see however Stiebels 2007 for a more fine-grained semantic analysis of different complement clause types of the same verbs). This paper contests the traditional assumption and aims at unveiling semantic (and pragmatic) differences between finite and infinite complements. In particular, it is suggested that the finite dass-clause reports a directive speech act, whereas the zu-infinitive focuses on the intended action.

The paper is based on a quantitative and qualitative corpus analysis of data from present-day German as well as historical data from Middle High to Early New High German. The study is guided by the following questions: (A) Which of the notions used in the literature, such as e.g. modality (also in the sense of Haspelmath 1989), state-of-affairs vs. proposition, de re vs. de dicto, etc., are best suited to describe the contrast between complements at hand? (B) What is the relation between a particular complement type and (the semantics of) the matrix predicate? Do they yield a compositional structure or should they rather be considered in terms of not fully compositional constructions (see e.g. Cristofaro 2008)? (C) What can diachronic facts, especially the relevant source constructions for each complementation pattern, reveal about their synchronic status?

Cristofaro, S. (2008). "A constructionist approach to complementation: evidence from Ancient Greek", Linguistics, 46-3, 571-606. **Haspelmath, M. (1989).** "From purposive to infinitive – a universal path of grammaticization", Folia Linguistica Historica, X/1-2, 287-310. **Stiebels, B. (2007).** Towards a typology of complement control. ZAS Papers in Linguistics 47 (= Studies in Complement Control, ed. by B. Stiebels), 1-80.

Complementation in Functional Discourse Grammar

Kees Hengeveld

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

In Hengeveld (1998) I show that the finite or non-finite realization of adverbial clauses can be predicted crosslinguistically on the basis of four different hierarchies. Along the entity type hierarchy adverbial clauses are categorized as designating a property, a state of affairs, a propositional content or a speech act. These semantic categories play a major role in Functional Grammar (Dik 1997, see also Hengeveld 1989) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). The time-dependency hierarchy classifies adverbial clauses as having dependent time-reference or independent time-reference. In cases of dependent time-reference the temporal orientation of the subordinate clause follows from the meaning of the subordinating element, in cases of independent time-reference it does not. The factuality hierarchy distinguishes between factual and non-factual adverbial clauses, the former including subordinate clauses designating assertive speech acts, true propositional contents, and real states-of-affairs, the latter subrdinate clauses with the opposite values. The presupposedness hierarchy, finally, classifies adverbial clauses as being presupposed to be (non-)factual or non-presupposed to be (non-)factual. Presupposed clauses include factive and contra-factive ones, non-presupposed clauses are non-factive. These four hierarchies, in their interaction, systematically and consistently predict the cut-off points between finite and non-finite clauses in the sample of 25 European languages investigated.

In the current paper I show that the same parameters are active in the field of complement clauses. I apply the four hierarchies to the complements of 15 different complement-taking predicates, using the same sample of European languages. It will be shown that, in the field of complementation too, the finite versus non-finite realization of complement clauses can be systematically predicted on the basis of the four hierarchies, which can be said to interact in shaping systems of complementation, and of subordination more generally. A comparison of adverbial and complement clauses among themselves furthermore shows that languages tend to give the same weight to the different hierarchies in the fields of adverbial subordination and complementation, thus showing semantic consistency across these two domains. The few exceptions to this general observation can be explained in terms of the language contact situation that the languages concerned are in, coupled with the fact that adverbial clauses are apparently more sensitive to contact than complement clauses.

Dik, Simon C. (1997). The theory of Functional Grammar. Edited by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. **Hengeveld, Kees (1989).** Layers and operators in Functional Grammar. Journal of Linguistics 25.1, 127-157. **Hengeveld, Kees (1998).** Adverbial clauses

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in the languages of Europe. In: Johan van der Auwera ed., Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe (Empirical approaches to language typology/Eurotyp 20-3). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 335-419. Hengeveld, Kees & Mackenzie, J. Lachlan (2008). Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
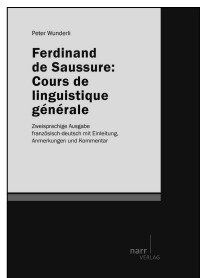
Peter Wunderli

Ferdinand de Saussure: Cours de linguistique générale

**Zweisprachige Ausgabe
französisch-deutsch mit Einleitung,
Anmerkungen und Kommentar**

Am 22. Februar 1913 verstarb Ferdinand de Saussure, gerade einmal 55-jährig. 1916 publizierten Charles Bally und Albert Sechehaye seinen *Cours de linguistique générale* auf der Basis von Studentenmitschriften seiner Vorlesungen und einigen wenigen handschriftlichen Notizen ihres Kollegen. 1931 erschien die deutsche Übersetzung von Herman Lommel. Obwohl 2001 zum dritten Mal aufgelegt, muss diese heute als veraltet gelten. Vorliegende Neuübersetzung ist nicht nur stilistisch überarbeitet und in der Terminologie sowohl präziser als auch einheitlicher; sie berücksichtigt zudem die stark veränderte Forschungslage und zwischenzeitlich neu entdeckte Manuskripte. Die hier vorgelegte Ausgabe ist zweisprachig und erlaubt einen ständigen Vergleich des deutschen Textes mit dem französischen Original, wobei dieses den (korrigierten) Text der kritischen Ausgabe von Rudolf Engler (1968) wiedergibt, der auch als Übersetzungsbasis dient. Zudem ist sie kommentiert: Sie bietet eine Einleitung zu Leben und Werk de Saussures und eine Darstellung der Genese und der Rezeption des *CLG*. Der Text wird ergänzt durch einen ausführlichen Kommentar zu den problematischen Stellen.

JETZT BESTELLEN!

AG 04: The Syntax and Semantics of Particles

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Josef Bayer
Volker Struckmeier

Particles, focus particles as well as discourse (modal) particles, have received much attention in semantics, pragmatics, historical linguistics, and in research on grammaticalization. Focus particles have been extensively studied in formal semantics, and discourse particles have been thoroughly investigated from a pragmatic perspective. However, many languages that are known for their rich inventory of discourse particles have not been explored in detail up to this point – and even for (relatively) well-researched particles, there is surprisingly little consensus about their formal representation. Our workshop aims to address these empirical and theoretical shortcomings.

As for the issue of linguistic categories, observations about the categorial status of particles have divided the field: Some authors propose to analyze particles as adjuncts and subsume them under the adverb category (e.g. Jacobs, Büring and Hartmann, Cardinaletti, M. Zimmermann). Others show that this analysis is problematic with regard to properties such as constituency and word order facts or the clitic status of particles in some languages that would warrant the assumption that particles are special types of syntactic heads (e.g. Bayer and Obenauer, van Gelderen, Munaro and Poletto, Struckmeier). Given the heterogeneous historical origins of particles, an alternative position could deny particles a syntactic category altogether (e.g. Roussou). Important evidence can also be adduced with regard to the interaction of clause type properties, information structure, and illocutionary force with discourse particles in compositional semantics/pragmatics. Moreover, since discourse particles seem to be linked to the 'expressive' dimension of meaning (e.g. Kratzer, Gutzmann), a current research topic is how to account for the expressive content of specific particles in formal

semantics.

We therefore invite submissions that present language-specific, cross-linguistic/comparative, or diachronic research on the empirical properties of particles in combination with theoretical proposals in syntax and semantics that seek to integrate these properties into a rigorously constrained theory of grammar. By sharpening our understanding of this highly problematic but also extremely challenging set of elements, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the theoretical and empirical properties of linguistic categories.

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Modal Particles and Root Infinitives

Hans-Martin Gärtner

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

Starting from the inventory of German (adult) root infinitives (Gärtner 2013), I will elaborate on observations (ibid.) about their (in-)compatibility with various modal particles. I hope to be able to contribute to answering "Abraham's Question" (Abraham 1995). This will - among other things - involve taking a stance on rivaling accounts for modal particles in imperatives (Schwager 2010, Grosz to appear) and revisiting arguments for and against truncation approaches to infinitives (Haegeman 1995).

Abraham, Werner. (1995). "Wieso stehen nicht alle Modalpartikel in allen Satzformen?" Deutsche Sprache 23:124-146. Gärtner, Hans-Martin. (2013). "Infinite Hauptsatzstrukturen." Pp. 202-231 in Satztypen des Deutschen, edited by Jörg Meibauer, Markus Steinbach, and Hans Altmann. Berlin: de Gruyter. Grosz, Patrick. (to appear). "Modal Particles in Imperatives and Related Constructions." in Modes of Modality, edited by Werner Abraham and Elisabeth Leiss. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. **Haegeman, Liliane. (1995).** "Root Infinitives, Tense, and Truncated Structures in Dutch." Language Acquisition 4:205-255. **Schwager, Magdalena. (2010).** "Modality and Speech Acts: Troubled by German Ruhig." Pp. 416-425 in Amsterdam Colloquium 2009, edited by Maria Aloni and Katrin Schulz. Heidelberg: Springer.

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An experimental test of the effects of focus in generating scalar meanings in Basque

Urtzi Etxeberria & Aritz Irurtzun

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

1. Goal: We analyze the emergence of scalar additive meanings with the particle ere in Basque. We show that in Basque the same particle can obtain both the 'simple additive' reading and the 'scalar additive' reading and will argue that the reading is disambiguated by means of prosody. We propose an analysis by which this scalar additive reading is obtained by using the alternative semantics of Rooth (1985, et seq.).

2. The Basque particle ere has as its core meaning that of simple addition (1B), where B adds the information that Aitor also knows the answer (besides Jon), characterized as in (2). A very interesting property of Basque ere is that it can also induce scalar additive effects,

paraphrasable as 'Even John knows the answer'. In this case, besides the existential presupposition in (2), there would an implicature (3) about the likelihood of the event. Note: ere is the only particle available in Basque to produce either simple additives or scalar additives in all these contexts. However, we show that the potential ambiguity of the two meanings of ere is resolved by means of Nuclear Stress (NS) placement: (i) in the simple additive reading the NS must fall on ere itself (4a), (ii) in the scalar additive reading the NS is placed on the element preceding the particle (4b).

3. The experiments: In order to test this observation, we conducted a production experiment where native speakers of Basque were asked to pronounce the linearly ambiguous string "Jonek ere gainditu zuen" (Jon ere (also/even) passed (the exam)) in two disambiguating contexts. Measurements (in Hertz) of F0 peaks in the subject Jonek showed that on average speakers pronounced subjects with a significantly higher F0 value in the scalar context (M = 210.24, SE = 5.92) than in the simple additive context (M = 197.71, SE = 4.63), t(16) = 4.57, p = .0003. The effect size seems robust (r = .75). The results of this experiment are being corroborated with another ongoing perception experiment. We asked native bilingual speakers of Basque and French/Spanish to listen to two utterances of the same 'ambiguous' string "Jonek ere gainditu zuen" (Jon (also/even) passed (the exam)) (the test items were extracted from recordings of a speaker from Exp.1). Listeners are asked to judge the ambiguity of each utterance using a Visual Analogue Scale (VAS) with (unambiguous) French/Spanish translations on each side: Jon aussi a passé l'examen (Fr.)/Jon también ha aprobado el examen (Sp.) on the left (value = 0) vs. Même Jon a passé l'examen (Fr.)/Incluso Jon ha aprobado el examen (Sp.) on the right (value = 100). The preliminary data that we have analyzed show sharp differences in the VAS jugdement task since on average, participants significantly judge the utterance in the scalar context to correspond to the scalar meaning (M = 74.16, SE = 8.19) and the utterance in the simple additive context to correspond to the simple additive meaning (M = 21.89, SE = 9.92), t(6) = 2.89, p = .027, r = .76).

4. Proposal: We propose an analysis based on the 'alternative semantics' account of focus proposed by Rooth (1985, et seq.). Our proposal is

based on this semantic analysis: assuming that the simple additive in (4a) presupposes "that X came (X ≠ Jon)", scalar additives like (4b) will have two presuppositions: the very same lexical presupposition of the simple additive (5a), and the FSV which is obtained by the substitution of the focal subject with alternative values (5b). We argue that the 'least likelihood' reading derives directly from the FSV of (5b), where all the alternative values are considered but the actual subject (Jon, in the example in (4b)).

(1)   A: Aitorrek badaki erantzuna.
            Aitor   know   answer.ART
         ' Aitor knows the answer '

(2)   "There are other x under consideration besides Jon such that x knows the answer."

(3)   "For all x under consideration, the likelihood that x knows the answer is greater than the likelihood that Jon knows the answer."

(4)   a.   Jon ERE etorri da
               Jon ere come aux
               ' Jon also came '

(4)   b.   JON ere etorri da
               Jon ere come aux
               ' Even Jon came '

\begin{exe} {(5a)} {Lexical: $\exists$x [x ≠ Jon ∧ came (x)]}} \end{exe}

\begin{exe} {(5b)} {Focal: {came (x): x ∈ E ∧ x ≠ Jon} = {[[Mary came and she is not Jon]], [[Peter came and he is not Jon]], [[Ted came and he is not Jon]], [[Sarah came and she is not Jon]]…}}} \end{exe}

Model particles aren't modal particles (are modal particles). Towards a semantic analysis

of variation amongst modal particles in German.

Daniel Gutzmann

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

It is an implicit assumption in the majority of the literature on German modal particles (MPs) that they form a homogeneous class of expressions. This is supported by a set of characteristic properties that MPs typically exhibit. For instance, they can neither be negated nor questioned, have sentential scope, are mostly are speaker-oriented and interact with the sentential mood. (e.g. Meibauer 1994). As many of these properties are very similar to the properties that are characteristic for *expressive meaning* (Kaplan1999,Potts2007}, MPs have been analyzed as expressions that contribute such kind of meaning; and arguably, a lot of the properties properties can be traced back to their special non-truth-conditional semantics (Gutzmann 2012, Kratzer 1999). In this talk, I will challenge the homogeneity assumption by focusing on the last two features, but then show how the observed variation can easily be implemented into the same basic expressive, use-conditional approach to their semantics.

The alleged speaker-orientation is one of the main motivation to analyze MPs as expressive items. However, not all MPs behave the in this respect (Doering 2013). The knowledge ascription of *ja*, for instance, seems to hold for the speaker, even if *ja* is embedded, while the contribution of assumption by *wohl* seems to be embeddable.

The aspect which MPs can differ is how they interact with sentence mood. As discussed, in different contexts, by Zimmermann (2004) or Gutzmann (2008), some MPs change the use-conditions of a sentence by directly modifying its sentence mood, while others add their expressive content independently to a sentence's use-conditional profile. For instance, *wohl* can be thought of as modifying the sentence mood by lowering the knowledge threshold required for felicitous assertion (in case of declaratives) or the felicitous answering of a question (in case of interrogatives). In contrast, *ja* does not interact much with the assertoric sentence mood but rather adds a side comment to it.

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This variation does however neither mean that the idea of MPs as a class or particles should be rejected nor that a multidimensional expressive approach is not viable. Quite the contrary: the tools offered by formal approaches to expressive meaning naturally lend themselves to account for these variation without the need for the ad hoc introduction of new mechanisms and therefore let us actually expect such differences. As proposed by Harris & Potts (2009) for appositives, the seemingly shifted interpretation of MPs can still be analyzed as relating to the utterance context (instead of to the matrix context as it appears), if we think of shiftable MPs expressing an attitude of the contextual judge rather the speaker. The judge is in many cases the speaker, but can be shifted to a sufficient salient discourse entity (like the subject of a speech report). The difference between sentence-mood modifying MPs and free modifiers can be captured as well in frameworks that allow for expressive modification. An MP like *wohl* is then understood as an expression that takes the sentence mood operator, itself being an expressive item, as an argument and modifies it, while *ja* instead takes the propositional content of an utterance as its argument to express its own use-condition.

If time permits, there are also some interesting syntactic predictions that follow from this semantic analysis of the two axes of variation (like general distribution, word order tendencies, scoping behavior and conditions for shifted interpretation).

Syntax and semantics of discourse particles

Markus Egg & Johannes Mursell

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

We offer a compositional analysis of the way in which the semantic contribution of discourse particles is integrated into the interpretation of their host sentences in the syntax-semantics interface. The particles interact semantically both with the left periphery of the sentence (thus modifying its illocutionary force; Jacobs, 1991), but also with its vP.

Following Coniglio & Zegrean (2012), we locate the illocutionary force in a projection of its own (next to one for clause type information). This is

motivated by the observation that the distribution of discourse particles depends on both clause type and illocutionary force of their host utterance. E.g., the particle denn is permitted in interrogatives which serve as requests for information (1a) but not in interrogatives used as imperatives (1b).

We analyse the interaction with illocutionary force as a modification of felicity conditions (FCs). Illocutionary force is no primitive but consists of several different components, including FCs (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985), which can be accessed and modified by Discourse Particles. E.g., wohl in (2) indicates that the speaker is insecure about the truth of his statement (Zimmermann, 2012), which amounts to modifying the 1st preparatory condition of the assertion. For declarative doch-utterances, the 2nd preparatory condition of assertions is modified (it is not obvious to speaker and hearer that the hearer already knows), which makes the sentence 'privileged' or non-disputable (Matthewson & Kratzer, 2009; Grosz, 2012; Kaufmann & Kaufmann, 2012). Doch in questions and imperatives indicates FC modification as well (see Egg, 2012).

But the particles also interact with the lower part of the clause by associating with a focussed constituent, as in (3). I.e., discourse particles are focus sensitive, which also explains the observation that the particles, which are normally banned from the pre-field, can occur in the C-domain together with other focus sensitive particles and the focussed constituent, as in (4). In cases like (2), we assume focus of the particle over the whole vP.

The syntactic foundation of this twofold semantic influence of discourse particles works as follows: The particle is merged as an adjunct to the vP, finds a focussed constituent in its c-command domain and semantically associates with it. Even though this constituent might move to a higher position afterwards due to other derivational processes, e.g., in (3b), it reconstructs in its base position to ensure correct interpretation. The particle also serves as a goal for the probing illocutionary force, which is merged as topmost element in the derivation.

This analysis can model the optionality of discourse particles: They modify the connection between the left periphery and the vP, or the speaker's attitude towards the content expressed, a relation that would be established in any case. Thus, if the speaker's attitude is solely determined by the illocutionary force of the utterance, a default relation is established between the C-system and the vP when the illocutionary force in the highest projec-

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tion probes and, without the presence of and intervening discourse particle, directly targets the vP as goal.

(1)   a. Wer hat denn die Weltmeisterschaft gewonnen?
         'Who has won the world championship, I wonder?'

      b. Könntest du denn bitte das Fenster schließen?
         'Could you close the window please, I wonder?' (impossible as request)

(2) Wolfgang hat gestern abend wohl wieder gelogen.
     'Wolfgang seems to have lied once again last night.'

(3)   a. LUCIE trinkt wohl den Wein.
         'Someone is drinking the wine, and I think it's Lucie.'

      b. Lucie trinkt wohl den WEIN.
         'Lucie is drinking something, and I think it's wine.'

(4) Wohl nur PETER ist nach Ulm gefahren.
     'I think it's only Peter who went to Ulm.'

Modal particles and speech acts

Roland Hinterhölzl & Nicola Munaro

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

In this paper, we intend to discuss the role of modal particles in non-assertive speech acts in German and in some Northern Italian dialects. The distribution and interpretation of modal particles in different types of clauses has been studied extensively in recent years both for German (cf. Coniglio (2009), Hinterhölzl & Krifka (2010)) and Italian (dialects) (Munaro & Poletto (2008), Cardinaletti (2011)). This research has shown that modal particles in declarative clauses modulate the set of propositions that are presupposed as being part of the common ground in the context. Modal particles in imperatives, exclamatives and questions mostly indicate the expectations and evaluations the speaker has with respect to the state of affairs in which the speech act takes place.

The core of the paper will be concerned with the role and interpretation of modal particles in different types of questions. As we will see, different but related discourse meanings are expressed by one and the same particle in different clausal positions in Northern Italian dialects, but by different particles in clause medial position in German.

While there has been some discussion about whether questions constitute a separate speech act, our data strongly support Searle's original analysis of questions as belonging to the directive type of speech acts. We analyze a matrix question as constituted by a question radical (an open proposition that introduces a set of alternative propositions) and an illocutionary part introducing the directive speech act (and the addressee), suggesting the complex structure in (1), in which the finite verb can be assumed to move to the speech act head (sa) with the wh-element occupying the specifier of a higher functional projection. We will provide examples showing that modal particles can be interpreted both in positions both below and above the functional heading representing the speech act at LF.

Furthermore, we will investigate the hypothesis of whether special questions (cf. Obenauer 2006) are to be analysed as questions or as exclamations. First note that the particle "denn" in German - restricted to the speech act of questions - is licit in special questions which furthermore display the intonation of an exclamation.

In our analysis, SDQs constitute a complex speech act where the complement of the exhortative part is not an open proposition but the speech act of exclamation, expressing the speaker's surprise, disapproval or bewilderment about the given state of affairs. The directive part of the question exhorts the addressee to alleviate the speaker's surprise, disapproval or bewilderment by providing an explanation of the given state of affairs.

This analysis has the advantage that it can apply in a parallel fashion to all types of special questions, including the CfV-interpretation of special questions, which we analyse as self-addressed complex directive speech acts. As argued extensively by Obenauer (2006), the interpretation of special questions is codified by dedicated functional projections in the left periphery of the clause. We will compare his analysis with the proposal above and investigate the issue of whether the different dedicated positions are due to the different interpretation of the wh-element in standard and special questions.

(1)   [wh-element [(particle) [addressee sa] (particle) [open proposition]]]

Peripheral modifiers of the Noun Phrase in German

Philippa Cook

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

I argue for peripheral NP-modifiers in German, instantiated by structures such as (1) in which "angeblich" occupies a pre-determiner position at the left-edge of NP (cf. Payne/Huddleston (2002)). Using corpus data from the DECOW web-corpus (Schäfer/Bildhauer 2012), I show restrictions on the range of modifiers licensed here. I discuss how the semantics differ from those of the inflected adjective in (2) and from pre-PP modification in (3) and I propose that (1) is an innovation, building on the (real) distribution of focus particles

(1)   mit angeblich dem Accountinhaber.
        with allegedly the   account-owner

(2)   mit   dem angeblichen Accountinhaber.
        with the   alleged   account-owner

(3)   angeblich mit dem Accountinhaber.
        allegedly with the   account-owner

My findings have consequences for the treatment of focus particles (e.g. nur, auch) since it has been debated whether they are adverbials which only modify verbal projections (VP, IP, CP); cf. Jacobs (1983), Büring/Hartmann (2001), as in (4), or whether the particles adjoin to XP, even DP/NP; cf. Bayer (1996), Reis/Rosengren (1997), as in (5). Note, under the latter analysis, a string such as "nur Maria" forms a constituent.

(4) dass [VP nur [VP Maria geschlafen hat]].
     that only   Maria   slept   has

(5) dass [VP [NP nur [NP Maria]] geschlafen hat].
     that only   Maria   slept   has

The putative ungrammaticality of strings such as "*von nur dem Täter" has been taken as evidence in favour of the adverbial analysis of focus particles. But the data I discuss suggest it is not an ungrammatical string and thus can be seen to favour the XP-adjunction analysis.

Finally, I propose that the string found in clause-initial position in certain cases of apparent multiple fronting as in (6) is better analyzed as a pre-modified NP (i.e. the string is a standard constituent), rather than as a partially emptied VP containing a verbal trace (cf. Müller 2005):

(6) Vermutlich Rechtsextreme   haben erneut Wohnungen
     probably   right-wing-extremists have   again flats
     und Büros von engagierten Politikern angegriffen.
     and offices of active   politicians attacked

     'It is probably right-wing extremists who have again attacked homes and offices of active politicians '

Bayer, J. (1996). Directionality and Logical Form. Dordrecht: Kluwer. **Büring, D. & K. Hartmann (2001).** V3 or not V3 – An Investigation of German Focus Particles. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 19. 229–281 **Jacobs, J. (1983).** Fokus und Skalen. Zur Syntax und Semantik der Gradpartikeln im Deutschen. Tübingen. Niemeyer. **Müller, S. (2005).** Zur Analyse scheinbarer V3-Sätze. In Franz-Josef d'Avis (Ed): Deutsche Syntax: Empirie und Theorie. Symposium Göteborg 13–15 Mai 2004, Göteborger Germanistische Forschungen. **Payne, J. & R. Huddleston (2002).** "Nouns and Noun Phrases." In The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language, ed. Rodney Huddleston & Geoffrey K Pullum, 323 – 523. Cambridge University Press. **Reis, M. & I. Rosengren (1997).** A modular approach to the grammar of additive particles: the case of German Auch. Journal of Semantics 14. **Schäfer, R. & F. Bildhauer (2012).** Building large corpora from the web using a new effcient tool chain. In: Proceedings of the 8th international conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC)

Wird schon stimmen! A unified analysis of modal and aspectual 'schon' as scale aligners

Malte Zimmermann

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

The double function of the particle 'schon' in German as aspectual marker (1a) and modal particle (1b) is also attested in other languages, e.g. with Catalan 'ja' (Castroviejo & Mayol 2012), suggesting that both instances of 'schon' have one underlying meaning.

(1) a. Es REGnet schon. Eben   war es noch trocken.
         it rains   already just.now was it still   dry.

         ' It's raining already. It was dry just a minute ago.'

     b. St. Pauli ist schon eine GUTE Mannschaft.
         St. Pauli is alright a   good team.

         ' Well, St. Pauli is a good TEAM, alright/ St. Pauli IS a good team, but...'

In this talk, I propose a unified analysis of both instances of 'schon' as scale alignment particles operating over temporal and epistemic scales, respectively. Moreover, following Féry (2010) and Egg & Zimmermann (2012), I show that the different prosodic realizations of 'schon' as (un)accented can be derived from a single underlying meaning in interaction with information-structure.

Aspectual and modal 'schon' have a number of properties in common, posing a problem for the view that both instances of the particle are synchronically unrelated (e.g. König 1977, Ormelius-Sandblohm 1997). Following Féry (2010), I propose a unified meaning for 'schon' by generalizing Krifka's (2000) analysis of aspectual 'schon' as a scale alignment particle in (2) to its modal counterpart.

(2) [[schon]] (<B, F, ≤A>) = <B, F, ≤A>; defined iff ∀X∈A [X ≤A F] and ≤A is time-aligned

According to (2), presence of 'schon' marks that all valid alternatives are ranked lower than the focus denotation on some intrinsic scale. The ordering relation is time-aligned, giving the aspectual particle its temporal properties. Generalizing this analysis, we keep the basic meaning component of ordering focus alternatives against a contextually given scale, while incorporating time-alignment into the context-dependent characterization of the

scale. The specific meaning contribution of 'schon' depends on the kind of scale chosen, and on the relevant alternatives, as indicated by focus accenting.

This generalization accounts for alignment on spatial degree scales (3) and modal scales (1b), where the modal ordering function '$\leq$EVAL,x' measures the degree to which the alternative propositions (e.g. {p, ¬p}) are satisfied by the circumstances epistemically accessible to an attitude bearer 'x' (e.g. the speaker), (4).

(3)   Kreuzlingen ist schon   in der Schweiz.
        Kreuzlingen is already in the Switzerland.

        ' Kreuzlingen is already in Switzerland.'

(4)   [[(1b)]] = 1 iff St. Pauli is a good team; defined iff ∀q∈lousy(StP), average(StP), good(StP): q '$\leq$EVAL,x' good(StP)

This opens up the possibility of an analysis of 'schon' as a modal degree element operating on a realistic modal base (Kratzer 2012), which will be further explored in the talk.

Egg, M. & M. Zimmermann (2012). 'Stressed out! Accented discourse particles - the case of DOCH'. In A. Aguilar et al. (eds), Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 16(1), MITWPL, 225-238. **Féry, C. (2010).** Information structure of 'schon'. In T. Hanneforth and G. Fanselow (eds), Language and Logos. A Festschrift for Peter Staudacher. Berlin: Akademie. **Kratzer, A. (2012).** Modals and Conditionals. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Krifka, M. (2000).** Alternatives for Aspectual Particles: Semantics of 'still' and 'already'. Berkeley Linguistics Society Meeting 26.

Modal particles and marked word orders

Anna Cardinaletti

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

In this talk, I will discuss modal and discourse particles in a crosslinguistic perspective, mainly using data from Italian and German. The first aim is to provide further empirical evidence for the existence of particles in Italian, a language which displays a reduced number of particles. I will also discuss the syntactic and prosodic ways that Italian makes use of to convey the same meaning as e.g. German modal particles. In particular, I will discuss constructions which are relevant for the syntax-semantics-discourse interface, namely marked word orders involving the left and the right peripheries.

Focus Particles beyond Information Structure: Small particle phrases and contrast-sensitivity

Pierre-Yves Modicom

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

Starting from the traditional opposition between Focus Particles (FocPart) and Modal Particles (ModPart), I show that this dichotomy seems to be undermined by several phenomena suggesting that the distinction between both depends mainly upon the scope of the particle. I propose that this difference can be best accounted for in the terms proposed by Bayer & Obenauer (2011) for the use of "nur" in questions. Particles are Minor Functional Heads taking a phrase XP as complement to form a Particle Phrase (PartP). In "Big PartPs", the particle selects a proposition, whereas in "Small PartPs", it merges with a focal constituent. The talk explores the semantic consequences of these recent proposals and discusses the possibility of a radical version of Bayer&Obenauer's model: the distinction between Big PartPs and Small PartPs is extended to all discourse particles in order to promote a unified framework for FocParts and ModParts. We consider that FocParts are not "focusing", but "focus-sensitive" particles (Sudhoff 2010:247 ff.) which demand a feature [+FOCUS] (def. in Rooth 1985) from the phrase they merge with to form a Small PartP. In some cases, the focalized constituent is obviously topical (albeit contrastive; discussion in Krifka 2007). This [+CONTRAST] feature would replace [+EMPH] in Bayer&Obenauer (2011). Further, we assume a semantic motivation for the difference between XP+Part (topic) and Part+XP in German (comment). This contrastive reading is finally extended to adverbials such as "nämlich" (namely) or "allerdings" (nevertheless), which can form "small AdvPs" of the form [[XP] Adv] in pre-verbal position when XP is a contrastive topic (Volodina&Weiß 2010)(see ex.). The conclusion is that focus-sensitivity is a common feature of heterogeneous adverbs and functional heads in C and should in no case be reduced to so-called "Focus Particles".

(1)   [[Bei   dieser Sitzung] allerdings]   wollen die beiden
        During this   meeting nevertheless want   the both
        Familienstämme über eine Kapitalerhöhung entscheiden.
        family-branches on   a   capital increase   decide

' But during this meeting, the two branches of the family want to take a decision about a capital increase '

Bayer, Josef & Obenauer, Hans-Georg (2011): "Discourse Particles, Clause Structure, and Question Types". The Linguistic Review 28. 449-491. **Krifka, Manfred (2007):** "Basic notions of information structure". In Caroline Féry & Manfred Krifka (eds.), Working papers of the SFB632, Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 6., 13–56. Universität Potsdam. **Rooth, Mats Edward(1985):** Association with Focus. PhD thesis, University of Massachusetts. **Sudhoff, Stefan (2010):** Focus Particles in German: Syntax, Prosody and Information Structure. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins. Volodina, Anna & Weiß, Helmut. (2010): "Wie einfach ist das deutsche Vorfeld ?", Talk at the GGS 2010 meeting.

Left peripheral particles, successive-cyclic movement, and emphasis

Andreas Trotzke

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

Summary In this paper, we provide a successive-cyclic movement derivation for the distribution of German discourse particles in the left periphery of the clause. We develop a derivational model that accounts for the cases of stacked particles appearing in the left periphery.

Successive-cyclic 'SPrtP-movement' It is observed that discourse particles like German denn (lit. 'then') or bloß (lit. 'only') are immobile and rooted in the functional structure of the clause in a pre-VP/vP position. However, various particles can appear as a co-constituent of a wh-element, and in this case they move along with the wh-element to the left periphery of the clause (capitals indicate emphatic stress).

(1)   WARUM bloß ist ein Rauschenberg so teuer
        why   Prt is a   Rauschenberg so expensive
      ' Why on earth is a Rauschenberg so expensive? '

Given the V2 constraint in German, the wh-phrase and Prt must form one constituent (Small PrtP, 'SPrtP'). We claim that the wh-phrase enriched by merger of particles is derived in a separate workspace where Prt is merged with the wh-element, and the wh-phrase is moved to the specifier of Prt due to a feature of emphasis (Bayer and Obenauer 2011).

(2) a. *[Bloß warum] ist ein Rauschenberg so teuer => [warum bloß warum] ist ...

b. [SPrtP wh [Prt wh]]

SPrtP is then merged into the V-projection, after which successive-cyclic movement of SPrtP applies. In addition to serving as an argument, the complex phrase SPrtP must raise to a position in which Prt can take scope and 'freeze'. As a final step, SPrtP must raise to a position in which the wh-element can be licensed (i.e. here SpecForceP/FinP).

(3) [ForceP/FinP SPrtP [Force' /Fin' Force°/Fin° ...[PrtP SPrtP [Prt' Prt° [VP/vP ...SprtP ...]]]]]

Successive-cyclic movement and stacked particles Discourse particles can be stacked, and if they are, they occur in fixed order as seen in (4a/b). As seen in (4c/d), particles can as well be stacked in the SPrtP-construction; if they are, they occur in the very same order as in (4a/b).

(4) a. Wo   bist du denn bloß   gewesen
       where are you DENN BLOSS been

       ' Where on earth have you been? '

b. *Wo bist du bloß denn gewesen

c. WIE denn bloß soll   ich leben
       how DENN BLOSS should I   live

       ' How on earth should I live? '

d. *[WIE bloß denn] soll ich leben

e. [SPrtP1 wh [Prt1° [SPrtP2 wh [Prt2° wh]]]]

However, the order of the particles in (4c) should actually be the reverse of what the particle hierarchy predicts. Prt2 (bloß) needs to acquire scope before Prt1 (denn). Thus, the head of the phrase has to be Prt2, and not Prt1, as is the case in (4e). We therefore claim that SPrtPn is copied and merged not with the syntactic object containing the source of the copy, but with another root syntactic object (Prtn-1) in a separate workspace (WS1; cf. Nunes 2012). This copying operation complies with Last Resort, since Prtn-1 needs

a constituent it can take scope over. The output of merging SPrtPn with Prtn-1 (SPrtPn-1) is now inserted at the root of the syntactic derivation in WS2 (the VP/vP-related particle phrase), in accordance with the Extension Condition. Provided Pn-1 ≠ Prtn, Prtn-1 does not agree with the head of the PrtP whose specifier hosts SPrtPn-1 at this stage. The active operator feature will be deactivated upon merger of a new silent Prt-head with the (now) extended VP/vP-projection and raising SPrtPn-1 to its specifier. Prtn-1 undergoes scope freezing at this point and takes scope higher than Prtn, as required by the attested hierarchy (denn < bloß).

Bayer, Josef and Hans-Georg Obenauer. (2011). Discourse particles, clause structure, and question types. The Linguistic Review 28, 449–491. **Nunes, Jairo. (2012).** Sideward movement: Triggers, timing, and outputs. In Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria and Vidal Valmala (eds.), Ways of Structure Building, 114–142. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Particles, peripherality and the Final-over-Final Constraint

Theresa Biberauer

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Phrase-final particles in head-initial languages, like the Sentence-Final Particles found in Chinese varieties, superficially violate the Final-over-Final Constraint/FOFC (Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts/BHR 2007 et seq.). (1) The Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC): A head-final phrase αP cannot dominate a head-initial phrase βP where α and β are heads in the same Extended Projection. If FOFC is a genuine hierarchical universal as argued by BHR, these violations must only be apparent: closer study should reveal ways in which these structures do not contravene (1). The purpose of this paper is (i) to highlight 5 theoretically possible ways in which X-COMP (...)-PART structures could in fact be FOFC-compliant, (ii) to show on the basis of specific case studies that these theoretically predicted structures do in fact exist, and (iii) to offer an acquisition-centred argument as to why these case studies might be expected to be representative of the more general situation as far as X-COMP (...)-PART structures are concerned.

   (2) specifies how X-COMP (...)-PART structures could nevertheless be FOFC-compliant:

(3) a. the particle is structurally lower than the head-initial structure
– e.g. Scandinavian-style VO-Neg, also found in Estonian-style
VO-Q (Bailey 2012).

b. the particle is categorially distinct from the head-initial struc-
ture – e.g. the clause-final marker in complement and relative
clauses in Burmese (Simpson 2008) and Yom (Morgan 2012).

c. the particle is categorially distinct from the head-initial
structure, in lacking a categorial specification. There are two
sub-types: (i) those lacking a categorial specifiation, but
encoding formal features [F] alongside semantic ones [S]
(cf. Chomsky 1995) – e.g. the denn-type particles discussed in
Bayer&Obenauer (2011), focus particles and also fully grammat-
icalised Q-particles deriving from disjunctions (Aldridge 2011,
Bailey 2012), and (ii) those encoding exclusively [S]-features
(i.e. lacking [F]) – e.g. Chinese SFPs (Biberauer 2013b), Brazilian
Portuguese não (Biberauer & Cyrino 2009)

d. the particle is an agreement-realising element not present as a
Lexical Item in the Numeration; it is only introduced at PF as
a reflex of NS-internal Agree operations – e.g. the Afrikaans
negative-concord marker (Biberauer 2009), and the final ele-
ments in "forked modality" structures (Cheng & Sybesma 2003).

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The acquisition-oriented account of these facts rests on the indepen-
dently proposed idea that formal features ([F]s) are, for the most part,
not UG-specified (contra Chomsky 2001:10; cf. Zeijlstra 2008, Biberauer
2011, 2013a). Extended Projection-defining "base" categories like V, N,
etc. are thus not expected to be universally given (nor, indeed, atomic).
Consequently, the acquirer has to "construct" their formal make-up,
drawing on (i) the minimal resources specified in UG (crucially here, the
[iF]/[uF] distinction and the availability of a movement-signalling diacritic ˆ,
which is i.a. also responsible for head-final orders) and (ii) general learning
biases (crucially here, minimising the number of [F]s postulated (Roberts &
Roussou's (2003) Feature Economy) and maximising the use that is made
of postulated [F]s (Roberts' (2007) Input Generalization). Given the salience
in the input of ordering information and the uncontroversial fact that basic
word-order properties are fixed early (cf. inter multa alia Wexler's work on
Very Early Parameter Setting), it is argued that headedness (finality/initiality)
is in fact a category-defining property: in V-final languages, ˆ is part of what

it means to "be a (lexical) verb". By contrast, substantive formal features, which have to be acquired on the basis of morphological and syntactic cues in the input, are category-refining, facilitating sub-divisions within existing categories. Thus the presence of φ-features may distinguish a category T from the category of lexical verbs in some languages; additionally, T may lack the ˆ intrinsically associated with lexical verbs in some languages (e.g. Nupe and Vata), but not others (e.g. rigidly head-final languages). Since ˆ can never be category-refining, however, children will never postulate a structure in which the elements comprising a single Extended Projection start off with a lexical head lacking ˆ, but one of more higher members of this projection bearing ˆ: the introduction of ˆ necessarily creates a new category-type, which is not therefore part of the Extended Projection initiated by the initial lexical head at its base. Peripheral final elements associated with head-initial extended projections will therefore necessarily be analysed in accordance with possibilities like those in (2), thus ensuring the exceptionless nature of (1).

On the (allegedly) fixed order of modal particles: combining "ja" and "doch"

Sonja Müller

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

This talk is concerned with combinations of modal particles (MPs) in German.

(1) illustrates that MPs can in principle combine.

(1)   Wir kennen uns ja   doch so lange.
        we know   us MP MP so long
        ' But remember, we have known each other for such a long time.
        '

However, those combinations are severely restricted. Constraints have been formulated that, on the one hand, concern the conditions that regulate

which modal particles can combine at all. On the other hand, restrictions concern the question in which order the modal particles can combine.

Accounts concerned with the restrictions on the relative order of MPs range from mere classifications (cf. Helbig/Kötz 1981), the formulation of descriptive generalisations (cf. Thurmair 1989, 1991), semantic/pragmatic criteria (e.g. assertive force [cf. e.g. Doherty 1985], illocutionary weight [cf. Abraham 1995]), syntactic conditions (e.g. scope relations [Ormelius-Sandblom 1997, Rinas 2007)], input conditions [Doherty 1985]) and information structural criteria (de Vrient et al 1991) to phonological (Lindner 1991) and historical (Abraham 1995) argumentations.

Focussing on the combination of "ja" and "doch", I will argue that the (putatively) fixed order of "ja" and "doch" is an iconic reflex in grammar. By referring to new authentic material I collected myself, I will argue that the order "ja doch" presents the unmarked order, but that linguistic contexts can be found in which the reversed (marked) order "doch ja" is attested (cf. e.g. (2)).

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(2) Am 28.02.09 dürfte er dann noch einige junge Zuschauer
     On 28/02/09 may   he then else some young viewers
     weniger haben, denn   diese möchten doch ja   garantiert
     less   have   because these want   MP MP surely
     DSDS sehen, da   geht es ja um   "Alles oder Nichts" bei
     DSDS watch, there goes it MP about "all   or   nothing" for
     den 15 DSDS Sternchen.
     the 15 DSDS stars

     ' On 28/02/09, he will probably have even less young viewers because they certainly want to watch DSDS. Everything or nothing is at stake for the 15 DSDS stars. '

(http://www.deutschlands-superstar.de/2009/02/27/wetten-dass-gegen-dsds-die-entscheidung/ accessed at 09/06/2012)

I will suggest a discourse-semantic analysis which integrates the MP description by Diewald/Fischer (1998) and Diewald (2007) into the formal model of discourse developed in Farkas/Bruce (2010). My analysis traces the difference in markedness between the two orders of "ja" and "doch" back to

discourse structural requirements which have been assumed to hold in communication independently. In particular, I will claim that "ja" refers to a "stable context state" (terminology by Farkas/Bruce 2010) whereas "doch" refers to an "unstable state". As discourse partners aim at reaching a stable state (cf. also Farkas/Bruce 2010), I will claim that the order "ja doch" fulfills this aim in the most direct way. According to my analysis, the order "doch ja" therefore is allowed to be used in those contexts in which reaching this aim is not the primary goal of the speaker. I will show which linguistic material systematically goes together with the order "doch ja" (namely evaluations, epistemic modalisations, subsidiary (causal) illocutionary acts). I consider this co-occurence as support for my analysis.

Abraham, W. (1995): Wieso stehen nicht alle Modalpartikel in allen Satzformen? Die Nullhypothese, in: Deutsche Sprache 23, 124-146. De Vriendt, S./Vandeweghe, W./Van de Craen, P. (1991): Combinatorial aspects of modal particles in Dutch, Multilingua 10, 43-59. **Diewald, G. (2007):** Abtönungspartikel, in: Hoffmann, L. (ed.): Handbuch der deutschen Wortarten. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 117-142. Diewald, G./Fischer, K. (1998): Zur diskursiven und modalen Funktion der Partikeln "aber", "auch", "doch" und "ja" in Instruktionsdialogen, Linguistica 38, 75-99. **Doherty, M. (1985):** Epistemische Bedeutung. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. Farkas, D./Bruce, K. (2010): On Reacting to assertions and polar questions, in: Journal of Semantics 27, 81-118. Helbig, G./Kötz, W. (1981): Die Partikeln. Leipzig: Langenscheidt Verlag Enzyklopädie. Lindner. K. (1991): "Wir sind ja doch alte Bekannte", in Abraham, W. (ed.): Discourse particles. Descriptive and Theoretical Investigations on the Logical, Syntactic and Pragmatic Properties of Discourse Particles in German. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 168-201. Ormelius-Sandblom, E. (1997): Die Modalpartikeln "ja", "doch" und "schon". Zu ihrer Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International. **Rinas, K. (2007):** Abtönungspartikel-Kombinationen und Skopus, in: Sprachwissenschaft 32.4, 407-452. **Thurmair, M. (1989):** Modalpartikeln und ihre Kombinationen. Tübingen: Niemeyer. **Thurmair, M. (1991):** "Kombinieren Sie doch nur ruhig auch mal Modalpartikeln!". Combinatorial regularities for modal particles and their use as an instrument of analysis, in: Multilingua 10 (1/2), 19-42.

Two Groups of Swedish Modal Particles

Nathalie Scherf

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

In this talk I will present a whole range of data concerning the syntax and semantics of the Swedish modal particles "ju", "väl", "nog" and "visst", which call earlier analyses of the particles into question. I will show that these particles are not to be analyzed as adverbs (as in Platzack (2009), Teleman et al. (1999)) but belong to two different sub-groups of modal particles, "ju" and "väl" vs. "nog" and "visst". These differences are manifested in their syntactic as well as semantic properties.

From a crosslinguistic perspective, modal particles (henceforth MPs) show different syntactic distinctions in different languages. It has been claimed that German MPs are restricted to the TP, e.g. Thurmair (1989), whereas Italian and Romanian particles may occur in the TP and/or the CP, cf. Coniglio

and Zegrean (2012). The Swedish particles fall into two groups; "ju" and "väl" pattern with the German particles, as they can occur only in the TP and they are always unstressed.

"nog" and "visst" pattern with a subgroup of the Italian and Romanian particles and can occur in the TP as well as in sentence initial position, SpecCP. When occurring in the CP, "nog" and "visst" take on a different meaning. In the TP these particles express uncertainty or indirect evidence for the proposition, but in the CP they convey a strong speaker certainty.

In order to answer the question if the particles can be analyzed as adverbs, it is useful to consider the information structure of utterances. For German it has been claimed that sentence adverbials (e.g. Frey and Pittner (1998)) and MPs (cf. Thurmair(1989) and Hentschel (1986)) mark the border between given and new information in the sentence. Similar claims have been made for Swedish sentence adverbials, cf. Svenonius (2001), where a given subject precedes the adverb whereas a focused one follows the adverb. The particles show a different pattern, again by the two subgroups:

"ju" and "väl" precede all full DPs in the TP, regardless of the status of the subject as given or new. Only weak pronouns may precede "ju" and "väl". The position of "nog" and "visst" relative to the DPs in the TP correlates with the IS-status of the DPs in a similar manner as the adverbs do, but with slight differences. One further notable difference between these particles and the adverbs is the above mentioned shift of meaning when occurring in the CP that only applies to the particles.

The different syntactic behavior speaks against an analysis as adverbs and in favor of an analysis of the particles as belonging to two different syntactic categories, ("ju" and "väl" behave like heads, and "nog" and "visst" like phrases). The distributional differences are also reflected in the possible combinations of the MPs; two particles of the same group cannot combine, but two from different groups can. These (im-)possibilities of combinations of modal particles could be motivated by syntax, but also by semantics/pragmatics, as has been claimed for the MPs in German, cf. Thurmair (1989).

Initial observations show that the division into the two groups is present in the semantics as well; "ju" and "väl" apply to the status of the proposition in Common Ground (CG) whereas "nog" and "visst" apply to the type of evidence for the proposition.

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Coniglio, M. and I. Zegrean (2012). Splitting up force: Evidence from discourse particles. in Main Clause Phenomena; New Horizons. Ed. L Haegeman, L. Aelbrecht and R. Nye, 229-256. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. **Frey, W. and K. Pittner (1998).** Zur Positionierung von Adverbialen im Deutschen Mittelfeld. Linguistische Berichte 176, 489-534. **Hentschel, Elke. (1986).** Funktion und Geschichte deutscher Partikeln. "Ja", "doch", "halt" und"eben". Tübingen: Niemeyer. **Platzack, C. (2009).** Den fantastiska grammatiken. Lund: Lunds Universitet. Svenonius, P. (2001) Subject, expletives and the EPP, New York: Oxford university press. Teleman, U, S. Hellberg and E. Andersson (1999). Svenska Akademiens Grammatik. Stockholm: Svenska akademien. **Thurmair, M. (1989).** Modalpartikeln und ihre Kombinationen. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Discourse particles in hvað-exclamatives

Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

In this paper, I will discuss discourse particles that are used in Icelandic exclamatives involving the wh-word hvað 'what' (hvað-exclamatives), as in (1). These particles are optional and they express the speaker's sympathy, joy or surprise at the propositional content of the clause. The absence of a comma after the particles in (1) indicates that they are phonologically integrated into the rest of the clause.

Under my analysis, as sketched in (5), the particles head an Exclamative Phrase (ExclP) and take a Degree Phrase (DegP) as their complement, reflecting the fact that exclamatives are degree constructions (see Zanuttini & Portner 2003, Castroviejo-Miró 2006, and Rett 2008, 2011). The specifier position of DegP contains a null operator that is base-generated inside TP (and associated with the relevant adjectives in (1a-c)) and hvað is the head of WhP.

Hvað-exclamatives are crucially different from other exclamatives in Icelandic in that they have a DegP that can serve as the complement of Excl. By contrast, in examples like (3a) and (4a), the adverb rosalega 'extremely' following the particles is the specifier of High Degree Phrase (HDegP) (Jónsson 2010). As a result, the particles are incompatible with examples like (3) and (4).

(1)   a.   En   hvað þessi mynd   er falleg!
                 but how   this   picture is   beautiful
                 'How beautiful this picture is!'

    b.   Vá   hvað þú ert orðinn   stór!
          wow how you are become big

          'How you have grown!'

    c.   Æ hvað það var leiðinlegt!
          oh how that was unpleasant

          'What a shame that was!'

(2)   Hvernig Jón   plataði alla!
       how   John fooled everybody

(3)   Rosalega var þessi leikur spennandi!
       extremely was this   match exciting

       'How extremely exciting this match was!'

(4)   Rosalega hvað þessi leikur var spennandi!
       extremely how this   match was exciting

       'How extremely exciting this match was!'

(5)   [ExclP [Excl′ En [DegP OPi [Deg′   [WhP
       but   what
       [Wh′   hvaði [TP...ti]]]]]]]

(6)   *Rosalega hvernig Jón   plataði alla!
       extremely how   John fooled everybody

Strong modality and truth disposability in syntactic subordination: What is the locus of the phase edge validating modal adverbials?

Werner Abraham

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

It is assumed that modal particles/MPs, as well as other types of epistemics (modal verbs, evidential morphology) express a type of evidence that a

speaker has for an assertion, that the speaker uses MPs to invite the addressee to draw inferences or refer to some assumed common ground. Furthermore, it is assumed that MPs imply various degrees of certainty about the utterance made on the part of the speaker. Support is added to this hypothesis that such uncertainty or concern on the part of the speaker encodes relations among three situations, on par with the situational components for Aspect and Tense. As regards the modal interpretation by Phase, one may expect the following general properties and mechanisms to play a role under the Minimalist approach. (G1) Epistemic and root modal meanings are interpreted by phase heads. The reason why modal auxiliaries have at most two interpretations is due to the hypothesis that there are two types of phase heads, C and v. Root modals are interpreted at the vP phase, whereas epistemic modals are interpreted at T(ense) in the CP phase . (G2) In languages like Japanese, modal auxiliaries are base-generated at the phase-head position. Various differences are found cross-linguistically between root and epistemic modals, all of which show that epistemic modals are interpreted at the higher position (above TP) than root modals (below TP) Thus, an modal auxiliary, which is overtly in the T-head position, just carries one of the relevant modal features which is in an Agree relation with a phase head in the cartographically extended CP. (G3) A modal feature on a phase head of modal verbs adds the information about how much possible, or necessary, the information transferred to the semantic component is when syntactic objects are transferred to the semantic components phase-by-phase. With modal adverbials or modal particles, this goes into stronger detail, all of which can been subsumed under the general feature (Bayer & Obenauer. 2010).

Abraham, W. (2002). Modal verbs: epistemics in German and English." In: Sj. Barbiers , F. Beukema & W.v.d. Wurff (eds.) 2002. Modality and its interaction with the verbal system, 19-50. Amsterdam: Benjamins. [LA47].- **Basse, G. (2008).** Factive complements as defective phases. In: N. Abner & J. Bishop (eds.) Proceedings of the 27th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics, 54-62. Cascadilla Proceedings Project Somerville, MA.- Bayer, J. & H.-G. Obenauer. (2011). Discourse particles, clause structure, and question types. Theoretical Linguistics. 28. 449-491.- **Munaro, N. (2010).** On edge features of particles, interjections, and short answers. In: A. Di Sciullo (ed.) Edges, heads, and projections. Interface properties, 67-85. [LA 156]. Amsterdam: Benjamins.- **Speas, P. (2010).** Evidentials as generalized functional heads. In: A. Di Sciullo (ed.) Edges, heads, and projections. Interface properties, 127-150. [Linguistik Aktuell 156]. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Left-peripheral modal particles in Older Germanic?

Svetlana Petrova

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

Modal particles (MPs) in modern German (ja, doch, wohl etc.) are special in that they are restricted to VP-internal position although they convey information that pertains to sentence type and illocutionary force, i.e. to semantic components which are associated with designated functional projections in the left periphery (see, e.g. Zimmermann 2008). This special syntactic behavior of MPs in modern German leads researchers like Abraham (1991 and later) to assume that the category of MPs arises when languages establish a sentence brace as present in modern German. But at the same time, this property of modern German MPs has been considered exceptional, given that in other languages, the semantic counterparts of modern German modal particles are overtly realized in the left periphery of the clause (see, e.g. Coniglio 2011 for Italian, Zimmermann 2008 for other languages). The present paper will maintain this line of argumentation by showing that in the historical stages of German, the semantic equivalents of the modern German MPs are situated in the C-domain of the clause, as part of the rich Old Germanic system of uninflected elements generally known as "sentence particles". It will present and discuss evidence suggesting that the semantic contribution of some of the C-particles in Older Germanic is compatible with the overall function of MPs known for modern German, namely that of expressing the epistemic state of the discourse participants concerning the propositional content of the utterance.

Abraham, W. (1991). The grammaticization of the German modal particles. In: Approaches to Grammaticalization, eds. E.C. Traugott and B. Heine, vol. 2., 331-380. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Coniglio, M. (2011).** Die Syntax der deutschen Modalpartikeln. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. **Zimmermann, M. (2008).** Discourse Particles in the Left Periphery. In: Dislocated Elements in Discourse, eds. P. Cook, W. Frey, C. Maienborn and B. Shaer, 200-231. Oxford: Routledge.

Bavarian Discourse Particles-Grounding the Utterance

Sonja Thoma

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

Discourse particles (DPRTs) organize discourse by expressing the speaker's epistemic attitude towards the utterance, or by expressing her assumptions about the epistemic states of the Adressee concerning a particular utterance (Zimmermann 2011:2012). DPRTs in a Bavarian variety spoken in the Miesbach area, can be classified along two parameters. They are either Speaker

oriented (S-oriented; e.g. ja and eh) or Addressee oriented (A-oriented; e.g. doch and fei). DPRTs unfold a basic predicative structure, by relating the utterance to the context, which I propose is represented in the left peripheral projection GroundP (Lam et al 2013). Just as IP provides temporal anchoring for vP, GroundP anchors CP (i.e. the utterance) to the speech act participants S and A (cf. Speas and Tenny 2003). I refer to this type of anchoring as grounding. Specifically, I propose that GroundP splits into GroundAP and GroundSP. Bavarian DPRTs do not merge directly in the left periphery, but associate with one of the two Ground projections via AGREE (Lam et al 2013, cf Bayer & Obenauer 2011).

This proposal, I argue, accounts for the widely observed clause type restriction for DPRTs. Each clause type is either S or A oriented (Portner 2004). Clause type orientation and DPRT orientation interact, the observable restriction is epiphenomenal. In addition the infamously elusive categorial status of DPRTs receives a straightforward explanation. DPRTs do not clearly display the behaviour of syntactic heads, nor of adjuncts, since they enter syntactic derivations as morphosyntactic reflexes of feature valuation, just like inflectional affixes (cf Shu 2011).

Bayer, J., Obenauer H.-G. (2011). Discourse particles, clause structure, and question types. The linguistic review, 28(4), 449-491. Lam,Z. Thoma,S. and M. Wiltschko (2013). The syntax of grounding. Paper presented at CLA 2013 in Victoria, BC. Portner, P. (2004). The semantics of imperatives within a theory of clause types. In Proceedings of SALT Vol. 14, pp. 235-252. Shu, C. H. (2011). Sentence Adverbs in the Kingdom of Agree. Stony Brook PhD. Speas, M. & Tenny, C. (2003). Configurational properties of point of view roles. Asymmetry in grammar, 1, 315-343. Zimmermann, M. (2011). Discourse particles. Semantics, ed. Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Heusinger, and Paul Portner, 2011–2038. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Betonte und unbetonte Partikeln in altindogermanischen Sprachen

Rosemarie Lühr

Friday, March 7th, 13:30

In der zweiten Satzposition kommen in altindogermanischen Sprachen betonte und unbetonte Partikeln vor. Im Altindischen gibt es mehrere Funktionsbereiche. Die unbetonten Partikeln können Fokuspartikeln sein. Auch erscheinen betonte Partikeln und weitere unbetonte Partikeln in dieser Position. Die betonten Partikeln zeigen an, dass der Hörer aufgefordert wird, eine bestimmte Wissensbasis zu aktivieren, die für den weiteren Diskurs

mehr oder weniger zentral benötigt wird.Umgekehrt macht der Sprecher durch diese Partikeln deutlich, dass er bestimmte Textelemente oder Wissensvoraussetzungen in den Hintergrund rückt. Gegenüber den Fokuspartikeln, die auf den jeweiligen Satz beschränkt sind, sind also die betonten Partikeln, indem sie über den Satz hinaus weisen, echte Diskurspartikeln. Sie werden als "Hintergrundpartikeln" bezeichnet. Anderer Art sind die unbetonten "Vordergrundpartikeln", da sie auf Neues im Diskurs hinweisen. Sie sind noch nicht erforscht und werden daher im Vortrag den "Hintergrundpartikeln" gegenüber gestellt. Beide Partikelarten sind mit den Diskursrelationen von Asher & Lascarides (2003) abzugleichen.Das Datenmaterial stammt aus dem Altindischen und Altgriechischen, Sprachen, die Akzentbezeichnungen aufweisen. Der Vergleich lässt möglicherweise Schlüsse auf parallele Verhältnisse in unakzentierten Sprachen wie Latein und Hethitisch zu.

Hock, Hans Henrich (1996): "Who's on First? Toward a Prosodic Account of PS Clitis". In: Halpern & Zwicky 1996: 199-270. Hale, Mark (1987a): "Notes on Wackernagel's Law in the Language of the Rigveda". In: Watkins, Calvert (ed.): Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill (1929-1985): Papers from the Fourth East Coast Indo-European conference. Cornell University, June 6-9, 1985. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter (Studies in Indo-European Language and Culture 3). **Hale, Mark (1996):** "Deriving Wackernagel's Law: Prosodic and Syntactic Factors. Determining Clitic Placement in the Language of the Rigveda". In: Halpern, Aaron L. & Zwicky, Arnold M. (eds.): Approaching Second. Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena. Stanford: CSLI Publ. (CSLI Lecture Notes Number 61), 165-197. **Lühr, Rosemarie (2009):** "P2-Partikeln in indogermanischen Sprachen". In: Rieken, Elisabeth & Widmer, Paul (eds.): Pragmatische Kategorien. Form, Funktion und Diachronie. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 24.-26.09.2007 in Marburg: Reichert, 173-186.

AG 05: Categories and Categorization in First and Second Language Acquisition

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Heike Behrens
Karin Madlener

What is the nature of categories in learner languages? Since children do not use language in the full specification of the target language, some researchers proposed to name their early categories differently (e.g., pivot-grammar, Braine 1963). But since the mechanisms of the transition from non-target to target categories remained unclear, proponents of nativist accounts proposed continuity between learner- and target language (e.g., Pinker 1989). This, in turn, calls for a specification of the nature and range of innate categories, the processes that activate innate categories, the intermediate states from non-targetlike to target-like usage, and the interaction between universal and language-specific categories. Current emergentist approaches to language acquisition, in contrast, do not consider fixed categories as the basis for syntactic processes, but rather as the result of categorization processes (Tomasello 2003, Smith 2005). In such a perspective, part-of-speech categories are the epiphenomenon of a word's occurrence in various constructions. Universal tendencies would be the result of the cognitive processes of schematization and categorization, including embodiment.

As learner categories change with development, the main challenge is to account for the processing, storage, representation of learner categories, be it in terms of underspecification under the continuity assumption, or in terms of graded representations as in emergentist approaches. We invite contri-

butions from first and second language acquisition researchers, cognitive linguists and psycholinguists that provide corpus-based and experimental accounts to assess the degree of abstractness, generalization and variability of specific categories over developmental time. Of particular interest are studies that address the acquisition of part of speech categories or verb-argument structure classes (syntax-semantics interface).

Categories, categorization and verb argument structure generalizations

Ben Ambridge

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

The defining feature of language is its productivity: Speakers do not maintain an inventory of every sentence they might ever need, but instead construct many – perhaps most – from scratch. Consequently, learners must be able to use verbs in sentence constructions in which they have never appeared in the input. This leads to a learnability paradox (Bowerman, 1988). For example, children must learn that some verbs that have appeared in the *intransitive inchoative* construction (e.g., *The ball rolled*) may also appear in the *transitive causative* construction (e.g., *The man rolled the ball*), whilst others may not (e.g., *The man laughed; *The joke laughed the man*).

Traditional solutions (e.g., Pinker, 1989) have framed the problem as one of acquiring discrete categories (e.g., [INTRANSITIVE VERB] [TRANSITIVE VERB] [ALTERNATING VERB] or narrow-range verb subclasses (e.g. "Manner of motion"; "Emotional expression"). This talk summarizes the findings from 15 of the author's studies which suggest that we should be atheists with regard to these "God particles": Discrete categories fail entirely to capture the pattern of data observed, and even the fuzzy probabilistic "categories" that replace them seem to be epiphenomenal, rather than free-standing.

The studies use grammaticality-judgment, elicited-production and comprehension paradigms – all with both children and adults – to investigate how speakers acquire restrictions involving the transitive, intransitive, dative, ditransitive, locative and passive constructions, as well as generalizations involving derivational morphology (comparative and *un*-prefixation constructions). Also discussed are some preliminary findings of studies conducted with Welsh speakers, and with L2 learners of English. It will be argued that a successful resolution of this learnability paradox will include roles for both statistical learning procedures such as *pre-emption* and *entrenchment* and fine-grained semantic learning at the verb- and construction level.

In particular, the studies test the claim that, rather than acquiring alternations or verb subclasses, children learn that a particular verb can be used

in a particular construction only when the semantic properties of the two overlap. For example, the semantics of the transitive causative construction involve direct (prototypically physical) causation by an external agent, which explains why one *can roll the ball* but not *laugh the man*. In each study, adults rate around 200 verbs for the extent to which they exhibit semantic properties thought to be relevant to the particular construction under investigation (e.g., physical contact, motion, state-change). In every case, these semantic ratings significantly predict the extent to which participants are willing to use the verb in the relevant construction in production tasks and rate such uses as acceptable in judgment tasks. Importantly, these effects are highly probabilistic in nature, suggesting that learners do not form discrete classes such as [INTRANSITIVE VERB] and [TRANSITIVE VERB]. Rather, the "categories" formed are not only fuzzy, but epiphenomenal, arising from the interplay between verb and construction semantics.

Bowerman, M. (1988). The "no negative evidence" problem: how do children avoid constructing an overly general grammar? In J. A. Hawkins (Ed.), Explaining language universals (pp. 73-101). Oxford: Blackwell. **Pinker, S. (1989).** Learnability and cognition; The acquisition of argument structure. Cambridge, MA: MIT.

Abstract knowledge of syntactic patterns in the early stages of adult L2 acquisition

Patrick Rebuschat

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

This paper reports the results of an experiment that investigated the implicit learning of second language (L2) syntax by adult learners. The linguistic focus was on verb placement in simple and complex sentences. Sixty native speakers of English were assigned to four groups and then exposed to an artificial language consisting of English words and German syntax. The difference between the four groups was modality of exposure. Group AA was trained and tested on auditory sequences, while group VV was trained and tested on visual sequences. Groups AV and VA changed modality from training to testing, with the former group being trained on auditory strings but tested on visual ones, and the opposite pattern in the latter.

Subjects were exposed under incidental learning conditions, i.e. they did not know they were going to be tested, nor that they were supposed to learn the

grammar of a novel language. The exposure task required subjects to judge the semantic plausibility of 120 different sentences, e.g. "In the evening explained Rose that the profit below the estimate remained" (plausible) and "Today beheld Chris that the earth around the tomato rotated" (implausible). The task thus required subjects to process the sentences for meaning. In the testing phase, subjects were informed that the word order in the previous sentences was not arbitrary but that it followed a "complex system" instead. They were then exposed to 60 entirely new sequences, only half of which followed the grammar of the artificial language. Those sequences that were licensed by the grammar should be endorsed as grammatical and those that did not rejected as ungrammatical. In addition, subjects were also asked to report how confident they were (guess, somewhat confident, very confident) and to indicate what the basis of their judgment was (guess, intuition, memory, rule). Grammaticality judgments were used to measure learning. Confidence ratings and source attributions were employed to determine whether exposure had resulted in implicit or explicit knowledge (see Rebuschat, 2013).

The analysis of the grammaticality judgments showed a clear learning effect in all groups, i.e. subjects acquired new linguistic knowledge incidentally and they were able to use this knowledge in a transfer task, judging novel sentences. Importantly, there were no significant differences between groups, suggesting that changing modality did not affect performance in the testing phase. Since subjects were able to judge new sequences and since performance was unaffected by modality change, the results suggest that, even in the earliest stages of L2 acquisition, adults rapidly develop abstract representations. Closer analysis further showed that subjects acquired knowledge of syntactic patterns, not of rules in the traditional sense. Finally, the analysis of confidence ratings and source attributions indicated that, while subjects were aware of having acquired knowledge, much of this knowledge remained unconscious (implicit). The paper concludes with implications for future research.

Rebuschat, P. (2013). Measuring implicit and explicit knowledge in second language research. Language Learning, 63(3), 595-626.

Frames in the acquisition of the German adjective morphology

Steffen Siebenhüner

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Emergentist (or usage-based) studies have highlighted the relevance of the input as a learning model for L1 acquisition (Behrens 2006; Lieven 2009). They posit that knowledge of the target language in children is gained from analyses of the ambient language and develops gradually (Behrens 2009; Tomasello 2003). Such claims challenge fundamental assumptions of nativist models, namely that due to an underspecified input children must be operating with innate abstract categories. A category of CASE is not necessary to explain the production of the German adjective morphology in an early phase in a child learner (aged 2;0–3;0). In the child's production up to 80% of the adjectives that appear to be inflected for case (= mainly nominatives and accusatives) can be explained through the use of schemata (consisting of a determiner plus suffix). The schemata can be abstracted from morphological frames in the input, which are frequent and stable, and of which many are unambiguous. Schemata abstracted from ambiguous frames probably develop in a lexically specific fashion (= remains yet to be analysed).

Theoretical implications (1) The assumption of a grammatical category CASE is not necessary to explain the production in an early phase of acquisition. It can be explained as a gradual abstraction of morphological schemata whose learning bases are frequent frames in the input. (2) The surface marking for seemingly different cases (= in the linguistic sense) emerges over time. The development of schemata is possibly tied to specific lexical items in the beginning. Abstraction occurs gradually and shows as an increase in type variation in the adjective slot. Cases that are associated with low frequent frames in the input are produced later by the child. (3) The adult input serves as a learning basis for the acquisition of the German adjective morphology.

Behrens, Heike (2009). Usage-based and emergentist approaches to language acquisition. Linguistics, 47(2), 383–411. Behrens, Heike (2006). The input–output relationship in first language acquisition. Language and Cognitive Processes, 21, 2–24. Lieven, Elena (2009). Input and first language acquisition: Evaluating the role of frequency. Lingua, 120, 2546–2556. Tomasello, M. (2003). Constructing a Language: A Usage-Based Theory of Language Acquisition. Harvard University Press.

The development of productive schemata in German first language acquisition

Nikolas Koch & Niklas Horter & Thomas Franz

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

It has been observed that when children begin to use multi-word expressions they produce utterances they have not previously produced in that way or heard in the input in exactly the same manner. According to a usage-based approach to first language acquisition (Tomasello 2003) these more complex structures are, however, limited in their distribution, because their patterns are organized around individual lexical items and phrases. At this stage the grammatical development is not considered global (as in Nativism), but can be characterized as insular, in which individual structures change separately from others (phase of item-based construction). The beginning of this creative and productive use of language need not necessarily be attributed to the internal application of abstract meaningless rules (UG). Instead, it is assumed here that in the phase of multi-word utterances abstract schemata with individual slots that can be filled creatively will be established, in addition to lexically specific constructions (Behrens 2009). Thus, a child first acquires concrete linguistic constructions and then proceeds to summarize them in more abstract structures (vertical relationship between symbolic units). This explanation is consistent with neurobiological studies showing that the brain structures new content and information using neural patterns (Caine/Caine 1999). The different slot types are thus the result of a categorization process, which is empirically understandable by using the traceback method (Lieven/Salomon/Tomasello 2009).

Traceback is a procedure in which a categorization into different semantically restricted slot types takes place based on lexical categories and syntactic functions. In using this method we demonstrate how multi-word utterances are composed from previously-formed utterances without considering a set of meaningless generative rules. For first language acquisition of German we apply the traceback method to an excerpt of the Leo-corpus (CHILDES) and present first results of our analysis. One aim of the presentation is therefore to discuss this method and its evaluation by Kol/Nir/Wintner (2013). Another goal is to present a revision of the Kol/Nir/Wintner algorithm (2013) as well as to provide a suggested design for a data processing program. Our results are considered in the context of the current discussion on the usage-based approach to language acquisition, and the problems arising from the adaptation of the method for German data are explained.

AG 05

Behrens, H. (2009). Konstruktionen im Spracherwerb. ZGL, 37, 427-444. Caine, R. N. , Caine, G. (1999). Making Connections. Teaching and the Human Brain. Menlo Park, CA et al.: Addison-Wesley. Kol, S., Nir, B., & Wintner, S. (2013). Computational evaluation of the Trace-back Method. Journal of Child Language. Available on CJO 2013 doi:10.1017/S0305000912000694 Lieven, E., Salomo, D., & Tomasello, M. (2009). Two-year-old children's production of multiword utterances: a usage-based analysis. Cognitive Linguistics, 20 (3), 481-507. **Tomasello, M. (2003).** Constructing a Language. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Acquisition and processing of nouns and verbs in monolingual and bilingual children

Christina Kauschke & Annegret Klassert

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

It has been known for a long time that nouns and verbs are fundamental categories of human language(s). Previous research has consistently shown that the distinct linguistic properties of nouns and verbs can lead to differences in their acquisition and processing. However, there is a long-standing debate on whether nouns are privileged in general in acquisition and processing and, if so, whether the noun advantage is universal or language-specific. In addition, it remains unclear whether the noun advantage is differently pronounced in monolingual and bilingual language acquisition. So far, evidence on this question has been rare (see Kambanaros et al. 2013).

Against this background, the current study investigated whether the noun advantage is differently pronounced in monolingual and bilingual acquisition. We extend earlier studies on noun and verb naming in monolingual children acquiring different native languages (Kauschke et al. 2007) by investigating 60 bilingual children using a picture-naming task of objects and actions. The children were aged between four and six years and acquired Russian as their native language and German as their second language (Klassert et al. 2013). In contrast to previous findings for monolingual children, present results for bilingual children revealed only a moderate noun advantage in the German task and no noun preferences at all in the Russian naming task or with respect to the conceptual vocabulary (i.e., a combination of vocabulary scores in both languages considering words describing the same concept). Bilingual children were particularly limited in their naming abilities of nouns compared to monolingual children speaking German or Russian. Taken together, bilingual children showed a reduced noun advantage and a higher vulnerability of nouns than of verbs. We suggest that

the different degrees of 'robustness' of nouns and verbs in the experimental tasks might be due to their differential distributions in the input (Polinsky 2004, Sandhofer et al. 2000). Additional regression analyses support this explanation demonstrating that naming abilities for nouns, but not for verbs, were clearly modified by word frequency. We conclude from our findings that category-specific differences between nouns and verbs influence naming abilities in bilingual language acquisition to a considerably smaller extent than in monolingual language acquisition.

Kambanaros, M., Grohmann, K.K., & Michaelides, M. (2013). Lexical retrieval for nouns and verbs in typically developing bilectal children. First Language, 33(2), 182-199. **Kauschke, C., Lee, H.-W., & Pae, S. (2007).** Similarities and variation in noun and verb acquisition – a crosslinguistic study of children learning German, Korean, and Turkish. Language and Cognitive Processes, 22(7). 1-28. **Klassert, A., Gagarina, N. & Kauschke, C. (2013).** Object and action naming in Russian- and German-speaking monolingual and bilingual children. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition. FirstView Articles: Doi: 10.1017/S1366728913000096 **Polinsky, M. (2004).** Word class distinctions in an incomplete grammar. In D. Ravid (ed.), Perspectives on language and language development, pp. 423–438. Dordrecht: Kluwer. Sandhofer, C., Smith, L. B., & Luo, J. (2000). Counting nouns and verbs in the input: Differential frequencies, different kinds of learning? Journal of Child Language, 27, 561–585.

I take gender, you take number: What is a noun in early child language?

Nadine Eichler & Natascha Müller

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

Linguists have formulated doubts about the existence of primitive categories like [±N] in the lexicon, a radical view being a language theory without lexical categories, as proposed by Barner & Bale (2002). Moreover, in the framework of Distributed Morphology, it is assumed that roots enter the syntactic derivation category-neutral and are specified by combining with category-defining heads in syntax (e.g. little n). Doubts with respect to a category-neutral lexicon have been motivated mainly on the basis of language acquisition. According to Pinker (1984), children exploit the mapping between syntax and semantics to identify abstract syntactic units such as nouns. One problem of this mapping is related to abstract nouns which cannot be mapped onto a referent in the real world. Another problem is the redundancy in the lexicon. For the sake of the argument, let us take the word *water*. The lexicon of English should list this word as a verb (*to water*), as a mass noun and as a count noun. If this kind of redundancy is not eliminated, a child will have to learn many words daily, a rather unrealistic view

of the language acquisition task. Clearly, a theory without abstract syntactic units such as nouns requires another account of how children acquire abstract syntactic representations.

In our presentation, we will argue that categories are defined by grammatical features which may originate on nouns or on other elements, like determiners. Gender and number features play an important role in defining the "nouniness" of a category. In essence, we will show that the feature which children use in order to define nouns is largely language-dependent. We provide evidence for a language-dependent view investigating early child data from several languages (French Spanish, Italian and German). Following Eichler (2011), grammatical gender is an inherent feature of nominal roots in Italian and Spanish, i.e. nouns are defined by their membership to feminine or masculine gender. Therefore, gender can mark roots in a consistent way as nouns. In contrast, French and German do not mark roots with gender (Eichler 2011, Lowenstamm 2007). In both languages, grammatical gender is a feature on little n. Therefore, the category noun is not a primitive in these languages and has to be determined by distributional properties among others. There is one exception, though, namely German roots with Umlaut in the plural which are inherently specified for the unmarked singular (e.g. $[[Maus_{sg}]_N] - [[Mäus-e]_{Npl}]$ - *mouse*$_{Nsg}$ – *mice*$_{Npl}$).

Bilingualism acts like a magnifying glass if it comes to the acquisition of categories, because bilingual children take more time than monolinguals in order to expand their lexicon. We will analyze 24 longitudinal studies of simultaneous bilingual children raised in Germany or the Romance countries with German and a Romance language or two Romance languages. The analyzed data reveals the above-made distinction among the languages. In addition, the "Italian/Spanish" way of defining nouns turns out to be more economical.

Barner, D. & A. Bale (2002). No nouns, no verbs: psycholinguistic arguments in favour of lexical underspecification. Lingua 112, 771-791. **Eichler, N. (2011).** Code-Switching bei bilingualen Kindern: Eine Analyse der gemischtsprachlichen Nominalphrasen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Genus. Tübingen: Narr. **Lowenstamm, J. (2007).** On Little n, ROOT, and Types of Nouns. In: Hartmann, J., Hegedus, V. & H. van Riemsdjik (eds.). The Sounds of Silence: Empty Elements in Syntax and Phonology. Amsterdam: Elsevier. **Pinker, S. (1984).** Language learnability and Language development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

"I spy with my little eye something ADJ" – Children´s acquisition of adjective meanings and adjective functions

Clemens Knobloch

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

It is received wisdom in cognitive psycholinguistics that adjectives code perceptual properties (see Akhtar & Montague 1999, Corrigan 2008 for nonceword experiments). Adjectives are considered to be difficult in acquisition because their meanings are "parasitic on the noun vocabulary" (Blackwell 2005: 554). This is, after all, what is suggested by the game "I spy with my little eye something ADJ" – that adjectives lack the forces of referent identification. Colour adjectives in particular are mastered comparatively late by many children, as Stern & Stern (1928) already noted. I will argue that the cognitive task of children in the acquisition of adjectives is quite different. Children´s early constructions with adjectives mirror the adult input, but do not conform to cognitivist assumptions. In a sample of the CHILDES German corpus, uses of rhematic adjectives by children between 2;3 and 4;3 were investigated for their constructional and functional context. Monorhematic adjectives without explicit constructional context like *fertig*, *kaputt*, *alle* never code perceptual properties of referents, but rather evaluations of ongoing action.

Attributive adjectives are used mostly with well established joint attention towards a focus of reference and they are dominated by formal and rather grammatical adjectives like *ander-*, *neu-*, *viel-*, *ganz-*, *gleich-* etc. Functionally, they seem to involve going "beyond" the given referent in joint attention. And their meaning is not based in properties of the referent, but deictically, in the speaker´s course of action.

As for dimensional adjective pairs (like *groß/klein*, *alt/neu* etc.), their early use seems to be conditioned by affective opposition rather than by contrasting cognitive properties of the referent. As shown by Leisi (1975), even in adult language dimensional adjective meanings are not only relative to the species norm of their nominal´s referent, but also relative to the speaker´s expectation (*Du bist aber schon groß!*) and relative to pragmatic tasks at hand.

Apparently, attributive adjectives become "derhematized" from two sides: There are many instances of attributive adjectives being part of complex naming constructions like *die kleine Mickeymouse* or *der kleine Bär* etc. In

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these constructions, stress is mostly on the nominal head. Among the grammatical adjectives in attribution, the possessive pronoun is the first to be rhematic (and prosodically prominent), and the first to combine productively with many nominals, and the first to become prosodically reduced.

With regard to colour adjectives, there is evidence suggesting that colour differences are easily focused when they pertain to the distinction among referents of the same sortal category which is already activated in ongoing (joint) attention (like crayons, puzzle parts). They are often used as or like nouns, in syntactic noun slots (*ich brauch noch gelb* vs. *ich brauch da nur blaue*). Adjectives may have a tendency to develop towards true "cognitive" meanings, but it is safer to assume that *gesund* with regard to food starts out meaning something like "It doesn´t taste well, but Mom wants me to eat it anyway". Eventually, the use of lexical adjectives will accumulate more "cognitive" meaning components – without ever severing ties to pragmatic evaluation or egocentric orientation.

Akhtar, Nameera & Montague, Lisa (1999): Early lexical acquisition: the role of cross-situational learning. In: First Language 39. S. 347-358. **Blackwell, Aleka Akoyungoglu (2005):** Acqiring the English adjective lexicon: relationships with input properties and adjectival semantic typology. In: Journal of Child Language 38. S. 535-562. **Corrigan, Roberta (2008):** Conveying Information about Adjective Meanings in Spoken Discourse. In: Journal of Child Language 35. S. 159-184. Karmiloff-Smith, Annette (1979): A Functional Approach to Child Language. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. Karmiloff-Smith, Annette (1992): Beyond Modularitiy. A Developmental Perspective on Cognitive Science. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. **Knobloch, Clemens (1999):** Kategorisierung – grammatisch und mental. In: Redder, Angelike & Rehbein, Jochen (Hrg.): Grammatik und mentale Prozesse. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 31-50. **Knobloch, Clemens (2000):** Spracherwerb und Grammatikalisierung (SPAsS, Heft 6). Siegen: Schriftenreihe der Uni GH Siegen. **Leisi, Ernst (1975):** Der Wortinhalt. 5. Aufl. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. **Scheerer, Eckart (1993):** Orality, Literacy, and Cognitive Modelling (Berichte aus dem Oldenburger Institut für Kognitionsforschung, Nr. 13). Oldenburg. Stern, Clara & Stern, William (1928): Die Kindersprache. Eine psychologische und sprachtheoretische Untersuchung. 4. Aufl. Leipzig: Barth. **Tomasello, Michael (2003):** Constructing a Language. A Usage-Based Theory of Language Acquisition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP.

Sensorimotor cognition and motion event semantics define a single word category

Lorraine McCune

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

Children's initial single words emphasize either entities (names) or dynamic change (actual or potential), for example, disappearance (*allgone*); movement or stasis in the vertical plane (*up*, *down*) or in relation to child location (*here*, *there*), or spatial relations between entities (*out*, *in*, *open*, *close*, *stuck*). Some early sentences derived their meaning from such words rather than from grammatical relations (e.g., *more cookie*, *more tickle*). McCune

(2008) proposed that such Dynamic Event Words form a linguistic category of single words, both relying upon sensorimotor cognition and prefiguring aspects of Talmy's (2000) motion event semantics.

A claim of continuity from children's pre-linguistic cognition through the single-word period to first sentences might seem to imply a reliance on early 'concepts'. In contrast, the cognitive structure of the sensorimotor period is characterized here as nonconceptual, with children dependent on language to mold this consistent early cognition toward concepts varying by language. Common motion event experiences, accompanied by appropriate adult language interpretable through sensorimotor cognition expose children to these critical meanings across languages. Cross-linguistic literature demonstrates that single dynamic event words comprise the same basic domains across languages, but vary in their analysis of those domains in response to characteristics of the ambient language. When parsed through motion event semantics, dynamic event word meanings based on pre-linguistic cognition further provide the foundation for meanings observed in the initial verbs of early sentences (Primal verbs). Given their central status in early language expression, dynamic event words should be recognized as a critical category of single word meanings. This study evaluates this claim with data from 6 English-learning children. A study in progress extends this analysis to French.

Method Six participants were videorecorded at home in play and conversation with their mothers in monthly sessions from 17-24 months. Language and context were transcribed in CLAN. Child utterances including **event words** and/or **verbs** were analyzed for expression of motion event semantics and other verb meanings. Event words were identified by their application in semantically reversible temporal and spatial events characterized by motion event variables (Table 1). Verbs were identified by part of speech category. Verbs were analyzed as **Primal Verbs**, those relying on prior dynamic event word semantics, and **Other**, those significantly extending meaning beyond dynamic event word meaning (e.g., by adding manner or cause of motion).

Results The sequences of development identified for the participants support our hypotheses that (1) dynamic event meanings precede grammatical expressions with verbs, and (2) initial productions with verbs express the semantics previously carried by Event words, with additional nuances

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of meaning added (Primal verbs). All six children produced Event words as their earliest expressions of dynamics and change by 17 months of age. MLU varied from 1.2 to 3.6 by 24 months of age. Primal verbs dominated the sentence repertoire through 24 months for children who progressed to producing sentences with verbs.

McCune, L. (2008). How children learn to learn language. New York: Oxford University Press. **Talmy, L. (2000).** Toward a cognitive semantics. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Generalizing word categories for spatial prepositions over untrained referents and materials

Katharina J. Rohlfing & Kerstin Nachtigäller & Karla K. McGregor

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

When learning words, children need not only to learn the word form, but also to learn and generalize its meaning. In this slow mapping study, we tested children's abilities to generalize trained spatial prepositions. We trained 30 children aged 27–29 months to better understand German spatial prepositions: *next* [neben] and *behind* [hinter] in one of two conditions that varied by training materials: pictures or objects. Changes in understanding were assessed via picture selection and object manipulation tasks at 3 different time points: before training, immediately after first training, and after three training sessions and a 2-day retention interval. Here we report on the children's ability to extend the trained prepositions to (a) untrained referents and to (b) untrained materials.

Whereas all children demonstrated significantly improved understanding with trained referents represented by trained materials, we could not find any statistically significant generalization effect on untrained items (a). More specifically, a one-way ANOVA with repeated measures on time revealed that neither the children trained with pictures not the children trained with objects generalized newly acquired knowledge to untrained items (e.g., from "a girl behind a bench" to "a rabbit behind a cage"). Nevertheless, there were individual differences in that children who showed better sentence reception in the SETK-2 test, were more likely to

generalize on the delayed posttest with untrained items than children with poorer sentence reception: $r = .82***$ for children trained with pictures and $r = .73***$ for children trained with objects.

As for generalization to new materials (b), there was an advantage for children trained with pictures. Specifically, a one-way ANOVA with repeated measures on time revealed that children trained with pictures demonstrated gains when asked to act out the prepositions with objects. In contrast, children in the object condition showed no significant gain when asked to select pictures that depicted the trained spatial relationships.

These results reveal the complexity of factors that influence generalization of word categories. Children with stronger syntactic skills are more able to generalize across noun satellites of the preposition, perhaps because the sentence frames themselves are more familiar than they are for children with poorer syntax. Although it may seem counter-intuitive to train spatial prepositions in static picture form, since a static picture may provide a more difficult depiction of the spatial configuration than it can be specified in the object manipulation, this finding adds to a literature that suggests some benefit in training the complex as a means to generalizing to the more simple.

Experiential traces in the second language acquisition of German spatial categories

Daniela Ahlberg & Heike Bischoff & Doreen Bryant & Barbara Kaup

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

The acquisition of spatial expressions is known to be a difficult task for second language (L2) learners. Even if they start learning the L2 – in our case German – already at the age of three, the spatial domain might cause persisting problems (e.g., Bryant 2012). According to Slobin's *thinking-for-speaking* hypothesis, "each native language has trained its speakers to pay different kinds of attention to events and experiences when talking about them" (Slobin, 1996, p.89). Slobin also states that this training occurs early

during childhood with a strong resistance to a posterior restructuring. As a consequence, acquiring German prepositions is more difficult for children whose L1 exhibits less or different spatial categories.

Slobin's ideas are well in line with the understandings of embodied cognition. Within this framework, the so-called *experiential-simulations* account (e.g., Zwaan & Madden, 2005) claims that language comprehension is based on the reactivation of experiential traces in the brain that stem from experiencing the corresponding objects, states or events. However, up to now, little attention has been paid to this account in the field of second language research. In order to shed some light on the influence of bodily experiences in second language learning, we used the Stroop-paradigm from Lachmair et al. (2011). In previous experiments, we already adapted this method for spatial prepositions and applied it successfully to German native speakers. Participants were instructed to respond to the font colour of written prepositions by either an upwards- or a downwards response movement, resulting in compatible or incompatible responses. For instance, in the case of *über* a movement upwards would be a compatible response, whereas a movement downwards would be an incompatible response. Faster response times in the compatible condition reflect an activation of experiential traces.

In the experiments currently in progress, participants of different L1s (e.g., Turkish, Korean, Russian), different age of onset of acquisition, and different levels of proficiency are involved. The results shall give detailed insights into the process of restructuring spatial categories and its influencing factors. Finally, the experimental results will be discussed in terms of possible intervention programs.

Bryant, D. (2012). Lokalisierungsausdrücke im Erst-und Zweitspracherwerb: typologische, ontogenetische und kognitionspsychologische Überlegungen zur Sprachförderung in DaZ (Thema Sprache - Wissenschaft für den Unterricht, 2). Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren. Lachmair, M., Dudschig, C., De Filippis, M., de la Vega, I., & Kaup, B. (2011). Root versus roof: automatic activation of location information during word processing. Psychonomic bulletin & review, 18(6), 1180-1188. **Slobin, D. (1996).** From 'Thought and language' to 'thinking for speaking'. In J. Gumperz & S. Levinson (Eds.), Rethinking Linguistic Relativity (pp. 70-96). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Zwaan, R. A., & Madden, C. J. (2005). Embodied sentence comprehension. In D. Pecher & R.A. Zwaan (Eds.), Grounding cognition: The role of perception and action in memory, language, and thinking (pp. 224–245). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The categorization of colours and their expressions in German and French: a contrastive and pedagogical study

Sabine De Knop

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

In order to become proficient in a foreign language (FL), learners (FLL) have to learn lexical units and the grammar of FL but also internalize the conceptual categories of the foreign speech community (Danesi 2008). Learning difficulties are often due to the categorization clash between the native (L1) and the foreign (L2) language (Jing-Schmidt 2010; Littlemore 2009). The presentation will first discuss such difficulties with examples from the domain of colours both in French and German. Very generally, Western speech communities define hues in a similar way but their number and especially their use in specific contexts differ. Compare for instance colour expressions for traffic lights: whereas French speak of *orange* 'orange', Germans use *gelb* 'yellow' for the same light. The categorization differences often result from their use in a specific syntactic structure, as illustrated by the following examples: Fr. *Marie est verte de jalousie*, 'Maria is green with envy' vs. Germ. *Maria ist gelb vor Neid*, lit. 'Maria is yellow with envy'. Hence colour categories have to be described in a usage-based perspective which takes larger linguistic contexts into account (Lucy 1992). With a survey conducted with German and French speakers it will be further shown that the frequency difference in the use of colour expressions in German and French is not always a conceptual issue but is due to favoured lexicalization patterns, German privileging a more synthetic language with compounds for instance, whereas French favours a more analytic language (Siemund 2004). As a consequence, an appropriate teaching methodology will have to describe colour categories in usage, i.e., in larger syntactic structures. Additionally, it will have to focus on the favourite lexicalization patterns of L1 and L2. The study will illustrate the need to consider language and cognition as strongly linked (Dirven and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibanez 2010), which is one of the tenets of Cognitive Linguistics.

Danesi, Marcel. (2008). Conceptual errors in second-language learning. In S. De Knop & T. De Rycker (eds.), Cognitive Approaches to Pedagogical Grammar: A Volume in Honour of René Dirven, 231-256. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **Dirven, René and Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza Ibanez. (2010).** Looking back at 30 years of Cognitive Linguistics. In Tabakowska, E., M. Choinski & L. Wiraszka (eds.), Cognitive Linguistics in Action: From Theory to Application and Back, 11-70. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton. Jing-Schmidt, Zhuo. (2010). Seven events in three languages: Culture-specific conceptualizations and their implications for FLT. In De Knop, S., F. Boers & A. De Rycker (eds.). Fostering Language Teaching Efficiency through CL, 137-165. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. **Littlemore, Jeannette. (2009).** Applying Cognitive Linguistics to Second Language Learning and Teaching. London: Palgrave MacMillan. **Lucy, John A. (1992).** Language Diversity and Thought: A Reformulation of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Siemund, Peter. (2004).** Analytische und synthetische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung des Englischen. In Hinrichs, U. (Ed.), Die Europäischen Sprachen auf dem Weg zum analytischen Sprachtyp, 169-196. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

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Activation of word form and meaning in

foreign-accented speech: the case of English *th*

Andrea Weber & Adriana Hanulíková

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Interdental fricatives are difficult for non-native speakers (L2) of English, and learners often replace English *th* with /s/, /f/, or /t/. Understanding learners' speech requires from listeners the correct interpretation of segmental variation as in German-accented [s]eft for English *theft*. The task difficulty increases when the accented word forms resemble existing words as in [s]ink for *think*. In three English eye-tracking experiments and two priming experiments, we investigated the activation of form and meaning of intended and unintended words in accented speech.

In the eye-tracking study, German and Dutch learners of English as well as native English participants listened to English sentences spoken with a German or Dutch accent (e.g., "Now you will hear /sɛft/"), while they were looking at a display with four printed words; displays showed a potential match for the mispronunciation (theft), a competitor that also differed from the speech input only in onset (left), and two unrelated distractors. The time course of word form activation was measured as a function of amount of looks to printed th-words after hearing mispronounced words with a /t/, /s/, or /f/ substitute. Irrespective of the heard accent, all three substitutes always led to significantly more fixations to the th-words than to any of the competitors or distractors. This suggests that listeners can recognize the phonological form of mispronounced words, even when the substitutes occur infrequently in their own non-native speech.

The English priming study was conducted to further test meaning activation by L2 variants. In the priming study, German learners of English listened to auditory primes followed by visual targets to which they made lexical decisions. Primes were produced by a native German speaker and were either nonsense words ([s]eft for *theft*), unintended words ([s]ink for *think*), or words in their canonical forms (salt for *salt*). Furthermore, primes were strongly associated to targets, with the co-occurrence being high either between the surface form of the prime and the target ([s]ink-BOAT, salt-PEPPER) or the underlying form and the target ([s]ink-BRAIN, seft-PRISON).

German L2 listeners only responded faster when the surface form was associated with the target (in comparison to unrelated primes). Seemingly, L2 listeners took primes at face value and failed to activate the meaning of *think* when hearing [s]ink or of *theft* when hearing [s]eft, but did activate the meaning of *salt* when hearing salt and of *sink* when hearing [s]ink.

Taken together the results suggest an interesting difference in the use of knowledge about segmental variations, with L2 listeners being able to use this knowledge for immediate form activation but not for meaning activation.

Differential Object Marking in Spanish speaking heritage speakers in Germany

Katrin Schmitz

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

The phenomenon of Differential Object Marking (DOM) refers to the use of a preposition, and is generally formally identical with the dative marker, with direct accusative objects under particular circumstances: according to Von Heusinger (2008) and Von Heusinger & Kaiser (2011) who studied Spanish in particular, DOM can be defined first with regard to semantic and (discourse) pragmatic properties of the direct object such as animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality, and second with regard to the lexical semantics of the verb (e.g., telicity), affectedness and selectional restrictions with respect to the position of the direct object; for syntactic aspects as e.g., the position of the preposition and the nature of the case marked by a (inherent accusative) see Torrego (1998). DOM is therefore a complex interface phenomenon and ideal testing ground for the acquisition of the involved numerous linguistic categories. To date, studies on the acquisition of DOM in Spanish are scarce: see Rodriguez-Mondoñedo (2008) for L1 acquisition in monolingual Spanish children, Guijarro-Fuentes (2011, 2012) for the acquisition of DOM in English-speaking learners of Spanish and Montrul & Bowles (2009) for DOM in Mexican heritage speakers in the United States, arguing for *incomplete acquisition* of DOM. Heritage speakers who are generally defined as bilinguals living in a social and familial setting with a different language from that of the majority of speakers surrounding them

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and speaking the minority language of their parents may be considered as a "missing link" between L1 and L2 acquisition. The most discussed research question remains whether the heritage language spoken by heritage speakers and their children is influenced by *language loss/attrition* or even *incomplete acquisition* or if a gradual process of language change is at play. This contribution aims to show that heritage speakers acquire a complete, but potentially changed variety of the heritage language due to language contact. The investigation of how DOM is maintained in heritage Spanish in a German-speaking environment is expected to lead to another outcome than the language combination Spanish/English since German has overt case-marking. The talk will be based on spontaneous data from 23 interviews with first (8) and second generation (8) migrants as well as a control group (7).

Guijarro-Fuentes, P. (2011). Feature composition in Differential Object Marking. EUROSLA Yearbook, 138-164. **Guijarro-Fuentes, P. (2012).** The acquisition of interpretable features in L2 Spanish: Personal a. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 15 (4), 701-720. von **Heusinger, K. (2008).** Verbal semantics and the diachronic development of DOM in Spanish. Probus 20, 1-31. **von Heusinger, K. & Kaiser, G. (2011).** Affectedness and Differential Object Marking in Spanish. Morphology 21, 593-617. **Montrul, S. & M . Bowles (2009).** Back to basics: Incomplete acquisition of Differential Object Marking in Spanish heritage speakers. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 12 (3), 363-383. Rodriguez-Mondoñedo, M. (2008). The acquisition of Differential Marking in Spanish. Probus 20, 111-145. **Torrego, E. (1998).** The dependency of objects. Cambridge, M.A.: MIT Press.

On systematically characterizing learner language: a computational and corpus linguistic perspective

Detmar Meurers

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

The automatic analysis of learner language using algorithms and resources from computational linguistics is potentially relevant in several, related contexts (cf. Meurers 2012). In learner corpus research, automatic natural language processing can be used to annotate large corpora with the goal of supporting the discovery and retrieval of examples and phenomena which are of relevance to theories of second language acquisition (SLA) and foreign language teaching practice.

In this talk, I want to raise some questions about the nature of the categories which are appropriate for annotating and analyzing learner language,

and which role the context and explicit tasks play for the interpretation of learner language. SLA research essentially observes correlations of linguistic properties exhibited in learner language, whether erroneous or not. Correspondingly, in contrast to the traditional focus of learner corpus work on error annotation, I will argue in favor of annotating a range of linguistic properties at different granularity to support retrieval of examples that are of relevance to SLA research questions. This raises the challenge of defining linguistic annotation schemes for learner language and automatically annotating learner corpora with such information.

Partly based on our analysis in Díaz Negrillo et al. (2010), I will show that conceptualizing the annotation of learner language as a task of robustly applying standard annotation schemes developed for native language fails to identify important interlanguage characteristics. Robustness essentially is the ability to ignore variation in the realization of a category to be identified. But variation in the realization of a category arguably is an important characteristic of learner language. Annotation schemes for learner language at one level of annotation therefore should provide access to minimal

observations. Where the variation is not of interest as such, it should be made explicit which type of evidence is systematically prioritized when there is conflicting evidence. Ultimately, the annotation of minimal observations also stands to improve the inter-annotator agreement, highlighting which distinctions can reliably be annotated and which should be abandoned.

Making things concrete, example (1) from the NOCE learner corpus (Díaz Negrillo 2009) includes the underlined word *choiced*, which distributionally in this sentence seems to be a verb, in terms of the past-tense –*ed* morphology it also seems to be a verb, but lexically choice is a verb or adjective.

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(1)   People who speak another language have more opportunities to be <u>choiced</u> for a job.

A tripartite part-of-speech tag annotating distribution, lexical information, and morphology separately provides access to those observations. The value of encoding minimal observations receives independent support by recent SLA research (Zyzik and Azevedo 2009) showing that L2 learners have difficulty distinguishing between word classes among semantically

related forms, apparently indicating a limitation in the ability to interpret syntactic and morphological cues.

Díaz Negrillo, A., Meurers, D., Valera, S., and Wunsch, H. (2010). Towards interlanguage pos annotation for effective learner corpora in sla and flt. Language Forum, 36(1–2):139–154. Special Issue on Corpus Linguistics for Teaching and Learning. In Honour of John Sinclair. **Díaz Negrillo, A. (2009).** EARS: A User's Manual. LINCOM Academic Reference Books, Munich, Germany. **Meurers, D. (2012).** Natural language processing and language learning. In Chapelle, C. A., editor, Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics. Wiley, Oxford. Zyzik, E. and Azevedo, C. (2009). Word class distinctions in second language acquisition. SSLA, 31(31):1–29.

Investigating categories in a syntactically-annotated corpus of second language learners of English

Markus Dickinson & Marwa Ragheb

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

Learner corpora contain the output of second language learners at a certain point in their development, regardless of the state of the categories in their interlanguage. Syntactic annotation is therefore a challenging task if one wants to provide linguistic representations of what the learners are doing, so that researchers can access these representations and draw conclusions about the nature of learner categories.

Ill-fitting categories

We base our annotation on the syntactic categories of the L2 since this is the common goal among learners of that language. But how does one handle cases that do not fit into a specific L2 category? To address this, we break a category, such as a part-of-speech label, into multiple layers of annotation, based on different kinds of evidence (Díaz-Negrillo et al., 2010; Ragheb and Dickinson, 2011). For example, in *I have see a movie*, the verb *see* is in the distributional slot of a past participle, but has the morphological properties of a baseform verb.

Even when the annotation is split into multiple layers, challenges remain in making annotation concrete. For instance, a distributional part-of-speech is still based in part upon the morphological form at hand, and vice versa (Ragheb and Dickinson, 2012). This calls for precise definitions of each layer and leads to some redundancies, as we will discuss.

Situation-neutral annotation

As each layer is based strictly on linguistic evidence, we can examine divergent evidence without biasing the annotation towards one theory or another. Furthermore, with annotation based on knowledge of the L2 grammatical system, it can consistently be applied to learners with different L1s and at different stages of interlanguage development. The categories we annotate may not always coincide with the actual categories in a learner's interlanguage, but their presence allows one to search for comparable occurrences in the corpus.

Annotation exploitation

The annotation can point to areas of divergence in linguistic evidence, so that investigators can find patterns related to, for example, the acquisition of part-of-speech categories via two layers of part-of-speech, or verb-argument structures via the annotation of both realized dependencies and dependencies that have been subcategorized for. We will present brief case studies.

The annotation has been tested for inter-annotator agreement (Ragheb and Dickinson, 2013)and has extensive guidelines already available online (http://cl.indiana.edu/~salle/) with a release of the corpus (c. 500 sentences with 5 main layers [lemmas, 2 parts-of-speech, dependencies, subcategorization]) tentatively planned for 2014.

Díaz-Negrillo, A., Meurers, D., Valera, S., and Wunsch, H. (2010). Towards interlanguage POS annotation for effective learner corpora in SLA and FLT. Language Forum, 36(1–2):139–154. Special Issue on New Trends in Language Teaching. **Ragheb, M. and Dickinson, M. (2011).** Avoiding the comparative fallacy in the annotation of learner corpora. In Selected Proceedings of the 2010 Second Language Research Forum: Reconsidering SLA Research, Dimensions, and Directions, pages 114–124, Somerville, MA. Cascadilla Proceedings Project. **Ragheb, M. and Dickinson, M. (2012).** Defining syntax for learner language annotation. In Proceedings of the 24th International Conference on Computational Linguistics (Coling 2012), Poster Session, Mumbai, India. **Ragheb, M. and Dickinson, M. (2013).** Inter-annotator agreement for dependency annotation of learner language. In Proceedings of the Eighth Workshop on Innovative Use of NLP for Building Educational Applications, Atlanta, GA.

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FERRARESI, GISELLA

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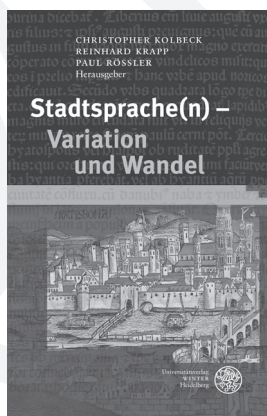
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AG 06: Language in Historical Contact situations (LHC): diagnostics for grammatical replication

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Carola Trips
Richard Ingham
Achim Stein

Whereas there is every likelihood to prove the existence of the "God particle" experimentally, and thus the Standard Model in particle physics, no such endeavour can be expected to confirm or refute prevalent assumptions in linguistics, let alone in historical linguistics. But just like physical evidence can be gained from particle collisions in Large Hadron Colliders, our LHC workshop will bring us closer to linguistic truth by confronting differing approaches to historical language contact situations: Proponents of what might be called the"no-linguistic-constraint hypothesis" (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988 and others) contend that in principle anything is borrowable between languages in contact, including grammatical patterns if that contact is intense enough. Current research in grammaticalization, language contact and language change (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005), has shown, however, that grammatical replication is quite regular and follows universal patterns of grammaticalization, so this would mean that in grammatical contact influence linguistic constraints do apply. Moreover, trying to understand language contact without being informed about the sociolinguistic background is fraught with risks, and is particularly so in considering contact in past states of language where obtaining such information may be

particularly challenging. If it is the case that contact influence manifests itself especially through code-switching in the spoken register, this poses another problem to investigating contact in historical settings, since until recent times only written evidence remains.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together experts from the fields of grammaticalization, language contact, language acquisition and diachronic linguistics to discuss the following questions: Are there minimal units of analysis, i.e. "Gottesteilchen", that should be discerned in positing contact influence, e.g. is anything below the word level, such as phonology or bound morphology, normally unborrowable? Is grammatical contact, if seen within current generative assumptions, a matter of feature transfer, that is a formal feature of the Source language but previously absent from the Recipient language activated in the latter as a result of contact? If so, how does this comport with current theories of native versus non-native grammar acquisition, especially as regards the representation of formal features? And how should methodological and sociohistorical aspects be integrated into such an investigation?

Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman (1988). Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. London: University of California; Press Bernd, Heine and Tania Kuteva (2005). Language Contact and Grammatical Change. Cambridge: CUP

Language Contact and the History of English

Raymond Hickey

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

The purpose of this presentation will be to re-examine the case for contact in the history of English. In recent years great strides have been made in research into the nature and extent of language contact, revisiting and revising traditional accounts of contact, especially in the history of English. The revalorisation of language contact as a valid explanatory model for many instances of language change (see Hickey ed., 2009, and the section on language contact in Nevalainen and Traugott eds, 2012) has meant that well-known and well-documented instances of change have been re-examined in the light of new insights into contact. The revisionist approach to language contact in the history of English is known as the Celtic hypothesis and has been re-evaluation in Filppula and Klemola (eds 2009).

A series of phenomena in the history of English are worth considering in the light of contact. These include (i) the rise of the internal possessor construction, (ii) the double function of certain pronouns as reflexives and emphatic particles, (iii) the rise of the progressive in English and (iv) the increased use of topicalisation strategies. The case for contact is not equally strong in each case and a differentiated view of the features in question is necessary.

For this presentation the external situation of the English-speaking community in early England will be centre-stage. Specifically, the quantitative relationship of Celtic to Germanic speakers will examined and the progression of language shift from one language to the other in the course of the Old English period will be brought into focus.

Filppula, Markku and Juhani Klemola (eds) 2009. Re-evaluating the Celtic Hypothesis. Special issue of English Language and Linguistics, Vol. 13.2 Hickey, Raymond (ed.) 2010. The Handbook of Language Contact. Malden, MA: Wiley- Blackwell. Nevalainen, Terttu and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds) 2012. The Oxford Handbook of the History of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Remarks on the dichotomy "normal" vs "abnormal" borrowability

Nikos Liosis

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

This paper has as its starting point the question 'is anything below the word level normally unborrowable?'. To give just one example of the conflicting answers that have been proposed, Givon (1979) maintains that 'languages do not borrow grammar', while Thomason (2001:63) states: 'What can be adopted by one language from another? The short answer is, anything'. This difference of opinion is essentially the result of differing definitions of what is borrowed "normally" and what is not (cf. also the synonymous "typically", "naturally", "usually" etc.). Since borrowing presupposes a contact situation between at least two languages, the subject of this paper is the debate about what constitutes "normal" borrowability of a linguistic feature, and by extension a "normal" contact situation. Quotation marks are used in order to show that there is no consistent and strictly scientific definition of "normality" in borrowing: for example, is imperfect learning of the recipient language a sign of "abnormal" borrowability? Are contact languages, dying languages and linguistic areas products of "atypical" borrowing? What, in principle, are the external settings and attitudes associated with a "normal" contact situation? To what extent does intensity of contact correlate with borrowing of unexpected, grammatical characteristics?

In the literature, the answer to whether languages can borrow grammatical and phonological features is usually accompanied by the proposal of certain constraints which determine the probability of borrowing these elements; for Meillet (1921) and Weinreich (1953:33) grammatical interference is only possible (or made easier) between typologically similar languages, for Sapir (1921) and Jacobson (1938) it takes place only if it is consistent with the direction in which the recipient language is developing, for Givón (1979) only if the borrowed characteristics are unmarked, for Bailey (1977), in contrast, only if they are marked. Others propose a framework of implicational / probabilistic hierarchies (e.g. first / easiest to be borrowed are words (Moravcsik 1978), followed by grammatical elements, while, according to Meillet (1921:84), it is particularly difficult to borrow closed systems of grammatical elements that are highly organized and integrated into the system, e.g. entire inflectional paradigms), which has led to the creation of borrowing scales (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Romaine 1995, Matras 1998, Field 2002 etc.).

This paper contributes to the above debate with the help of empirical data taken mainly from two Modern Greek dialects, Tsakonian and Cappadocian, and one Albanian dialect, Arvanitika. These are three endangered varieties

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that have often been used by scholars in discussions of borrowing. For example, the changes in the typological status of Cappadocian (from flexional to agglutinative morphology, from SVO to SOV word order) said to result from contact with Turkish (Dawkins 1916, Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Sasse 1992b etc.) have been taken as counterexamples to the arguments of Meillet and Sapir. However, recent research (Kriki 2013, Tzitzilis to appear) casts doubt on both the extent and the causes that have been claimed for these changes. Tsakonian and Arvanitika have existed for centuries in geographically, chronologically and socially parallel situations of intense contact with Standard Modern Greek, which has a close genetic relationship with Tsakonian but not with Arvanitika. Comparative data from the two varieties shows that the decay of the grammatical system of a dialect differs from that of a separate language also in the fact that cases of complication or augmentation instead of simplification are more common than predicted by the theory of language death. Select References

Bailey, C.-J. N. (1977). "Linguistic change, naturalness, mixture & structural principles", Papiere zur Linguistik 16, 6–73. **Dawkins, R. M. (1916).** Modern Greek in Asia Minor: A Study of Dialect of Silly, Cappadocia and Pharasa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Field, F. W. (2002).** Linguistic borrowing in bilingual contexts. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Givón, T. (1979).** "Prolegomena to any sane creology", in Hancock, I. F. (ed.) Readings in Creole Studies. Ghent: Story-Scientia, 3–35. **Jakobson, R. (1938).** "Sur la théorie des affinités phonologiques entre des langues", Actes du Quatrième Congrès International de Linguistes. Κοπεγχάγη: Munksgaard, 48–59. Kriki, (2013). Morphosyntactic innovations in the non-literary papyri: the relative constructions (in Greek). PhD. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Liosis, N, (2007). Language Contacts in South-Eastern Peloponnese (in Greek). PhD. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. **Liosis, N. (2011).** "Dialect death and language death: empirical data from Tsakonian", in M. Janse, B. Joseph, P. Pavlou, & A. Ralli (eds.). Studies in Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory. Nicosia: Kykkos Cultural Research Centre. 311–322. Malikouti-Drachman, A. (2000). "Shrinking of dialect systems" (in Greek), in The Greek language and its dialects. Athens: Center for the Greek Language, 23–28. **Matras, Y. (1998).** "Utterance modifiers and universals of grammatical borrowing", Linguistics 36, 281–331. —. (2007). "The borrowability of structural categories", in Matras, Y. & J. Sakel (eds.) Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-linguistic Perspective. Berlin, 31–75. **Meillet, A. (1921).** Linguistique historique et linguistique générale. Paris: Champion. **Moravcsik, E. (1978).** "Language contact", in J. H. Greenberg (ed.) Universals of Human Language, 1st v.: Method and Theory, 93–122. **Romaine, S. (1995).** Bilingualism. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell. **Sapir, E. (1921).** Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. Sasse, H.-J. (1991). Arvanitika: Die albanischen Sprachreste in Griechenland, 1st part. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. —. (1992a). "Theory of language death", in Brenzinger, M. (ed.). 1992. Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 7–30. —. (1992b). "Language decay and contact-induced change: Similarities and differences", in Brenzinger, M. (ed.). 1992. Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 59–80. **Thomason, Sarah G. (2001).** Language contact. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. **Thomason, S. G. & T. Kaufman. (1988).** Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics. Berkeley: University of California Press. Tzitzilis, Ch. (to appear). "Introduction" (in Greek), in Tzitzilis, Ch. (ed.) Modern Greek Dialects. Thessaloniki: Institute of Modern Greek Studies **Weinreich, U. (1953).** Languages in Contact: Findings and problems. Hague: Mouton.

A caveat for contact linguistics: lessons from Cappadocian Greek

Petros Karatsareas

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

With this paper, I aim to put prominently into the research agenda of contact linguistics the caveat that structural or typological similarity between two

languages that have come in contact with one another in their history may not always be the result of that contact. As a case-in-point, I revisit the oft-cited development of 'agglutinative' noun inflection in Cappadocian Greek, which is known to have undergone a series of contact-induced changes under the influence of Turkish between the 12th and 20th centuries CE (Dawkins 1916; Janse 2009). The development in question involves the use of two native Greek inflectional endings, *-ju* and *-ja*, that are characteristic of the *i*-neuter inflectional class (IC), which prototypically contains inanimate nouns such as *zonar* 'belt', to realise the GEN.SG/PL and the NOM/ACC.PL of nouns that do not historically belong to the *i*-neuter IC. As shown in (1), Cappadocian *ɣamos* 'wedding' no longer inflects like its Standard Modern Greek (SModGr) cognate, which belongs to the *os*-masculine IC, but like *zonar* 'belt', a noun belonging to the *i*-neuter IC in both Cappadocian and SModGr.

		a. SModGr	b. Cap.	c. Cap.	d. Turkish
		'wedding'	'wedding'	'belt'	'wedding'
SG	NOM/ACC	*ɣam-os / ɣam-o*	*ɣamos-Ø*	*zonar-Ø*	*düğün-Ø*
	GEN	*ɣam-u*	*ɣamos-ju*	*zonar-ju*	*düğün-ün*
PL	NOM/ACC	*ɣam-i / ɣam-us*	*ɣamos-ja*	*zonar-ja*	*düğün-ler*
	GEN	*ɣam-on*	*ɣamos-ju*	*zonar-ju*	*düğün-ler-in*

The innovative inflection of *ɣamos* in (1b) is overwhelmingly treated in the literature as the outcome of heavy structural borrowing (Janse 2001, 2004; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 2005). *-ju* and *-ja* in (1b) are considered to function in exactly the same way as the Turkish endings *-ün* and *-ler* in (1d), i.e. as single exponents for genitive and plural respectively. The use of the unit *ɣamos-* (= NOM/ACC.PL) as the element to which the two endings attach, similarly to *düğün-*, is further identified by Ralli (2009) as yet another point of structural convergence.

On the contrary, my morphological analysis shows that, when examined in

the context of Cappadocian noun inflection as a whole, noun paradigms such as that of *ɣamos* in (1b) cannot be shown to be actually agglutinative on a synchronic level in light of the following two facts:

i. morphemic units such as *ɣamos-* are best analysed as bound stems; and,
ii. at least one of the two endings in question, *-ja*, is a cumulative exponent that, apart from case and number, additionally encodes the grammatical feature of inflectional class.

In addition, the synchronic analysis yields two important findings: first, the case/number combinations making up the Cappadocian nominal paradigm are realised by the same set of endings in the inflection of both *ɣamos* and *zonar*; second, the inflected forms of both nouns are structured upon the same type of non-allomorphic stem. This constitutes uncontroversial evidence that *ɣamos* and *zonar* belong to the same IC, namely *i*-neuter. The paradigms of nouns such as *ɣamos* therefore evidence a series of historical IC shifts to the *i*-neuter class, not a typological shift from fusion to agglutination. In the latter part of my paper, I will develop a diachronic analysis of these IC shifts based on the prototypical semantic content and the phonological shape of noun ICs in Greek.

Dawkins, R. M. (1916). *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Janse, M. (2001).** Morphological borrowing in Asia Minor Greek. In Y. Aggouraki, A. Arvaniti, J. Davy, D. Goutsos, M. Karyolaimou, A. Panagiotou, A. Papapavlou, P. Pavlou and A. Roussou (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Greek Linguistics. Nicosia 17–19 September 1999*. Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 473–479. **Janse, M. (2004).** Animacy, definiteness and case in Cappadocian and other Asia Minor Greek dialects. *Journal of Historical Linguistics* 5, 3–26. **Janse, M. (2009).** Greek-Turkish language contact in Asia Minor. *Études Helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 17, 37–54 **Ralli, A. (2009).** Morphology meets dialectology: insights from Modern Greek dialects. *Morphology* 19, 87–105. **Thomason, S. G. & T. Kaufman. (1988).** *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Winford, D. (2005) Contact-induced changes: classification and processes. *Diachronica* 22, 373–427.

Development of the Judeo-Spanish (Judezmo) verbal system in the context of the Balkan Sprachbund

Jorge Vega Vilanova

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

At the end of the 15th century thousands of Jews were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula, bringing with them their traditions, culture and language

to the exile in South-East European countries (Díaz-Mas 1997). It is often claimed that their language (Judezmo), still spoken by some small Jewish communities in these territories, represents an archaic stage of the general Spanish language (e.g. Penny 2002). The aim of this paper is to argue against this view on the example of the Judezmo verbal system and to discuss which role the language contact situation may have played in the evolution of this language.

Many innovations of Judezmo have been identified as borrowed elements from Hebrew/Aramaic, Turkish, Bulgarian, Italian or French in the domains of phonetics, phonology and lexicon, and at a lesser degree, morphology. However, syntactic features have received until now little attention. After a prolonged and intense period of language contact, it is expected that some syntactic features interfere in Judezmo from more prestigious contact languages, like Turkish, Bulgarian or French. The analysis of the verbal system in Judezmo, however, may lead to a revision of these claims.

Medieval Spanish had at least four past tense forms (imperfect, synthetic and analytic perfect, and pluperfect). Judezmo has developed a slightly different past tense pattern, with loss of analytic perfect tense but maintenance of aspect distinctions. Imperfect aspect is often stressed by the periphrasis "estar"+gerund (1) in cases where it would be unusual, or even ungrammatical, for Standard Spanish. The perfect tense with auxiliary "tener" is taken in many cases instead pluperfect. This restructuring of the verbal system in Judezmo towards a more precise delimitation of imperfect vs. perfect aspect could be drawn back to the influence of the Slavic languages. However, other varieties of Spanish have also undergone similar changes (cf. Alvar 2006). Furthermore, Turkish, the most prestigious language within the Ottoman Empire, does not mark aspect overtly. Thus, I argue that Judezmo, under Slavic influence, reinforced an inherent tendency of Spanish in an attempt of distinction from the dominant Turkish language. The new socio-linguistic conditions are indeed accelerating grammatical borrowing leading to a growing confusion in the use of verbal aspect.

(1) Ya   tomi el mal   a pasensya y   no estoy
     already I-took the misfortune to patience and not be.1Sg.Pres
     puedyendo azer nada
     can.Ger   do nothing

' I accepted my misfortune with patience and I'm not able to help it '

Alvar, M. (2006). Manual de dialectología hispánica. Barcelona: Ariel. Díaz-Mas, P. (1997). Los sefardíes: historia, lengua y cultura. Zaragoza: Riopiedras Ed. **Penny, R. (2002).** A history of the Spanish language. Cambridge: CUP.

A contact language between archaism and innovation: Analyzing syntax and phonology of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish

Susann Fischer & Christoph Gabriel & Elena Kireva

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

Like hardly any other language, Judeo-Spanish (also: judezmo, sefardí, lažaz, spanyolit or ladino) reflects the history of its people having been in contact with many typologically different languages for more than 500 years. On the basis of its history, Judeo-Spanish has been classified as a contact language (Schwarzwald 1993), a variety of Spanish, a language belonging to the Balkan Sprachbund (Gabinski 1996), and/or a variety similar to medieval Spanish (Penny 2002). However, so far no thorough examination of the structural features of Judeo-Spanish and its contact languages has been carried out. In this talk we concentrate on the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Sofia (Bulgaria), comparing its syntactic and phonological features with the relevant properties of its contact languages, i.e. Modern Bulgarian as well as medieval and Modern (Castilian) Spanish. On the one hand, we complemented already existing data (e.g. Letra a Antonio Saura, El princhipiko) by a grammaticality judgment test (GJT), performed by five bilingual speakers of Judeo-Spanish and Bulgarian, in order to check the syntactic features; on the other hand, we recorded the fable El ayre del norte i el sol ("The North wind and the sun") from the Judeo-Spanish speakers in both of their languages and compared the data with control material gathered from monolingual speakers of Castilian Spanish and from monolingual speakers of the variety of Bulgarian spoken in Sofia.

The results show that the variety under discussion is syntactically quite similar to Modern Spanish, having followed universal patters of grammaticalization. Nevertheless, it also presents some obvious relics of the medieval

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variety, e.g. stylistic fronting (1) and postverbal clitics (2), that seems to contradict upwards grammaticalization in the sense of Roberts and Roussou (2003).

(1)   Triste va   __ de korazon.
        sad   (he)goes __ of heart

        ' He has a heavy heart/is terribly sad. '

(2)   Avlava-le   de   bridj,   de golf, de politika.
        talked-him of bridge de golf of plitics

        ' He talked to him about bridge, golf and politics. '

Regarding the sound shape of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish, the picture is somewhat different: Only some segments, e.g., the post-alveolar (voiced and voiceless) fricative, are maintained from medieval Spanish in the diaspora variety. By contrast, the innovative features of Judeo-Spanish phonology are more striking, since both the feature of vowel reduction (or rather raising) and the rhythmic properties (especially, the high variability of vocalic intervals) are transferred from the surrounding language Bulgarian.

This seems to confirm Thomason & Kaufmans (1988) hypothesis that anything goes if the social pressure is high enough: However, it contradicts their prediction that it is easier to borrow morphosyntax into a native language than phonology.

Gabinski, M. (1996). Die sephardische Sprache aus balkanologischer Sicht. Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie 113, 438-457. **Penny, R. (2002).** Variation and change in Spanish. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Schwarzwald, R.O. (1993).** Morphological Aspects in the Development of Judeo-Spanish. Folia Linguistica 27, 27-44. **Thomason, S. & T. Kaufman. (1988).** Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. London: University of California Press. **Roberts, I. & A. Roussou. (2003).** Syntactic Change: A minimalist approach to grammaticalisation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AG 06

Simplification, complexification, and maintenance in language contact between Indo-European and Semitic

Carlotta Viti

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

Traditionally, it is assumed that contact induces decay, reduction or loss in the replica language (Trudgill 2001). More recently, it has also been shown that replica languages often acquire new forms of the model language without losing their original patterns, with resulting more complex marking ('frills' in Kuteva 2008). It is still unclear, however, how simplification, complexification, as well as maintenance interact in languages, and under which circumstances attrition or accretion may be more predictable in language contact. This problem will be discussed in the present paper by means of materials drawn from some ancient Indo-European and Semitic languages. Indo-European and Semitic are among the language families with the longest history of continuous documentation, and in the Middle East have been in contact for millennia. Accordingly, the mutual influence of these languages may be of special interest for a theory of historical linguistic contact.

Our data suggest that simplification, complexification, and maintenance are typical of different domains of a language. First, acquisition of new patterns and complexification are typical of word formation and of the lexicon. Second, loss and simplification usually characterize morphology (particularly inflectional morphology) and morpho-phonology. Third, maintenance is more often found in phonology and in syntax or morpho-syntax. A particularly frequent manifestation of syntactic contact turns out to be the externally induced resistance of inherited patterns that in other varieties not so exposed to areal diffusion tend to be lost. Examples of this will be identified in phenomena of apposition, topicalization, and clitic resumption. Topicalized NPs, as well as second position clitics, are more or less marginally found in all ancient Indo-European languages and may be also reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European, which Lehmann (1974; 1976) considered a topic prominent language. In most Indo-European languages, topicalizations are replaced by syntactically more integrated structures, but they remain especially productive in Old Persian (Schmitt 2004:737) and in Hittite, where they even increase with time (Hoffner & Melchert 2008:247ff). A reason for this may be the contact with Semitic, where appositive structures are more natural than in Indo-European (Kienast 2001: 402ff; Lipinski 2001:491ff).

The possibility that simplification or complexification characterize different constructions of the same language makes the effects of language contact appear similar to the effects of language internal development, which is

known to bring about simplification in one domain and complexification in another domain (cf. LaPolla 2005). This is consistent with a view of linguistic contact as a mechanism of language change that is convergent with, rather than opposite to, grammaticalization, as in Heine & Kuteva (2003), and as a variable to be integrated into the procedures of the comparative method, rather than a disturbing factor for the establishment of genetic inheritance.

Heine, B. & T. Kuteva (2003). On contact-induced grammaticalization, Studies in Language 27:529-572. **Hoffner, H. & C. Melchert (2008).** A grammar of the Hittite language, Winona Lake, Eisenbrauns. **Kienast, B. (2001).** Historische semitische Sprachwissenschaft, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz. **Kuteva, T. (2008).** On the frills of grammaticalization, in M. L—pez-Couso & E. Soane (eds.) Rethinking grammaticalization, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, Benjamins, 189-217. **LaPolla, R. (2005).** Typology and Complexity in J. W. Minett & W. S-Y. Wang (eds.) Language Acquisition, Change and Emergence: Essays in Evolutionary Linguistics, Hong Kong, City University of Hong Kong Press, 465-493. **Lehmann, W. (1974).** Proto-Indo-European Syntax, Austin, University of Texas Press. **Lehmann, W. (1976).** From Topic to Subject in Indo-European, in Ch. Li (ed.) Subject and topic, New York, Academic Press, 447-456. **Lipinski, E. (2001).** 2 Semitic languages. Outline of a comparative grammar, Leuven, Peeters. **Schmitt, R. (2004).** Old Persian, in R. Woodard (ed.) The Cambridge encyclopedia of the worldÕs ancient languages, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 717-741. **Trudgill, P. (2001).** Contact and simplification: historical baggage and directionality in linguistic change, Linguistic Typology 5:371-374.

Replica grammaticalization-as-recapitulation: A case study of a thetical

Tania Kuteva

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

My object of investigation here is grammatical replication in language contact situations: In a language contact situation speakers of language R (replica language) replicate a grammatical category on the model of language M (model language), whereby they are likely to develop a less grammatical construction into a more grammatical construction (Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2006).

While in the specialized literature there exist a number of typologies of language-contact situations (e.g. Thomason and Kaufman 1988), no typology has been proposed so far that enables us to predict which kinds of languages provide the model for contact-induced grammaticalization. In order to make such a prediction, we first need to analyze the data we have from the language contact situations where we know which direction replication took. Johanson´s (1992; 2000: 165-6) distinction between adoption and imposition is a first approximation to the tackling of this task. This distinction is compatible with Heine and Kuteva´s work on grammatical replication (2005: 237ff.), which constitutes an attempt at a comprehensive analysis

of contact-induced grammaticalization in diverse language contact situations: they propose that – generally speaking – there are two main types of linguistic settings characterizing contact-induced grammaticalizations:

    i. L2 > L1 replication, with the M-language (L2) usually being the "superstrate" and the R-language (L1) the "minority" language, and:

    ii. L1 > L2 replication (with the M-language (L1) usually being a "substrate", and the R-language (L2) an acquired second language.

A closer analysis of the cross-linguistic data on language-contact situations such as the ones that have given rise to New Englishes, for instance, reveals that there exist yet another major group of linguistic settings that need to be taken into account in a comprehensive study of grammatical replication, namely the situation of language contact where L1 – when serving as an M-language – may involve a (non-local) lexifier language. We propose to denote this situation as L1 (lex) > L2. Singaporean Colloquial English presents a rich object of investigation of this kind of grammatical replication. Whereas a number of cases of grammatical replication in Singaporean Colloquial English of kind (ii) L1 > L2 have been discussed already (Heine and Kuteva 2005, Heine and Kuteva 2006: 269-276), Gil 2003, Ziegeler 2008, 2011), it is only recently that kind (iii) L1 (lex) > L2 replication has been recognized as a distinct process of contact grammaticalization, where earlier diachronic stages of the lexifier L1 language have been recapitulated in the replicated grammaticalization process in L2 (cf. the retentionist hypothesis in Pietsch 2009 and the model of replica grammaticalization-as-recapitulation in Ziegeler forthc. a)).

My goal in the present paper is (a) to place replica grammaticalization-as-recapitulation within a comprehensive model of linguistic transfer, and (b) to offer an account of it in terms of morphosyntactic borrowing from M (a lexifier language) which develops along a contact-induced grammaticalization path in R.

For this purpose, I will investigate the origins and development of one particular linguistic expression, which – following the theoretical framework introduced in Kaltenböck, Heine and Kuteva 2011 – I will term a thetical1, the particle what used sentence-finally in Singaporean Colloquial English.

Grammatical replication below and beyond

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the word. The contact-induced reanalysis in bound morphology and suppletion replication in language contact

Eugen Hill

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

The talk deals with developments which can be caused by language contact in the domain of inflectional morphology. Here phenomena of two kinds are particularly well investigated. First, the contact-induced morphologisation of independent lexical items which can univerbate with their nominal or verbal hosts (cf. most recently Hill 2012). Second, the borrowing of inflectional markers which may be independent from borrowing of lexemes (cf. most recently Gardani 2008, 2012). The scope of my paper will be on two less studied phenomena, the contact-induced reanalysis of inflection patterns and the contact-induced replication of inflectional suppletion.

The contact-induced reanalysis of inflection patterns has been securely established for Greek dialects once spoken in Asia Minor. In these dialects the inflection paradigms of nouns and verbs have been partially restructered on the model of their counter-parts in Turk (cf. Dawkins 1916: 114, 142–148, most recently Janse 2004, 2009a,b). I will show that contact-induced reanalysis of inflection patterns may be responsible also for such phenomena as secondary allomorphy in inflection markers. To do so, I will investigate a particularly telling development in Old Prussian which belongs to the Baltic branch of Indo-European. The strange allomorphy in the dative plural of pronouns, nouns and adjectives of Old Prussian can be only explained by calquing from the so-called 'Highland' dialects of closely related Lithuanian where the allomorphy has a phonological back-ground.

In the second part of my talk I will show that contact between languages or dialects of a language is a major factor in generating recent suppletion in inflection paradigms. In particular, I will investigate suppletion which emerged in the course of recent grammaticalisation of demonstrative pronouns into 3rd person pronouns in dialects of Lithuanian (where calquing from Old Russian may be considered) and in the continental West Germanic dialects (where a more complicated scenario has to be assumed).

Dawkins, R. M. (1916). Modern Greek in Asia Minor. A study of the dialects of Sílli, Cappadocia and Phárasa with Grammar, Texts, Translations and Glossary; with a Chapter on the Subject-Matter of the Folk-Tales by W. R. Halliday. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Gardani, Francesco. (2008).** Borrowing of Inflectional Morphemes in Language Contact. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang. **Gardani, Francesco. (2012).** Plural across inflection and derivation, fusion and agglutination. In: Johanson, Lars & Martine Robbeets (eds.). Copies versus Cognates in Bound Morphology. Leiden – Boston: Brill. 71–97. **Hill, Eugen. (2012).** Language contact and the inflectional morphology of genetically related languages. Talk at the 19th International Congress of Linguists, Geneva, 22–27 July 2013. **Janse, Mark. (2004).** Animacy, definiteness, and case in Asia Minor Greek dialects. Journal of Greek Linguistics 5.3–26. Janse, Mark. (2009a). Watkins' Law and the development of agglutinative inflections in Asia Minor Greek. Journal of Greek Linguistics 9.93–109. Janse, Mark. (2009b). Greek-Turkish language contacts in Asia Minor. Étude hellénique – Hellenic Studies 17.37–54.

The borrowing of case formatives

Francesco Gardani & Frank Seifart

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Current research in contact linguistics has shown that the borrowing of case formatives is possible but occurs rarely (Gardani 2008, 2012), in line with the idea that inflectional affixes are the least frequently occurring type of matter borrowing (Matras 2007: 61). Very little is known so far about typological patterns in the domain of borrowed case formatives, except maybe that borrowed case formatives expressing peripheral localizations (e.g., 'between, around') are borrowed more often than formatives that express core localizations, such as 'in' and 'at' (Elšik & Matras 2006: 267). The present paper pursues three goals which are relevant to the issue at hand.

Firstly, this paper provides a systematic survey of instances of borrowed case formatives, based on evidence from contact situations in South America, Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australia. The data cover different kinds of contact settings and include the following three sets of borrowing of actual morphological material: (1) borrowing stricto sensu (Gardani 2008); (2) Parallel System Borrowing (Kossmann 2010), such as Jesu as the genitive of Jesus, in certain varieties of German; and (3) borrowed case formatives in mixed languages (e.g., Meakins 2011).

Secondly, the paper substantiates the actual degree of the occurrence of borrowed case formatives according to the three type of borrowing sets mentioned, showing that it is low if compared to the borrowing of other morphosyntactic features such as number, in the borrowing set (1), in which only approximately 10% of the occurrences of inflectional borrowing proper involve formatives realizing case values (Gardani 2012). However, when the

data corpus is extended to include the borrowing sets (2) and (3), the number of borrowed case markers increases (Seifart 2013).

Thirdly, the paper studies what types of case formatives are borrowed. In terms of the distinction between inherent and contextual inflection (Booij 1996), case formatives may be classified as realizing either, (1), inherent inflection, such as inherent case in nouns (e.g., vocative), or, (2), contextual inflection, such as, (2a), structural case (subject/object marking) and, (2b), case governed by VP, PP, in nouns, and, (2c), case agreement, in adjectives, or, (3), realizing both inherent and contextual inflection, for example through cumulative exponence. The data reveal that all types of case formatives are borrowed, with a slight dispreference for those only realizing values of contextual inflection, such as ergative. In this light, it is shown that also case formatives realizing both core local meanings and grammatical relations can be borrowed. Moreover, rather than corroborating or discarding the need for filling functional gaps in the recipient language as a decisive factor for borrowing, the paper substantiates the validity of the Principle of Morphosyntactic Subsystem Integrity (Seifart 2012), according to which exogenous formatives belonging to paradigmatically and syntagmatically interrelated subsystems, such as nominal classification and case marking, are more likely to undergo attraction towards the recipient language than independent forms belonging to separate morphosyntactic domains.

Booij, Geert E. (1996). Inherent versus contextual inflection and the split morphology hypothesis. In Geert E. Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds), Yearbook of morphology 1995, 1–16. Dordrecht: Kluwer. **Elšík, Viktor & Yaron Matras. (2006).** Markedness and language change. The Romani sample. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **Gardani, Francesco. (2008).** Borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact. Frankfurt: Peter Lang. **Gardani, Francesco. (2012).** Plural across inflection and derivation, fusion and agglutination. In Lars Johanson & Martine I. Robbeets (eds), Copies versus cognates in bound morphology, 71–97. Leiden, Boston: Brill. **Kossmann, Maarten. (2010).** Parallel System Borrowing: Parallel morphological systems due to the borrowing of paradigms. Diachronica 27(3). 459–487. **Matras, Yaron. (2007).** The borrowability of structural categories. In Yaron Matras & Jeanette Sakel (eds), Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective, 31–73. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. **Meakins, Felicity. (2011).** Borrowing contextual inflection: Evidence from northern Australia. Morphology 21(1). 57-87. **Seifart, Frank. (2012).** The principle of morphosyntactic subsystem integrity in language contact. Evidence from morphological borrowing in Resígaro (Arawakan). Diachronica 29(4). 471–504. **Seifart, Frank. (2013).** Towards a typology of affix borrowing. Paper presented at the Universität Leipzig, Institut für Linguistik, Tyologisches Kolloquium, 15.5.2013.

Language contact and dialectal variation: a 'natural laboratory' of contact-induced change

Borana Lushaj

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Background: Albanian-speaking communities across Southern Italy have been in contact with different Southern Italian Dialects (SIDs) for around five hundred years, following their migration after the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans. They have developed different Arbëresh1 dialects, while integrating a number of lexical, syntactical and morpho-phonological elements from the surrounding Romance varieties (Altimari & Savoia, 1994). Therefore, the Arbëresh communities constitute a particularly eloquent scenario for the investigation of the interaction between structural constraints and the influence of independent sociolinguistic histories in shaping contact outcomes.

Methodology for Comparative Contact: Following Çabej (1987), we are assuming that the majority of the Albanian speakers at the time of their settlement in Southern Italy spoke a rather homogenous Southern Tosk variety of Albanian. The sociolinguistic histories of the Arbëresh communities however, are not as homogenous, but closely related to the history of the respective regions in their new homeland. In order to hone in on the interplay between dialectal variation in both Arbëresh and SIDs, and the role of sociolinguistic scenarios, we compare contact-induced phonological changes in two Arbëresh communities located in different dialectal areas of Southern Italy, namely Greci (Campania) and San Marzano di San Giuseppe (Puglia). These two varieties have similar contact outcomes in the phonological realm.

1) Structural sound changes: Parallel to their respective SIDs, Grecese and San Marzanese have partaken in areal sound changes ongoing in their respective Southern-Italian regions (De Blasi, 2006; Savoia, 1981):

Greci	San Marzano
i. ll >ɣ, e.g., miaɣ < miell 'flour'	i. i. ð > t, e.g., təmbi < ðəmbi 'tooth'
ii. g > ɣ, e.g,. ɣuʃt < guʃt 'august'	ii. h > f, e.g., funda < hunda 'nose'
iii. ə > 0, e.g., bukk < bukə 'bread'	

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Greci	San Marzano

2) Consonantal gemination: Of the nearly 50 existing Arbëresh communities in Southern Italy (Belluscio, 2010), only the varieties of Greci and San Marzano have introduced an intervocalic consonantal gemination rule in their dialects (Hamp, 1968; Camaj 1971; Savoia 1981). While Balkan Albanian lacks geminate consonants (Fiedler 2004), these two varieties present this pattern consistently:

	OLD ALB.	SM	GR	ENG
a.	ʼbukə	ʼbukkə	ʼbukk	bread
b.	ʼujə	ʼujjə	ʼujj	water
c.	ʼkripə	ʼkrippə	ʼkripp	salt
d.	ʼvapə	ʼvappə	ʼvapp	heat
e.	i ʼmað	ʼi ma:ddə	ʼi maθθ	big
f.	ʼsot	so:də	ʼsott	today
g.	ʼveʃ	ʼve:ʒə	ʼveʃʃi	ear
h.	ʼnukə e ka ʼparə	ŋʼe ʼkka ʼpparə	ʼŋʼe ga pparə	he did not see him
i.	aʼtje brənda	atʼtia bbrənda	aʼtje bbrenda	inside there

Sociolinguistic Scenarios: Greci is a linguistically conservative community of speakers with a high level of proficiency in Arbëresh across generations. Historically Greci has enjoyed a relatively privileged socio-economic status compared to other Arbëresh and surrounding Italo- Romance communities. There is a high level of education, with a significant number of inhabitants having completed university level studies. In Greci we don't find an Italo-Romance variety spoken alongside Arbëresh: speakers are bilingual only in Arbëresh and (Regional/Standard) Italian. The community has shifted from the Orthodox rite to the Catholic rite between the 16th and

17th century, following relatively peaceful measures by the Catholic Church (Fiorella, 1999). San Marzano di San Giuseppe is the last remaining Arbëresh-speaking paese among a group of settlements in Southeastern Taranto, most of which were assimilated by the 19th century. San Marzano endured harsh religious persecution following the Council of Trent with the corollary of intense social and linguistic pressure to integrate (Talo 1997, Talo p.c.). At present, it is the largest community in Southern Italy where Arbëresh is spoken, though a significant percentage of the population is non-Arbëresh. It is an economically marginalized area with a low level of education across generations. A local Italo-Romance variety is spoken alongside Arbëresh.

Discussion: From a phonological point of view, the type and degree of interference in these two communities is the same: we find syllable structure changes via the borrowing of a consonantal lengthening rule, as well as structural sound changes, the latter reflecting the differences in the respective Italo-Romance dialects. However, these communities don't share a parallel degree of intensity of contact with surrounding Romance speakers, though this is expected by the general assumption that the degree of interference in contact outcomes is crucially dependent on intensity of contact and not on strictly sociolinguistic notions relating to prestige (Thomason & Kaufmann, 1988). Greci has had a lower intensity of contact with Italo-Romance than SM, as demonstrated by the lack of an Italo-Romance variety spoken in Greci. We explain why these communities have the same type of contact-outcomes in the realm of phonology by recurring to the sociolinguistic notion of 'prestige borrowing'. Absence of double consonants in Arbëresh is first and foremost, a marker of their 'foreignness'. However, whereas in Grecese gemination is prevalent among the educated class, as a marker of social prestige, in San Marzanese it is integrated across the community – a consequence of the pressure to integrate in the cultural landscape of the region. The Arbëresh case indicates that 1) structural constraints on language contact are subject to the sociolinguistic history of the communities, and 2) the notion of prestige borrowing can be equally significant in shaping overall contact outcomes.

Altimari, F. & Savoia, L.M. (1994). I Dialetti Italo-Albanesi: Studi linguistici e storico-culturali sulle comunità Arbëreshë. Bulzoni Editore Belluscio, G. (2010). The Albanian language education in Italy. Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning. Camaj, M. (1971). La parlata albanese di Greci in provincia di Avellino. L.S. Olschki, Firenze. Çabej, E. (1987). Në botën e Arbëreshëve të Italisë: Përmbledhje studimesh. Sh.b. "8 Nëntori". De Blasi, N. (2006). Profilo Linguistico della Campania. GLF Editori, Laterza. Fiedler, W. (2004). Albanische Verbalsystem in der Sprache des Gjon Buzuku. Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve të Kosovës, Prishtinë. Fiorella, D. A. R. (1999). Insediamenti Albanesi nella Daunia tardo medievale. In: Gravina, A. (ed) 1999. Atti del 18° Convegno Nazionale sulla Preistoria – Protostoria – Storia della Daunia, San Severo. Hamp, E. (1968). "Acculturation as a late rule". In: Chicago Linguistic Society 4, 103-110 Savoia, L. (1981). La parlata Albanese di S. Marzano di S. Giuseppe: appunti fonologici e morphologici. In: Altimari, F. & Savoia, L. (1994). I dialetti italo-albanesi: Studi linguistici e storico- culturali sulle comunità Arbëreshë. Bulzoni Editore.

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Talo, V.M. (1997). San Marzano di S. Giuseppe. Un'isola culturale in Terra di Puglia, Lecce 1997. Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman, F. (1988). Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. London: University of California Press.

The rationale behind contact. Bilingual competence and feature transfer in Cimbrian

Ermenegildo Bidese & Andrea Padovan & Alessandra Tomaselli

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

"Wandel unter Sprachkontakt [gibt es] bloß dort, wo solcher Wandel auch autonom stattfinden hätte können – wo also, salopp gesprochen, eine Tür zum Wandel bereits sprachautonom (= paradigmenintern) halboffen steht." With this statement, Abraham (2012:177-178) proposes a novel view on the correlation of grammatical change and language contact that diverges from the traditional assumption that every property or feature of a given language can be transferred from one language to another under contact (cf. Thomason's 'anything goes'-approach [Thomason 2001a:60]).

The aim of our paper is to verify whether some syntactic structures in Cimbrian (a Germanic minority language spoken in the Northeast Italy) might be explained as direct syntactic borrowings from the neighboring Northern Italian dialects or – according to Abraham – as phenomena only indirectly linked to language contact. In particular, we focus on the syntax of Cimbrian objective clauses which manifest a complex scenario as regards both complementizer selection and dependent mood.

As a matter of fact, the system of Cimbrian embedded declarative clauses unfolds a puzzle w.r.t. the correlation between mood and complementizer selection: two different complementizers, namely az and ke, select subjunctive or indicative in predictable contexts: az cooccurs with subjunctive in modal sentences whereas ke introduces indicative in purely declarative clauses. This way, a perfectly binary distribution emerges. However, the data we collected in translation tasks from Italian into Cimbrian show the existence of an unexpected pattern, contrasting with the above-mentioned binary distribution, ke + subjunctive. Nevertheless, the scenario is further complicated by the emergence of another unexpected structure which

concerns the 1st person plural. In this very specific context only the complementizer ke is possible. At a first blush, those unpredicted phenomena might be understood as mere transfer of syntactic structures from the model language (Italian) into the replica language (Cimbrian), in contrast to Abraham's argument. Yet, as our analysis shows, it is totally unnecessary to invoke syntactic borrowing: the main idea is that only single (mood) features infiltrate the complementation system of the replica language through what could be dubbed 'weak points' in the competence of bilingual speakers, whose role turns out to be crucial for what we recognize as 'feature transfer'.

In conclusion, our data strongly confirm that syntactic interference in bilingual contexts obtains very rarely contrary to general theories of language contact and in favor of Abraham (2012). On the syntactic level just single abstract features – and not chunks of syntactic structure – enter the target language. If we are on the right track, the target structure is not only respected but, paradoxically, even confirmed. **Abraham, W. (2012).** Philologische Dialektologie und moderne Mikro-varietätsforschung. Zum Begriff des Erklärstatus in Syn- und Diachronie. In: Glauninger, M.M. & B. Barabas (eds): Wortschatz und Sprachkontakt im Kontext oberdeutscher Wörterbücher, Sprachatlanten und Sprachinseln. Werner Bauer zum 70. Geburtstag. Wien: Praesensverlag, 171–190. **Thomason, S.G. (2001).** Language contact. An introduction. Washington, DC: Georgetown Univ. Press.

"Es ligt mir nit am opere, sed am verbo." Grammatical morphemes in bilingual discourse

Mareike Keller

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

In the past decades a vast body of research on the formal and functional features of bilingual discourse in speech and writing has been published. Some scholars argue for the existence of universal syntactic constraints (Myers-Scotton 1993, Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000), others claim that as long as it serves the communicative needs of the speech community, any form of mixing and transfer between languages should be possible (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). With very few exceptions (Stolt 1964, McLelland 2004) empirical analyses dealing with grammatical aspects of mixed utterances are based on contemporary sources. However, historical bilingual sources can also reveal interesting details about the characteristic behavior of grammatical morphemes in bilingual discourse.

In my presentation written data from the 16th and 17th centuries (German-Latin) will be compared to present-day oral data (German-English). Different

types of borrowed/transferred material will be shown in order to illustrate systematic differences in morphological integration strategies between the written and the oral sources – also in cases where the written sources happen to be transcripts of speech (Luther's Tischreden). The findings from the oral data will be explained in the framework of the 4-M Model (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2000), which suggests four different types of morphemes relevant for language processing and provides a useful tool for understanding the decisive role of semantics with respect to the borrowing of bound morphemes.

In conclusion I will show that the seemingly contradictory strategy of morphological integration found in written data (which undoubtedly reveals quite a bit about the metalinguistic awareness of the writer) is limited to morphemes expressing grammatical categories of nouns; the use of inflectional morphology on verbs is virtually the same as in the oral data. Thus, contrary to the opinion voiced in McLelland (2004), the results from the written data do – in my view – not infringe on the fundamental mechanisms governing the behavior of bound morphemes in language contact situations. Instead, they support the hypothesis implicit in the work of Seifart (2012) that even in cases of extended and extensive language contact the adoption of semantically opaque grammatical morphemes like verbal inflection is highly unlikely.

McLelland, Nicola. (2004). "A historical study of codeswitching in writing: German and Latin in Schottelius' Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen HaubtSprache (1663)." International Journal of Bilingualism 8: 499-523. Myers-Scotton, Carol. (1993). Duelling languages. Grammatical structure in codeswitching. Oxford. Myers-Scotton, Carol and Janice Jake. (2000). "Four types of morpheme: Evidence from aphasia, codeswitching and second language acquisition." Linguistics 38, 1053 – 1100. **Seifart, Frank. (2012).** "The Principle of Morphosyntactic Subsystem Integrity in language contact: Evidence from morphological borrowing in Resígaro (Arawakan)." Diachronica 29(4): 471–504. **Stolt, Birgit. (1964).** Die Sprachmischung in Luthers Tischreden. Studien zum Problem der Zweisprachigkeit. Stockholm. Thomason, Sarah and Terrence Kaufman. 1988. Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics. London.

The influence of French on Middle English syntax

Julia Schultz

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

The present study sets out to shed light on the French impact on English syntax in mediaeval times. It has been suggested that, up to and around Chaucer's time, Anglo-French represented an important linguistic medium

for bilingual speakers in England (Ingham, 2012). It has also been suggested that in essential syntactic respects, the linguistic system of Anglo-French seems to have corresponded to the grammar of continental French (Ingham, 2012).

In this paper, I will examine the extent to which Old French might have influenced the structure of the noun phrase in Middle English, supposing that grammatical patterns can be borrowed between languages in contact. A diachronic perspective will be assumed to identify changes in the structure of the noun phrase, its functions and meanings from Old English to Middle English. This raises the question of whether any of these alternations could be due to language contact with French. The focus will be on the way specific forms and units are employed, discussing, for instance, the frequencies and types of formal properties the various constructions show and which functions they have in English in comparison with French. The present paper intends to examine elements which may, or, at times, must form part of a noun phrase, such as determiners, adjectives and nouns. Consideration is given to the sequence and interplay of the different constituents of a noun phrase. In addition, this study seeks to determine whether the syntactic variations might be information-structure driven.

An important objective of this paper is to survey the relative positioning of adjectives and nouns in Middle English in the light of language contact with French, to which little consideration has been so far accorded. In Middle English times, there appears to be an increase of postposed rhematic adjectives (see Trips, forthcoming), a pattern which might have been adopted from Old French in a period of intense contact between the two languages. Contact-induced grammatical replication (in the sense of Heine and Kuteva, 2005, 2008) might explain the rise of this phenomenon. In the present study, additional grammatical structures in Middle English will be the focus of linguistic concern, which may be the outcome of extensive influence of French.

In recent years, the investigation of historical syntax has particularly benefited from corpus-based approaches. A perusal of Middle English and Old French texts available in electronic form will provide documentary evidence in order to get a rounded picture as possible of the linguistic situation in mediaeval times. The Middle English text Ayenbite of Inwyt and its French original, La Somme le roi, for instance, serve as important sources to compare linguistic structures of the two languages. It will be interesting to see to

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what extent syntactical patterns in French might have left their mark upon the English language.

Fischer, O. (2004): "Developments in the category adjective from Old to Middle English". Studies in Medieval Language and Literature 19, 1-36. **Harris, B. (1978):** The Evolution of French Syntax. A Comparative Approach. London- New York: Longman. **Heine, B. (2009):** "Identifying instances of contact-induced grammatical replication". In: Obeng, S. G. (ed.): Topics of Descriptive and African Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Distinguished Professor Paul Newman. Munich: Lincom Europa, 29-56. Heine, B. – Kuteva, T. (2007): "Identifying instances of contact-induced grammatical replication". MPI Leipzig. — (2008): Constraints on contact-induced linguistic change". Journal of Language Contact – Thema 2, 57-90. **Ingham, R. (2009):** "Mixing language on the manor". Medium Aevum 1, 107-124. — (ed.) (2010): The Anglo-Norman Language and Its Contexts. York: York Medieval Press. — (2012): The Transmission of Anglo-Norman. Language History and Language Acquisition. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Trips, C. (forthcoming): "The position proper of the adjective in Middle English: a result of language contact?"

Diagnosing grammatical replication in translations: the case of Greek and Latin affected possessors

Chiara Gianollo

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

I present a comparative study of the syntax of affected possessors in the Greek New Testament and in its Latin translations, with two goals:

i. to investigate contact influence on syntactic patterns in a relatively well reconstructable sociolinguistic situation (cf. Elliott 1992);
ii. to evaluate advantages and drawbacks of using translations (especially of sacred texts) to uncover syntactic borrowing.

The study of translations, which has long been applied in historical research, especially in the tradition of Germanic linguistics, has been gaining greater importance also in recent formal and quantitative research on diachronic syntax (a.o. Nunnally 1992, Glauch 2000, Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2005, Luraghi & Cuzzolin 2007, Taylor 2008, Lühr 2009, Petrova 2009, Stein & Trips 2009). Translations obviously present advantages for diachronic syntax in terms of structural comparability. However, they also pose the challenge of distinguishing between artificial 'translationese' effects, which do not permanently modify the recipient language, and real structural transfer, which causes genuine syntactic change.

I analyze the nature of 'contact by translation' and grammatical replication in the Latin of Jerome's Vulgata (4th cent. CE) and in the earlier Vetus

Latina corpus, focusing on affected possessors. New Testament Greek has a dedicated External Possessor Construction (EPC), where the inalienable possessed entity is typically a body part or a kinship term, and the possessor is affected by the change of state expressed by the main predicate, cf. (1).

(1)   pôs énoixén sou   toùs   ophthalmoús?
        how opened you:GEN the:ACC eyes:ACC

        ' how did he open your eyes? '

In Greek, the possessor receives genitive case and precedes the definite article introducing the possessum, yielding a G(enitive)-N(oun) order that contrasts with the otherwise NG grammar of this stage. In the translations, Latin displays a predominantly NG grammar as well, which conforms to the Greek original, but also to non-translated, sociolinguistically comparable texts (Gianollo 2011). Interestingly, however, with EPCs discrepancies arise systematically and with significantly high frequency: if, in some instances, the GN order is retained, in many others the order changes to NG, or the case changes to dative, i.e. to the native Latin EPC (Havers 1911). I propose that the reason for the discrepancies is that Latin did not have an exhaustively corresponding structure, satisfying at the same time all the faithfulness criteria (morphological parallelism, linear order, semantic-pragmatic effect) imposed by the biblical translation technique. The translator chooses between three strategies responding to one and the same structure in Greek. This shows that, in this domain, 'contact by translation' is systematically constrained by the grammatical structure of the recipient language, and that the Latin translations maintain a relative degree of independence from the Greek original, making them a reliable source of information on syntactic change.

Sociolinguistic typology and syntactic complexity

George Walkden & Anne Breitbarth

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

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Trudgill (2011) has suggested that different types of language contact situation lead to differential simplification and complexification: long-term co-territorial contact is predicted to lead to additive complexification, whereas short-term contact involving extensive adult L2 use is predicted to lead to simplification. However, Trudgill considers only phonology and morphology; syntax is not considered in his book, as he admits (2011: 16).

In this talk we propose a specific implementation of Trudgill's insight within a Minimalist framework in which the locus of cross-linguistic variation is the featural content of individual lexical items (Borer 1984; Baker 2008: 353). We propose, following Trudgill, that the relevant notion of syntactic complexity in contact situations is L2-difficulty in the sense of Dahl (2004: 294), i.e. how difficult an item is for a post-critical-period acquirer to learn. We assume a specific definition of syntactic L2-difficulty taken from the literature on second language acquisition: the Interpretability Hypothesis (Hawkins & Hattori 2006; Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007), which states that uninterpretable features not employed during L1 acquisition will not be available to adult L2 acquirers.

With regard to simplification, the approach then predicts that, in sociohistorical situations in which adult L2 learners are particularly dominant, uninterpretable features will typically be lost. We will offer a major case study in support of this prediction: the transition from stage II to stage III of Jespersen's Cycle (JC).

Wallage (2008) argues that the correct characterization of JC involves a negator in Neg0 (e.g. ne in Middle English) bearing an [iNeg] feature at stage I, which then becomes [uNeg] at stage II ('bipartite' negation), agreeing with an interpretable specifier in SpecNegP (no(h)t in Middle English). ne, along with its [uNeg] feature, is then lost. If this analysis is on the right lines, then Breitbarth's (2008) findings with regard to JC in Middle Low German (MLG) fit the generalization. Breitbarth finds that in different scribal dialects of MLG, the transition from stage II to stage III of JC happens at different times and at different speeds: in particular, the old preverbal negator en/ne is lost much faster in the north-eastern Hanseatic cities Lübeck and Stralsund than in the inland MLG-speaking areas. Her explanation is based on language contact caused by urbanization: Lübeck and Stralsund were international centres of Hanseatic trade at the time, founded on formerly Slavonic land by settlers from Northern Low Saxony and Westphalia. Adult

L2 acquisition may thus have led to a faster uptake of stage III of JC through loss of uninterpretable features.

Time permitting, we will suggest that the approach makes the right predictions in other areas, such as the loss of consistent null-subject status. We also argue that this implementation of Trudgill's approach also makes the correct predictions with regard to both additive and spontaneous syntactic complexification.

The proposal thus attempts to address the role of features in contact under generative assumptions, the relation of featural change to L1 and L2 acquisition, and the role of sociohistorical factors in canalizing such change geographically and societally.

Baker, Mark. (2008). The macroparameter in a microparametric world. In Theresa Biberauer (ed.), The limits of syntactic variation, 351–373. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. **Borer, Hagit. (1984).** Parametric syntax. Dordrecht: Foris. Breitbarth, Anne. 2008. The development of negation in Middle Low German. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the LAGB 2008, University of Essex. **Dahl, Östen. (2004).** The growth and maintenance of linguistic complexity. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. Hawkins, Roger, & Hajime Hattori. (2006). Interpretation of English multiple wh-questions by Japanese speakers: a missing uninterpretable feature account. Second Language Research 22, 269–301. **Trudgill, Peter. (2011).** Sociolinguistic typology: social determinants of linguistic complexity. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Tsimpli, Ianthi Maria, & Maria Dimitrakopoulou. (2007). The Interpretability Hypothesis: evidence from wh-interrogatives in second language acquisition. Second Language Research 23, 215–242. **Wallage, Phillip. (2008).** Jespersen's Cycle in Middle English: Parametric variation and grammatical competition. Lingua 118, 643–674.

Language contact effects on syntax and pragmatics: a case study from early English

Ans van Kemenade

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

This paper will trace the effects of language contact on the syntax and pragmatics interface, with a case study from early English. It is well-known that English in its extant history was subject to various historical layers of language contact, including contact with Old Norse in the Northeast in the 9th and 10th centuries, and contact with Norman French following the Norman Conquest in 1066. Thirdly I surmise a language contact situation which is perhaps less well-known: 14th and 15th century London, an important source of texts, was a melting pot of many dialects, including those of Northern speakers with their linguistic legacy of contact with Old Norse. Language contact situations, especially in societies where written communication is not general and the language not (yet) standardized, typically lead to untutored second language acquisition (SLA), including late acquisition, which

in turn is thought to affect primarily the interfaces of grammar, according to e.g. Sorace's (2005) Interface Hypothesis. I will focus here on the interface between syntax and pragmatics, and present a quantitative case study on the development of Verb Second syntax in the transition from Middle English to early Modern English. The choice of case study is inspired by two considerations: 1) it has been established that the specific V2 patterns of Old English and early Middle English show an interplay of syntactic and pragmatic factors: in V2 syntax, the first constituent is most typically filled by a constituent that forms a link to the preceding discourse (Los (2009)), and V2 variation (variation in subject-finite verb inversion) is co-determined by the information status of the subject (given vs non-given), and the type of finite verb (van Kemenade and Westergaard 2012); 2) given this interplay of syntax and pragmatics, the hypothesis is that the development of V2 in Middle English and its loss in the transition to early Modern English is plausibly due to the effects of multilingualism resulting from increasing dialect contact, affecting the discourse-linking character of the first constituent, and neutralizing the distinction in information status of subjects, ultimately resulting in rigid SVO word order.

The case study presented provides a systematic comparison of V2 patterns in texts from London as compared to regional areas in the fourteenth fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, focusing on the syntactic and pragmatic properties of first constituent, finite verb and subject, in order to explore the relative syntactic and pragmatic developments in these three varieties.

Kemenade, Ans van, and Marit Westergaard. (2012). Syntax and Information Structure: V2 Variation in Middle English. Information Structure in the History of English, ed. María-José López-Couso, Bettelou Los, and Anneli Meurman-Solin, . Oxford: Oxford University Press **Los, Bettelou. (2009).** The consequences of the loss of verb-second in English: Information structure and syntax in interaction. English Language and Linguistics 13: 97-125. **Sorace, Antonella. (2005).** Selective optionality in language development. In L.Cornips & K.Corrigan (eds.) Syntax and Variation: Reconciling the Biological and the Social, pp. 55-80. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

AG 06

Gisa Rauh

Syntaktische Kategorien
Ihre Identifikation und Beschreibung in linguistischen Theorien

Die deutsche Übersetzung von Rauhs *Syntactic Categories* (Oxford 2010) bietet in einer erweiterten Fassung zum englischen Original einen kritischen Überblick über die Identifikation und Beschreibung syntaktischer Kategorien in den folgenden Theorien: amerikanischer Strukturalismus, frühe generative Transformationsgrammatik einschließlich generativer Semantik und Kasusgrammatik, Prinzipien- und Parametertheorie, minimalistisches Programm, lexikalisch-funktionale Grammatik, kopfgesteuerte Phrasenstrukturgrammatik, kognitive Grammatik, lokalistische Kasusgrammatik, Varianten der Konstruktionsgrammatik, funktionale Grammatik und Role-and-Reference-Grammatik. Für jeden der betrachteten Ansätze werden zunächst die theoretischen Vorgaben und das entsprechende Grammatikmodell vorgestellt. Anschließend wird gezeigt, wie auf Grund postulierter Regeln, Prinzipien oder Konstruktionen im Zusammenspiel mit Spezifikationen sprachlicher Einheiten im Lexikon deren mögliche Positionen in Satzzusammenhängen und damit ihre Zugehörigkeit zu syntaktischen Kategorien – zumindest theoretisch – determiniert werden. In jedem Fall werden auch Vor- und Nachteile aufgezeigt, die sich für den jeweils betrachteten Ansatz ergeben.

Jörg Hagemann / Sven Staffeldt (Hrsg.)

Pragmatiktheorien
Vergleichende Analysen

Anhand der Analyse desselben sprachlichen Materials demonstrieren Vertreter acht verschiedener theoretischer Ansätze, welche Ergebnisse sie durch die Anwendung ihrer Beschreibungsmethoden erzielen und welche Erkenntnisse sie dem authentischen Sprachvorkommen abgewinnen können. Die Ansätze sind: Konversationsanalyse, Interaktionale Linguistik, Ethnografische Dialoganalyse, Sprechakttheorie, Sprechakttheoretische Dialoganalyse, Theorie der Konversationsimplikaturen, Funktionale Pragmatik, Gesprochene Sprache Forschung.

Jörg Hagemann / Sven Staffeldt (Hrsg.)

Syntaxtheorien
Vergleichende Analysen

Die vorliegenden elf syntaktischen Analysen ein und desselben Textes bieten die Möglichkeit, Konzeptionen und methodische Vorgehensweisen unterschiedlicher Syntaxtheorien im Vergleich ihrer Analyseergebnisse kennenzulernen. Die Ansätze sind: Satzgliedanalyse, Dependenzielle Verbgrammatik, Würzburger syntaktische Analyse, Kategorialgrammatik, Oberflächengrammatik, Topologisches Satzmodell, Generative Grammatik, Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Systemisch-funktionale Grammatik, Funktionale Satzperspektive – Informationsstruktur, Konstruktionsgrammatik.

Alexander Lasch / Alexander Ziem (Hrsg.)

Konstruktionsgrammatik IV
Konstruktionen und Konventionen als kognitive Routinen

Susanne Günthner / Wolfgang Imo / Jörg Bücker (Hrsg.)

Konstruktionsgrammatik V
Konstruktionen im Spannungsfeld von sequenziellen Mustern, kommunikativen Gattungen und Textsorten

AG 07: Probleme der syntaktischen Kategorisierung: Einzelgänger, Außenseiter und mehr

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Sandra Döring
Jochen Geilfuß-Wolfgang

It has a long tradition that words of a language are categorized as different 'parts of speech'. Usually, words or basic elements of a language with the same syntactic distribution, and identical morphosyntactic characteristics are classified as elements of the same category. All words of a language should belong to at least one category.

The focus of this workshop is on words that do not fit a simple categorization. We believe that an analysis of such phenomena allows a deeper understanding of syntactic categorization, and, furthermore, a more adequate identification of the characteristic properties of different categories.

The aim of this workshop is twofold: first, we would like to discuss theoretical approaches to these and other issues. Second, the workshop should offer a platform for the dialogue between, on the one side, rather traditional research on parts of speech based on morphosyntactic criteria and, on the other side, recent research on categories in different theoretical frameworks.

Wörter oder Einheiten einer Sprache, die dieselbe syntaktischen Distribution aufweisen (und dieselben morphosyntaktischen Merkmale auf- oder

zuweisen) gehören derselben syntaktischen Kategorie an, so jedenfalls die traditionelle Auffassung. In grammatiktheoretischen, (morpho-)syntaktischen Arbeiten ist dann noch detaillierter von funktionalen und lexikalischen Kategorien die Rede.

Der Schwerpunkt der AG soll auf den sperrigen Phänomenen liegen. Im Zentrum sollen 'syntaktische Einzelgänger' und kategorial ambige funktionale Kategorien stehen, also Fälle, die sich einer einfachen Kategorisierung widersetzen, da gerade eine Analyse derartiger 'Außenseiter', 'Randphänomene' oder 'Ausreißer' verspricht, Sinn und Zweck syntaktischer Kategorisierung besser verstehen und die relevanten Eigenschaften der verschiedenen Kategorien herausarbeiten zu können. Das Ziel der AG ist es, neben grammatiktheoretischen Erkenntnissen den Dialog eher traditionell orientierter, morphosyntaktisch basierter Wortartenforschung und neuerer Forschung zu morphosyntaktischen Kategorien in verschiedenen Grammatikmodellen zu fördern.

Zugang zur Problematik der Kategorien ist über Einzelanalysen 'syntaktischer Einzelgänger' sowie über vom jeweiligen Grammatikmodell abhängige theoretische Überlegungen, sei es innerhalb einer Theorie oder als Vergleich verschiedener theoretischer Ansätze möglich.

Die AG soll neben der Gelegenheit, aktuelle Forschungsergebnisse zu diesen Fragestellungen zu präsentieren, die Möglichkeit der Diskussion unterschiedlicher Ansätze bieten. Dabei richtet sie sich vor allem an Forscher in den Bereichen Syntax und Morphologie, die den Fragestellungen aus aus einer der beiden Richtungen oder/und aus beiden nachgehen.

Parts of Speech vs. Syntactic Categories: the Case of English Adverbs

Gisa Rauh

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

Parts of speech are categories of words that were first identified more than two thousand years ago. They were identified with respect to classical Greek and defined on the basis of morphological, i.e. inflectional and/or derivational properties, in addition considering semantic properties (see e.g. Kemp 1987 or Kürschner 1996). They still play an important role in modern times and are identified with respect to various languages, not only those that share the defining properties of classical Greek. Very often they are analyzed as – or claimed to be equivalent to – syntactic categories (cf. e.g. Bergenholtz and Schaeder 1977, Aoun 1981, Emonds 1987, Haspelmath 2001). However, parts of speech and syntactic categories represent different types of word categories: they comprise different members, exhibit different structures and serve different purposes (cf. e.g. Rauh 1999, 2000, 2002, 2010). This will be shown in the present talk, using English adverbs as an illustrating example.

Aoun, Y. (1981). 'Parts of Speech: A Case of Redistribution', in A. Belletti (ed.), Theory of Markedness in Generative Grammar. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 3-24. Bergenholtz, B., and Schaeder, B. (1977). Die Wortarten des Deutschen: Versuch einer syntaktisch orientierten Klassifikation. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag. **Emonds, J. (1987).** 'Parts of Speech in Generative Grammar', Linguistic Analysis 17: 3-42. **Haspelmath, M. (2001).** 'Word Classes and Parts of Speech', in P. B. Baltes, and N. J. Smelser (eds.), International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences. Amsterdam: Pergamon, 16538-45. **Kemp, A. (1987).** 'The Tékhnē grammatikē of Dionysius Thrax, in D. J. Taylor (ed.) The History of Linguistics in the Classical Period. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 169-89. **Kürschner, W. (1996).** 'Die Lehre des Grammatikers Dionysios (Dionysios Thrax, Tékhnē grammatikē – Deutsch)', in P. Swiggers, and A. Wouters (eds.), Ancient Grammar: Content and Context. Leuven: Peeters, 177-215. **Rauh, G. (1999).** 'Adverb oder Präposition? Von der Notwendigkeit einer Abgrenzung von Wortarten und grammatischen Kategorien und der Gefahr einer terminologischen Falle', in E. Eggers, J. Becker, J. Udolph, and D. Weber (eds.), Florilegium Linguisticum. Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 367-92. — (2000). 'Wi(e)der die Wortarten! Zum Problem linguistischer Kategorisierung', Linguistische Berichte 184: 485-507. — (2002). 'Word Classes as Prototypical Categories', in S. Scholz, M. Klages, E. Hantson, and U. Römer (eds.), Language: Context and Cognition. Papers in Honour of Wolf-Dietrich Bald's 60th Birthday. München: Langenscheidt-Longman, 259-70. — (2010). Syntactic Categories. Their Identification and Description in Linguistic Theories. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (German version: 2011. Syntaktische Kategorien. Ihre Identifikation und Beschreibung in linguistischen Theorien. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Syntactically nouns, semantically spatial relators: Zero-valent adverbs undergoing the genitive shift in post-Vedic Old Indic

Uta Reinöhl

AG 07

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Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

Adverbs are notoriously problematic for part of speech categorization. Among other things, this is related to the fact that they may descend from all kinds of categories, such as adjectives, nouns, verbs, demonstratives, etc. and retain syntactic properties of their respective source. Here, I want to address the reversed process, namely the syntactic reanalysis of a group of about ten spatial adverbs in Old Indo-Aryan which were reinterpreted as nouns. I argue that this reanalysis was made possible through i) a phonological shape which "looked" (or rather sounded) deceptively like an inflected noun in a local case form and ii) syncretism between local cases and genitives, which allowed for the reanalysis of adverbs as taking genitive dependents (rather than standing in an appositional relation with local case forms), the defining feature of Old Indic nouns in construction with adnominal dependents. This reanalysis of an entire group of adverbs, further, took place in the context of a general proliferation of relational noun constructions with dependent genitives as periphrastic expressions of case, what I refer to as the post-Vedic genitive shift. It is in the wake of this expansion that spatial adverbs of a deceptively noun-like phonological shape acquire nominal syntactic properties and also themselves come to function as periphrastic expressions of case (for descriptive surveys see Bloch 1934 and Fahs 1989).

Syntactically, then, these adverbs acquire the status of nouns with i) a slot for a genitive dependent having been zero-valent beforehand and ii) functionally aligning to relational noun constructions that enter the periphery of expressions of case. Semantically, we witness certain changes also. For instance, an adverb Skt. *upari* which used to mean 'above' identifying a place in the upper region of a three-dimensional world as in *above, the birds sing*, comes to encode relations of 'on' or 'over' that refer to a landmark as in *on the table* or *over the door*. However, while this presents a semantic adaptation to relational noun constructions, the adverbs never come to acquire actual 'nominal semantics', i.e. a denotation of their own. For instance the adverb *upari* mentioned above never comes to mean 'the top' or 'the upper side' but shifts from one type of spatial relator to another closely related one.

In this talk, thus, I want to explore the phenomenon that elements may have the morphosyntactic properties of one category while retaining the

semantic structure of another. While formal theories have long explored the notion of graded prototypicality, the phenomenon of mismatches between morphosyntactic and semantic properties remains little explored. In the context of such mismatches, this talk will shed light on such processes of reanalysis in language change which may shift the interrelations between lexemes and parts of speech and induce reorganization in the system of lexical categories in a language.

Bloch, Jules. (1934). L'Indo-Aryen – Du Veda aux temps modernes. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien – Maissonneuve. **Fahs, Achim. (1989).** Grammatik des Pali. Leipzig: VEB Verlag.

Die Kategorie "Adverb" in einem hierarchischen Modell der Wortarten

Wilhelm Geuder

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

In diesem Vortrag beschäftige ich mich schwerpunktmäßig mit der empirischen Frage, wie sich im Deutschen eine lexikalische Kategorie "Adverb" identifizieren lässt, mit dem allgemeineren Ziel, auszuloten welche typologisch relevanten Schlussfolgerungen sich aus den dabei auftretenden Klassifikationsschwierigkeiten ziehen lassen.

Lexikalische Adverbien werden im Deutschen oft als eine "Restklasse" oder "Nebenkategorie" bezeichnet, und dies obwohl es sich um eine lexikalische, nicht um eine funktionale Kategorie handeln würde (letztere lasse ich hier außer Betracht). Solche Intuitionen sollten auf typologische Hypothesen bezogen werden, dass sich Wortarten in Hierarchien ordnen lassen (vgl. Hengeveld & Lier 2010). Neben der gängigen Idee, dass semantische Funktionen wie "referentiell / prädizierend / modifizierend" eine übereinzelsprachliche Hierarchie der Kategoriewürdigkeit ergeben, steht die Möglichkeit, dass auch in einzelsprachlichen Grammatiken Kategorien schon als geordnete Hierarchien vorliegen. Als Ordnungsquelle hierfür kommt eine Relation der fortschreitenden Neutralisierung in Frage. Über Neutralisierung lässt sich allerdings erst dann sinnvoll reden, wenn ein unabhängiger Gehalt für Kategoriemerkmale wie "N, V, A..." gefunden werden kann, und dies bleibt vorläufig spekulativ. (In der Literatur überwiegen

Versuche, hierfür auf semantisch-konzeptuelle Kategorien zurückzugehen, z.B. Haspelmath 2013. Da die Kluft zwischen diesen und den grammatischen Kategorien aber offensichtlich groß ist, wäre es aussichtsreicher, sie zunächst in Unterscheidungen der syntaktischen Lizensierung zu übersetzen.) — Konkret lässt sich immerhin in allgemeiner Form dafür argumentieren, dass in den lexikalischen Kategorien des Deutschen ein Neutralisierungsgradient wirksam ist, und zwar von der Form: V/N (>?A) > P > Adv > Partikel. Beobachtungen, die diese Sicht stützen, sind u.a.:

1. Diachronie / 2. Morphologie: Adverbien scheinen im Deutschen eine geschlossene Klasse zu bilden und sind morphologisch oft als defekte Adjektive oder defekte Nomina erkennbar (N-typische erstarrte Flexions-formen ("Abend-s") oder Derivationsmöglichkeiten ("dreimal-ig"), bzw. Komparative ("öfter")). Gleichzeitig gibt es wohl keinen Fall von Adverbmorphologie, der sich wortstrukturell eindeutig als Derivation erweisen lässt, man findet unklaren oder aber flexivischen Status (Geuder 2002). "Adv" (wie P) zeigt also diachron gerichtete Übergänge aus den Kategorien N und A und verliert dabei die Teilhabe am System der Derivationsmorphologie.

3. Definierbarkeit: Die populäre Definition als spezielle Kategorie zur Modifikation prädikativer Projektionen (Hengeveld & Lier, vgl. a. Hoffmann 2009) trennt Adv nicht sicher von A und P. Auch wird für keine andere Wortart eine bestimmte grammatische Relation als konstitutiv angenommen (Croft 2007 bemängelt grundsätzlich, dass Definitionsversuche für lexikalische Kategorien auf einem unkontrollierten Mix verschiedenartiger Kriterien beruhten). Dies lässt sich positiv wenden: Eine inhaltliche Definition der Kategorie Adverb ist möglich, nachdem Adjektive und Präpositionen bereits auf anderer Grundlage ausgeschieden wurden, d.h. Adverbien sind erst als Restklasse komplementär zu diesen zu definieren.

4. Komplementation: Die These, dass lexikalische Adverbien unfähig sind, Komplemente zu selegieren (Jacobs 2008) bleibt mysteriös, solange die Wortarten einer Sprache einfach als Menge von Kategoriemerkmalen dargestellt werden, lässt sich in einer Neutralisierungshierarchie aber deuten als der Verlust der Fähigkeit, in syntaktischer Komplementation ein Kopfmerkmal zu projizieren. Die Trennung von P und Adv lässt sich anscheinend nur hierin vornehmen, jedoch ist in allen anderen Wortarten (incl. P) die Unterscheidung transitiv/intransitiv anwesend, ohne eine konstitutive Rolle zu spielen. Die Rolle dieses Definitionskriteriums ist

wiederum nicht absolut, sondern die eines Schnittes an einer Stelle der Hierarchie (Partikel wiederum verlieren dann noch die Fähigkeit aller vorgeordneten Kategorien incl. Adv, prädizierend und modifizierbar zu sein.)

Croft, W. (2007). "Beyond Aristotle and Gradience. A reply to Aarts." Studies in Language 31, 409-430. **Geuder, W. (2002).** "Oriented Adverbs", Diss. Univ. Tübingen. **Haspelmath, M. (2013).** "How to compare major word-classes across the world's languages". Theories of everything. In honor of Ed Keenan. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics, 17, 109-130. **Hengeveld, K. & E. van Lier. (2010).** "An implicational map of parts of speech" Linguistic Discovery 8, 129-156. **Hoffmann, L. (2009).** "Adverb" In ders. (ed): Handbuch der deutschen Wortarten. Berlin: de Gruyter. 223-264. **Jacobs, J. (2008).** "Wozu Konstruktionen?" Linguistische Berichte 213, 3-44.

Zur Abgrenzung von Determinierern und Adjektiven - Die Variation in der Adjektivflexion als Testfall

Said Sahel

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Die Unterscheidung von Determinierern und Adjektiven gilt im Neuhochdeutschen als eins der notorischen Probleme bei der Abgrenzung von syntaktischen Wortkategorien. So merkt die Duden-Grammatik in diesem Zusammenhang an: "Die Grenze zwischen Artikelwörtern und Adjektiven ist nicht ganz fest, es zeigt sich Varianz" (Duden Grammatik 2005: 969). Die Abgrenzungsschwierigkeiten rühren daher, dass sich Determinierer und Adjektive in formal-morphologischer, in distributioneller sowie funktional-semantischer Hinsicht ähnlich verhalten. Zum einen teilt das stark flektierte Adjektiv mit dem Determinierer die pronominalen Flexive (dies**er** Himmel, blau**er** Himmel, dies**es** Jahr, nächst**es** Jahr, dies**e** Note, gut**e** Note). Zum anderen stehen der Determinierer und das Adjektiv gleichermaßen pränominal und erfüllen gegenüber dem Kernnomen dieselbe Funktion: dieses näher zu bestimmen. Dass sich die syntaktischen Wortkategorien Determinierer und Adjektiv nicht ohne weiteres in zwei diskrete Gruppen einteilen lassen, zeigt u.a. die dafür verwendete Terminologie. Adelung (1782: 607) subsumiert Determinierer und Adjektive unter der Kategorie "Bestimmungswörter"; Seiler (1978: 307) spricht von "determiners in the stricter sense (e.g. demonstratives, articles) and ‚determiners' […] in the wider sense" und meint mit letzterer Gruppe von Determinierern die Adjektive.

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Dass Determinierer und Adjektive lediglich Endpunkte auf einem Kontinuum darstellen und dass für den zwischen diesen Endpunkten liegenden Bereich nicht immer eine eindeutige kategoriale Zuordnung möglich ist, zeigt sich in der Variation der Adjektivflexion in bestimmten Konstellationen. Konkurrierende Flexionen wie in *folgendes interessante Buch* vs. *folgendes interessantes Buch* oder *manche sauberen Sportler* vs. *manche saubere Sportler* legen nahe, dass folgendes bzw. manche syntaktisch mal als Determinierer, mal als Adjektiv analysiert werden. Im ersten Fall wird die schwache, im zweiten Fall die starke Flexion beim nachfolgenden Adjektiv ausgelöst.

In dem Vortrag wird dafür argumentiert, dass der syntagmatische Aspekt ausschlaggebend für die Abgrenzung von Derterminierern und Adjektiven ist: Was beim nachfolgenden Adjektiv die schwache Flexion auslöst, ist ein Determinierer, ansonsten ist es ein Adjektiv. Ausgehend von Variationsfällen in der Adjektivflexion aus dem ausgehenden Frühneuhochdeutschen und dem Neuhochdeutschen wird gezeigt, dass das Adjektiv erst im Zuge der Herausbildung des Prinzips der Verteilung der starken und schwachen Adjektivflexion in der Nominalgruppe seinen Status als eigenständige syntaktische Wortkategorie erlangt und sich vom Determinierer emanzipiert hat. Diese Entwicklung hat dazu beigetragen, dass die Variation im Bereich der Adjektivflexion bis etwa Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts fast vollständig abgebaut wurde. Die noch im Gegenwartsdeutschen belegte, jedoch auf sehr wenige Konstellationen beschränkte Variation kann als synchronen Reflex einer sich weiter vollziehenden Entwicklung angesehen werden.

Adelung, Johann Christoph (1971). Umständliches Lehrgebäude der deutschen Sprache. Zur Erläuterung der deutschen Sprachlehre für Schulen. Hildesheim: Olms. Nachdruck der Ausgabe Leipzig, Breitkopf, 1782. Razum, Kathrin; Eisenberg, Peter (Hgg.) (2005). Duden, die Grammatik. Mannheim: Dudenverlag. 7., völlig neu erarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. **Seiler, Hansjakob (1978).** Determination: A functional demension for interlanguage comparison. In: Seiler, Hansjakob (Hg.). Language universals. Tübingen: Narr, 301–328. Solms, Hans-Joachim; Wegera, Klaus-Peter (Hgg.) (1991). Grammatik des Frühneuhochdeutschen. Flexion der Adjektive. Heidelberg: Winter. **Wiese, Bernd (2009).** Variation in der Flexionsmorphologie: Starke und schwache Adjektivflexion nach Pronominaladjektiven. In: Konopka, Marek/Strecker, Bruno (Hgg.). Deutsche Grammatik. Regeln, Normen, Sprachgebrauch. Berlin, de Gruyter, 166-194

Nochmal zum Partizipialen Haben-Konfigurativ

Björn Rothstein & Sibel Ahmet

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Der Partizipiale Haben-Konfigurativ (*Das Pferd hat die Fesseln bandagiert*, Bezeichnung erstmals in Hole 2002) fristete lange Zeit ein Außenseiterdasein in der germanistisch-linguistischen Grammatikographie. Erst in den vergangenen Jahren hat er durch eine Reihe von Beiträgen mehr Aufmerksamkeit erreicht, wobei im Zentrum der Analyse zumeist die Wortartklassifikation des Partizips als adjektivisch oder verbal (Rothstein 2007, Schlief 2012, Businger 2013), seine Gesamtsyntax (Businger2010) und seine semantischen Besonderheiten standen (Gese 2013). Ähnlich wie das sogenannte Zustandspassiv mit sein erweist sich der Partizipiale Haben-Konfigurativ damit als Grenzgängerkonstruktion, für dessen Partizip adjektivische und verbale Analysen sprechen.

Zwar hat die theoretisch orientierte Sprachwissenschaft in den vergangenen zwanzig Jahren eine Reihe unterschiedlicher Ansätze zur Handhabung solch grenzgängerischer Partizipien II geliefert, doch sind diese Überlegungen nicht aus einer lernerorientierten Perspektive angegangen worden: Lenz (1993) schlägt einen Prototypenansatz mit einer Skala zwischen volladjektivischen und vollverbalen Partizipien II vor, Rapp (1996) bemüht eine morphosyntaktische Sonderform der Adjektivierung und Maienborn (2007) schlägt einen Schnittstellenansatz zur Arbeitsteilung von Semantik und Pragmatik vor. Grenzgängerkonstruktionen sind für den erstsprachlichen schulischen Grammatikunterricht im Fach Deutsch bisher nicht didaktisiert worden: sie erweisen sich aufgrund der schulisch häufig (fälschlicherweise) suggerierten Eindeutigkeit der eindeutigen morphosyntaktischenKategorisierung von sprachlichen Konstruktionen als Herausforderung.Lernerdaten, d.h. Daten, die die Bestimmungsprobleme solcher Grenzgänger dokumentieren (z.B. video- oder audiographische Aufzeichnungen vom Unterricht oder Lautes-Denken-Protokolle) liegen nicht vor.

Ziel dieses Beitrags ist es herauszufinden, inwieweit Grenzgänger wie der Partizipiale Haben-Konfigurativ von Lernenden als grammatisches Einordnungsproblem wahrgenommen werden. Diese laienlinguistischen Einordnungsprobleme von Lernern sollen wiederum ihren Beitrag zur Grammatikographie leisten, indem ihre Kompatibilität mit den bestehenden Analysen des Partizipialen Haben-Konfigurativs überprüft wird und diese eventuell modifiziert werden müssen. Es werden dazu experimentell erhobene Daten zur Einordnung des Partizipialen Haben-Konfigurativs als adjektivische/verbale Konstruktion durch laienlinguistische Sprecher

vorgestellt, die durch "Lautes-Denken-Protokolle" erhoben wurden.

Businger, M. (2013): 'Haben'-statives in German. A syntactic analysis. In: Alexiadou, A./Schäfer, F. (Hg.): Non-Canonical Passives. Amster- dam, 141-161. **Gese, H. (2013):** Another passive that isn't one: On the semantics of German haben-passives. In: Alexiadou, A./Schäfer, F. (Hg.): Non-Canonical Passives. Amsterdam, 163-184. **Maienborn, C. (2007):** Das Zustandspassiv: Grammatische Einordnung - Bildungs- beschränkungen - Interpretationsspielraum. Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik 35, 83-115. **Rapp, I. (1996):** Zustand? Passiv? – Über- legungen zum sogenannten "Zustandspassiv". Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft15, 231-265. **Rothstein, B. (2007):** Einige Bemerkungen zur Syntax von Das Pferd hat die Fesseln bandagiert. In: Geist, L. &Rothstein, B. (Hrsg.): Kopulaverben und Kopulasätze: Intersprachliche und Intrasprachliche Aspekte. Tübingen, 285-298. Schlief, A.-K. (2012): Untersuchungen zum morphosyntaktischen Status des Partizips II beim "Partizipialen Haben-Konfigurativ". In: Rothstein, B. (Hg.): Nicht-flektierende Wortarten. Berlin, 300-327.

Vom Verb zur Konjunktion?

Anna Volodina & Hans-Christian Schmitz

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

Das Phänomen: Propositionale Argumente des Verbs sind im unmarkierten Fall in Form eines eingebetteten *dass*-Nebensatzes mit VL-Stellung re- alisiert. Es gibt aber eine ganze Reihe von Verben (wie *wissen, glauben, erzählen* usw.), die außerdem auch V2-Argumentsätze nehmen können (vgl. Vikner 1995:71, Reis 1997 usw.). Reis (1997), Truckenbrodt (2006) haben dafür argumentiert, dass diese rechts von VP adjungiert werden, wodurch ein eigenes assertives Potential von V2-Sätzen, abweichend von *dass*-Sätzen, begründet wird.

    (1)   a.   Ich habe **gewusst/bedauert**, dass die Erde keine Scheibe ist.

             b.   Ich habe **gewusst/*bedauert**, die Erde ist keine Scheibe.

Während diese Verben vollständige Prädikate eines Matrixsatzes sein müssen und nicht als reines Partizip einbetten können, gibt es eine noch nicht hinreichend untersuchte Klasse von Verben, die – (auch) als reines Partizip II (= PII) ohne Auxiliar verwendet, wie beispielsweise *angenommen* und *vorausgesetzt*, – sowohl *dass*- als auch V2-Argumentsätze nehmen, wobei die letzteren eine sehr starke Präferenz in Korpora geschriebener Sprache aufweisen: *angenommen* ist beispielsweise nur noch 48 mal mit *dass* belegt im Vergleich zu 3.683 mal mit einem V2-Satz (DeReKo-Release 2011, Connexor-Tagging)

(2)   a. **Vorausgesetzt/Angenommen**, dass du nicht kommst, gehe ich jetzt los.

b. **Vorausgesetzt/Angenommen**, du kommst nicht, gehe ich jetzt los.

Zwei Ansätze und offene Fragen: In Pasch et al. (2003) werden PII wie in (2) als vollständig grammatikalisierte Konnektoren behandelt, wobei *angenommen* als "Verbzweitsatzeinbetter" und *angenommen, dass* als "Subjunktor" kategorisiert wird. Eine alternative, einheitliche Analyse als "complex subordinators ending with optional *that*" schlagen dagegen Quirk et al. (1985: 998) für ähnliche Strukturen mit *provided, supposing* usw. im Englischen vor. Bevor man sich für die eine oder andere Konnektoren-Analyse entscheidet, ist zunächst zu klären, ob (i) die starke Annahme hinsichtlich der syntaktischen (Um)kategorisierung von PII tatsächlich für die Analyse dieser Strukturen erforderlich ist, oder aber, ob (ii) man PII in dieser Verwendung schlicht als Prädikatsausdruck analysieren kann. Dies ist das zentrale Anliegen des Vortrags.

Eine erste Alternative wäre die Annahme, dass es sich hier um elliptische Strukturen handelt:

(3)   a. ~~Sei/*Es wird~~ **vorausgesetzt/angenommen**, dass du nicht kommst, (dann) gehe ich jetzt los.

b. ~~Sei/*Es wird~~ **vorausgesetzt /angenommen**, du kommst nicht, (dann) gehe ich jetzt los.

Diese Annahme ist, wie in (3) gezeigt, nur sehr eingeschränkt möglich, außerdem sind "vollständige" PII-Sätze nicht mittelfeldfähig. Ebenfalls gegen die Ellipsenanalyse spricht insbesondere, dass *annehmen* als vollständiges Matrixverb zwar ebenfalls V2-Argumentsätze erlaubt, *voraussetzen* jedoch nicht. Die Fähigkeit, V2-Sätze einzubetten, beschränkt sich also als systematisch ausschließlich auf die freie PII-Konstruktion:

(4)   a. Ich **nehme an/habe angenommen**, dass die Erde eine Scheibe ist/die Erde ist eine Scheibe.

b. Ich **setze voraus/habe vorausgesetzt**, dass die Erde eine Scheibe ist./*die Erde ist eine Scheibe.

Eine weitere von beiden Ansätzen unerklärte Eigenschaft dieser PII-Konstruktion (sowohl mit als auch ohne *dass*) ist, dass nur eine anaphorische (vgl. (3)), nicht aber eine kataphorische Verwendung des Korrelats möglich ist.

(5)   a.   Der Mieter kann **dann** ausziehen, **wenn** er einen Nachmieter gefunden hat.

          b.   Der Mieter kann ***(dann)** ausziehen, **vorausgesetzt/angenommen**, dass er einen N. gefunden hat/ er hat einen N. gefunden.

Semantisch gesehen sind diese PII-Strukturen eindeutig konditional zu deuten. Diese Interpretation ist eigentlich nicht kompatibel mit der typischen Analyse von Verben, die V2-Argumente akzeptieren. Außerdem wird Konditionalität im Deutschen immer durch syntaktisch asymmetrische Strukturen ausgedrückt.

Aufbauend auf das Ergebnis einer umfangreichen Korpusstudie (auf der Basis von DeReKo) werden zuerst die subtilen Unterschiede in der Distribution aufgezeigt. Es wird für die Analyse von PII als Prädikatsausdruck plädiert, die mehr Vorteile mit sich bringt.

Pasch, R. et al. (2003): Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. **Quirk, R. et al. (1985):** A comprehensive grammar of the English Language. **Reis, M. (1997):** Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In: Ch. Dürscheid et al.: Sprache im Fokus: 121-144. **Truckenbrodt, H. (2006):** On the semantic motivation of syntactic verb movement to C in German. Theoretical Linguistics 22: 257-306. **Vikner, S. (1995):** Verb movement and expletive subjects in the Germanic languages.

Zum Status von "ein(s)"

Peter Gallmann

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

Das Lexem "ein" oder "eins" ist ein Grenzgänger zwischen Determinierer, quantifizierendem Adjektiv und Pronomen. Ungeachtet der Abgrenzungsprobleme im Einzelnen ist dabei zu fragen, ob überhaupt ein einzelnes Lexem vorliegt oder vielmehr eine Lexemfamilie. Bei dieser Frage hilft auch ein Blick auf die Flexion. Hier sind regelhafte Formen, die in Syntagmen niedrigster Frequenz auftreten, ebenso so interessant wie

Formen in höchstfrequenten syntaktischen Kontexten. Um nur zwei Erscheinungen zu nennen: (i) In den üblichen Grammatiken ist wenig beachtet worden, dass nicht nur die Opposition stark/schwach, sondern auch die Opposition endungslos/stark an syntaktische Bedingungen gebunden ist, vgl.: *nur ein Auge* vs. *das eine Auge* vs. *sein eines Auge*. (ii) In bestimmten Verwendungsweisen zeigen sich beim Maskulinum unterschiedliche Tendenzen der formalen Neutralisierung in der Kasusmarkierung, einerseits Nom./Akk. vs. Dativ (vgl. (1)), andererseits Nom. vs. Akk./Dat. (vgl. (2)); beide Erscheinungen lassen sich an bekannte Tendenzen des Deutschen und anderer Sprachen anschließen.

(1) Nen Mann kommt in die Anzeigenannahme der Lokalzeitung und…
(2) Das freut einem doch!

Lauter im Gegenwartsdeutsch – Probleme einer Wortartbestimmung

Jussara Paranhos Zitterbart

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

Das Wort *lauter*, "ahd. (h)lüttar, mhd. lüter, agerm. (got. hlūtrs)", wurzelverwandt mit griech. klýzein> spülen, reinigen <(PAUL 2002: 596), kann in seiner langen Geschichte verschiedene Bedeutungen aufweisen wie ahd. *durchsichtig hell, rein, klar; unbetrübt, unverfälsch*t; mhd. *ausschließlich, lediglich, nur* (vgl. op. cit.; DWB 1984 Bd. 12: 378-384;LEXER 1992: 131), ferner im Gegenwartsdeutsch *nichts als, nur* und *ganz viel, ganz viele* (GWDS 1999, Bd. 5: 2370). Mit der Entkonkretisierung der Bedeutung gehen zwar im Zuge des Grammatikalisierungsprozesses morphosyntaktische Merkmale wie Flexion oder Stellungsfreiheit verloren, weitere Eigenschaften kommen jedoch hinzu. Aufgrund der Aufspaltung des Lexems bleiben die Bedeutungsfunktionen parallel bestehen.So wird lauter als flektierbares Adjektiv noch heute im Sinne von *rein, aufrichtig* und *ehrlich* verwendet, dabei kann der prädikative Gebrauch auch belegt werden:

(1)   Dass bei Google *lautere Ansichten* hinter solchem Schutz stecken …(HANNOVERSCHE ALLGEMEINE 28.08.2008)

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(2)   Herr Professor Lauterbach, wären Sie *lauter*, würden Sie unverzüglich Ihr Bundestagsmandat ablegen. (DER SPIEGEL 2/2013:
        8).

Als unflektierbarer Ausdruck wird *lauter* stets vor einer Nominalphrase in
der erstarrten Form des Nom. Sg. gebraucht, widersetzt sich aber einer morphosyntaktisch basierten Wortartbestimmung:

(3)   Das war Benedikt: Er sprach leise und sanft, aber seine Worte
        waren gesetzt wie auf Marmortafeln. Wer hören wollte, konnte
        hören: *lauter letzte Worte*. (DER SPIEGEL 8/2013: 84)

(4)   Wenn George vor dem Spiegel seinen Hinterwäldler-Sextalk einstudiert, wird sich die Hälfte des Publikums vor Lachen auf dem
        Boden kugeln, während die andere sich *vor lauter Fremdscham*
        die Ohren zuhält. (HAMBURGER MORGENPOST, 24.06.2012: 15)

Ausgehend von einer Beschreibung der grammatischen Eigenschaften vom
erstarrten *lauter* im Gegenwartsdeutsch und unter Berücksichtigung eines
noch nicht abgeschlossenen Grammatikalisierungsprozesses hinterfragt
der Vortrag die Möglichkeiten einer Abgrenzung bzw. einer morphosyntaktischen Kategorisierung – handelt es sich dabei um einen Determinativ
(ENGEL2004: 325ff., IDS-Grammatik 1997: 1946, HOFFMANN 2007: 332,
GEHWEILER 2010: 301; 314), um eine Fokuspartikel (MÉTRICH/FAUCHER
2009: 544)oder noch um ein Adjektiv? – und schlägt eine adäquatere
Behandlung von *lauter*, einem "Indefinitheit-Exklusivitätsmarker", vor.

DUDEN (1999): Das Große Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache in zehn Bänden (= GWDS) 3., völlig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Hrsg. vom Wissenschaftlichen Rat der Dudenredaktion. Band 5: Impu– Leim. Mannheim/Leipzig/Wien/Zürich: Dudenverlag, S. 2370. **DWB = Deutsches Wörterbuch. JAKOB und WILHELM GRIMM. Bd. 12. Nachdr. München 1984**, S. 378-384. **ENGEL, ULRICH (2004):** Deutsche Grammatik. Neubearbeitung. München: Iudicium. GEHWEILER,ELKE(2010): The Grammaticalization of the German adjectives lauter (and eitel). In: STATHI, EKATERINI/GEHWEILER, ELKE/KÖNIG, EKKEHARD (Hrsg.) (2010): Grammaticalization. Current views and issues. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., S. 297-322. **HOFFMANN, LUDGER (2007):** Determinativ. Unter Mitarbeit von OKSANA KOVTUN. In: HOFFMANN, LUDGER (Hrsg.): Handbuch der deutschen Wortarten. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, S. 293-356. **LEXER, MATTHIAS (1992):** Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch. Mit Nachträgen von ULRICH PRETZEL. 38., unveränderte Auflage. Stuttgart: Hirzel. MÉTRICH, RENÉ/FAUCHER, EUGÈNE (2009): Wörterbuch deutscher Partikeln. Unter Berücksichtigung ihrer französischen Äquivalente. In Zusammenarbeit mit JÖRN ALBRECHT. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter. **PAUL, HERMANN (2002):** Deutsches Wörterbuch. Bedeutungsgeschichte und Aufbau unseresWortzatzes. 10., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage von HELMUT HENNE. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

sonderlich, groß, großartig in NPI-Funktion als syntaktische Sonderlinge

Magdalena Steiner

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

In der Gegenwartssprache können *groß* und *großartig* zum einen als Adjektiv die Funktion eines Attributs oder Prädikativs ausüben (vgl. 1), zum anderen als Adverb adverbial gebraucht werden (vgl. 2):

(1) (a) Der *große* Mann. / Ein *großartiges* Essen.
      (b) Der Mann ist *groß*. / Das Essen ist *großartig*.

(2) Er hat *groß* gefeiert. / Er hat *großartig* gekämpft.

Eine weitere Gebrauchsweise von *groß* und *großartig* tritt jedoch im Gegenwartsdeutschen auf:

(3) (a) Ich habe darüber nicht *groß/großartig* nachgedacht.
      (b) *Ich habe darüber *groß/großartig* nachgedacht.

(3b) zeigt, dass *groß* und *großartig* in dieser spezifischen Verwendungsweise nur in negativen Kontexten auftreten können: *groß* und *großartig* in (3) sind sog. negative Polaritätselement (NPI = negative polarity item). Folgende Beispiele legen nahe, dass *groß und* großartig – der Asterisk kennzeichnet den NPI-Gebrauch – nicht mehr als Adjektive klassifizierbar sind:

(4) *Ich habe darüber nicht *größer/großartiger* nachgedacht, als es nötig gewesen wäre.

(5) *Ich habe darüber nicht *am größten/am großartigsten* nachgedacht.

**groß* und **großartig* haben eine charakteristische Eigenschaft von Adjektiven verloren: Sie können nicht mehr flektiert werden, d.h., sie sind morphologisch nicht mehr veränderbar. Die syntaktisch-distributionellen Merkmale divergieren ebenfalls: **groß* und **großartig* können nicht mehr

attributiv oder prädikativ gebraucht werden. Dies legt nahe, dass es sich bei **groß* und **großartig* um Partikeln handelt. Da **groß* und **großartig* in gewisser Hinsicht zur Intensivierung des Verbs beitragen, nehme ich an, dass sie als Intensitätspartikeln (IP) gebraucht werden, die allerdings auf adverbialen Gebrauch beschränkt sind. IP sind lexikalische Elemente, die syntaktisch gewisse Partikeleigenschaften aufweisen wie Unflektierbarkeit etc. und semantisch-funktional als Intensivierungsoperatoren fungieren (vgl. Breindl 2007).

Zur Stützung obiger Annahme gehe ich exemplarisch vor: Zunächst wird das distributionelle Grundmuster von **groß** erstellt und von den anderen Gebrauchsweisen, primär dem adverbialen Gebrauch, abgegrenzt; es werden u.a. die Komparierbarkeit, Obligatorik, Satztypenbeschränkung, Betonbarkeit, Antwortfähigkeit, Kombinations- und Koordinationsfähigkeit, VF-Fähigkeit, Basisposition, der Satzgliedstatus und die Behandlung in der X-bar-Theorie als mögliche Abgrenzungskriterien untersucht. Im Anschluss wird dieses mit den bekannten Partikelsorten verglichen, um **groß* der Klasse zuzuordnen, mit der die größte Merkmalsübereinstimmung besteht. Hierbei wird sich auch mit der Problematik einer Partikelklassifikation und divergierenden Klassifikationsvorschlägen auseinandergesetzt.

Abschließend wird das Entstehen von NPI obiger Art untersucht. Die Klasse der IP stellt eine geeignete Spenderkategorie für die Entstehung von NPI dar und zwar diejenigen IP, die früher eine Adverbbildung für eine ganz bestimmte Bedeutung, die intensive, zugelassen haben. Es wird anhand der Grammatikalisierungsparameter Lehmanns (1995) gezeigt, dass sich das NPI **groß* aus dem Adjektiv *groß* als Spenderlexem aufgrund eines Grammatikalisierungsprozesses entwickelt hat. In diesem Kontext wird auch der Unterschied zwischen funktionalen und lexikalischen Kategorien thematisiert, die Beziehung zwischen der NPI-Variante und dem Adverb beleuchtet und untersucht, ob der Begriff der Heterosemie (vgl. Autenrieth 2002) diese Beziehung adäquat beschreibt. Ferner wird anhand von *sonderlich* und *großartig* und ihrer NPI-Varianten demonstriert, dass dieses Muster der NPI-Bildung produktiv ist und hieraus entstandene und im Entstehen begriffene Elemente aufgrund syntaktisch analoger Merkmale der Kategorie der IP zuzuordnen sind.

Autenrieth, Tanja (2002): Heterosemie und Grammatikalisierung bei Modalpartikeln. Eine synchrone und diachrone Studie anhand von "eben", "halt", "e(cher)t", "einfach", "schlicht" und "glatt". Tübingen: Niemeyer (Linguistische Arbeiten 450). **Breindl, Eva (2007):** Intensitätspartikeln. In: Hoffmann, Ludger (Hg.): Handbuch der deutschen Wortarten. Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 397–422. **Lehmann, Christian (1995):** Thoughts on Grammaticalization. Revised and expanded version. München; Newcastle: Lincom Europa (LINCOM Stud-

German *voller* as a Productive Argument Structure *sui generis*

Amir Zeldes

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

German *voller* 'full of' is an unusual word in two respects. Firstly, it is morphologically unique as an indeclinable, apparently de-adjectival form of *voll* 'full' that is unparalleled for other adjectives. Secondly, it governs only NP object phrases but no DPs (see (1)), which are also exceptional in taking a case form that is interpretable as genitive in the plural but dative in the singular (and not vice versa), as seen in (2).

(1)   a.   ein Handy voller (*dem/*deinem/*diesem) [Schnickschnack]$_{NP}$

        a'.   cell phone full of (*the/*your/*these) bells and whistles'

        b.   ein Handy mit [(dem/deinem/diesem) Schnickschnack]]$_{DP}$

        b'.   cell phone with (the/your/these) bells and whistles'

(2)   a.   eine Badewanne voller (warmem) Wasser (but genitive *voller Wassers)

        a'.   bathtub full of (warm.DAT) water.DAT?'

        b.   eine Stadt voller (netter) Kinder (but dative *voller Kindern)

        b'.   city full of (nice.GEN)children.GEN?'

While *voll* can be analyzed as an A with an argument (cf. Klaus 2004), it will be shown that *voller* cannot, primarily since unlike *voll* it is indeclinable, non-preposable and non-comparable (*vollerer* 'more full of').In these respects it acts most like a P. Using historical examples I will show how this 'quasi-preposition' developed from an extraposed strong attributive adjective, as originally suggested by Paul (1959 [1919]:330). At the same time, the government of voller* is unparalleled in other German Ps. Taking an open class

of NPs but no DPs and the case variability are what makes *voller* a true productive *sui generis*. Though some Ps vary between gen./dat. government (e.g.* wegen* 'because of'), this normally corresponds to a register distinction (more formal gen., cf. Petig 1997), and any N can take both forms. Based on the largest corpus study of *voller* to date (some 20,000 examples from deWaC, Baroni et al. 2009), I will show that the *voller* behaves quite differently. When the A in (2) is not used, speakers do not know the exact case assignment for the NP, except that it is not gen. in the singular (no -s), and not dat. in the plural (no -n). As it turns out, forms without A are much more common than they should be, particularly for a less productive class of non-fem. singular objects for which dat. or gen. marking is disambiguated by an A (highly significant differences at $p < 2.2\text{-}e16$ compared to other NPs and PPs). Instead, when A is used, speakers exhibit a 'quantitative suppletion', significantly preferring the variants *voll mit/von* 'full with/of' ($p < 2.2\text{-}e16$).Using some examples from unusual morphological classes, such as weak n-stems and deadjectival Ns, my analysis will show that the rules best describing argument realization are:

1. Avoid any nominal suffix on the N if possible (no gen.-s, dat. plural -n)

2. Avoid As, otherwise make sure they are congruent with a form according to 1.

3. Avoid nom./acc.-like forms if possible (these are reserved for predicates and directed (lative) PPs)

These rules are then implemented in a Sign-Based Construction Grammar (SBCG, see Boas & Sag 2012) analysis using underspecified case marking and type inheritance from general non-lative PPs.

Baroni, M./Bernardini, S./Ferraresi, A./Zanchetta, E. (2009). The WaCky wide web: A collection of very large linguistically processed Web-crawled corpora. Language Resources and Evaluation 43(3), 209–226. **Boas, H. C./Sag, I. A. (eds.) (2012).** Sign-Based Construction Grammar. Stanford: CSLI Publications. **Klaus, C. (2004).** voll - ein Wort voll(er) Besonderheiten. In Herwig, R. (ed.) Sprache und die modernen Medien. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 175–185. **Paul, H. (1959).** [1919]. Deutsche Grammatik. V. III. Teil IV: Syntax (erste Hälfte). Halle: Niemeyer.

"Und" als Diskursmarker?

Nele Hartung

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

und-Koordinationen werden häufig in erster Annäherung als Verknüpfungen zweier gleichartiger sprachlicher Elemente mit Hilfe der Konjunktion *und* charakterisiert (vgl. Pafel 2011). Die koordinierten Elemente heißen Konjunkte. Doch was ist mit Fällen wie in (1) und (2), in denen kein sprachliches Erstkonjunkt vorliegt?

(1)   *Und*, wie geht's?

(2)   *Und* Nietzsche weinte.

Hier ist (teilweise) von *und* in der Verwendung als Diskursmarker die Rede (vgl. Pafel 2011, Auer/Günthner 2005). Der kategoriale Status von *und* wird jedoch kontrovers diskutiert. Während es Pafel (2011) für wichtig hält, "diese Diskursmarker von den manchmal gleichlautenden Konjunktionen (koordinierenden Partikeln) zu unterscheiden [...], da diese Ausdrücke keine im syntaktischen Sinne koordinierende Funktion" haben (Pafel, 2011:73), sieht Schiffrin (1987) keine Unterscheidungsmöglichkeit der beiden Verwendungsweisen. In diesem Spannungsfeld bewegt sich mein Vortrag zu *und* als Diskursmarker, der dafür argumentiert, dass sich die Verwendungen von *und* als Diskursmarker und als koordinierende Konjunktion zwar voneinander trennen lassen, jedoch kein kategorialer Wechsel vorliegt. Es handelt sich lediglich um einen unterschiedlichen (funktionalen) Gebrauch. Vorgestellt werden verschiedene vorgeschlagene Unterscheidungskriterien, wie der propositionale Gehalt der mit *und* eingeleiteten Äußerung, eine eigene Intonationskurve der Äußerung, die Intonationspause nach *und*, der Sprecherwechsel, die Intitialstellung, die Weglassbarkeit, der Wechsel des Illokutionstyps. Diese tauchen jedoch aus syntaxmaximalistischer Sicht auch in koordinierten Strukturen auf und tragen daher wenig zur Differenzierung bei. Eine sinnvolle Abgrenzung kann jedoch durch die Kriterien: Ungrammatikalität der Verknüpfung, fehlende gemeinsame Einordnungsinstanz und fehlendes sprachliches Erstkonjunkt erfolgen. Mein Vorschlag zur Unterscheidung lautet: Wenn die Verknüpfung zweier sprachlicher Segmente mit *und* eine syntaktisch korrekte Struktur ergibt und sie zusätzlich auf semantischer Ebene unter eine gemeinsame Einordnungsinstanz fallen, dann ist *und* eine koordinierende Konjunktion. Gibt es keine gemeinsame Einordnungsinstanz oder ist die Verknüpfung ungrammatisch, wird *und* als Diskursmarker verwendet. Nach

dieser Einteilung liegt in den Beispielen (1),(2), (3) aber auch in Beispiel (4) *und* als Diskursmarker vor.

(3)   A: Ich hab das Buch fast aus. B: Und, wars schön? (vgl. Auer/Günthner, 2005)

(4)   Müller hat gerade ein Tor geschossen und Aale laichen in der Sargossa-See.

(4) ist jedoch das zentrale Beispiel von Posner (1979), das die konnektive Bedeutung von *und* zeigt, die sich nicht via Implikatur ergibt. D.h. dass bei *und* in Verwendung als Diskursmarker keine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattfindet, wie dies beispielsweise bei homophonen Gradpartikeln und Adjektiven der Fall ist, weshalb ich einen kategorialen Wechsel ausschließe. Die Handhabbarkeit des Kriteriums wird anhand von kindersprachlichen Daten des Simone-Korpus überprüft.

Auer, P., & Günthner, S. (2005). Die Entstehung von Diskursmarkern im Deutschen - ein Fall von Grammatikalisierung?. In Leuschner, T.; Mortelmans, T.; DeGroodt, S. (Hrsg.), Grammatikalisierung im Deutschen. New York: De Gruyter. S. 335-362. **Pafel, J. (2011).** Einführung in die Syntax: Grundlagen - Strukturen - Theorien. Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler. **Posner, R. (1979).** Bedeutung und Gebrauch der Satzverknüpfer in den natürlichen Sprachen. IN Grewendorf, G. (Hrsg.) Sprechakttheorie und Semantik. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp. S. 345–385. **Schiffrin, D. (1987).** Discourse markers. Studies in interactional sociolinguistics: Vol. 5. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Außenseiter oder Alleskönner? - Die Problematik der Klassifikation pränominaler Wortarten im Deutschen am Beispiel des pränominalen *so*

Hagen Hirschmann

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

Die phonologisch-graphematische Form bzw. [zo:] (nachfolgend: *so*) ist äußerst funktionsreich. Im Vortrag wird zunächst an syntaktisch-funktionalen Kriterien erläutert, dass *so* nach der allgemeinen Wortartenlehre mindestens die Wortarten Satzadverb, VP-Adverb (Modaladverb), Intensivierungspartikel, Vergleichspartikel/Korrelat, Gradpartikel, Subjunktion und – als Streitfall – die pränominale Wortart Determinierer oder Adjektiv besitzt. Da Polyfunktionalität unter den Vertretern der genannten

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Wortarten der Regelfall ist, ist evident, dass die Definition von Wortarten nicht formbasiert erfolgen darf. Unter den Verwendungen von *so* ist die pränominale am schwierigsten zu beschreiben, weil sie kontextuell markiert, stark restringiert und syntaktisch schwer zu fassen ist. Das pränominale *so* ist nicht auf die Konstruktion so ein beschränkt, wie in Zifonun et al. 1997, S. 1938 angenommen. Vgl. die Beispiele (1)-(3).

(1)   Ich hab da auf den Fotos *so* schwarze Würstchen gesehen (DeWaC-Korpus, Teil 1, Position 4875614)

(2)   Mein Körper hat schon *so* Risse überall (TüBa-D/Z-Korpus, Release 8, s10254)

(3)   Er soll dem Kanzler ausrichten, dass er gefälligst kein *so* Gesicht mehr machen soll (DeWaC-Korpus, Teil 2, Position 213430974)

Anhand weiterer Korpusbelege wird gezeigt, dass *so* in pränominaler Position ebensowenig auf die Funktion als Fokusmarker (vgl. Wiese 2011) reduziert werden kann. Unter der Voraussetzung, dass jeder Nominalgruppe im Rahmen einer einheitlichen syntaktischen Analyse ein funktionaler bis lexikalischer Determinierer-Kopf zugewiesen wird (vgl. Abney 1987), liegt nahe, *so* in (1) und (2) als Determinierer zu analysieren. Es steht jeweils am linken Rand der Phrase und wirkt sich flexionsmorphologisch auf das nachfolgende Adjektiv aus wie andere nicht-flektierte oder unflektierbare Determinierer, z. B. *manch* oder *kaum*, indem das Adjektiv stark flektiert. (3) jedoch widerspricht der Determinierer-Hypothese, da die entsprechende Position bereits durch *kein* besetzt ist. Dieser Zwiespalt gilt analog für einige Wörter, die pronominal und pränominal verwendet werden können, u. a. für das flektierbare *solch+*, welches bei Eisenberg 2004 in pränominaler Verwendung mit "als Artikel verwendet" (S. 182) kategorisiert wird. *so* kann in (1)-(3) und generell mit *solch+* substituiert werden. Diese Austauschbarkeit kann varietätenlinguistisch erklärt werden: Bezüglich seiner Verwendungskontexte ist *so* in pränominaler Verwendung beschränkt auf konzeptionell mündliche Register. *solch+* übernimmt in konzeptionell schriftlichen Registern alle Funktionen von *so*, die nicht in kompositionellem Zusammenhang mit Determinierern (*so ein*, *so manch+*, ...) stehen. Umgekehrt besteht diese Austauschbarkeit bei weitem nicht, was es in dem Vortrag zu erklären gilt. Dies gelingt durch einen zweidimensionalen Ansatz: Zum einen sorgt die Unflektierbarkeit von *so* dafür, dass

Kontexte für die Form ausgeschlossen sind, in denen nur durch Flexion eine syntaktische Markierung erfolgen kann, zum anderen führt genau die eingangs erwähnte Polyfunktionalität der Form zu einem Blocking. *so* und *solch+* sind ansonsten vergleichbare kategorielle Grenzgänger zwischen Determinierern und Adjektiven. Die in Zifonun et al. 1997, S. 1936f, vorgeschlagene Kategorisierung von *solch+* als Adjektiv wird durch semantisch-morphosyntaktische Argumente gestützt und auf *so* übertragen. Gleichzeitig werden jedoch auch die Grenzen algebraischer Syntaxmodelle diskutiert, die graduelle Klassenübergänge nicht abbilden können.

Abney, Steven Paul (1987): The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect. Doctoral Dissertation. MIT. **Wiese, Heike (2011):** So as a focus marker in German. Linguistics 49/5, 991-1039. **Eisenberg, Peter (2004):** Grundriß der deutschen Grammatik. Der Satz. 2., überarbeitete und aktualisierte Aufl. Stuttgart/Weimar; Metzler. Zifonun, Gisela; Hoffmann, Ludger; Strecker, Bruno (1997a): Grammatik der deutschen Sprache. Band 1. Berlin/New York; de Gruyter. DeWaC-Korpus: http://wacky.sslmit.unibo.it/doku.php?id=corpora TüBa-D/Z-Korpus: http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/de/ascl/ressourcen/corpora/tueba-dz.html

Gemeinsam einsam: Gibt es Gemeinsamkeiten unter Einzelgängern?

Eva Breindl

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Im Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren (Pasch et al. 2003, Breindl et al. i. Vorb.) werden ca. 350 satzverknüpfende Lexeme auf der Basis von Merkmalsbündeln in exakt definierte syntaktische Subklassen eingeteilt. Ca. ein Dutzend Lexeme, die mit keinem der klassenspezifischen Merkmalsbündel beschreibbar sind, wurden als syntaktische "Einzelgänger" gesondert beschrieben. Den Einzelgängern stehen ferner Einheiten nahe, die sich vom übrigen Inventar ihrer jeweiligen Klasse durch Restriktionen in Bezug auf nicht als definitorisch postulierte topologische und informationsstrukturelle Restriktionen absetzen. Betrachtet man diese einzelgängerischen Einheiten unter formalen, syntaktischen und semantischen Gesichtspunkten näher, zeigen sich bestimmte "Familienähnlichkeiten". Es lassen sich Faktoren auf mehreren Ebenen herausarbeiten, die Einzelgängertum zu begünstigen scheinen:

- koordinative Syntax mit stark variablen Koordinationsellipsen (vgl. *außer, es sei denn, geschweige denn, statt*)

- Negationshaltigkeit der propositionalen Struktur der Verknüpfung (vgl. *ausgenommen, außer, es sei denn, geschweige denn, statt*)

- Alter der Bildung – besonders anfällig scheinen die Extrempole: einerseits deiktisch basierte, mehrfach heteroseme Simplizia mit hoher Tokenfrequenz (*denn, dass, als*), andererseits jüngere, oft aus Syntagmen abgeleitete komplexe Lexeme, die am besten als Konstruktionen zu erfassen sind (*geschweige denn, es sei denn*, irrelevanzkonditionales *ob ...oder, sowohl ...als auch*)

Pasch, Renate/Brauße, Ursula/Breindl, Eva/Waßner, Ulrich Hermann (2003): Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Linguistische Grundlagen der Beschreibung und syntaktische Merkmale der deutschen Satzverknüpfer (Konjunktionen, Satzadverbien und Partikeln). Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
Breindl, Eva/Volodina, Anna/Waßner, Ulrich H. (in Vorb.): Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Teil 2: Semantik. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Probleme der (morpho-)syntaktischen Kategorisierung von Eigennamen

Tanja Ackermann

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

Die theoretische Linguistik schenkte den Eigennamen (EN) bislang wenig gesonderte Aufmerksamkeit. Dies ist verwunderlich, da sich die auf dem semantischen Status der EN basierende Sonderstellung im heutigen Deutsch auch in deren morphosyntaktisch abweichendem Verhalten niederschlägt (vgl. Gallmann 1997, Neef 2006, Anderson 2008, Fuß 2011, Nübling 2012).

Da EN eine ähnliche syntaktische Distribution aufweisen wie Appellativa, werden sie traditionell der Kategorie N zugeordnet. Diese Kategorisierung wirft jedoch einige Probleme auf, was schon allein ein Blick auf die Stellungsasymmetrien beim adnominalen Genitiv (vgl. (1) vs. (2)) deutlich macht.

(1)   Monikas Ideen vs. † die Ideen Monikas

(2)   *der Frau Ideen vs. die Ideen der Frau

Die kontroverse Diskussion zum Status pränominal verwendeter EN im Genitiv zeigt, dass sich die Propria einer einfachen Kategorisierung widersetzen. Während beispielsweise Demske (2001) genitivmarkierte EN in pränominaler Position als possessiv-definite Artikelwörter – also Elemente der Kategorie D – analysiert (postnominal seien EN jedoch Elemente der Kategorie N!), nimmt Fuß (2011: 22) an, "dass die Genitivmarkierung an EN im Laufe des Frühneuhochdeutschen als klitischer Possessivmarker reanalysiert wurde, der den Kopf der DP einnimmt (wobei EN weiterhin als Elemente der Kategorie N analysiert werden)".

In meinem Vortrag werde ich empirische Evidenz für die von Fuß (2011) vorgeschlagene Analyse liefern, das Genitiv-s als klitischen Possessivmarker zu betrachten, wonach EN die Spec-Position der DP besetzen. Darauf aufbauend möchte ich das Verhältnis zwischen dieser syntaktischen Kategorisierung und einer morphologisch orientierten Wortarteneinteilung näher betrachten, da diese bezüglich der EN nicht immer kompatibel sind. Die Berücksichtigung der EN-Morphologie (konkret: die Tendenz zur Deflexion), die in der (syntaktischen) Wortartendiskussion häufig außer Acht gelassen wird, erweist sich als äußerst relevant, da sie die herkömmliche Kategorisierung der EN als Substantive am stärksten in Frage stellt (vgl. Plank 2011; Nübling 2012).

Anderson, John M. (2008). The Grammar of Names. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Demske, Ulrike. (2001).** Merkmale und Relationen. Diachrone Studien zur Nominalphrase des Deutschen. Berlin & New York: de Gruyter. **Fuß, Eric. (2011).** Eigennamen und adnominaler Genitiv im Deutschen. Linguistische Berichte 255. 19-42. **Gallmann, Peter. (1997).** Zur Morphosyntax der Eigennamen im Deutschen. In: Elisabeth Löbel & Gisa Rauh (Hgg.), Lexikalische Kategorien und Merkmale. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 72-84. **Neef, Martin. (2006).** Die Genitivflexion von artikellos verwendbaren Eigennamen als syntaktisch konditionierte Allomorphie. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 25/2. 273-299. **Nübling, Damaris. (2012).** Auf dem Weg zu Nicht-Flektierbaren: Die Deflexion der deutschen Eigennamen diachron und synchron. In: Björn Rothstein (Hg.), Nicht-flektierende Wortarten. (Reihe Linguistik – Impulse und Tendenzen). Berlin & New York: de Gruyter. 224-246. **Plank, Frans. (2011).** Differential time stability in categorial change. Family names from nouns and adjectives, illustrated from German. Journal of Historical Linguistics 1: 2. 269-292.

Wir misskategorisieren Verben häufig. Über die morphosyntaktische Struktur von Verben, die nicht in V2 stehen können

Christian Forche

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

Ein Phänomen, das zu Problemen der syntaktischen Kategorisierung führt, stellen Verben vom Typ *bausparen, klugscheißen* und *uraufführen*

dar, die sich durch eine bestimmte Stellungsrestriktion auszeichnen; sie können nicht wie ‚gewöhnliche' Verben in der für das Deutsche typischen V2-Position stehen. Sätze wie *"Der Regisseur uraufführt das Stück."* bzw. *"Der Regisseur führt das Stück urauf."* werden allgemein als ungrammatisch abgewiesen. In Verbletztstellung (VL) *("..., dass der Regisseur das Stück uraufführt.")* ist die Verwendung dieser Verben allerdings problemlos möglich. Während derartige Verben bislang insb. in der generativen Theoriebildung Interesse fanden, wo sie benutzt wurden, um Argumente für oder gegen intervenierende funktionale Projektionen zwischen VP und CP zu liefern, wurde das eigentliche Problem der Stellungsrestriktion in den verschiedenen Arbeiten häufig nebenbei auf einen Konflikt zwischen zwei widerstrebenden Anforderungen, denen SprecherInnen nicht gleichzeitig Genüge tun können, zurückgeführt (Plank 1981, Haider 1993, Eschenlohr 1999, McIntyre 2001, Vikner 2005, Fortmann 2007, Booij 2010). In der Regel sind hier verbinterne Anforderungen gemeint, die miteinander konfligieren: nämlich ob das Erstglied vom Basisverb abzutrennen sei oder nicht. Die einzelnen Ansätze unterscheiden sich letztendlich nur in dem postulierten Grund, wodurch dieser Konflikt entsteht. Problematisch ist allerdings, dass die verschiedenen Erklärungsansätze und Thesen meist der Empirie nicht genügen und an diversen Stellen widersprüchlich sind. Dies rührt v.a. daher, dass die meisten Ansätze versuchen, die Stellungsrestriktionen aufgrund nur eines einzigen Faktors zu klären. Dabei besteht in der einschlägigen Literatur bisher kein Zweifel daran, dass es sich bei den betroffenen Lexemen um Verben handeln muss.

Vergleicht man allerdings allein die paradigmatischen Vorkommen der in der Literatur als beispielhafte NonV2-Verben geführten Verben *bergsteigen, bauchtanzen* und *uraufführen*, so zeigt sich, dass letzteres fast ausschließlich passivisch verwendet wird (und demnach nur als Partizip II vorkommt) und *bergsteigen* v.a. im substantivierten Infinitiv auftritt. Beide Lexeme stehen so dem Nominalbereich sehr nah. *Bauchtanzen* hingegen streut viel breiter über das verbale Paradigma. Anhand einer korpusbasierten Analyse ausgewählter einschlägiger Verben, die v.a. der Frage nachgeht, welches die stellungsrestringierenden Faktoren sind, zeige ich, dass sich die entsprechenden Verben untereinander sehr unterschiedlich verhalten, weshalb man hier von ‚syntaktischen Einzelgängern' sprechen kann. Unter dem Anspruch der Erklärbarkeit ist es aber möglicherweise irreführend, all diese Lexeme unter den gleichen Begriff zu

fassen, da es sich wohl um verschiedene Gruppierungen nicht-kanonischer Verben handelt. Die jeweiligen Sonderverhaltensweisen dieser Verben sind komplexer als ihr Resultat, die Nicht-V2-Fähigkeit, weshalb sie sich nicht mit einem für alle Mitglieder gültigen Muster beschreiben lassen. Stellungsdistributionen und -restriktionen allein rechtfertigen somit noch keine Kategorienzugehörigkeit.

Betrachtet man die Datenverteilung der einzelnen Verben, bildet sich u.a. eine Gruppe heraus, deren Mitglieder, wenn überhaupt, häufig nur im sub-stantivierten Infinitiv vorkommen, was sie, wenn es sich nicht ohnehin um Substantive handelt, eher ,nomenhaft' macht. Dies wirft die Vermutung auf, dass es sich möglicherweise gar nicht um ,echte' Verben handelt, sondern um (Handlungs-)Nomina. Aufgrund deren agentivischer Eigensemantik scheint es SprecherInnen möglich, diese Nomina umzuinterpretieren und als ,verbal' aufzufassen. Im Vortrag möchte ich den kategorialen Graubereich zwischen Nomen und Verb ausleuchten, der konstituiert wird durch die verschiedenen Felder der sog. NonV2-Verben.

Booij, Geert (2010): Construction Morphology. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Eschenlohr, Stefanie (1999):** Vom Nomen zum Verb. Konversion, Präfigierung und Rückbildung im Deutschen. Hildesheim, Zürich & New York: Olms (Germanistische Linguistik Monogra-phien 3). **Fortmann, Christian (2007):** "Bewegungsresistente Verben." In: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 26, 1-40. **Haider, Hubert (1993):** Deutsche Syntax – generativ. Vorstudien zur Theorie einer projektiven Grammatik. Tübingen:Narr (TübingerBeiträgezurLinguistik 325). **McIntyre, Andrew (2001):** German Double Particles as Preverbs. Morphology and Conceptual Semantics. Tübingen: Stauffenburg (Studien zur deutschen Grammatik 61).

Merkmalskomplexe und grammatische Primitiva. Zum theoretischen Status syntaktischer Kategorien

Eric Fuß

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

Im Rahmen generativer Ansätze werden syntaktische Kategorien üblicher-weise durch Bündel von Merkmalen repräsentiert (vgl. z.B. Chomsky 1965; Gazdar, Klein, Pullum & Sag 1985).Traditionelle Wortarten wie Nomen, Verb oder Adjektiv werden dabei auf der Basis eines (beschränkten) Inventars spezifischer kategorialer Merkmale beschrieben. Die einzelnen Modelle unterscheiden sich allerdings hinsichtlich der Frage, ob kategoriale Merk-male wie [N], [V], [A], [P] theoretische Primitiva darstellen (Chomsky 1995;

vgl. auch Pollard & Sag 1994) oder mittels abstrakterer Merkmale wie z.B. ±N oder ±V zu dekomponieren sind (V(erb) = [+V, −N] etc., vgl. Chomsky 1981). Weitere kategoriale Unterscheidungen werden ermöglicht durch die Dichotomie zwischen lexikalischen und grammatisch funktionalen Kategorien (z.B. C(omplementizer), I(nflection), D(eterminer)) oder die Kombination mit morphosyntaktischen bzw. semantischen Merkmalen ([±plural], [±feminine], [±past], [±animate], [±count] etc.).

Ausgehend von der Überlegung (Spencer 1999, Rauh 2000), dass kategoriale Merkmale redundant sind, da sich die Kategorie eines Elements i.d.R. bereits aus seiner übrigen Merkmalsspezifikation ableiten lässt (z.B. [+count] = Nomen etc.), gibt dieser Vortrag einen Überblick über aktuelle derivationelle Ansätze, in denen die (lexikalische) Kategorie eines Elements erst im Laufe der syntaktischen Ableitung festgelegt wird. Aus dieser Perspektive stellen syntaktische Kategorien keine theoretischen Primitiva dar, sondern sind das Resultat interpretativer Prozesse, die auf syntaktische Konfigurationen bzw. Bündel von morphosyntaktischen und semantischen Merkmalen zugreifen, die durch syntaktische Operationen zusammengefügt worden sind. So wird im Rahmen der Distribuierten Morphologie (Halle & Marantz) die Annahme vertreten, dass sich die Kategorie eines Elements aus der syntaktischen Konfiguration ergibt, in der es auftritt (z.B. durch die Verkettung von kategorieneutralen Wurzeln mit kategoriedefinierenden funktionalen Köpfen, Marantz 1995, 1997). Darüber hinaus soll die Möglichkeit diskutiert werden, dass sich der kategoriale Status eines Elements (oder einer Phrase) als Resultat einer sog. Agree-Operation (Chomsky 2000 et seq.) ergibt, die die Merkmale zweier Elemente miteinander abgleicht. In diesem Zusammenhang sollen u.a. die folgenden empirischen Phänomene betrachtet werden:

- Der multikategorielle Charakter freier Relativsätze (vgl. z.B. Grosu 2003):

(1)   a.   I'll sing [**{what, which ever songs, however silly a song}** you want me to sing]$_N$.

      b.   I'll sing [**however erect** you want me to sing]$_A$.

      c.   I'll sing [**however carefully** you want me to sing]$_{Adv}$.

      d.   I'll sing [**in whatever town** you want me to sing]$_P$.

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AG 07

- Phänomene im Zusammenhang mit der "Rekategorisierung" von Elementen im Rahmen von Grammatikalisierungsprozessen;
- Probleme bei der kategorialen Zuordnung von Elementen, die keine eindeutigen wortartspezifischen Eigenschaften aufweisen (Ross 1972, 1973; vgl. Anderson 2007 zum kategorialen Status von Eigennamen).

AG 08: Converging Evidence? Embodied Views of Basic Categories in Language and Cognition

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Dietmar Zaefferer
Roel M. Willems

This workshop aims at possible convergences in two domains: (a) embodied and other approaches to conceptual content, and (b) basic cognitive categories in language and outside of it. Assuming that language evolved out of prelinguistic capacities, any search for basic building blocks of language can profit from studying counterparts (and possible ancestors) in nonlinguistic cognition. Given the universality of linguistic categories such as frame, topic, question, negation, focus, and modality with its different manifestations, this entails that the mental representations of non-linguistic frame setting, attention guiding, inquisitiveness, rejection, figure-ground distinction, ability and coercion are worthy objects of investigation. In view of the notorious problems of pinning down conceptual content, the claim that concepts are "represented in human memory by the sensorimotor systems that underlie interaction with the outside world" (Embodied Cognition; Pecher&Zwaan 2005) is good news insofar as it opens a new way of empirically investigating concepts. Although the debate between fierce proponents and opponents of embodiment is far from being settled (Willems & Francken 2012), the existence of reliably replicable embodiment effects is now safely enough established for object and motion concepts (prototypically coded by nouns and verbs) to move on to the next question: How much and what parts of

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cognition in general and of language in special is/are embodied in an interesting sense? Data from gesture and sign language research, but also from spoken language studies (Zaefferer & Bach 2011) point at the possibility that understanding the precise nature of the mental representations of basic categories can be informed by embodiment. Topics include the varieties of coding and embodiment of the above categories. Contributions are especially invited from linguists interested in the extralinguistic roots of these categories and cognitive scientists interested in the sensorimotor patterns that ground or at least are correlated with their representations.

Pecher, D. & Zwaan, R. A. (2005). Grounding Cognition: The Role of Perception and Action in Memory, Language, and Thinking. Cambridge University Press. **Willems, R.M. & Francken, J.C. (2012).** Embodied cognition: taking the next step. Front Psychol. 3:582. **Zaefferer, D. & Bach, P. (2011).** The Motor Theory of Action Sentence Semantics: Radial Motion, Illocution, Polarity. Semantics & Philosophy in Europe 4, Bochum.

Embodiment and converging evidence for basic categories in language and cognition

Dietmar Zaefferer & Roel Willems & Patric Bach

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:05

In line with the overall topic of the 2014 GLS meeting, the theme session introduced by this talk will probe basic building blocks of language that are possibly shared with non-linguistic cognition. Based among others on our own findings we argue that the results of research on embodied cognition, both by advocates and by critics of a strong version of it, provide a promising kind of evidence for what the shared basic categories of language and non-linguistic cognition might be.

Embodiment effects in the sense of sensorimotor reflexes of concepts do not only open a welcome window to the conceptual structures of linguistic content – a notoriously elusive target –, they may also contribute to possible extra-linguistic explanations of linguistic generalizations by reducing them to general cognitive principles, if their evidence converges with evidence from other approaches such as linguistic typology.

We subsume these assumptions under the notion of Double Embodiment of Language (DEL): Languages are embodied first (and trivially so) by the sensorimotor patterns and corresponding concepts of articulation and hearing, writing and reading, signing and seeing in the coding of linguistic content (embodied code). They are embodied also (and intriguingly so) by the sensorimotor patterns that constitute or at least ground the mental and neural representations of the conceptual content of language (embodied content).

The hypothesis of Double Embodiment of Language predicts, first, that the interaction between embodied code and embodied content will increase with the degree of relatedness of the relevant sensorimotor patterns in both domains. The codes of sign language and co-speech gesture should therefore interact more strongly with the coded content (to the extent that this is embodied) than embodied codes and embodied contents of spoken and written language. Second, DEL predicts that that shared basic categories of linguistic and non-linguistic cognition will be found first and foremost in the

shared sequential and hierarchical structure of linguistic and non-linguistic action and of other linguistically and non-linguistically presented events.

We will discuss prominent shared structure candidates such as the three dimensions of Given versus New (Increment and Decrement), Ground versus Figure, and Topic (whatever shows a gap between its actual and its desired features) versus Comment or Completion (whatever closes an epistemic or material gap, respectively). After a short review of further candidates such as Agency, Participant Roles, Polarity (absence and presence of Negation) and different kinds of Modalities with their possible embodiments, we will end by outlining a possible research program on linguistic universals from the point of view of DEL.

Meteyard, L., Rodriguez Cuadrado, S., Bahrami, B. & Vigliocco, G. (2012). Coming of age: a review of embodiment and the neuroscience of semantics. Cortex, 48(7), 788-804. **Pecher, D. & Zwaan, R. A. (2005).** Grounding Cognition: The Role of Perception and Action in Memory, Language, and Thinking. Cambridge University Press. **Willems, R.M. & Francken, J.C. (2012).** Embodied cognition: taking the next step. Front Psychol. 3:582. **Zaefferer, D. & Bach, P. (2011).** Testing Theories of Sentence Type. Theoretical Pragmatics. October 13th – October 15st, 2011, Humboldt University Berlin **Comrie, Bernard (1981).** Language universals and linguistic typology. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

The role of body-related information in lexico-semantic representation

Gabriella Vigliocco

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

In the talk I will provide an overview of recent theories of semantic representation developed within cognitive science and neuroscience with regards to what extent they assume body related representations. I will then address two key questions: (a) how abstract concepts should be represented and (b) whether semantic representations should combine body-related and distributional information from language. I will argue that answering these questions will allow us to constrain our theory-space and move the field forward.

Perceptual adaptations and aftereffects as a way of testing embodied cognition

Giosuè Baggio

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Embodied cognition (EC) proposes that conceptual processing relies on representations stored in sensory systems, and thus predicts that such systems would become active during conceptual processing. Sensory activations have often been taken as evidence for EC, but this type of conclusion does not seem to follow from the data: a variety of systems interactions, some of which are incompatible with EC, e.g., priming, also predict sensory activations. Here, I will first illustrate the pervasiveness of such fallacy in a review of recent experimental work on EC and language processing. Next, I will argue that more stringent tests of the EC hypothesis must involve experimental designs that are able to disentangle the possible effects of embodiment from those of other types of interactions between systems. In the ideal case, EC and its less exciting alternatives (e.g., priming) should make opposite predictions: it must be possible to reject a no-interaction null hypothesis in favor of either of two hypotheses positing opposite directions of effects. I will then provide an example of how this could be done using a recent psychophysics study conducted in our laboratory (Pavan & Baggio 2013) addressing one of the supposedly established cases of embodiment: the semantics of motion verb phrases. In two experiments, participants were visually adapted to real and implied directional motion, which produced a motion aftereffect (MAE) opposite to the direction of the adapting stimulus. Participants had to decide whether a directionally ambiguous or a directional verb phrase implied directional motion. Because the visual system is engaged in the MAE, EC predicts that responses in the direction of the MAE (opposite to the direction of the adapting stimulus) are facilitated. Because the adapting stimulus is the most vivid and longer lasting visual cue, priming would instead predict that responses in the direction of the adaptation (opposite to the direction of the MAE) are facilitated. We found response facilitation in the direction of both real- and implied-motion adapting stimuli for both ambiguous and directional verb phrases. Contrary to EC, these results suggest that visual and linguistic representations of motion can be dissociated. Finally, I will argue that the variety of known adaptations and related aftereffects allows us to set up a broad yet coherent research program for testing EC in a variety of perceptual domains.

Pavan, A., and Baggio, G. (2013). Linguistic representations of motion do not depend on the visual motion system. Psychological Science 24, 181-188.

Embodiment and modalisation: Grounding of desiderative modality

Berry Claus

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

Is the abstract linguistic concept of modality embodied? This issue was addressed in the present study with regard to the case of desiderativity (expressed e.g. by "want"). The aim was to explore the non-metaphorical experiential grounding (cf. Barsalou, 1999) of desiderative modality. A starting point was the distinction between two systems, approach and avoidance, in accounts of the regulation of behaviour (for an overview, see Elliot, 2008). The approach system is associated with desirable (beneficial) stimuli, whereas the avoidance system is associated with undesirable (harmful) stimuli. Based on this, I hypothesised that desiderative modality is grounded in approach-system activation. This hypothesis was explored in a series of four experiments (conducted in German) by investigating whether processing sentences in desiderative modality interacts with approach- versus avoidance-related motor actions. Across experiments, two different main predictions were examined. Prediction 1 was that processing desiderative-modality sentences should facilitate approach actions compared with avoidance actions (Experiment 1 and 2). Prediction 2 pertained to the reverse direction of effect: performing an approach action during sentence comprehension should facilitate processing desiderative-modality sentences compared with performing an avoidance action (Experiment 3 and 4).

In Experiment 1, participants made sensibility judgements to auditorily presented sentences. Each of the (sensible) experimental sentences had two versions, a desiderative modality version and a factual control version (see 1a and 1b). There were two response conditions to the sensibility-judgement task. Participants indicated an affirmative sensibility judgement either by pulling a joystick (approach action) or by pushing a joystick (avoidance action). Response times (RTs) for sentences in desiderative modality were found to be significantly shorter in the approach-action condition than in the avoidance-action condition. Crucially, RTs for factual control-sentences did not differ between the two response conditions, demonstrating that the effect of response action was specific to the desiderative-modality sentences. The results of Experiment 2, which employed a word-by-word self-paced reading task (with advancing from

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one word to the next by joystick pulling/pushing), suggest that the effect is triggered immediately by the desiderative-modality marker.

(1)   a.   Lea will   in einer Hängematte liegen.
            Lea wants in a   hammock   lie
            ' Lea wants to lie in a hammock '

         b.   Lea hat in einer Hängematte gelegen.
            Lea has in a   hammock   lain
            ' Lea has lain in a hammock '

In Experiment 3, participants had to maintain either an approach-related (flexing) or an avoidance-related (extending) arm posture while simultaneously listening to the sentences from Experiment 1. They had to indicate their response to the sensibility-judgement task by pressing either of two keys with their free hand. RTs for factual control-sentences did not differ between the two arm-posture conditions. In contrast, RTs for desiderative-modality sentences were significantly shorter in the approach condition than in the avoidance condition. The results of Experiment 4, which included a neutral arm posture as control condition, preliminarily suggest that this effect is due to facilitation in the approach condition rather than inhibition in the avoidance condition.

The results of the experiments collectively point to an interaction between processing desiderative-modality sentences and performing approach versus avoidance actions. The findings are in line with the hypothesis that desiderative modality is grounded in approach-system activation. In terms of the issue whether the abstract concept of modality may be embodied the findings are positive, at least with regard to desiderativity.

Barsalou, L. W. (1999). Perceptual symbol systems. Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 22, 577-609. **Elliot, A. J. (2008).** Approach and avoidance motivation. In A. J. Elliot (Ed.), Handbook of approach and avoidance motivation (pp. 3-14). New York: Psychology Press.

Spatial grounding of "coordinating elements" in language and mathematics

Tyler Marghetis & Ernesto Guerra

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

Introduction

Converging evidence from behavior and neuroimaging suggests that content words—like nouns and verbs—contribute content in virtue of sensorimotor or spatial processing (e.g., Bergen et al, 2007; Glenberg & Kaschak, 2002; Hauk, Johnsrude & Pulvermüller, 2004). But in natural language, content words are combined within a sentence to convey a more complex meaning. This is often accomplished by function words, such as conjunctions. An analogous situation exists in mathematics. During numerical cognition, there are bidirectional causal links between numerical magnitude and spatial location, so that numbers can be thought of as having spatial content (e.g., Dahaene, Bossini & Giraux, 1993; Hubbard et al, 2005). And just as conjunctions allow infinite possible combinations of noun phrases or clauses, arithmetic operations allow infinite possible combinations of numbers. Crucially, both conjunctions and arithmetic operations have, until recently, been thought to contribute to meaning primarily by coordinating content-bearing elements (e.g. nouns, numbers), without necessarily contributing content of their own. We argue instead that even these "coordinating elements"—conjunctions in language, arithmetic operations in mathematics—are grounded in space. We present two lines of evidence to support this claim.

Spatial content of conjunctions

In two recent experiments, the relation between conjunctions and spatial representations was examined (Guerra, Marghetis, & Knoeferle, 2013). In Experiment 1, participants drew schematic representations of the German conjunctions 'and', 'or', 'but' and 'either...or'. The use of three spatial dimensions (i.e., distance, containment and size) on depicting the conjunctions was compared. In Experiment 2, participants provided ratings on how well the same four conjunctions were represented by schematic spatial representations, designed to vary along the same three spatial dimensions. In both experiments, space was used systematically to distinguish the conjunctions: 'and' was associated with closeness and containment; 'either...or' and 'or' were associated with distance and separation; 'but' was associated with contrasting sizes. We suggest that these associations may reveal conjunction—specific spatial content, independent of the content words they coordinate.

Spatial content of arithmetic operations

Arithmetic operators, like conjunctions, may have their own spatial content, distinct from established spatial—numerical associations. We present a recent study on spatial—arithmetical associations during exact calculation (e.g. "4 + 2 = 6") (Marghetis, Núñez, & Bergen, under review). When participants performed exact addition or subtraction, concurrent movements of the computer mouse were deflected to the right or left, respectively, as if the arithmetic operators prompted a dynamic spatial simulation of rightward or leftward motion. This spatial—arithmetic bias was independent of known spatial—numerical biases (i.e. the so—called SNARC effect). Thus, arithmetic operators contributed their own spatial content, above and beyond any spatial content due to the individual terms or the solution.

Conclusion

In the light of this empirical evidence, we argue that both conjunctions and arithmetic operations may have distinct spatial content. This extends the possible scope of spatial or sensorimotor approaches beyond content words, and has implication for language processing and mathematical reasoning. Space, therefore, is foundational to even the most abstract "coordinating elements" of language and mathematics.

Keywords: conjunctions, arithmetic operations, spatial representation.

Bergen, B. K., Lindsay, S., Matlock, T., & Narayanan, S. (2007). Spatial and linguistic aspects of visual imagery in sentence comprehension. Cognitive Science, 31, 733-764. **Dehaene, S., Bossini, S., & Giraux, P. (1993).** The mental representation of parity and number magnitude. Journal of Experimental Psychology: General, 122, 371-396. **Glenberg, A. M., & Kaschak, M. P. (2002).** Grounding language in action. Psychonomic bulletin & Review, 9, 558-565. **Guerra, E., Marghetis, T., & Knoeferle, P. (2013).** Spatial meanings for function words? In M. Knauff, M. Pauen, N. Sebanz, & I. Wachsmuth (Eds.), Proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society (pp. 2458-2463). Austin, TX: Cognitive Science Society. **Hauk, O., Johnsrude, I., & Pulvermüller, F. (2004).** Somatotopic representation of action words in human motor and premotor cortex. Neuron, 41, 301-307. **Hubbard, E. M., Piazza, M., Pinel, P., & Dehaene, S. (2005).** Interactions between number and space in parietal cortex. Nature Reviews Neuroscience, 6, 435-448. **Marghetis, T., Núñez, R., & Bergen, B. (accepted).** Doing arithmetic by hand: Hand movements during exact arithmetic reveal systematic, dynamic spatial processing. Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology.

Action Perception Theory of Cognitive Cortical Function: From Actions to Speech Acts

Friedemann Pulvermüller

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

A new perspective on cognition views cortical cell assemblies linking together knowledge about actions and perceptions not only as the vehicles

of integrated action and perception processes but, furthermore, as a brain basis for a wide range of higher cortical functions, including attention, meaning and concepts, sequences, goals and intentions, and even complex communicative social interaction. This position paper explains possible mechanisms relevant to a mechanistic action perception theory, points to concrete neuronal circuits in brains along with artificial neuronal network simulations, and summarizes recent brain imaging and other experimental data documenting the role of action perception circuits and in cognition, language and communication. A focus will be on the neurobiology of speech act processing.

Pulvermüller, F., Moseley, R., Egorova, N., Shebani, Z., & Boulenger, V. (2014). Motor cognition - motor semantics: Action-perception theory of cognitive and communicative cortical function. Neuropsychologia, in press.

Reading taste metaphors recruits primary and secondary gustatory cortices

Francesca M.M. Citron & Adele E. Goldberg

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

According to theories of embodied cognition, semantic and conceptual knowledge is represented in modal systems derived from perception (Barsalou, 1999). In particular, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposes that abstract knowledge is represented by means of associations with concrete domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) that are grounded in somato-sensory representations (Pulvermueller, 1999). In fact, processing metaphors that contain action words or texture words recruits sensory-motor and texture-related brain regions, respectively (Desai et al., 2011; Lacey et al., 2012).

So far, only a few neuroimaging studies have addressed questions related to an embodied metaphor account. Therefore, we aimed to investigate whether reading taste metaphors activates the primary and secondary gustatory cortices, i.e., anterior insula (AIC), lateral orbitofrontal cortex (lOFC) and frontal operculum, compared to literal sentences.

In an event-related fMRI study, all sentences evoked stronger BOLD responses in the superior temporal gyrus bilaterally, in the left postcentral

gyrus, left middle frontal gyrus and left OFC compared to a baseline (hash marks). These areas are typically active during language processing. Most importantly, metaphors showed significantly stronger activation in primary and secondary gustatory cortices, compared to literal sentences. These results suggest that during processing of abstract concepts, modality-specific representations are activated, lending further support to the embodied metaphor account.

Neural representation of size domain Chinese nouns

Marit Lobben & Laura Wortinger Bakke

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Studies on object affordances, as well as on near peripersonal vs. far extrapersonal space (Nemmi et al. 2013) suggest a distinction between knowledge of within-reach graspable and more distant ob-ject-scenes, verifiable by sight only. Several studies have also shown that in visual categorization tasks an object's size affects motor simulations, and that both a perceived object and its linguistic expression automatically trigger simulations of grasping and functional action (Bub et al. 2008). Furthermore, fMRI studies report a dissociation between grasping and perceiving the size of real 3D objects, attributing this to differential functions of the dorsal and ventral streams (Culham 2003); whereas the anterior intraparietal area (AIP) modulated for size in grasping, only the lateral occipi-tal area activated in a comparable perceptual task (Cavina-Pratesi 2007). This research is in line with Embodied Cognition, which emphasizes and predicts the crucial role of re-enactment of mo-dality-specific states in semantic conceptual processing.

Chinese classifies counted nouns into separate grammatical categories depending on the size of their referent, viz. the 把 bǎ classifier for GRASPABLE OBJECTS (typically kitchen/agricultural tools, objects with a handle), and the HUGE OBJECT classifier 座 zuò (skyscrapers, bridges, parks, mountains, icebergs). Noun classifiers are linguistic devices serving specific linguistic functions that also label and categorize the external world according to extralinguistic domains. One of the universally recurring cognitive domains for

classifier systems is object size (Aikhenvald 2000). We were interested in how linguistic expressions referring to objects of opposite size values are pro-cessed when this domain is part of the cognitive basis for organizing grammatical categories. To this end, we designed a block design fMRI study with two levels, GRASP- and HUGE-OBJECT, each in four blocks of eight nouns, and six equivalent blocks of implicit rest. 18 native Chinese speakers silently read the noun sequences while being scanned. Each variable was con-trasted over implicit rest, showing areas common to but not unique for the two conditions. In line with previous research we hypothesized that nouns classified with bǎ and zuò would activate areas associated with grasp-ing vs. visual modal areas of the brain, respectively.

Contrary to these expectations, our study showed that both conditions had significant activations in SMA, left IFG, left-dominated IPL/AIP in the dorsal-, and left-dominated occipito-temporal junc-tion to fusiform gyrus areas in the ventral stream. Additionally, when conditions were contrasted against each other, none of the areas had differences that were significant. These areas are known to be active in motor planning (SMA), grasping (IAP) and object representation (the ventral stream). Our results are not consistent with an understanding of modal activations as re-enactment of previ-ous experiences, since grasping actions cannot be associated with physical in-teractions with sky-scrapers, public parks, etc. It is nevertheless plausible that SMA and AIP activations reflect the mental estimation of size in refer-ence to self, in the sense that object affordances relating to size are under-stood terms of near and far space. The novelty of our findings resides in fine-tuning the under-standing of activation in modal areas when linguistic expressions are understood.

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2000). Classifiers. A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. Cavina-Pratesi, C., M.A. Goodale, J. C. Culham (2007). FMRI reveals a dissociation between grasping and perceiving the size of real 3D objects. PLoS ONE, 5, 1-14. Culham, J. C., S. L. Danckert, J. F. X. DeSouza, J. S. Gati, R. S. Menon, & M. A. Goodale (2003). Visually guided grasping produces fMRI activation in dorsal but not ventral stream brain areas. Experimental Brain Research 153: 180-189. Bub, D. N., M. E. J. Masson, & G. S. Cree (2008). Evocation of functional and volumetric gestural knowledge by objects and words. Cognition 106:1. 27-58 Nemmi, F., M. Boccia, L. Piccardi, G. Galati, C.a Guariglia (2013). Segregation of neural circuits involved in spatial learning in reaching and navigational space. Neuropsychologia 51, 1561-1570.

Prosody perception in the laryngeal premotor cortex: A TMS study

Daniela Sammler & Pascal Belin & Marie-Hélène Grosbras

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

There is much more to human communication than the (de)coding of the overt semantic meaning of a vocal speech signal. Often between the lines, much of the speaker's intended meaning is conveyed by the "manner of saying", i.e. the speech prosody, that can change the consequences of an utterance in socially very relevant ways. A recent fMRI study of our group suggested a motor-simulation mechanism involving the laryngeal premotor cortex in the right hemisphere to be involved in decoding the communicative intention (i.e. question or statement) conveyed by speech intonation (i.e. rising or falling pitch contour). It was suggested that this mechanism mirrors the vocal fold movements typically needed for the production of different pitch contours and thus aids prosodic comprehension. The present transcranial magnetic stimulation (TMS) study tested if the categorization of subtle prosodic modulations indeed relies on vocal motor-simulation and the integrity of laryngeal premotor cortex.

Therefore, we assessed participants' performance in a question-statement categorization task after application of 15 minutes of low frequency (1 Hz) repetitive TMS (rTMS) over the right laryngeal premotor cortex, compared to their performance after 15 minutes of sham stimulation. An analogous phoneme categorization task after rTMS and sham served as behavioral control. Stimuli consisted of monosyllabic English words that either varied along a 7-step pitch contour continuum (question to statement) or a 7-step phoneme continuum (/bear/ to /pear/). Continua were obtained from 4 speakers by means of auditory morphing between prototypical exemplars of each category using STRAIGHT (Kawahara et al., 2006). Participants performed a 2-alternative forced-choice categorization task on either prosody or word-initial phoneme after rTMS or sham stimulation in counterbalanced order.

The TMS-induced temporary down-regulation of the right laryngeal premotor cortex led to a performance decrease that was specific to prosodic comprehension, while leaving phoneme categorization unaffected. This result confirms a right (pre)motor contribution to vocal pitch perception in speech. Overall, the combined fMRI and TMS findings converge on a motor-simulation mechanism – i.e. the conversion of the perceived falling or rising pitch contour into simulated laryngeal gestures – that tunes-up prosodic comprehension and augments the decoding of speaker's intentions from intonation in speech.

Kawahara, H. (2006). STRAIGHT, exploitation of the other aspect of vocoder: perceptually isomorphic decomposition of speech sounds.

Involving the body in sentence comprehension: Action-sentence compatibility effects in British Sign Language and written English

Pamela Perniss & David Vinson & Neil Fox & Gabriella Vigliocco

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

A wide variety of studies have highlighted a central role of bodily experience in language comprehension (e.g. Barsalou 2009; Meteyard et al. 2012, for review). In a notable study, Glenberg & Kaschak (2002) asked English speakers to judge the sensibility of sentences like 'Andy delivered the pizza to you', 'You communicated the message to Adam', and 'Kate ate the pizza to you'. Sensible sentences implied motion either toward or away from the body, in both concrete and abstract contexts. Importantly, to indicate sensibility judgments, participants pressed a key located either near or far from their body. For both concrete and abstract sentences, participants responded faster when the direction of motion implied in the sentence was congruent with that of the required physical movement than when it was incongruent. This finding, the Action-Sentence Compatibility Effect (ACE), implies that comprehension of written language involves simulation of the actions depicted in the sentences.

Given such findings for written language stimuli, one may wonder what would happen in sign language comprehension. Specifically, many sign language verbs encoding transfer of the type studied by Glenberg & Kaschak (2002) are so-called directional verbs – they explicitly realise directionality of motion through a corresponding movement of the hands through space. In order to address this question, we have investigated ACE effects in Deaf bilinguals, testing for effects in both their L1 (video-recorded BSL) and L2 (written English).

Materials for the English study were taken from Glenberg & Kaschak (2002); BSL sentences indicated transfer between the sign model and the partici-

pant, or between a third person and the participant (see Examples), including an equal number of directional verbs and non-directional verbs. Participants came for two sessions, which differed only in the direction of yes response (toward vs. away from the body). In each session they carried out both the English and the BSL version of the experiment.

In English, we replicated the ACE effect. Participants were faster when implied motion in the sentence was congruent with their response direction (1289ms vs. 1378ms): Deaf bilinguals simulate the actions implied in written English sentences as they comprehend them. We did not find any ACE effect in BSL (congruent vs. incongruent: 2411 vs. 2403ms), even for directional verbs.

This is surprising because of the greater involvement of the body in BSL and the visual iconicity of motion events. One possible explanation for the lack on an ACE effect may be that the involvement of the motor system in comprehension may be blocked by perceiving the physical engagement of the motor articulators in sign language. It is also possible that event simulation is limited to Òimpoverished Ó input contexts, e.g. written language presentation, in general. A richer, multichannel presentation of language – particularly involving depictive, iconic representation – may not rely on action simulation in comprehension. These results shed light on how motion events are simulated during sign language comprehension, and how comprehending sign language may modulate hand-specific action simulation.

(1)   *FUNDING ME 1-GRANT-2

        ' I grant you the funding. (directional verb, abstract event) '

(2)   *CARDS YOU DEAL ME

        ' I grant you the funding. (non-directional verb, concrete event) '

(3)   *DEGREE JAMES 3-AWARD-2

        ' James awards the degree to you. (directional verb, abstract event) '

Barsalou, L.W. (2009). Simulation, situated conceptualization, and prediction. Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London: Biological Sciences, 364, 1281-1289. Glenberg, A.M. & Kaschak, M.P. (2002). Grounding language in action. Psychonomic Bulletin &

AG 08

Pronouns, Person, and Perspective: How Features of Grammar Modulate Embodied Simulation

Ben Bergen

Friday, March 7th, 09:00

Language comprehends construct mental simulations of described scenes. In doing so, they adopt a particular perspective (Brunyé et al., 2009). Which perspective is affected by grammatical person-Ñsecond person language increases adoption of an internal perspective and third person language promotes an external perspective. But not all languages obligatorily mark person in all sentences. So called "pro-drop" languages, like Spanish and Japanese, allow the subject of a sentence to be omitted if inferable from context. This raises the question: is it the explicit marking of grammatical person that drives perspective adoption, or is it knowing who the subject is (you, me, etc.)?

We conducted two sets of studies, in Spanish and Japanese. Participants read short paragraphs, in which we either included or omitted the subject from the final sentence. As in English, when the subject was included, participants were faster to respond to probe images taken from a compatible perspective. But when the subject pronoun was dropped, the perspective compatibility effect disappeared. This was true in both Japanese and Spanish, despite the fact that the subject was inferable from context (as determined by norming studies). We conclude that person-related perspective adoption is driven by the local and explicit marking of person on a sentence. Perspective adoption in simulation is mediated by grammatical details, which calls for a nuanced account of both the role of simulation and the mechanisms that deploy it.

Brunyé, T. T., Ditman, T., Mahoney, C. R., Augustyn, J. S., & Taylor, H. A. (2009). When you and I share perspectives: pronouns modulate perspective taking during narrative comprehension. Psychological Science, 20(1), 27-32.

Supramodal neural processing of abstract information conveyed by speech and gesture

Benjamin Straube & Yifei He & Miriam Steines & Helge Gebhardt & Tilo Kircher & Gebhard Sammer & Arne Nagels

Friday, March 7th, 10:00

Abstractness and modality of interpersonal communication have a considerable impact on comprehension. They are relevant for determining thoughts and constituting internal models of the environment. Whereas concrete object-related information can be represented in mind irrespective of language, abstract concepts require a representation in speech. Consequently, modality-independent processing of abstract information can be expected. Common neural networks for the processing of speech and gesture information have been suggested (Willems & Hagoort, 2007), and empirically tested in several recent studies (Straube, Green, Weis, & Kircher, 2012; Xu, Gannon, Emmorey, Smith, & Braun, 2009). Here we investigated the neural correlates of abstractness (abstract vs. concrete) and modality (speech vs. gestures), to identify an abstractness-specific supramodal neural network (see Straube et al., 2013).

During fMRI data acquisition 20 participants were presented with videos of an actor either speaking sentences with an abstract-social [AS] or concrete-object-related content [CS], or performing meaningful abstract-social emblematic [AG] or concrete-object-related tool-use gestures [CG]. Gestures were accompanied by a foreign language to increase the comparability between conditions and to frame the communication context of the gesture videos. Participants performed a content judgment task referring to the person vs. object-relatedness of the utterances.

The behavioral data suggest a comparable comprehension of contents communicated by speech or gesture. Furthermore, we found common neural processing for abstract information independent of modality (AS>CS & AG>CG) in a left hemispheric network including the left inferior frontal gyrus, temporal pole and medial frontal cortex. Modality specific activations were found in bilateral occipital, parietal and temporal as well as right inferior frontal brain regions for gesture (G>S) and in left anterior

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temporal regions and the left angular gyrus for the processing of speech semantics (S>G).

These data support the idea that abstract concepts are represented in a supramodal manner. Consequently, gestures referring to abstract concepts are processed in a predominantly left hemispheric language related neural network.

Straube, B., Green, A., Weis, S., & Kircher, T. (2012). A Supramodal Neural Network for Speech and Gesture Semantics: An fMRI Study. PLoS ONE, 7(11), e51207. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0051207 Straube, B., He, Y., Steines, M., Gebhardt, H., Kircher, T., Sammer, G., & Nagels, A. (2013). Supramodal neural processing of abstract information conveyed by speech and gesture. Frontiers in Behavioral Neuroscience, 7. doi:10.3389/fnbeh.2013.00120 Willems, R. M., & Hagoort, P. (2007). Neural evidence for the interplay between language, gesture, and action: a review. Brain and language, 101(3), 278'Äi89. Xu, J., Gannon, P. J., Emmorey, K., Smith, J. F., & Braun, A. R. C.-P. (2009). Symbolic gestures and spoken language are processed by a common neural system. Proc Natl Acad Sci U S A, 106, 20664'Äi9

What Gesture and Sign Tell Us About Basic Categories in Language and Beyond

Annika Herrmann & Markus Steinbach

Friday, March 7th, 11:00

Sign languages have the unique possibility of integrating and grammaticalizing manual and nonmanual gestures. Since gestures use the same articulatory channel that is also active in the production of signs, it is not uncommon for manual and nonmanual gestures to become grammaticalized in sign languages. Therefore, the visual-gestural modality of sign languages, unlike the oral-auditory modality of spoken languages, makes productive use of gestural elements to express linguistic categories. These markers evolved from culture-specific gestures used in the hearing and deaf community. In their sign language use, they encode various linguistic categories and are subject to language-specific grammatical restrictions.

In this talk, we focus on the interface between gesture and language and the specific linguistic categories gestural elements express in sign languages. Lexicalized and grammaticalized manual gestural elements used in sign languages are, for instance, pointing signs, question markers, discourse markers, modal auxiliaries, agreement auxiliaries, and classifier handshapes. These markers, which are frequently used in many different sign languages, have developed from corresponding (co-speech) gestures. Grammaticalized nonmanual gestures such as eyebrow movement, squint, headshake,

and body shift fulfill various intonational and semantic/pragmatic functions in sign languages such as topic and question marking (eyebrow movement), shared information (squint), negation (headshake), and reported speech (body shift). Eyebrow raise, which marks yes/no-questions, conditionals, and topicalized constituents, and headshake used for negation have, for instance, developed from a corresponding non-linguistic gesture. Likewise squint, which signals shared knowledge has evolved from an affective facial expression used in spoken and sign language communication. And finally the development of body shift into a nonmanual grammatical device marking reported speech is also a modality-specific characteristic of many sign languages. This device has developed from the modality-independent ability of speakers and signers to use a shift of the upper part of the body (accompanied possibly by a change of eye gaze, voice quality, and/or facial expression) to shift into another character or perspective in discourse and narration.

Kurz-AG 09: Sichtbare und hörbare Morphologie

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Nanna Fuhrhop
Renata Szczepaniak

Die Verarbeitung der morphologischen Information wird ausdrucksseitig unterstützt: Morphologische Einheiten werden durch phonologische und graphematische Phänomene sicht- oder hörbar gemacht. Dabei verfügen Sprachen über unterschiedliche graphematische und phonologische Strategien, die zur Markierung der morphologischen Grenzen dienen oder den "Körper" der Morpheme in Abhängigkeit von der ihrer Funktion formal differenzieren. So sind im Deutschen lexikalische Morpheme phonologisch und graphematisch deutlich salienter als grammatische. Letztere können, wenn überhaupt silbisch, phonologisch Reduktionsvokale und Dentale enthalten; sie sind nicht wortwertig; graphematisch enthalten sie typischerweise und insbesondere keinerlei ,Dehnungsgraphien' als Kennzeichen schwerer graphematischer Silben.

In dieser Sektion sollen Strategien der phonologischen und graphematischen Markierung der Morphologie ausgearbeitet und miteinander kontrastiert werden. Dabei gilt die methodische Grundannahme, dass das graphematische System keine einfache Abbildung des phonologischen ist. Willkommen sind Beiträge zur sicht- und hörbaren Morphologie und ihrer Interaktion sowie ihrer diachronen Entwicklung, auch in Sprachen mit junger Verschriftung, in Gebärdensprachen sowie auch Sprachen mit anderen (phonographischen wie logographischen) Verschriftungssystemen. Unter Anwendung von psycholinguistischen, experimentellen oder korpuslinguistischen Methoden können zum Beispiel folgende Fragen betrachtet werden:

- Gibt es interne graphematische Wortgrenzen, die mit den phonolo-

gischen (z.B. in Komposita) vergleichbar oder auch nicht vergleich-
bar sind? Wenn ja, wie werden diese markiert? Wie wandelt sich die
Markierung in der Sprachgeschichte?

- Welche Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede gibt es zwischen pho-
nologischen und graphematischen Konstituenten?
- Auf welche Weise interagieren das phonologische und das graphe-
matische System im Sprachwandel und im Spracherwerb?
- Wie wird die Verletzung der typischen Markierungsprinzipien funk-
tionalisiert (z.B. zur Strukturierung des Wortschatzes)?

Die graphematische Kodierung von Wortbildungsmorphologie

Karsten Schmidt

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

Morphologische Einheiten und Strukturen haben einen besonderen ontologischen Status: Sie begegnen uns stets nur vermittelt. Eine Reflektion ihrer Medialität – konkreter: der graphischen oder phonischen Mittel ihrer Kodierung – ist daher unvermeidlich.

Dieser allgemeinen sprachtheoretischen Überlegung widmet sich der Beitrag in einer zweifachen Fokussierung: Untersucht wird die Frage nach der Sichtbarkeit von Wortbildungsmorphologie. Wie ist Wortbildungsmorphologie im Deutschen graphematisch kodiert?

Will man allgemein das Kodierpotenzial graphematischer Strukturen hinsichtlich der Korrespondenzen mit morphologischen Strukturen erfassen, so bietet sich eine nicht-lineare graphematische Modellierung an, wie sie von Primus (2010) und Evertz/Primus (2013) in Analogie zur nicht-linearen Phonologie entworfen wurde. Das in diesem Rahmen vorgeschlagene Hierarchiemodell erlaubt es zunächst, phonologische Korrespondenzen über verschiedene graphematische Ebenen (Buchstabenmerkmale, graph. Silbe, graph. Fuß, graph. Wort) zu modellieren, ist allerdings ebenso geeignet, der Zusammenhang der graphematisch-phonologischen Korrespondenzen mit morphologischen Strukturen explizit abzubilden (vgl. Schmidt i.E.). Vor diesem Hintergrund sollen die formal-kombinatorischen Merkmale, die die Schrift für das Erkennen von Wortbildungsmorphologie liefert herausgearbeitet werden.

Es wird sich u.a. zeigen, dass einige morphologische Differenzierungen, etwa zwischen Komposition und Derivation, kein graphematisches Äquivalent besitzen (z.B. vs.). Hierin ähneln sich graphematische und phonologische Strukturierungen. Dagegen scheint es mir unnötig, für die graphematische Ebene wortinterne Wortgrenzen anzunehmen. Für die entsprechende morphologische Korrespondenz lässt sich im Model vielmehr der graphematische Fuß nutzbar machen.

Was sich schließlich auch zeigen wird, sind die Grenzen einer autonomen graphematischen Modellierung. Sowohl graphematische als auch phonologische Strukturen sind von morphologischen zwar analytisch, nicht aber realiter zu trennen. Dies gilt schon deshalb, weil graphische und phonische Fundierungen überhaupt ohne semantische Deutung keine sprachlich relevanten Einheiten bilden. Am vorliegenden Beispiel: So wie das Schriftsystem formal das Erkennen morphologischer Strukturen unterstützt, ist auch das Erkennen graphematischer Strukturen immer schon morphosemantisch gesteuert, d.h. die Strukturen sind über die Korrespondenzen wechselseitig bedingt und erhellen sich sozusagen gegenseitig. Dieses dialektische Moment (in kognitivistischer Terminologie: das Ineinandergreifen von bottom up- und top-down-Prozessen) sollte ein graphematisches Modell aufnehmen, wenn es morphographische (und phonographische) Korrespondenzen adäquat modellieren will.

Evertz, Martin/Primus, Beatrice (2013): The graphematic foot in English and German. In: Writing Systems Research, DOI:10.1080/17586801.2013.765356. **Primus, Beatrice (2010):** Strukturelle Grundlagen des deutschen Schriftsystems. In: Bredel, Ursula/Müller, Astrid/Hinney, Gabriele (Hgg.) Schriftsystem und Schrifterwerb: linguistisch – didaktisch – empirisch. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 9–45. Schmidt, Karsten (i.E.): Morphophonographic Regularities in German. A Non-linear Graphematic Approach. Erscheint in: Written Language & Literacy.

Phonologische und graphematische (Nicht-)Grenzmarkierung bei deutschen *un*-Adjektiven

Anna-Marleen Pessara

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

"Umbedingt mal probieren" rät eine Hobbyköchin bezüglich ihrer Rezeptsammlung auf Chefkoch.de.[1] Dass es sich bei der Schreibung von *unbedingt* als um einen Tippfehler handelt, ist unwahrscheinlich: Eine Google-Recherche – beschränkt auf Webseiten auf Deutsch/aus Deutschland – erzielt über 1,1 Millionen Treffer für die Schreibung .[2] Da es sich bei den betroffenen Webseiten zumeist um Blogs und Foren handelt, d.h. um computervermittelte Kommunikation (CVK) – die konzeptionell zwischen gesprochener und geschriebener Sprache angesiedelt ist (vgl. z.B. Dürscheid 2004) – lässt sich schlussfolgern, dass die Schreibung lautlich motiviert ist. Sie repräsentiert den Prozess der partiellen regressiven

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Assimilation: [n] wird zu [m] und gleicht sich damit in Hinblick auf Artikulationsart dem nachfolgenden Laut [b] an. So kommt es auf beiden Ebenen, der phonologischen und, im Kontext von CVK, der graphematischen, zu einer Modifikation des Morphemkörpers *un-* und damit einhergehend zu einer Verwischung der Morphemgrenze zwischen Präfix und Stamm, hier *un+bedingt*.

Dieses Verwischen der Morphemgrenze ist jedoch untypisch für das Deutsche, da sowohl auf phonologischer als auch auf graphematischer Ebene eine Tendenz zur Markierung morphologischer Einheiten besteht (vgl. z.B. Szczepaniak 2007; Nerius 2004) In Hinblick auf *unbedingt* ist diese klare Tendenz nur noch auf orthografischer Ebene sichtbar: . Andere *un*-Adjektive neigen hingegen auf allen Ebenen – phonologisch, graphematisch im Kontext von CVK und orthografisch – zur Wahrung des Morphemkörpers *un-* und damit zur Markierung morphologischer Grenzen, so etwa *un+bunt*, , [ʔʊnbʊnt]. Wie lässt sich nun aber die Koexistenz zweier konträrer Mechanismen – Grenzmarkierung und Grenzverwischung – im selben Kontext, nämlich der *un*-Präfigierung erklären?

Ich gehe davon aus, dass es sich bei diesem Fall von synchroner Variation um Sprachwandel handelt, und zwar Sprachwandel im Sinne von Lexikalisierung bzw. Demorphologisierung: Frequente und stark lexikalisierte *un*-Adjektive wie etwa *unbedingt* lassen Assimilation auf lautlicher Ebene und deren anschließende Verschriftlichung zu, wohingegen weniger frequente und semantisch transparente *un*-Adjektive wie *unbunt* diese blockieren. Analysen gesprochener und schriftsprachlicher Korpora, eines selbsterstellten CVK-Webkorpus und die Auswertung von Experimenten zu Aussprache und Verschriftlichung von *un*-Adjektiven werden zeigen, inwiefern dem von der deutschen Sprache präferierten Prinzip der Grenzmarkierung im Kontext der *un*-Präfigierung entgegengewirkt wird.

Dürscheid, C. (2004). Einführung in die Schriftlinguistik. 2., überarbeitete Auflage. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag (= Studienbücher zur Linguistik 8). **Nerius, D. (2004).** Das morphematische Prinzip im Rahmen der Orthographietheorie. In: Sprachwissenschaft 29, 16-32. **Szczepaniak, R. (2007).** Der phonologisch-typologische Wandel des Deutschen von einer Silben zu einer Wortsprache. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter (= Studia Linguistica Germanica, 85). **[1]** http://www.chefkoch.de/rezeptsammlung/1196999/Umbedingt-mal-probieren.html **[2]** abgerufen am 9.9.2013

Lesbare Morphologie: Zur Bedeutung morphologischer Bewusstheit für die Entwicklung basaler Lesefähigkeiten –

Ergebnisse einer Interventionsstudie

Melanie Bangel & Astrid Müller

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

Das deutsche Schriftsystem zeichnet sich durch eine hohe morphologische Transparenz aus, die einen schnellen Zugriff auf die Struktur und Bedeutung von Wörtern beim Lesen ermöglicht. Insbesondere für das Dekodieren der zahlreichen wortgebildeten Wörter im Deutschen sollte sich das positiv auswirken, vor allem dann, wenn Leserinnen und Leser sich der morphologischen Struktur von geschriebenen Wörtern bewusst sind. Die Bedeutung von Einsichten in die morphologische Struktur für die Entwicklung der Dekodierfähigkeit ist bislang jedoch für das deutsche Schriftsystem nicht empirisch belegt. Diesem Desiderat widmet sich eine mit Fünftklässlern im Deutschunterricht durchgeführte Interventionsstudie, deren theoretische Annahmen und Ergebnisse im Vortrag vorgestellt werden sollen. In diesem Forschungsprojekt interessierte uns, inwiefern sich die morphologische Bewusstheit und damit die Fähigkeit zur Analyse komplexer Wörter durch einen an der Schriftstruktur orientierten Unterricht verbessern und wie sich das auf das Dekodieren wortgebildeter Wörter auswirkt. Die Ergebnisse aus drei Messzeitpunkten zeigen eine Überlegenheit der Interventionsgruppe gegenüber der Kontrollgruppe im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung der morphologischen Bewusstheit (mittlere bis große Effekte) und der Dekodierfähigkeit (kleine Effekte). Konsequenzen aus diesen Ergebnissen im Hinblick auf die lesedidaktische Theoriebildung sollen im Vortrag abschließend diskutiert werden.

Bangel, Melanie/Müller, Astrid (2013): Zur Bedeutung von Einsichten in Wortbildungsstrukturen für die Entwicklung basaler Lesefähigkeiten. Überblick über den Forschungsstand. In: Didaktik Deutsch (34) 2013, S. 69-82.

Die Compositions=Fuge: Zur Herausbildung phonologischer und graphematischer Grenzmarkierungen in (früh)neuhochdeutschen N+N-Komposita

Kristin Kopf

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

Sowohl die s-Fuge als auch der Bindestrich kennzeichnen morphologische Grenzen in gegenwartssprachlichen deutschen N+N-Komposita (z.B. Nübling/Szczepaniak 2008, Gallmann 1989). Während die s-Fuge phonologisch markiert und damit primär zur "hörbaren", aber natürlich auch zur "sichtbaren" Morphologie gehört, handelt es sich beim Bindestrich um ein reines Syngraphem, das Verhältnis zwischen beiden ist also asymmetrisch.

Im Zentrum des Vortrags steht die Ausbreitung beider Phänomene in (früh)neuhochdeutscher Zeit (1500-1710). Dabei wird der Frage nachgegangen, ob und wie sich grenzmarkierende Funktionen in einer Phase beobachten lassen, in der sowohl die unparadigmische s-Fuge als auch der Bindestrich in Komposita sich erst herausbilden. So finden sich im zugrundeliegenden Korpus die ersten Bindestriche, ebenso wie die ersten unparadigmischen Fugen, erst im 17. Jahrhundert. Beide weisen anfangs nicht ihre heutige Distribution auf und treten häufig in Kombination auf:

(1)   Kriegs=Gefangene

(2)   Reichs=Stände

(3)   Confessions-Übung

Dabei weicht das frühe Neuhochdeutsche stark von der heutigen Schreibpraxis ab. Die Analyse der diachronen Daten wird Aufschluss über eigenständige und sich beeinflussende Entwicklungen beider Ebenen geben.

Gallmann, Peter (1989): Syngrapheme an und in Wortformen. Bindestrich und Apostroph im Deutschen. In: Peter Eisenberg & Hartmut Günther (Hg.): Schriftsystem und Orthographie. Berlin. 85–110. **Nübling, Damaris und Renata Szczepaniak (2008):** On the way from morphology to phonology. German linking elements and the role of the phonological word. In: Morphology 18. 1–25.

Die Binnenmajuskel in frühneuhochdeutschen Hexenverhörprotokollen. Funktionen und Kontexte

Fabian Barteld & Marc Schutzeichel

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Die morphologisch konditionierte Großschreibung eines Buchstabens im Wortinneren hat eine längere Tradition als Neuschöpfungen in der Werbesprache wie *BahnCard* oder *ProMarkt* (Mengel 1992) vermuten lassen: Bergmann/ Nerius (1998, 904f) beobachten den Einsatz von Binnenmajuskeln zur Markierung des Zweitglieds bei Komposita schon ab 1590. Diese Verwendung breitet sich in der Folge soweit aus, dass sie sogar von einem "Boom" (Bergmann/ Nerius 1998, 904) um 1710 sprechen.

Im DFG-Projekt "Entwicklung der satzinternen Großschreibung im Deutschen - eine korpuslinguistische Studie zum Zusammenspiel kognitiv-semantischer und syntaktischer Faktoren" gehen wir der Entwicklung der satzinternen Majuskel auf der Basis von Hexenverhörprotokollen aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Macha et al. 2005) nach. In diesem Rahmen entsteht die vorgestellte Untersuchung zu Funktionen und Kontexten der Binnenmajuskel.

Neben der von Bergmann/ Nerius (1998) genannten morphologischen Verwendungsweise tritt die Binnenmajuskel in den Hexenverhörprotokollen auch in anderen Kontexten auf. So lassen sich im Projektkorpus neben der Markierung von Kompositionszweitgliedern mindestens drei weitere Funktionen erkennen, die nicht ausschließlich morphologisch bedingt sind.

Morphologisch bedingte Großschreibung:

- Markierung des Wortstamms hinter Präfixen (*anKlagen*)
- Markierung der Wortgrenzen bei Zusammenrückungen (*nachMuettags*)

Silbenphonologisch bedingte Großschreibung:

- Markierung von Silbengrenzen (*PfarRer*)

Die Binnenmajuskel steht hier im Dienste unterschiedlicher Verschriftungsprinzipien (vgl. Fuhrhop 2009), wie dem morphologischen (Markierung des Wortstamms) und dem phonologischen (Markierung der Silbengrenze) Prinzip. Im Vortrag werden wir die unterschiedlichen Kontexte der Binnenmajuskel darstellen, ihre Funktionen zwischen *sichtbarer Morphologie* und *sichtbarer Phonologie* aufzeigen und damit einen differenzierteren Blick auf die Diachronie der Binnenmajuskel ermöglichen.

Bergmann, R. und D. Nerius (1998). Die Entwicklung der Großschreibung im Deutschen von 1500-1700. 2 Bde. Heidelberg: Winter.
Fuhrhop, Nana. (2009). Orthografie. 3. Auflage. Heidelberg: Winter. Macha, Jürgen, Elvira Topalović, Iris Hille, Uta Nolting und Anja

Wilke (Hrsg.) (2005). Deutsche Kanzleisprache in Hexenverhörprotokollen der Frühen Neuzeit. 2 Bde. Berlin/ New York: de Gruyter.
Mengel, Andreas (1992). Eine neue Erscheinungsform der Majuskel. In: M. Kohrt und K. Robering (Hrsg.), Vom Buchstaben zum Text, 19–33. Berlin: Technische Universität.

Komplexe Wörter in der Spontansprache: Morphologie und phonetische Realisierung von Zweitgliedern

Pia Bergmann

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Die Interaktion von Phonologie und Morphologie bei der Bildung von komplexen Wörtern zählt zu einem zentralen Gebiet der phonologischen Forschung. Es wird heute vielfach davon ausgegangen, dass diese Interaktion durch die prosodische Konstituente des phonologischen Worts (pWort) gesteuert wird (vgl. Nespor & Vogel 2007, Booij 2012). Nach Wiese (1996) bilden Suffixe, die auf einen Konsonanten anlauten (C-Suffixe), ein eigenes pWort, während vokalinitiale Suffixe (V-Suffixe) in das pWort des Stamms integriert werden. Diese Annahme ist dadurch begründet, dass vokalinitiale Suffixe mit dem Stamm silbifiziert werden, konsonanteninitiale Suffixe jedoch nicht, vgl. Derivationen wie (täg)ω(lich)ω und (hü.gl+ig)ω. Im Rahmen der "smooth signal redundancy hypothesis" argumentiert Turk (2010) dafür, Variation bei der Realisierung der prosodischen Struktur zuzulassen, wobei ein Faktor für die Stärke der phonetischen Markierung der prosodischen Grenze die "language redundancy" ist; je vorhersagbarer ein Element ist, desto schwächer wird die Markierung der Grenze sein. Darüber hinaus legen die Ergebnisse von Auer (2002) nahe, dass weniger die sonst angenommene Auslautverhärtung (tä[k]lich vs. hü[g]lig) dazu beiträgt, die Suffixe zu differenzieren als vielmehr das Auftreten von Koartikulation und die Dauer des grenzübergreifenden Clusters.

Vor diesem Hintergrund widmet sich die Korpusstudie der Realisierung der wortinternen Grenze in komplexen Wörtern. Verglichen werden /l/-anlautende Suffixe wie –lich mit vokalinitialen Suffixen wie –ig, z.B. schwindlig vs. stündlich. Eine weitere Gruppe bilden mit /l/ anlautende Zweitglieder in Komposita (z.B. Nordlicht) sowie Bildungen mit dem "Suffixoid" –los (z.B. endlos). Datenbasis sind drei spontansprachliche Korpora.

AG 09

Die akustisch-phonetische Analyse von 1000 Tokens berücksichtigt die kategorische Variable Koartikulation sowie die kontinuierliche Variable Dauer des grenzübergreifenden Clusters und des anlautenden [l] des Zweitglieds. Die unabhängigen Variablen sind neben der Wortfrequenz (nach COSMAS und Google) der Wortbildungstyp und das Suffix. Die bisherigen Ergebnisse eines Subsets der Daten deuten an, dass in Hinblick auf Dauer und Koartikulation keine signifikanten Unterschiede zwischen C-Suffixen und V-Suffixen zu bestehen scheinen, während Frequenz und Wortbildungstyp zu signifikant unterschiedlichen Realisierungen führen: Suffixe zeigen mehr Koartikulation als Suffixoide und diese mehr Koartikulation als Komposita. Hochfrequente Wörter weisen kürzere Dauern auf als niederfrequente Wörter.

Auer, P. (2002). Die sogenannte Auslautverhärtung in ne[b]lig vs. lie[p]lich - ein Phantom der deutschen Phonologie? In: Bommes, Michael, Christina Noack & Doris Tophinke (eds.): Sprache als Form. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 74-86. **Booij, G. (2012).** The grammar of words. An introduction to linguistic morphology. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Nespor, M. & Vogel, I. (2007). Prosodic Phonology. Berlin: de Gruyter. **Turk, A. (2010).** Does prosodic constituency signal relative predictability? A smooth signal redundancy hypothesis. Laboratory phonology 1 (2), 227-262. **Wiese, R. (1996):** The phonology of German. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schwierige Lexeme und ihre Flexive im Konflikt: Uniforme s-Endungen und Apostrophsetzungen als hör- und sichtbare Kontrasterhöhungen und Grenzverstärkungen

Damaris Nübling & Jessica Nowak

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

Schwierige Lexeme sind zum einen solche, die maximal von den nativen wortphonologischen Strukturen des Deutschen abweichen (z.B. Fremd- und Kurzwörter, Fremdnamen), zum anderen auch Grenzgänger zwischen den Wortarten, d.h. Konversionen (*das Gegenüber*, *das Wenn und Aber*). Solche Wörter haben auffälligerweise nur ein Genitiv- und ein Pluralmorphem generalisiert, in beiden Fällen -*s*, was in Kontrast zu der sonst so reichen Pluralallomorphie steht. In dem Vortrag zeigen wir, dass unter allen materiellen Allomorphen -*s* den Wortkörper am wenigsten affiziert und somit seiner Wiedererkennbarkeit dient. Bei maximaler Wortkörperschonung unterbleibt sogar jegliche Flexion. Die (ältere) *s*-Flexion alterniert daher häufig schon mit der (jüngeren) Nullflexion. Dabei verläuft dieser Wandel (im Sinne von

Bybee) relevanzgesteuert, d.h. der Genitiv (Kasus) geht früher zum Nullflexiv über als der Plural (Numerus). Diese hörbaren Schonungsstrategien werden durch sichtbare flankiert, allen voran durch den Apostroph, der das *s*-Flexiv vom Wortkörper abhebt und dadurch die lexikalisch-grammatische Grenze visuell verstärkt – auch dies erfolgt relevanzgesteuert. Im radikalen Fall ersetzt der Apostroph sogar die *s*-Endung, nämlich dann, wenn der Wortkörper schon auf [s] auslautet (*Marlies' Hund*), d.h. ein Syngraphem erlangt hier visuellen Morphemstatus ohne phonologisches Korrelat. Ziel des Vortrags ist es, diese Interaktion zwischen hör- und sichtbaren Schonungsstrategien diachron und synchron nachzuweisen.

Wie muss ein "guter" deutscher Plural klingen?

Frank Domahs & Lisa Bartha-Döring & Ulrike Domahs & Margarete Delazer

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

Das deutsche Pluralsystem ist hochgradig intransparent (Penke & Krause, 2002). Darum ist sein Erwerb eine sehr langwierige und fehleranfällige Aufgabe (Kauschke, 2012). Sie besteht letztendlich überwiegend darin, für jedes einzelne Nomen die Singular- und die dazugehörige Pluralform zu lexikalisieren. Auch die Beschreibungsversuche der (Sub-)Regularitäten des deutschen Pluralsystems nehmen typischerweise Bezug auf lexikalisches Wissen, indem beispielsweise Singular- und Pluralformen miteinander kontrastiert werden oder Regeln für bestimmte Genera aufgestellt werden. Deren Anwendung setzt vom Sprachverwender allerdings voraus, dass er über das ebenfalls wortspezifische (also lexikalische) Wissen darüber verfügt, welche Wortformen es im jeweiligen Paradigma noch gibt bzw. in welche Genuskategorie ein betreffendes Wort gehört. Dies mag eine zielführende Strategie für die Numerusverarbeitung von Sprechern sein, deren Lexikon durch jahrelange Verwendung ebensolche Informationen verlässlich abrufbar enthält. Woran erkennen aber Personen ohne ein solches funktionierendes mentales Lexikon, ob ein deutsches Nomen eine Singular- oder eine Pluralbedeutung hat? Eine fehlerfreie Leistung ist unter diesen Umständen nicht möglich. Es gibt aber andererseits perzeptuelle

Hinweise, die einen bestimmten Stimulus wie einen guten deutschen Singular bzw. Plural klingen lassen und somit eine Leistung oberhalb des Zufallsniveaus ermöglichen sollten. Solche Hinweise werden beispielsweise im schemabasierten Ansatz von Köpcke beschrieben (Köpcke, 1993, 1998). Konkret sind diese Hinweise die Art des definiten Artikels, die Silbenanzahl des Nomen, seine finalen Laute und das Vorliegen eines Umlautes. Demnach bestünde beispielsweise ein gutes Pluralschema in der Kombination aus dem Artikel "die", einem mehrsilbiges Nomen, das auf –n endet und einen Umlaut enthält. Keiner dieser Hinweise für sich genommen ist jedoch ein eindeutiges Kennzeichen für eine Pluralform, es handelt sich also um probabilistische perzeptuelle Hinweise.

Wir haben eine Patientin (HT) untersucht, deren lexikalisches Wissen im Zuge einer primär progressiven Aphasie massiv gestört war. Ihr sprachliches Regelwissen war jedoch weitgehend erhalten (Domahs et al., 2006; Janßen & Domahs, 2008). In einer Numerusentscheidungsaufgabe wurden HT 1132 Nominalphrasen (bestehend aus dem definiten Artikel und Nomen) vorgelesen und sie sollte entscheiden, ob es sich dabei um ein oder mehrere Referenten handelte. Ihr Leistungsmuster bestätigte, kurz gesagt, die oben skizzierten Erwartungen: Die Antworten waren nicht fehlerfrei, aber doch deutlich überzufällig richtig (83 % korrekt bei einer Ratewahrscheinlichkeit von 50%). Insbesondere war dabei die Richtigkeit der Antworten von der Hinweiskraft des jeweiligen Schemas beeinflusst: NPs, die gute Singular- bzw. Pluralschemata bilden, wurden sicherer als Singular bzw. Plural identifiziert als NPs mit weniger hilfreichen Schemata. Dabei konnte für jeden einzelnen perzeptuellen Hinweis, der von Köpckes Schemaansatz als relevant beschrieben wird (Artikel, Silbenzahl, finaler Laut und Umlaut), ein Einfluss auf die Sicherheit von HTs Numerusentscheidung nachgewiesen werden.

Die vorliegenden Ergebnisse sprechen somit dafür, dass es auch bei weitgehend lexikalisierten morphologischen Paradigmen perzeptuelle Hinweise geben kann, die bei der morphologischen Verarbeitung nutzbar sind.

Domahs, F., Bartha, L., Lochy, A., Benke, T., & Delazer, M. (2006). Number words are special: Evidence from a case of primary progressive aphasia. Journal of Neurolinguistics, 19, 1–37. **Janßen, U., & Domahs, F. (2008)**. Going on with optimised feet: Evidence for the interaction between segmen¬tal and metrical structure in phonological encoding from a case of primary progressive aphasia. Aphasiology, 22, 1157–1175. **Kauschke, C. (2012)**. Kindlicher Spracherwerb im Deutschen. Germanistische Arbeitshefte; 45; De Gruyter Studium; Germanistische Arbeitshefte. Berlin [u.a.]: De Gruyter. **Köpcke, K. M. (1993)**. Schemata bei der Pluralbildung im Deutschen. Versuch einer kognitiven Morphologie. Tübingen: Narr. **Köpcke, K. M. (1998)**. The acquisition of plural marking in English and German revisited: schemata versus rules. Journal of Child Language, 25, 293–319. Penke, M., & Krause, M. (2002). German Noun Plurals: A Challenge to the Dual-Mechanism Model. Brain and Language, 81, 303–311.

Sichtbare Morphologie im Englischen

Kristian Berg

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

Morphologisch motivierte Schreibungen werden für viele Schriftsysteme angenommen, unter anderem für das Englische. Einschlägige Beispiele sind:

(1)   a.   autumnal – autumn, damnation – damn, signal – sign (Venezky 1999: 206)

        b.   electric – electricity, electrical, electrician (Carney 1994: 18)

In (1.a) verfügt der Stamm jeweils über einen "stummen" Buchstaben; dieser wird über die graphematische Form des Stamms in abgeleiteten Wortformen erklärt, also: enthält ein stummes finales , weil es in aus phonographischen Gründen auftritt. In (1.b) bleibt die Form des Stamms ebenfalls gleich, obwohl sich die Korrespondenz des finalen Elements ändert. Es handelt sich also in allen Fällen um Instanzen von Morphemkonstanz: paradigmatische Unterschiede, die im Gesprochenen existieren, werden im Geschriebenen überbrückt.

Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen scheint das betreffende Prinzip allerdings weitaus weniger stark zu sein: Die Fälle in (1.a) sind marginal; die Fälle in (1.b) sind regelmäßiger, aber auch hier finden sich systematische Ausnahmen (z.B. transmit - transmission/*transmition, divide - division/*dividion). Morphologische Schreibungen im Englischen werden also meist auf Morphemkonstanz reduziert - diese ist aber relativ unregelmäßig.

Im Gegensatz dazu wird im Vortrag dafür plädiert, Konstanzschreibungen als einen Typ morphologischer Schreibungen unter mehreren zu fassen - daneben findet sich im Englischen die Markierung morphologischer Kategorien (2.a) und die Markierung morphologischer Grenzen (2.b).

(2)   a.   could, should, would

        b.   ladylike, happiness

Die Markierung morphologischer Kategorien (2.a) geschieht durch graphematische Muster (Fuhrhop Ms.): kann in diesem Sinne z.B. ein Marker für das Präteritum von Modalverben begriffen werden, und es ist für andere Schreibungen gleichsam blockiert (die einzige Ausnahme ist die britische Variante von mold ‚Gussform' - mould). Die Markierung morphologischer Grenzen (2.b) kann an der Alternation zwischen und nachvollzogen werden: Stammfinales alterniert in flektierten Wortformen mit (), in Komposita bleibt das unverändert (). Derivationell tritt sowohl Alternation auf () als auch Bewahrung des (). Einige Derivate ähneln in dieser Hinsicht also Flexionsprodukten, andere eher Komposita; es liegt nahe, den Grad der Alternation als "Verbindungsstärke" zwischen Stamm und Suffix zu deuten (vgl. Berg eing.).

Im Vortrag sollen diese morphologischen Schreibungen mit weiteren Beispielen belegt und diskutiert werden. Am Ende steht eine Klassifikation morphologischer Schreibungen, die über Morphemkonstanz hinausgeht.

Berg, Kristian (eing.). Graphemic alternations in English as a reflex of morphological structure. **Carney, Edward (1994).** A Survey of English Spelling. London: Routledge. Fuhrhop, Nanna (Ms.). Morphemkonstanz bei starken Verben im Deutschen und Englischen. Manuskript, Universität Oldenburg. **Venezky, Richard (1999).** The American way of spelling: the structure and origins of American English orthography. New York: Guilford Press.

Testing homophony in morphology: The acoustic properties of English {s} morphemes

Julia Homann & Ingo Plag & Gero Kunter

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Recent research on lexemes has shown that homophonous lexemes show striking phonetic differences (e.g. Gahl 2008, Drager 2011), with important consequences for models of speech production such as Levelt et al. (1999). Such models would need to be adjusted to accommodate frequency effects at the lemma level and/or information of fine phonetic detail into lexical representations (e.g. Johnson 1997).

These findings also pose the question of whether similar problems hold for allegedly homophonous affixes (instead of free lexemes). If the same kind of effects were to be found also with affixes it would seriously challenge traditional analyses. A good test case for this is English, which, in the traditional view, has a number of homophonous bound {s} morphemes. Thus,

plural, genitive, genitive plural, the auxiliary forms of has and is, and the pronoun us (as in let's) can all be realized by [s] (after voiceless segments) or [z] after voiced segments (cf. plural boys, genitive singular boy's, genitive plural boys', or cliticized boy's, see e.g. Bauer, Lieber & Plag 2013). The underlying assumption for such analyses is that the form of morphemes is lexically specified only phonologically, i.e. without phonetic specification.

The present investigation challenges this assumption. First, we will present a reanalysis of the data in Walsh & Parker (1983). The original results of this study indicated that morphemic /s/ and non-morphemic /s/ are acoustically different, but the statistical analysis was only descriptive and therefore not very convincing. We reanalyze their data using mixed effect regression and show that the effects survive in a model which includes speaker, item pairs, experimental condition and frequency as additional variables. This is a first hint that an exclusively phonological representation of morphemic {s} is problematic.

We then present an investigation of more than 500 words from the Buckeye corpus (Pitt et al. 2007) with the six different {s} morphemes mentioned above. We show that there are significant acoustic differences between at least some of these morphemes (especially in duration). For example, mixed effects regression models with a number of pertinent covariates (e.g. speech rate, position in the phonological phrase, frequency etc.) demonstrate that plural {s} is significantly longer than all other {s} morphemes.

At the theoretical level these findings challenge standard assumptions in morphological theory, Lexical Phonology and models of speech production.

Bauer, Laurie, Rochelle Lieber & Ingo Plag. (2013). The Oxford reference guide to English morphology. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Drager, Katie. (2011).** Sociophonetic variation and the lemma. Journal of Phonetics 39(4). 694-707. **Gahl, Sabine. (2008).** Time and thyme are not homophones: The effect of frequency on word durations in spontaneous speech. Language 84(3). 474-496. **Johnson, Keith. (1997).** Speech perception without speaker normalization: An exemplar model. In Keith Johnson (ed.), Talker variability in speech processing, 145-165. San Diego, CA: Academic Press. Levelt, Willem J. M., Ardi Roelofs & Antje S. Meyer (1999). A theory of lexical access in speech production. Behavioral and Brain Sciences 22(1). 1-75. Pitt, Mark, Laura C. Dilley, Keith Johnson, Scott Kiesling, William D. Raymond, Elizabeth Hume & Eric Fosler-Lussier (2007). Buckeye corpus of conversational speech, 2nd release. Columbus, OH: Department of Psychology, Ohio State University. **Walsh, Thomas & Frank Parker. (1983).** The duration of morphemic and non-morphemic /s/ in English. Journal of Phonetics 11. 201-206.

AG 09

Kurz-AG 10 Pejoration

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Jörg Meibauer

Most linguists will agree that "pejoration" is an important notion for linguistic analysis and theory. Traditionally, pejoration was located in morphology and lexical semantics. In morphology, pejorative affixes as well as compounds were discussed, e.g., *Ge...e* in *Gerenne* ('running around') or *Kommunistenschwein* ('communist pig'), see Meibauer (2013); in lexical semantics, items like *Köter* ('mongrel') versus neutral *Hund*('dog') were analysed. This somewhat restricted perspective has been widened in recent years. Not only appears pejoration connected to prosody, gesture and facial expression, pejoration has also bearings on syntax, truth-conditional semantics, pragmatics, and the text/discourse level. With regard to the semantics-pragmatics interface, a debate has emerged on the meaning and use of ethnic slur terms (ethnophaulisms) like *kraut*. At its core lies the question where the pejorative or derogatory attitude of the speaker has to be located. For instance, the utterance *Merkel is a kraut* is connected to the meaning components that Merkel is a German and that the speaker disdains Germans as a class. While the first component may be easily verified as true, the second component is tricky. Is it a component of literal meaning, integrated into the set of semantic components constituting the literal meaning of *kraut*? Is it a meaning aspect that is only activated in certain contexts of utterance, where insulting the referent is intended? Or is that meaning component a conventional implicature, as has been proposed recently (e.g., Williamson 2010)? The answer to these questions obviously has to do with one's favourite conception of the semantics-pragmatics interface (see Croom 2011, Hom 2010).

The workshop aims at bringing together all linguists interested in research on pejoration, be it from the perspective of prosody, gesture, facial expression, syntax, semantics, pragmatics, text and discourse analysis. Studies on

the acquisition and change of pejorative meaning and studies from the perspective of psycho- and neurolinguistics are very welcome, as well as descriptive studies on pejorative phenomena in the world's languages.

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How do pejorative derivational meanings emerge? A bit of *Geforsche* or *Forscherei*

Antje Dammel

Wednesday, March 5th, 10:30

This talk discusses the rise of pejorative functions in derivation based on a diachronic corpus-based case study on the German derivational affixes *Ge-X-e* and *X-(er)ei*. In NHG, both affixes can – but need not – mark the speaker's derogatory attitude towards an action or behaviour of the addressee, a third party, or themselves. E.g., in contrast to the neutral formations with a nominalized infinitive *Forschen* 'researching' or the suffix *-ung* in *Forschung* 'research', the use of *Geforsche* or *Forscherei* communicates a dismissive or ironic attitude towards the research in question.

Drawing on corpus data from MHG/ENHG (*X-erei*) and ENHG/18th ct. NHG (*Ge-X-e*), I investigate 1) which semantic features of the two affixes enable them to develop pejorative meaning in the first place, 2) in which utterance contexts are pejorative meanings activated first, 3) which types of bases are involved at the earliest stage, and 4) which symptoms of context generalization can be observed.

Regarding the general question what constitutes pejorative meaning, the findings suggest that the semantic features of the base and the affix, the utterance context, and pragmatic processes strongly interact. I argue that diachronically, pejorative meanings of derivational affixes start out as conversational implicatures, heavily based on utterance context and base types with derogative connotation. They may (but need not) be conventionalized for niches of derivational patterns, a development describable in terms of pragmatic strengthening. Thus, the relative strength of the factors involved in constituting pejorative meaning may shift diachronically. However, it seems typical for pejorative derivational functions that they hardly ever develop into semantic features of the respective affix, completely independent from context and pragmatics. One reason for that lies in their history: They mostly arise on the basis of well-established denotative derivational meanings such as 'collective' (this case), or 'diminutive'.

Introduction: What is pejoration?

Jörg Meibauer

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

Pejoration, i.e., the verbal expression of derogatory meaning, is a linguistic phenomenon which is not well understood. In the introduction, it is shown that pejoration plays a role on several levels of language description, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. The crucial question is whether pejoration is a property of the grammar (e.g., pejoration is encoded in certain words or constructions) and/or a property of usage (e.g., pejoration is dependent on speaker intentions and the context). The talk gives an overview on recent approaches to pejoration and introduces relevant data.

The semantics of pejoratives

Maria Paola Tenchini & Aldo Frigerio

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

Recently the semantic status of the derogatory component of pejoratives has been much discussed. This contribute aims (i) to sketch out a map of the main positions regarding this topic, (ii) to show that some of them fail, (iii) to propose a positive solution to the debate. The positions concerning the semantics of pejoratives can be divided in three groups: (1) the silentist position of Anderson & Lepore (2013), according to which pejoratives do not possess a derogatory content and they are just taboo words; (2) the literalist position of Hom (2008, 2011), according to which the derogatory content is part of the truth conditions of a sentence; (3) the position according to which a derogatory content does exist, but it is not part of the truth conditions. Within the third large family one can distinguish (3.1) pragmatic positions, which identify the derogatory content with presuppositions (Schlenker 2007) or felicity conditions (Predelli 2010) and (3.2) semantic positions, which identify the derogatory content with Gricean conventional implicatures (Potts 2005, 2007, Williamson 2009). In this contribute we would

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like to demonstrate: (i) that, contra Anderson & Lepore, the derogatory content does exist; (ii) that, contra Hom, it is not part of the truth conditions; (iii) that, contra Schlenker e Predelli, it is part of semantics and not of pragmatics. Although Potts' and Williamson's positions are the nearest to our proposal, we advance a different thesis, by exploiting Searle's classification of speech acts. We believe that, by uttering e.g. "nigger" in a declarative sentence, a speaker performs two different speech acts: a representative corresponding to that performed by means of the sentence containing the neutral counterpart of "nigger" and an expressive by which the speaker expresses her contempt toward black people.

Anderson, L. & Lepore, E. (2013). Slurring Words, in "Nous" (47), pp. 25-48. **Hom, C. (2008).** The Semantics of Racial Epithets, in "Journal of Philosophy" (105), pp. 416-440. **Hom, C. (2011).** A Puzzle about Pejoratives, in "Philosophical Studies" (159), pp. 383–405. **Potts, C. (2005).** The Logic of Conventional Implicatures, New York: Oxford University Press. **Potts, C. (2007).** The Expressive Dimension, in "Theoretical Linguistics" (33), pp. 165-198. **Predelli, S. (2010).** From the Expressive to the Derogatory: On the Semantic Role for Non-Truth-Conditional Meaning, in S. Sawyer (ed.), New Waves in Philosophy of Language, Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 164-185. **Schlenker, P. (2007).** Expressive Presuppositions, in "Theoretical Linguistics" (33), pp. 237-245. **Williamson, T. (2009).** "Reference, Inference, and the Semantics of Pejoratives", J. Almog & P. Leonardi (eds), The Philosophy of David Kaplan, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 137-158.

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The multidimensional semantics of pejorative affixes

Antonio Fortin

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

We present a unitary formal analysis of the various meanings of Spanish evaluative affixes (pejoration, appreciation, hypocorism, diminution, augmentation, intensification/exactness, attenuation/approximation, and illocutionary mitigation), which have long been considered too heterogeneous to permit such an account (Dressler 1994; Jurafsky 1996).

Assuming the multidimensional semantics of Potts (2005; 2007), we show that the descriptive meanings of Spanish diminutive affixes are *relative gradable adjectives* in the sense of Kennedy (1997). Since the adjectival meaning of the diminutive is only available if the referent of the root to which they attach is spatially *bounded* (in the sense of Jackendoff 1991), we argue that this is a *presuppositional requirement* of the descriptive dimension. If the referent is unbounded, presupposition failure is induced, and only an expressive meaning is possible.

The pejorative and generally expressive semantics of Spanish diminutives arise as they manipulate the middle coordinate of expressive indices, the interval $\mathbf{I} \sqsubseteq [-1, 1]$, whose *midpoint* and *width* model the *type* and *intensity* of the affect expressed by a diminutive, respectively, towards a target (Potts 2007). We further show that the target is contextually, rather than syntactically, determined and introduce a novel algebraic operation for manipulating $\mathbf{I}$ in precisely the desired manner. The semantics of pejorative affixes are thus accounted for under the general theory of expressives.

Dressler, Wolfgang U., and Lavinia M. Merlini Barbaresi. (1994). Morphopragmatics: Diminutives and Intensifiers in Italian, German and Other Languages. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **Jackendoff, Ray. (1991).** Parts and boundaries. Cognition 41(1–3): 9–45. **Jurafsky, Daniel. (1996).** Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the Diminutive. Language 72(3): 533–578. **Kennedy, Christopher. (1997).** Projecting the Adjective: The Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison. Ph.D thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz. **Potts, Christopher. (2005).** The Logic of Conventional Implicatures. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ——. (2007). The expressive dimension. Theoretical Linguistics 33(2): 165–197.

The alleviative interperation from the German intensifier GANZ – Resulting in a special case of pejoration

André Meinunger

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Under certain conditions the German intensifying element ganz is not used to reinforce its associate predicate but triggers an alleviative reading. Thus, whereas Die Kette war ganz teuer always means that the relevant necklace was very expensive, a sentence like Das Buch war ganz interessant can mean something like The book was somewhat interesting, thus conveying the information that the book was not uninteresting, but it was not extraordinarily fascinating. This observation is almost unknown, but not completely new. It is not commonly acknowledged and it is still not explained.

One of the puzzling observations is that the relevant interpretational process is strictly restricted to "mildly" or "slightly" positive adjectives (and adverbials), such as interesting (as above) – but also nett, lieb, gut, angenehm, freundlich, tüchtig, geschickt (English counterparts would be: nice, good, friendly, smart …etc.). Hence, we have a very special sort of pejoration here.

The present paper argues that under the relevant reading ganz focuses not on a scalar increase, but on a prototype reading (standard, norm) for the associated predicate. This focal targeting triggers a regular scalar implicature (à la Horn) for all potential interpretations with a higher degree of the given property. As a side result the alleviative meaning emerges. Since the alleviation concerns (mildley) positive evaluative adjectives only, we are dealing here with a special case of pejoration. Note that the reverse; i.e., the alleviation of "mildly" negative expressions yielding in amelioration is impossible. This might be explained by the unmarkedness of the positive (Pollyana-Hypothesis) extended to the neutrality of the respective dimension quite so as with regular dimensional adjectives ("biasedness", "factitivity").

The logic of the argument is similar to some approaches explaining the so called absolute comparative ("Normkomparativ") in German (and other languages).

Furthermore it will be shown that and in how much the relevant implicature is grammaticalized to different degrees in different languages.

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Goethe oder nur Schiller? – Scalar evaluation with focus particles as clausal pejoration or diminuation

Daniel Hole

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

In this talk, I argue that what is usually analyzed as a presupposition or conventional implicature of 'only' words in some of their uses (Jacobs 1983, Coppock and Beaver 2013) should better be treated as a presupposition with C-level scope that interacts across a distance with the 'only' word. Furthermore, I argue that the evaluative presupposition conveys pejorative or diminutive meanings. Specifically, I assume that, on its scalar-evaluative reading, (1) has readings (2a-c), and not (3).

(1)   Paul hat nur Kekse$_F$ gegessen.

        'Paul only ate cookies$_F$.'

Paul ate no more, or nothing else than cookies...{} (entailment)

(2)   a.   '... and it is little that Paul ate no more, or nothing else than cookies.' (dim)

          b.   '... and it is bad that Paul ate no more, or nothing else than cookies.' (pej)

          c.   '... and it is little and bad that Paul ate no more, or nothing else than cookies.'(d+p)

(potential scalar-evaluative presuppositions have entailment of nur in their scopes)

(3)   'Paul ate no more, or nothing else than cookies...' (entailment)

       '...and that Paul ate cookies ranks low(est) on some contextually determined scale.'

(potential scalar-evaluative presupposition of standard accounts has prejacent of nur in its scope)

Diminutive and pejorative presuppositions (EVAL) each correspond to the presence of articulate evaluative C-level structure [$_C$ BAD° ...{} [$_{C*}$ LITTLE° ...{}]] (Cinque (1999). Evidence for such a distributed syntax of evaluative *nur* uses comes from six domains; for lack of space I present (i)-(ii) here. (i) Adverbial clauses with degenerate C domains (conditionals, temporals; Haegeman 2010) allow for dim-presuppositions, but not for pej-presuppositions. (ii) EVAL-blocking effects with negation can be captured by assuming that scale-reversing negation between EVAL and NUR destroys the scalar fitting of NUR and EVAL ('(#EVAL) > NEG > NUR > p'). Negation in a semantically empty embedding clause has no such effect, and hence EVAL is not blocked in these cases ('It is NOT the case that EVAL > NUR p').

"Bla, bla, bla" in German

Rita Finkbeiner

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

In German, as in many other languages, there is a construction consisting of three identical, seemingly content-free syllables that speakers may use to convey a pejorative stance towards a previous sequence of utterances: The "bla, bla, bla" construction. Despite its pervasiveness in many languages, it has been widely neglected in the linguistics literature so far. Cf. the following examples:

(1)   Tochter zu Mutter: [ich hab dich ja] schon mal drauf ange-sprochen ob ich hier hochziehen darf * [in das andere zimmer] […] un da hast du ja immer nur so * gründe abgegeben so von wegen wenn du achtzehn bist oder * umzug so schwer un bla bla bla un so * ich find du hast irgendwie so blöde gründe gegeben * ähm * so * wieso ich nich darf und so!

' Daughter to mother: [In fact, I have] already talked to you about moving up here [to this other room] […] and then you always gave these * reasons you know like when you are eighteen or * hard to move and blah, blah, blah and the like * I think you somehow gave these silly reasons * ah * like * why I must not and things like that! '

(EK–*E*00011_SE_02_T_01, Datenbank gesprochenes Deutsch)

(1)   A: Und ich werde Dein Verhalten mir in Zukunft angucken und solltest Du andere Benutzer ohne Grund blockieren oder in Edit-Wars einseitig eingreifen, Deine Abwahl als Admin vorschlagen. […] - B: Bla, bla, bla! Bring Fakten und mach keine Grabenkriege an anderer Stelle auf!

' A: And I will check your behavior in the future and, in case you block other users without reason or you interfere in edit wars uni-laterally, I will propose voting out you as administrator. […] - B: Blah, blah, blah! Give facts and don' t open warfare elsewhere! '

(http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Studentenverbindung/Archiv/ 2004/1._Teilarchiv:Wikipedia,2011)

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"Bla, bla, bla" has a number of different uses; most importantly, the use in reported speech (1) and the use as turn-initial reply (2). In contrast to other pejorative expressions such as "Kraut", which convey both a descriptive and an expressive content (Potts 2007), "bla, bla, bla" seems to only convey a pejorative (expressive) content.

In my talk, I will first describe the main phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic features of the construction. Based on this description, I propose an account which focuses on the quotational and meta-pragmatic features of the construction. A central question is how to describe the pejorative meaning of "bla, bla, bla" in terms of the semantics/pragmatics divide.

Potts, C. (2007). The expressive dimension. Theoretical Linguistics 33(2), 165-197.

Constructional pejoration in a language-contact situation: m-doublets in urban German

Heike Wiese

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

In urban Germany, we find new ways of speaking and new linguistic developments in multiethnic and multilingual speech communities (e.g., Kern & Selting eds. 2012). An interesting phenomenon from this domain is the use of m-doublets illustrated below ((1) is from an utterance overheard in the street; (2) is from the KiezDeutsch-Corpus (Wiese et al. 2012), from a Turkish-German bilingual speaker):

(1)   er kommt schon wieder mit   FAHRrad-MAHRrad.
       he comes yet   again   with bike-mike
       ' He comes by bike yet again. '

(2)   die sind immer mit der letzten miNUte. ey   diese
       they are always with the last   minute man these
       schissermisser
       shitter.mitter

' They always come at the last minute. Man, these scaredycats. '

In this pattern, a word is repeated in a phonologically modified form, with [m] replacing the consonant(s) in the onset. This probably goes back to Turkish (a frequent heritage language), where m-reduplication appears in colloquial usage (Lewis 2000). However, the data we have on m-doublets in urban German so far suggests a pejorative meaning (similar to Yiddish shm-doublets, Southern 2005), while Turkish m-doublets are amplifying ("and so on"). This pejoration in German might be supported by lexicalised rhymes that can also involve m-substitution, e.g., "Kuddelmuddel" 'jumble bumble', "Schickimicki" 'fancy-pancy', or "Heckmeck" 'hassle'.

The pattern of m-doublets in urban German points to a particular construction, rather than a lexical item or a syntactic structure, as a source for pejoration, and gives rise to a number of interesting questions on the linguistic status of pejoration that I will address in my talk: What is the developmental path from amplification to pejoration in this contact situation? What is the relationship between semantics and pragmatics? And how can we model the resulting constructional pejoration?

Kern, Friederike, & Selting, Margret (Eds.). Ethnic Styles of Speaking in European Metropolitan Areas. Amsterdam: Benjamins [Studies in Language Variation 8]. **Lewis, Geoffrey (2000).** Turkish Grammar. Second edition. Oxford University Press. **Southern, Mark (2005).** Contagious Couplings: Transmission of Expressives in Yiddish Echo Phrases. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. Wiese, Heike; Freywald, Ulrike; Schalowski, Sören, & Mayr, Katharina (2012). Das KiezDeutsch-Korpus. Spontansprachliche Daten Jugendlicher aus urbanen Wohngebieten. Deutsche Sprache 2: 97-123.

Showing hearing people's interactive behavior in signed discourse (German Sign Language)

Renate Fischer & Simon Kollien

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

The presentation seeks to contribute to the ongoing discussion of depreciation in discourse through the results of a descriptive study of a particular kind of signed discourse. The study is about how deaf people present hearing people's speaking and interactive behavior. Our source material is composed of personal-experience narratives and of so-called deaf stories produced in German Sign Language.

In signed discourse the quantitative relation between showing and telling is determined by a high degree of structures in the showing mode. Blending of mental spaces through constructed action / dialogue is paramount here because these structures present the behavior of referential entities making use of the signer's upper body during conversation.

The signed presentation of behavior of a hearing person towards deaf people is realized against the background of a particular social situation. This one is understood as marked, for deaf people, by submission, injustice and depreciation associated with social disadvantages in education, career building and linguistic recognition. Although the presentation is about single individuals, what is expressed are conflicts among social groups, not the clash between two people one handicapped, the other not.

The main focus will be on pejoration through gestural (not lexical) elements of discourse: Can the instances of constructed dialogue / constructed action showing a hearing person interacting, be said to be "just copying" authentic behavior as perceived by a deaf person, or are these instances "constructed" with pejorative intent?

Quantification with Pejoratives

Daniel Gutzmann & Eric McCready

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

Following the influential work by Potts (2005), pejoratives have often been understood as expressive items that contribute content to a different dimension of meaning. In this talk, we will show that the standard formal tools as offered by Potts's work and much subsequent extensions of his system, which we collectively call LCI* (e.g. Gutzmann 2011, McCready 2010), cannot deal with certain kinds of data regarding quantification and pejoratives. These problems do not only involve (i) the standard examples of nominal or adjectival pejoratives (like *bastard, damn* oder Frege's *Köter* 'cur') , but especially also (ii) verbal pejoratives (like Germ. *beglotzen* 'to gawk at' or Japanese anti-honorifics), which have not been studied in much detail. Regarding the first case, it can be observed that LCI* cannot handle examples like (1), because it leaves back an unbound variable in the expressive dimension.

(1)　Every damn linguist comes up with a new theory.

Quantification with verbal pejoratives as in the German (2) and anti-honorifics as in the Japanese (3) pose a different challenge, because no variant of LCI* offers a composition rule that can be account for them.

(2)　Jeder　　beglotzt Gina.
　　　everybody gawks.at Gina
　　　'Everybody gawks at Gina.'

(3)　doitsu-mo　　koitsu-mo　ki-yagat-ta　　　na
　　　which.one-all this.one-too come-ANTIHON-Pst PT
　　　'All you bastards have come huh!'

To overcome these problems, we propose a reformulation of LCI* that is based on the idea of *true multidimensionality*: instead of having just sporadically more than one meaning dimension defined during a semantic derivation, everyexpression receives a full multidimensional treatment. This solves the two problems discussed. As the expressive dimension is available for quantification as well, the variable in (1) can be bound by the universal quantifier which can have quantificational force in the expressive and truth-conditional dimensions. A simple multidimensional rule for functional application also allows a quantifier to apply to a verbal pejorative in order to account for (2) and (3).

Gutzmann, Daniel (2011): Expressive modifiers & mixed expressives. In: Olivier Bonami & Patricia Cabredo-Hofherr, eds.: Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 8, 123.141. McCready, Eric (2010): Varieties of conventional implicature. Semantics & Pragmatics 3.8, 1.57. Potts, Christopher (2005): The Logic of Conventional Implicature. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pejoratives in Korean

Hyun Jung Koo & Seongha Rhee

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

This paper analyzes the patterns of pejoration marking in Korean. Korean is a language which has a rich inventory of morphological trappings to signal diverse meanings of 'intersubjectivity' (Traugott & Dasher 2002), and pejoration is marked by diverse morpho-syntactic devices (Koo 2004).

The five most common devices of pejoration-marking originated from marker of (i) topographical periphery (e.g. corner, head, stem, etc.), (ii) insignificance (e.g. 'baby,' 'egg,' 'animal,' etc.), (iii) lack of sophistication (e.g. 'immaturity,' 'coarse action,' 'unrefined manner,' etc.), (iv) undesirable events/actions/postures (e.g. 'fall,''sit,' etc.), and (v) lack of specification (e.g. 'and the like,' 'and of its kind,' etc.). In terms of grammatical category, these markers encompass prefixes, suffixes, particles, auxiliary verbs, and discourse markers. From the semantic point of view, their levels of semanticization are variable on a continuum from 'only pragmatically inferable' to 'firmly conventionalized,' and thus their productivity is also variable.

Of particular interest are the (iv) and (v) types since the involved formants have undergone, or are presently undergoing, grammaticalization and/or constructionalization. For instance, the (iv) type expressions have become grammatical markers for tense/aspect/modality as well as the speaker's stance, i.e. the attitude toward the proposition, discourse situation, or discourse partners. Furthermore, the (v) type expressions subsume particles (denoting 'and the like') and reduplicative constructions that function as discourse markers (denoting 'so so', 'nothing in particular', etc.). The lack of specificity triggering the pragmatic inference of pejoration seems to involve the evaluative judgment of 'not deserving fine-tuned attention' (cf. Suzuki, 1998, for Japanese pejoratives). The development of some of group (v) constructions, all in reduplicative forms, some of which being tautologies (e.g. literally 'such is such,' 'that is that,' etc.), warrants a special attention in that such forms are largely functioning as discourse markers that mark the speaker's belittling stance about the states of affairs.

Koo, Hyun Jung (2004). A cognitive analysis of lexicalization patterns of (dis-)honorification in Korean. Korean Semantics 14: 97-120. **Suzuki, Satoko (1998).** Pejorative connotation: A case of Japanese. In A. Jucker & Y. Ziv (eds.) Discourse Markers: Descriptions and theory, 261-76. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. **Traugott, Elizabeth & Richard Dasher (2002).** Regularity in Semantic Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pejoration effects with nominal determination in Komi possessive marking

Gerson Klumpp

Friday, March 7th, 13:30

In this talk I argue that pejorative readings arise in contexts of morphosyntactic contrastive encoding when actually no contrast applies. The analysis is to account for pejoration effects reported for Komi possessive marking (e.g., Baker 1986: 57). In Komi, a Uralic language spoken in Northern Russia, nominal determination is expressed by a possessive suffix (3rd person singular -ys) which in many instances is used like a definite article as, e.g., in German. However, an important difference concerns obligatoriness of the suffix: anaphora is not always expressed, i.e. a bare noun is (still) able to function in contexts where in an article language the definite article must appear (Klumpp, to appear).

In Komi differential object marking, the accusative form of the possessive suffixe (-sö) marks given DOs while non-given DOs remain unmarked—except if they are high in animacy (human denotates) which are marked by an accusative proper in -ös. Personal names, a class of DOs inherently given and high in animacy, are marked by the accusative proper, but in contexts of contrastive focus, the possessive accusative applies. In addition, a speaker-related pejorative effect can be observed if the possessive accusative applies in a non-contrastive context as in (1b) vs. (1a) (Note that the pejorative reading arises independently from the meaning of the predicate.) If the DO expression is not a personal name as in (1c), a neutral, anaphoric reading applies.

Komi (elicited)

(1)   *Kodi kažitćas   velödćyśjasly, voďźyv   tödny   śökyd,*
         who   will appeal to students   beforehand to know difficult
         *sy vösna myj *bydönly   śölöm vylas voö raznöjtor.*   No
         because   to everybody comes into heart different things but
         *stavön pyr žö *kutisny raďejtny/mustömtny…*
         all   at once began   to like/to dislike

         'Whom the students will like is difficult to tell beforehand because they each have different likings. But everybody immediately loved/hated …'

(1)   a.   *Kirill Ivanov-ös.*
            K.   I.-ACC
            'Kirill Ivanov.'

b. *Kirill Ivanov-sö.
K.   I.-ACC3SG

'Kirill Ivanov [pejorative reading].'

c. *vyľ velödyś-sö.
new teacher-ACC3SG

'the new teacher.'

Baker, R. (1986). The Role of Animacy in Komi Direct Object Marker Selection. Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher N. F. 6, 47–60. Klumpp, G. (to appear). Identifiability, Givenness and Zero-marked Referential Objects in Komi. Linguistics (Special Issue on Differential Object Marking, edited by G. Iemmolo and G. Klumpp).

AG 11: Web Data as a Challenge for Theoretical Linguistics and Corpus Design

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Felix Bildhauer
Roland Schäfer

The huge amounts of linguistic data on the Web offer exciting new possibilities in empirically based theoretical linguistics. Web-derived linguistic resources can contain greater amounts of variation as well as non-standard grammar and writing compared to traditionally compiled corpora. Also, whole new registers and genres have been described to emerge on the Web. Like spoken language – although clearly distinct from it – the language found on the Web can thus challenge linguistic theories which are based mainly on standard written language as well as the categories assumed within these theories. At the same time, such non-standard features make the data harder to process for computational linguists, and additional care is required with the decision of labeling phenomena as "noise", which might be considered valuable data by some linguists. This workshop aims to bring together researchers working in Theoretical Linguistics and Corpus Linguistics with those who create resources from Web data. The primary question of the workshop is: Which new linguistic insights can we derive from Web data? Secondarily, we ask how Web data is (and how it should be) processed to produce easily accessible high-quality resources and thus facilitate this kind of innovative linguistic research.

Possible subjects for talks include: theoretically motivated empirical studies of linguistic phenomena in Web data, work on problems with established linguistic categories specific to certain types of Web data (problems with

traditional part-of-speech classification, syntactic categories, register and genre classification, etc.), problems of working with Web corpora from the user's perspective in concrete studies (such as low quality of tokenization, POS tagging, named entity recognition, availability and lack of meta data), assessments and improvements of the quality of available and newly designed tools and models to process or classify Web data, approaches to normalization of Web data and evaluations of the acceptability of such normalizations from a linguistic perspective, sampling of Web data (e.g., stratified vs. randomly compiled corpora, linguistic Web characterization).

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Web Data as a challenge for theoretical linguistics and corpus design (introduction)

Felix Bildhauer & Roland Schäfer

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:00

The huge amounts of linguistic data on the web offer exciting new possibilities in empirically based theoretical linguistics. Web-derived linguistic resources can contain greater amounts of variation as well as non-standard grammar and writing compared to traditionally compiled corpora. Also, whole new registers and genres have been described to emerge on the web. Like spoken language – although clearly distinct from it – the language found on the web can thus challenge linguistic theo- ries which are based mainly on standard written language as well as the categories assumed within these theories. At the same time, such non-standard features make the data harder to process for computational linguists, and additional care is required in making the decision of labeling material as "noise", because it might be considered valuable data by some linguists.

This workshop aims to bring together researchers working in Theoretical Linguistics and Corpus Linguistics with those who create resources from web data. The primary question of the workshop is: Which new linguistic insights can we derive from web data? Secondarily, we ask how web data is (and how it should be) processed to produce easily accessible high-quality resources and thus facilitate this kind of innovative linguistic research. The scope of the workshop is neither restricted to resources of a specific size or nature nor to any specific language(s).

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How webdata can challenge traditional generalizations: a case study of the order of modal particles in German

Sonja Müller

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

According to literature, combinations of modal particles are restricted. As concerns the linearization of ja and doch, the assumption is that ja precedes doch (cf. Thurmair 1989: 208, Jacobs 1991: 157, Rinas 2007: 431 e.g.).

(1)   Konrad ist ja   doch /*doch ja   verreist.
        Konrad is MP MP   out of town

        'But remember, Konrad is out of town.'

(Doherty 1987: 114)

Based on webdata, I claim that the descriptive generalizations on (im)possible orderings of ja and doch have to be revised as particular linguistic contexts can be made out in which the reversed order occurs. Furthermore, I will discuss issues such as a) consequences for linguistic theorizing, b) the role of webdata in finding the order at all, c) the age of the order, d) the quality of webdata. I will report on a controlled rating experiment (N=70, five-point scale) on ja doch and doch ja in two different linguistic contexts. Like the webdata, the results reveal that it is not only the simple difference between the orders ja doch and doch ja, but that it is also "order depending on context" which matters.

Doherty, M. (1987). Epistemic Meaning. Berlin: Springer. **Jacobs, J. (1991).** On the semantics of modal particles. In Abraham, W. (ed.), Discourse Particles. Descriptive and Theoretical Investigations on the Logical, Syntactic and Pragmatic Properties of Discourse Particles in German. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, 141–162. **Rinas, K. (2007).** Abtönungspartikel-Kombinationen und Skopus. Sprachwissenschaft 32.4, 407-452. **Thurmair, M. (1989).** Modalpartikeln und ihre Kombinationen. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Solving the rare phenomenon problem? 'Quasi-serial' verb constructions in English

Susanne Flach

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:00

Large corpora are particularly attractive for the study of rare phenomena which have either been overlooked by traditional grammar writing or have been dismissed as unsystematic. As many such phenomena occur towards the spoken end of the continuum, they are notoriously underrepresented in conventional corpora. Web-based corpora promise to alleviate this problem.

A case in point of such an infrequent and (possibly) spoken-medium phenomenon is the English (intransitive) 'quasi serial verb construction' (Pullum 1990). The V1-V2 pattern has recently been studied with respect to some relatively high-frequency types including go, come or try (e.g. Wulff 2006). Capitalizing on the availability of large web-based data, this talk will zoom into the nature of the V1-V2 construction from a data-driven perspective.

Pullum, G.K. (1990). Constraints on intransitive quasi-serial verb constructions in modern colloquial English. In Joseph, B.D. & Zwicky, A.M. (eds.), When Verbs Collide: Papers from the 1990 Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs, 218–239. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University. **Wulff, Stefanie. (2006).** Go-V vs. go-and-V in English: A case of constructional synonymy? In Gries, S.T. & Stefanowitsch, A. (eds.), Corpora in Cognitive Linguistics, 101–126. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Using corpus-based statistics for linguistic typology

Dirk Goldhahn & Uwe Quasthoff

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

This paper takes a holistic look at the field of corpus-based linguistic typology. Our goal is to use automatically created text data for a large variety of languages for quantitative typological investigations.

On the one hand, our focus is on the technical aspects of creating the necessary resources for several hundred languages. On the other hand, we utilize these corpora for cross-language quantitative studies using mathematically well-founded methods (Cysouw, 2005). These analyses include the measurement of textual characteristics. Basic requirements for these parameters are also discussed. The measured values are then utilized for typological studies. Using quantitative methods, correlations of measured properties among themselves or with typological parameters are detected. Subsequently typological parameters are predicted. In addition vocabulary-based language comparison is performed.

The results of the analyses enrich the field of linguistic typology with new findings. Our work can be considered as an automatic and language-independent process chain, thus allowing comprehensive investigations of the various languages of the world.

Cysouw, M. (2005). Quantitative methods in typology. In Altmann, G., Köhler, R. & Piotrowski, R. (eds.), Quantitative linguistics: an international handbook, 554–578. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

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For a few points more: Improving decision processes in web corpus construction

Adrien Barbaresi

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

Text quality evaluation is a major issue in web corpus construction as it varies greatly not only between the retrieved pages but also within the same document. It is a challenge to define what characteristics a text should have in order to be considered as worthy of inclusion in a linguistic corpus.

In this perspective, we introduce and evaluate a number of easily extractable document features which help to improve automatic classification of web texts with respect to a gold standard annotated by experts.

Like Schäfer et al. (2013), we adopt an unsupervised approach to document quality assessment. Our approach is motivated by the evaluation of several linguistic features which may have a certain relevance at discourse level, like discourse markers (Fraser 1999). Such features are used for instance in order to assess text readability.

The better and homogeneous precision and accuracy as well as the cross-validation results indicate that the model is bound to generalize well.

Fraser, B. (1999). What are discourse markers? Journal of Pragmatics, 31(7), 931–952. Schäfer, R., Barbaresi, A., & Bildhauer, F. (2013). The Good, the Bad, and the Hazy: Design Decisions in Web Corpus Construction. In Proceedings of the 8th Web as Corpus Workshop (WAC8), pp. 7–15.

Named Entity Recognition on German Web-Corpora

Lea Helmers

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Although Named Entity Recognition (NER) is an important preprocessing step for a wide range of NLP-tasks as well as for certain research purposes

in theoretical linguistics, the accuracy of named entity annotation is usually considerably worse than the one of POS-annotation for instance. This discrepancy in performance can already be observed testing the tools on newspaper corpora and is even more dramatic on German language data due to the general capitalization of nouns.

Considering the rising attention that web as a huge resource of natural language data receives, it seems important to know how NER-tools perform on web data. Therefore, I systematically tested three open source NER-tools and the inherent named entity recognition of the TreeTagger (Schmid 1994) on a German web corpus.

After the presentation of the programs tested, I will report the evaluation results and end with a short discussion about possibilities to further improve the performance of NER-tools.

Schmid, Helmut (1994). Probabilistic Part-of-Speech Tagging Using Decision Trees. In International Conference on New Methods in Language Processing. Manchester, UK, 44–49.

Near-Duplicate Data in Web Corpora

Vladimír Benko

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

We present the first results of an on-going experiment, in the framework of which we apply a series of deduplication procedures to the Aranea family of web corpora created by means of the SpiderLing [1] crawler. The set currently contains billion-token corpora for Russian, French and German language (Araneum Russicum [2], Francogallicum [3], and Germanicum, respectively).

Our first experiment tests the recently released tool for detecting near-duplicate data Onion [4]. The program was set to deduplicate paragraphs with three n-grams lengths and four threshold levels (German corpus). For the "aggressive" deduplication settings (threshold level 0.5) the amount of removed data depends on the n-gram length, while with the "conservative" settings (0.95) the n-gram length plays just a minor role.

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Our next tasks include (besides analyzing the remaining corpora) the comparison of Onion with other deduplication techniques, the sentence-level deduplication, as well as linguistic analysis of the removed segments.

[1] **Suchomel, V. & Pomikálek, J. (2012).** Efficient Web Crawling for Large Text Corpora. 7th Web as Corpus Workshop (WAC-7), Lyon, 2012. **[2] Benko, V. (2013).** Compatible Sketch Grammar Experiment. Proceedings of the International Conference "Corpus Linguistics – 2013", June 25–27, 2013, St. Petersburg. **[3] Benko, V. (forthcoming).** Building a Web Corpus by Means of Open-Source and Free Tools. Trav. 7ème Journées de la Linguistique de Corpus. September 4–6, 2013, Lorient. **[4] Pomikálek, J. (2011).** Removing Boilerplate and Duplicate Content from Web Corpora. Ph. D. thesis, Masaryk University, Brno.

Googleology is good science

Jack Grieve & Asnaghi Costanza & Tom Ruette

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

In his 2007 paper, "Googleology is bad science", Kilgarriff identified numerous problems with using hit counts from commercial search engines as the basis for estimating the relative frequencies of linguistic forms, arguing that such research is bad science - imprecise or inefficient or both. Although there are certainly many issues with this approach to data collection, we argue that they by no means invalidate search engine-based linguistics, and that in fact search engines can provide an accurate and convenient source of data for linguistic research. In particular, we present a method for mapping regional lexical variation using site-restricted web searches, which involves searching for the variants of a lexical alternation variable (e.g. pail/bucket) in newspaper websites from across a region of interest through a series of site-restricted web searches (e.g. site:latimes.com pail, site:latimes.com bucket, etc.). The hit counts returned by these web searches are then used to estimate the proportions of each variant in each newspaper and these proportions are then subjected to a geostatistical analysis and mapped across the cities where these newspapers are published to identify patterns of regional lexical variation in newspaper writing in a fraction of the time needed to map a variable using traditional methods.

Kilgarriff, A. (2007). Googleology is Bad Science. Computational Linguistics 33 (1): 147–151.

Cognitive Sociolinguistics with Twitter: Why do the Dutch swear with diseases?

Tom Ruette & Jack Grieve

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

In Cognitive Linguistics, it is assumed that cultural background influences parole via entrenched cognition. With this in mind, we want to investigate the claim that Dutch disease-based swearing is related to Calvinism in the North of the Netherlands (van Sterkenburg 2001). In Calvinism, diseases are considered punishments of God, casting diseases as taboo, which makes them attractive for swearing.

We investigate two questions. First, can we prove the link between Calvinism and disease-based swearing? Second, is disease-based swearing explainable by cultural cognition alone? These questions are hard to answer due to a lack of detailed swearing observations in the 17th – 20th century. However, we can get swearing observations from Twitter.

By means of Twitter data, which contains geographic meta-information, we can verify whether disease-based swearing only occurs in the Calvinistic North of the Netherlands. If true, we found indirect support that Calvinism may trigger disease-based swearing.

The results show that disease-based swearing does occur in the Calvinistic area, but is predominantly present in the urban region around Amsterdam. Further investigative steps are necessary to answer the research questions decisively.

van Sterkenburg, P. (2001). Vloeken: een cultuurbepaalde reactie op woede, irritatie en frustratie (second ed.). Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers.

Twitter-Corpus and collection of German phrases

Kazuya Abe

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

When you write a German sentence as a Japanese, you do so partly with the Japanese knowledge in order to compensate for the incomplete German

knowledge. To write a German sentence with the Japanese knowledge, it is convenient to have such "translation pairs" within each of which a German expression and a Japanese expression can be exchanged.

Based on such considerations, we examine which size of linguistic units is most relevant for such exchangeable pairs, and we try to collect those expression pairs. To achieve this, we made a start with a collection of German expressions from language usage data such as various large corpora and web pages. In my talk, I focus on the utilization of Twitter data as a data source for collection of the German phrases. I discuss the following points:

- Twitter has a lot of noise but is still useful in order to collect frequent German phrases for writing by non-native speakers of German.
- To collect phrases, both the Ngram-analysis and the collocation-analysis are effective.
- A list of collected phrases from Twitter

Using Twitter for linguistic purposes – three case studies

Ines Rehbein

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Web corpora have attracted considerable interest in view of their potential use as resources for linguistic research. They can provide us with a huge amount of data for empirical studies in natural language use which, conveniently, comes in an already digitalised format.

There are, however, many hindrances and pitfalls when working with web corpora, which have also been pointed out in the literature (see, e.g., Kilgariff and Grefenstette, 2003; Lüdeling, Evert and Baroni, 2007). These concern legal and privacy issues and the lack of (reliable) metadata. In line with that, representativity and replicability are still unsolved issues.

This paper contributes to the discussion of whether and what for web data should be used in linguistic research. We present 3 case studies on creating Twitter corpora with different properties, tailored for investigating different

aspects of linguistic variation, and discuss the merits and drawbacks of each corpus.

Kilgarriff, A. (2007). Googleology is Bad Science. Computational Linguistics 33(1), 147–151. Lüdeling, A., Evert, S. & Baroni, M. (2007). Using Web data for linguistic purposes. In Hundt, M., Nesselhauf, N. & Biewer, C. (eds.), Corpus Linguistics and the Web. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 7–24.

A Diachronic Corpus of Personal Weblogs: Possibilities and Current Constraints

Peter Grube

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

My contribution aims at three aspects:

1. It presents a diachronic corpus of the web-based genre Personal Weblog and argues that this corpus lends itself to a variety of research questions.

2. It discusses selected results from corpus research into language-image-relations both from a quantitative and from a qualitative point of view to illustrate the potentials of the corpus for the (multimodal) description of the genre Personal Weblog, providing insights into tendencies both of stability and change.

3. Finally, the talk points out current constraints of the corpus (especially regarding its annotation), offers visions for future improvement and proposes joint work in this field.

Giltrow, J. & Stein, D. (eds.) (2009). Genres in the Internet: Issues in the Theory of Genre. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. **Mehler, A. et al. (eds.) (2011).** Genres on the Web: Computational Models and Empirical Studies. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media B.V. **Stöckl, H. (2004).** Die Sprache im Bild - das Bild in der Sprache: Zur Verknüpfung von Sprache und Bild im massenmedialen Text. Konzepte Theorien Analysemethoden. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

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AG 12: Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Aria Adli
Andreas Dufter
Martin Haspelmath

This workshop will address the question which categories can be used to compare languages. The older practice of describing all languages with the categories of European languages has been discredited since the early 20th century. Linguists such as Boas (1911) urged their colleagues to describe each language in its own terms, i.e. with its own categories. This view was widespread in the structuralist period, but it also meant that it was no longer clear how to compare languages if each has different categories.

With the advent of generative grammar, the prevailing view since the 1960s came to be that the categories of different languages are after all much more similar than claimed by the structuralists, and it was often assumed without discussion that categories like verb, noun, determiner, complementizer, 3rd person, plural, subject, specifier, wh-element, or anaphor are universally available. At the same time, successes in empirical world-wide comparison such as Greenberg (1963), Keenan & Comrie (1977) and Dahl (1985) seemed to confirm that languages again and again show the same categories. But the last years have seen a resurgence of the controversy: While Newmeyer (2007) defends the standard view of generative grammar, others such as Dryer (1997), Croft (2001) and Haspelmath (2007, 2010) returned to the Boasian view that each language has its own categories, so that language comparison must make use of a special set of comparative con-

cepts (e.g. typological grammatical concepts such as S, A, P for the ergative-accusative distinction).

We welcome both presentations that argue in favour of the universalist position and presentations favouring a distinction between language-specific categories and comparative concepts. Furthermore, we invite presentations that discuss the implications of this debate on other linguistic subfields, such as sociolinguistics (the comparison of 'similar' variation phenomena in different languages), language contact, dialectology/microtypology, bilingual language acquisition, or language teaching.

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Microtypology of modality in Northern Athabascan: Separating form and function

Olga Lovick & Siri Tuttle

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

The Athabascan languages are renowned for their striking similarities in morphological structure (Rice 2000). While there are minor differences in morpheme order between languages or even dialects of the same language (the former is described in Rice 2000, the latter in e.g. Kari 1975 for Dena'ina, or Hargus 2000 for Deg Xinag), verb structure is remarkably constant across the language family. This is particularly true for the Northern part of the family, which essentially forms a dialect continuum stretching from western Alaska to the Hudson Bay in the East, and southern Alberta in the South.

This emphasis on structural similarity can obscure the fact that cognate morphological material is used for different functions across the language family. The investigation of function in Athabascan lags behind that on structural morphology, historical phonology, or lexicography. What is not explicitly available for many Northern Athabascan languages is description of what particular morphemes are used for. These problems are compounded by the existence of a traditional Athabascanist ontology, which conflates form and (historical) function in ways that can be misleading, especially when observed from a typologist perspective.

In this presentation, we show the results of a systematic investigation into the use of the "optative" and "future" inflection patterns. We consider four languages on which we have conducted primary fieldwork, namely Koyukon (Alaska), Lower Tanana (Alaska), Upper Tanana (Alaska/Yukon), and Dëne Sųłiné (Saskatchewan). We elicited comparative data using storyboards (Totem Field Storyboard Working Group 2011), which allows us to see how the same event may be encoded in all four languages.

In Koyukon, Lower and Upper Tanana, the future pattern is used to indicate possibility of an event, while the optative expresses desires or wishes. In some constructions, e.g. in the consequence of counterfactuals when expressing impossibility of an event, the languages differ in their choice. Dëne

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Sųłiné does not have a future pattern comparable to the other three languages, and the range of meanings of meanings expressed by the optative differs considerably. In all languages, enclitics contribute additional modal meanings.

(1)   *k’ a ta-t-gh-ag-tth’ äl
        NEG   water-INCEP-FUT-1SG.SBJ:CLF-fall.FUT.NEG
        (Upper Tanana)

        ' I would not have fallen into the water '

(2)   *tá-wa-es-l-tth’ i   híle (Dëne Sųłiné)
        water-OPT-1SG.SBJ-CLF-fall.OPT NEG
        ' I would not have fallen into the water '

(3)   *to-s-t’ eh=dláá   eehu
        water-1SG.SBJ:CLF-anim.move.quickly.IPFV=NEG IRR
        (Koyukon)

        ' the water would not have carried me away '

(The Lower Tanana sentence is analogous to the Koyukon one.)

The examples illustrate that despite the structural similarities, the range of functions for each inflection pattern differs considerably among these languages. This has implications for the selection of terms in ontologies. Are the subcommunity labels (Good 2004) "optative" or "future" appropriate for a language if the range of functions overlaps only marginally with that specified typologically? Is it appropriate to use the same label in two closely-related languages, even though the functions expressed may be quite different? How do we reconcile the description of functional differences with the recognition of structural similarities?

In our cross-Athabascan investigation of modality, we take the view that even closely-related languages may differ in their mapping between form and function. We break with the Athabascanist tradition of working from form to function and consider each separately. This allows us to describe the range of meanings of formal patterns, as well as the range of forms

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serving similar functions. This opens up the discussion of categories both within the subcommunity and within the typological research paradigm.

Comparing Comparative Concepts: the Occult Ontology

Sebastian Nordhoff & Siri Tuttle & Olga Lovick

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Haspelmath (2007, 2010) establishes the idea of comparative concepts and argues that typological research usually combines a meaning-based component (e.g. reference to the past) with a form-based component (e.g. prefix, suffix, independent word). Typologists can define their comparative concepts as they see fit and as it suits their research question. Practice shows, however, that certain components of comparative concepts are very popular and are used by many researchers. An example is linear precedence (X precedes/follows Y). Precedence would be a primary concept. Other concepts are derived. The concept "Suffixation" for instance relies on the concept of precedence and the concept of boundedness.

The Ontology of Comparative Concepts Used in Linguistic Typology (Occult) provides a classification of the primary concepts. The use of this is twofold: First, complex concepts used by different authors can be grounded in the primary concepts and can thus be compared as to their differences and commonalities. Second, grammatical descriptions and corpora can be annotated with the primary concepts. Such annotated descriptions and corpora can then be queried for research questions not foreseen by the original authors.

Occult is implemented in the Web Ontology Language (OWL, McGuinness et al. 2004). An advantage of this technology is that annotation and primary text can be physically separate. If relevant portions of the example already contain semantic markup (Nordhoff 2012, Nordhoff & Hammarström fc), then the annotation is straightforward. If this is not the case, the NLP Interchange Format (NIF, Hellmann et al. 2013) can be used.

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Occult consists of four main parts: signal, form, meaning, and metaconcepts, which altogether cover over 900 concepts. "Signal" contains the expressive subsystem (Lehmann & Maslova 2004), i.e. most of phonology and orthography. "Form" covers the arrangement of meaning-bearing units. Relevant concepts include atomic vs. complex, schematic vs. content, and free vs. bound. "Meaning" covers semantics, discourse, and speech acts, based on Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008). Relevant concepts include semantic roles, space, time, quantifcation, polarity, modality, etc. "Metaconcepts" finally covers notion such as difference and identity or absence and presence. The basic 900 concepts are extensible by individual researchers through subclassing if a need for a new concept arises

This talk will present the form part and the meaning part and show how the ontology interfaces with an online corpus of Athabascan languages (Tuttle & Lovick 2012+). We will furthermore compare Occult to the GOLD ontology (Farrar & Langendoen 2003) and highlight its advantages for the typologist.

Farrar, S. & T. Langendoen. (2003). A linguistic ontology for the semantic web. GLOT International 7. 200-203. **Haspelmath, M. (2007).** Pre-established categories don't exist: Consequences for language description and typology. Linguistic Typology 11(1): 119-132. **Haspelmath, M. (2010).** Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. Language 86: 663-687. Hellmann, S., J. Lehmann, S. Auer & M. Brümmer. (2013). Integrating NLP using Linked Data. In 12th International Semantic Web Conference, Sydney. http://svn.aksw.org/papers/2013/ISWC NIF/public.pdf. **Hengeveld, K. & L. Mackenzie. (2008).** Functional discourse grammar. Oxford: OUP. **Lehmann, Ch. & E. Maslova. (2004).** Grammaticography. In G. Booij, Ch. Lehmann, J. Mugdan & S. Skopeteas (eds.), Morphology/Morphologie, vol. 2, Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. McGuinness, D. L., F. van Harmelen et al. (2004). OWL web ontology language overview. W3C recommendation 10(2004-03). 10. Nordhoff, S. & H. Hammarström. (fc.). Archiving grammatical descriptions. Language Documentation and Description 12. **Nordhoff, S. (2012).** The grammatical description as a collection of form-meaning pairs. In S. Nordhoff (ed.), Electronic grammaticography, 33-62. Manoa: University of Hawai'i Press. Tuttle, S. & O. Lovick. (2012+). Alaskan Athabascan Grammar Database Development. NSF Grant 1160654.

Grammatical categories in Tarahumara

Ana Tona

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:30

Haspelmath (2007) considers that linguists who work with a minority language are very aware of translinguistic differences. However, even if this is so, it doesn't imply that they act accordingly when describing the language in question. Some linguists force particular languages to fit language universals, rather than stating universals after empirical observations. Category assignment in language description does not escape this tendency, even though it is a known fact that numerous languages differ in this respect.

In this paper we discuss the case of Tarahumaran word classes as described by various authors. Burgess (1984) has been one of the main references when studying Tarahumara, his grammar presupposes the existence of some of the European word classes in this Ute-Aztecan language. However, he supports the idea that "the distinction between adjective and noun is not always clear" and that most of the adjectives are marked by means of a participial or stative suffix (Burgess 1984: 92). We can find statements of this sort in other descriptions of Tarahumara. For instance, in a recent work about property concepts in Tarahumara, Islas & Guerrero (2011) show some difficulties in developing a proper characterization of such expressions; but finally, their analysis argues in favor of a category of adjective in Tarahumara.

One may argue that Haspelmath's supposition is not entirely true after all. This paper constitutes a revision of several grammatical descriptions in Tarahumara from different authors. It also provides some empirical data showing that properties (for nouns and events) in Tarahumara are expressed through nominal and verbal derivation as shown in the example below:

(1) a. nejéee kochí chóo-kame   raráa-ri
       1SG   dog darkness-NMLZ buy-PST
       ' I bought a black dog '

    b. echi machí mapu mukí   bao-ami   wikará-a
       3SG know SUB   woman like-NMLZ sing-PRS
       ' They know that the woman sings beautifully '

This work supports the claim that there are language-specific categories and that languages must be analyzed in their own terms.

Burgess, D. (1984). "Western Tarahumara". Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar. Volume 4. Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. **Haspelmath, M. (2007).** "Pre-established categories don't exist: consequences for language description and typology". Linguistic Typology 11: 119–132. Islas, B. & Guerrero, L. (2011). "Los conceptos de propiedad en ralámuli de Choguita". Lingüística Mexicana VI,1: 5-30.

Two-Level Word Class Categorization in Analytic Languages: A Data-based Comparative Study of Multiple Class Membership in Modern Chinese and Modern English

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Renqiang Wang

Wednesday, March 5th, 18:00

In discussing word classes, a simple comparison is often made between Indo-European languages and non-Indo-European languages, which is not very revealing. For example, while in English and many other Indo-European languages, words are specified for the syntactic functions of N and V in the lexicon, Chinese has often been described as a precategorial language (i.e. a language whose lexical items are not preclassfied in the lexicon) (Ma 1898, Li 1924, Bloomfield 1933, Gao 1954, Chao 1968, Bisang 2008, Shen 2009, Vogel 2005). Meanwhile, Farrell (2001) argues that English functional shift should be considered as category underspecification (i.e. the noun/verb distinction in English may reside in the constructions housing words rather than in the words themselves). If that is the case, then both Chinese and English are precategorial languages. However, it has been found that both modern English and modern Chinese are typical analytic/isolating languages (Crystal 1997, Payne 2011), and that analytic/isolating languages are characteristic of multiple class membership (Robins 1989, Braun 2009).

From the perspectives of language as a complex adaptive system (Ellis 2009, Bybee 2010, Lee 2009, Wang 2006) and the Theory of Norms and Exploitations (Hanks 2013), this paper argues for two-level word class categorization in analytic/isolating languages like modern Chinese and modern English. Based on Searle (1969) and Chafe (1977), Croft (1991, 2000, 2007) and Croft & van Lier (2012) argue that propositional speech act constructions/pragmatic functions (i.e. reference, predication or modification) are the foundation for the distinction of major word classes in the languages of the world. We further argue that for analytic languages, class membership or part of speech of a word must be differentiated between the syntactic level and the lexical level: while the class membership of a word at the syntactic level (i.e. in parole) is based on the propositional speech act construction in a specific sentence, the category assignment of a word at the lexical level (i.e. in langue) is based on the conventionalized propositional speech act construction(s) – the meaning potential(s) or regular pattern(s) of use found through corpus pattern surveys. In this case, we can explain multiple class membership of common words at the lexical level in langue and the obvious category flexibility of those words at the syntactic level in parole in both modern English and modern Chinese.

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Finally, a comparative study of multiple class membership in modern English and modern Chinese is made on the basis of the two DIY word class labeling databases of Oxford Advanced Learner's English Dictionary (7th ed.) and Contemporary Chinese Dictionary (5th ed.). The results strongly support our claims.

The universal component of emergent categories

Theresa Biberauer

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

In the context of the so-called "three factors" framework (Chomsky 2005), it is no longer obvious that syntactic (and, more generally, linguistic) categories should be universal. This paper aims, firstly, to show why this is so; secondly, to offer two case studies illustrating the perspectives that emerge from a generative research programme which does not assume universally given categories; and, finally, to reflect on the extent to which we might expect to find convergence between this kind of generative programme and that pursued in non-universalist circles.

Chomsky (2001: 10) proposes a prespecified inventory of formal features ([F]) from which acquirers make a one-time selection to establish the features that will be syntactically active (i.e. visible to the formal computational system) in their target language(s). This view already raises the possibility that languages may differ as to the syntactic categories they employ, given that the choice for/against selection of one or more [F]s will lead to feature-bundles, and thus syntactic categories, whose feature make-up is not identical. Precisely which features are most/least likely to be selected, how and why, and, more generally, a theory of what [F]s the syntactic categories making up (stable) natural-language systems require has not, however, been worked out. The predictions of this approach are therefore unclear. The present paper departs from the assumption that [F]s are prespecified and proposes, instead, that the only (substantive) featural information children are born with is that the input must be parsed not just in terms of phonological [P] and semantic [S] features, but also in terms of [Fs], which allow the

computational system to operate with lexical items in the category-based way observed in human languages. Since there is, by hypothesis, no inventory of [F]s to map the input onto, the child must exploit (i) cues in the input, notably, multiple exponence/"doubling" (Zeijlstra 2008) and movement (Biberauer 2011), in combination with (ii) learning biases, notably, Input Generalisation (Roberts 2007) and Feature Economy (Roberts and Roussou 2003), both of which drive the child to make maximal use of minimal [F]s, thus restricting the drive to postulate [F]s, except in the absence of input to the contrary. Since languages demonstrably do not all grammaticalise – and thus formalise – the same features, it is expected, on this emergentist generative approach to categories, that categorial inventories will vary crosslinguistically. Further, we can probe what the limits of this variation are and thus potentially derive insight into the question of what "basic" [F]s and thus also what types of syntactic categories natural-language systems require in order to be acquirable and usable, and also into the related question of what, in formal terms, differentiates stable and unstable systems. Maintaining the minimalist assumption that syntactic (and possibly other – see i.a. Halle & Marantz 1997, Nevins 2010, Perry 2012) structure is constructed via the [F]-sensitive operations MERGE and AGREE, certain types of systems are ruled out a priori: these include those entirely devoid of [F]s; systems lacking a "basic" distinction of some kind which will allow "spine" elements (e.g. verbal elements associated with the clausal spine) to combine with "satellite" elements (e.g. subjects, objects, certain adverbials) – some form of 'verb'/'noun' distinction is therefore arguably expected to be universal, although its surface manifestations and formal character may vary greatly (see Chung 2013 for recent discussion); and systems containing [F]s which are not independently responsible for some instance of doubling or movement ([F]s are only postulated if existing [F]s in the system cannot account for some morphosyntactic phenomenon). We also briefly consider the importance for this approach of the initial input (or, more accurately, intake), and the role it plays in determining the limits of crosslinguistic categorial variation.

Two case studies are presented to illustrate the workings and predictions of the proposed approach. Firstly, I will show how variation in negation-related input leads acquirers to different conclusions regarding the status of negation as an [F] in different systems and also how certain well-established typological facts fall out from this. Secondly, building on Wiltschko (2008)

and Butler (2012), I will show how the approach leads us to expect substantial crosslinguistic variation in relation to how Number is encoded in linguistic systems and also why diachronic changes affecting the realisation of Number take the form they do.

Butler, L. (2012). "Crosslinguistic and experimental evidence for non-Number plurals". Linguistic Variation 12(1): 27-56. **Chung, S. (2012).** "Are lexical categories universal? The view from Chamorro". Theoretical Linguistics 38: 1-56. **Roberts, I. (2007).** Diachronic Syntax. Oxford: OUP. **Wiltschko, M. (2008).** "The syntax of non-inflectional plural marking". Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 26(3): 639-694. **Zeijlstra, H. (2008).** "On the syntactic flexibility of formal features". In: T. Biberauer (ed.). The Limits of Syntactic Variation. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 143-174.

How to advance linguistic theories: Icelandic and Universal Grammar

Thórhallur Eythórsson

Thursday, March 6th, 09:30

The goal of this paper is to illustrate, by example of Icelandic, how language-specific description and a theory of grammar with a universal appeal must go hand in hand in advancing the analysis of grammatical categories. In a concrete case, we can note that linguists working on Icelandic have brought to the fore a number of important empirical facts that at the time of their initial discussion in the theoretical literature were believed to be crosslinguistically very rare, even unattested. Among the syntactic phenomena of which this holds true are the following:

- Oblique ("quirky") subjects (Andrews 1976)

- Stylistic Fronting (Maling 1980)

- Long Distance Reflexivization (Thráinsson 1979)

- Object Shift (of full NPs) (Holmberg 1986)

- The Transitive Expletive Construction (Ottósson 1989, Jonas & Bobaljik 1993)

- The New Passive (New Impersonal) (Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2001, Eythórsson 2008)

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These phenomena challenged various theoretical models, among other things because they contradicted conventional views on the nature of grammatical categories; some even went as far as claiming that Icelandic is "not a natural language". This pessimistic view was authoritatively examined and dismissed by Thráinsson (1996).

The main objective of the present paper is to take the issue one step further and to show how the discovery of various linguistic structures of Icelandic has led to the recognition of similar facts in other (Germanic, Indo-European and even unrelated) languages, where they had previously not been noticed, or at least not problematized in terms of linguistic theory. For example, the insight that syntactic subjects can have a morphological case other than nominative was not generally acknowledged until after the oblique subject hypothesis had been proposed for Icelandic (as well as Bengali and some other languages). A further objective of the paper is to illustrate how such descriptive facts have advanced theoretical linguistics, in that any model of natural language must take them into account. As a result of the investigation of Icelandic syntax, in combination with work on comparable phenomena in other languages, the following (negative) points were established:

- There is no one-to-one relation between case and grammatical function (Oblique subject/Nominative object).

- The claim that "anaphors must be bound within their minimal clause" is untenable (Long Distance Reflexivization).

- The alleged fundamental distinction between heads and phrases does not hold (Stylistic Fronting).

- Syntactic categories like VP or IP are not discrete units (Object Shift, Transitive Expletive Construction).

- Accusative case is compatible with passive-like constructions, contra Burzio's Generalization (the New Passive/Impersonal).

In conclusion, this paper highlights how the study of a specific language, in this case Icelandic, reveals properties of "novel" or "quirky" linguistic phenomena which turn out to be highly important for the analysis of grammatical categories in a macrocomparative perspective. Thus, once again, we are

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reminded of the validity of the maxim that advances in linguistics must proceed in terms of a constant interplay between description and theorizing.

The methodology of the CoreGram project

Stefan Müller

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

Haspelmath (2010), Dryer (1997), Croft (2001, Section 1.4.2–1.4.3), and others argue that descriptive categories should be language-specific, that is, the notion of subject for Tagalog is different from the one for English, the category noun in English is different from the category noun in Persian and so on.

We agree that the assumption of universal categories that are based on a few European languages is problematic, but do not draw as radical conclusions as the authors cited above. Instead we follow an approach that is similar to the generative approach but avoids its pitfalls. We develop grammars for languages that must be motivatable by language internal facts. This makes it possible to learn the respective grammars in an input driven way without the assumption of elaborate innate linguistic knowledge in the way it is assumed for instance by Cinque and Rizzi (2010). Our approach also excludes the assumption of phonologically empty expletives that are used by some authors working in GB/Minimalism to ensure uniformity of structures across languages.

We develop grammars for several languages and organize the respective constraints in sets. Constraints that are shared among two or more languages are represented in a set that is part of the complete grammars of the respective languages.

[Figure missing here for technical reasons, see http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/coregram.html for the original abstract including the figure.]

For instance Set 3 contains constraints that are shared between Dutch and German. Set 5 contains constraints that hold of German, Dutch and Danish. When working on new languages, we use the constraints from other languages if they are applicable. So, we do not follow the radical approach

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by Haspelmath and others in assuming that Danish and German nouns are radically different. Instead we use the same labels but employ additional features to account for the differences. On the other hand we do allow for new categories that do not correspond to the traditional ones. For instance, the Chinese grammar contains the part of speech classifier.

Haspelmath argued that a semantic definition of dative is useful for typological comparison. He sets this apart from language-specific definitions of dative or other cases, which may correspond to the semantically defined concept of dative or not. Our approach considers both syntactic and semantic properties of the languages under examination. Therefore the semantic information concerning role assignment to recipients, which Haspelmath considered relevant for the language independent terminology, is part of the constraint sets we arrive at with our method. Hence the respective typological generalizations and implications can be derived from the hierarchical organization of constraint sets as it is depicted above.

Croft (2009) argues against the generative method of examining "one language at a time" on the basis of the failure of all claims connected to the Pro-Drop Parameter. We think that this failure was due to the bias on European languages. Croft refers to typological studies that were carried out by himself and that used samples of size 12. (Carefully constructed, balanced) samples of size 12 can be managed with the methodology described above and we expect to derive interesting typological generalizations without running into the problems of GB/Minimalist approaches. Since we treat languages independently and require language-internal motivation of the constraints we avoid the problem of 'changing the hypothesis on the way' that was pointed out by Croft in a discussion of Baker's work.

Cinque, G. & L. Rizzi. (2010). The Cartography of Syntactic Structures. In B. Heine & H. Narrog (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis, 51–65. Oxford: OUP. **Croft, W. (2001).** Radical Construction Grammar. Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective. Oxford: OUP. **Croft, W. (2009).** Methods for Finding Language Universals in Syntax. In S. Scalise, E. Magni & A. Bisetto (eds.), Universals of Language Today, 145–164. Dordrecht: Springer. **Dryer, M. S. (1997).** Are Grammatical Relations Universal? In J. Bybee, J. Haiman & S. Thompson (eds.), Essays on Language Function and Language Type: Dedicated to T. Givón, 115–143. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Haspelmath, M. (2010).** Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories in Crosslinguistic Studies. Language 86(3): 663–687.

Functional categories in comparative linguistics

Jan Rijkhoff

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

Even after many decades of typological research, the biggest method-ological problem still concerns the fundamental question: how can we be sure that we identify and compare the same linguistic form, structure, meaning etc. across languages? Very few linguistic categories, if any, appear to be 'universal' in the sense that they are attested in each and every language (Evans & Levinson 2009). The language-specific nature of form-based (structural, morphosyntactic) categories is well known, which is why typologists usually resort to 'Greenbergian', meaning-based categories. The use of meaning-based or semantic categories, however, does not necessarily result in the identification of cross-linguistically comparable data either, as was already shown by Greenberg (1966: 88) himself. Whereas formal categories are too narrow in that they do not cover all the structural variants attested across languages, semantic categories can be too wide, including too many structural variants to be useful for e.g. morphosyntactic typology. Furthermore, major typological word order studies after Greenberg (1966) have failed to keep formal and semantic categories apart in their attempt to account for cross-linguistic ordering tendencies (Rijkhoff 2009a).

Recent proposals to employ 'concepts' as the basis for cross-linguistic comparison (apparently conflating linguistic/semantic and non-linguistic/cognitive categories) have also met with considerable skepticism (Levinson 2007). Finally, the idea that visual stimuli can produce reliable data for cross-linguistic research is also not unproblematic, as several studies have suggested that there is no single, 'neutral' way in which visual input is processed across different languages and cultures (e.g. Lucy 1996, Evans 2009). Furthermore certain 'ontological categories' are language-specific (Malt 1995). For example, speakers of Kalam (New Guinea) do not classify the cassowary as a bird, because they believe it has a mythical kinship relation with humans (Bulmer 1967).

In this talk I will discuss the role of functional categories in comparative mor-phosyntactic research, a type of category that has hardly been taken into account so far. Functional categorization is not directly concerned with the formal or semantic properties of a constituent, but rather with the actual job of a linguistic form or construction in the process of verbal communi-cation (in the tradition of the Prague School). I will argue that (a) functional categorization is methodologically prior to formal and semantic categoriza-tion (functional categories include semantic and formal categories) and (b)

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functional categories give better cross-linguistic 'coverage' then formal or semantic categories. Finally it will be shown that functional categories have their own distinct grammatical properties (Rijkhoff 2008, 2009b, forthc.).

Bulmer, R. (1967). Why is the cassowary not a bird? A problem of zoological taxonomy among the Karam of the New Guinea highlands. Man 2-1, 5-25. **Evans, N. (2009).** Trelisses of the mind: how language trains thought. Chapter 8 of Dying Words: Endangered Languages and What They Have to Tell Us, 159-181. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. **Evans, N. & S. C. Levinson. (2009).** The myth of language universals: language diversity and its importance for cognitive science. Behavioral and Brain Sciences 32-5, 429–92. **Greenberg, J. H. (1963).** Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Joseph H. Greenberg (ed.), Universals of Language, 73-113. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **Levinson, S. C. (1997).** From outer to inner space: linguistic categories and non-linguistic thinking. In J. Nuyts and E. Pederson (eds.), Language and Conceptualization, 13-45. Cambridge: CUP. **Lucy, J. (1996).** The scope of linguistic relativity: An analysis and review of empirical research. In J.J. Gumpertz and S.C. Levinson (eds.), Rethinking Linguistic Relativity, 37-69. Cambridge: CUP. **Malt, B. C. (1995).** Category coherence in cross-cultural perspective. Cognitive Psychology 29, 85-148. **Rijkhoff, J. (2008).** Synchronic and diachronic evidence for parallels between noun phrases and sentences. In F. Josephson and I. Söhrman (eds.), Interdependence of Diachronic and Synchronic Analyses, 13-42. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Rijkhoff, J. (2009a). On the (un)suitability of semantic categories. Linguistic Typology 13-1, 95-104. Rijkhoff, J. (2009b). On the co-variation between form and function of adnominal possessive modifiers in Dutch and English. In W.B. McGregor (ed.), The Expression of Possession, 51-106. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Rijkhoff, J. (forthc.). Word order.

Universal phonetic and phonological categories

Steven Moran

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

Typological databases provide a tool to access and characterize the distribution of linguistic phenomena in the world's languages. However, a fundamental fundamental problem with making these characterizations, first raised by Sherman & Vihman (1972), is: What constitutes adequate descriptive categories for linguistic phenomena and how can they be compared?

In phonetics and phonology, languageparticular descriptive categories are required to describe languages' phonological systems (Haspelmath 2010). Port & Leary (2005: 927) argue that phonologies differ incommensurably and that the description of speech sounds cannot be tied to a universally fixed phonetic alphabet, noting that "decades of phonetics research demonstrate that there exists no universal inventory of phonetic objects". Their conclusion is that there is no discrete universal phonetic inventory with an a priori inventory of phonetic atoms. They are not the only researchers to position themselves against a Universal Grammar (UG) of phonological atoms. At the featural level, Mielke (2008) argues against an innate set of universal features and for an emergent distinctive feature theory. He claims phonological patterns are not reliant upon a fixed set of universally available features,

but can emerge from language particular features and constraints (Emergent theories explain synchronic properties and observations in diachronic terms, see Blevins 2004.) Mohanan et al. (2009) take the argument against 1 inherent features a step further and ask if all featurebased crosslinguistic comparison must be abandoned if UG does not contain predefined features. In their approach, to undertake phonological typology what is needed is "a theory of feature emergence that expresses the family resemblances of features, connecting the concrete aspects of the articulation and perception of speech to a crosslinguistically shared set of features" (Mohanan et al. 2009, 151). A crosslinguistically valid "currency of distinctive features" can be obtained without UG stipulating a universally predefined set.

Using a broad database of 1200+ phonological inventories, Moran (2012) shows that as the sample of languages increases, segment types continue to increase at an asymptotic rate. In other words, for every language added to the database there are typically segment types found in no other languages already in the sample. This phenomenon, however, does not appear in distinctive features.

In this paper we will argue that phones and phonemes are languagespecific categories. Although they are compared crosslinguistically, an English /p/ is not a German /p/, etc. Each is language-specific. On the other hand, some distinctive features are universal categories based on notions of articulatory and perceptual features. We can indeed speak of phonetic features, such as coronal, dorsal, high and back, as categories found in most, if not all, languages. Other distinctive features, such as +/ATR, consonantal, labiodental, etc., are universally dispreferred for various reasons, including they are phonological categories created by linguists to describe classes of sound change (e.g. obstruent) This universal space is structured, as shown by Moran et al. (2013); there are universal preferences and dispreferences for certain features.

Blevins, J. (2004). Evolutionary Phonology: The Emergence of Sound Patterns. Cambridge University Press. Haspelmath, M. (2010). Comparative Concepts and Descriptive Categories in Crosslinguistic Studies. Language 86(3): 663-687. Mielke, Jeff. (2008). The Emergence of Distinctive Features. Oxford: OUP. Mohanan, K. P., D. Archangeli & D. Pulleyblank. (2009). The Emergence of Optimality Theory. Reality Exploration and Discovery: Pattern Interaction in Language and Life, L. Uyechi & L. Hee Wee (eds.). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. Moran, S. (2012). Phonetics Information Base and Lexicon. PhD thesis, University of Washington. Moran, S., T. Zakharko & B. Bickel. (2013). Estimating Diachronic Preferences of Phonological Features Crosslinguistically. Paper Presented at the Association for Linguistic Typology. August 15-18. Leipzig, Germany. Port, R. F. & A. Leary. (2005). Against Formal Phonology. Language, 81: 927-964. Sherman, D. & M. Vihman. (1972). The Language Universals Phonological Archiving Project: 1971-1972. Working Papers on Language Universals 9: 163-179. Stanford University.

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A feature-geometric account on forms of

Singular address in Chilean Spanish (compared with French, Italian and Castilian Spanish)

Sascha Gaglia

Thursday, March 6th, 12:00

While most of the modern Spanish systems of Singular address exhibit a distinction between tú (e.g. Castilian Spanish) or vos (e.g. Argentinean Spanish) and Usted, the latter being the politeness pronoun expressing social distance, Chilean Spanish varieties – like only a few other Spanish varieties spoken in Southern America – shows a three-way system: vos expresses familiarity, tú is the intermedial pronoun of address (cf. Torrejón 1991, Carricaburo 1997: 36). Paradoxically, Usted (morphologically 3SG) can also express an even greater proximity than tú and vos. E.g., when parents talk to their children intimately or when members of a couple talk or write to each other, the politeness pronoun is often used instead of the other two pronouns:

(1)   a.   Mi padre no me bautizó y después me dijo,
                my father not me baptized and then me he-told
                mire, usted no está bautizado así es que
                look.POL you.POL not be.POL baptized therefore is that
                el día que quiera se puede ir a bautizar
                the day that want.POL Ref may.POL go to baptize

                ' My father did not baptize me and then he said to me, look, you are not baptized – therefore, you can go to be baptized whenever you want.' (transcript of an interview; cf. von Criegern de Guiñazú 2010: 258)

    b.   Buenos días, amor: (…) Y u(ste)d reciba la
             good morning love and you.POL receive.POL the
             diaria cuota de nuestro amor de su isleño, su
             daily rate of our love (…) from your islander your
             Polo
             Polo

' Good morning my love, (...) and you receive the daily rate of our love (...) from your islander, your Polo. ' (taken from a letter; cf. von Criegern de Guiñazú 2010: 283)

In the talk, I shall discuss the following questions: (1) How is the Chilean paradigm of subject pronouns to be specified from a feature geometric perspective regarding morpho-syntactic features? (2) Does the Chilean system of address exclusively make use of Person and Number features regarding politeness and/or the different degrees of proximity, or does it operate on the grounds of specific features? (3) How must the interface between morpho-syntax and pragmatics be modeled? Regarding the synchronic specification of the Chilean pronominal paradigm, I will use the feature geometry proposed by Harley & Ritter (2002). The Chilean system will be compared to French and Italian varieties (in French and archaic Italian, the 2PL subject pronoun is used for formal address in the Singular; Standard Italian and non-archaic Italian varieties use 3SG). I will show that these varieties, indeed, make use of Person and Number features with respect to politeness without introducing specific features. However, at least for non-archaic Italian varieties, the specification of a [Non-Participant]-node will be decisive for an appropriate analysis (against Harley & Ritter 2002: 486-487 who refuse the specification of the 3rd Person according to Benveniste 1971: 217). For Chilean and Castilian, I will propose a modified version of the given feature geometry.

Benveniste, E. (1971). The nature of pronouns. In Problems in General Linguistics. Coral Gables: Univ. of Miami Press, 217-222. **Carri-caburo, N. (1997).** Las fórmulas de tratamiento en el español actual. Madrid: Arco. Harley, H. & Ritter, E. (2002). Person and number in pronouns: a feature-geometric analysis. Language 78(3): 482-526. von Criegern de Guíñazú, F. (2010). Lárico, lúdico, lacónico. Floridor Pérez und seine chilenische Lyrik. Göttingen: V&R Unipress. **Torrejón, A. (1991).** Fórmulas de tratamiento de segunda persona singular en el español de Chile. Hispania 74: 1068-1076.

'Antiapplicative' as a comparative concept: a cross-linguistic perspective

Eitan Grossman

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Languages are often described in terms of language-specific categories, e.g., the English Conative Alternation or the Shilluk Antipassive. However,

linguists often worry about whether a given language-specific category is 'really' an antipassive or a case-affix (or something else). The distinction between descriptive categories and comparative concepts, elucidated by Haspelmath (2010), gives descriptive linguists and typologists a way to cut this Gordian knot, by admitting that languages should be described in their own terms, and using comparative concepts, defined by linguists for the sake of comparing language structures, in order to test hypotheses and generalizations.

This paper proposes that the notion 'antiapplicative' is useful as a comparative concept for typologists who want to distinguish between argument-removing and argument-demoting constructions, or, in other words, between valency- and transitivity-reducing constructions. The term 'antiapplicative' (or its alternative, 'deobjective'), which is not used much today in linguistics, either as a comparative concept or as a label for descriptive categories, has been defined as a "type of object-removing category [in which] the patient is not removed entirely, it only loses its direct object status and is expressed as an oblique phrase" (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2001), following Geniušėnė (1987: 94) [see examples 1-2]. It can also be represented schematically as follows:

Transitive:	Ai	Pj
Antiapplicative:	Si	Oblj

The rationale behind the term is clear enough: broadly speaking, applicatives are usually said to 'promote' a peripheral or oblique participant to the status of core argument, so an antiapplicative would naturally be a construction that 'demotes' a core argument to peripheral or oblique status. Antiapplicatives are considered to be rare cross-linguistically. However, given the above definition, this view should probably be revised. The main claims of this paper, based on a cross-linguistic sample, are:

- The comparative concept 'antiapplicative' is a useful one for cross-linguistic research, as it allows structurally and functionally similar – but not identical – constructions to be compared and testable hypotheses to be formulated;

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- Antiapplicatives are transitivity-reducing but valency-preserving constructions. Many constructions described as (patientive) antipassives (e.g., in Jakaltek Popti'), as well as some other kinds of transitivity alternations (such as the English Conative Alternation), can be considered antiapplicatives;

- Antiapplicatives are found in many areas of the world, including Eurasia, Africa, the Americas, and Oceania. As such, it is probably Eurocentric to call antiapplicatives 'antipassives' in 'exotic' languages, and 'verb alternations' in better-described European languages. A more fine-grained perspective, looking at lexical productivity, constructional meaning, and syntactic function, is needed in order to identify crosslinguistic patterns of variation.

- The definition proposed for the comparative concept allows a testable prediction to be made, namely, that there is a universal hierarchy of locus of marking in antiapplicative constructions: marking strategies associated with verbs, e.g., verb valency markers (examples 1-3), argument indexing (ex. 5), and stem alternations (ex. 4), presuppose argument flagging ('dependent marking'). Linear order and other behavioral properties, e.g., auxiliary selection, participate in encoding antiapplicative constructions (Bambara and Danish, examples 6-7), but they seem to presuppose the existence of argument flagging as well. This generalization turns out to be robust, since a potentially significant type of counter-example, involving differential argument indexing, is inconclusive at best.

Examples

(1) Hungarian (Uralic; Haspelmath & Mueller-Bardey 2001, citing (Károly 1982: 187))

    a. Az orvos szán-ja a beteg-et.
       the doctor pity-3SG the patient-ACC

       'The doctor pities for the patient.'

    b. Az orvos szán-akoz-ik a beteg-en.
       the doctor pity-ANTIAP-3SG the patient-SUPERESS

       'The doctor feels pity for the patient.'

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(2) Lithuanian (Indo-European; Geniušenė 1987: 94-96)

  a. Petr-as   svaido akmen-is
     Peter-NOM throws stone-AC.PL

     'Peter is throwing stones'

  b. Petr-as   svaido-si   akmen-imis
     Peter-NOM throws-ANTIAP stone-INS.PL

     'Peter is throwing stones.'

(3) Spanish (Indo-European; Masullo 1992)

  a. Juan lamenta su fracaso
     Juan regrets his failure

  b. Juan lamenta de su fracaso
     Juan regrets OBL his failure

     'Juan regrets his failure'   (b implies that Juan is at fault).

(4) Päri (West Nilotic, Nilo-Saharan; Andersen 1988)

  a. rìŋó ŋôl ùbúrr-ì   ŋɔ́l-ɔ̀
     meat cut Ubur-ERG cut-SUF

     'Ubur will cut the meat.'

  b. ùbúr ŋùt-ò   kí rìŋó
     Ubur cut.CF.AP-SUF OBL meat

     'Ubur will cut the meat.'

(5) Jakaltek Popti' (Mayan; Craig 1977)

  a. xk-ach   s-kol   naj
     ASP-2ABS 3ERG-help CL/he

     'He helped you'

  b. xk-ach-kol-wa   y-inh naj
     ASP-2ABS-help-AP 3-OBL CL/he

     'You helped him'   ('You gave him a hand')

(6) Bambara (Mande; Creissels 2005)

  a. mǎdù   bénà dúmúní ꜜbán
     Madou pm food   finish
     'Madou will finish the food.'

b. mǎdù   bɛ́nà bán   dúmúní ꜜná
    Madou PM   finish food   OBL

    'Madou will finish the food.'

(7)   Danish (Indo-European; Durst-Andersen and Herslund 1996: 79-80)

a. Han har/*er begyndt sine studier
    He has/*is begun his studies

b. Han er/*har begyndt på   sine studier
    He   is/*has begun   OBL his   studies

    'He has begun his studies.'

Geniušienė, E. (1987). The Typology of Reflexives. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **Haspelmath, M. (2010).** Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. Language 86(3): 663-687. Haspelmath, M. & T. Müller-Bardey. (2004). Valence Change. In Booij, G., Lehmann, C., & Mugdan, J. (eds.), Morphology: A Handbook on Inflection and Word Formation. Vol. 2. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1130-1145.

Comparing languages by degrees of motivation and exploitation

Simon Kasper

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

Assuming that utterances (and their underlying constructions) can be conceived of as instructions to conceptualize states, processes, and activities (henceforth: circumstances) and that conceptualization is simulated perception, interpreting an utterance consists of simulating the (mainly visual) perception of a circumstance by incrementally building up Figure/Ground configurations on the basis of upcoming material of the speech stream. The relationship between basic (unmarked) syntactic constructions and the structure of concepts/percepts can be modeled using the notion of diagrammatic iconicity (cf. Peirce 21960). Taking as an example a simple event involving three entities in perception (imagine Peter kicking a ball into a pond), a straightforward mapping MOTIVATED by diagrammatic iconicity is one where the object of perception moving first (Figure) is coded by the first nominal expression in a construction and the object acted upon (Ground) is coded by the second nominal expression. The latter object in turn functions

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as the moving object (Figure) relative to another entity (Ground) in the next sub-event of the macro-event (yielding a Peter > ball > pond order in the utterance). This straightforward, motivated mapping by means of diagrammatic iconicity can now be EXPLOITED to different degrees in languages. Exploitation occurs in at least one of two ways: (a) A construction (e.g., All men step out of the bus) pretends to be a simple instruction to simulate a perception consisting of a simple Figure/Ground configuration (all men – the bus), although (with a distributed meaning of all) it COMPRESSES a multiplicity of Figure/Ground configurations in a single construction. A faithful conceptualization underlying this utterance would actually have to proceed from man1 (as Figure1) stepping out of the bus to man2 (as Figure2) stepping out of the bus to man3 (as Figure3) stepping out of the bus etc. (b) In the case of HYPOSTATIZATION (e.g., Unemployment threatens the Spanish youth) a construction pretends to be a simple instruction to simulate a perception consisting of a simple Figure/Ground configuration (Unemployment – the Spanish youth), although unemployment is no possible object of perception. It makes no retinal image on the basis of which a Figure (object) could be identified. The linguistic form of the noun phrase, Unemployment, pretends by its category to designate an object (of (simulated) perception), while it actually codes a whole circumstance conceptually.

These distinctions provide the possibility of comparing languages with respect to the degree to which they exhibit motivation, compression, and hypostatization. For instance, Gil's (1995: 330) universal 4 seems to be a case in point: "If a language possesses a distributive-key universal quantifier, it possesses a simple universal quantifier." In All men step out of the bus, all has a simple universal quantifier reading: The perceptually integrated group of all men constitutes a potential figure (object) in perception. There is a motivated, diagrammatically iconic mapping, then. In its distributive reading (in the sense of 'Each man steps out of the bus, one at a time') the sentence constitutes an exploited mapping by means of compression. Gil's universal can thus be argued to be an instance of a cognitively rooted, more general typological tendency: If a language exhibits exploited mappings by means of compression, it also exhibits motivated mappings by means of diagrammatic iconicity.

The presentation discusses the idea and consequences of comparing languages by degrees of motivation and exploitation.

Gil, D. (1995). Universal quantifiers and distributivity. In E. Bach, E. Jelinek, A. Kratzer & B. H. Partee (eds.), Quantification in Natural

Languages, 321–362. Dordrecht: Kluwer. **Kasper, S. (2013).** The culture and nature of the linking competence. How action and perception shape the syntax-semantics relationship. Doctoral dissertation, Philipps-Universität Marburg. Peirce, Ch. S. (2 1960): Collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce. Vol. 1 & 2. Ed. C. Hartshorne. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Comparing the incomparable. Diathesis, voice and case in Polish and Swahili.

Agnieszka Schönhof-Wilkans

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

The aim of the presentation is to discuss the methodology of an ongoing research project concerned with contrastive analysis of Polish and Swahili with respect to the category of diathesis, being one of the most complicated linguistic categories. This complexity results in a number of terminological ambiguities in various linguistic approaches. Sometimes the notion of diathesis has been treated interchangeably with that of voice. In our approach those two categories, although intertwined, are two separate notions – diathesis is concerned with sentences, voice with verbs. Diathesis "embraces both the category of voice and case, and covers a considerable part of semantics, syntax, and morphosyntax" (Bańczerowski 2006: 4). Voice is the verbal encoding of diathesis.

The structure of events, being a semantic structure, is reflected in sentences, which are morphosyntactic structures. It is assumed that there exist common, and relatively comparable, categorical semantic schemata for Polish and Swahili. Those schemata are determined by diathetic meanings such as transitivity, transmittivity, causativity, stativity, reflexivity, reciprocity, and others. Every categorical semantic schema is realized by a number of categoricalmorphosyntactic schemata which are specific to each language. Languages display differences in the coding of information concerning the same events. Differences between Polish and Swahili are expected to occur primarily at the level of representation of the semantic category of voice and case.

The material for analysis is collected by means of interviews with Polish and Swahili native speakers. Oral descriptions of events are elicited through video prompts (diversified in terms of the number of diathetic meanings),

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identical for both groups. The analysis will make use of the concepts of Jerzy Bańczerowski's general theory of diathesis, which has hitherto been applied to several languages – Japanese (Bańczerowski 2006), Korean (Bańczerowski 2001), Chinese (Kordek 2000), Finnish and Estonian (Bielecki 2005), and Hindi (Stroński 2011) – although it has not yet been applied to African languages. The project is a continuation of research already undertaken for the purpose of a doctoral thesis titled "The Category of Diathesis in Swahili. Transitivity. Transmittivity. Causativity", and above all extends that work to include a contrastive aspect (Swahili vs. Polish). Thanks to the results obtained, the conceptual apparatus of the axiomatic theory of diathesis as understood by Bańczerowski will be extended to include additional diathetic meanings. The framework proposed here attempts to bridge universalist and structuralist approaches.

Bańczerowski, J. (2001). Some aspects of the category of diathesis in Korean. In: Cheong, Byung-Kwon–Pak, Cheong-Wu (eds.), Je 8 hwe jeonggi haksul daehwe. Haksul Daehwe Nonmunjip. Seoul: Hanguk Dong Yureop Balkan Hakhwe, Hanguk Wegugeo Daehakkyo, Dong Yureop Balkan Yeonguso. **Bańczerowski, J. (2006).** A contribution to a theory of transitivity in Japanese. Scripta Neophilologica Posnaniensia. Tom VIII.Wydział Neofilologii UAM Poznań: 3-24. **Bielecki, R. (2005).** Kategoria tranzytywności w języku fińskim i estońskim. Nieopublikowana rozprawa doktorska, InstytutJęzykoznawstwa, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. **Kordek, N. (2000).** Kategoria diatezy w języku chińskim. Nieopublikowana rozprawa doktorska, Instytut Językoznawstwa, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. **Kulikov, L. I. (2010).** Voice typology. In: J.J. Song (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Typology. Oxford: OUP, 368-398. **Lodhi, A. Y. (2002).** Verbal extensions in Bantu (the case of Swahili and Nyamwezi). **Stroński, K. (2011).** Synchronic and Diachronic Aspects of Ergativity in Indo-Aryan. Poznań: Wydawnictwo naukowe UAM.

[group] is everywhere

Ania Snarska

Friday, March 7th, 12:30

This paper argues in favor of the universalist position (see Newmeyer 2007) with respect to grammatical categories. More precisely, it concentrates on the category of the non-lexical subject which crops up in a non-finite clause hosting a collective predicate. In such a situation the reference of the subject seems to include not only the matrix antecedent but also other individuals (they are indicated by 1+) salient in context which are, however, syntactically absent. An example of this sort of construction is provided in (1) (I use the conventional null pronoun PRO in lieu of the non-lexical subject in the non-finite clause. The linguistic context in (1) provides the necessary participants of the meeting other than the matrix controller. However, one should bear in mind that when such a context is missing, pragmatics will allow us to set up another one easily, as witnessed in (2)):

(1)   *John$_1$ told Mary$_2$ that he$_1$ wants [PRO$_{1+}$ to meet in the morning].

Consequently, this phenomenon has come to be known in the framework of generative grammar as Partial Control (PC) (Landau 2000). John, the controller, only partially controls PRO in the lower clause. Hence, the lack of identical indices on John and PRO.

Although PC seems bizarre, Landau (2000: 27) argues that "PC is (...) not an exotic peculiarity but an option widely available, even if not widely instantiated." The English example represents a quite universal pattern – it is also attested in Polish, Russian, Italian, German, French, to name but a few (for space reasons I will provide the relevant examples in my presentation).

I postulate that PC subject is a universal formative. In my analysis PC springs from the movement of a controller DP, John in (1), from the embedded clause, while stranding an associative null pronoun, which originally adjoined to the DP in the non-finite clause (see also Rodrigues 2008):

(2)   [TP John [vP John wants [TP John to [vP [vP [DP pro John] meet] [PP in the morning]]]]].

The (irrelevant to the point under discussion) technical details aside, I argue that in (2) the PC effect is achieved due to the presence of a null pronoun equipped with a [group] feature, a feature the existence of which has been proposed in (Kratzer 2008). If, as Kratzer posits, there are different types of pronominal features, [group] being one of them, that freely combine with each other, then we cannot exclude the possibility that grammar sanctions the existence of a minimal pronoun which consists of a single feature [group]. This feature is available cross-linguistically. Hence, with a widely held belief that there are many commonalities between nouns and pronouns, I propose that the associative plural markers such as –ney in Korean, -tachi in Japanese, -men in Chinese or –ék in Hungarian are spelled out versions of [group] in the nominal domain:

(3)   a.   *Yamada-sensei-wa   Taroo-tachi-o syokuzi-ni
               Hamada-teacher-TOP Taro-PL.ACC   meal-to
               syootai-sita (Japanese)
               invited

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' Professor Yamada invited Taro and those in his group for dinner. '

b. Xiao Qiang-men shenme shihou lai? (Chinese)
XiaoQiang-PL what time come

' When are XiaoQiang and the others coming? '

c. Inho-ney-ka pelsse ttena-ass-ta. (Korean)
Inho-PL.NOM already leave-PST.DC

' Inho and those associated with him/her already left. '

d. Péter-ék együtt érkeztek. (Hungarian)
Peter-PL together arrived

' Peter and his associates arrived together. '

Associative plural markers are fairly widespread cross-linguistically. A recent study found them to be present in 201 languages out of a sample of 238 (Daniel-Moravcsik 2005). The fact that languages lexicalize [group] in the nominal domain obviously lends weight to the existence of the null [pro] as the postulation of a non-lexical element in a theory is best warranted if and only if there is a lexical incarnation of it. Needless to say, not every language grammaticalizes [group]. Languages will always vary on the surface. However, I argue that at the deep level of structure every language has [group] at its disposal. The feature is sometimes lexicalized, for example in Chinese or Japanese, and sometimes it is not. On the latter scenario PC kicks in.

Daniel, M. & E. Moravcsik. (2005). The associative plural. In M. Haspelmath, M.S. Dryer, Gil & B. Comrie (eds.), The World Atlas of Language Structures, 150-153. Oxford: OUP. **Kratzer, A. (2008).** Making a pronoun. Fake indexicals as windows into the properties of pronouns. (http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/WI10ThiO) (date of access: 10 February 2013). **Landau, I. (2000).** Elements of control. Structure and meaning in infinitival constructions. Dordrecht: Kluwer. **Newmeyer, F. J. (2005).** Possible and probable languages: A generative perspective of linguistic typology. Oxford: OUP. **Rodrigues, C. (2008).** Agreement and flotation in partial and inverse partial control configurations. In: Davies, W. D. & S. Dubinsky (eds.), New horizons in the analysis of control and raising. 213-230. Dordrecht: Springer.

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Semantic prerequisites for the typology of functional categories

Zygmunt Frajzyngier

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

The usual approach to the typology of functional categories has been to start with categories well established in Indo-European languages and proceed with the study of their presence or absence in other languages. The aim of the proposed study is to develop theoretical and methodological foundations for the typologies of functional categories. At the basis of this approach are meanings actually encoded in grammatical systems of individual languages rather than a fixed set of formal categories (Newmeyer 2007), basic meanings (Seiler 1995), prototypical sceletal constructs (Lazard 2004) or comparative concepts (Haspelmath 2010).

The fundamental concept of the proposed approach is that every language has a semantic structure composed of functional domains (see also Croft 2001), subdomains, and individual grammaticalized meanings.

One of the semantic prerequisites is that meaning encoded in the grammar of individual languages must be discovered and proved. Accordingly the study proposes a rigorous methodology for the discovery of meanings encoded in grammatical systems. Meaning encoded in the grammatical system is quite a different concept than the meaning of individual lexical or grammatical form. The methodology of discovery is based on the notions of functional domain and subdomain and on the analysis of forms of the language. Such a methodology has been missing in many contemporary formal and functional studies, and is absent in Croft 2001. The individual meanings are discovered and described in relationship to other meanings within the same domain. The results of such analyses are often quite different from reference based analyses of meaning prevalent in contemporary studies. The proposed approach allows us to explain why certain constructions are possible in some languages and impossible in others, something that no version of Construction Grammar or current approaches to typology are able to explain.

Much of contemporary typologies of functional categories has clause as one of its central themes. This study provide a model for a typology of clausal predications and associated semantic relations. Based on a few typologically distinct languages, some familiar and others not, the study demonstrates how to discover meanings encoded in clausal predications, how to prove these meanings, and finally how to build a typology based on the discovered meanings.

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Croft, William. (2001). Radical construction grammar. Syntactic theory in typological perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Haspelmath, Martin. (2010). Comparative concepts and descriptive categories in cross-linguistic studies. Language 86(3): 663-687.

Lazard, Gilbert. (2004). On the status of linguistics with particular regard to typology. The Linguistic Review 21: 389-411. **Newmeyer, Frederick J. (2007).** Linguistic typology requires crosslinguistic formal categories. Linguistic Typology 11: 133-157.

Comparative concepts in descriptive linguistics

Ulrike Mosel

Friday, March 7th, 13:30

Comparative concepts and language specific descriptive categories are different kinds of categories so that from a typologist's perspective typology and language-particular analysis are distinct enterprises (Haspelmath 2010). From the perspective of a descriptive linguist, however, the process of analysing a previously undescribed language is not independent of typology. Descriptive linguists must make use of clearly defined comparative concepts because otherwise they run the risk of intuitively imposing categories of other languages on the language under investigation.

To be a truly scientific enterprise each step of the analysis of a language must be replicable and in principle be falsifiable. This implies that the data must come from an accessible corpus of recorded texts (in the widest sense); the categories used for sorting the data must be clearly defined comparative concepts; the linguist must document how these concepts were employed in corpus searches and how the results of the corpus searches were interpreted to set up the descriptive categories for the language under investigation.

This method of language analysis and description is exemplified by the analysis of the word classes of an Austronesian language which at first sight seems to support the widely discussed claim that these languages exhibit lexical flexibility because one and the same content word may function as the head of a noun phrase, a verb complex, and an adjectival phrase, and also as a modifier of a verb complex. But the quantitative corpus-based analysis that takes comparative concepts called "thing-words", "action-words" and "property-words" as its starting point demonstrates that lexical flexibility is not incompatible with the existence of distributional word classes

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and that for this language lexical flexibility must be understood as a graded concept, because its content words show different degrees of flexibility.

The last section of this paper presents some definitions of comparative concepts that are needed for the analysis and description of the word classes of previously undescribed languages.

Simon Pickl

Probabilistische Geolinguistik

Geostatistische Analysen lexikalischer Variation
in Bayerisch-Schwaben

Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik – Beiheft 154

Welche Faktoren können erklären, an welchen Orten welche
dialektalen Ausdrücke verwendet werden? Welchen Regeln folgt
die geographische Verteilung von sprachlichen Varianten?
Diese Arbeit untersucht sprachgeographische Muster und Struktu-
ren auf der Basis empirischer Sprachdaten. Hierzu dient ein um-
fangreiches Kartenkorpus: der wortgeographische Teil des *Sprach-
atlas von Bayerisch-Schwaben*, der die dialektale Variation der
Benennungen von mehreren hundert Begriffen dokumentiert. Mit
geostatistischen Methoden, die in Zusammenarbeit mit Stochasti-
kern entwickelt wurden, werden diese Daten quantitativ ausgewer-
tet, um den Einfluss von sprachlichen und nicht-sprachlichen Fakto-
ren auf sprachgeographische Verbreitungsmuster zu untersuchen.
Dafür wird ein geolinguistisches Variationsmodell eingeführt, das
das Auftreten sprachlicher Varianten in Abhängigkeit von Wahr-
scheinlichkeiten beschreibt. So werden nicht nur gängige
Annahmen über sprachgeographische Mechanismen auf den
Prüfstand gestellt, sondern auch bislang unbekannte Raumstruk-
turen sichtbar – und dies in einer Detailliertheit und Tiefe, die von
den üblichen Verfahren nicht erreicht wird.

*Die Arbeit wurde ausgezeichnet mit dem Förderpreis des Bezirks
Schwaben und dem Johann-Andreas-Schmeller-Preis.*

....

Ebenfalls lieferbar

Robert Möller

Erscheinungsformen rheinischer Alltagssprache

Untersuchungen zu Variation und Kookkurrenzregularitäten im
„mittleren Bereich" zwischen Dialekt und Standardsprache
Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik – Beiheft 153
2013. 372 Seiten. Kart. € 60,–. ISBN 978-3-515-10122-6

Roland Kehrein

Regionalsprachliche Spektren im Raum

Zur linguistischen Struktur der Vertikale
Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik – Beiheft 152
2012. 389 Seiten. Kart. € 60,–. ISBN 978-3-515-10273-5

....

Franz Steiner Verlag

AG 13: Labels and Roots

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Erich Groat
Leah Bauke
Andreas Blümel

In syntactic and morphological theory, complex structures are assumed to be composed of subparts: A=[B C]. If one member of A is a lexical item and contributes to its distribution, its interactions with other objects, etc., we can refer to this member as A's *head*. Recent approaches (Collins 2002, Chomsky 2013) seek to derive endocentricity of phrases (Chomsky 1970, Jackendoff 1977) by a general labeling algorithm, delving more deeply into the role syntactic category values (*v*, *n*, C, T, etc.) play in syntax and in interpretation.

A related branch of research attempts to determine semantic and syntactic contributions lexical categories make for the combinatorial system, as in the study of argument structure. How do we account for the morphosyntactic behavior of "root" elements, and what role do labels play in their behavior? In the *exoskeletal* approach to syntax (Borer 2005 *et seq*, De Belder 2011), lexical roots have no intrinsic categorial label: rather, the syntactic configuration in which a root is found determines its category and its specific semantic contribution. Distributive Morphology approaches (Marantz 1997 *et seq*) similarly argue that categorial functional heads determine the category of roots they merge with (cf. Marantz 2012, Wood 2012).

In this workshop, we seek to bring together a variety of syntactic and morphological research whose focus is on empirical and conceptual arguments (in any and all current theoretical frameworks) concerning this fundamental issue, both to assess the state of the art in the field, and to inspire further research. Some key question are:

1. What work do syntactic labels do, within the syntax and morphology, and for semantics and phonology?

2. What is the possible content of a label? Is the content drawn from one or both parts of a complex object?
3. How generally predictable are labels?
4. Are labels components of a structure, or determined by a labeling procedure (Boeckx 2009, Chomsky 2012), or can they be outsourced completely from the syntax (Adger 2013)?
5. Do lexical roots have morpho-syntactic features which serve as their labels (Harley, to appear), or are their syntactic/morphological categories are provided by formal elements with which they combine (Marantz 2008, Irwin 2012)?
6. How might labeling be involved in more diverse syntactic phenomena, such as Agreement, Case, movement, and so on?

Labeling With Simplest Merge

T. Daniel Seely

Wednesday, March 5th, 14:30

INTRODUCTION: This talk elaborates a series of papers by Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (EKS), particularly as EKS relates to Chomsky's (2013) 'labeling by minimal search' analysis. Empirically (and conceptually) advantageous consequences of the labeling by search analysis are revealed, including: (i) the analysis explains 'obligatory exit' in A-movement (without any reference to Merge-over-Merge nor to Lexical Arrays/Subarrays nor in fact to the construct 'phase') and (ii) it explains 'obligatory halting' in key instances of Criterial Freezing (Epstein 1992, Rizzi 2013). These results are consistent with the twin (often implicit) goals of (i) reducing Merge to its simplest and unified form (with no labels nor label projection) while (ii) concomitantly maximizing Merge's explanatory effects (postulating as few operations as possible beyond Merge).

LABELING BY MINIMAL SEARCH: Chomsky (2013) takes labeling to be the process of finding the identifying categorial information, relevant to CI, of $\{\alpha, \beta\}$ generated by simplest Merge (viz Merge$(\alpha, \beta) = \{\alpha, \beta\}$): labeling is "...just minimal search, presumably appropriating a third factor principle, as in Agree and other operations." There are two cases in question: {H, XP}, where minimal search will select H as the label; and {XP, YP}, where minimal search operates to find the label as follows:

(1) Suppose Syntactic Object SO = {XP, YP}, neither a head. Here minimal search is ambiguous, locating the heads X, Y of XP, YP, respectively. There are, then, two ways in which SO can be labeled: (A) modify SO so that there is only one visible head, or (B) X and Y are identical in a relevant respect [i.e. sharing some prominent feature, TDS], providing the same label, which can be taken as the label of the SO. (from Chomsky 2013)

OBLIGATORY EXIT WITH A-MOVEMENT: EKS (2013) suggests that Chomsky's analysis explains 'obligatory exit' from intermediate positions, not only in the successive cyclic A'-movement phenomena he analyzes, but also in

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(phase-internal) successive cyclic A-movement and does so employing simplest Merge and third factor minimal search for notationally unprojected labels (contra Chomsky 1995), and without any appeal to Merge-over-Move nor Lexical Arrays/Subarrays, nor the concept 'phase'). Consider the standard examples that motivated the postulation of Move-over-Merge and the constructs Array/Subarray/Phase:

(2) a. *There is likely [α a man to be t in the room].
     b. There is likely [α t to be a man in the room].

(3) a. There is a possibility [CP that a man will be t in the room].
     b. A possibility is [CP that there will be a man in the room].

If, as in (2a), "a man" raises to form the embedded clause α and remains there at CI, minimal search cannot find the label of α because α is of the form {XP, YP}, and there is no prominent feature (phi or Q), shared by X and Y; α's labellessness bars (2a) by Full Interpretation (FI) at CI. Now if "there" is inserted (in position of t) to form the embedded clause α, as in (2b), and "there" is in fact an XP (perhaps of the form {D, pro}, see Uriagereka (1988)), then α is (once again) a label-less set {XP, YP} where crucially "there" and infinitival raising T do not share phi features. Thus, "there" cannot remain in this position. If "there" undergoes further movement, however, then minimal search finds the only visible head, T("to"), as the label of α (as we will discuss in detail, for Chomsky (2013) once "there" raises, the copy in the position of t is invisible to search, since not all occurrences of "there" are in the domain of α, and hence lower T is the label). Now, what about the matrix? Here T and "there" share/agree in phi and a completely labeled, hence FI compliant, CI representation is generated, (2b). As for (3), suppose we dispense with the notions Array/Subarray/Merge-over-Move/phase since (2a) is as shown now out by labeling failure of α. Then, there is no needed competition between insertion of "there" and movement of "a man." Each counts as an option available to NS. Thus, (3a,b) are both generable. Summarizing, we suggest that Chomsky's (2013) analysis extends to successive cyclic A-movement. If this labeling analysis is on track, then Array/Subarray are eliminated from NS, thereby simplifying NS, but notice now that the elimination of Array/Subarray entails the elimination of the notion 'phase'

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itself, where a phase of the derivation is defined precisely as a syntactic object derived from a Subarray, extracted from an Array. We discuss this issue in some detail.

CRITERIAL FREEZING: Consider (4)

(4)   a.   *You wonder [α CQ [TP John likes this dog]].
       b.   *You wonder [α CQ [TP John likes which dog]].

In both (4a & b) minimal search selects the head CQ as the label of α, hence there is no labeling failure, and FI is satisfied at CI. So, what is wrong in (4)? Arguably there is an interpretive problem. Assuming that labeling plays a determinative role in interpretation, but the CQ alone cannot provide the label Q for the proper wh-interrogative interpretation, the following CI requirement is proposed:

(5)   For the proper interpretation of a wh-interrogative α, a complementizer CQ and an operator WHQ must determine the label Q of α.

The CI requirement (5) correctly excludes (4) because the CQ fails to determine the label Q of α with an operator WHQ (under the 'shared prominent feature' option of (1)). But (5) also captures the contrast exhibited by (6), one kind of motivation for 'criterial freezing:"

(6)   a.   You wonder [α [which dog] [CQ [TP John likes t]]].
       b.   *Which dog do you wonder [α t [CQ [TP John likes t]]]?

In (6a), the CQ and the operator WHQ co-determine the label Q of α. In (6b), however, the CQ fails to co-determine the label Q of α with the operator WHQ, given that the operator WHQ in α is "invisible" to labeling (not all occurrences of "which dog" are in the domain of α; see Chomsky (2013)). If the labeling analysis of (4) and (6) is on track, it suggests that 'obligatory syntactic halt' from criterial positions is in fact an illusion. There is no syntactic prohibition barring such movement (contra Epstein (1992), Rizzi (2013)); rather, free (and simplest) Merge can execute movement from

a criterial position, but such movement necessarily leads to a violation of the independently needed CI requirement (5). We discuss the concepts and consequences of these, and other, analyses of labeling by minimal search.

Wrong path, wrong label: On the relation between labelling and left-branch opacity

Marc Richards

Wednesday, March 5th, 15:30

Cecchetto & Donati (2011) offer an account of relative islands in terms of labelling, but stop short of an extension to subject islands. On the latter, Chomsky (2008) speculates that search into a left branch is the "wrong choice" for a probe; however, the Phase Impenetrability Condition does not ensure this. I suggest instead that it is precisely here that labelling has a role to play in explaining opacity effects, with 'wrong path' reducing to 'wrong label'. Assuming a 'selector projects' approach to labelling (Chomsky 2000), the selecting head that provides the label for the output of Merge(α,β) can be recast in terms of the Edge Feature (EF), much as in Cecchetto & Donati's Probing Algorithm. I further assume that EFs may be either deletable or undeletable, and that successive-cyclic movement out of a phase (via its edge) requires undeletable EF. From these assumptions, we derive the result in (1): two items with active edges cannot be merged.

(1)   *XP, YP if both X and Y are phase heads with undeletable EF

Since each phase head with undeletable EF returns a label to the labelling algorithm (LA), a labelling clash arises if extraction is attempted out of an XP that does not itself determine the label of {XP, YP} (that is, if the desired interpretation is that XP is the 'specifier' of YP). Whilst such {XP, YP} configurations pose a general problem for Chomsky's (2013) LA, they only do so under (1) if the nonprojecting member independently requires undeletable EF (e.g. for subextraction). Relevant instantiations of (1) include {DP, vP} where vP would project (subject islands), and {DP, CP} where DP would project

(free-relative islands). Other consequences of this system include the following. Firstly, LA is radically simplified: labels are equated with undeletable EFs, so that LA simply scans the tree for undeleted EFs. In cases of Merge(α,β) where EF on both items is deletable (and thus removed from the system, like valued uF), LA will fail to identify a syntactic label. Departing from Chomsky 2013, I do not take such LA failures to be fatal; rather, they should simply yield points of interpretive optionality, with the label determined semantically (essentially, by s-selection) – a less redundant system. Following Richards 2012, only completely nondefective phases, such as interrogative CPs and some DPs, have deletable EF, on principled grounds. The interpretive freedom we observe where two such categories are merged, as in the celebrated case of indirect questions versus free relatives, is then just as expected; there is no need to encode this decision in the syntax. Finally, roots are invisible to LA (cf. Chomsky 2013), their lack of label now reducing to lack of EF (which is what the categorizing phase head provides).

Cecchetto, C. & C. Donati (2011). Relabeling + No Labeling = Islands. Paper presented at Islands In Contemprary Linguistic Theory. Vitoria-Gasteiz, November 2011. **Chomsky, N. (2000).** Minimalist inquiries: the framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels & J. Uriagereka (eds.), Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik, 89-156. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **Chomsky, N. (2008).** On phases. In: R. Freidin, C. P. Otero and M.-L. Zubizarreta (eds.), Foundational Issues in Linguistic Theory, 133–166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. **Chomsky, N. (2013).** Problems of Projection. Lingua 130: 33-49.

The root and nothing but the root: primary compounds in Dutch

Marijke De Belder

Wednesday, March 5th, 16:30

1. Introduction There is no obvious reason why a compound's non-head should necessarily project any functional structure. If the root hypothesis is valid (Borer 2005), one therefore expects the existence of compounds of which the non-head is nothing but a bare root. I show that the non-head of a specific subtype of Dutch primary (i.e. non-synthetic, non-phrasal) compounds is indeed demonstrably a bare root. It is fully acategorial. It does not contain categorial heads or functional projections.

2. Main data Dutch has a type of compounding (henceforth root compounds) of which the non-head (i.e. the left-hand part) may be associated with just any category, including N, V, A, cardinals, interjections,

conjunctions and adverbs, see (1) for some examples. It is directly adjacent to the head. In what follows I claim that root compounds do not allow for just any type of category as their non-head. They rather systematically select for one and the same syntactic category: a bare root, which cannot merge with functional or categorial heads.

(1)   a.   slaap-pil
           sleep-pil
           'sleeping pill'
      b.   drie-luik
           three-panel
           'triptych'
      c.   ja-woord
           yes-word
           'marriage vows'
      d.   achter-deur
           back-door
           'backdoor'
      e.   of-poort
           or-gate
           'or-gate'

  3. Evidence against intervening functional heads The non-head of root compounds cannot merge with functional heads. It is well-known that if the non-head seems verbal, one attests invariably the stem of the verb (de Haas and Trommelen 1993, Haeseryn et al. 1997, Don 2009). (2) shows the illicitness of agreement inflection, (3) shows the ungrammaticality of past tense inflection, (4) shows that even participles are blocked.

(2)   *zwem-t-vogel
      swim-3SG-bird

(3)   *speur-de-hond
      track-PAST-dog

(4) gesneuveld-bericht
     fallen.in.battle-message

Otherwise obligatory nominal heads may be lacking on the non-head as well, indicating the non-head may be smaller than a N, i.e. it may be a root. (i) The plural marker of pluralia tantum, as in (5)a, is lacking on the non-head in root compounds, as in (5)b. (ii) West-Flemish dialects have overt feminine marking on the noun, as in (6)a. This marker is absent in root compounds, see (6)b (cf. Josefsson 1997 on Swedish).

(5) a. kleer-en
         cloth-PL
         'clothes'
     b. kleer-kast
         cloth-closet
         'wardrobe'

(6) a. e vrouw-e
         a woman-F
         'a woman'
     b. vrouw-mens
         woman-human
         'woman (pejorative)'

  4. Evidence against intervening categorial heads One could argue that the root in the non-head of root compounds is not bare, but rather merges with a null categorial head (i.e. a little head v°/n°/a°) (cf. Harley 2009 on compounding in English). However, overt derivational affixes are illicit in this context, see (7). This shows that root compounds may not contain little heads.

(7) a. *steen-ig-cultuur
         stone-AFFv°-culture
     b. *menstru-eer-pijn
         mentru-atev°-pain

    c. *spaar-zaam-attitude
        save-somea°-attitude

(During the talk I will address apparent counterexamples, such as parkeer-garage 'parking garage' and verdwijntruc 'disappearing act' and I will attribute the appearance of nominal affixes, as in menstru-atien-pijn 'menstrual pain', to the existence of a competing type of compounding.)

5. I adopt the proposal from De Belder & van Craenenbroeck (2011) that a root is a featureless terminal node which is a by-product of Primary Merge. Yet, I will develop the proposal to allow roots merging with roots. I argue syntax can select an empty set (i.e. no features) from the numeration to add another root to the structure. I will conclude that any (sub)derivation consists of a lexical core which may contain more than one root. (Root compounds are recursive.) Through selection in the FSeq roots are limited to the bottom of the tree.

6. Theoretical consequences: The conclusions are important for the present field in the following respects. (i) They support the thesis that the most minimal lexicon projection is a root (Halle and Marantz 1993, Borer 2005 i.a.), (ii) they show that roots occupy a slot in the structure. As such, they pose an empirical problem for any model which assumes that roots are nothing but the spell-out of functional heads (Ramchand 2008, Starke 2009) or which postulates that roots merge high in the structure as a modifier of functional structure (Harley 2005, Den Dikken 2008 i.a.) and (iii) they demonstrate that roots do not need to be categorized in order to be interpretable (pace Marantz 2001, Arad 2003).

Arad, Maya (2003). Roots and Patterns: Hebrew Morpho-syntax.. Studies in NLLT. Dordrecht: Springer. **Borer, Hagit (2005).** In name only: Structuring Sense vol I. Oxford: OUP. **De Belder, Marijke & Jeroen van Craenenbroeck (2011).** How to merge a root. Ms., HUBrussel & Utrecht University. **de Haas, Wim & Mieke Trommelen (1993).** Morfologisch handboek van het Nederlands: een overzicht van de woordvorming. 's-Gravenhage: SDU Uitgeverij. **Den Dikken, Marcel (2008).** Directions from the GET-GO Keynote talk at the 10th Seoul International Conference on Generative Grammar. Seoul July 17-20, 2008. **Don, Jan (2009).** IE, Germanic: Dutch. In Lieber, R. & P. Štekauer (eds.) The Oxford handbook of compounding. Oxford: OUP. Haeseryn et al. (1997). Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst. Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff Uitgevers. **Halle, Morris & Alec Marantz (1993).** Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In: Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.) The view from building 20. Cambridge: MIT Press, 111-176. **Harley, Heidi (2005).** How do verbs get their names? In N. Erteschik-Shir & T. Rapoport (eds.). The Syntax of Aspect 42–64. Oxford: OUP. **Harley, Heidi (2009).** Compounding in Distributed Morphology. In: Lieber, Rochelle & Pavol Štekauer (eds.) The Oxford handbook of compounding. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Josefsson, G. (1997).** On the principles of word formation in Swedish. PhD. Diss: Lund University. **Marantz, Alec (2001).** Words. Paper presented at WCCFL XX, USC, February 2001. http://homepages.nyu.edu/~ma988/Phase_in_Words_Final.pdf **Ramchand, Gillian (2008).** Verb meaning and the lexicon. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. **Starke, M. (2009).** Nanosyntax - a short primer to a new approach to language. Nordlyd 36:1, 1-6.

The structural configurations of categorization

Artemis Alexiadou & Terje Lohndal

Wednesday, March 5th, 17:00

Introduction: It is assumed that Merge combines two syntactic objects α and β into the unordered set {α, β}. Typically one of them projects and provides the label for the phrasal element (Chomsky 1995). Thus we get {α, {α, β}} or {β, {α, β}}. As this example demonstrates, either α or β projects, there are no phrase structure constraints on which element can project. This paper will pose a particular challenge from Distributed Morphology (DM) regarding this conception of structure building and thereby contribute to ongoing work on the phrase-structure domains of categorization (Harley 2005b, Embick 2010, De Belder and van Craenenbroeck 2011, and to some extent Acquaviva 2008).

A challenge: Following research within DM, we assume that roots have to merge with a categorizer (Marantz 1997, Embick and Marantz 2008, Embick 2010). The leading idea is that word formation is syntactic and that there are atomic, non-decomposable elements that are called roots (see also Pesetsky 1995, Borer 2005a, b, 2013). Roots combine with functional elements and together they build larger elements. Importantly, in this theory, roots are category neutral. They enter the syntactic derivation without a category and are only categorized by combining with category-defining functional heads/labels. When roots merge with a categorizer, the categorizer always projects; the root never seems to project. That is, we always have (1a), never (1b) (see De Belder and van Craenenbroeck 2011 for discussion).

(1)　　a.　　[v v √ROOT]
　　　　b.　　[√ROOT v √ROOT]

An implicit assumption here is that the categorizer is always a head. The question that arises is what blocks (1b).

Adjuncts and √ROOT: Technically, the only way to ensure that we never get (1b) is to propose that roots merge always as modifiers of/adjuncts to their

categorizing head. Chomsky (2004) distinguishes between Set Merge and Pair Merge. The former is ordinary merge, which creates an unordered set, whereas the latter is a type of merge that creates an ordered pair. Chomsky claims that adjunction corresponds to Pair Merge. In cases of adjunction, the adjoined phrase γP combines with another phrase δP. Normally, δP projects the label. In that sense, roots interact with categorizers in a similar way that adjuncts interact with the non-adjoined part of the structure.

Evidence: Recently, Marantz (2013) puts forth several arguments in favor of the view that in English roots always merge as modifiers of v. One such argument relates to the observation made in Embick (2010) that within a spell-out domain, morphologically triggered allomorphy (e.g., in irregular past tense) is conditioned by linear adjacency, e.g.. √TEACH + ø + Pst = taught (irregular /t/ or null allomorph of Pst). According to Marantz, if roots were merged low we would expect them not to show irregular past tenses, contrary to fact: several putative low roots of predicates undergoing the causative alternation show irregular past tenses: bend-bent, break-broke.

Consequences: If categorizers always project, then the root must always be a modifier. √ROOT cannot project into a phrase and it cannot take part in labeling. This requires a different analysis of phenomena where it has been argued that roots are able to take complements. We will show how Kratzer's (1996) arguments do not support a root taking a thematic complement (Borer 2005, 2013, Lohndal in press). Similarly, in the area of nominalizations, the theme cannot be the complement of the root, as in Alexiadou (2001) and Embick (2010). Rather, we will argue that the theme is introduced as the specifier of a functional projection, in line with e.g. Lin (2001), Borer (2005, 2013). The root is introduced at the bottom of the structure, adjoined to a categorizer, e.g., as in (2), or in (3a-b) for different types of nominalizations (the structures are simplified for expository convenience).

(2)   [FP DP$_{theme}$ [F F [v v √ROOT]

(3)   a.   [FP DP$_{theme}$ [F F [n n √ROOT]
       b.   [n [FP DP$_{theme}$ [F F [v v √ROOT]]

We will explore empirical consequences of these structures in our presentation.

Conclusions: The overall approach in this paper is one in which roots are always merged as modifiers of their categorizers. This means that a similar special type of labeling is required for roots merging with categorizers as for adjunction.

On functional vocabulary items at root positions

Marijke De Belder & Jeroen van Craenenbroeck

Thursday, March 6th, 09:00

1. Summary We show that functional vocabulary items may realize root positions. It shows that a root cannot be defined by the featural properties of the item realizing it.

2. State of the art Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz 1993 and subsequent literature) distinguishes between two types of nodes: root terminal nodes (RTNs) (which we take to be devoid of any features, see De Belder and van Craenenbroeck 2011) and functional terminal nodes (FTNs). Post-syntactically, these nodes are matched with vocabulary items. Parallel to the distinction in terminal nodes, there are lexical vocabulary items (LVIs), such as cat, kiss and light and there are functional vocabulary items (FVIs), such as -ed and the. LVIs and FVIs differ. In contrast with FVIs, LVIs are not marked for features. In sum, LVIs are destined to realize RTNs and FVIs are meant to realize FTNs.

3. Empirical problem and claim If there are two types of VIs and two types of TNs, we predict four hypothetical combinations: i) FVIs in FTNs, ii) LVIs in RTNs, iii) FVIs in RTNs, iv) LVIs in FTNs. Options i and ii are allowed by DM , while iii and iv are ruled out. However, whether or not these final two patterns occur is ultimately an empirical question. We examine cases where FVIs show up in RTNs as well as instances of LVIs occurring in FTNs. We argue that while the former pattern is real (and thus constitutes evidence against the standard DM-approach to VocIns), the latter is only apparent (see section 7).

4. Theoretical relevance: FVIs realizing an RTN falsify the view that a VI determines the category of the projection. In other words, they support the root hypothesis (Borer 2005). For example, if a conjunction can head a VP, the VP did not become verbal because the conjunction projected its categorial features! Note further that there are two ways to define a root:

i) structurally: certain terminal nodes are roots (Halle and Marantz 1993)

ii) lexically: certain lexical items are roots, their merger creates a root position (Borer 2005)

Under a structural definition combined with late insertion one predicts that, in principle, function words can be used as roots. After all, whether or not a terminal node is a root has been established at syntax and is independent from the VI which will realize it. Under a lexical definition, FVIs cannot merge at a root position by definition.

4. FVIs occur in root position productively. (1) shows a wh-word used as a root in an NP in Dutch, (2) shows a conjunction in aVP and (3) shows an adverb as the root in a complex word.

(1)   het waarom
the why
'the motivation'

(2)   Niets   te maar-en!
nothing to but-INF
'Don't protest!'

(3)   al dat ge-nooit
all that ge-never
'the constant unwillingness'

We argue that these data show that FVIs can be inserted at RTNs. The process is productive. (3) shows the Dutch derivational word-formation process of ge-prefixation to form nouns referring to a pluractional event. It productively allows any FVI to occur in its root position.

5. Not instances of self-reference Universally, any FVI can be coined as an LVI referring to itself, as in (4).

(4)   'That' is a complementizer.

One might argue the examples in (1-3) in fact instantiate cases of self-reference. However, during the talk we will present five tests to distinguish the data in (1-3) from examples as in (4). Note, for example, that examples of self-reference invariably behave as proper names (e.g. that in (4) does not take an article).

6. Analysis In DM root terminal nodes trigger free choice. Consequently, anything can be inserted. In DM free choice is limited to LVIs: only those vocabulary items that were marked with the same diacritic as the root terminal node could realize it. We propose to give up this diacritic making free choice unlimited. That is, any vocabulary item can now be inserted in root terminal nodes. In particular, there is no reason why FVIs should be prevented from being inserted in this position. They only differ from LVIs featurewise and free choice is not regulated by features by definition. It follows that FVIs can realize RTNs productively.

7. During the talk we will address semi-lexical items (Corver and van Riemsdijk 2001). They are the best candidates for LVIs realizing an FTN. We will focus on the fact that semi-lexicality is an unproductive, listed property of a VI. We argue that this property can be best captured as being marked for specific features. In other words, semi-lexical items are in fact FVIs. Hence, LVIs cannot realize FTNs.

Borer, H. (2005). In Name Only: Structuring Sense vol I. Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Corver, N. and H. van Riemsdijk. (2001).** Semi-lexical categories. The function of content words and the content of function words. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. **De Belder, M. & J. van Craenenbroeck. (2011).** How to merge a root. Ms., KU Leuven HUBrussel & Utrecht University. **Halle, M. & A. Marantz. (1993).** Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. In: Hale, Kenneth & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.) The view from building 20. Cambridge: MIT Press, 111-176.

Features and Labeling: the end of uninterpretable features?

Aleksandra Vercauteren

Thursday, March 6th, 10:00

In this communication I explore the consequences of two related hypotheses for the labeling algorithm formulated by Chomsky (2013). The hypotheses are (i) that only features can provide labels for syntactic objects and (ii) that features are hierarchically organized.

In Chomsky's most recent interpretation of the role of labeling in syntax (Chomsky 2013) syntactic objects need a label in order to be interpretable. Chomsky formulates a dynamic labeling algorithm (DLA) regulating the labeling of projections, which can be defined as follows (based on Rizzi 2012: 1, 3):

(1) α inherits the label of the closest head, with H1 the closest head of α iff:

  (i) α contains all occurrences of H1 and
  (ii) there is no H2 such that α contains H2 and H2 c-commands H1.

According to this definition, labeling is nothing more than an instance of minimal search, just like Agree and other syntactic operations.

One of the major advantages of this view on labeling is that it can account for some instances of XP movement: since a syntactic object needs a label in order to be interpretable at the interfaces, movement is forced in case of labeling conflicts. This happens when two heads are equidistant to the new node formed by Merge, so in case of the merge of two heads or of two non-heads. As can be deduced from point (i) of the DLA, lower instances of heads are invisible to the labeling algorithm. Movement of a constituent containing a head can thus solve labeling conflicts. This implies we don't need uninterpretable features, a theory-internal notion, to explain this type of movement.

There are however three important shortcomings for the DLA, also mentioned by Rizzi (2012): (i) it is not clear which head labels the new syntactic object in case of head-head merge, (ii) it doesn't explain what motivates head movement and (iii) it doesn't explain what motivates complement movement. Complements are sisters of a head, so no labeling conflicts concern them, since the head will always provide the label. However, we know complements can move, as for example in object interrogatives. The same is valid for the head merged with the complement: there is no labeling conflict concerning it, so we still need uninterpretable features to explain why it would ever move, as happens for example in verb-movement.

Taking features to be hierarchically organized (Distributed Morphology, Nanosyntax, Cartographic framework), the consequences of the hypothesis, mentioned but not discussed in Chomsky (2013), that the elements providing labels are features, and not heads, are the following: (i) Most elements we consider to be heads are characterized by several features. Taking features to be hierarchically organized, heads are actually little syntactic trees or XPs and the label is determined by minimal search. The only situation in which two bare features are merged is when a root merges with a categorial feature. The root being unable to provide a label (Chomsky 2013), it is the categorial feature that provides the label. (ii) Taking heads to be syntactic trees, head-movement is actually the same as XP-movement, and is triggered by the same labeling conflicts. (iii) Since heads are actually XPs, complements are sisters of XPs. Complement movement will thus again be motivated by the same labeling conflicts.

I will discuss several empirical examples, like wh-movement and verb movement, illustrating how the revised DLA works. Even though several problems remain for this view on features and labeling (how to decide which XP moves in a conflictive labeling situation, how to account for optional movement etc.), the net outcome of a feature-based approach is that all types of movement can be unified and accounted for without recurring to theory-internal notions like uninterpretable features: movement is triggered by labeling conflicts in all cases.

Chomsky, N. (2013). Problems of Projection. Lingua. Vol 130 (33-49) Doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2012.12.003 Rizzi, L. (11-13 September 2012). Cartography, criteria and labeling. EALING 2012 - Blaise Pascal lectures. Paris.

Labels, linearization, and syntactic satellites

Dennis Ott

Thursday, March 6th, 10:30

In this talk, I present evidence for the role of labels in the linearization process, as suggested by Fox & Pesetsky (2005) and Richards (2010). The empirical phenomenon I focus on is the syntax of sentential subjects and fronted complement clauses. I argue that such clauses cannot occupy the initial position in a root clause, since the resulting configuration is unlinearizable due to non-distinctness of labels; instead, linearly clause-initial CPs must

be parsed as 'satellite constituents,' as famoulsy argued by Koster (1978). I defend this idea against recent criticisms by couching it in Ott's (2014) theory of Left-dislocation.

Based on various distributional peculiarities, Koster (1978) and Alrenga (2005) argue that clause-initial CPs are base-generated clause-externally, while the corresponding argument position is occupied by a co-indexed (optionally null) pronoun 1b, corresponding to the structure of Left-dislocation as in 2.

(1) a. * I[CP CP T I[vP ... t_{CP} ...]]
    b. CP$_i$ I[CP e_i I[TP T I[vP ... t_e ...]]]

(2) Dat hij komt, (dat) is duidelijk.
    that he comes that is clear
    'That he will come is clear.' (Dutch)

Among other things, this Satellite Hypothesis accounts for the puzzling fact that CP traces are licensed only in NP positions; see Alrenga 2005; Moulton 2013. However, it leaves open two important questions: 1) Why is it that only the structure in 1b is permissible, but not the one in 1a?, and 2) How can the clause-external status of satellite CPs be reconciled with the fact that fronted complement clauses display connectivity into the following clause?

I propose that the answer to the first question has to do with labels and linearization. In terms of Merge, and dispensing with the notion Specifier (Chomsky 2013), the root of 1a is represented as {CP,CP}. Loosely following Fox & Pesetsky, I suggest that this configuration maps onto the linearization statement , which is ambiguous and hence illegitimate at PF (cf. Richards 2010). It follows that no argument CP can be directly embedded by the root CP; instead, a clause-initial CP must be parsed as a left-dislocated satellite, as in 1b. No such restriction applies to argument NPs, whose presence at the left edge entails distinct labels ({NP,CP}), which map onto unambiguous linearization statements ().

Turning to the second question, while the Satellite Hypothesis enjoys substantial empirical support, it is (seemingly) contradicted by the fact that peripheral CPs display connectivity into the clause they precede:

(3) Dass sein*i* Garten der schönste   ist, (das) glaubt [jeder
     that his   garden the most beautiful is   that believes every
     Gärtner]*i*.
     gardener

     'Every gardener believes his garden to be the most beautiful one.'
     (German)

Takahashi (2010) and Moulton (2013) point out that such facts are incompatible with 1b. I show that while Koster's implementation is indeed insufficient, the basic idea is correct nonetheless. Ott (2014) shows that left-dislocated XPs are leftward-moved surface remnants of juxtaposed parallel clauses, the interior of which undergoes ellipsis. As I will show, this proposal reconciles the original Koster/Alrenga proposal with the connectivity effects observed by Takahashi/Moulton, which arise as a result of reconstruction internally to the elliptical clause. Crucially, while the linearly left-hand clause on this approach still involves the symmetrical {CP,CP} configuration argued to be illegitimate at PF, the symmetry is broken by deletion of one of the two clauses ({CP,Δ}).

Deciding between the External and Internal Definition of Label

Carlo Cecchetto & Caterina Donati

Thursday, March 6th, 11:30

What is the role of a label in syntax (if any)? There are at least two ways in which a label might be defined. According to an internal definition, a label is the feature(s) of a category that determine(s) its distribution (say by determining what it selects or probes and what can select or probe it). According to the external definition, a label is whatever makes the object interpretable at the interfaces (plausibly at the semantic one). The evidence supporting the external definition is not overwhelming, since the same syntactic category can correspond to various semantic types (a DP can be an individual, a generalized quantifier or a property) and a label can be simply ignored at

the semantic interface (say, the PP "of John" is interpreted in "their paint-ing of John" much like the DP "John" is interpreted in "they painted John"). So, at best, a label imposes some loose constraints on how a category gets interpreted. We will claim that evidence for the internal definition is more substantial, since without a label it is difficult to build a theory explaining how a syntactic object merges with other categories. In particular, it is dif-ficult to explain how selection works in driving merge if labels only play a role at the interface.

One area in which the external and the internal definitions sharply differ concerns what can remain label-less. Assuming the external definition, at least if interfaces are accessed cyclically, an object can remain temporar-ily without a label as long as the label-less layer is destroyed before the next point of access to the interface (phase) is reached. Chomsky (2013) massively deploys this mechanism to explain a certain number of facts, in-cluding successive cyclic movement, ECM and label determination at the vP level. Assuming the external definition, there is at least one node that can never remain label-less and this the root, the point when the syntactic object is conveyed to the semantic component for good.

Interestingly, the situation is quite the opposite assuming the internal defini-tion of a label. Take for concreteness Donati and Cecchetto's (2011) theory of labeling summarized in (1) and (2).

(1) Labels. When two objects a and b are merged, a subset of the features of either a or b becomes the label of the syntactic object {a, b}. A label: (i) can trigger further computation and (ii) is visible from outside the syntactic object {a, b} for selection.

(2) The Probing Algorithm. The label of a syntactic object {a, b} is the feature(s) which act(s) as a Probe of the merging operation creating {a, b}.

Nothing in Donati and Cecchetto's system prohibits unprobed Merge. There is a very severe limitation, though: since the label is provided by the Probe (by 2), unprobed Merge yields an unlabeled object. Given (1), the obvious candidate for a label-less objects is root clauses: labels are needed for a derivation to proceed (they trigger further computation) and feed external Merge (through selection). When a structure is neither embedded nor fur-ther computation takes place (the root), it does not need a label. On the

other hand, any node other than the root is predicted to be problematic if it lacks a label.

Our talk will compare the internal and the external definitions by adopting the perspective of what objects can remain label-less. We will do so by building on the literature that discusses instances of movement restricted to root clauses (cf. Albrecht, Haegeman and Nye 2012 for a recent overview) as well as on empirical phenomena like subject intervention in wh-questions in Romance (which surfaces in direct questions as opposed to embedded questions, see 3-4) and in child grammar (cf. 5 and 6)

direct questions

   (3)   ?*Cosa Gianni ha fatto?
           what   Gianni has done

indirect questions

   (4)   Mi   chiedo cosa Gianni abbia fatto
           myself I ask   what Gianni has   done

Subject RC (ok in child grammar)

   (5)   La fatina che tira il   cavallo.
           the fairy   that pulls the horse

Object RC (* in child grammar)

   (6)   Il   cavallo che la   fatina tira
           the horse   that the fairy   pulls

It is notorious that children have trouble with object relatives and object which-questions; we will relate this to the well-known fact that they tend to treat embedded clauses as if they were root. In all these areas we will show that in root environments movement triggers a different kind of Minimality effects, which we call Gross Minimality (as opposed to Relativized Minimality). We will explain these phenomena as a direct consequence of the

hypothesis that root clauses can remain label-less (and thus host instances of unprobed movement). By doing so, we will provide indirect evidence for the internal definition of labels.

Albrecht, L., L. Haegeman and R. Nye (eds). (2012). Main clause phenomena: New Horizons. Amsterdam: Benjamins. **Chomsky, N. (2013).** Problems of projection. Lingua 130. 33-49. **Donati, C. & C. Cecchetto. (2011).** Relabeling Heads: A Unified Account for Relativization Structures. Linguistic Inquiry 42: 519-560. Friedmann, N., A. Belletti, L. Rizzi. (2009). Relativized relatives: types of intervention in the acquisition of A-bar dependencies. Lingua 119: 67–88.

Labelling and Not Labelling Lexical Structures

Tom Roeper & Leah S. Bauke

Thursday, March 6th, 12:30

Chomsky has suggested that there is Pair-Merge, and Kidwei and Mathson suggest that there is "Just Merge". If morphology is part of syntax, and shows Merge via productive morphology, then it should reveal the same profile in a Labelling system. So if ÒJust MergeÓ exists, then we should expect to see structures where this is possible. This is shown by Bauke (2012)) in the linking of uncategorized roots for cases like Kindbett vs. KinderBett. And if there are both Labelled and Unlabelled options and an algorithm that decides when Labelling should occur, evidence should support it. Now the traditional view is that Categorization is the last step in morphology before syntax. If however Merge has generality, then it ought to apply in the lexicon, but perhaps not Labelling, if it is not at the point of Transfer, as Chomsky's recent work suggests.The interpretation of root compounds (Roeper and Siegel (1978), Bauke (2012) is subject to unique narrow interpretations—so Just Merge in the lexicon effectively creates new items.—which we can call Uncategorized Root Merge, while compounds with inflectional morphology always retain a compositional reading as in the contrast between Kindergarten and Kindlich (Bauke (2012)). Consider this pattern:

(1)   a.   *a re-outlaw, *an over-outlaw, *re-outcast, *re-outcome,*re-outlook, *re-lookout

        b.   a re-outbreak, the re-outflow

In effect, one can explain this contrast by arguing that re- applies to verbs, and therefore not to nouns, like outlaw. Therefore (a) is ungrammatical just

as *re-husband is ungrammatical, though plausible. Without a Category change further modification is possible as a noun:

(2)   a.   super-outlaw
       b.   ultra-outlaw
       c.   pre-outlaw (behavior)

However this creates a mystery about (b), since outbreak is also a noun and the verbal form lacks particle pre-posing (see Roeper (1999) for extensive discussion of leftward movement in morphology). Our solution is to argue that a recursive operation of leftward movement is possible which can continue without Categorization:

(3)   re-re-outbreak, over-output, re-over-output

Note that where there is a verb, with no category change, prefixation can occur:to re-outlaw, to over-outlaw, [we over-outlawed genetic engineering, and now people are starving]. So we argue that in the outlaw which is transferred to interpretation, Categorization or Labelling must occur at out-, therefore re- is blocked. But because it acquires no special obligatory meaning at that point, the out- in re-outbreak can occur as if the input structure is:

(4)   a.   [N re- [Uncat out- [verb]]]
       b.   V-out -verb

Either continuing, or copying the V-marking or leaving it unlabelled allows re- to attach.The expression outlaw acquires its special meaning at the point of Transfer, but the Transfer requires that out- assigns N, while this is possible for outbreak, it is also possible to not assign a Label, and allow re- therefore to attach to the continuing V label.

The Constitution of Labeled Syntactic Objects

Petr Biskup

Friday, March 7th, 11:30

This paper proposes a labeling system that can derive the following effects: freezing effects, order preservation in multiple movement, Agree-avoiding-PIC effects, the ban on the acyclic combinations of incorporations, the ban on a certain type of non-constituent movement and the prohibition of head-less XP-movement.

Background assumptions: I assume a modified version of the No-Tampering Condition (1).

1. The constitution of labeled syntactic objects cannot change.

As to 'constitution', it consists of sets of features. The operation Merge consists of concatenation and labeling, and labeling triggers Transfer; therefore the constitution of labeled syntactic objects (SOs) cannot change. Thus, every Merge produces a phase. To allow movement and Merge of a new SO, labeling can be delayed (which makes PIC unnecessary); see (2). Because of the strict derivationality of this proposal, movement is triggered by the greedy movement-feature (mvt-F) on the moving SO that forces the SO to move immediately. In addition, I make the bottom-up assumption (3).

2.   i. Labeling happens as soon as possible.

    ii. It is not possible if:

        a. The concatenated syntactic object contains a movement-feature.
        b. The labeling terminates derivation and the numeration (Num) is not exhausted.

3. All narrow-syntactic operations happen in the bottom-up fashion.

Analysis of e.g. freezing effects: There are genuine freezing effects like (4) (Ross 1967, Postal 1972, Wexler & Culicover 1980, Freidin 1992).

(4)   *[About whom]$_i$ has [a comment t_i]$_k$ t_k annoyed you?

Given the greedy mvt-Fs and the bottom-up derivation (3), the embedded SO always moves first (out of the dominating SO) and only then the dominating SO can move. Given (1), later adding a mvt-F is possible only to an unlabeled subconstituent. There are two options: Given (2iia), it can happen

to SO with a mvt-F. But such a SO would already have to be moved out of the larger SO. Or, given (2iib), it can happen to SO waiting for a new SO from Num. But this does not work either because the subconstituent is already embedded in the larger SO.

Freidin, R. (1992). Foundations of Generative Syntax. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Postal, P. M. (1972). On Some Rules That Are Not Successive Cyclic. Linguistic Inquiry 3, 211–222. Ross, J. R. (1967). Constraints on Variables in Syntax. PhD. dissertation, MIT. Wexler, K. & P. Culicover. (1980). Formal Principles of Language Acquisition. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Is Transfer strong enough to affect labels?

Miki Obata

Friday, March 7th, 12:00

Transfer is an operation to send syntactic representations to the SM and CI interfaces. Although the operation has been discussed in various contexts since Chomsky (2004), some of the mechanisms are still unclear. One of those issues is how strong Transfer is. The goals of this work overview stronger and weaker versions of Transfer and also present additional evidence in favor of a weaker version of Transfer.

Strong Transfer: Some argue that Transfer is strong enough to affect labels or representations. Ott (2011) is one of those approaches. He explains differences between free relatives (e.g. I eat what you cook) and wh-clauses (e.g. I wonder what you cook) by means of 'powerful' Transfer. First, the following representation is derived in both of the cases: [CP what C you cook]. In the case of wh-clauses, TP undergoes Transfer in accordance with Chomsky (2004). In the case of free relatives, on the other hand, Ott proposes that C along with TP undergo Transfer. That is, CP loses its head in narrow syntax. Then, the next higher phase vP is introduced: [vP eat [CP what]]. Since CP does not bear its head (and complement) at this point of the derivation, CP is relabeled as DP based on grammatical properties of what, which explains nominal characters of free relatives. Also, Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2012) argue that Transfer deletes one of the two peaks in the doubly-rooted representation by sending it to the interfaces, which makes it possible that the derivation goes on and representations are labeled. Under these approaches, Transfer is strong enough to force relabeling (Ott 2011) and affect representations (Epstein et al. 2012). In other words, representations disappear from narrow syntax by Transfer.

Weak Transfer: On the other hand, others argue that Transfer only makes certain domains inaccessible to some operations and that all the elements consisting of narrow syntax representations are preserved as is after Transfer. Bošković (2007) argues that Agree is not subject to Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC). That is, transferred domain is not available for Internal Merge but available for Agree, so that representations in narrow syntax are left as is even after Transfer is applied. Also, Chomsky (2013) argues that representations do not disappear after Transfer because representations which are already transferred can undergo Internal Merge (pied-piping) as parts of bigger phrases based on Obata (2010). Under these approaches, Transfer is not as strong as affecting labels or representations, and nothing is lost from narrow syntax by Transfer.

Transferring the Entire Phase: There are at least two cases that the entire phase undergoes Transfer: root CP and adjunct CP. In the case of root CP, elements at CP-edge also need to be interpreted at the interfaces. But root CP-edge is never included in the complement of a phase head since it is neither selected nor merged with any other element. Therefore, the entire CP needs to be transferred. What about adjunct CP? It is not selected by any element as well but is merged with vP/TP in the main clause in the course of the derivation. Moreover, adjunct CP-edge cannot serve as an escape hatch for successive cyclic wh-movement since no element can be extracted out of adjunct CP, causing adjunct island violations. Uriagereka (1999) argues that elements in adjunct CP (i.e. which do not belong to the same command unit as elements in the main clause) undergo Transfer/Spell-Out before being merged/attached to another command unit/the main clause. By applying Transfer, the transferred unit behaves like a "giant lexical compound" so that no element can be extracted out of a compound (i.e. adjunct CP). Given Uriagereka's analysis, let us consider how strong Transfer is. If a stronger version of Transfer is on the right track, transferred domain is removed from narrow syntax. If a weaker version is taken, transferred representations still remain in narrow syntax as is. If a stronger version of Transfer is adopted, adjunct CP is removed from narrow syntax before it is merged with the main clause vP/TP. That is, adjunct CP can never be input to the labeling algorithm (Chomsky 2013) as a part of the main clause. Obviously, this is not a welcome outcome. To ensure adjunct CP as a part of the main clause in narrow syntax, representations need to be preserved even after Transfer, which is possible under a weaker version of Transfer. The discussion here

provides additional empirical support for the view that Transfer is not as strong as affecting labels and only makes certain domains inaccessible to some of the operations.

Bošković (2007). Agree, Phases and Intervention Effects. Linguistic Analaysis 33: 54-96. **Chomsky (2004).** Beyond Explanatory Adequacy. In Structures and Beyond: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, ed. by A. Belletti, Volume 3, 104-131, Oxford: Oxford University Press. **Chomsky (2013).** Problems of Projection. Lingua 130: 33–49 **Epstein, Kitahara and Seely (2012)** Structure Building That Can't Be! In M. Uribe-etxebarria and V. Valmala eds., Ways of structure building, in Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics D. Adger and H. Borer series eds, Oxford, 253-270. **Obata (2010).** Root, Successive-Cyclic and Feature-Splitting Internal Merge: Implications for Feature-Inheritance and Transfer. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. **Ott (2011).** A Note on Free Relative Clauses in the Theory of Phases. Linguistic Inquiry 183-192. **Uriagereka (1999).** Multiple Spell-Out. In Working Minimalism, ed. by S. Epstein, and N. Hornstein, 251-282. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Heads and Segments

Hagit Borer

Friday, March 7th, 13:00

All grammatical theories postulate an inventory of (atomic) building blocks, to which combinatorial principles apply to create complexity. What the relevant building blocks are, however, is not universally agreed upon, and yet, it is the properties of such building blocks that determine, more than anything else, the nature of possible and impossible combinatorial operations. To illustrate, if 'words' constitute an (atomic) syntactic building block, then the internal structure of words cannot be the output of syntactic combinatorial principles. Not so, however, if the relevant building blocks are 'affixes' or 'roots' or 'features'. Similarly, if both 'functional' terminals and 'lexical' terminals project, the resulting syntax is rather distinct from a syntax in which only 'functional' terminals project. Both, in turn, are distinct from a syntax in which no labels, as such, are atomic, and rather, it is e.g. cat and the which project, and labels, whether D or N, are not themselves independent building blocks.

In this talk, I will develop an approach to these issues, assuming that functional structure projects from (valued) null heads, while 'lexical' structure, effectively roots, do not project altogether, and are, rather, contextually labeled by their functional environment. Of specific concern, as I will show, will be the properties of complex words, the properties of extended projections, and the interaction of both with phonological realization, on the one hand, and with the conceptual system, on the other hand.

Computerlinguistik

AG-Leitung / Theme session organizers:
Thomas Mayer
Johann-Mattis List
Natalia Levshina

Every year, the Special Interest Group (SIG) on Computational Linguistics of the German Linguistic Society (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft, DGfS) hosts a poster session as part of the DGfS conference.

We explicitly invite all linguists to this event, as the SIG's main goal is to promote the scientific exchange between computational and other fields of linguistics. The posters are meant to illustrate the breadth of computational linguistic research and are not limited to particular topics. Many posters will be accompanied by demos.

CL

Strategic Constraints on Automatic Answer Generation in Sales Dialogue

Anton Benz & Ralf Klabunde & Ronja Laarmann-Quante & Sebastian Reuße & Björn Schlünder & Jon Stevens

Poster

Automated dialogue systems are generally conceived of as impartial agents who, upon inferring the user's goals, will selflessly act to further his cause. In application contexts such as sales dialogue, however, there arguably exists no perfect alignment between the system's and the user's interests. We present data gleaned from simulated sales dialogue between human participants within a real-estate domain and consider how the underlying strategic situation reflects in the linguistic choices made on part of the realtor when responding to the buyer's questions, in particular as they pertain to the use of rhetorical relations and indirect answers. Employing a game-theoretic framework, we propose a formal model of the strategic considerations impacting answer generation.

ANNIS-Hist: Historische deutschsprachige Korpora in ANNIS

Marcel Bollmann & Stefanie Dipper & Mario Frank & Julia Krasselt & Florian Petran & Tom Ruette

Poster

In den letzten Jahren gibt es mehr und mehr Initiativen mit dem Ziel, historische Sprachdaten für die Forschungsgemeinde aufzubereiten und zur Verfügung zu stellen. Für Sprachdaten des Deutschen gibt es beispielsweise vier DFG-geförderte Projekte zur Erstellung von Referenzkorpora des Altdeutschen, des Mittel- und Frühneuhochdeutschen sowie des Mittelniederdeutschen/Niederrheinischen.

In unserem Poster und unserer Demo wollen wir eine Reihe von neueren historischen Korpora des Deutschen vorstellen:

• das Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch (750-1050) (Berlin/Frankfurt/Jena, http://www.deutschdiachrondigital.de), • das Referenzkorpus Mittel-hochdeutsch (1050-1350) (Bonn/Bochum, http://referenzkorpus-mhd.uni-bonn.de) • sowie das Anselm-Korpus (Frühneuhochdeutsch, 14.-16.Jh) (Bochum, http://www.linguistics.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/anselm).

Die Korpora sind u.a. annotiert mit:

• Metadaten, die beispielsweise Information über den (vermuteten) Entste-hungszeitraum und Sprachraum des jeweiligen Textes enthalten, • der nor-malisierten Wortform, die abstrahiert von den dialektspezifischen Wortfor-men, • dem Lemma gemäß gängiger Referenzwörterbücher • der Wortart nach HiTS ("Historisches Tagset") bzw. STTS und • morphologischer Infor-mation.

Die Korpora und ihre Annotationen werden der Forschungsgemeinde über das Korpussuchtool ANNIS (http://www.sfb632.uni-potsdam.de/annis) ver-fügbar gemacht. In unserer Demo wollen wir verschiedene Such-Interfaces vorstellen, die für die Abfrage der historischen Korpora genutzt werden können. Wir wollen zum einen zeigen, wie mit Hilfe einfacher Anfragen ein erster Überblick über die vorhandenen Texte und ihre Annotationen gewonnen werden kann. Zum andern wollen wir vorführen, wie für kom-plexe Suchen nach linguistisch interessanten Phänomenen Annotationen der verschiedenen Ebenen kombiniert werden können.

Comparing methods for deriving polar intensity scores for adjectives

Jasper Brandes & Josef Ruppenhofer & Michael Wiegand

Poster

Within sentiment analysis, assessing the strength of subjective expressions is one of the central tasks besides subjectivity detection and polarity classi-fication. Our particular interest is in the problem of acquiring prior or lexical polar intensity scores and rankings for sets of predicates that refer to the same scale. We do not address contextualized intensity. We focus on pred-icates evoking the same scale for the reason that only for these predicates

context-independent relations hold: hearers can validly derive that a characterization of something as great entails that it is assessed as more positive by the speaker than had it been characterized as good. Such inferences are not supported across different scales.

Various approaches have been proposed in the past for automatically acquiring polar intensity scores of scalar predicates. While these methods tend to produce distinct scores, it is far from clear that humans would agree on complete orders for adjectives such as e.g. bad and crappy. In this poster, we compare various approaches for deriving polar intensity scores for adjectives. We evaluate them against a human gold standard built from intensity ratings for two sets of adjectives elicited from native speakers recruited through Amazon Mechanical Turk.

In terms of methods, we apply both corpus-based and lexicon-based approaches. While the latter use given intensity scores for adjectives (Taboada et al., 2011; Warriner et al., 2013), the former exploit extrinsic metadata such as the star ratings that come with product reviews (Rill et al., 2012) or use language intrinsic phrase patterns indicating relative intensity relations between adjectives (Sheinman and Tokunaga, 2009). The two sets of adjectives on which we focus are 29 adjectives referring to quality taken from FrameNet's (Baker et al., 1998) DESIRABILITY frame and 18 relating to intelligence taken in part from the MENTAL_PROPERTY frame. Instead of merely relying on mean scores, our gold standard groups predicates of similar intensity. Finally, we present an overview of the results from the evaluation, as well as discussing potential advantages of some methods over others.

Collin F. Baker, Charles J. Fillmore, and John B. Lowe. (1998). The Berkeley FrameNet Project. In Proceedings of the International Conference on Computational Linguistics and Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics (COLING/ACL), pages 86–90, Montréal, Quebec, Canada. **Sven Rill, Johannes Drescher, Dirk Reinel, Jörg Scheidt, Oliver Schütz, Florian Wogenstein, and Daniel Simon. (2012).** A Generic Approach to Generate Opinion Lists of Phrases for Opinion Mining Applications. In Proceedings of the KDD-Workshop on Issues of Sentiment Discovery and Opinion Mining (WISDOM), Beijing, China. **Vera Sheinman and Takenobu Tokunaga. (2009).** AdjScales: Differentiating between Similar Adjectives for Language Learners. CSEDU, 1:229–235. **Maite Taboada, Julian Brooke, Milan Tofiloski, Kimberly Voll, and Manfred Stede. (2011).** Lexicon-Based Methods for Sentiment Analysis. Computational Linguistics, 37(2):267 – 307. **Amy Warriner, Victor Kuperman, and Marc Brysbaert. (2013).** Norms of valence, arousal, and dominance for 13,915 english lemmas. Behavior Research Methods, Online First:1–17.

Eine Infrastruktur für Inspektion und Vergleich von automatisch oder manuell erstellten FUDRT-Analysen

Kurt Eberle & Kerstin Eckart & Boris Haselbach & Ulrich Heid & Nadine Siegmund

Poster

Bei der detaillierten Untersuchung von Phänomenen an der Syntax-Semantik-Schnittstelle besteht Bedarf, semantische Repräsentationen zu notieren, zu editieren, zu inspizieren und zu verwalten. Im Stuttgarter Sonderforschungsbereich SFB 732 *Incremental Specification in Context* arbeiten mehrere Teilprojekte an Fragestellungen, für die Analysen von Wörtern, Sätzen und Texten auf der Basis von Diskursrepräsentationstheorie (DRT, Kamp und Reyle 1993) anfallen; je nach theoretischem Hintergrund und Fokus der Forschung unterscheiden sich die einzelnen Analysen im Detail; sie sind aber im Format von DRT notierbar.

Ziel der hier beschriebenen Arbeiten ist es, eine Infrastruktur bereitzustellen, die die Verwaltung und den Vergleich solcher Analysen unterstützt und als Arbeitsumgebung für die gemeinsame Arbeit dienen kann, ggf. auch über den SFB 732 hinaus. Die Infrastruktur besteht aus vier verschiedenen Bausteinen, die semantische Repräsentationen im Format der Flachen Unterspezifizierten DRT (FUDRT, Eberle 2004) verarbeiten; FUDRT liefert eine kompakte getypte Repräsentation, mit flacher Unterspezifikation. Die Komponenten sind:

1. Automatische Analyse von Sätzen: eine FUDRS-Konstruktion, die an das syntaktische Analysewerkzeug B3Tool (Eberle et al. 2008) angeschlossen ist. B3Tool beruht auf der deutschen Grammatik des MÜ-Systems *translate* von Lingenio (URL: http://www.lingenio.de/, 20.08.2013).
2. Editieren/Visualisieren von DRSen: *VisDRS*, ein interaktives Werkzeug, mit dem DRSen schrittweise manuell erstellt oder automatisch erzeugte DRSen visualisiert und bearbeitet werden können.
3. Ausgabe/Visualisierung im Text: Konverter zu LaTeX (Haselbach et al. 2011).
4. Verwaltung: Import- und Exportfunktionen, sowie Repräsentation und Versionierung von und Suche auf den Analyseergebnissen in der Datenbank *B3DB* (Eckart et al. 2010).

Alle Komponenten nehmen FUDRT-Repräsentationen als Input (Datenbank, Konverter nach LaTeX) oder liefern sie als Output (automatische Analyse, interaktives Erstellungs- und Visualisierungstool *VisDRS*). Die Arbeitsumge-

bung unterstützt den Vergleich von Analysen und zeigt gleichzeitig die Nützlichkeit von FUDRT als Format für die interne Repräsentation und den Austausch semantischer Analysen.

Eberle, K. (2004): Flat underspecified representation and its meaning for a fragment of German, Universität Stuttgart. Eberle, K.; Heid, U.; Kountz, M. und Eckart, K. (2008): "A Tool for Corpus Analysis using partial Disambiguation and Bootstrapping of the Lexicon". in Storrer, A. et al. (Hrsgg.) Text Resources and Lexical Knowledge, 145-157, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Eckart, K.; Eberle, K. und Heid, U. (2010): "An Infrastructure for More Reliable Corpus Analysis", in Proceedings of the Workshop on Web Services and Processing Pipelines in HLT: Tool Evaluation, LR Production and Validation (LREC 2010), 8-14, Valletta, Malta. Haselbach, B.; Eckart, K. und Eberle, K. (2011): "Datenbankrepräsentation und Visualisierung semantischer Repräsentationen in Flat Underspecified DRT" Poster bei DGfS-CL Postersession 2011, Göttingen. Kamp, H. und Reyle, U. (1993): From Discourse to Logic. Introduction to Modeltheoretic Semantics of Natural Language, Formal Logic and DRT, Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Metadata description: Addressing trainable components

Anna Hätty & Alisa Noha & Kerstin Eckart

Poster

Due to the amount and variety of linguistic resources, consistency and sustainability have become very important factors in linguistic research. It is therefore among the objectives of initiatives like CLARIN to ensure long-term availability and storage of linguistic data, cross-national networking and accessibility for users without deep technical background knowledge.

This abstract describes work done in the context of the CLARIN-D project, in particular at the CLARIN-D centre at the Institute for Natural Language Processing (Institut für Maschinelle Sprachverarbeitung, IMS), of the University of Stuttgart. We collect metadata of corpora and corpus tools, trainable tools and web services. The metadata is represented in the CMDI-format (Broeder et al. 2012), a flexible infrastructure which allows the user to create and reuse components for specific metadata aspects. These components can then be assembled into profiles, e.g. the *SpeechCorpusProfile* or the *TextCorpusProfile* created by the NaLiDa project which we use as a basis. The profiles support consistent documentation of different resources, e.g. the metadata instances of all text corpora described according to the *TextCorpusProfile* share the same basic structure which demands a minimum of information. If there is further information available, optional components can be used.

We focus on trainable tools such as the Tree Tagger (Schmid 1994). As these tools can be trained on different data sets, e.g. corpora differing in language, domain or annotation, there often exist several versions of one tool. For the metadata description it is therefore necessary to take the resources into account on which the tool has been trained. For our trainable tools, we separate the metadata description of the basic tool from the metadata description of its trainable components, such as parameter files or language models. For the trainable tool components we created the *ToolComponent-Profile* by adapting the NaLiDa *ToolProfile*.

On our poster, we will discuss the questions "What are metadata?" and "Where do they come from?". We will exemplify this by resources described at the CLARIN-D centre in Stuttgart, in particular by our profile for trainable tools. In addition, we will introduce other parts of the framework which helped us creating the metadata, e.g. ISOcat and the ComponentRegistry, and we will also show some examples for applications that make use of the metadata.

Broeder, D., Windhouwer, M., van Uytvanck, D., Goosen, T., & Trippel, T. (2012). CMDI: a Component Metadata Infrastructure. In Proceedings of the workshop on Describing Language resources with Metadata. In conjunction with LREC 2012. **Schmid, H. (1994).** Probabilistic part-of-speech tagging using decision trees. In Proceedings of international conference on new methods in language processing. http://www.clarin-d.de http://www.clarin.eu http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/nalida/ http://www.isocat.org/

Web Corpus Graphs

Lea Helmers & Roland Schäfer

Poster

Web corpora play an important role in theoretical linguistics as well as computational linguistics (Biemann et al., 2013; Schäfer and Bildhauer, 2013). The size of crawled web corpora has reached the order of ten to a hundred billion tokens (Pomikálek et al., 2012; Schäfer and Bildhauer, 2012). A central issue in the construction of web corpora of such size is automated quality control, which is first of all understood as the process of making sure that noisy data from various sources is detected and removed (Eckart et al., 2012). Secondly, the suitability of web corpora for computational linguistics tasks (like collocation extraction) has been used as a means of assessing the quality of web corpora (Biemann et al., 2013; Kilgarriff et al., in prep.).

A third kind of quality control is related to web crawling, and it has so far received virtually no attention at all. Web crawling is an act of sampling, and many parameters of the crawling algorithm and the post-crawl selection from among the documents influence the representativeness of the sample w. r. t. the population, regardless of the concrete definition of the sampling frame. We suggest that quality control for web corpus crawling can be dealt with by, among other things, analyses of the topological makeup of the corpus. We present a first approximation by treating the documents (or rather their hosts) in a web corpus (the 9.1 billion token DECOW2012) as nodes in a web corpus graph. The edges (= hyperlinks) between those hosts are extracted from the whole crawl data (not just the final corpus documents), which contains approximately 1.1 billion raw hyperlinks. The final DECOW2012 corpus graph itself contains 393,528 nodes (= hosts) and 7,636,127 edges (= hyperlink connections of different strengths between the hosts).

The properties of this graph are compared to known properties of the web graph (cf. Broder et al., 2000; Kumar et al., 2000, and much subsequent work). We focus on the analysis of the number of documents which the hosts contribute to the corpus, and the distribution of degrees of the hyperlinks between the hosts (including standard measures such as centrality, PageRank, etc.). We argue that analyses of this kind are essential for our understanding of the relation between the data on the web and the data in a web corpus. Thus, they help to answer the difficult question of whether the corpus is representative – and of what. Although quite technical at first sight, web corpus graphs are therefore directly relevant for linguistic evaluations of web corpora.

C. Biemann, F. Bildhauer, S. Evert, D. Goldhahn, U. Quasthoff, R. Schäfer, J. Simon, L. Swiezinski, and T. Zesch.(2013). Scalable construction of high-quality web corpora. Special issue of JLCL **A. Broder, R. Kumar, F. Maghoul, P. Raghavan, R. Stata, A. Tomkins, and J. L. Wiener.(2000).** Graph structure in the web. In Proceedings of the 9th WWW conference, pages 309–320. North-Holland Publishing Co **T. Eckart, U. Quasthoff, and D. Goldhahn.(2012).** The influence of corpus quality on statistical measurements of language resources. In Proceedings of LREC 08, pages 2318–2321, Istanbul **A. Kilgarriff, V. Baisa, M. Jakubicek, V. Kovara, and P. Rychly. (in prep).** How to evaluate a corpus. ms. **R. Kumar, P. Raghavan, S. Rajagopalan, D. Sivakumar, A. Tompkins, and E. Upfal.(2000).** The web as a graph. In Proceedings of the nineteenth ACM SIGMOD-SIGACT-SIGART symposium on Principles of database systems, pages 1–10, New York, NY, USA, ACM. **J. Pomikálek, M. Jakubíček, and P. Rychlý.(2012).** Building a 70 billion word corpus of English from ClueWeb. In Proceedings of LREC 08, pages 502–506 **R. Schäfer and F. Bildhauer.(2012).** Building large corpora from the web using a new efficient tool chain. In Proceedings of LREC 2012, pages 486–493, Istanbul, ELRA **R. Schäfer and F. Bildhauer.(2013).** Web Corpus Construction. Synthesis Lectures on Human Language Technologies. Morgan and Claypool, San Francisco

Beispiele für Daten und Werkzeuge der CLARIN-Infrastruktur für die Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaften

Erhard Hinrichs & Kathrin Beck & Thorsten Trippel

Poster

CLARIN-D ist ein Forschungsinfrastrukturprojekt, das Ressourcen und Dienste anbietet, die WissenschaftlerInnen aus geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Disziplinen in ihrer Forschung unterstützen (Siehe etwa die ESFRI-Broschüre der Europäischen Kommission, S. 4 [http://ec.europa.eu/research/infrastructures/pdf/esfri_brochure_0113.pdf]). Auf diesem Poster stellen wir einige Dienste und Ressourcen vor, die im Rahmen des CLARIN-Konsortiums für sprachwissenschaftliche Nutzer entwickelt wurden.

CLARIN-Service: Phonetische Alignierung, Konvertierung und Visualisierung mit WebMaus

WebMaus ist ein Werkzeug, mit dessen Hilfe man eine Segmentierung von Sprachsignalen automatisch vornehmen kann, wobei man dazu nur das Sprachsignal – eine Aufnahme – und eine Transkription benötigt. Forschende, die sich mit gesprochener Sprache beschäftigen, können so von den Transkriptionen zu den relevanten Stellen in der Aufnahme gelangen und weitere Analysen mit dem Werkzeug ihrer Wahl vornehmen. Wortgrenzen und Pausen werden automatisch erkannt. Als Teil der CLARIN-Infrastruktur ist es möglich, mit einem einheitlichen Login online auf dieses Werkzeug zuzugreifen und die Ergebnisse mit anderen CLARIN-Werkzeugen zu verbinden.

CLARIN-Ressourcen

Wir stellen Ressourcen vor, die innerhalb von CLARIN verfügbar sind, etwa das Saarbrücker Kochbuch-Corpus und historische, digital verfügbare Volltexte des Deutschen Textarchivs. Zudem werden Verfahren präsentiert, wie man Texte in die CLARIN-Infrastruktur aufnehmen und bearbeiten kann und wie man linguistisch annotierte Texte mit Hilfe der CLARIN-Infrastruktur weiter analysieren kann. Die Integration in die CLARIN-Infrastruktur erlaubt es, Korpora gesprochener und geschriebener Sprache sowie multimodale Daten mit einer Vielfalt von computerlinguistischen Werkzeugen zu analysieren. Dazu gehören u.a. Wortarten- Tagger, Lemmatisierer und die automatische Syntaxanalyse.

CLARIN-Suche nach linguistischen Ressourcen

Innerhalb von CLARIN gib es mehrere Möglichkeiten, nach Ressourcen zu suchen. Neben einer facettierten Suche im Virtual Language Observatory wird auch eine Suche mittels einer geografischen Karte angeboten. Linguistische Ressourcen werden mit den Orten, an denen sie entstanden sind oder aufbewahrt werden, auf einer Karte markiert, sodass man leicht nach Ressourcen mit Verbindung zu bestimmten Regionen suchen kann. Der Verweis auf den entsprechenden Eintrag in einem Ressourcenkatalog erlaubt einen ersten Eindruck, ob die Ressource näher betrachtet werden sollte. Auch auf diese Anwendung kann man über die CLARIN-Infrastruktur zugreifen. CLARIN ermöglicht zusätzlich einen direkten, webbasierten Zugriff auf zahlreiche Ressourcen für eine Vielzahl von Sprachen.

e-Identity: Sprachtechnologische Werkzeuge und Methoden für die Analyse mehrsprachiger Zeitungstexte in den Sozialwissenschaften

Fritz Kliche

Poster

Wir entwickeln Werkzeuge zur Aufbereitung rohen Textmaterials für die textanalytische Arbeit in den Digital Humanities. Unser Paket umfasst Werkzeuge zum Import, zur Ablage und Filterung der Texte in einem Repository und zur Exploration der Texte unter Verwendung von NLP-Techniken.

Ausgangspunkt sind Zeitungsdaten (mehrsprachiges Korpus, ca. 700.000 Artikel) aus unterschiedlichen Medienarchiven und mit unterschiedlichen Datenstrukturen. Wir entwickeln eine *Explorationswerkbank*, um die Daten in ein homogenisiertes Korpus zu überführen. Die Explorationswerkbank bereinigt die Daten um Textdubletten (doppelte Artikel) und Semi-Dubletten (ähnliche Artikel), findet Samplingfehler, interpretiert die den Texten beigefügten Metadaten und übernimmt die Aufgaben zur Konvertierung von Formaten (TXT, RTF, DOCX, HTML in XML) und Zeichenkodierungen (z. B. ISO-8859-1 in UTF-8).

Unsere Projektpartner aus der Sozialwissenschaft operieren mit abstrakten Begriffen, die nicht wörtlich in dieser Form in Zeitungsartikeln vorkommen: Sie suchen im *e-Identity*-Korpus Artikel, in denen kollektive (nationale, europäische, religiöse usw.) Identitäten zum Ausdruck kommen (vgl. Kantner 2011). Einfache Keyword-Anfragen genügen diesen Anforderungen nicht. Wir entwickeln stattdessen einen *Complex Concept Builder*, der über semi-automatische Verfahren (Active Learning) zur Klassifikation von Topics die Erstellung eines Samples anbietet. Er findet Unterstützung durch NLP-Methoden wie Named Entity Recognition, Sentiment-Analyse oder die Identifikation von direkter und indirekter Rede (vgl. Blessing et al. 2013).

Die Werkzeuge stellen Prototypen für Arbeiten zur Operationalisierung abstrakter Konzepte aus den Digital Humanities dar. Das Poster beschreibt Architektur und Komponenten der Explorationswerkbank und gibt Beispiele ihrer Anwendung.

Blessing, A., Sonntag, J., Kliche, F., Heid, U., Kuhn, J., Stede, M., (2013). Towards a tool for interactive concept building for large scale analysis in the humanities, in: Proceedings of the 7th Workshop on Language Technology for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, and Humanities, Association for Computational Linguistics, Sofia, Bulgarien. pp. 55–64. URL: http://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W13-2708. **Kantner, C., (2011).** European Identity as Commercium and Communio in Transnational Debate on Wars and Humanitarian Military Interventions, RECON Online Working Paper 2011/37, Arena Oslo, Oslo, Norwegen. URL: http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/soz/ib/mitarbeiter/kantner.html.

ANNIS3: Towards Generic Corpus Search and Visualization

Thomas Krause & Benjamin Weißenfels & Amir Zeldes & Florian Zipser

Poster

This poster showcases the latest developments in the generic representation of digital corpora using ANNIS (Zeldes et al. 2009), a browser-based, open source corpus query architecture. Recent advances in computational linguistics tools and corpus formats have led to a rapid growth of multi-layer corpus projects, integrating data from fully manual annotation (e.g. co-reference, information structure), fully-automatic tools like taggers and parsers for morphology and syntax, as well as semi-automatic annotations combining the two. Adding to these the special requirements of different corpora, such as highly detailed historical corpora with diplomatic

and normalized text, multimodal corpora with aligned A/V streams, or parallel corpora with aligned multilingual texts, quickly leads to a combinatorial explosion: each corpus requires unique search and visualization capabilities, and the overhead of designing the query system core and encoding formats is repeated countless times before research can progress.

With ANNIS3, we attempt to move one step closer to a generic solution for the corpus search and representation problem. We model primary linguistic data (transcriptions from any number of simultaneous speakers, aligned multilingual texts, diplomatic and normalized levels…) as nodes in a graph and designate specific layers of information as segmentation layers (cf. Krause et al. 2012). These are treated as "word forms" or "tokens", though there can be any number of such layers and they may overlap freely and be used to define adjacency in queries, token-distance between search elements or query hit context. Above and below these segmentations, we represent any and all annotation types as a multi-DAG, an annotation graph which may contain as many subgraphs as needed, including cycles, as long as each type of annotation is free of cycles within itself.

The problem of visualizing heterogeneous data is approached from two directions using an extensible plugin-based system. The system offers dedicated, highly optimized visualizations for some common data-types, such as constituent and dependency trees, coreference, annotation grids, aligned pdf and multimedia plugins and more. A new module in ANNIS3 constructs annotation-triggered HTML/CSS on the fly, beginning and ending HTML tags depending on the scope of annotation nodes and filling the attributes and styles of such elements with values from the annotation model. In the demo we will demonstrate some of the applications of this flexible architecture, including visualizing dialogue data, historical manuscripts and film subtitle corpora in ANNIS.

Krause, T./Lüdeling, A./Odebrecht, C./Zeldes, A. (2012). Multiple tokenizations in a diachronic corpus. In: Exploring Ancient Languages through Corpora. Oslo, Norway. **Zeldes, A./Ritz, J./Lüdeling, A./Chiarcos, C. (2009)**. Annis: A search tool for multi-layer annotated corpora. In: Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2009. Liverpool, UK.

CoreGram

Stefan Müller

Poster

Im CoreGram-Projekt werden im Rahmen der HPSG computerverarbeitbare Grammatiken für verschiedene Sprachen entwickelt. Dabei sind die Grammatiken für das Deutsche, Dänische, Persische, Mandarin Chinesische und Maltesische am weitesten ausgebaut. Außerdem gibt es kleinere Fragmente für das Jiddische und Französische. Ziel der Arbeiten ist es, die Gemeinsamkeiten von Sprachen bzw. Sprachklassen und entsprechende Generalisierungen zu erfassen. Die Grammatiken verfügen jeweils über eine Morphologie- und eine Semantikkomponente. Als Repräsentationsformat für die Semantik wird Minimal Recursion Semantics (MRS) benutzt. Unterspezifizierte Skopusbeziehungen können mit dem Skopus-Auflöser von Utool aufgelöst werden, die unterspezifizierten Strukturen werden mit Utool visualisiert.

Ansatz und Architektur des Systems sollen während der Präsentation besprochen und die Grammatiken vorgeführt werden. Der Ansatz des CoreGram-Projektes wird auch im Workshop *Grammatical categories in macro- and microcomparative linguistics* vorgestellt.

Müller, Stefan. (2013). Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: Eine Einführung. Stauffenburg Einführungen, No. 17, Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag, third edition. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/hpsg-lehrbuch.html, 07.10.2012. **Müller, Stefan. (2009).** A Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar for Maltese. In Bernard Comrie, Ray Fabri, Beth Hume, Manwel Mifsud, Thomas Stolz and Martine Vanhove (eds.), Introducing Maltese Linguistics. Papers from the 1st International Conference on Maltese Linguistics (Bremen/Germany, 18–20 October, 2007), Studies in Language Companion Series, No. 113, pages 83–112, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/maltese-sketch. html, 07.10.2012. **Müller, Stefan and Lipenkova, Janna. (2009).** Serial Verb Constructions in Chinese: An HPSG Account. In Stefan Müller (ed.), Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, University of Göttingen, Germany, pages 234–254, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/chinese-svc.html, 07.10.2012. **Müller, Stefan and Ørsnes, Bjarne. (2011).** Positional Expletives in Danish, German, and Yiddish. In Stefan Müller (ed.), Proceedings of the 18th International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, University of Washington, U.S.A., pages 167–187, Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/expletives.html, 07.10.2012. **Müller, Stefan and Ørsnes, Bjarne. (To appear).** Danish in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. Ms, Freie Universität Berlin. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/danish.html, 07.10.2012. **Müller, Stefan, Samvelian, Pollet and Bonami, Olivier. (In Preparation).** Persian in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar. http://hpsg.fu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/persian.html, 07.10.2012.

Wissenschaftliche Nutzung der korpuslinguistischen Infrastruktur LAUDATIO

Carolin Odebrecht & Dennis Zielke & Thomas Krause & Benjamin Weißenfels & Malte Belz & Tino Schernikau & Vivian Voigt

Poster

Empirische Grundlagen für diachrone oder historische Studien zu linguistischen Phänomenen sind intensiv und aufwändig hinsichtlich der Datenaufbereitung und -auswertung (Claridge 2008). Eine auf bereits

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vorhandene Korpora aufbauende Forschungstradition im Sinne einer kollaborierenden Wiedernutzung von Korpora hat sich auch aufgrund eines mangelnden Zugangs und fehlender Dokumentation der Datenaufbereitung nicht etabliert. Wiederverwendung verstehen wir als Suche und Finden von bereits bestehenden geeigneten Datengrundlagen für die eigene Forschungsfrage, die weitere Bearbeitung der Daten (wie z.B. weitere Annotationen oder Dokumente) und die anschließende Analyse. Für eine diachrone Analyse von Argumentstrukturen des Deutschen müssen beispielsweise normalisierte Datengrundlagen gefunden werden, die die Annotation mit einem eigenen auf modernen Texten trainierten Parser erlauben. Auch Auswahlkriterien wie Register, Entstehungsort und -zeit müssen häufig berücksichtigt werden.

Das LAUDATIO-Repository (Krause et al. 2012) bildet in Verbindung mit ANNIS (Zeldes et al. 2009), SaltNPepper (Zipser & Romary 2010) und weiteren frei verfügbaren korpuslinguistischen Werkzeugen eine virtuelle Forschungsumgebung, die einen Open-Access-Zugang und eine (Wieder-)Nutzung im genannten Sinne für verschieden aufbereitete historische Korpora ermöglicht. Eine strukturiert einheitliche Facetten- und Freitextsuche und Anzeige für historische Korpora, Dokumente von Korpora und einzelner Annotationen werden durch ein Metamodell, das technisch durch das TEI-Metaschema ODD (Lou & Rahtz 2004) umgesetzt und im Repository implementiert ist, realisiert. Dieses Modell umfasst Metadaten zum Korpusprojekt inklusive Herausgeber und Annotatoren, zu den verwendeten Primärtexten mit bibliographischen Angaben und Registern, den Annotationen für jedes Korpus und jedes Dokument und den einzelnen Datenaufbereitungsschritten sowie Lizenzen.

Alle Korpora im LAUDATIO-Repository können unter einer freien Creative-Commons Lizenz heruntergeladen werden und auch von einem registrierten Nutzer selbstständig unter denselben Bedingungen hochgeladen werden. Durch eine Schnittstelle zum Konverterframework SaltNPepper kann ein Korpus von einem Format in ein anderes zur weiteren Datenaufbereitung konvertiert werden. Für den letzten Schritt der Datenanalyse ist eine Schnittstelle zum Such- und Visualisierungstool ANNIS im Repository eingebunden, die ebenfalls frei zugänglich für alle Korpora ist.

Claridge, C. (2008). Historical corpora. In Lüdeling, A. and Kytö, M. (Eds.) Corpus Linguistics, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 242–259. Lou, B., Rahtz, S. (2004). RelaxNG with Son of ODD. Extreme Markup Languages. Krause, T., Odebrecht, C., Zielke, D. (2013). Wie kann der Zugriff, die Wiederverwendung und langfristige Speicherung von linguistischen Korpora realisiert werden?. 35. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS). 12. März - 15. März 2013, Universität Potsdam. Zeldes, A., Ritz, J., Lüdeling,

A., Chiarcos, C. (2009). ANNIS: A search tool for multilayer annotated corpora. In Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics 2009. Liverpool, UK. Zipser, F., Romary, L. (2010). A model oriented approach to the mapping of annotation formats using standards. In Workshop on Language Resource and Language Technology Standards, LREC 2010. La Valette, Malta.

Identification of Domain-Specific Named Entity Classes

Eva Sourjikova & Anette Frank

Poster

The objective of our research is to automatically detect fine-grained named entity classes in any domain. Given a text collection (e.g. texts about astronomy), our system identifies an inventory of semantic classes (e.g. astronomer, asteroid, planet, star, constellation etc.) of named entities that are characteristic in this domain (e.g. "Edwin Hubble", "Gaspra", "Venus", "Zeta Leporis", "Pegasus", etc.). The inventory of named entity classes we detect for a domain using a representative domain text collection implicitly represents a concept structure of the domain. Inducing such a structure would be beneficial for many semantic text processing tasks such as fine-grained named entity classification, text categorization, ontology induction etc. Research in named entity classification typically involves a small, predefined set of broad classes (e.g. person, location, organization) that are present in any domain. In contrast, in our work we focus on automatic corpus-based induction of fine-grained named entity classes in order to capture the diversity of named entity classes across different domains.

Our corpus-based approach is theoretically grounded on the referential and formal properties of proper names: proper names single out important entities in a domain and these entities are often introduced in the texts jointly with their semantic category. We use linguistically motivated part-of-speech patterns to automatically extract these class-instance pairs from the corpus and then employ their cooccurrence-based features as well as ontological features induced from WordNet to select domain-specific named entity classes from the overall set of acquired classes. Our classification model distinguishes named-entity classes (e.g. "scientist") and classes of entities that are not name bearing (e.g. "summer", "curtain", "laughter") and thus reliably eliminates incorrect extractions. Experimental results using several

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domain-specific corpora show that our method is able to identify named entity classes with high accuracy in diverse domains of different granularity.

Baroni, M., Bernardini, S., Ferraresi, A. and Zanchetta, E. (2009): The wacky wide web: A collection of very large linguistically processed web-crawled corpora. **Evert, S. (2004):** The Statistics of Word Cooccurrences: Word Pairs and Collocations. Stuttgart **Fellbaum, C. (1998):** Wordnet: An Electronic Lexical Database. Cambridge **Hearst, M. A. (1992):** Automatic Acquisition of Hyponyms from Large Text Corpora. **Langendonck, W. V. (2007):** Theory and Typology of proper names. Berlin Snow, R., Jurafsky, D. And Ng, A.Y. (2004): Learning syntactic patterns for automatic hypernym discovery. Vancouver

Merging data, the essence of creation of multi layer corpora

Florian Zipser & Mario Frank & Jakob Schmolling

Poster

The last couple of years have shown an increasing number of multi layer corpora. Such corpora allow the analysis of phenomena spreading through multiple annotation layers, for example corpora like TueBaDZ (see: http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/ascl/ressourcen/corpora/tueba-dz.html), PCC (see: http://www.ling.uni-potsdam.de/acl-lab/Forsch/pcc/pcc.html), FALKO (see: https://u.hu-berlin.de/falko) and many other corpora contain annotations on syntactical, rhetorical, information structural and other layers. Often, annotations were created manually, or semi-automatically with different tools like EXMARaLDA (see: http://www.exmaralda.org/), Tree-Tagger (see: http://www.cis.uni-muenchen.de/~schmid/tools/TreeTagger/) and MMAX2 (see: http://mmax2.sourceforge.net/). These tools are powerful and usable but unfortunately only provide a minimum of interoperability, which impedes the creation of multi layer corpora. Thus, multiple layers of such corpora often had to be merged by hand or by very proprietary scripts implemented for just one use case and therefore could not be reused for other corpora easily.

With this poster we present a tool which merges several layers of annotations into a single multi layer corpus. When creating a multi layer corpus, several analyses base on the same primary data and often also on the same tokenization. For instance, in PCC there are multiple annotation layers covering the same piece of text, like dependency annotations or annotation of information structure. Under https://korpling.german.hu-berlin.de/annis3/#q=*IkZlaWdlbmJsYXR0Ig*&c=cGNjMg&cl=5&cr=5&s=0&l=10

you will find an excerpt of the PCC corpus in ANNIS. Open the layers 'dependency (arches)' and 'information structure (grid)', to see different annotations covering the same piece of text.

We started merging the data on the tokenization level and traversed bottom up, to merge even higher levels of annotation. This concept is implemented in a module for the converter framework Pepper (See https://u.hu-berlin.de/saltnpepper) with use of the common meta-model Salt. By using Pepper, the merging module is able to handle all formats which can be imported by a Pepper module. Multi layered corpora then can be mapped into a multilayer formats like PAULA (Chiarcos et al. 2008), GrAF (Ide & Suderman 2007) or can be imported into ANNIS.

Chiarcos, C., Dipper, S., Götze, M., Leser, U., Lüdeling, A., Ritz, J. & Stede, M. (2008). A Flexible Framework for Integrating Annotations from Different Tools and Tag Sets. Traitment automatique des langues 49, 271-293. **Ide N., Suderman K. (2007).** GrAF: A Graph-based Format for Linguistic Annotations. Proceedings of the Linguistic Annotation Workshop, held in conjunction with ACL 2007, Prague, June 28-29, 1-8.

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Satz und Layout:

- Python 3: http://www.python.org
- pandoc: http://johnmacfarlane.net/pandoc
- X$_\exists$LAT$_E$X: https://www.tug.org/xetex
- KOMA‑Script: http://komascript.de