41. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

K|C ONTRAST & OPPOSITION

41st Annual Conference of the German Linguistic Society

Universität Bremen, 06.–08. 03. 2019

Plenarvorträge / Invited Speakers:
Walter Bisang (Mainz)
Barbara Schlücker (Leipzig)
Eeva Sippola (Helsinki)
Martine Vanhove (Paris/ Villejuif)

41. Jahrestagung
der Deutschen Gesellschaft
für Sprachwissenschaft

Kontrast und Opposition

06.–08. März 2019
Universität Bremen

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Susanne Hackmack

Organisation

Federführend/Wissenschaftliche Leitung

Prof. Dr. Thomas Stolz
Linguistik/Allgemeine und Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Bremen

Organisatorische Leitung

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Linguistik/Allgemeine und Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Bremen
Prof Dr. Marcus Callies
English Speaking Cultures, Anglistik/Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Bremen
Prof. Dr. Ingo H. Warnke
Germanistische Sprachwissenschaft; Interdisziplinäre Linguistik
Universität Bremen

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Annika Lobach (Bremer Touristik Zentrale)
Sonja Kettler (allgemeine Tagungsplanung)
Vera Stollberg (allgemeine Tagungsplanung)
Prof. Dr. em. Karl Heinz Wagner (Webseitenerstellung, -design; Übersetzungen ins Englische)

Tagungsband

Dr. Cornelia Stroh
Linguistik/Allgemeine und Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft
Universität Bremen

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Danksagungen

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Lin|gu|is|tik
FACHINFORMATIONSDIENST
www.linguistik.de

language science press

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HANSA FLEX
Systempartner für Hydraulik

DFG Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft

Universität Bremen

FB 10

I A & A S

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Teil I

Informationen

Informationen zur Tagung

Veranstalter

Universität Bremen, Fachbereich 10: Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)

Wissenschaftliche Leitung

Prof. Dr. Thomas Stolz, Linguistik/Allgemeine und Angewandte Sprachwissenschaft

Homepage

www.dgfs2019.uni-bremen.de

Tagungsort

Universität Bremen
Gebäude GW2/HS/SFG
Universitätsboulevard 13
28359 Bremen

Tagungsbüro: Anmeldung und Information

Das Tagungsbüro (GW2, B 2860) ist ab Mittwoch, 06.03.2019, 08:00 Uhr geöffnet. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, die Teilnahmegebühr (sofern nicht bereits online geschehen) in bar oder per EC-/Kreditkarte zu entrichten. Sie erhalten hier Ihre Tagungsunterlagen und alle wichtigen Informationen zur Tagung. Als zentrale Anlaufstelle ist das Tagungsbüro vom 06.03.2019–08.03.2019 tagsüber besetzt. Hier können Sie außerdem bei Bedarf Ihr Gepäck deponieren, finden das Fundbüro und eine Ansprechperson für Notfälle (Erste Hilfe).

Öffnungszeiten des Tagungsbüros

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019, 8:00–18:00 Uhr
Donnerstag, 07.03.2019, 8:00–18:00 Uhr
Freitag, 08.03.2019, 8:00–14:15 Uhr

Telefon

Bei dringenden Fragen können Sie das Tagungsbüro während der oben genannten Zeiten unter folgender Telefonnummer erreichen: **0421-218-60910**

Internetnutzung – W-LAN

Für Hochschulangehörige besteht grundsätzlich der Internetzugang über Eduroam (www.eduroam.org). Sollten Sie keinen Zugriff auf Eduroam haben, können Sie beim Tagungsbüro einen individuellen Zugang über die Uni Bremen bekommen.

Kopieren und drucken

Für kurzfristige Kopien und Ausdrucke steht Ihnen in der Glashalle ein Copyshop zur Verfügung. Öffnungszeiten: Mo bis Fr 10:00–15:00 Uhr.

Kinderbetreuung

Während der Tagung kann eine Kinderbetreuung organisiert werden. Bitte nehmen Sie hierfür bis zum 15.12.18 per E-Mail Kontakt zu uns auf.

Barrierefreiheit

Die Tagungsräume und Cafeterien/Mensa auf dem Campus sind barrierefrei zugänglich. Dies gilt auch für die Räumlichkeiten des geselligen Abends sowie des Empfangs.

Tagungsgebühren

Der Frühbucherrabatt ist bei Registrierung bis um 15.12.2018 gültig. Bei Registrierung nach dem 15.12.2018 erhöht sich die Konferenzgebühr um 5,00 Euro. Die Konferenzgebühr hängt darüber hinaus von der Mitgliedschaft in der DGfS und der Verfügbarkeit eines Einkommens ab. Siehe DGfS-Homepage.

	Frühbucher	**Regulär**
Mitglieder der DGfS – mit regulärem DGfS-Beitrag:	50,00 €	55,00€
Mitglieder der DGfS – mit reduziertem DGfS-Beitrag:	35,00€	40,00€
Nicht-Mitglieder der DGfS – mit Einkommen:	70,00 €	75,00 €
Nicht-Mitglieder der DGfS – ohne Einkommen:	40,00 €	45,00 €

Geldautomat

Ein Geldautomat befindet sich auf dem „Boulevard“, gegenüber der Mensa.

Taxi

Taxi Ruf: 0421/14014
Taxi Roland: 0421/14433

Verlagsausstellung

Während der Tagung präsentieren zahlreiche Verlag ihr Programm im Gebäude GW2, Ebene 2 und 3 im Foyer (Haupttreppe).

Rahmenprogramm

Warming-Up

Dienstag, 05.03.2019 ab 19 Uhr

Schüttinger
Hinter dem Schütting 12–13
28195 Bremen
www.schuettinger.de

Der Eingang zum Schüttinger befindet sich in der Böttcherstraße, am Eingang zum Paula-Modersohn-Becker-Museum. Die Teilnehmerzahl ist auf 200 begrenzt. Das Warming-Up findet in der oberen Ebene statt.

Geselliger Abend

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 ab 19:30 Uhr

Borgfelder Landhaus
Warfer Landstr. 73
28357 Bremen
www.borgfelder-landhaus.de

Das Restaurant Borgfelder Landhaus bietet Platz für 200 Gäste und ist erreichbar mit der Straßenbahnlinie 4.

Empfang im Foyer des Übersee-Museums

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 um 19:30 Uhr

Übersee-Museum
Bahnhofsplatz 13
28195 Bremen
www.uebersee-museum.de

Das Übersee-Museum befindet sich direkt am Bremer Hauptbahnhof. Die Anzahl der Plätze zum Empfang ist auf 200 begrenzt.

Bitte melden Sie sich zu allen Rahmenveranstaltungen bei der Registrierung an.

Anreise

Der Tagungsort auf dem Campus der Universität liegt rd. 5 km vom Hauptbahnhof und rd. 15 km vom Flughafen entfernt und ist von dort mit dem ÖPNV sehr gut zu erreichen. Dies gilt auch für die Anreise mit dem Auto, da auf dem Campusgelände Parkplätze in ausreichender Zahl zur Verfügung stehen.

Mit der Bahn

Planen Sie Ihre Reise mit der Deutschen Bahn zum Bremer Hauptbahnhof (Hbf). Sie verlassen den Hauptbahnhof Richtung Süden (Stadtmitte). Taxi und Straßenbahn fahren direkt vom Bahnhofsvorplatz aus. Für die Weiterfahrt zur Universität Bremen mit dem Taxi zahlen Sie ca. 15 Euro. Günstiger ist es mit der Straßenbahn: Die Straßenbahnlinie 6 Richtung Universität bringt Sie in ca. 15 Minuten zum Ziel. Ausstieg an der Haltestelle Universität/Zentralbereich in der Bibliothekstraße. Die Linie 6 fährt in der Regel alle 10 Minuten, in der Hauptverkehrszeit häufiger.

Mit dem ÖPNV

Die Verbindungen von Ihrem Hotel zur Universität können Sie sich hier anzeigen lassen: https://fahrplaner.bsag.de/hafas/query.exe/dn (bei der Suche muss auch der Ort Bremen eingeben werden) und die Fahrplanübersicht zu einzelnen Linien finden Sie hier: https://www.bsag.de/de/auskunft/infosplaene/linien-und-fahrplaene. Ausstieg ist immer an der Haltestelle „Universität –Zentralbereich“, an der auch die Buslinien 21, 22, 28 und 31 halten. Der Weg von dort zum nahe gelegenen Tagungsbüro (Gebäude GW2, Raum B 2.860) ist ausgeschildert.

Informationen zu den Tickets im ÖVPN: Für die Fahrten mit Bussen und Bahnen innerhalb Bremens benötigen Sie Tickets der Preisstufe 1, die in den Fahrzeugen und/oder Vorverkaufsstellen wie z.B. dem BSAG-Kundencenter auf dem Bahnhofsvorplatz erhältlich sind:

Einzelticket: 2,80 Euro, in den Fahrzeugen und im BSAG-Kundencenter
Vierer- oder Zehnerticket: 10,20/25,50 Euro, im BSAG-Kundencenter
Tagesticket: 8,10 Euro, in den Fahrzeugen und im BSAG-Kundencenter
7-Tage-Ticket: 23,40 Euro, im BSAG-Kundencenter

Nachtlinienzuschlag (wenn Bus oder Bahn mit einem "N" gekennzeichnet ist): 1,00 Euro, in den Fahrzeugen Im BSAG-Kundencenter erhalten Sie auch Beratung oder persönliche Fahrpläne.

Mit dem PKW

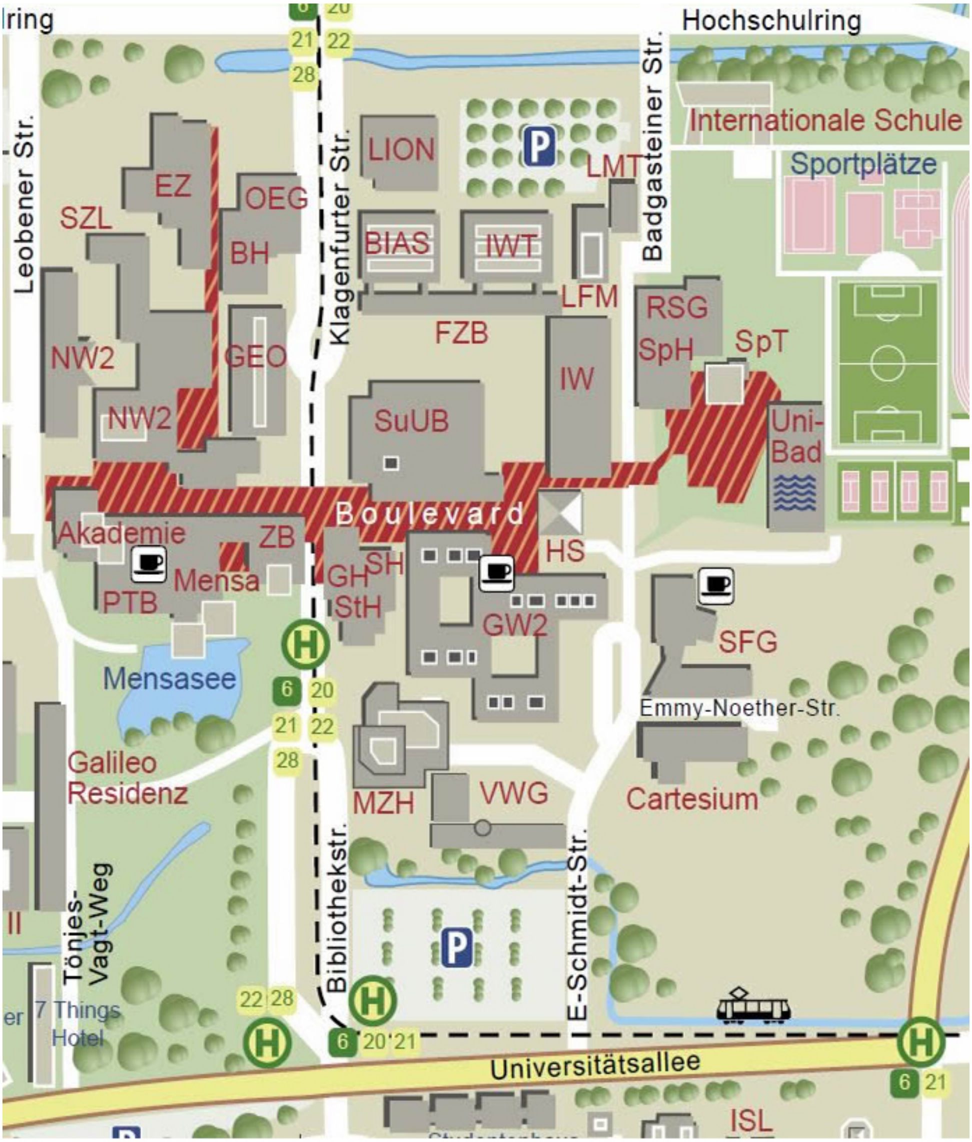
Wenn Sie von der A1 kommen, wechseln Sie am Bremer Kreuz auf die A27 in Richtung Bremen-Bremerhaven. Sie verlassen die A27 an der Abfahrt Universität/Horn-Lehe und fahren Richtung Centrum/Universität. Biegen Sie an der zweiten Möglichkeit rechts ab (Universitätsallee) und dann abermals rechts (Enrique-Schmidt-Straße). Dort können Sie entweder den Parkplatz (Tagesgebühr 1,00 Euro) oder die Tiefgarage im GW2-Gebäude (Tagesgebühr 1,50 Euro) nutzen. Die Parkgebühren werden bei der Einfahrt bezahlt, entweder in bar (passend zahlen, es wird nicht an allen Automaten Wechselgeld herausgegeben) oder bargeldlos mit Geldkarte. Am Ende der Enrique-Schmidt-Straße nehmen Sie die Treppe nach links auf den Boulevard, dort wieder links in das Gebäude GW2 und noch einmal links die Treppe hinauf zum Tagungsbüro (Raum B 2.860).

Mit dem Flugzeug

Für die Weiterfahrt vom Bremer Flughafen (BRE) zur Universität Bremen mit dem Taxi zahlen Sie ca. 24 Euro. Die Straßenbahnlinie 6 fährt vom Flughafen direkt zur Universität (Fahrtdauer ca. 35 Minuten). Die Linie 6 fährt in der Regel alle 10 Minuten, in der Hauptverkehrszeit häufiger. Steigen Sie dort an der Haltestelle Universität/Zentralbereich aus. Der Weg von dort zum nahe gelegenen Tagungsbüro (Gebäude GW2, Raum B 2.860) ist ausgeschildert.

Adresse

Universität Bremen
Gebäude GW2
Universitätsboulevard 13
28359 Bremen



Legende:

HS: Hörsaalgebäude (Keksdose)

GW2: Geisteswissenschaften 2

SFG: Seminar- und Forschungsverfügungsgebäude

Raumübersicht

Anmeldung	GW2 B 2860
Tagungsbüro	GW2 B 2860
Kaffeepausen	GW2, Foyer 3. Ebene
Gepäckaufbewahrung	GW2 B 2860
Verlagsausstellung	GW2, Foyer 2. u. 3. Ebene

Dienstag, 05.03.2019

Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)	SFG 0140/SFG 0150
Doktorandenforum	SFG 1080
Computerlinguistik-Tutorium	SFG 1020
Lehramtsinitiative	GW2 B 3009

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 bis Freitag, 08.03.2019

Plenarvorträge		HS 2010
AG1	Kontraste und Oppositionen bei Genus und Geschlecht im Deutschen	GW2 B 3009
AG2	Proper names versus common nouns: Morphosyntactic contrasts in the languages of the world	GW2 B 3850
AG3	Cross-linguistic variation in control phenomena	SFG 0150
AG4	Encoding varieties of topic and focus: The role of contrast and information status	SFG 1010
AG5	Concessives vs. adversatives: Opposing oppositions	SFG 1040
AG6	Factors influencing the stability of phonetic contrasts and phonemic oppositions	SFG 1020
AG7	Language change at the interfaces. On the interaction between syntax, prosody and information structure	SFG 1020
AG8	Who cares? Contrast and opposition in “free” phenomena	SFG 1030

AG9	Koloniale und post-koloniale Toponomastik	SFG 1030
AG10	Prosody from a cross-domain perspective: How language speaks to music (and vice versa)	GW2 B 1400
AG11	Iconicity in language	SFG 0140
AG12	Sorting out the concepts behind definiteness	GW2 B 2890
AG13	Post-truth: The semantics and pragmatics of saying “what you believe to be false”	GW2 B 2880
AG14	Variation in der Argumentstruktur des Deutschen. Empirische und theoretische Perspektiven im Spannungsfeld von Valenz und Konstruktion	GW2 B 2880
AG15	Encoding emotive attitudes in non-truth-conditional meaning	GW2 B 2900
AG16	New horizons in the study of nominal phrases	GW2 B 2900

Posterausstellung Computerlinguistik	GW2 B 3010
Preisverleihung Wilhelm von Humboldt-Preis	HS 2010
Computerlinguistik-Mitgliederversammlung	GW2 B 3770
DFG Infoveranstaltung	GW2 B 3770
DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung	HS 1010

Essen und Trinken auf dem Campus

In Nähe der Tagungsräume gibt es mehrere gastronomische Betriebe, die Mahlzeiten, Snacks und warme und kalte Getränke anbieten.

Bereits im Vorfeld können Sie im Rahmen der Tagungsanmeldung das Mittagsangebot der Mensa mitbuchen. Der Mensacoupon beinhaltet 1 Essen, 1 Getränk und 1 Dessert nach Wahl.

Uni-Mensa
11.30–14.00 Uhr auf dem Boulevard

Café Central auf dem Boulevard, direkt neben der Mensa
08.00–16.00 Uhr

Cafeteria GW2 im Gebäude GW2, Ebene 0, links vom Haupteingang
07.45–17.00/Fr 16.00 Uhr
Mittagessen:
11.30–14.30/Fr 14.00 Uhr

Café Unique Enrique-Schmidt-Straße, links im Gebäude SFG
09.00–16.00 Uhr
Mittagessen:
11.30–14.30

Unikum Bibliothekstraße, in der Glashalle
09.00–18.00 Uhr
Mittagessen:
11.30–14.30

Das Tagesangebot können Sie einsehen unter https://www.uni-bremen.de/de/universitaet/campus/essen/speiseplaene/ und den Wochenplan ebenfalls unter diesem Link und einem Klick auf den Anbieter.

Außerdem finden Sie in der Glashalle, Bibliothekstraße, ein kleines Lebensmittelgeschäft (07.30–17.00/Fr 16.00 Uhr) und in der Enrique-Schmidt-Straße zwei Supermärkte (08.00–20.00 Uhr) sowie eine Bäckerei mit Café (06.00–18.00 Uhr).

Gastronomie in Bremen

Restaurants in der Bremer Innenstadt

Aioli
Spanisches Restaurant in der mittelalterlichen Umgebung des Schnoors.
Schnoor, 28195 Bremen
www.aioli-bremen.de

Alex Gaststätten
Das ALEX am Domshof im Herzen der Altstadt ist ein perfekter Platz, um in historischer Umgebung auch kulinarischen Trends nachzugehen.
Domshof 16, 28195 Bremen
www.dein-alex.de

Alexander von Humboldt – Das Schiff
Ein gemütliches regionales Restaurant mit zwei Speiseräumen, die über Gemeinschaftstische verfügen, sowie eine saisonale Terrasse auf Deck.
Schlachte 1a – Martinianleger, 28195 Bremen
www.alex-das-schiff.de

alto
Ambitionierte deutsche sowie japanisch-südamerikanische Cross-over-Küche im eleganten Lokal mit Hofterrasse.
Bredenstr. 2, 28195 Bremen
www.restaurant-alto.de

Beck's Bistro
Im stilvollen und modernen Bistro mit Terrasse werden Pizza, Pasta, Flammkuchen sowie Grillgerichte serviert.
Am Markt 9, 28195 Bremen
www.becks-bistro-bremen.de

Beck's in'n Snoor
Die Gaststätte serviert traditionelle Bremer und norddeutsche Spezialitäten in urig-rustikalem Ambiente.
Schnoor 34/36, 28195 Bremen
www.becks-im-schnoor.de

Bolero Fresh Restaurant & Livestyle Bar
Restaurant & Bar Konzept; raffinierte Cocktails & mexikanisch-mediterrane Küche; leckere Gerichte und Cocktails.
Langenstr. 68, 28195 Bremen
www.bolerobar.de

Bratwurstglöck'l Stockhinger
Verkauf von Grillwürsten in Spitzenqualität, im Pavillon direkt in der Bremer Innenstadt neben dem Rathaus, geöffnet bis 23.30 Uhr.
Liebfrauenkirchhof, 28195 Bremen

Bremer Ratskeller
Deutsche Küche im Kellergewölbe des altehrwürdigen Bremer Rathauses.
Am Markt, 28195 Bremen
www.ratskeller-bremen.de

Café und Bar Celona
Frühstücken, Cocktails und mehr direkt an der Weser in *Bremen.*
Schlachte 32, 28195 Bremen
www.celona.de

Camarillo
Mediterrane Küche, Burger und Cocktails in der Restaurant-Bar mit industriellem Design und großer Terrasse.
Schlachte 30, 28195 Bremen
www.camarillo-bremen.de

Restaurant Canova an der Kunsthalle Bremen
In der ehemaligen Bibliothek mit Terrasse werden internationale Speisen zwischen goldenen Wänden serviert.
Am Wall 207, 28195 Bremen
www.canova-bremen.de

Captain Sushi
Das etablierte Lokal bietet Sushi und Sushi-Kochkurse sowie japanisches Fondue und All-you-can-eat-Angebote.
Böttcherstr. 2, 28195 Bremen
www.captain-sushi.com

Comturei
Deutsche und internationale Küche im historischen Kreuzgewölbe aus dem 13. Jahrhundert.
Ostertorstraße 30/32, 28199 Bremen

Fisherman's Seafood Bremen
Das Lokal mit Fischspezialitäten ist liebevoll im maritimen Stil gestaltet und lädt zum Wohlfühlen ein.
Am Wall 201, 28195 Bremen
www.fisherman-bremen.de

Friesenhof
Gutbürgerliche Küche „Hinter dem Schütting“ (unmittelbar hinter dem Marktplatz).
Hinter dem Schütting 12, 28195 Bremen
www.friesenhof-bremen.de

John Benton
Traditionelles Steakhaus mit regionalen Bezügen und Blick auf den Roland, dem Wahrzeichen Bremens.
Am Markt 1, 28195 Bremen
www.johnbenton-bremen.de

Kaffeehaus und Restaurant Classico
Das Lokal im Stil eines Wiener Cafés serviert Frühstück, Kuchen und Eis sowie einfache internationale Speisen.
Am Markt 17, 28195 Bremen
www.classico-bremen.de

Kaffeemühle/Mühle am Wall
Das Lokal mit Terrasse bietet Brunch und internationale Kost im malerischen Ambiente einer alten Windmühle.
Am Wall 212, 28195 Bremen
www.muehle-bremen.de

Katzen-Café
Das elegante Lokal mit Gemälden und Fotos sowie romantischem Gastgarten bietet gehobene internationale Küche.
Schnoor 38, 28195 Bremen
www.katzen-cafe.de

Kleiner Olymp
Das urige Café-Restaurant serviert saisonale, deftige norddeutsche Küche wie Bremer Pannfisch oder Grützwurst.
Hinter der Holzpforte 20, 28195 Bremen
www.kleiner-olymp.de

Kleiner Ratskeller
Die stilvoll-gemütlich eingerichtete Gaststätte mit Holztäfelung serviert Bremer Gerichte und Mittagstisch.
Hinter dem Schütting 11, 28195 Bremen
www.kleiner-ratskeller.de

Luv Restaurant, Café, Bar, Lounge
Das Lokal bietet kreative maritime Hausmannskost, Frühstück und Mittagstisch im klaren, modernen Ambiente.
Schlachte 15–18, 28195 Bremen
www.restaurant-luv.de

Mexcal
Das gemütliche Bar-Restaurant bietet mexikanische Gerichte mit kalifornischem Einfluss sowie Cocktails an.
Martinistr. 61, 28195 Bremen
www.mexcal-restaurant.de

Osteria
Regionale italienische Spezialitäten vom Holzkohlengrill im Erdgeschoss eines Backsteinhauses mit Terrasse.
Schlachte 1, 28195 Bremen
www.osteria-bremen.de

Pannekoekschip Admiral Nelson
Pfannkuchen auf dem Dreimaster „Admiral Nelson“, an der Uferpromenade der Weser.
Schlachte 1, 28195 Bremen
www.admiral-nelson.de

Pochana Thai Restaurant
Das stilvoll landestypisch dekorierte Lokal bietet traditionelle thailändische Spezialitäten.
Langenstr. 14, 28195 Bremen
www.pochana-thai.de

Restaurant Shalimar
Indisches Restaurant
Martinistr. 62–66, 28195 Bremen
www.restaurantshalimar.de

Schüttinger Gasthausbrauerei
Deftige Speisen und selbst gebrautes Bier in lang etablierter Gasthausbrauerei mit gemütlichem Ambiente.
Hinter dem Schütting 12–13, 28195 Bremen
www.schuettinger.de

Ständige Vertretung
Deutsche (insbesondere rheinische) Küche in der Böttcherstraße.
Böttcherstraße 3-5, 28195 Bremen
www.staev.de

Restaurants in Campusnähe

Del Bosco Trattoria – im Hotel Munte am Stadtwald
Italienisches Restaurant
Parkallee 299, 28213 Bremen
www.hotel-munte.de

Haus am Walde
Restaurant und Café am Stadtwald. Norddeutsche und internationale Küche, Frühstück und selbstgebackener Kuchen im Backsteinhaus mit Biergarten.
Kuhgrabenweg 2, 28359 Bremen
www.hausamwalde-bremen.de

Meierei
Feine internationale Küche aus saisonalen Zutaten der Region im eleganten, hellen Lokal mit Blick in den Bürgerpark.
Im Bürgerpark 1, 28209 Bremen
www.meiereibremen.de

Restaurant CAMPUS – im ATLANTIC Hotel Universum
Gehobene internationale Küche mit Fokus auf ausgefallenen Kräutern und Aromen in Lokal mit großer Terrasse.
Wiener Straße 4, 28359 Bremen
www.restaurant-campus.de

Restaurant Il Lago am Stadtwaldsee
Das modern eingerichtete Lokal mit Glasfronten und Seeterrasse bietet Pizza, Gratins und Grillgerichte an.
Hochschulring 1, 28359 Bremen
www.restaurant-illago-bremen.de

Zum Platzhirsch
Im gemütlichen, hellen Fachwerkhaus mit großem Biergarten gibt es zünftige deutsche Küche und Brotzeiten.
Kuhgrabenweg 30, 28359 Bremen
www.restaurant-zum-platzhirsch.de

Sehenswertes in Bremen

In der Bremer Innenstadt

Rathaus und Roland
Das Bremer Rathaus wurde in den Jahren 1405–1410 am Marktplatz als gotischer Saalgeschossbau erbaut. Im 17. Jahrhundert erhielt es eine Fassade im Stil der Weserrenaissance. Besonders sehenswürdig unter den Räumen dieses historischen Gebäudes ist die Obere Rathaushalle, der schönste repräsentative Festsaal Bremens. Ein anderes Wahrzeichen Bremens ist der Bremer Roland, eine 1404 errichtete Rolandstatue auf dem Marktplatz vor dem Rathaus. Rathaus und Roland wurden 2004 gemeinsam von der UNESCO zum Weltkulturerbe der Menschheit erklärt.

Die Bremer Stadtmusikanten
Ein weiteres Wahrzeichen Bremens sind die Bremer Stadtmusikanten, eine Bronzestatue von Gerhard Marcks (1953) am Bremer Rathaus. Sie erinnert an das gleichnamige Märchen, das von den Brüdern Grimm aufgezeichnet und 1819 in den *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* erstmals veröffentlicht wurde.

Bremer Dom
Der St.-Petri-Dom in Bremen ist ein aus Sandstein und Backstein gestalteter romanischer Kirchenbau, der vom 11. Jahrhundert an über den Fundamenten älterer Vorgängerbauten errichtet und seit dem 13. Jahrhundert im Stil der Gotik umgebaut wurde.

Böttcherstr.
Die Böttcherstraße ist eine etwa 100 m lange Straße in der Bremer Altstadt, die aufgrund ihrer einmaligen Architektur zu den Kulturdenkmälern und Touristenattraktionen in Bremen zählt und in der Zeit von 1922 bis 1931 gebaut wurde. Ihre Entstehung verdankt sie hauptsächlich Ludwig Roselius (1874–1943), einem Bremer Kaffeekaufmann und Mäzen, der den Bildhauer, Maler, Architekten und Kunsthandwerker Bernhard Hoetger (1874–1949) mit der künstlerischen Gestaltung beauftragte. Die Straße und ihre Gebäude sind ein seltenes Beispiel für die Architektur des Expressionismus.

Schnoor
Der Schnoor ist ein mittelalterliches Gängeviertel mit kleinen, schmalen Fachwerkhäusern aus dem 15. und 16. Jahrhundert in der Altstadt Bremens. Das Viertel verdankt seine Bezeichnung dem alten Schiffshandwerk.

Weserpromenade Schlachte
Die Weserpromenade Schlachte ist die historische Uferpromenade an der Weser und ist jetzt eine maritime Gastromeile mit zahlreichen Restaurants, Bars und Kneipen.

In Campusnähe

Bürgerpark und Stadtwald
Der Bürgerpark Bremen ist einer der besterhaltenen Landschaftsparks Deutschlands mit Liegewiesen, Wäldern, Seen und Kaffeehäusern. Zusammen mit dem unmittelbar angrenzenden Stadtwald umfasst er eine Fläche von über 200 Hektar. Er liegt in der Nähe des Hauptbahnhofes gleich hinter dem Messezentrum. Entstanden ist er in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die Parks bieten den Besuchern zahlreiche Möglichkeiten zur Freizeitgestaltung, so z.B. Tiergehege, einen Bootsverleih, eine Finnenbahn sowie Minigolf- und Bouleplätze.

Universum Bremen
Das Universum® Bremen mit dem imposanten walförmigen *Science Center* ist ein Wissenschafts-Museum mit über 300 Exponaten zu Themenbereichen wie Technik, Mensch, Natur, das die Besucher zum Mitmachen animiert.

Teil II

Programmübersicht und AG-Programme

Programmübersicht

Dienstag, 05.03.2019

8:45–18:00	Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)	SFG 0140
9:00–16:00	Doktorandenforum	SFG 1080
11:00–18:00	Computerlinguistik-Tutorium	SFG 1020
15:00–19:15	Lehramtsinitiative	GW2 B 3009
19:00–	Warming-Up im Schüttinger	

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

8:00–9:00	Anmeldung	GW2 B2860
9:00–9:30	Begrüßung	HS 2010
9:30–10:30	Plenarvortrag 1: Walter Bisang	HS 2010
10:30–11:00	Wilhelm von Humboldt-Preis	HS 2010
11:00–11:30	Kaffeepause	GW2, Foyer 3. Ebene
11:30–12:30	Plenarvortrag 2: Barbara Schlücker	HS 2010
12:30–13:45	Mittagspause/ Mitgliederversammlung der Sektion Computerlinguistik	 GW2 B 3770
13:45–15:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause/ Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 1)	GW2, Foyer 3. Ebene GW2 B 3010
16:30–18:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG
19:30–	Geselliger Abend im Borgfelder Landhaus	

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–10:30	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause/ Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 2)	GW2, Foyer 3. Ebene GW2 B 3010
11:15–12:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG
12:45–13:45	DFG-Infoveranstaltung (Helga Weyerts-Schweda) Mittagspause/ Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 3)	GW2 B 3770 GW2 B 3010
13:45–14:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG
15:00–18:30	Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS	HS 1010
19:30–	Empfang im Foyer des Übersee-Museums	

Freitag, 08.03.2019

9:00–10:00	Plenarvortrag 3: Eeva Sippola	HS 2010
10:00–11:00	Plenarvortrag 4: Martine Vanhove	HS 2010
11:00–11:30	Kaffeepause	GW2, Foyer 3. Ebene
11:30–14:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	GW2 und SFG

AG Programme

AG 1 Kontraste und Oppositionen bei Genus und Geschlecht im Deutschen

Gabriele Diewald & Damaris Nübling

Raum: GW2 B 3009

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Carolin Müller-Spitzer & Henning Lobin *Die Macht der Frequenz und die normative Wirkung deskriptiver Wörterbücher*
14:15–14:45	Lidia Becker *In Opposition zum sprachpolitisch induzierten Sprachwandel: Argumentationsmuster gegen genderneutrale Sprache in der spanischsprachigen Linguistik*
14:45–15:15	Christine Günther *Sprachübergreifende Interaktionen von Genus und Geschlecht – Effekte im Englischen als Fremdsprache*
15:15–15:45	Christine Ott *Grammatik und Geschlechtsreferenz im Deutschen – Synchrone und diachrone Auffällig- und Musterhaftigkeiten*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Sebastian Kürschner *Spitznamen zwischen Nivellierung, Markierung und Kaschierung von Geschlecht*
17:00–17:30	Jaron Toonen *Personenbezeichnungen in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenartikeln: Ein deutsch-niederländischer Vergleich*

17:30–18:00	Dietha Koster, Lukas Urbanek, Gelieza Kötterheinrich & Jens Bölte *Interlingual homophones affect human gender representations in language learners – Evidence from eye tracking*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Magnus Breder Birkenes & Jürg Fleischer *Genus und Sexus im Mittelhochdeutschen: Eine Studie zu mhd.* kint
9:30–10:00	Christiane Ulbrich & Alexander Werth *Die neuronale Differenzierung von Genus und Geschlecht – eine EEG-Studie zur Verarbeitung des hybrid nouns* Mädchen
10:00–10:30	Kristin Kopf *Movierbarkeit von Anglizismen im Deutschen: Ein Fall verzögerter Integration*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Simone Busley & Julia Fritzinger Das Emma *und* der Hänsli*: Genus-Sexus-Diskordanzen in Dialekten des Deutschen*
11:45–12:15	Stephanie Leser-Cronau *Das Neutrum für weibliche Personen in den deutschen Dialekten*
12:15–12:45	Grit Nickel sein *oder* ihr: *Genus und Kongruenz im Artikel- und Pronominalsystem bayerischer Dialekte*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Andreas Klein Die Person, die Arbeitskraft, die Berühmtheit. *Vergeschlechtlichung femininer Epikoina*
14:15–14:45	Miriam Schmidt-Jüngst & Lena Späth *Von* trächtigen Elefantenkühen, säugenden Gazellen *und* balzenden Fasanen*. Zum Geltungsbereich der Genus-Sexus-Korrelation*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Berry Claus & Aline Willy Herr Saki ist Japaner. Frau Kobo auch*: Genusinkongruenz in Nominalellipsen*
12:00–12:30	Julia Hübner *Genuskongruenz vs. Sexuskongruenz – Der Einfluss des Kontexts auf Kongruenzformen hybrider Nomina*

12:30–13:00	Anne Rosar Mann und Frau *und* Frau und Mann – *Zur (Ir-)Reversibilität der Geschlechterordnung in Binomialen*
13:00–13:30	Ewa Trutkowski *Zur Interaktion von Genus und Sexus im Deutschen*
13:30–14:00	Abschlussdiskussion

Alternate speakers

Sandra Birzer & Renata Szczepaniak
Der Genuserwerb bei bilingualen Kindern mit Deutsch als Primär- und Polnisch als Herkunftssprache

AG 2

Proper names versus common nouns: Morphosyntactic contrasts in the languages of the world

Johannes Helmbrecht & Javier Caro Reina

Raum: GW2 B 3850

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:45	Corinna Handschuh (invited speaker) *Personal names vs. common nouns: Crosslinguistic findings from morphology and syntax*
14:45–15:15	Mohamed El Idrissi *Morphosyntactic differences between proper names and common nouns in Riffian*
15:15–15:45	Johannes Helmbrecht *Proper names with and without definite articles*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Javier Caro Reina *Differential Object Marking (DOM) with proper names in Romance languages*
17:00–17:30	Elisheva Jeffay & Susan Rothstein *Contrasts in the distribution of personal proper names in construct constructions in Modern and Biblical Hebrew*

17:30–18:00	Bernhard Wälchli *The extension of person name markers to noun class markers*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Tatsuhiro Okubo *On the morphological status of complex names in English and J apanese*
9:30–10:00	Iker Salaberri, Patxi Salaberri & Juan José Zubiri *Concerning the differential morphosyntactic marking of definiteness on Basque anthroponyms: A synchronic and diachronic study*
10:00–10:30	Adriel Josias Bébiné *Contrastive marking of anthroponyms and common nouns in object and subject argument slots in Nuasúɛ (A.62A)*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Francesco-Alessio Ursini & Haiping Long *Common nouns and saliency in toponyms: A comparative study*
11:45–12:15	Yves D'hulst, Rolf Schöneich & Trudel Meisenburg *Definite articles and geographical proper names: The case of river names*
12:15–12:45	Martin Haspelmath & Susanne Maria Michaelis *Differential place-name marking: An explanation in terms of predictability and coding efficiency*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Miriam Schmuck *Gender assignment to German city names. Areal and diachronic perspectives*
14:15–14:45	Jin Cui & Yu Hu *Description without descriptive content? Morphosyntactic evidence from Chinese against Descriptivism*

AG 3 Cross-linguistic variation in control phenomena

Jutta Hartmann, Anne Mucha, Beata Trawiński & Angelika Wöllstein

Raum: SFG 0150

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Jutta Hartmann, Anne Mucha, Beata Trawiński & Angelika Wöllstein *Introduction*
14:15–15:15	Idan Landau (invited speaker) *Unexpected non-obligatory control*
15:15–15:45	Pilar P. Barbosa *Alleged obligatory control inflected infinitives*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Justin Paz *Revising the distribution of control: Evidence from Spanish*
17:00–17:30	Michelle Sheehan *Partial control: The embedded predicate matters, even in English!*
17:30–18:00	Patrick Brandt & Tom Bossuyt Zu, um, zum, (om) te *and correlates in corpora: On sources and variation of control structures in Germanic varieties*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Silke Fischer & Inghild Flaate Høyem *Event control*
9:30–10:00	Juliana Gerard *Acquiring adjunct control without using it*
10:00–10:30	Peter Herbeck *The null subject of* para-*infinitives in spoken Spanish – between OC and NOC*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Artemis Alexiadou & Elena Anagnostopoulou *Backward control, long distance Agree and the nature of nominative Case*
11:45–12:15	Hyungjung Lee & Mike Berger *Control is Agree: Evidence from Korean*

12:15–12:45	Marie-Luise Popp *Infinite and finite control in Mam*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Irina Burukina *On DP/PRO alternation: Evaluative adjectives and embedded infinitival clauses in Russian*
14:15–14:45	Ion Giurgea & Maria Aurelia Cotfas *Control in* se-*'passives' in Romanian*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Asako Matsuda *Control from inside: Evidence from Japanese*
12:00–12:30	Krisztina Szécsényi *Control, covert modality, and recovery strategies in Hungarian*
12:30–13:00	Irene Rapp & Ekaterina Laptieva *Anti-control verbs, arbitrary control and argument-structural inertia*
13:00–14:00	Barbara Stiebels (invited speaker) *Attitudinal object control predicates*

AG 4

Encoding varieties of topic and focus: The role of contrast and information status

Johannes Mursell & Sophie Repp

Raum: SFG 1010

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Johannes Mursell & Sophie Repp *Encoding varieties of topic and focus: The role of contrast and information status*
14:15–15:15	Silvio Cruschina (invited speaker) *The greater the contrast, the greater the potential: On the effects of contrastive focus in syntax*
15:15–15:45	Maria Aurelia Cotfas *The C-field of (free) subjunctives in Romanian and instances of complementizer deletion*

15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Laura Becker & Gertrud Schneider-Blum *The contrast marker =i/=ɪ in Tima (Niger-Congo)*
17:00–17:30	Alexandra Navarrete González *The expression of contrast in Catalan Sign Language (LSC)*
17:30–18:00	Katharina Hartmann, Iris Legeland & Roland Pfau *Asymmetry and contrast in coordination in Sign Language of the Netherlands*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–10:00	Frank Kügler (invited speaker) *Prosodic phrasing and accentuation in contrastive contexts*
10:00–10:30	Maria del Mar Vanrell & Ingo Feldhausen *Focus realization in the native Spanish of monolingual and bilingual speakers*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Stefan Baumann & Jane Mertens *The influence of information status on the prosody of sentence topics*
11:45–12:15	Francesc Torres-Tamarit & Maria del Mar Vanrell *The phonetics and phonology of fronted focus in Catalan*
12:15–12:45	Christine T. Röhr, Martine Grice, Stefan Baumann & Petra B. Schumacher *The role of prosody in the processing of prominence in contrastive structures*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Ramona Wallner *Prosodic restrictions for focus are cues for the realization of spoken French wh-interrogatives in-situ*
14:15–14:45	Carolin Harthan *Encoding information-structure through adverbial placement in written present-day English*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Silvia Schaefer *Verbal agreement and the person-agreement split in two North-Eastern Italian varieties*
12:00–12:30	Katharina Hartmann *The interpretation of syntactic focus variation*

12:30–13:00	Leah S Bauke *Exhaustivity marking in German and English: A challenge for L2 acquisition?*
13:00–13:30	Fabian Bross *Encoding different types of topics and foci in German Sign Language (Deutsche Gebärdensprache). A Cartographic approach to sign language syntax*
13:30–14:00	Thuan Tran *Information structure and syntax interaction: A view from Vietnamese*

Alternate speaker

Henry Fominyam
On the contrastive nature of LE

AG 5 Concessives vs. adversatives: Opposing oppositions

Elena Castroviejo, Berit Gehrke & Laia Mayol

Raum: SFG 1040

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:45	Katja Jasinskaja (invited speaker) *On the disambiguation of* but
14:45–15:15	Regina Zieleke *German contrastive connectives beyond* aber*. An analysis of contrast on dimensions*
15:15–15:45	Jonathon D. Coltz *Parallel puzzles: Concessives, adversatives, and presuppositions in infelicitous conditionals*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Werner Frey *Linking some syntactic and semantic features of concessives and adversatives*
17:00–17:30	Madeleine Butschety *Epistemic vs. concessive* at least*: A matter of epistemic uncertainty*

17:30–18:00	Doris Penka *A closer look at concessive* at least *in English and German*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Ekkehard König *Concessivity: Admissible and inadmissible background assumption*
9:30–10:30	Elena Karagjosova *On the type of concession expressed by concessive complementizers and bipartite concessive constructions in German: A synchronic and diachronic account*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Lukas Rieser *Frustrated expectation and conditional modality: The Japanese concessive* no-ni
11:45–12:15	Ksenia Ershova & Itamar Francez *From quotation to concession: The case of East Circassian*
12:15–12:45	Hanzhi Zhu *The additivity of concessive* still
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:45	Mingya Liu (invited speaker) *The siblings in the shadow of* if*: The semantics and pragmatics of conditional connectives*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:30	Laura Baranzini & Alda Mari *From existential modality to concessivity: Alternatives and reasoning* per absurdum
12:30–13:00	Maria Barouni *Concessive elements and the role of superlative morphology*
13:00–14:00	Martina Faller *Concessive conditionals with non-scalar additives in Cuzco Quechua and German*

Alternate speakers

Olga Inkova & Vitaly Nuriev
Concessives vs. adversatives: Evidence from Russian

Programm

AG 6 Factors influencing the stability of phonetic contrasts and phonemic oppositions

Felicitas Kleber, Stefanie Jannedy & Melanie Weirich

Raum: SFG 1020

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Felicitas Kleber, Stefanie Jannedy & Melanie Weirich *Introduction*
14:15–14:45	Johanna Stahnke *Phonological (in-)stability in bilingual language acquisition*
14:45–15:15	Matthias Hahn *The spatial dimension of fortis and lenis in German near standard pronunciation: Opposition and contrast*
15:15–15:45	Nicola Klingler *On the instability of the voicing contrast in final position in the Viennese Standard variety*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Daniel Márcio Rodrigues Silva & Rui Rothe-Neves *Vowel reduction and auditory discriminability in stressed and unstressed syllables: A mismatch negativity study*
17:00–18:00	Andrew Wedel (invited speaker) *Optimization for efficient lexical information transmission shapes systems of phonological contrast*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Daniel Duran *From language change to phonetic convergence (and back again)*
9:30–10:00	Iona Gessinger, Bernd Möbius, Eran Raveh & Ingmar Steiner *Human-computer interaction: Convergence in allophonic contrasts*
10:00–10:30	Final discussion

Alternate speakers

Adam Ussishkin
Contrast in the recognition of spoken word

Adrian Simpson
In the acoustic size of phonological contrast a correlate of gender? Evidence from children's speech

AG 7 Language change at the interfaces. On the interaction between syntax, prosody and information structure

Marco Coniglio, Chiara De Bastiani & Nicholas Catasso

Raum: SFG 1020

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

11:15–11:30	Marco Coniglio, Chiara De Bastiani & Nicholas Catasso *Introduction*
11:30–12:15	George Walkden (invited speaker) *Prosody and syntax in the earliest Germanic*
12:15–12:45	Roland Hinterhölzl & Ans van Kemenade *Syntactic and prosodic factors in the rise and fall of V2 in English*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Stavros Skopeteas *Information-structural domains and the emergence of head-initial VPs in Caucasian Urum*
14:15–14:45	Juliane Tiemann *Information-structure driven word order variation in Old Norwegian*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Sophia Voigtmann *Informational aspects of the extraposition of relative clauses*
12:00–12:30	Remus Gergel & Jonathan Watkins *Contextual dimensions of clefts*
12:30–13:00	Cecilia Poletto & Silvia Rossi *The internal and external syntax of bare quantifiers in Old Italian*
13:00–13:30	Federica Cognola *Language change and information structure: Parametric resetting in the history of German and Italian*
13:30–14:00	Christine Meklenborg Salvesen *Different shades of* si. *Information structure, V-to-C movement and the loss of V2*

Alternate speaker

Olena Andrushenko
From Middle to Early Modern English exclusives

AG 8

Who cares? Contrast and opposition in “free” phenomena

Volker Struckmeier

Raum: SFG 1030

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Volker Struckmeier *What are options – and when are they optional?*
14:15–14:45	Markus Bader *Free variation in verb cluster serialization – A harmonic grammar analysis*
14:45–15:15	Ekaterina Georgieva, Martin Salzmann & Philipp Weisser *Two types of optionality in Mari and Udmurt verb clusters*
15:15–15:45	Theodore Levin, Paulina Lyskawa & Rodrigo Ranero *Optional agreement in Santiago Tz’utujiil (Mayan) is syntactic*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Kleanthes Grohmann, Maria Kambanaros, Evelina Leivada & Natalia Pavlou *On 'free' clitic placement in production*
17:00–18:00	Klaus Abels (invited speaker) *Free alternations across modules: Theoretical consequences*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Joost Kremers *Word order variation in parallel syntax*
9:30–10:00	Mary Amaechi & Doreen Georgi *On ‘optional’ wh-/focus-fronting in Igbo – A SYN-SEM-PHON interaction*
10:00–10:30	Manuel Leonetti *Subject inversion as a 'free' phenomenon*

AG 9 Koloniale und post-koloniale Toponomastik

Matthias Schulz & Doris Stolberg

Raum: SFG 1030

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

11:15–11:45	Matthias Schulz & Doris Stolberg *Koloniale und postkoloniale Toponomastik: Einführung ins Thema der AG*
11:45–12:15	Paolo Miccoli *Italo-koloniale Urbanonyme im Vergleich: Asmara, Mogadishu, Tripolis und Addis Abeba während der Zeit des Liberalismus und des Faschismus*
12:15–12:45	Sandra Herling *Hotelnamen in den französischen Kolonien Afrikas und Asiens*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Marie Antoinette Rieger *Sprachliche Besetzung. Deutschsprachige Toponyme in Usambara*
14:15–14:45	Jean-Louis Vaxelaire *Colonial city names as labels*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Wolfgang Crom *Benennungen, Umbenennungen und Übersetzungen von kolonialen Namen in ihrer Repräsentation auf Karten*
12:00–12:30	Jascha de Bloom *Anthropozentrik als ein Motiv der (kolonialen) Geoobjekt-Klassifizierung*
12:30–13:00	Verena Ebert & Tirza Mühlan-Meyer *Sprachliche Praktiken der Dekolonisation? Umbenennungen kolonial motivierter Straßennamen und deren Bewertung – Vorstellung eines Projektvorhabens*
13:00–13:30	Inga Siegfried *Kolonial intendierte Mikrotoponyme ohne aktive Kolonialpolitik? Benennungen und Umbenennungen in der urbanen Mikrotoponymie der Deutschschweiz*
13:30–14:00	Lucas Löff Machado, Angélica Prediger & Fernando Hélio Tavares de Barros *Die deutsche Toponymie in Brasilien: Überlegungen, Forschungslücke und Herausforderungen*

AG 10 Prosody from a cross-domain perspective: How language speaks to music (and vice versa)

Mathias Scharinger & Natalie Boll-Avetisyan

Raum: GW2 B 1400

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Mathias Scharinger & Natalie Boll-Avetisyan *Introduction*
14:15–15:15	Paul Kiparsky (invited speaker) *Text-setting and quantitative meter*
15:15–15:45	Steven Gilbers, Nienke Hoeksema, Kees de Bot & Wander Lowie *The connection between regional variation in African American English and regional variation in hip-hop music*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Heini Arjava *Language, music, and text-setting: Mismatches in length and intonation*
17:00–17:30	James Kirby & Ruoqi Lin *Comparative tonal text-setting in Mandarin and Cantonese popular song*
17:30–18:00	Elena Girardi & Ingo Plag *Metrical mapping in text-setting: Empirical analysis and grammatical implementation*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–10:00	Daniela Sammler (invited speaker) *The Neuropragmatics of prosody – From contour to meaning*
10:00–10:30	Dicky Gilbers *Cognitive strategies in structuring language and music*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Tineke M. Snijders *Getting the rhythm for infant language learning*
11:45–12:15	Laura E. Hahn, Tineke M. Snijders, Titia Benders & Paula Fikkert *Behavioral and electro-physiological evidence for early rhyme sensitivity*
12:15–12:45	Sara Andreetta, Yair Lakretz & Alessandro Treves *Meter as a mnemonic device*

12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Reed Blaylock *The interaction of isochronous music and speech rhythms in a chanting task*
14:15–14:45	Christina Domene Moreno & Barış Kabak *Prosodic cues for rhythm in adult vs. child-directed song*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Jasmin Pfeifer & Silke Hamann *Perception of word stress by German congenital amusics*
12:00–12:30	Daria Popova *Stylistic rhythmic patterns and musicality*
12:30–13:00	Elif Canseza Kaplan, Anita Wagner & Deniz Başkent *Are musicians at an advantage when processing speech in two-talker masker?*
13:00–13:30	Tamara Rathcke, Simone Falk & Simone Dalla Bella *Facilitators of the "speech-to-song illusion"*
13:30–14:00	Gertraud Fenk-Oczlon *The relationship of language and music from an evolutionary perspective and the role of vowels*

AG 11

Iconicity in language

Aleksandra Ćwiek, Cornelia Ebert & Susanne Fuchs

Raum: SFG 0140

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Aleksandra Ćwiek, Cornelia Ebert & Susanne Fuchs *Introduction*
14:15–15:15	Pamela Perniss (invited speaker) *The role of iconicity in word learning: Insights from multimodal language*
15:15–15:45	Gerrit Kentner *Repetition avoidance and iconicity of repetition*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00	Vera Agranovsky *Onomatopoeia and reduplication in Modern Hebrew*
17:00–17:30	Paul Thomas Gahman *The sound of meaning: The sound symbolism of unconventional onomatopoeia*
17:30–18:00	Maria Konoshenko *How iconic are ideophones in Mande?*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Konstantina Margiotoudi, Matthias Allritz, Manuel Bohn & Friedemann Pulvermüller *Testing "maluma-takete" in humans and great apes*
9:30–10:00	Sonja Dahlgren & Seppo Kittilä *A (morpho)phonological typology of demonstratives: A case study in sound symbolism*
10:00–10:30	Juan C. Moreno Cabrera *Onomasiological iconicity in spoken, written and signed languages*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Niklas Johansson *Triangulating sound symbolism: Where to find it and how to create it*
11:45–12:15	Eva Schultze-Berndt *Iconicity, ideophones and mimesis*
12:15–12:45	Tanja Ackermann & Christian Zimmer *The relation of name phonology and gender across languages*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Aleksandra Ćwiek, Christoph Draxler, Susanne Fuchs, Bodo Winter & Marcus Perlman *Comprehension of non-linguistic vocalizations across cultures*
14:15–14:45	Elena A. Shamina *Bad or good and why?*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Amelia Becker *Phonological thumb configuration and iconicity in American Sign Language*
12:00–12:30	Annika Herrmann, Nina-Kristin Pendzich & Markus Steinbach *Iconic gestural demonstrations in sign language narration*

12:30–13:00	Vadim Kimmelman, Anna Klezovich & George Moroz *Quantitative analysis of lexical iconicity in sign languages*
13:00–13:30	Oksana Tkachman & Carla Hudson Kam *Semantic salience as iconic motivation of signs in artificial and natural sign languages*
13:30–14:00	Ronnie B. Wilbur *Systemitized iconicity: A mapping of components from space, body, hands, face to Wierzbicka's semantic primitives*

Alternate speakers

Yelena Besedina & Irina Kuzmich
Iconicity in J. K. Rowling's novels: Idiostyle and genre aspects

Elżbieta Muskat-Tabakowska
Iconicity in grammar: Structure miming meaning

Rosemarie Lühr
Nasalhaltige phonästhemische Lexemcliquen in germanischen und anderen indogermanischen Sprachen

AG 12

Sorting out the concepts behind definiteness

Carla Bombi & Radek Šimik

Raum: GW2 B 2890

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Carla Bombi & Radek Šimik *Introduction*
14:15–15:15	Peter Jenks (invited speaker) *Anaphoric definites as anchored definites*
15:15–15:45	Miriam Yifrach & Elizabeth Coppock *Definiteness-marking in Turoyo*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Alexandra Simonenko & Anne Carlier *Maximality and situation-sensitivity: The evolution of French possessives*

17:00–17:30	Dominika Skrzypek & Alicja Piotrowska *Familiar vs. unique in a diachronic perspective: Case study of North Germanic*
17:30–18:00	Jan Dvorak *The emerging definite article* ten *in spoken Czech: A further analysis in terms of 'semantic' and 'pragmatic' definiteness*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Olga Borik & Dària Serés *Definiteness in the absence of uniqueness*
9:30–10:00	Halima Husić & Agata Renans *The definite interpretation carried by accusative is an implicature – Evidence from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian*
10:00–10:30	Ljudmila Geist *Definiteness without determiners*
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Fereshteh Modarresi & Manfred Krifka *Bare noun vs. indefinite objects in Persian and their anaphoric uptake*
11:45–12:15	Klaus von Heusinger & Roya Sadeghpoor *Strong definites in colloquial Persian and referentiality*
12:15–12:45	Ruoying Zhao *Temporal definiteness*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:45	Elizabeth Coppock (invited speaker) *Relative readings of definite comparatives*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Klaus von Heusinger & Andreas Brocher *Indefinite demonstratives, definiteness, and referentiality*
12:00–12:30	Frederike Weeber *Conditions for weak readings in German*
12:30–13:00	Fereshteh Modarresi, Jette Fortmann & Manfred Krifka *Weak definites vs. implicit entities vs. indefinites in German*
13:00–13:30	Stefan Hinterwimmer & Umesh Patil *A comparison of anaphoric complex demonstratives and demonstrative pronouns*
13:30–14:00	Jette Fortmann & Werner Frey *German weak definites and incorporation*

Alternate speakers

Mayra García-Rodriguez & Ana Aguilar-Guevara
Nominal lo *in Spanish: Definite reference to inanimate objects or properties*

Dària Serés & M. Teresa Espinal
Definiteness, genericity and presupposition

AG 13

Post-truth: The semantics and pragmatics of saying "what you believe to be false"

Daniel Gutzmann, Emar Maier & Katharina Turgay

Raum: GW2 B 2880

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:15	Jörg Meibauer (invited speaker) *Hot topics in the linguistics of lying*
14:15–14:45	Grzegorz Gaszczyk *Why truth is not the aim of assertives? The case of explanation*
14:45–15:15	Benjamin Lennertz & David Miguel Gray *Attempts to appropriate slurs and Grice's First Maxim of Quality*
15:15–15:45	Ariel Cohen *Lies, indexicals, and metaphors in language evolution: The view from science fiction*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Mailin Antomo, Yuqiu Chen, Susanne Müller, Markus Paluch, Katharina Paul & Maik Thalmann *Deceptive language: A new methodology in language acquisition and implicature theory*
17:00–17:30	Merel Semeijn *Bald-faced lies and parafictional beliefs*
17:30–18:00	Louis Rouillé *"Truth in fiction": A problem for truth or for fiction?*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30	Gerhard Schaden & Grégoire Winterstein *(Strategic) miscommunication on the hearer side*

9:30–10:00	Rita Finkbeiner *Between truth and imagination. The case of celebrity gossip headlines in weekly magazines*
10:00–10:30	Regine Eckardt (invited speaker) *Skewed stereotypes*

Alternate speakers

Manfred Sailer, Jamie Y. Findlay & Sascha Bargmann
Pretending to be literal: Figurative uses of idioms

AG 14

Variation in der Argumentstruktur des Deutschen. Empirische und theoretische Perspektiven im Spannungsfeld von Valenz und Konstruktion

Robert Külpmann, Laura Neuhaus &
Vilma Symanczyk Joppe

Raum: GW2 B 2880

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

11:15–12:15	Stefan Müller (invited speaker) *15 Jahre Diskussion phrasaler Argumentstrukturkonstruktionen und kein Ende. Heute mal Benefaktivkonstruktionen*
12:15–12:45	Sandra Pappert & Michael Baumann *Effekte der Konstruktions- und Valenzbindung bei der Realisierung von Benefizienten*
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Beatrice Primus & Franziska Kretzschmar *Lexikonprojektion und Konstruktion bei Argumentalternationen im Deutschen: Empirische Studien zu Pseudoclefts mit* tun*, Passiv und Konstruktionen mit* man
14:15–14:45	Ulrike Freywald Nach dem Öffnen rasch verbrauchen! – *Nullobjekte in direktiven Infinitiven*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Kristel Proost, Arne Zeschel, Ekaterina Laptieva & Edeltraud Winkler *Präpositionsvariationen bei Präpositionalobjekten im Deutschen*

12:00–12:30	Dagobert Höllein *Präpositionale Komplementerweiterung und semantische Nischen*
12:30–13:00	Elena Smirnova & Tanja Mortelmans *Zwischen Verbvalenz und Konstruktion: Resultativkonstruktionen im Deutschen und Niederländischen*
13:00–13:30	Marc Felfe *Von der Valenz zur Konstruktion und wieder zurück zur Valenz (Resultativkonstruktionen und kognate Objekte)*
13:30–14:00	Hans C. Boas *Argumentstrukturen zwischen Valenz und Konstruktion*

Alternate speakers

Alexander Ziem
Jenseits von Argumentstrukturen: Zum Stellenwert einer Konstruktionsfamilie im Konstruktikon des Deutschen

Sebastian Bücking
Valenzbindung und Lexikon: Zur Argumentalternation von Repräsentationsverben

Timm Lichte
Die Nivellierung von Valenz und Konstruktion im TUCO-Framework

AG 15

Encoding emotive attitudes in non-truth-conditional meaning

Curt Anderson & Katherine Fraser

Raum: GW2 B 2900

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

13:45–14:45	Jessica Rett (invited speaker) *The semantics of emotive markers and other illocutionary content*
14:45–15:15	Daniel Hole *Syntacticizing scalar evaluation*
15:15–15:45	Marta Ruda *Expressive predicative coordination*
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Lawrence Cheung
Non-speaker surprise ascription

17:00–17:30 Matthew N. Czuba
Defending epistemic indefensibility: Enrichment and the case of quasi-denial

17:30–18:00 Andreas Trotzke & Xavier Villalba
Encoding emotion in discourse: A cross-linguistic approach to that-*exclamatives*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

9:00–9:30 Stanley A. Donahoo
Not-at-issue processing: More than semantics

9:30–10:30 Patrick D. Elliott (invited speaker)
The dynamics of expressive content

Alternate speaker

Dan Zeman
A rich-lexicon approach to evaluative expressions

AG 16

New horizons in the study of nominal phrases

Andreas Blümel & Anke Holler

Raum: GW2 B 2900

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

11:15–11:20 Andreas Blümel & Anke Holler
Introduction

11:20–12:15 Frank Van Eynde (invited speaker)
Regularity and idiosyncrasy in the formation of nominals

12:15–12:45 Gianina Iordăchioaia
D and N are different nominalizers

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Martin Salzmann
The DP vs. NP-debate: Why previous arguments for the DP-hypothesis fail and what a good argument for it should look like

14:15–14:45	Benjamin Bruening *N-to-D movement, hybrid agreement & conventionalized expressions*

Freitag, 08.03.2019

11:30–12:00	Philipp Rauth & Augustin Speyer *Adverbial reinforcement of demonstratives in Franconian of Rhine and Moselle*
12:00–12:30	Antonio Machicao y Priemer & Stefan Müller *Prenominal genitives: Locality, theta-roles, and quantifiers*
12:30–13:00	Imke Driemel *Pseudo-noun incorporation and the DP/NP distinction*
13:00–14:00	Giuliana Giusti (invited speaker) *D as a feature in the nominal bundle: A unifying approach to the NP/DP-dispute*

Alternate speakers

Sanja Srdanović
The structure and binding of Serbian possessives: An argument for the DP analysis?

Urtzi Etxeberria & Anastasia Giannakidou
A fresh look at definite reduplication

Georg Höhn
The third person-adnominal pronoun gap

Teil III

Plenarvorträge

Grammar between explicitness and economy

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
9:30–10:30
HS 2010

PV

Walter Bisang
University of Mainz
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The distinction between explicitness and economy is well established in various approaches to linguistics (e.g. iconicity vs. economy as competing motivations in Haiman 1983, faithfulness vs. markedness constraints in Optimality Theory, etc.). In my presentation, I will apply explicitness and economy to the notion of linguistic complexity, a topic that is currently discussed from various perspectives. Psycholinguists and specialists of language acquisition focus on cognitive costs and difficulty of acquisition, typologists look at the properties of the form by which grammatical distinctions are marked and theoretical linguists argue in terms of recursion and merge.

What is common to these approaches is their concentration on linguistic form. In my presentation, I argue that form is only one side of complexity. If one looks at complexity from the perspective of the two competing motivations of explicitness vs. economy the form side can be seen as the result of explicitness, while there is a second side which is based on economy and the pragmatic inference of grammatical information which is available in the grammar of individual languages. The former type of complexity will be called overt complexity, the latter economy-based type will be called hidden complexity (Bisang 2009, 2014, 2015). Hidden complexity manifests itself in the omission of contextually inferable grammatical information and the multifunctionality of individual grammatical markers. In extreme cases in which these properties are recurrent in many grammatical domains, the grammar of a language may allow simple-looking surface structures on the form side which leave a lot of grammatical information to pragmatic inference.

More concretely, it will be shown in my paper that
(i) hidden complexity as a property of individual grammars is particularly dominant in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages (EMSEA),
(ii) even highly grammaticalized markers still express important discourse functions in these languages,
(iii) hidden complexity often comes with a different division of labor between grammar and the lexicon,
(iv) the notions of contrast and opposition get a different status in an environment of dominant hidden complexity.

Since there is a large number of examples, my presentation will be limited to a few phenomena like (i) radical pro-drop, (ii) the tense-aspect marker *-le* in Chinese, (iii) numeral classifiers as markers of definiteness and indefiniteness and (iv) the specifics of grammaticalization and multifunctionality.

References: • Bisang, W. 2009. On the evolution of complexity – sometimes less is more in East and mainland Southeast Asia. In G. Sampson, D. Gil & P. Trudgill (eds.), *Language complexity as an evolving variable*, 34–49. Oxford: OUP. • Bisang, W. 2014. On the strength of morphological paradigms – a historical account of radical pro-drop. In M. Robbeets & W. Bisang (eds.), *Paradigm change in historical reconstruction*, 23–60. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Bisang, W. 2015. Hidden complexity – the neglected side of complexity and its consequences. *Linguistics Vanguard* 1(1). 177–187. • Haiman, J. 1983. Iconic and economic motivation. *Language* 59. 781–819.

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
11:30–12:30
HS 2010

PV

Between word formation and syntax

Barbara Schlücker
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The relation between word formation and syntax and the question whether they form distinct domains of grammar or not has been discussed controversially in different theoretical frameworks. In my talk, I will discuss this relation on the basis of complex lexical units of various kinds. More specifically, I will compare compounds, which are usually considered morphological objects, and various kinds of phrasal lexical entities, often referred to as multi-word expressions or lexical phrases. On the basis of data from German, Dutch, English, Icelandic, French, Italian, Polish, Finnish, and other languages, and in line with constructionist approaches, and in particular Construction Morphology (cf. Booij 2010), I will argue that a clear distinction between morphological and syntactic formations cannot always been drawn. For this reason, the relation between compounds and phrases, and, more generally, between word formation and syntax, should be characterized not in terms of a categorical but instead in terms of a gradient distinction.

References: Booij, Geert. 2010. *Construction morphology*. Oxford & New York: OUP.

Freitag,
08.03.2019
9:00–10:00
HS 2010

PV

Continuity and creativity in Creole grammar

Eeva Sippola
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Creoles are languages that arose in situations of intense contact, where people of diverse ethno-cultural and linguistic backgrounds came together, often under conditions of slavery or indentured labor, and formed distinct communities and languages. It is often claimed that due to the conditions of their emergence and typological nature, creoles are exceptional or distinct languages in comparison to other languages (Bakker et al. 2011, McWhorter 2018). Also differing views have been voiced, arguing that grammars are robustly transmitted during the emergence of creoles (Blasi et al. 2017) and that creole exceptionalism reproduces tropes of colonial imagination and prejudice (DeGraff 2005).

In this presentation, I will explore some contrasts and oppositions that have been claimed to show proof of the exceptional nature of creole grammars. With data from the most extensive database on creoles, *the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, I will focus on some core areas of creole grammars that have been claimed to feature typical creole features. Detailed typological and descriptive case studies of selected areas, such as TMA marking, grammatical gender, and word order, will contrast creoles and subgroups of them to their lexifiers and substrate and adstrate languages. The analysis shows that in balanced samples of these languages, continuity from the lexifiers and adstrates can be identified in both pattern and matter replication of the forms and their functions and meanings, while innovations and creativity play a role as well. For example, it is clear that in the subgroup of Ibero-Asian creoles TMA marker forms are derived from the lexifier, while the functions of those markers are clearly patterned in the adstrate languages. With regard to gender marking, gender neutral systems are common in creoles, but partial gender marking prevails in both lexifier and substrate forms and functions in subgroups of creoles that have been or continue to be in close contact with the lexifiers. In addition, word order in creoles does not seem to differ significantly from other languages (c.f. Sinnemäki 2017). These examples and further case studies in combination with sociohistorical data about the creoles' formation settings provide a basis for evaluating the claims about the nature of transmission in contact situations leading to the emergence of creoles. The results will add to the discussion of the degree of continuity and creativity in creole grammars and diverse approaches to them, considering both issues of typological description and grammatical change.

References: • Bakker, P., A. Daval-Markussen, I. Plag & M. Parkvall. 2011. Creoles are typologically distinct from non-creoles. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 26(1). 5–42. • Blasi, D., S. Michaelis & M. Haspelmath. 2017. Grammars are robustly transmitted even during the emergence of creole languages. *Nature Human Behaviour* 1(10), 723–729. • DeGraff, M. 2005. Linguists' most dangerous myth: The fallacy of Creole exceptionalism. *Language in Society* 34. 533–591 • McWhorter, J. 2018. *The Creole debate*. Cambridge: CUP. • Sinnemäki, K. 2017. How useful are creoles in language evolution research? Evaluating cross-linguistic universals of word order and argument marking. OSF. April 4. osf.io/t8dqb.

Freitag,
08.03.2019
10:00–11:00
HS 2010

PV

Grammaticalization in Cushitic languages

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Reconstructible grammaticalization processes in Cushitic (Afroasiatic) concern mainly the pronominal and verbal domains, markers of subordination, adpositions, questions words and discourse particles. This presentation, based on the investigation of the various sources, targets and paths of 70 grammaticalization processes in Beja, the sole representative of North Cushitic, compared with similar phenomena in three other branches of Cushitic, Central, Highland East and Lowland East, will focus on the most salient grammaticalization processes. They will be compared with the list provided in Heine and Kuteva's (2002) lexicon for the languages of the world, or with other literature about the languages of the Horn of Africa where Cushitic languages are spoken. Four main features of grammaticalization in Cushitic that emerge from this investigation will be discussed: (i) the nominal domain, which can be a source of grammaticalization, but not (or hardly) the case for targets; (ii) auxiliaries, in particular the quotative verb that shows a vast array of functions, which are often the source of the renewal and enrichment of the verbal system, as opposed to verbless clauses which are pervasive in other Afroasiatic families, namely Semitic and Egyptian (Cohen 1984); (iii) quotative verbs, which have a strong tendency to grammaticalize at different levels of the language structure: verbs, complex sentences, discourse, including functions unattested in other genetic stocks; (iv) the fact that Cushitic languages show a pervasive semantic link between 'say' and 'purpose' at large.

References: • Cohen, D. 1984. *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique. Etude de syntaxe historique*. Leuven: Peeters. • Heine, B. & T. Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP.

Teil IV

Arbeitsgruppen und Abstracts

Arbeitsgruppe 1

Kontraste und Oppositionen bei Genus und Geschlecht im Deutschen

Gabriele Diewald[1] & Damaris Nübling[2]
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Raum: GW2 B 3009

AG1

Arbeitsgruppenbeschreibung

Das Deutsche ist bekannt für seine komplexen Interdependenzen zwischen der grammatischen, z.T. flexionsmorphologisch repräsentierten Kategorie Genus und den semantischen Oppositionen in der Domäne „Geschlecht“ bei Lebewesen. Diese Interdependenzen drücken sich sowohl im Basiswortschatz wie auch in hochproduktiven Wortbildungsprozessen aus.

Von grundsätzlicher Relevanz ist bei „Geschlecht“ die linguistisch vernachlässigte Unterscheidung zwischen Sexus und (sozialem) Gender sowie die Frage nach deren Beziehung(en) zu den drei Genera (Nübling 2017). Hinzu kommen zahlreiche textlinguistische und pragmatische Forschungsfelder, bei denen sich in den letzten Jahren aufgrund gesellschaftlichen Wandels zahlreiche Normverschiebungen und Sprachwandelprozesse abzeichnen (z.B. bei der Movierung und ihrer Verwendung sowie beim „generischen Maskulinum“, s. Doleschal 2002).

Das Zusammenwirken und die Bruchstellen sprachstruktureller, semantischer und pragmatischer Mechanismen im Bereich Genus-Sexus-Gender sind wenig erforscht (z.B. Oppositionen und Kontraste im Genussystem des Deutschen, in der Ableitungsmorphologie, bei Personenbezeichnungen und bei Personennamen, bei soziopragmatischen Funktionen von Genus) bzw. wurden in der germanistischen Linguistik bislang kaum rezipiert (so z.B. kognitionspsychologische Studien zum Einfluss des Sprachgebrauchs auf kognitive Stereotypien wie Genderrollen, s. Gygax u.a. 2008).

Literatur: • Doleschal, U. 2002. Das generische Maskulinum im Deutschen. Ein historischer Spaziergang durch die deutsche Grammatikschreibung von der Renaissance bis zur Postmoderne. *Linguistik online* 11, 2. • Gygax, P., U. Gabriel, O. Sarrasin, J. Oakhill & A. Garnham. 2008. Generically intended, but specifically interpreted: When beauticians, musicians and mechanics are all men. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 23, 464–485. • Nübling, D. 2017. Funktionen neutraler Genuszuweisung bei Personennamen und Personenbezeichnungen im germanischen Vergleich. In J. Helmbrecht, D. Nübling & B. Schlücker (eds.), *Namengrammatik. Linguistische Berichte* Sonderheft 23. 173–211.

Die Macht der Frequenz und die normative Wirkung deskriptiver Wörterbücher

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
13:45–14:15
GW2 B3009

Carolin Müller-Spitzer & Henning Lobin
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AG1

Der Sprachgebrauch wurde mit dem empirical turn zum zentralen Forschungsgegenstand der Linguistik. Allerdings ist die Sprache nicht in ihrer tatsächlichen Vielfalt erforschbar: Die große Masse an Texten in schriftsprachlichen linguistischen Korpora besteht aus Zeitungstexten. Diese Datenlage hat wiederum großen Einfluss auf die korpusbasierten Wörterbücher zum Deutschen. Sowohl für “Duden Online” als auch für das „Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache“ sind zwar eine Bandbreite an Textsorten im zugrunde liegenden Korpus vorhanden, die Masse bilden aber Zeitungstexte. Im lexikografischen Prozess werden dabei in der Regel die besonders typischen Kollokationen oder typischen Verwendungen durch eine Korpusanalyse herausgearbeitet und in die Wörterbuchartikel integriert (manuell oder automatisch). Damit finden auch Gechlechterstereotype Eingang ins Wörterbuch. Das zeigt beispielsweise eine Auswahl der Angaben zu den Stichwörtern „Mann“ und „Frau“ im Duden online, in denen bei den automatisch ermittelten „Typischen Verbindungen“ bei „Mann“ die Adjektive „reich, bewaffnet, richtig, mächtig, alt, stark“ aufgeführt werden, bei „Frau“ „schön, groß, nackt, schwanger, jung, alt, berufstätig“. Auch in anderen Wörterbüchern führt die Auswahl der frequentesten Kollokationspartner zu, um es wertfrei auszudrücken, sehr kontrastreichen Beschreibungen.

Solche Angaben lassen Zweifel aufkommen, ob diese basierend auf zeitungssprachlichen Korpora ausgewählten Angaben tatsächlich die Sprache in ihrer ganzen Vielfalt spiegeln. Noch viel problematischer ist aber, dass auch deskriptive Wörterbücher bekanntlich z.B. von Lerner*innen als Norminstanzen herangezogen werden (Ripfel 1989: 203f.). Dieses Spannungsfeld, auf der einen Seite das Ziel der gebrauchsorientierten Linguistik, den Sprachgebrauch deskriptiv darzustellen, auf der anderen Seite die Verfestigung (überholter?) Geschlechterstereotype durch diese Gebrauchsbeschreibungen, die normativ verstanden werden können, wollen wir in unserem Vortrag thematisieren. Auf einer allgemeineren Ebene wird dadurch ein grundlegendes Problem korpuslinguistischer Forschungsarbeiten tangiert, nämlich die Frage, inwieweit durch Korpora überhaupt ein „objektives“ Bild der sprachlichen Wirklichkeit gezeichnet werden kann. Die Berücksichtigung außerlinguistischer Faktoren wie etwa gesellschaftspolitische Positionierungen wirft darüber hinaus forschungsethische Fragen auf, deren Beantwortung in der Linguistik derzeit noch weitgehend unklar ist.

Literatur: • Ripfel, M. 1989. Die normative Wirkung deskriptiver Wörterbücher. In H. Steger & H. E. Wiegand (Hgg.), *Wörterbücher - Dictionaries - Dictionnaires. Ein Internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie* (Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft), Vol. 5.1, 189–207. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.

In Opposition zum sprachpolitisch induzierten Sprachwandel: Argumentationsmuster gegen genderneutrale Sprache in der spanisch-sprachigen Linguistik

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:15–14:45
GW2 B3009

AG1

Lidia Becker
Universität Hannover
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Der Vortrag setzt sich zum Ziel, die wichtigsten Argumentationsmuster in einer Reihe spanischsprachiger Schlüsseltexte, die sich gegen die so genannte genderneutrale Sprache positionieren, zusammenzustellen und anhand sprachsoziologischer und diskurslinguistischer Methoden (Cameron 1995, Bourdieu 1998; Toulmin 2003, Wengeler 2003 usw.) zu analysieren.

Das Korpusmaterial besteht aus digitalen Presseartikeln und Interviews zweier prominenter LinguistInnen, Ignacio Bosque und Concepción Company Company, die sich in nationalen Online-Tageszeitungen Spaniens und Mexikos ab 2010 mehrfach gegen den genderneutralen Sprachgebrauch ausgesprochen haben. Sowohl der spanische Grammatikforscher Ignacio Bosque als auch seine mexikanische Kollegin spanischer Herkunft Concepción Company Company sind Mitglieder der spanischen und mexikanischen Sprachakademien und bringen offenbar ein kollektives Meinungsbild aus dem Umfeld dieser Institutionen zum Ausdruck. Dieses Meinungsbild spielt eine prägende Rolle in den kontrovers geführten öffentlichen Diskussionen über die politische Korrektheit in zahlreichen spanischsprachigen Ländern.

Im ersten Teil des Vortrags werden die sprachtheoretischen Grundlagen der Argumentation von Bosque und Company Company – also ihre elementaren Vorstellungen davon, was „Sprache“ und „Grammatik“ sind, wie das Verhältnis zwischen „Sprachstrukturen“, „Diskursen“ und „Sprachgemeinschaften“ zu deuten ist, und wie der Sprachwandel vonstatten geht – vorgestellt. Sodann werden die „systemlinguistischen“ Argumente der beiden LinguistInnen gegen genderneutrale Vorschläge eingehend behandelt. Im zweiten Teil werde ich die ideologischen Hintergründe sowie die transatlantische Dimension der Position von Bosque und Company Company beleuchten. Begleitend werden Argumente aus Presseartikeln und Interviews des bekanntesten deutschen Gegners des sprachpolitisch induzierten Sprachwandels, Peter Eisenberg, exemplarisch herangezogen, um eine komparatistische Perspektive zu ermöglichen.

Literatur: • Bourdieu, P. 1998. *La domination masculine*. Paris: Seuil. • Cameron, D. 1995. *Verbal Hygiene*. London & New York: Routledge. • Toulmin, S. E. 2003 [[1]1958]. *The uses of argument*. Cambridge: CUP. • Wengeler, M. 2003. *Topos und Diskurs. Begründung einer argumentationsanalytischen Methode und ihre Anwendung auf den Migrationsdiskurs (1960–1985)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Sprachübergreifende Interaktionen von Genus und Geschlecht – Effekte im Englischen als Fremdsprache

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 14:45–15:15 GW2 B3009

AG1

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Kontraste zwischen Genus und Geschlecht ergeben sich nicht nur innerhalb des Deutschen, sondern auch im Vergleich mit der englischen Sprache. Während das Deutsche über die grammatische Kategorie Genus verfügt, weist das Englische lediglich semantisches Geschlecht auf. Das bedeutet, dass das Geschlecht von Personen im Englischen nur über einige geschlechtsspezifische Ausdrücke oder über pronominale Referenz deutlich wird. Auch das generische Maskulinum spielt im Englischen eine deutlich kleinere Rolle als im Deutschen.

Durch diese Unterschiede ergeben sich interessante Fragestellungen für den Fremdsprachenerwerb. Studien haben gezeigt, dass ein Transfer von Genus erfolgt, auch wenn die Zielsprache kein solches System aufweist (vgl. Morales et al. 2014). Scheutz & Eberhard (2004) untersuchen die Interpretation von englischen Personenbezeichnungen, die das Derivationssuffix *-er* aufweisen, zwischen L1- und L2-Englisch. Sie zeigen, dass es bei deutschsprachigen Lerner*innen des Englischen erhöhte Reaktionszeiten für das weibliche Reflexivpronomen *herself* gibt, selbst wenn das Antezedens einen weiblichen Stereotyp denotiert, wie es beispielsweise bei *hairdresser* (‚Frisör*in‘) der Fall ist. Dies wird auf eine Assoziation von *-er* mit männlichen Personen in der L1 zurückgeführt. Hier stellt sich jedoch die Frage, ob nicht generell ein maskuliner Bias vorliegt – unabhängig von einer geschlechtsspezifischen Endung. Zu dieser Frage werde ich zwei Pilotstudien vorstellen: Eine Übersetzungsstudie bestätigt den Verdacht des maskulinen Bias. Deutsche Lerner*innen des Englischen übersetzen spezifische singularische Personenbezeichnungen aus dem Englischen fast ausschließlich mit einer maskulinen Form ins Deutsche. In einem Leseexperiment, das an Scheutz & Eberhard angelehnt ist, wird jedoch kein maskuliner Bias deutlich: Erhöhte Reaktionszeiten für das weibliche Reflexivpronomen gibt es nur bei auf -er endenden Antezedenzien. Die Diskrepanz der Ergebnisse unterstreicht den Forschungsbedarf zur sprachübergreifenden Interaktion zwischen Genus und Geschlecht in Hinblick auf den Fremdsprachenerwerb.

Literatur: • Morales, L., D. Paolieri, R. Cubelli & T. Bajo. 2014. Transfer of Spanish grammatical gender to English: Evidence from immersed and non-immersed bilinguals. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 17(4). 700–708. • Scheutz, M. J. & K. M. Eberhard. 2004. Effects of morphosyntactic gender features in bilingual language processing. *Cognitive Science* 28. 559–588.

Grammatik und Geschlechtsreferenz im Deutschen – Synchrone und diachrone Auffällig- und Musterhaftigkeiten

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Der Vortrag leistet einen Beitrag zur theoretisch-begrifflichen sowie methodischen Diskussion innerhalb der Genderlinguistik und beleuchtet den Zusammenhang von Geschlechtsreferenz und systemlinguistischen Kategorien (zuvorderst Genus). Forschungspraktische Ausführungen erfolgen auf Grundlage des Beispieltextgegenstands Schulbuch, dessen Analyse Baustein einer diskurslinguistischen Mehrebenenuntersuchung zur Konstruktion von Geschlechterkonzepten ist (vgl. Ott 2017).

Im Korpus aus Schulbüchern der 1890er bis 2010er Jahre wurden Personalität im Allgemeinen (z.B. *Mensch*) und Geschlechtsspezifizität im Besonderen (z.B. *Frau, Junge, Sportlerin, Jan, sie*) anzeigende bzw. aktivierende Ausdrücke untersucht. Zu diesen Personenreferenzformen wurden u.a. das Genus, die kotextuell etablierte Geschlechtsreferenz und Wortbildungsmuster erhoben. Im Vortrag werden im Schwerpunkt zu folgenden Fragen die Ergebnisse der Korpusauswertung vorgestellt:

- Pragma-Grammatik: Wie hängen Genus und kotextuell ermittelte Geschlechtsreferenz zusammen? Wo fallen konventionelle Geschlechtsreferenz und kotextuell etablierte Geschlechtsreferenz auseinander? Nehmen sog. generische Maskulina im Erhebungszeitraum zu?
- Morphologie: Wie wird weibliche/männliche Geschlechtsreferenz flexions- und wortbildungsmorphologisch kenntlich gemacht? Werden beide Referenztypen wortbildungsmorphologisch gleich explizit gemacht? Wie häufig referieren Ableitungen auf *-er* kotextuell geschlechtsspezifizierend oder geschlechtsübergreifend?
- Neutralformen: Nimmt der Gebrauch von geschlechtsneutralen Formen (u.a. Epikoina, Kollektiva, Unisex-Namen) über die Jahrzehnte zu?

Im Zuge der Ergebnispräsentation werden zugleich grundlegende theoretisch-begriffliche Diskussionen aufgegriffen oder aufgeworfen, z.B. *doing* und *undoing gender*-Tendenzen im Bereich der Systemlinguistik, zur Bezeichnung *Genus-Sexus-Zusammenhang*, zum Begriff *Referenz* und zum Phänomen der Generizität. Der methodische Beitrag zur genderlinguistischen Diskussion besteht in der Skizze des differenzierten Kategoriensystems zur Analyse von sprachlich vermittelten Geschlechterkonzepten.

Literatur: • Ott, C. 2017. *Sprachlich vermittelte Geschlechterkonzepte. Eine diskurslinguistische Untersuchung von Schulbüchern der Wilhelminischen Kaiserzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Spitznamen zwischen Nivellierung, Markierung und Kaschierung von Geschlecht

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B3009

AG1

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Der Vortrag thematisiert die Frage, inwiefern die Markierung von Geschlecht bei Spitznamen (SpitzN) eine Rolle spielt. Die Studie baut auf parallel erhobenen Daten zu SpitzN aus vier germanischen Sprachen auf (je 600-800 deutsche, englische, niederländische und schwedische SpitzN). Die Daten stammen aus Online-Profilen von Amateursportlern und bilden positiv assoziierte SpitzN ab. Drei Tendenzen zeichnen sich sprachübergreifend bei der Geschlechtsmarkierung ab:

1. Nivellierung der Geschlechtsinformation: Durch spezifische Suffixe (westgerm. *-i/-y/-ie*, vgl. *Jenny* < *Jennifer*; Geminate + *-e* im Schwed., vgl. *Steffe* < *Stefan*) wird die Geschlechtsmarkierung nivelliert (vgl. Nübling 2014, die dies auf den In-Group-Charakter von SpitzN zurückführt). Zumeist basiert die Bildung auf dem Rufnamen und geht mit Kürzung einher, wodurch Länge und Abschluss des Rufnamens, die häufig Hinweise auf das Geschlecht liefern (Oelkers 2003, Nübling 2012), nicht mehr erkennbar sind.
2. Explizite Markierung der Geschlechtsinformation: Spitznamentypische Geschlechtsassoziationen erlauben etwa die Suffixe *-o* und – in geringerem Maße – *-a*, die als Endungen mit männlichem bzw. weiblichem Sexus assoziiert sind. Im Dt. finden sich auch Interaktionen mit der Genusmarkierung, vgl. genusmarkierende Suffixe bei MännerspitzN (z.B. *Verpeiler, Langer*) und Artikelsetzung bei FrauenspitzN (*die kleine Anna, DieBoa* < *Dubois*).
3. Kaschierung der Geschlechtsinformation: Bei einigen SpitzN deutet sich ein Spiel mit der Geschlechtskategorie an, indem die Geschlechtergrenze überschritten wird. So werden im Dt. z.B. Frauenrufnamen als MännerspitzN gebraucht (*Doris* < *Dorer, Olafine* < *Olaf*), im Schwed. umgekehrt Männerrufnamen als FrauenspitzN genutzt, die durch Kürzung des *son*-Suffixes aus Familiennamen patronymischer Struktur gebildet werden (*Erik* < *Eriksson*). Im Engl. und Nl. werden Strukturen, die in lautsymbolischen Studien mit männlicher Charakteristik verbunden werden (z.B. Einsilber auf *-s*, assoziiert mit „roughness and toughness“, Wierzbicka 1992, 378), verstärkt bei FrauenspitzN vorgefunden (vgl. *Lyds* < *Lydia*).

Literatur: • Nübling, D. 2012. Von *Elisabeth* zu *Lilly*, von *Klaus* zu *Nico*: Zur Androgynisierung und Infantilisierung der Rufnamen von 1945 bis 2008. In S. Günthner, D. Hüpper & C. Spieß (Hgg.), *Genderlinguistik. Sprachliche Konstruktion von Geschlechtsidentität*, 319–357. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Nübling, D. 2014. Emotionalität in Namen: Spitznamen, Kosenamen, Spottnamen – und ihr gendernivellierender Effekt. In L. Vaňková (Hg.), *Emotionalität im Text*, 103–122. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Oelkers, S. 2003. *Naming gender.* Frankfurt etc.: Lang. • Wierzbicka, A. 1992. *Semantics, culture and cognition. Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations.* New York & Oxford: OUP.

Personenbezeichnungen in wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenartikeln: Ein deutsch-niederländischer Vergleich

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Obwohl bereits viele kontrastiv angelegte Studien zur deutschen Wissenschaftssprache vorliegen (vgl. aktuell etwa Goldhahn 2017), gibt es zur Wissenschaftssprache des Sprachenpaars Niederländisch-Deutsch bisher keine kontrastiv-linguistischen Untersuchungen. Die vorliegende Studie soll einen Vorstoß in diese Lücke wagen, indem sie Personenbezeichnungen niederländischer und deutscher Zeitschriftenartikel miteinander vergleicht. Das Hauptaugenmerk der Analyse richtet sich auf die Wiedergabe des Geschlechts. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Unterscheidung zwischen Geschlechtssichtbarmachung (wie *Student/in*; *student/e*) und Geschlechtsneutralisierung (wie *Lehrkräfte*; *leerkrachten*). Der Studie liegt ein Korpus von 20 niederländischen und 20 deutschen wissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenartikeln aus dem Bereich des Sprachenunterrichts zugrunde. Das Korpus lässt sich in zwei synchrone Subkorpora mit Texten aus 1985–1990 und 2013–2017 einteilen. Zu den wichtigsten Ergebnissen der Arbeit gehört die Bestätigung der These, dass deutsche Artikel deutlich mehr Geschlechtssichtbarmachung aufweisen als niederländische, obwohl die Sprachen im Bereich der Personenbenennung über (fast) identische Wortbildungsmuster verfügen. Vergleicht man die aktuellen Texte mit den älteren, so zeigt sich, dass deutschsprachige Autor*innen heute bevorzugt auf das sogenannte generische Maskulinum verzichten. Demgegenüber präferieren niederländische Autor*innen heute genauso wie vor 30 Jahren die Verwendung des generischen Maskulinums. Diese beiden Tendenzen stimmen nicht nur mit Leitfäden für eine geschlechtergerechte Sprache (vgl. z.B. Sneller & Verbiest 2002 und Hellinger 2004, neuerdings auch Diewald & Steinhauer 2017) überein, sondern sind auch mit Hilfe des Sprachsystems zu erklären. So ist das Deutsche von einer strikten Genustrennung, jedoch das Niederländische von einer schwindenden Unterscheidung zwischen Maskulinum und Femininum geprägt.

Literatur: • Diewald, G. & A. Steinhauer. 2017. *Richtig gendern. Wie Sie angemessen und verständlich schreiben*. Berlin: Dudenverlag. • Goldhahn, A. 2017. *Tschechische und deutsche Wissenschaftssprache im Vergleich. Wissenschaftliche Artikel der Linguistik*. Berlin: Frank & Timme. • Hellinger, M. 2004. Empfehlungen für einen geschlechtergerechten Sprachgebrauch im Deutschen. In K. M. Eichhoff-Cyrus (Hg.), *Adam, Eva und die Sprache. Beiträge zur Geschlechterforschung*, 275–291. Mannheim: Dudenverlag. • Sneller, A. & A. Verbiest. 2002. *Bij wijze van schrijven. Over gender en trefzeker taalgebruik*. Den Haag: SDU.

Interlingual homophones affect human gender representations in language learners – Evidence from eye tracking

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
GW2 B3009

AG1

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Can ones native (L1) language affect gender representations while hearing ones second language (L2)? Previous studies suggest that there is either a pervasive influence of the L1 while performing tasks in the L2 or there is a shift in gender representation depending on which language is used. This study adds online evidence to the debate employing a visual-world paradigm. We presented German L2 Dutch learners, and a control group of Dutch L2 German learners, with sentences that described gender-neutral roles (e.g. stranger, participant). In German, these roles were accompanied by grammatically male and female articles (e.g. *der*, *die*), whereas in Dutch gender neutral articles and demonstratives (e.g. *de, die*) preceded roles. While participants listened to sentences, we presented them with pictures of wo/men and tracked their eye movements. We analyzed proportion of fixations to male and female referents. Results show that, upon hearing the interlingual homophone *die*, German L2 Dutch learners fixate female characters in Dutch, despite its gender neutral meaning. This adds evidence to the hypothesis that L1 grammatical gender has pervasive effects while performing tasks in the L2. Results, discussed in the thinking-for-speaking framework (Slobin 1996; 2003), are significant to our understanding of comprehension processes in the bilingual mind in general and mental models of gender in particular.

References: • Slobin, D. 1996. From “thought and language” to “thinking for speaking.” In J. Gumperz & S. Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking linguistic relativity. Studies in the social and cultural foundations of language*, vol. 17, 70–96. Cambridge: CUP. • Slobin, D. 2003. Language and thought online. Cognitive consequence of linguistic relativity. In D. Gentner & S. Goldin-Meadow (eds.), *Language in mind: Advances in the study of language and thought,* 157–192. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Genus und Sexus im Mittelhochdeutschen: Eine Studie zu mhd. *kint*

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Lexical hybrids wie etwa mhd. *wîp*/nhd. *Weib* sind Substantive, die ein hybrides, inkonsistentes Kongruenzmuster aufweisen (vgl. Corbett 2006). In bisherigen Korpusstudien wurden vor allem Substantive, die auf weibliche Personen referieren (u.a. *Mädchen*, *Fräulein*) quantitativ untersucht (u.a. Fleischer 2012, Birkenes et al. 2014). Dabei zeigt sich, dass semantische (Sexus-)Kongruenz im Mittelhochdeutschen besonders häufig ist.

Deswegen wird ein besonderer Blick auf das Mittelhochdeutsche geworfen. Dabei steht ein anderer Typus von Genus-Sexus-Divergenz im Fokus: Das Substantiv nhd. *Kind* kann sich auf weibliche wie männliche Personen beziehen. Wie das folgende Beispiel aus der Vorauer Handschrift der Kaiserchronik (spätes 12. Jh.; ed. Schröder 13925–13926) zeigt, kommen hier anaphorische Pronomen vor, die sich nach dem Sexus richten:

(1) *Dô zôch man daz <u>kint</u> mit flîze, jâ wuohs* **er** *agelaize*
‘Da erzog man das Kind mit Eifer. Fürwahr wuchs er schnell heran’

Darüber hinaus finden sich Belege, in denen attributive maskuline Formen auftreten. Im folgenden Beispiel aus dem gleichen Text tritt u.a. ein maskuliner Artikel auf (ed. Schröder 2808–2809):

(2) *daz ih* ***den*** *<u>kint</u> sehen muoze!* ***er*** *ist wærlîch der sun mîn*
‘dass ich das Kind sehen muss! Er ist wahrhaftig mein Sohn’

In der Präsentation sollen die genaueren Bedingungen untersucht werden, unter denen im Mittelhochdeutschen maskuline Kongruenzformen bei *kint* auftreten. Hier liegt kein Fall von „De-Hybridisierung“ vor, wie er etwa vom nordfriesischen *wüf* ‘Frau’ bekannt ist: Dieses mit nhd. *Weib* kognate Substantiv, das im Altfriesischen ein ähnlich hybrides Kongruenzverhalten an den Tag legt wie im Deutschen, ist im Nordfriesischen zu einem regulären Femininum geworden (vgl. Fleischer & Widmer 2014). Bei mhd. *kint* werden maskuline Formen dagegen kontextabhängig eingesetzt, wobei ihnen ein spezifischer semantischer Wert zukommt.

Literatur: • Birkenes, M., K. Chroni & J. Fleischer. 2014. Genus- und Sexuskongruenz im Neuhochdeutschen. Ergebnisse einer Korpusuntersuchung zur narrativen Prosa des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. *Deutsche Sprache* 42. 1–24. • Corbett, G. G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: CUP. • Fleischer, J. 2012. Grammatische und semantische Kongruenz in der Geschichte des Deutschen: eine diachrone Studie zu den Kongruenzformen von ahd. *wīb*, nhd. *Weib*. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 134. 163–203. • Fleischer, J. & P. Widmer. 2014. When lexical hybrids become feminine: The declension and agreement behavior of *wīf* ‘woman; wife’ in Old Frisian and modern Frisian varieties. In H. Brand, E. Hoekstra, J. Spoelstra & H. Van de Velde (eds.), *Philologia Frisica anno 2014,* 219–239. Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy.

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:30–10:00
GW2 B3009

AG1

Die neuronale Differenzierung von Genus und Geschlecht – eine EEG-Studie zur Verarbeitung des hybrid nouns *Mädchen*

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Genus-Sexus-Differenzen lassen sich besonders anschaulich an sog. hybrid nouns (z.B. *Mädchen*, *Weib*) untersuchen, da diese uneinheitliche Kongruenzmuster zeigen. Die Erwartung hinsichtlich grammatischer und semantischer Kongruenz zwischen controller und target hängt dabei nachweislich von grammatischen Faktoren wie lineare Distanz und Wortart, vermutlich aber auch von semantischen Faktoren wie Alter und Persönlichkeitsmerkmalen des controllers ab (z.B. Corbett 1991). Doch wurde der Einfluss dieser Faktoren auf das Kongruenzverhalten von hybrid nouns im Deutschen bislang fast ausschließlich im Sprachgebrauch untersucht, nicht aber in der Sprachverarbeitung.

Schmitt et al. (2002) konnten anhand der pronominalen Wiederaufnahme von diminuierten und nicht diminuierten Personenbezeichnungen zeigen, dass bei Verletzungen grammatischer Kongruenz andere neuronale Effekte auftreten als bei Verletzungen semantischer Kongruenz. Anknüpfend an diese Studie wird im Vortrag ein EEG-Experiment vorgestellt, das sich mit möglichen Kongruenzverletzungen beim weiblichen diminuierten hybrid noun *Mädchen* beschäftigt (z.B. *Das Mädchen ist **das** Schönste/**die** Schönste in der Klasse*).

Für die Testsätze manipuliert wurden dabei die folgenden Faktoren: i) syntaktische Distanz zwischen controller und target (NP-intern, satzintern, satzübergreifend etc.), ii) Wortart (entlang der Agreement Hierarchy, z.B. von Corbett 1991) und iii) Semantik (Alter des controllers).

Die Messungen der ereigniskorrelierten Potentiale auf den targets ergeben unterschiedliche neuronale Reaktionen für grammatische und semantische Kongruenzeffekte: Für Verletzungen grammatischer Kongruenz lassen sich stabile P600-Effekte auf dem target nachweisen, für Verletzungen semantischer Kongruenz N400-Effekte. Zudem zeigen sich komplexe Interaktionen mit den oben genannten Faktoren, die die Amplitude der Komponenten beeinflussen. Die gefundene Gradualität in den Effekten widerspricht dabei in Teilen den Annahmen zur Genus-/Sexuskongruenz, wie sie aus Daten zum Sprachgebrauch abgeleitet wurden. Unsere Ergebnisse lassen demnach in der Sprachverarbeitung eine wesentlich grobmaschigere Differenzierung der beeinflussenden Faktoren erkennen, als es bspw. durch Agreement Hierarchies verschiedener AutorInnen vorausgesagt wird.

Literatur: • Corbett, G. 1991. *Gender*. Cambridge: CUP. • Schmitt, B. M., M. Lamers & T. F. Münte. 2002. Electrophysiological estimates of biological and syntactic gender violation during pronoun processing. *Cognitive Brain Research* 14. 333–346.

Movierbarkeit von Anglizismen im Deutschen: Ein Fall verzögerter Integration

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Die Integration englischer Personenbezeichnungen ins System der deutschen Nomina agentis geht aufgrund struktureller Parallelen, insbesondere des *er*-Suffixes, i.d.R. schnell vonstatten. So wird der *s*-Plural bei Belebtheit innerhalb kürzester Zeit zugunsten des nativen Nullplurals abgebaut oder gar nicht erst genutzt (belebtes *die Blogger*, aber unbelebtes *die Sneaker(s)*). Auffällig, aber in bestehenden Untersuchungen (z.B. Eisenberg 2012) unberücksichtigt, ist jedoch die verzögerte Movierung der Entlehnungen: Wo im Bestandswortschatz bei Referenz auf weibliche Individuen häufig moviert wird (*Sie ist Lehrerin*), bleibt die unmovierte Form für Anglizismen lange häufiger (*Sie ist Teenager*). Das ist sogar bei nicht-prädikativer Verwendung zu beobachten (*Der Teenager wurde schwanger* vs. **Der Lehrer wurde schwanger*).

In diesem Vortrag werden Movierungsanteile und ihre Veränderungen bei etablierten und im 20. Jh. entlehnten *er*-Derivaten verglichen. Dabei werden mögliche Einflussfaktoren wie die Genuslosigkeit der Gebersprache (im Gegensatz zu z.B. frz. Entlehnungen), Typ der Personenbezeichnung (Beruf vs. Rolle), aber auch mit den Einzellexemen verbundene Faktoren wie Stereotypen und Gebrauchsfrequenz überprüft. Erste Analysen zeigen z.B. für *Teenager* eine Ausbreitung movierter Formen erst Ende der 1980er-Jahre, obwohl es in den 1950er/60er-Jahren im Singular beinahe ausnahmslos auf junge Mädchen referiert. Damit verhält es sich lange Zeit wie nicht-movierbare Personenbezeichnungen vom Typ *Star* (vgl. Thurmair 2006).

An den Befund der verzögerten Movierbarkeit schließt sich die Frage an, ob aktuell bei generischer Referenz auf weibliche Personen oder Gruppen (*Teenager wurden früher öfter schwanger*) das Maskulinum für Anglizismen unabhängig von Stereotypen und gesellschaftlicher Repräsentation verbreiteter und akzeptabler ist.

Datengrundlage bilden Korpora des 20. Jahrhunderts und eine fragebogenbasierte Akzeptanzuntersuchung.

Literatur: • De Backer, M. & L. De Cuypere. 2012. The interpretation of masculine personal nouns in German and Dutch. A comparative experimental study. *Language Sciences* 34. 253–268. • Doleschal, U. 1992. *Movierung im Deutschen. Eine Darstellung der Bildung und Verwendung weiblicher Personenbezeichnungen.* Unterschleissheim & München: Lincom Europa. • Eisenberg, P. 2012. *Das Fremdwort im Deutschen.* Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Schröter, J., A. Linke & N. Bubenhofer, Noah. 2012. "Ich als Linguist". Eine empirische Studie zur Einschätzung und Verwendung des generischen Maskulinums. In S. Günthner, D. Hüpper & C. Spieß (Hgg.), *Genderlinguistik. Sprachliche Konstruktionen von Geschlechtsidentität*, 359–379. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Thurmair, M. 2006. Das Model und ihr Prinz. Kongruenz und Texteinbettung bei Genus-Sexus-Divergenz. *Deutsche Sprache* 34. 191–220.

Das Emma und *der Hänsli*: Genus-Sexus-Diskordanzen in Dialekten des Deutschen

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:15–11:45 GW2 B3009

AG1

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Dieser Beitrag diskutiert Ergebnisse aus dem DFG-Projekt „Das Anna und ihr Hund – Weibliche Rufnamen im Neutrum“. Einige bundes- und schweizerdeutsche Dialekte sowie das Luxemburgische weisen bei der Referenz auf Frauen eine soziopragmatische Genussteuerung auf: Sie zeigt an, ob ein vertrautes (Neutrum) oder distanziertes Verhältnis (Femininum) zu einer weiblichen Person vorliegt. Genus kann dabei am Rufnamenartikel (*das Anna* vs. *die Anna*) und/oder am Pronomen (*es* vs. *sie*) variieren.

Historische Belege zeigen, dass die Neutra früher auf sexuell unreife und ledige Frauen referierten, die sich nur durch Erfüllung der ihnen zugedachten Rolle als Ehefrau (und Mutter) für das sexuskongruente Femininum qualifizierten. Die Genus-Sexus-Diskordanz bei „nicht-vollwertigen Frauen“ adressiert dabei die Kategorie Gender und bestätigt die enge Verbindung der sozial konstruierten Zweigeschlechtlichkeit mit grammatischem Genus. Bei Männern, deren Geschlechtsintegrität nicht an den Familienstand gekoppelt ist, fehlte diese Doppelkategorisierung.

Vorrangig wurde die Genusdichotomie bei der Referenz auf Frauen zum Beziehungsanzeiger umfunktionalisiert. In einigen Dialekten und im Luxemburgischen wurden die Neutra durch ihren inflationären Gebrauch grammatikalisiert (alle weiblichen Rufnamen sind Neutra). Unser Vortrag zeigt, dass ein femininer Prototyp Frau bis heute reflektiert wird. Als dessen Abweichung werden v.a. kleine Mädchen und Töchter neutral klassifiziert, während sich das Neutrum für Mütter und „gestandene Frauen“ gar verbietet.

Wir diskutieren Bezüge zur Genusklassifikation von Personenbezeichnungen im Standarddeutschen: Häufiger als Männer- weichen Frauenbezeichnungen vom Genus-Sexus-Prinzip ab und sind überzufällig häufig neutral (*das Mädchen*, *das Weib*, *das Luder*). Köpcke & Zubin (2003) begründen dies mit der sozialen Mehrfachkategorisierung weiblicher Personen, der v.a. die Beurteilung ihrer sexuellen Reife und Attraktivität zugrundeliegt.

Literatur: • Busley, S. & J. Fritzinger. 2018. Em Stefanie sei Mann – Frauen im Neutrum. In D. Nübling & S. Hirschauer (Hgg.), *Namen und Geschlechter – Studien zum onymischen Un/doing gender,* 191–212. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Christen, H. 1998. Die Mutti oder das Mutti, die Rita oder das Rita? Über Besonderheiten der Genuszuweisung bei Personen- und Verwandtschaftsnamen in schweizerdeutschen Dialekten. In A. Schnyder et al. (Hgg.), *Ist mir getroumet mîn leben? Vom Träumen und vom Anderssein*, 267–281. Göppingen: Kümmerle. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 2003. Metonymic pathways to neuter-gender human nominals in German. In K.-U. Panther & L. Thornburga (eds.), *Metonymy and pragmatic inferencing*, 149–166. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins • Nübling, D. S. Busley & J. Drenda. 2013. Dat Anna und s Eva – Neutrale Frauenrufnamen in deutschen Dialekten und im Luxemburgischen zwischen pragmatischer und semantischer Genuszuweisung. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 80(2). 152–196.

Das Neutrum für weibliche Personen in den deutschen Dialekten

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Während im Standarddeutschen das Neutrum zur Referenz auf Frauen nur bei Lexical Hybrids (z.B. *Mädchen*) möglich ist, können in einigen deutschen Dialekten neutrale Formen auch bei Rufnamen (*das Anna*) oder bei Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen (*meine Schwester … es*; *das Schwester*) auftreten. Der Vortrag soll zeigen, dass die drei Phänomene in einem arealen und auch funktionalen Zusammenhang stehen: Zum einen treten neutrale Kongruenzformen bei den Lexical Hybrids vermehrt, bei den anderen beiden Phänomenen ausschließlich im Westen des deutschen Sprachgebietes auf. Zum anderen unterliegen sie bestimmten formalen und soziopragmatischen Bedingungen. Für die neutralen Kongruenzformen bei Rufnamen zeigen Nübling et al. (2013) und Busley & Fritzinger (2018), dass in den betroffenen Gebieten oft ein Geflecht von Faktoren wie Alter der Referentin und Beziehung zwischen SprecherIn und Referentin eine Rolle spielen. Ähnliches zeigen die für diesen Vortrag analysierten Daten auch für die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen: Ältere Verwandte (*Mutter*, *Großmutter*) sind fast immer feminin, gleichaltrige oder jüngere (*Schwester*, *Tochter*) sind in bestimmten Regionen neutral.

Ziel des Vortrags ist es, die Funktionen des Neutrums zu diskutieren und den Zusammenhang der drei Phänomene darzustellen. Als besonders interessant erweist sich der Osten des Westfälischen: Hier werden bei allen drei oben beschriebenen Phänomenen fast ausschließlich neutrale Targets verwendet. Zudem liegen dort spezielle neutrale Lexeme für weibliche Personen vor und neutrale Pronomen sind auch in exophorischer Verwendung oder bei attributiv femininen Substantiven möglich (z.B. *die Frau … es*). Hier scheint das Neutrum, im Gegensatz zum Standard, das Default-Genus für weibliche Personen zu sein. Dem Femininum kommt hingegen ein besonderer Wert zu: Es dient dazu, auf ältere und hierarchisch höherstehende Personen zu referieren (z.B. *Mutter*, *Großmutter*).

Literatur: • Busley, S. & J. Fritzinger. 2018. Em Stefanie sei Mann – Frauen im Neutrum. In D. Nübling & S. Hirschauer (Hgg.), *Namen und Geschlechter. Studien zum onymischen Un/doing Gender.* 191–212. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Nübling, D., S. Busley & J. Drenda. 2013. Dat Anna und s Eva. Neutrale Frauenrufnamen in deutschen Dialekten und im Luxemburgischen zwischen pragmatischer und semantischer Genuszuweisung. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 80(2). 152–196.

sein oder *ihr*: Genus und Kongruenz im Artikel- und Pronominalsystem bayerischer Dialekte

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
GW2 B3009

AG1

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Für die bairischen Dialekte wird in wenigen historischen Ortsgrammatiken die genus- und numerusunspezifische Form *sein* bei Possessivpronomen und possessiven Artikelwörtern erwähnt, z.B. „die Schwester liebt seinen Bruder“, „die Kinder lieben seine Eltern“ (Weinhold 1867: 374). In diesen historischen Darstellungen wie auch in den Formenbänden des *Bayerischen Sprachatlas* (BSA) wurde das Phänomen bislang auf einer rein formalen Ebene der morphologischen und phonologischen Varianz beschrieben. Inwiefern die verschiedenen Realisierungsvarianten auch einen funktionalen Wert für die Artikel- und Pronominalsysteme der jeweiligen Dialekte mit vs. ohne Genusdistinktion haben und was dies über die Interdependenz zwischen grammatischem (flexionsmorphologisch repräsentiertem) Genus und dem natürlichen Geschlecht des Possessors aussagt, wurde noch nicht betrachtet.

Im Vortrag wird eine Untersuchung der genus- und numerus(un)spezifischen Formen *ihr* vs. *sein* in den bairischen Dialekten Bayerns vorgestellt. Hierfür wurden die zum Großteil nicht publizierten BSA-Rohdaten hinsichtlich der Realisierung von Possessivpronomen und possessivem Artikelwort im Raum und in der Tiefe, d. h. in verschiedenen syntaktischen Kontexten, ausgewertet. Es zeigt sich, dass in den Dialekten, in denen die Form *sein* zu finden ist, Genus als grammatische Kongruenzkategorie für Possessivpronomen und -artikel abgebaut ist: *Sein* ist als Marker der Information [+Possession] grammatikalisiert, was zur Auflösung der Genusdistinktion im Singular (und der Numerusdistinktion im Plural) geführt hat. Die Auswertung zeigt außerdem zweierlei: Sie ermöglicht die Projektion von Grammatikalisierung im Raum und zeigt zugleich auf, in welche Richtung sich die Entwicklung von Grammatikalisierung vollzieht: I) Genusinkongruenz, II) Numerusinkongruenz, III) inkongruentes *sein* tritt in verschiedenen Konstruktionen auf.

Ein Vergleich der jüngeren BSA-Daten mit älteren Dialektgrammatiken und die Berücksichtigung von Kommentaren der BSA-Gewährspersonen weisen schließlich aus, dass die genusindifferente Form *sein* zugunsten den genusdistinkten Formen *ihr* vs. *sein* aufgegeben wurde oder zumindest eine Varianz zwischen einer älteren Form *sein* neben einer moderneren Form *ihr* besteht. Die Genusinformation und damit die Kongruenz zwischen Genus des Possessivartikels und -pronomens und dem natürlichen Geschlecht der Bezugs-NP wird aufgebaut, das stärker grammatikalisierte *sein* hingegen abgebaut.

Literatur: • Weinhold, K. 1867. *Bairische Grammatik* (Grammatik der deutschen Mundarten – Band. 2). Berlin: Dümmler.

***Die Person*, *die Arbeitskraft*, *die Berühmtheit*. Vergeschlechtlichung femininer Epikoina**

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Genus und Sexus sind im Deutschen eng verzahnt (s. z.B. Bickes & Mohr 2010; Köpcke & Zubin 2012). Das Maskulinum korreliert dabei nicht nur mit männlicher Sexuierung, sondern auch mit Belebtheit per se, sodass die Maskulinum-Femininum-Opposition sowohl die Dichotomie von männlich vs. weiblich als auch (im ethnozoologischen Kontinuum) diejenige von belebt vs. unbelebt abbildet, woraus sich in der Grammatik das Spiegelbild einer androzentrischen Weltvorstellung ergibt (s. Köpcke & Zubin 1996, Kotthoff & Nübling demn.). In dieses Bild fügt sich auch der sog. *male bias*, die präferiert männliche Lesart von menschlichen (=hochbelebten) Bezeichnungen, die nicht explizit als weiblich ausgewiesen werden (s. dafür z.B. Linke 2002).

Die vorliegende Studie geht der Frage nach, inwiefern sich Genus-Sexus-Konkordanz und *male bias* auf die Geschlechterzuschreibung bei femininen Personenbezeichnungen auswirken, denen gemeinhin lexikalische Geschlechtsneutralität zugesprochen wird. Zu solchen Epikoina gehören wenige Simplizia wie *Person,* aber auch Wortbildungsmuster wie menschliche X-*kraft* und X-*heit*/-*keit*, die zwischen androzentrisch männlicher und genusinduziert weiblicher Vergeschlechtlichung stehen.

Eine erste Online-Umfrage am (nicht speziell genderisierten) Vergleichspaar (*die*) *Person* – (*der*) *Mensch* deutet darauf hin, dass feminines Genus durchaus einen nivellierenden Effekt auf den (in den Daten sehr deutlichen) *male bias* besitzt. Der Befund deckt sich mit den Beobachtungen von Ott (2017), dass Epikoina eher männlich spezifiziert werden, ergänzt sie aber insofern, als Genus für den Grad dieser Tendenz relevant zu sein scheint.

Der Vortrag vertieft diese Ansätze korpusbasiert anhand weiterer Lexeme in Kontexten unterschiedlicher Referentialität und beleuchtet zudem diachrone sowie diatopische Varianz für ihre Vergeschlechtlichung.

Literatur: • Bickes, C. & V. Mohrs. 2010. Herr Fuchs und Frau Elster – Zum Verhältnis von Genus und Sexus am Beispiel von Tierbezeichnungen. *Muttersprache* 4. 254–274. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 1996.: Prinzipien für die Genuszuweisung im Deutschen. In E. Lang & G. Zifonun (Hgg.), *Deutsch – typologisch. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache 1995*, 473–-491. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 2012. Mythopoeia und Genus. In S. Günthner, D. Hüpper & C. Spieß (Hgg.), *Genderlinguistik.* 381–411. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Kotthoff, H. & D. Nübling. demn. *Genderlinguistik. Eine Einführung in Sprache, Gespräch und Geschlech*t. • Linke, A. 2002. Das Wort in der feministischen Sprachreflexion. Eine *Übersicht*. In A. Cruse (Hg.), *HSK 21: Lexikologie: ein internationales Handbuch zur Natur und Struktur von Wörtern und Wortschätzen*, 121–128. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Ott, C. 2017. *Sprachlich vermittelte Geschlechterkonzepte. Eine diskurslinguistische Untersuchung von Schulbüchern der Wilhelminischen Kaiserzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Von *trächtigen Elefantenkühen*, *säugenden Gazellen* und *balzenden Fasanen*. Zum Geltungsbereich der Genus-Sexus-Korrelation

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 14:15–14:45 GW2 B3009

AG1

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Dass das deutsche Genussystem nicht so arbiträr ist wie lange angenommen (z.B. Duden-Grammatik 1974, §321, Engel 1996), wurde insbesondere von Köpcke & Zubin (1984, 1996, 2009) belegt. Am oberen Ende der Animatizitätsskala greift in der Mehrheit der Fälle das sog. „natürliche Geschlechtsprinzip", das grammatische Genus entspricht hier dem natürlichen Geschlecht (Köpcke & Zubin 2009). Entlang der Animatizitätsskala nimmt diese Genus-Sexus-Korrelation sukzessive ab (vgl. Nübling & Kotthoff [im Druck], 74). Mehrere Studien (u.a. Bickes & Mohr 2010, Imai et al. 2010, Konishi 1993) legen nahe, dass umgekehrt in der Tierwelt die Sexus-Zuschreibung dem grammatischen Genus folgt: Maskuline Tierbezeichnungen evozieren demnach Vorstellungen männlicher Tiere und umgekehrt (*der Löwe* [+männlich], *die Eule* [+weiblich], vgl. Bickes & Mohr 2010).

Diese Befunde laden ein, das Genus-Sexus-Verhältnis in diesem mittleren Belebtheitsbereich zu analysieren: Inwieweit werden sexusspezifische Aktivitäten und Zustände (z.B. *balzen*, *säugen*, *trächtig sein*) vom Genus der entsprechenden Tierbezeichnung gesteuert? Wird ein trächtiges Exemplar der Gattung Elefant eher als *Elefantenkuh* bezeichnet? Wie verhalten sich Tierarten im Neutrum (*das Schaf*, *das Gnu*) oder solche, bei denen das Männchen schwanger wird bzw. die Eier austrägt (u.a. Seepferdchen)? Als Einflussfaktoren sollen die Sichtbarkeit von Sexus (z.B. Fellzeichnung, Hörner) sowie die Position auf der Animatizitätsskala (z.B. Säugetiere vs. Vogelarten) analysiert werden.

Basis ist eine korpuslinguistische Studie. Ziel ist es, durch die Beleuchtung des tierlichen Randbereichs der Genus-Sexus-Korrelation (mittlere Animatizitätsdomäne) Rückschlüsse auf den Einfluss von Genus auf Sexus auch im Humanbereich zu ziehen.

Literatur: • Bickes, C. & V. Mohrs. 2010. *Herr Fuchs* und *Frau Elster* – Zum Verhältnis von Genus und Sexus am Beispiel von Tierbezeichnungen. *Muttersprache* 4. 254–274. • Duden 1974. *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. 2. Aufl. Mannheim: Dudenverlag. • Engel, U. 1996. *Deutsche Grammatik*. 3., korrigierte Aufl. Heidelberg: Julius Groos. • Imai, M. et al. 2010. Influence of grammatical gender on deductive reasoning about sex-specific properties of animals. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society* 32, 1160–1165. • Konishi, T. 1993. The semantics of grammatical gender: A cross-cultural study. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 22(5). 519–534. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 1996. Prinzipien für die Genuszuweisung im Deutschen. In E. Lang & G. Zifonun (Hgg.), *Deutsch – typologisch. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache* 1995, 473–491. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 2009. Genus. In E. Hentschel & P. M. Vogel (Hgg.), *Deutsche Morphologie*, 132–154. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Nübling, D. & H. Kotthoff. im Druck. *Genderlinguistik. Eine Einführung in Sprache, Gespräch und Geschlecht*. Tübingen: Narr.

***Herr Saki ist Japaner. Frau Kobo auch*: Genusinkongruenz in Nominalellipsen**

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Der Ausgangspunkt dieser Untersuchung war die These, dass bestimmte Nomina (u.a. Nationalitäts- und Berufsbezeichnungen) ein asymmetrisches Verhalten in Bezug auf Ellipsen zeigen (Bobaljik & Zocca 2011). Demnach kann ein maskulines Prädikatsnomen als Antezedenz für einen elliptischen Satz mit weiblichem Subjekt fungieren, aber nicht umgekehrt (vgl. (1)).

(1) a. *Karl ist Lehrer. Anna auch.* b. *Anna ist Lehrerin. Karl auch.*

Die Asymmetrie wird über die Identitätsanforderung an Ellipsen und Markiertheit- und Präsuppositionsannahmen erklärt. Nach der Identitätsanforderung muss die Ellipse in (1a) mit <ist Lehrer> aufgelöst werden und in (1b) mit <ist Lehrerin>. Für maskuline Formen wie *Lehrer* wird angenommen, dass sie keine Präsupposition von Sexus/Gender beinhalteten, während movierte feminine Formen wie *Lehrerin* markiert seien und Sexus/Gender präsupponierten. Entsprechend sollte (1a) akzeptabel sein, und (1b) nicht. Wir haben die Asymmetriethese experimentell in einer Akzeptabilitätsstudie überprüft und zusätzlich den Einfluss von Numerus untersucht. Die Experimentalitems bestanden aus einem Antezedenzsatz mit einer Nationalitätsbezeichnung als Prädikatsnomen und einem elliptischen Satz. Von jedem Experimentalitem gab es vier Versionen: INKONGRUENZ (mask$_{\text{Antezedenz}}$-♀$_{\text{Ellipse}}$ / fem$_{\text{Antezedenz}}$-♂$_{\text{Ellipse}}$) x NUMERUS (Sg/Pl), vgl. das Beispiel in (2).

(2) mask-♀_Sg: *Herr Saki ist Japaner. Frau Kobo auch.* | fem-♂_Sg: *Frau Kobo ist Japanerin. Herr Saki auch.* | mask-♀_Pl: *Herr Saki und Herr Kato sind Japaner. Frau Kobo und Frau Ito auch.* | fem-♂_Pl: *Frau Kobo und Frau Ito sind Japanerinnen. Herr Saki und Herr Kato auch*.

Die Akzeptabilitätsratings waren für ‘mask-♀’ sign. höher als für ‘fem-♂’. Weitere Ergebnisse sprechen jedoch gegen die Asymmetriethese: Während NUMERUS keinen Einfluss auf die Ratings für ‘fem-♂’ hatte, waren die Ratings für ‘mask-♀_Pl’ sign. höher als für ‘mask-♀_Sg’. Die Ratings von 43% der Proband*innen zeigten keine Asymmetrie. Ein Erklärungsansatz für die Ergebnisse ist, dass auch maskuline Formen sexus/gender-spezifisch interpretiert werden (z.B. Braun et al. 2005) und die höheren Ratings für ‘mask-♀’ auf einen *Exposure*-Effekt basieren, der für Pluralformen stärker ausfällt. Alternativ könnten die Ergebnisse mit einem Implikatur-Ansatz erklärt werden (vgl. Becker 2008). Die interindividuelle Variabilität könnte Unterschiede in der Grammatik und/oder in der Sensibilität für genderfaire Sprache reflektieren.

Literatur: • Becker, T. 2008. Zum generischen Maskulin. *Linguistische Berichte* 213. 65–75. • Bobaljik, J. & C. Zocca. 2011. Gender markedness. *Morphology* 21. 141–166. • Braun, F., S. Sczesny & D. Stahlberg. 2005. Cognitive effects of masculine generics in German. *Communication* 30. 1–21.

Genuskongruenz vs. Sexuskongruenz – Der Einfluss des Kontexts auf Kongruenzformen hybrider Nomina

Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
GW2 B3009

AG1

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Die deutsche Syntax verlangt für jede Nominalphrase (NP) die Zuweisung eines Genuswerts. Bei Menschenbezeichnungen besteht in der Regel eine Korrelation zwischen Genus und Sexus. Eine Ausnahme dieser Regel findet sich bei den hybriden Nomina, wie folgendes Beispiel veranschaulicht:

(1) *Ein*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *nettes*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *Mädchen*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *steht an der Ampel. Es*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *isst ein Eis*.

(2) *Ein*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *nettes*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *Mädchen*$_{\mathrm{N}}$ *steht an der Ampel. Sie*$_{\mathrm{F}}$ *isst ein Eis.*

Innerhalb der NP wird denjenigen Formen, die Kongruenz erfordern, jeweils der Genuswert N zugewiesen. Außerhalb der NP kann jedoch sowohl ein neutral (Genuskongruenz) als auch ein feminin (Sexuskongruenz) kongruierendes Pronomen gewählt werden, um auf *Mädchen* zu referieren. Diese Möglichkeit ergibt sich aus dem Status von *Mädchen* als hybrides Nomen: Es liegt eine Genus-Sexus-Divergenz vor, das bedeutet, dass die übliche Merkmalskombination Femininum und [+weiblich] hier nicht gegeben ist.

Dieser Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit den Einflussfaktoren, die die Auswahl der Kongruenzformen hybrider Nomina steuern. Bisherige Untersuchungen erklären die Wahl der Kongruenzform in erster Linie auf grammatikalischer Ebene. Es besteht Einigkeit, dass sowohl der Typus des Pronomens als auch die lineare Distanz zwischen Controller und Target das Kongruenzverhalten beeinflussen. Ausgehend von einer korpuslinguistischen Untersuchung (journalistische Texte von 1950 bis 2014 und literarische Texte vom 17. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert) soll gezeigt werden, dass die Wahl dieser Kongruenzformen durch grammatische Faktoren nur unzureichend erklärt werden kann und dass kontextuelle Faktoren, beispielsweise die Konzeptualisierung des Diskursreferenten, ebenso zur Formentscheidung beitragen. Es wird davon ausgegangen, dass ein sexuell oder erotisch konnotierter Kontext ein sexuskongruentes Pronomen fordert. Mithilfe dieses Beitrags wird der Versuch einer Perspektiverweiterung unternommen, indem sowohl Morphologie und Syntax als auch Semantik und Pragmatik zur Erklärung des Phänomens berücksichtigt werden.

Literatur: • Corbett, G. G. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: CUP. • Birkenes, M. B., C. Chroni & J. Fleischer. 2014. Genus- und Sexuskongruenz im Neuhochdeutschen: Ergebnisse einer Korpusuntersuchung zur narrativen Prosa des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. *Deutsche Sprache* 42. 1–24. • Köpcke, K.-M. 2012. Konkurrenz bei der Genuskongruenz. Überlegungen zum Grammatikunterricht in der Sekundarstufe II. *Deutschunterricht* 1. 36–46. • Nübling, D. & F. Fahlbusch. 2014. Der Schauinsland – die Mobiliar – das Turm. Das referentielle Genus bei Eigennamen und seine Genese. *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 49(3). 245–288.

Mann und Frau und *Frau und Mann* – Zur (Ir-)Reversibilität der Geschlechterordnung in Binomialen

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Binomiale (Paar- oder Zwillingsformeln) wie *Mann und Frau*, *Kind und Kegel* transportieren sedimentierte soziale Rollen und Machtverhältnisse. Gegenstand sind sog. „mixed-sex Binomiale“ (vgl. Motschenbacher 2013). Oft konservieren sie traditionelle Vorstellungen über die Geschlechterordnung „männlich vor weiblich“: *Herr und Frau*, *Adam und Eva*. Während mixed-sex Binomiale im Englischen untersucht wurden (McGuire & McGuire 1992, Dant 2013, Motschenbacher 2013), liegt für das Deutsche bislang nichts vor (zu ersten Ansätzen s. Ott 2017). Hier wird es erstmals korpuslinguistisch erschlossen (DIE ZEIT und DER SPIEGEL von 1953 bis 2016, Cosmas II).

Berücksichtigt werden zum einen semantisch-pragmatische (Höflichkeitskonventionen, emotionale Nähe) prosodische (z.B. Akzentstruktur) und phonologische Ordnungsprinzipien (z.B. Vokalqualität), die neben Geschlecht die Reihenfolge von Binomialbestandteilen beeinflussen können. Es werden Kontexte diskutiert, in denen vom „männlich vor weiblich“-Prinzip zugunsten anderer semantisch-pragmatischer Prinzipien abgewichen wird: Kontextspezifische Machtasymmetrien werden z.B. bei Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen/-namen wie *Vater und Mutter* versus *Mama und Papa* sichtbar (vgl. Dant 2013). Zum anderen werden der Festigkeitsgrad von mixed-sex Binomialen und deren Frequenzverläufe im diachronen Vergleich untersucht. Zentral ist die Frage, ob die (synchron betrachtet) frequentere Abfolge „männlich vor weiblich“ diachron an Festigkeit verliert und die Abfolge „weiblich vor männlich“ zunimmt oder ob eine zunehmende Fixierung von mixed-sex Binomialen gilt. Ersteres kann als Relevanzverlust traditioneller Geschlechterordnungen, letzteres als eine Perpetuierung bzw. Dramatisierung derselben interpretiert werden.

Literatur: • COSMAS I/II (Corpus Search, Management and Analysis System), http://www.ids-mannheim.de/ cosmas2/, 1991–-2016 Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim. • Dant, D. R. 2013. Mom and Dad but men and women. The sequencing of sex-determined noun pairs in American English. In H. Hasselgard, J. Ebeling & S. O. Ebeling. (eds.), *Corpus perspectives on patterns of lexis*, 35–46. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Frevert, U. 1995. *Mann und Weib, und Weib und Mann: Geschlechter-Differenzen in der Moderne*. München: C. H. Beck. • McGuire, W. J. & C. V. McGuire. 1992. Psychological significance of seemingly arbitrary word-order regularities: The case of kin pairs. In G. R. Semin & K. Fiedler (eds.), *Language, interaction and social cognition*, 214–236. London: Sage. • Mollin, S. 2014. *The (ir)reversibility of English binomials. Corpus, constraints, developments*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Motschenbacher, H. 2013. Gentlemen before Ladies? A corpus-based study of conjunct order in personal binomials. *Journal of English linguistics* 3(41). 212–242. • Ott, C. 2017. *Sprachlich vermittelte Geschlechterkonzepte. Eine diskurslinguistische Untersuchung von Schulbüchern der Wilhelminischen Kaiserzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Zur Interaktion von Genus und Sexus im Deutschen

Freitag, 08.03.2019 13:00–13:30 GW2 B3009

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AG1

Ziel ist die Beantwortung der Frage nach der Abtrennbarkeit von Genus und Sexus im heutigen Standarddeutsch. Dazu wurden mehrere experimentelle Untersuchungen durchgeführt (Fragebögen; Akzeptabilitätsurteile auf Likert-Skala 1-7), deren Ergebnisse darauf schließen lassen, dass die grammatische Kategorie ‚Genus' und die semantische Kategorie ‚Sexus' unabhängig voneinander interpretiert werden können, eine Vermengung also nicht notwendigerweise vorliegt (vgl. z.B. Wegener 2017 contra Stefanowitsch 2017).

Zur Illustration ein Beispiel aus Trutkowski (2018) zu sexuslosen Nomen: Treten diese in Subjektposition auf, hat ihre Sexuslosigkeit keinerlei Einfluss auf die Kongruenz, cf. *Diese Person ist Lehrer* – **Dieser Mensch ist Lehrerin*. Das generische Maskulinum appliziert wie gewohnt, ein generisches Femininum gibt es – auch mit sexuslosen Maskulina – nicht. In Prädikativfunktion jedoch zeigen sexuslose Feminina ein anderes Kongruenzverhalten als z.B. movierte Feminina (**Hans ist eine nette Lehrerin*), indem sie Mismatches mit maskulinen Subjekten erlauben (*Hans ist eine nette Person*) und, das Genus maskuliner Subjekte „überschreibend", als generische Feminina fungieren.

Zwar offenbart ein Experiment mit dem obligatorisch maskulinen Pronomen *wer*, dass unvermeidbare Genus-Mismatches einen Einfluss auf die Akzeptabilität haben (signifikanter Haupteffekt ‚Genus' zugunsten maskuliner Possessoren), doch können Genus-Mismatches, die sich aufgrund der maskulinen generischen Form ergeben, durch Sexus-Faktoren (wie weibliche Typisierungen) ins Insignifikante nivelliert werden, cf. (1) vs. (2)/(3):

(1) *Wer hat seinen Lippenstift vergessen?* TYP. WEIBL. POSSESSUM
a. *Das war Hans.* |6.12| b. *Das war Maria.* |5.99| (p-Werte > 0.1)

(2) *Wer hat seinen Rasierapparat verschenkt?* TYP. MÄNNL. POSSESSUM
a. *Das war Bernd.* |6.30| b. *Das war Anke.* |5.73| (p-Werte < 0.01)

(3) *Wer hat seine Wände bemalt?* NEUTRALES POSSESSUM
a. *Das war Michael.* |6.26| b. *Das war Nadja.* |5.79| (p-Werte < 0.05)

Ein sprachpolitischer Eingriff an der Schnittstelle von Genus und Sexus ist also nicht nur unnötig, sondern hätte auch unabsehbare Folgen für eine zu „gendergerechten" Differenzierungen bereits fähige Grammatikarchitektur.

Literatur: • Stefanowitsch, A. 2017. Genderkampf. In A. Baumann & A. Meinunger (Hgg.), *Die Teufelin steckt im Detail,* 121–128. Berlin: Kadmos. • Trutkowski, E. 2018. Wie generisch ist das generische Maskulinum? Über Genus und Sexus im Deutschen. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 59. 83–96. • Wegener, H. 2017. Grenzen gegenderter Sprache – warum das generische Maskulinum fortbestehen wird, allgemein und insbesondere im Deutschen. In A. Baumann & A. Meinunger (Hgg.), *Die Teufelin steckt im Detail,* 279–293. Berlin: Kadmos.

Arbeitsgruppe 2

Proper names versus common nouns: Morpho-syntactic contrasts in the languages of the world

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Raum: GW2 B 3850

AG2

Workshop description

Recent research has shown that proper names may differ morphosyntactically from common nouns (see Schlücker & Ackermann 2017 for details). These morphological and syntactic differences are so striking that Nübling et al. (2015) speak of a specific "onymic grammar". However, little is known of the morphosyntactic contrasts between proper names and common nouns in less studied European and Non-European languages, or even from a cross-linguistic perspective. The goal of this workshop is to bring together papers that examine the morphological and syntactic patterns of proper names in opposition to common nouns in related and unrelated languages (and language families), from a descriptive, comparative-typological, or diachronic perspective.

Topics to be explored include language-specific and/or cross-linguistic differences between proper names and common nouns regarding: verbal agreement (cross-reference) of argument positions, word order of argument positions and/or non-arguments (adjuncts), topicalization and dislocation, differential case marking of arguments and/or non-arguments (adjuncts), inflection and word-formation (including allomorphy), gender assignment (e.g. Bantu languages), definite articles (e.g. Austronesian languages), modifiers, etc.

Additionally, proper names have been traditionally viewed as a homogeneous group. However, there is cross-linguistic evidence that an animacy-based classification of proper names comprised of deity names (theonyms), personal names (anthroponyms), animal names (zoonyms), and place names (toponyms) contributes to a better understanding of the distinct morphosyntactic patterns of proper names.

The workshop will enable us to explore the morphosyntactic differences between proper names and common nouns, and also to strive for semantic and pragmatic explanations of these differences. We invite submissions of abstracts that address the morphosyntactic contrasts between common nouns and proper names in a language or language family, cross-linguistically, or from a diachronic perspective.

References: • Nübling, D., F. Fahlbusch & R. Heuser. 2015. *Namen: Eine Einführung in die Onomastik*. Tübingen: Narr.
• Schlücker, B. & T. Ackermann. 2017. The morphosyntax of proper names: An overview. *Folia Linguistica* 51(2). 309–339.

Personal names vs. common nouns: Crosslinguistic findings from morphology and syntax

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
13:45–14:45
GW2 B3850

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AG2

Proper names and common nouns show a number of differences in their grammatical behavior. Though individual languages vary greatly with respect to how visible these differences are – ranging from distinct forms of the article in a number of Austronesian languages (Lynch et. al. 2013: 37) to a preference for the pre-nominal position as possessors in German – the evidence for a special grammatical status of names has become too numerous for linguistics to further treat them as just "some type of noun". Personal names, as the prototypical name type, are the class of names that deviates the most from common nouns (Anderson 2003: 365, 373; Van Langendonck & Van de Velde 2016: 33). Thus, this paper concentrates on personal names, yet pointing out interesting contrast with other types.

Presumably, every area of grammar exhibits some distinct behavior between personal names and common nouns in some language. This paper will illustrate this for the domain of inflectional categories as well as noun phrase syntax. With respect to the overt encoding of nominal categories, distinct paradigms exist in a number of languages that may even distinguish different numbers of feature values (e.g. distinct case forms) or be subject to different conditions of assigning one feature value or another. This has been demonstrated for case and definiteness (Handschuh 2017), but similar patterns are also found with other categories. In their syntactical behavior, names in a number of languages show a tendency to exhibit restrictions on their ability to co-occur with modifiers. Another pattern, very prominent at least in Austronesian languages, is that names seldom occur as NP-heads but are rather used in apposition to common nouns serving as the head of the phrase instead.

References: • Anderson, J. 2003. On the structure of names. *Folia Linguistica* 37(3/4). 347–398. • Handschuh, C. 2017. Nominal category marking on personal names: A typological study of case and definiteness. *Folia Linguistica* 51(2). 483–504. • Lynch, J., M. Ross & T. Crowley. 2013. Typological overview. In J. Lynch, M. Ross & T. Crowley, *The Oceanic languages,* 34–53. London: Routledge. • Van Langendonck, W. & M. Van de Velde. 2016. Names and grammar. In C. Houg & D. Izdebska (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of names and naming*, 17–38. Oxford: OUP.

Morphosyntactic differences between proper names and common nouns in Riffian

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:45–15:15
GW2 B3850

AG2

The Riffian language is spoken in the Rif mountains and belongs to the Berber language family. Riffian has a noun category and Berber linguists consider that proper and common nouns as subgroups of this part of speech (Penchoen 1973). I will add that proper names may also be divided between anthroponym and toponym. These two classes, which are subdivisible into other groups yet, are lied to because one can become the other by derivation processes. The onomastic study that I have carried out proposes to enumerate the morphosyntactic differences between these categories in order to discuss their classification. The table below resumes our results:

		Morphology						Syntax		
		Pronominalisable by *w-*	Pronominalisable by *manay-*	Annexion state	Prefix *bu-*	Plural *ayt*	Plural ext./int.	Syntactic functions Ind. Obj.	Nominal syntagma	Utterance
Common noun	animate noun	X		X	X		X	X	X	
	inanimate noun		X	X	X		X		X	
Proper noun	anthroponym	X		(X)	X		X	X	X	(X)
	toponym			X	X	X	X		X	
	ethnonym			X	X	X	X	X		
	demonym with *-i*			X			X	X		
	demonym with *u-*				X	X		X		

Table 1: Morphosyntactic differences between proper names and common nouns in Riffian.

As we can see, there is not a clear evidence that proper and common nouns are totally different. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions. Thus, there is the 'annexation state' that we do not find used intensively in the personal names. Additionally, regarding the syntactic unity, the personal names can be utterances (e.g. *tla aytmas* '*S*he has brothers.'), yet, this particularity appears to be archaic (Chaker 1985). I also notice that the inanimate demonstrative pronoun *manay*- is reserved for inanimate nouns, whereas the plural morpheme ayt is solely used with the proper nouns. So they meet within one category which might be considered as an indication that they are two distinct categories. However, these morphemes are excluded from some subgroups, consequently, it seems that semantic constraints must force the association of *manay*- and *ayt* with subgroups and not others. Our conclusion is that there is no evidence supporting that they are two different paradigms.

References: • Chaker, S. 1985. Onomastique berbère ancienne (Antiquité/Moyen-Âge): Rupture et continuité. In S. Lancel (ed.), *Actes de II^{e} colloque international sur l'histoire et l'archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord*, 483–497. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. • Penchoen, T. G. 1973. *Tamazight of the Ayt Ndhir*. Los Angeles: Undena.

Proper names with and without definite articles

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
GW2 B3850

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AG2

Proper names are a class of expressions that have a unique and rigid reference, that are singular with regard to number, and that are inherently definite. Given these semantic/ pragmatic properties it is astonishing that languages behave differently with regard to the syntagmatic combination of proper names and definite articles. This variation holds for proper names in general, but also within a language for different classes of proper names such as person names, nick names, place names, object names, and so on. For instance, person names do generally not allow a definite article in English as one would expect; in Colloquial German, person names are frequently used with definite articles, though, which is not good in Standard German; and in Modern Greek person names are obligatorily used with definite articles. These facts have been observed in previous research (see for instance Anderson 2004, 2007; Van Langendonck 2007), but no systematic study of the cross-linguistic variation of these constructions has been done so far.

The first goal of this contribution is to present first results of a typological study that examines the constructions of proper names and definite articles of a broad sample of languages that have definite articles. Languages may combine proper names with definite articles obligatorily, or never, or optionally with certain pragmatic effects. In addition, there will be variation of this behavior in each language of the sample with respect to the different classes of proper names.

The second goal of the contribution is to seek explanations within the functional-typological approach to language for the patterns found in the sample languages. Various hypotheses will be discussed. One of them deals with the probability, to which proper names in a language may be confused with identical or similar appellative expressions (common nouns).

References: • AndersonJ. M. 2004. On the grammatical status of names. *Language* 80. 435–474. • Anderson, J. M. 2007. *The grammar of names*. Oxford: OUP. • Van Langendonck, W. 2007. *Theory and typology of proper names*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.

Differential Object Marking (DOM) with proper names in Romance languages

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B3850

AG2

In this talk, I will examine the patterns of Differential Object Marking (DOM) with proper names and proper name classes in Romance languages. The languages selected include Asturian, Catalan, Corsican, Galician, Neapolitan, Portuguese, Romanian, Sardinian, Sicilian, and Spanish. The purpose of this talk is two-fold. First, it will be shown that in Romance languages DOM is sensitive to the Extended Animacy Hierarchy (Croft 2003: 130). For example, in Central Catalan we find DOM only with strong pronouns. In Corsican, Galician, and Portuguese DOM occurs with pronouns and proper names, but not with common nouns. In Asturian, Neapolitan, Romanian, Sardinian, Sicilian, and Spanish there is DOM with strong pronouns, proper names, and definite human nouns. However, definite human nouns are optionally marked in Asturian, Neapolitan, Sardinian, and Sicilian while they are obligatorily marked in Romanian and Spanish. Second, I will introduce a fined-grained classification of proper names based on animacy, potential agentivity, and identifiability, thereby distinguishing between deity names, personal names, kinship names, animal names, and place names. This classification contributes to a better understanding of the cross-linguistic patterns of DOM with specific proper name classes. For example, in Portuguese DOM is restricted to deity names. In Galician we find DOM with deity names, personal names, and kinship names. By contrast, in Sicilian DOM occurs with all proper name classes. Additionally, this classification helps to grasp DOM expansion and retraction. Thus, the patterns of DOM with proper names in Romance languages force us to revise the Extended Animacy Hierarchy decomposing the category of proper names into different classes according to animacy, potential agentivity, and identifiability, as shown in (1).

(1) Extended Animacy Hierarchy (revised)

first/second person pronouns > third person pronoun >
deity names > personal names, kinship names > animal names > place names > human common noun > non-human animate common noun > inanimate common noun

References: • Croft, W. 2003. *Typology and universals*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: CUP.

Contrasts in the distribution of personal proper names in construct constructions in Modern and Biblical Hebrew

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 17:00–17:30 GW2 B3850

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AG2

Contrasts in the distribution of personal proper names in constructs in Biblical and Modern Hebrew (BH vs MH) suggest a diachronic change in the predicate vs. argument status of proper names. Constructs are genitive constructions which occur in Semitic languages. The head occurs in construct state and is immediately followed by the genitive nominal, which often denotes the possessor. In MH proper names of individuals with a referential possessor interpretation are usually infelicitous in the annex of referential constructs: (1a) vs. (1b). When a proper name denotes a possessor, a periphrastic genitive or a so-called double construct must be used.

(1) a. *bet ha-mora*
‘the teacher’s house’
b. *#bet ariela*
Intended: ‘Ariella’s house’

Rothstein (2017) argues that (2b) is infelicitous because the annex of a construct must be a bare predicate NP. Proper names are referential DPs and thus cannot occur in this position. The data in BH are strikingly different. Proper names occur freely in the annex of constructs, throughout the corpus (2). No other genitive constructions are available.

(2) a. *bet yosep* (Gen 43: 18)
‘Yosef’s house’
b. *bigdey aharon* (Ex. 28.3)
‘Aharon’s clothing’

These data suggest that proper names in BH are predicate NPs and not DPs. We offer four pieces of evidence to support this. (i) the lexical semantics of proper names in BH which may express uniquely identifying properties of individuals, (ii) rare examples of proper names with definite articles (iii) gentilic names, which have the syntax and morphology of nouns or adjectives (iv) uses of proper names as sentential predicates. In the absence of evidence for a determiner position in BH, we suggest that all nominals including proper names are NPs. We propose that in MH a determiner position has developed, and suggest, following Longobardi (1994), that in MH proper names start off as predicate NPs, but become referential after raising to DP.

References: • Longobardi, G. 1994. Reference and proper names. A theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25(4). 609–665 • Rothstein, S. 2012. Reconsidering the Hebrew construct state. *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 24(2). 227–266. • Rothstein, S. 2017. Proper names in construct state phrases. *Folia Linguistica* 51(2).

The extension of person name markers to noun class markers

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
GW2 B3850

AG2

Using a diverse convenience sample with languages from all continents, this paper explores how noun class markers can develop from person name markers or from personal pronouns via person name markers.

Person name markers can grammaticalize from nouns or from personal pronouns. They can have or lack sex distinctions. In some languages they cumulate with case or topic. Noun classes fall into gender and classifiers, which typologists find increasingly difficult to distinguish. Gender tends to be more grammaticalized, which is largely due to cumulation with another grammatical category, notably number, case and/or person. Instances of recent origin of gender, such as animacy in Slavic, where gender has developed from different object marking and has travelled down the animacy hierarchy from pronouns to proper names and further to appellative humans and animals, as can be observed in Old Russian and Russian, demonstrate that the tight interaction of gender with case, number or person can date back to the origin of the gender category, and need not be a secondary development from classifiers.

A first step in the extension of person name markers is older kinship terms, notably ‘father’ and ‘mother’ and human interrogatives ‘who?’. Person name markers can then further develop to uniqueness markers. There are several instances where non-canonical noun class systems can be shown to have originated from person name markers, notably Nalca (Mek, Trans-New Guinea phylum), Owa (Oceanic, Austronesian) and Mopan Maya.

In a wide range of languages from different places in the world, noun class markers are so-called pronominal articles, which means that noun class markers have the same form as third person pronouns and have developed from third person pronouns. Interestingly, many languages with pronominal articles use pronominal articles with proper names. This suggests that pronominal articles can grammaticalize via person name markers.

On the morphological status of complex names in English and Japanese

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:00–9:30 GW2 B3850

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In contrast to simple names like Donald, the morphological investigations of complex names like Donald Trump have been scarce (see Schlücker & Ackermann 2017: 315), despite the fact that simple and complex names differ in whether they can undergo derivation. For example, in English, the given name or the family name can undergo derivation (e.g. Reaganize), while the full name cannot (e.g. *[[Ronald Reagan]-ize]). Interestingly enough, this is not the case in Japanese. In Japanese, in addition to the given or family name (e.g. Takuya-ka (lit.) Takuya-ize 'Takuyanize', where Takuya is a given name), the full name can undergo derivation (e.g. [[Kimura Takuya]-ka] 'Kimura Takuyanize', where Kimura is a family name). Based on the fact that unlike words, phrases are immune to derivation (Bresnan & Mchombo 1995), I argue that English complex names are phrases, while Japanese complex names are words or compounds. To explain the morphological difference in complex names between the two languages, I adopt the framework of Distributed Morphology (Embick & Noyer 2007, Morita 2016, among others), which admits morphological movement operations on the PF side. The operations are triggered by morphosyntactic features (cf. Embick & Noyer 2001). Given this property of the operations, I argue that unlike English, Japanese has a morphological feature which is obligatorily introduced when there are two single names. The feature is a trigger of morphological movement, as a result of which two single names are compounded into one complex name. In English, in contrast to Japanese, the feature is not inserted in the same environment. Due to the lack of this feature, there is no morphological movement to combine two simple names into one.

References: • Bresnan, J. & S. A. Mchombo. 1995. The lexical integrity principle: Evidence from Bantu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13. 181–254. • Embick, D. & R. Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32. 555–595. • Embick, D. & R. Noyer. 2007. Distributed morphology and the syntax-morphology interface. In G. Ramchand & C. Reiss (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*, 289–324, Oxford: OUP. • Morita, J. 2016. A syntactic-morphological analysis of nominal compounds. *Florida Linguistics Papers* 3. 51–62. • Schlücker, B. & T. Ackermann. 2017. The morphosyntax of proper names: An overview. *Folia Linguistica* 51. 309–339.

Concerning the differential morphosyntactic marking of definiteness on Basque anthroponyms: A synchronic and diachronic study

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:30–10:00
GW2 B3850

AG2

Despite the fact that the use of the definite article (singular -*a*, plural -*ak*) with nouns and adjectives is widespread in Basque, this is not at all the case concerning anthroponyms: this last group presents – aside from a few exceptions – considerable difficulties for the addition of the definite article, regardless of whether female or male, native or foreign person names, hypocoristics or full forms are involved. Names such as Ane (female), Mikel (male), Haritz (native), Jordi (foreign), Kotte (hypocoristic) and Dolores (full form) as opposed to *Anea(k), *Mikela(k), *Haritza(k), *Jordia(k), *Kottea(k) and *Doloresa(k) serve as examples of this difficulty. Therefore, the claim can be made that, in general terms, the use of the definite article with anthroponyms is avoided in Basque.

In spite of this there are names which, owing to specific circumstances, tolerate the definite article: these are hypocoristics like Martino > Martinoa, Josepatxo > Josepatxoa and foreign trade names such as Toyota > Toyota(k). There is also the fact that the acceptability of such forms varies dialectally and that this acceptability could be due to historical reasons: in fact, in medieval documents one finds attestations of anthroponyms with the definite article, such as Franciscoa and Jesusa.

In view of this state of affairs, the present study addresses the question to what degree the use of the definite article with Basque person names varies diachronically and diatopically. A typology of names is furthermore laid out, which is meant to clarify how often the definite article co-occurs with specific kinds of onyms. The authors expect to attain, in this manner, a clear overview of the relationship between Basque anthroponyms and hypocoristics, on the one hand, and their morphosyntactic marking for definiteness, on the other.

Contrastive marking of anthroponyms and common nouns in object and subject argument slots in Nuasúɛ (A.62A)

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
10:00–10:30
GW2 B3850

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AG2

This paper tackles the contrastive marking of common nouns and anthroponyms in subject and object slots in Nuasúɛ, a Bantu Mbam language spoken in Cameroon. The study is two-fold, i.e. descriptive and explicative. Firstly, I show that a special category is only overtly encoded on proper nouns. Indeed, a common noun in subject or (first) object functions does not entail any special marking (1) while anthroponyms carry the enclitic particle *=à* in two specific contexts. Whereas in non-past narrative tenses, anthroponyms allow this particle only in object argument slot as in (2), in the past narrative, both in the subject and the object functions, they maintain the particle *=à*, supplemented by the coexistence of the subject and its anaphoric marker (SM) as in (3). After this description, the coexistence of PN and SM will be explained as well as the grammatical function of this particle will be determined in Nuasúɛ, a language with no morphological case marking. Far from considering enclitic *=à* as a case marker, I suggest that anthroponym marking in Nuasúɛ is the expression of the interactions between their lexical properties and informational structure in sentences. In that case, enclitic *=à* appears as the morphological marker of the inherent topicality (definiteness) of anthroponyms when used in focalized syntactic slots (Bébiné, f.c.).

(1)	*à-pyónyí*	*kà-yòòsòn*	*àŋ-ónyóní*
	C1-disciple	F2-look.at	CL1-master
	'The disciple will look at the master.'		

(2)	*Simon*	*kà-yòòsòn*	*Yésus=à*
	Simon	F2-look.at	Jésus=TOP
	'Simon will look at Jesus.'		
	Yesus	*kà-yòosòn*	*Simun=à*
	Jesus	F2-look.at	Simun=TOP
	'Jesus will look at Simon.'		

(3)	*Símùn=à*	*ʊ̀-à-sáŋʊ̀nà*	*Yésús=à*	*kɪ̀-yɔ̀ŋ*	*kɪ́-tátʊ́*
	Simon=TOP	1SM-NARR-deny	Jesus=TOP	CL7-times	7-three
	'Simon denied Jesus thrice.'				

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Common nouns and saliency in toponyms: A comparative study

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Toponyms display properties hinting at the existence of a "toponymic grammar" (Stolz et al. 2017) that includes rules for synthetic toponyms vs. analytic toponyms. Synthetic toponyms (e.g. London) lack clear morphological boundaries, follow distinctive stress patterns, and act as opaque "places" designators (Köhnlein 2015). Analytic toponyms involve appellative constructions including common nouns or other categories (e.g. Greater London: Anderson 2007: Ch. 4). There seems to be a relation between the increasing morphological complexity of these constructions, and the decreasing cultural salience of the places they refer to (Van Langendonck 2007: Ch. 4). However, the cross-linguistic role of this relation is still understudied.

Our first goal is to present data involving toponyms from four languages of increasing morphological complexity: English, Mandarin, Italian and Finnish. We focus on toponyms for urban districts (e.g. North Sydney), water bodies (Lake Tahoe) and mountains (Tara Mountains: Nübling et al. 2015). The structures of these toponyms involve a specific term, acting as an opaque label referring to a salient place, and one or more generic terms describing the place type (Blair & Tent 2015). Three further properties seem understudied. First, the inventory of categories acting as generics, beyond common nouns, is still partially uncharted (Schlücker & Ackermann 2017). Second, the semantic contribution of common nouns and related categories is also poorly understood (Blair & Tent 2015). Third, these toponyms seem to emerge according to weakly productive rules of formation (Köhnlein 2015)

The second goal of this talk is to offer a unified theoretical account of these properties. We first discuss the types of attested generic markers and their orders, and the distribution of these place names in Basic locative Constructions (Levinson & Wilkins 2006: Ch. 1). We then propose a compositionally-oriented semantic analysis (cf. Schlücker & Ackermann 2017: 318–320; on proper names). We conclude by discussing how these findings shed light on the properties of toponymic grammars of these languages.

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Definite articles and geographical proper names: The case of river names

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:45–12:15 GW2 B3850

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AG2

The use of definite determiners with geographical proper names greatly varies both within languages and across language groups. City names usually reject the determiner in all Romance and Germanic languages (1); country names behave similarly in most Germanic languages, vary according to gender in German and obligatorily take the article in Romance (2); river names take an article in all Romance and Germanic languages (with prenominal definite articles) (3).

(1) (**le*) *Paris* (Fr.) …; (**the*) *London* (En.) …

(2) *(*l'*) *Italia* (It.) …; (**das*) *Deutschland*, *(*die*) *Schweiz*, (*der*) *Irak* (Ge)

(3) *(*el*) *Duero* (Sp.) …; *(*de*) *Maas* (Du.), …

In our presentation, we will show that the use of the definite article varies with its morphological complexity. In German, the definite article expresses definiteness, gender, number and case. Each one of these features may trigger the occurrence of the article. This is what happens in (2) (Ge), where gender – and crucially not definiteness – is the relevant feature. The exact variation in German can be captured under a feature-geometric approach where neuter is unmarked, masculine is underspecified and feminine is fully specified for gender. By contrast, the definite article in Romance (2), where no masculine-feminine gender contrasts are observed, is not triggered by gender, but rather by the syntactic and semantic conditions bearing on empty D heads in Romance.

The fact that the definite article occurs in all Romance and Germanic languages with river names strongly suggests that its appearance is directly linked to the definiteness feature itself. Other features such as gender, number and case can immediately be discarded, since the English definite article has no marking for these features and still appears with river names. The conditions governing the appearance of the definite article with Romance country names are equally irrelevant, since such conditions would wrongly predict a contrast between Romance and Germanic languages.

It thus seems that river names are genuinely more like common names, and we will show that contrary to most other geographical names, they are not rigid designators. This assumption is supported by the different interpretation of Amazon in (4): in (4a) reference is made to the length of the course of the river, while in (4b) the water referred to does not even lay within its course.

(4) a. *The Amazon is 6.992 km long*. b. *The Amazon colors the Atlantic grey*.

This kind of referential vagueness distinguishes river names from country or city names and sets them on a par with common names.

Differential place-name marking: An explanation in terms of predictability and coding efficiency

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
GW2 B3850

Place names show a universal tendency to have zero (or short) markers of locative and allative relations. This was noted, e.g., by Creissels & Mounole (2011), but the implicational universal in (1) is not widely known yet.

(1) If a language has asymmetric differential coding of locative/allative relations for place names, then place names are coded with a shorter form or by zero.

For example, in Mehweb (Dagestanian), the allative case is identical to the nominative case with native place names (e.g. *Meħ^{w}e* 'Megeb (a settlement)', *Meħ^{w}e* 'to Megeb', but *Maskaw* 'Moscow', *Maskaw-ize* 'to Moscow') (Daniel et al. 2019). Stolz et al. (2017) cite examples like (2) from Mokilese (Oceanic):

(2)

Ngoah	*prin*	*inla*	*Kolonia*	*lakapw.*
1SG	want	go	Kolonia	tomorrow

'I'll go to Kolonia tomorrow.'

Zero coding of place with toponyms is also common in creole and pidgin languages, as reported by Michaelis et al. (2013), for example in Mauritian Creole in *Mo pe al Vakwa* [1SG PROG go Vacoas] 'I am going to Vacoas.'

In the talk we argue that just like differential object marking (and many other argument coding splits, cf. Haspelmath 2019), differential place marking can be explained in terms of predictability and coding efficiency. The zero or short locative marking corresponds to the greater frequency of locative occurrences of place names, and it is efficient to use short coding when the locative meaning is predictable. We provide corpus evidence for the frequency claim from a number of languages, and we discuss a variety of different diachronic pathways through which differential place-name marking may arise, especially based on data from pidgin and creole languages.

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Gender assignment to German city names: Areal and diachronic perspectives

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 13:45–14:15 GW2 B3850

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AG2

With respect to gender assignment, proper names behave completely different from common nouns. In the case of the latter, gender is determined by formal (*Mädchen* 'girl'→ n.) or semantic (*Frau* 'woman' → f.) criteria (grammatical or semantic gender). Proper names, by contrast, tend, in the long run, to establish a referential gender that is gender is assigned on the basis of properties of the referent, namely the class of objects: ships → f. (*die Polarstern*), cars → m. (*der Polo*), cities → n. (*das moderne Hamburg* 'modern Hamburg'). However, relatively little is so far known on the transition from grammatically assigned common noun gender to onymic class gender. Against this backdrop, city names are of special interest, which, in Middle High German, still require feminine gender agreement (*diu himelíſch Ieruſalem* f.) before neuter class gender is established. Nonetheless, residues of feminine gender survived in some East Central German dialects (*die Lausche* '[the city of] Lauscha f.' (Weise 1900: 73) – a fact that has gone unnoticed in the literature.

Taking historical (ReM, ReN, FnhdC) and dialectal data (Saxon: *Erzgebirge*) into account, it is argued that, in earlier stages, feminine gender has been productive for foreign and non-transparent names (MHG *die michelú Carthago* 'the-fem vast-fem Carthage', *Wormez, diu vil wîte* 'Worms the-fem ample-fem' → f.), whereas in fully transparent compound-like names the gender of the head noun (grammatical gender) was retained and gave rise to neuter class gender (*Ze Heimburch der alten* 'to Heimburg, the old' < *-burg* f. 'city' → f., *Liupolzdorf, daz* < *-dorf* n. 'village' → n.). As to Upper Saxon (Erzgebirge), it is shown that feminine gender persists in names with feminine second elements (*Neuwelt* < -*welt* f. 'world', *Schönheide* < *-heide* f. 'heather') and (mainly original Slavonic) names ending in -au/-a (Zwickau, Schlema) or -itz < (Chemnitz, Lößnitz).

References: • Fahlbusch, F. & D. Nübling. 2014. Der Schauinsland – die Mobiliar – das Turm. Das referentielle Genus bei Eigennamen und seine Genese. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 49(3). 245–288. • Fraurud, K. 2000. Proper names and gender in Swedish. In B. Unterbeck et al. (eds.), *Gender in grammar and cognition,* 167–219. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Köpcke, K.-M. & D. Zubin. 2005. Nominalphrasen ohne lexikalischen Kopf – Zur Bedeutung des Genus für die Organisation des mentalen Lexikons am Beispiel der Autobezeichnungen im Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 24. 93–122. • Nübling, D. 2015. Die Bismarck – der Arena – das Adler. Vom Drei-Genus- zum Sechs-Klassen-System bei Eigennamen im Deutschen: Degrammatikalisierung und Exaptation. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 43(2). 306–344 • Weise, O. 1900. *Syntax der Altenburger Mundart.* Leipzig.

Description without descriptive content? Morphosyntactic evidence from Chinese against Descriptivism

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One of the core issues among the discussion of proper names, be it in a linguistic or a philosophical sense, is whether proper names have descriptive content. While the Millianism holds the view that proper names refer directly, the Descriptivism treats them as NPs with descriptive content. This paper presents morpho-syntactic evidences in Chinese against Descriptivism by investigating the distribution of proper names in existential sentences and the word order in appositive construction.

Existential sentence is usually regarded as a construction with definiteness restriction on the "pivot" nominal. Proper names are therefore incompatible with it. To avoid the anaphoric use and the list use of existential sentences, we focus in this paper on sentences like (1). While the name of a famous person is generally accepted, the name of an average person is not acceptable. This differential acceptance thus prevents us from seeing the information "the individual called N" as the semantics of a proper name N.

(1)	*Congqian*	*you*	*(yi)*	*ge*	*guowang/Zhuge Liang/*Zhang San.*
	in-the-past	exist	one	CLF	king/Zhuge Liang/Zhang San

'Once upon a time there was a king/Zhuge Liang/*Zhang San.'

The word order in appositive constructions also brings evidence for Millianism to light. There are 4 NP-types which can combine with each other to produce an appositive construction: 1) pronoun, 2) bare noun, 3) proper name and 4) demonstrative phrase. Whenever the last three were chosen, the word order in 2)-3)-4) is fixed, which is explained by Deng (2018) in term of informativity. Since this word order is insensitive to the personal popularity, the characteristic of a person therefore should not be regarded as the semantics of the name that person is called.

With the two morpho-syntactic phenomena in view, we draw the conclusion that proper names in Chinese are direct-referential without descriptive content. In addition, we explain the differential morpho-syntactic behavior between proper names in Chinese and in German/English by taking notice of the different grammaticalization-level of indefinite article.

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Arbeitsgruppe 3

Cross-linguistic variation in control phenomena

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Raum: SFG 0150

AG3

Workshop description

Across the worlds languages, we find a wide variety of phenomena that can be regarded as instances of control in that they involve a referentially dependent unpronounced subject in an embedded (typically nonfinite) clause. Investigation of these control structures has proven fruitful both from a typological and from a theoretical point of view. For instance, differences in the control properties of infinitive-selecting predicates have been shown to correlate with the syntactic structure as well as with the temporal and modal interpretation of the embedded control constituent in interesting ways (see e.g. Landau 1999; Wurmbrand 2001, 2002; Pearson 2016; Brandt et al. 2016). While the theoretical literature on control phenomena is extensive and controversial (for an overview see Landau 2013), controversy partly originates from disagreement over the nature of control as a lexical, syntactic or pragmatic phenomenon (Köpcke & Panther 1993; Stiebels 2007) and over what the exact empirical generalizations are (for discussion, see e.g. Polinsky & Potsdam 2006 for the case of backward control, and White & Grano 2014 for partial control).

This workshop aims to address pertinent issues concerning the grammar of control based on novel empirical evidence (from experiments, fieldwork or corpus studies) from a contrastive and cross-linguistic perspective, with a focus on non-canonical control phenomena. Non-canonical control phenomena by our definition include, but are not restricted to, anti(-subject)-control, backward control, split-control, and control shift, as well as cases of non-obligatory and/or non-exhaustive control such as partial control and implicit control (see Stiebels 2007 for a survey of relevant phenomena).

References: • Brandt, P., B. Trawiński & A. Wöllstein. 2016. (Anti-)control in German: Evidence from comparative, corpus- and psycholinguistic studies. In I. Reich & A. Speyer (eds.). *Co- and subordination in German and other languages*, 77–98. Hamburg: Buske. • Köpcke, K.-M. & K. Panther. 1993. A cognitive approach to obligatory control phenomena in English and German. *Folia Linguistica* 27(1/2). 57–105. Landau, I. 1999. *Elements of control*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT. • Landau, I. 2013. *Control in generative grammar: A research companion*. Cambridge: CUP. • Pearson, H. 2016. The semantics of partial control. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34. 691–738. • Polinsky, M. & E. Potsdam. 2006. Expanding the scope of control and raising. *Syntax* 9. 171–192. • Stiebels, B. 2007. Towards a typology of complement control. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 47. 1– 59. • White, A. S. & T. Grano. 2014. An experimental investigation of partial control. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 18. 469–486. • Wurmbrand, S. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.

Unexpected non-obligatory control

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 14:15–15:15 SFG 0150

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AG3

A prevalent assumption in control studies holds that clausal complements either display Obligatory Control (OC) or no control at all, but never show Non-Obligatory Control (NOC), as subject clauses may do. I argue that there is a systematic class of exceptions to this generalization – communication verbs. New evidence shows that both the speaker and addressee of the utterance can control the null subject of complements to verbs like *say, suggest, recommend,* etc. (e.g., when Mary tells John: *The boss said to pull yourself together*). Likewise, arbitrary and long-distance control are allowed. Lastly, it can be shown that PRO is restricted to human referents *even* when uncontrolled – a hallmark of NOC. Alternative analyses of the data, like implicit control or embedded imperatives, are empirically inadequate.

Communication verbs are systematically ambiguous between a triadic, truly communicative sense, that selects a goal argument (sometimes left implicit), and a dyadic, declarative sense, selecting no goal. While the former induces OC by the goal argument, the latter displays NOC – thus falsifying the view that NOC is never attested in complements. The two variants, however, are unified in their underlying grammar. Following Landau 2015, I assume that control clauses are "oriented" to some context of speech/thought; control is just the association of PRO with a participant (either AUTHOR or ADDRESSEE) in one such context. OC and NOC only differ in which contextual information (c_{matrix}, $c_{\text{Speech-Act}}$ or $c_{\text{long-distance}}$) they make available to PRO; the information is always represented in the local complementizer. OC is restricted, by selection, to specify the matrix context, whereas NOC allows reference to any context – linguistic or deictic (speech act) – as long as it is salient. The ambiguity of communication verbs, then, boils down to selection vs. no-selection of a particular context of evaluation for their complement.

Alleged obligatory control inflected infinitives

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 0150

In recent years, it has been proposed that there are languages in which there are two kinds of obligatory control (OC), the familiar type that is attested in non-inflected, Caseless infinitives, and a new type of OC, found in infinitives in which the null subject has Case, as in Portuguese, a language with two types of infinitives, non-inflected (1a) and inflected (1b):

(1)	a.	*A*	*mãe*	*convenceu*	*as*	*fihas*$_i$	*a [-]*$_i$	***sair***	*mais*	*cedo*.
		the	mother	convinced	the	daughters	to	leave	more	early
	b.	*A*	*mãe*	*convenceu*	*as*	*filhas*$_i$	*a [-]*$_i$	***saírem***	*mais*	*cedo.*
		the	mother	convinced	the	daughters	to [-]	leave.3PL	more	early
		‘Their mother convinced the children to have lunch earlier.’								

Modesto (2010) and Sheehan (2014) argue that (a) and (b) are instances of OC. On the other hand, it has been known at least since Pires (2006) that non-inflected infinitives differ from inflected infinitives (I-infinitives) in crucial ways. The differences detected can be accounted for under the assumption that examples such as (1a) are genuine cases of OC while examples such as (1b) are not (and rather contain a *pro* subject). This talk will examine the arguments given in favor of the OC analysis of I-infinitival complements and it will argue that there are no reasons to posit this new kind of OC. The cases that have been analysed as falling under this new species of OC can all be explained as instances of (accidental) coreference.

There are severe restrictions on the reference the subject of an I-infinitive embedded under OC verbs and these contribute to the illusion of OC. We will adopt Jackendoff and Culicover (2003)’s suggestion that Unique Control (OC) reduces to the theory of the content of basic predicates that select actional arguments. OC verbs require their infinitival complement to be a volitional Action and impose restrictions on the choice of Actor. We argue that inflected infinitival complements denote Situations (which may include Actions), just like ECM or finite complements. Whenever inflected infinitival complements are embedded under verbs that select actional complements only, they must be coerced into volitional actions. Coercion explains the semantic restrictions imposed on I-infinitival complements of OC verbs.

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• Modesto, M. 2010. What Brazilian Portuguese says about control: Remarks on Boeckx & Hornstein. *Syntax* 13(1). 78–96.
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Revising the distribution of control: Evidence from Spanish

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
SFG 0150

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AG3

This study presents novel data from Spanish that challenges the distribution of obligatory control, non-obligatory control (NOC), and no control (NC) assumed by existing minimalist theories of control, which largely assume that nonfinite subject and adjunct clauses show NOC but not NC and that NOC clauses may not host lexical subjects (Boeckx et al. 2010; Landau 2013; McFadden & Sundaresan 2018). In contrast, in Spanish and other languages, what are standardly considered to be NOC clauses clearly do host a lexical subject, as in (1).

(1) a. *Ella me=dice [**ser** **yo** el del problema*].
she.N me.D=says be.INF I.N the of.the problem
'She tells me I'm the one with the problem'

b. *¿Es necesario [**ir** **las dos**]*?
is necessary go.INF the two
'Is it necessary for both of us to go?'

Likewise, these NOC clauses in Spanish may also host a null subject that is neither a logophoric center nor human, two fundamental components of the definition of NOC PRO (Landau 2013).

(2) a. *Ellos creen [**Δ**^{expl} **haber** un lugar lleno de oro]*...
they think be.INF a place full of gold
'They think that there is a place full of gold...'

b. [**Δ** **pertenecer** a la lista] puede crear pánico...
belong.INF to the list can create.INF panic
'Belonging to the list [of sanctuary cities] can create panic...'

On the basis of the data from Spanish and other languages, I propose a new distribution of control and argue that (i) supposedly NOC clauses can host lexical subjects, (ii) NOC PRO is a subtype of *pro*, and (iii) there is a null-overt subject alternation in both finite and nonfinite clauses. Crucially, against Herbeck (2018) and the MTC, I show that this alternation cannot be reduced to Case or pragmatic factors such as focus and switch reference.

References: • Boeckx, C. et al. 2010. *Control as movement*. Cambridge: CUP. • Herbeck, P. 2018. Deriving null, strong and emphatic pronouns in Romance *pro*-drop languages. In P. Patel-Grosz (ed.), *Pronouns in embedded contexts*, 171–212. Berlin: Springer. • Landau, I. 2013. *Control in generative grammar*. Cambridge: CUP. • McFadden, T. & S. Sundaresan. 2018. Reducing *pro* and PRO to a single source. *Linguistic Review* 35(3). 463–518.

Partial control: The embedded predicate matters, even in English!

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
SFG 0150

AG3

Much work on control has highlighted the importance of the matrix predicate in determining whether partial control (PC) is possible (Landau 2000, 2004, Pearson 2016). In recent work, it has become increasingly obvious that, in many languages, the embedded predicate also affects the acceptability of PC: reciprocal predicates undergoing a comitative alternation facilitate PC:

(1) a. Kim and Sam met this morning. b. Kim met with Sam this morning.

Sheehan (2014) argued this to be the case for some Romance languages (French, Spanish, Italian European Portuguese) based on informant work and subsequent experimental work supports this claim for French (Pitteroff and Sheehan 2018) and also German (Pitteroff et al. 2017a, b).

In this paper, I claim that English is like French (and especially) German in this respect, contrary to the picture that had emerged from non-experimental work. Where the embedded predicate is comitative (+COM), PC becomes acceptable regardless of matrix predicate, as illustrated in (2):

(2) Context: John has just had his first date with a new girlfriend.
a. He tells her that he hopes to meet again soon.
b. He tells her that he hopes to kiss soon.
c. He tells her that he can meet again next Saturday, if she's free.
d.*He tells her that he can kiss next time, if she likes.

As in German, the only context which rules out partial control is (d): a non PC matrix predicate combined with a –COM embedded predicate. Results from an online study show that EC predicates (*can, try, need, avoid*) more generally permit PC when combined with a +COM complement, whereas PC predicates (*hope, want, hate, refuse*) permit PC regardless of complement.

Table 1: Mean acceptability by Matrix and Embedded Predicate in English.

n=33/37	+COM	–COM
EC	5.08 (0.20)	3.57 (0.20)
PC	5.68 (0.16)	5.29 (0.16)

The difference between [EC, +COM] and [EC, – COM] is highly significant ($p<.0001$). The difference between [EC, + COM] and [PC, + COM] is also significant ($p=.005$). The difference between [PC, + COM] and [PC, – COM] is not significant ($p=.02$). These results suggest that English, like German, has two different kinds of PC, which we call true PC and fake PC. I show further evidence that PRO is semantically singular in fake PC but not in true PC.

Zu, *um*, *zum*, (*om*) *te* and correlates in corpora: On sources and variation of control structures in Germanic varieties

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
SFG 0150

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AG3

The talk presents new ideas concerning the origin and nature of PRO and control that are supported by corpuslinguistic data from different Germanic varieties. The grammatical formative *zu* 'to' in its different manifestations takes center stage in connection with the thesis in (1).

(1) *Zu* marks the reflexivization of a genuinely asymmetric relation.

The proposition in (1) carries a contradiction: If a relation between x and y is asymmetric, then it follows that not both xRy and yRx. If x = y due to reflexivization, however, then exactly xRy and yRx. Reflexivized asymmetric relations therefore always denote falsehood, making them apparently unusable. Brandt (2016) argues though that natural language grammars may exploit hidden contradictions in certain domains: the interface suspends interpretation of part of the problematic meaning and leaves it to be interpreted in ensuing syntactic-semantic cycles. Reducing the asymmetry of the relation to "some x is P and not P", we argue "x is not P" must be accommodated non-locally. In subject-control structures (*versprechen* 'promise'), it is interpreted in terms of the negatively defined theme theta role, taken by the infinitival complement that as a whole functions as the direct object. In all other control structures (object or anti-control), the theme role is independently taken. The next best way to interpret "x is not P" is in terms of the modal semantics of a purpose clause: x does not have the property denoted by the purpose clause in the actual world.

Starting from data from the German Reference Corpus DeReKo featuring prepositional adverbs that function as correlates (*dazu*, *darum*), we classify German and corresponding Dutch control verbs. Taking into account as well data from the Dutch Sonar-corpus, we argue that structures where "x is not P" cannot be identified with theme role semantics – i.e., all but subject control structures – are in need of correlates and the supposedly optional Dutch element *om* exactly to establish a thematic link on the basis of which "x is not P" can be interpreted. We furthermore seek to assess whether German dialectal *zum* in 'nominalized infinitives' should be taken to correspond to *um zu*, the German cousin of *om te*, as opposed to the fusion of *zu* and the definite article *dem*.

References: • Brandt, P. 2016. Fehlkonstruktion und Reparatur in der Bedeutungskomposition. *Linguistische Berichte* 248. 395-433. • Broekhuis, H. & N. Corver. 2015. *Syntax of Dutch.* Vol. 2: *Verbs and verb phrases*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Event control

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–9:30
SFG 0150

Many languages, including German, employ non-finite clauses (besides finite clauses) as propositional adjuncts, for instance infinitival, participial, and small clause adjuncts. The subject of these adjunct clauses is left unexpressed and must usually be interpreted co-referentially with the subject or object of the matrix clause (subject or object control). There is, however, another possible control relation that, to our knowledge, has been overlooked or at best marginalized in the recent control debate, namely event control, cf. (1) and (2).

(1) [Unknown to Mr. Mori], the other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium. (Kortmann 1995: 207)

(2) German

[*Als*	*letzten*	*Arbeitsgang]*	*hat*	*Peter*	*den*	*Boden*	*gebohnert*.
as	last	process	has	Peter	the	floor	waxed

‘As a last step, Peter waxed the floor.’

These adjuncts can be paraphrased using a relative clause or an independent finite clause (like *The other big trading houses were also putting together a consortium, which was unknown to Mr. Mori)*. This reveals two things: (i) the adjuncts above are clause-like (involving PRO as empty subject); (ii) the subject, which must be expressed overtly in the paraphrases (as *this/which* in English and *das/was* in German), refers to the event expressed in the main clause.

In the literature, this topic seems to have faded out of the debate since the dispute on control into rationale clauses (RC) in the 80s and 90s with one camp arguing for the implicit agent as the controller of PRO in RCs adjoined to a passive or impersonal copula matrix clause, and another one arguing for the matrix event as controller of PRO.

The goal of our talk is twofold: on the one hand, we aim to clarify the empirical picture and want to provide insight into German, Norwegian, and English data involving event control in different kinds of non-finite propositional adjunct clauses. Second, we aim to capture these data theoretically by drawing on ideas in Whelpton (1995, 2002), Høyem (2018), and Fischer (2018). We argue that event control is obligatory control (OC) (applying OC diagnostics described by Landau 2013) that is licensed under Agree between PRO and a Davidsonian event argument in the matrix clause, which functions as antecedent.

References: • Fischer, S. 2018. Locality, control, and non-adjoined islands. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 3(1). 82. 1–40. • Høyem, I. 2018. Adjunktkontrolle im Deutschen. *Linguistische Berichte* 255. 347–395 • Landau, I. 2013. *Control in generative grammar*. Cambridge: CUP • Whelpton, M. 2002. Locality and control with infinitives of result. *NLS* 10. 167–210.

Acquiring adjunct control without using it

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:30–10:00 SFG 0150

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AG3

Subject control in non-finite adjuncts as in (1) is observed across languages.

(1) I want a story before PRO going to sleep.

The mechanisms - high attachment and c-command by the next highest NP – are also consistent. Research on the acquisition of adjunct control has generally focused on these specific grammatical components, and when the grammar is acquired [1–7]. This paper considers these components in the context of the linguistic input to ask *how* control in adjuncts is acquired.

High attachment and the relation of c-command by the next highest NP (*the c-command rule*) might be acquired from the input; however, if evidence for these elements is not available in the input, then this suggests that at least some aspects are not learned – an argument from the poverty of the stimulus.

First, attachment height and the c-command rule might be inferred, based on input frequencies. However, children in previous studies have consistently accepted non-adultlike interpretations for adjunct PRO, suggesting that the antecedent of PRO is not a reliable cue for inferences like these.

Another possibility is that children generalize from a similar structure. Generalizing from non-finite complements requires arbitrary speculation about directionality, though, and from finite adjuncts results in the wrong generalizations.

Finally, if the c-command rule is already a general property of null content in non-finite clauses, and if high attachment is simply assumed for all non-finite adjuncts (i.e., not inferred from an input distribution), then only the features which vary cross-linguistically are needed from the input. For example, the realization of finiteness and complementizer form are likely to be overt morphemes and easier to track across multiple frames.

If the acquisition of adjunct control does not involve the adjunct control dependency directly, then this has implications for the possibility of inferring other types of antecedents, regardless of input frequency.

References: • [1] Goodluck, H. 1981. Children's grammar of complement-subject interpretation. In S. Tavakolian (ed.), *Language acquisition and linguistic theory,* 139–166. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. • [2] Hsu, J., H. S. Cairns & R. Fiengo. 1985. The development of grammars underlying children's interpretation of complex sentences. *Cognition* 20(1). 25–48. • [3] McDaniel, D., H. Cairns & J. Hsu. 1991. Control principles in the grammars of young children. *Language Acquisition* 1(4). 297–335. • [4] Cairns, H., D. McDaniel, J. R. Hsu & M. Rapp. 1994. A longitudinal study of principles of control and pronominal reference in child English. *Language* 70(2). 260–288. • [5] Broihier, K. & K. Wexler. 1995. Children's acquisition of control in temporal adjuncts. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 26. 193–220. • [6] Adler, A. 2006. *Syntax and discourse in the acquisition of adjunct control.* PhD dissertation, MIT • [7] Gerard, J., J. Lidz, S. Zuckerman & M. Pinto. 2018. The acquisition of adjunct control is colored by the task. *Glossa* 3(1).

The null subject of *para*-infinitives in spoken Spanish – between OC and NOC

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Donnerstag,
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AG3

Introduction: Adjunct control has been a puzzling class within binary classifications of control structures into Obligatory and Nonobligatory Control (see Landau 2013). In this paper, we concentrate on one type of adjunct control– *para*-infinitives – in spoken Spanish. It has been observed that these infinitives allow overt, nominative subjects (see Hernanz 1999). If *overt* [+R(eferential)] subjects are possible, the question is whether [+R] *null* subjects are sanctioned. **Data and methodology:** We extracted sentences containing *para*-infinitives out of the *sgscorpus* (Spanish) (www.sgscorpus.com) – a corpus of spontaneous speech, elicited in a game task – using the syntax annotation in Adli (2011). We conducted a detail analysis, examining whether infinitives exhibit local antecedent control and, if there was no local explicit antecedent, whether they exhibit speaker/hearer/topic or arbitrary control. Furthermore, we examined whether there was an intentional relation between the matrix and embedded events or not. **Preliminary results:** The first results indicate that (obligatory) control by an explicit matrix subject antecedent is by far the most frequent strategy. However, even though considerably less frequent, examples can be found that exhibit arbitrary control, speaker control and superficially very similar structures can exhibit hearer- or topic control. We will examine in how far contextual and interpretative factors determine different types of control relations. **Towards an analysis:** The data suggests that the null subject of *para*-infinitives has a hybrid status with respect to OC and NOC. We argue that referential linking possibilities of null subjects are determined by the (un-)availability of left-peripheral linkers in C in combination with the ϕ-properties of T: apart from projecting internal logophoric coordinates (Bianchi 2003, Landau 2015), *para*-infinitives project external speaker/hearer (S/H) coordinates in the left periphery, differently from complement OC structures. However, differently from finite clauses, and similarly to OC infinitives, *para*-infinitives do not contain (abstract) ‘referential’ AGR and, thus, S/H-coordinates fail to receive a [±]-value in the syntax so that reference of the D-subject must be fully recovered from discourse via (external) C-linking. Preference for local reference linking in arises as a consequence of economy, which can be overridden by discourse factors.

References: • sgscorpus (Spanish). www.sgscorpus.com • Adli, A. 2011. *Gradient acceptability and frequency effects in information structure: A quantitative study of Spanish, Catalan, and Persian*. Habilitationsschrift. Universität Freiburg. • Bianchi, V. 2003. On finiteness as logophoric anchoring. In J. Guéron & L. Tasmowski (eds.), *Temps et point de vue/Tense and point of view*, 213–246. Paris: Nanterre. • Hernanz, M. L. 1999. El infinitive. In I. Bosque & V. Demonte (eds.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. 2197–2356. Madrid: Espasa. • Landau, I. 2013. *Control in generative grammar: A research companion*. Cambridge: CUP. • Landau, I. 2015. *A two-tiered theory of control*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Backward control, long distance Agree and the nature of nominative Case

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:15–11:45
SFG 0150

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In this paper, we show that a set of phenomena involving long distance dependencies in control and raising environments cluster together revealing the signature property of null-subject languages: null subject languages (NSLs) have T with interpretable φ-features which are not deleted after checking and valuation, thus being able to form Long Distance chains via Agree (cf. Ura 1994). By focusing on Greek, we argue that backward control (BC) is actually an instance of long distance Agree (LDA) related to the non-local assignment of NOM, made possible via long distance chain formation.

As has been discussed in the literature, Greek lacks infinitives and has Obligatory Raising (OR), Obligatory Control (OC) and Obligatory ECM in subjunctives introduced by the particle *na*. We argue that these phenomena take place in a subset of environments usually showing raising, OC and ECM in languages with infinitives, namely when the embedded Tense is simultaneous with the matrix Tense and cannot be modified by an independent temporal adverb. This is realized as present imperfective morphology. By contrast, when embedded T is non-simultaneous with matrix T and is realized as present perfective, agreement between NOM and the matrix verb may be disrupted, resulting in non-obligatory Raising (NOR) and Control (NOC). In the literature, simultaneous Tense has been analyzed as null/no Tense (Wurmbrand 2014), leading to the conclusion that Greek OR and OC show an obligatory relationship between a matrix T bearing interpretable features $\mathbf{T_{[iT]}}$ and NOM across an embedded $\mathbf{T_{[uT]}}$ bearing uninterpretable features as in (1), manifested as agreement between one NOM and many fully agreeing T heads, contra Baker (2008).

(1) $[_{TP1}\ \ T_{\mathbf{[iT]\text{-}\varphi k}}\qquad [_{TPu}\ na\ \ T_{\mathbf{[uT]\text{-}\varphi k}} \ldots\ldots [_{vP}\ NOM_{\mathbf{\varphi k}} \ldots\ldots\ ]]]$

BC and LDA relate to the non-local assignment of NOM in Greek combined with the EPP as analyzed in Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998): NOM can be assigned long distance (if there is **no intervening adjectival agreement**: Greek lacks the counterpart of *The children are likely to win*); since V-Raising satisfies the EPP, NOM may remain in situ. This is not so in ECM as ACC must be assigned locally.

Control is Agree: Evidence from Korean

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:45–12:15
SFG 0150

AG3

Overview We revisit Korean control data which poses a challenge for the M(ovement) T(heory) of C(ontrol) (Hornstein 1999), and a PRO-based analysis (Chomsky 1982), respectively. **Puzzles** (A) The overtness of the controllee suspends its OC properties. (B) Rightward movement of the controller disrupts the OC relation. (C) Backward Control cannot be observed in finite complements. What is intriguing is (i) how the null subject is interpreted like PRO in one case, but like *pro* in the other, and (ii) how the subject's overtness relates to OC. It poses a problem for an MTC; given A-chain formation, there is no way for the overtness of the subject to disrupt the OC relation. Note that the OC property is retained only if the controllee alternates with an overt pronoun and is emphatic. MTC is incompatible with this point, given that the controllee and controller positions are related via movement, and that scrambling does not alter these positions *per se*. Lastly, BC itself is a problem for classical PRO theory, as PRO c-commanding NP would violate Condition C. **Analysis** We propose a derivational route to control which can accommodate the puzzling facts under the *u*Pro account (McFadden & Sundaresan 2016). The matrix verb merges its own object, which then either binds the embedded null subject (OC PRO) or accidentally corefers with it (*pro*). Since null subjects in finite complements are interpreted like OC PRO under control verbs, but like *pro* under non-control verbs, Korean finite CPS under control verbs must still be reduced and dependent on the matrix verb to some extent (Landau 2004). The dependence of control complements is reflected in their default lack of the XP hosting the Aboutness operator, such that binding by the matrix object is forced and *u*Pro is spelled out as silent OC PRO. The restrictive reference of subjects of control complements can be obviated by the presence of projections like FOCP, which bear an Aboutness Topic operator. Along this line, rightward movement of controller fails to value *u*Pro due to the requirement of precede-and-command (Bruening 2018). Backward Control is a side product, only permitted in non-finite CPs due to the operation of structure removal (Müller 2017, Pesetsky 2016) as a last resort.

References: • McFadden, T. & S. Sundaresan. 2016. Failure to control is not a failure: It's pro. In C. Hammerly & B. Prickett (eds.), *Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, 1–10. GLSA, Amherst.

Infinite and finite control in Mam

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
SFG 0150

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AG3

In this talk, I will outline two different types of control in the Mayan language Mam. I suggest that the two constructions exploit two different routes of control, which Landau (2008) introduced as *PRO-Control* and *C-Control.*

In the first construction, the matrix predicate selects an infinitival complement, as seen in (1). The lack of agreement in the selected complement indicates that this construction is an instance of *PRO-Control.*

(1)	*Ma-tz'$_i$-ok-n-q'o-ɣn-a*	[PRO$_{i,*j}$	*tx'eema-l*	*siiɣ*].
	ASP-2SG.ABS-DIR-1SG.ERG-give-DIR-2SG		cut-INF	firewood
	'I made you cut firewood'			

With the predicates *aj* – 'to want' and *ky'iɣ* – 'not to want', a different control construction has to be chosen as the infinitival control construction is ungrammatical, as seen in (2).

(2)	**Ø-w$_i$-aj(b'el)-a*	[PRO$_{i,*j}$	*aq'na-al*].
	3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-want-1SG		work-INF
	intended: 'I want to work.'		

Instead, the matrix predicate chooses a complement with an inflected verb form. In contrast to the construction in (1), the selected complement in (3) shows overt agreement. This suggests that the control relation is mediated via C thus exhibiting an instance of *C-Control.*

(3)	*Ø-w$_i$-aj(b'el)-a*	[PRO$_{i,*j}$	*chin-aq'naa-n-a*].
	3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-want-1SG		1SG.ABS-work-ANTIPASS-1SG
	roughly: 'I want that I work.'		

In this talk, I will discuss the empirical patterns of both constructions and potential consequences for theoretical approaches to control.

References: • England, N. 1983. *A grammar of Mam, a Mayan language.* University of Texas Press. • Landau, I. 2008. Two routes of control: Evidence from case transmission in Russian. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 26(4). 877–924.

On DP/PRO alternation, evaluative adjectives and embedded infinitival clauses in Russian

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The paper contributes to the ongoing discussion of DP/PRO alternation. I examine properties of Russian evaluative adjectival predicates that embed a non-finite clause (*važno* 'important', *interesno* 'interesting', etc.) and argue that (i) sentences with these predicates exhibit both raising and control properties, and (ii) the 'raising' is not real and the embedded DP subject can stay within the non-finite clause, thus alternating with PRO. I propose the following generalization: an overt embedded referential subject is allowed only when there is no potential controller in the matrix clause.

Evaluative predicates in Russian are short forms of adjectives exhibiting default agreement when a clausal subject is selected; they often co-occur with an optional dative DP/dl'a 'for' PP. Constructions with an evaluative predicate and a non-finite clause exhibit control properties (partial coreference between a matrix dative DP and embedded PRO is allowed) and can pass standard raising diagnostics (idiom chunk and embedded passivization tests). I suggest that in such sentences a matrix dative DP that appears on the surface corresponds either to an optional matrix Attitude holder ('control' cases) or the subject of an embedded non-finite clause ('raising' cases) (1).

(1) $[_{\text{ApplP}}$ [Attitude holder] $[_{\text{Appl'}}$ Appl^0 $[_{\text{PredP}}$ $[_{\text{CP}}$ Subject …]$[_{\text{Pred'}}$ Pred^0 $[_{\text{AdjP}}$ …]]]]]

However, the DP/PRO alternation within a non-finite clause is not free: the embedded subject cannot be overt if a matrix Attitude holder is present. The following generalization is proposed: an embedded overt referential subject is allowed only when there is no potential DP controller available within a higher clause. I further suggest a formal explanation for this dependency, building upon Landau's (2015) logophoric control analysis for attitude predicates. In the full version of this paper I also consider and dismiss other potential analysis for the presented restriction.

Control in *se*-‘passives’ in Romanian

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 14:15–14:45 SFG 0150

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AG3

We discuss control out of impersonal passives in Romanian. The data constitute a prima facie problem for Schäfer & Pitteroff’s (2017) generalization that implicit control in passive configurations is possible cross-linguistically, at least with attitude verbs. In Romanian, as copular passives generally disallow clausal subjects, the generalization can only be tested with se-passives, which cannot, however, take active infinitive complements (Dobrovie-Sorin 1998):

(1) **S-a* *{promis/început}* *a* *merge* *la* *cumpărături*
SE-has promised/begun to go to shopping

Such examples become acceptable if se is replicated on the embedded verb:

(2) *S-a* *{promis /început}* *a* *se* *construi* *mai multe* *școli*
SE-has promised/begun to SE build more schools

In (2) control must be at stake: aspectuals like *începe* ‘begin’ disallow disjoined subjects, and a raising analysis is ruled out by the absence of agreement with the theme. (2) cannot be an instance of voice restructuring (Wurmbrand & Shimamura 2017): this would predict that personal double passives are allowed, contrary to fact. Analyzing (2) as involving a subject clause (and no control) does not explain the strong preference for se-passives in this configuration (a corpus search revealed that copular passives in the embedded clause are extremely rare).

Our proposal is that se-passives differ from copular passives by projecting an (arbitrary) null external argument in SpecvP, a proposal already made for independent reasons: restrictions on possible themes, due to intervention of the null external argument in case licensing (Giurgea 2016), allowance of definite inalienable possessees, which rely on subject control (MacDonald & Maddox 2018). We propose that the control relation in (2) obtains between the PRO external arguments of the matrix and embedded verbs, via Agree (cf. Landau 2015). Therefore, the {+human +ARB} feature of matrix PRO must also occur on the embedded PRO, requiring the use of the se-Voice.

References: • Dobrovie-Sorin, C. 1998, Impersonal *se* constructions in Romance and the passivization of unergatives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29(3). 399–438. • MacDonald, J. & M. Maddox. 2018. Passive *se* in Romanian and Spanish. A subject cycle. *Journal of Linguistics* 54. 389–427; • Schäfer, F. & M. Pitteroff. 2017. Implicit arguments under control. Talk given at the Cambridge Workshop on Voice, May 22–24. • Wurmbrand, S. & K. Shimamura. 2017. The features of the voice domain: Actives, passives, and restructuring. In R. d’Alessandro, I. Franco & A. Gallego (eds.), *The verbal domain*, 179–204. Oxford: OUP.

Control from inside: Evidence from Japanese

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
11:30–12:00
SFG 0150

AG3

Traditional assumptions hold that the reference of complement control PRO is dependent on the reference of a higher argument and that the lexical properties of the embedding predicate are mostly responsible for controller determination. Against such views, this study argues for a possibility that the reference of certain instances of PRO (PC PRO) derives from its own internal structure.

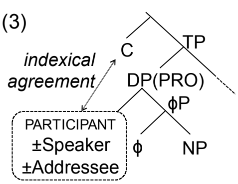
The insight comes from Japanese control data in which certain modal particles (e.g. promissive, imperative and exhortative particles) appear in the complement (see Madigan 2008 for similar observations for Korean):

(1) *Hanako$_i$-wa [PRO$_{i+}$ roku-ji-ni atumar-**u**-to]* ***it-ta***.
Hanako-Top [six-o'clock-at gather-Prm-C$_{to}$] say-Past
'Hanako$_i$ said PRO$_{i+}$ to gather at six.' Prm=promissive
PRO= Hanako + others (excluding Hanako's addressee)

(2) *Hanako$_i$-wa [PRO$_{j+}$ roku-ji-ni atumar-**e**-to]* ***it-ta***.
Hanako-Top [six-o'clock-at gather-Imp-C$_{to}$] say-Past
'Hanako$_i$ said PRO$_{j+}$ to gather at six.' Imp=imperative
PRO= Hanako's addressee + others (excluding Hanako)

In (1) and (2), the matrix predicate is kept constant (*iu* 'say'). Both give rise to partial control. However, the reference options for PRO vary by the embedded modality. The interpretation of PRO seems to arise from the same structural reasons that derive the interpretation of root promissive and imperative (and some other) subjects.

Indexical agreement as in (3) is proposed as the source of the relevant subject construals and modal morphology. The key is to look inside the structure of the subject/PRO, which is taken to be equivalent to the structure of first/second person pronouns (Harley & Ritter 2002, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002). The gap in reference of the PARTICIPANT and the entire DP(PRO) accounts for partial control; not just any partial control, but more specific kind of partial control in which certain discourse participant must be included in or excluded from the reference of PRO. The proposal may be extended to English partial control phenomena and beyond.

(3)


References: • Déchaine, R.-M. & M. Wiltschko. 2002. Decomposing pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33. 409–442. • Harley, H. & E. 2002. Person and number in pronouns: A feature-geometric analysis. *Language* 78. 482–526. • Madigan, S. 2008. Obligatory split control into exhortative complements in Korean. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39. 493–502.

Control, covert modality, and recovery strategies in Hungarian

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:00–12:30 SFG 0150

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AG3

I argue that what seem to be monoclausal sentences with only postverbal focus in Hungarian (1) have a biclausal underlying structure, which resembles the backward control construction in (2) discussed extensively in Szabolcsi (2009).

(1) *Nem esz-ek csak én leves-t.*
not eat-1SG only I.NOM soup-ACC
'I am not **willing to/going to** be the only one who eats soup.'

(2) *(Péter) nem akart [csak ő men-ni bus-szal*]
Peter not want-PST.3SG only he/she-NOM go-INF bus-with
'Peter didn't want to be the only one to take the bus.'

One of Szabolcsi's arguments for assuming that the focused DP is in the left periphery of the infinitival clause is based on the claim that postverbal focus in Hungarian is contingent on the presence of a preverbal focus, and, since in sentence (2) there is no preverbal focus present in the finite clause, the focused DP must belong to the preverbal domain of the infinitive. In order to identify the domain the focused DP in (1) can be in the left periphery of, I propose the following underlying representation:

(3) $[_{CP}\ [_{NegP}$ not eat$_i$ -1SG $[$Mod$_{vol}$P $t_i\ [_{CP}\ [_{FocP}$ only $I_j\ t_i\ ]$ … $[_{vP}\ t_j\ t_i$ soup$]]]]]$

Arguments for this come from general properties of Hungarian including Szabolcsi's argument and the modal interpretation of the sentence indicated in (1). The sentence-type in (1) has ordering restrictions in the postverbal domain unexpected in Hungarian with its freedom of postverbal word order elsewhere. This observation also suggests that we are dealing with a more structured domain after the matrix verb, which I argue to be a non-finite clause with a left periphery whose verb has undergone movement to the matrix clause to support a zero bound volitional modal.

The proposed analysis accounts for lesser understood properties of at least two further patterns of Hungarian as well: (i) circumstantial modality root infinitives with finite properties (Bartos 2002); (ii) modal existential wh-constructions (Šimik 2011).

References: • Bartos, H. 2002. Root infinitives. In I. Kenesei & S. Péter (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian* 8. 13–38. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. • Šimik, R. 2011. *Modal existential wh-constructions*. Utrecht: LOT. • Szabolcsi, A. 2009. Overt nominative subjects in infinitival complements in Hungarian. In M. den Dikken & R. Vago (eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian* 11. 251–276. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Anti-control verbs, arbitrary control and argument-structural inertia

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12:30–13:00
SFG 0150

AG3

In this talk, we investigate quantitative and qualitative aspects of the alternation between *zu 'to'*+infinitive constructions and finite *dass 'that'* clauses in object function. We focus on the so-called anti-control verbs like *anzweifeln* 'doubt', *begrüßen* 'appreciate' (cf. Wöllstein 2015). Due to their syntacto-semantic properties they do not allow infinitival complements in the unmarked case: subject control is excluded semantically while object control is excluded due to the lack of an – explicit or implicit – nominal object argument. There are however two kind of exceptions. Firstly, we will show that verbs like *protestieren* 'protest' quite often select an infinitival complement with arbitrary control. We suppose that this possibility is due to the fact that their infinitival complement corresponds to a prepositional clause. Secondly, a subject controlled infinitive complement would be possible with anti-control verbs if there is a control shift – like a passive in the complement clause. Based on a corpus study we will, however, show that even in the case of a passivized complement the *dass* 'that' clause is highly preferred to the infinitive. We will discuss the question of whether this is due to a general tendency of control structures to avoid specific, 'complicated' constellations (for a similar approach cf. Brandt in prep.) or to a general tendency of lexical items to retain their normal argument structure patterns (called *argument-structural inertia* in Rapp et al. 2017). To decide upon this question we conduct a second corpus study whose aim is to find out whether control structures with a passivized infinitival complement are generally avoided (which would be an argument for a structure based account) or whether they are only avoided with anti-control verbs (which would be an argument for the significance of argument-structural intertia).

References: • Brandt, P. in prep. Alternation von *zu*- und *dass*-Komplementen. In E. Fuß, M. Konopka & A. Wöllstein (Hgg.), *Grammatik im Korpus*. Tübingen: Narr. • Rapp, I., E. Laptieva, A. Koplenig & S. Engelberg. 2017. Lexikalisch-semantische Passung und argumentstrukturelle Trägheit – eine korpusbasierte Analyse zur Alternation zwischen *dass*-Sätzen und *zu*-Infinitiven in Objektfunktion. *Deutsche Sprache* 3(17). 193–221. • Wöllstein, A. 2015. Grammatik – explorativ. Hypothesengeleitete und -generierende Exploration variierender Satzkomplementationsmuster im standardnahen Deutsch. In L. M. Eichinger (Hg.), *Sprachwissenschaft im Fokus. Positionsbestimmungen und Perspektiven*, 93–120. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Attitudinal object control predicates

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–14:00
SFG 0150

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AG3

With the systematic exception of manipulative predicates such as *force*, most object control predicates belong to the class of attitudinal clause-embedding predicates. According to Landau (2015), attitudinal control predicate display logophoric control (in contrast to predicative control found with non-attitudinal control predicates); the controllee (PRO) in object control is interpreted *de te* – a generalization that is valid for the classes of object control predicates considered by Landau (e.g., the class of directive speech act predicates). However, not all classes of attitudinal object control (necessarily) exhibit a *de te* reading. Two classes are of special interest: predicates that denote the attribution of activities or attitudes to the object referent (e.g., German *vorwerfen* 'reproach', *nachsagen* 'say of sb that', *beschuldigen* 'accuse of sth') and predicates of critique/praise, which may display a factive reading in certain uses. Some predicates of these two classes exhibit a *de te* reading (e.g. *vorwerfen*), many others allow for non-*de-te* readings, in which an aboutness relation between the matrix object and the clausal argument is established. Some predicates resemble prolepsis predicates (e.g. *nachsagen*), however, differ in their argument realization from prototypical prolepsis cases in German. These two predicate classes have been analyzed as instances of "inherent control" (Stiebels 2010), requiring argument identification with all clausal complement types. However, a closer look reveals that only predicates that do not induce a RESP-relation with the clausal argument (in the sense of Farkas 1988) show strict finite control as well. Predicates that induce a RESP-relation allow for "mediated control".

In my talk I will focus on the control properties of these two little-discussed predicate classes, demonstrating differences between the predicates (e.g., in terms of control shift and mediated control). I will also discuss cross-linguistic differences/ commonalities for a small convenience sample.

References: • Farkas, D. F. 1988. On obligatory control. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 11. 27–58. • Landau, I. 2015. *A two-tiered theory of control*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. • Stiebels, B. 2010. Inhärente Kontrollprädikate im Deutschen. *Linguistische Berichte* 224. 391–440.

Arbeitsgruppe 4

Encoding varieties of topic and focus: The role of contrast and information status

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Raum: SFG 1010

Workshop description

This talk introduces into the workshop topic. It examines morpho-syntactic and prosodic phenomena where the notions *contrast* and *givenness* seem to play a role. Both contrast and givenness (or newness) have been observed to correlate with certain syntactic positions and with certain phonological markings. For instance, contrastive focus has often been associated with a left peripheral position in the clause, whereas new information focus does not appear in the left periphery. Contrastive topics, on the other hand, seem to be differentiated from non-contrastive topics primarily by intonation. These observations give rise to several questions. For instance, what is the precise semantic-pragmatic contribution of *contrast* to contrastive foci and/vs. contrastive topics, and why do languages choose different marking strategies for contrast in these two contexts? Are these observations generalizable across languages?

Similar questions can be asked for the information-structural category *givenness*. What morpho-syntactic and/or prosodic reflexes of *(degrees of) givenness* can be observed in relation to topicality or focus? Are there principled differences between givenness marking on topics vs. on foci? Furthermore, givenness also seems to impact morphosyntactic/prosodic aspects of the utterance that are not associated with information structure. For instance, it has been argued that *givenness* plays a role in apparently optional agreement processes, more specifically in object agreement (*secondary topicality,* Dalrymple & Nikoleva 2011). In Manyika, a Bantu language, the optional object marker on the verb occurs only when the object is interpreted as *given* (Bax & Diercks 2012). An interesting question that arises here is whether contrast can have a similar syntactic effect, i.e. whether it can induce the modification of an element that is not itself marked for contrast.

References: • Bax, A. & M. Diercks. 2012. Information structure constraints on object marking in Manyika. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 30(2).185–202. • Dalrymple, M. & I. Nikolaeva. 2011. *Objects and information structure*. Cambridge: CUP. • Frascarelli, M. & R. Hinterhölzl. 2007. Types of topics in German and Italian. In K. Schwabe & S. Winkler (eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form*, 87–116. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Hartmann, K. & M. Zimmermann. 2007. In place – out of place? Focus strategies in Hausa. In K. Schwabe & S. Winkler (eds.), *On information structure, meaning and form*, 365–403. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Repp, S. 2016. Contrast. In C. Féry & S. Ishihara (eds.), *Oxford handbook of information structure*, 270–290. Oxford: OUP.

The greater the contrast, the greater the potential: On the effects of contrastive focus in syntax

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 14:15–15:15 SFG 1010

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The most debated syntactic reflex that is typically associated with contrast is the movement of a contrastive constituent to a dedicated, left-peripheral position. For Italian and Spanish, it has been claimed that focus fronting (FF) must be sanctioned by a contrastive interpretation of the focus, while non-contrastive focus generally occurs postverbally (see, e.g., Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998, Belletti 2004). Only sentences with a postverbal focus are thus judged as pragmatically felicitous answers to the corresponding wh-questions:

(1) Q: 'Who bought the records?' (Spanish)
A: (# ***Una muchacha***) *los* *compró* ***una*** ***muchacha***.
a girl them.ACC bought a girl

(2) Q: 'Who spoke?'
A: (# ***Gianni***) *ha* *parlato* ***Gianni***. (Italian)
Gianni has spoken Gianni

Some scholars have however recently reported different views and experimental data, showing that non-contrastive preverbal foci are indeed accepted by native speakers in answers to wh-questions.

In this paper, I argue that a solution to this problem can be found if the binary distinction between contrastive and non-contrastive focus is abandoned, and other types of focus are identified. The different interpretations of focus arise from the way the set of alternatives is pragmatically exploited (Krifka 2007, Cruschina 2012), giving rise to a contextually open set (*information focus*), unexpectedness with respect to more likely alternatives (*mirative focus*) or a correction of given alternatives (*corrective focus*). In Italian and Spanish, FF is possible not only with 'greatest' and most explicit case of contrast (i.e. corrective focus), but also with contrast against expectations (i.e. mirative focus), while it is not accepted in the absence of contrast (i.e. information focus). Mirative foci can be fronted in answers to wh-questions, thus explaining the empirical controversies observed above. Following Bianchi et al. (2016), I then argue that FF is in fact triggered not by contrast *per se*, but by the conventional implicature that is associated with certain types of focus.

References: • Belletti, A. 2004. Aspects of the low IP area. In L. Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP. The cartography of syntactic structures 2*, 16–51. Oxford: OUP. • Bianchi V., G. Bocci & S. Cruschina. 2016. Focus fronting, unexpectedness, and evaluative implicatures. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 9(3). 1–54. • Cruschina, S. 2012. Discourse-related features and functional projections. Oxford: OUP. • Krifka, M. 2007. Basic notions of information structure. In C. Féry et al. (eds.), *Interdisciplinary studies on information structure 6,* 13–56. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag. • Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer. • Zubizarreta, M.-L. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

The C-field of (free) subjunctives in Romanian and instances of complementizer deletion

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 1010

AG4

1. Overview: Rizzi (1997) showed the LP to host both Top and Foc in a strict hierarchy. More recently, the free iteration of Topics and the strictly contrastive import of Focus Fronting (FF) have come under closer scrutiny. Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl (2007) identify three (ordered) types of Topics, distinguished phonologically and syntactically. FF yields two 'flavours': corrective contrast and mirative import (Bianchi et al. 2015, 2016, a.o.), analyzed as conventional implicatures syntactically encoded in the CP.

In Romanian, subjunctive is marked via a particle, *să*, as well as a complementizer, *ca*. Most analyses place *să* in (the highest) MP (1). *Ca* and *să* mustn't be adjacent in complements, so *ca* is only overt with active LPs.

(1) C_{Force} > (Top > Foc) > C_{Fin}/M_2 > Neg > M_1/[Agr > T] …..
ca *să* *nu* *vină*

2. Aims and Claims: We look at the LP of FSs, focusing on instances of C-deletion. Since *ca* depends on LP material, two subjunctives can be identified: *să*-subjunctives (inert LP) and *ca*-subjunctives (active LP). However, we show that there are *să*-subjunctives with an active LP. Since *ca*-deletion is not uniform, the question is what kind of dislocates allow it. We show that there is a correlation between C-deletion and the semantic import of 'contrast' among alternatives (focal alternatives, comparative likelihood). FF systematically correlates with *ca*-deletion (B_1 vs B_2), possibly a means of discourse-activation: the implicature is grounded to the speaker, not the matrix subject.

(2) A: *Am auzit că Maria vrea să-și ia cățel*.
'I hear that Mary wants to get a puppy.'
B_1: *Nu, nicidecum!* *Vrea* ***PISICĂ*** *să-și* *ia!* (scores 4-5)
no, not at all wants cat SBJV-3S.DAT gets
B_2: " " *Vrea* ***ca*** ***PISICĂ*** *să-și* *ia*! (scores 1-2)
wants that cat SBJV-3S.DAT gets

In Bianchi et al. (2015), the implicature trigger is implemented as the FAI° (Focus-associated implicature), a head which activates a lower FocP, acting as a trigger for movement. For Romanian FSs, the activation of FaiP may interfere with the lexicalization of Force. Thus, *ca*-deletion would be motivated by the need that the implicature be 'visible' to the matrix C, where the speaker's coordinates are located (Giorgi 2010).

(Selected) References: • Bianchi, V. 2015. Focus fronting and the syntax/semantics interface. In U. Shlonsky (ed.), *Beyond the functional sequence,* 60–72. Oxford: OUP. • Bianchi, V., G. Bocci, S. Cruschina. 2016. Focus fronting, unexpectedness, and evaluative implicatures. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 9(3). 1–54.

The contrast marker *=i/=ɪ* in Tima (Niger-Congo)

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 16:30–17:00 SFG 1010

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Tima (Niger-Congo, Sudan) makes use of a number of different information structural devices: the sentence-initial position as the default position for topics, morphological focus marking (for constituents) and, additionally, the contrast marker *=i/=ɪ*. The latter expresses a contrast, or highlights an oppositional relation, between two or more similar enough elements chosen from a set of alternatives (explicit or implicit). Contrast marking in Tima is of a morphological nature and we show that it is compatible with (but independent of) both topic and focus functions. In addition, *=i/=ɪ* is involved in structuring discourse by highlighting relationships between different discourse referents.

In (1), granaries from the past and those from today are contrasted. The referents are made semantically independent (and can thus become alternatives, cf. Umbach (2004)) by their distinct modifiers which both bear contrastive marking.

(1) Tima (Schneider-Blum, primary data)
Iduŋkuduŋ=nʌ *mɪhɪ=**ɪ*** *ɪ-yakɔm=a̪taŋ*
granaries=DEM.PROX ancient=**CONTR** STAT.PL-strong=COMPL
a=yi-nʌ *kuhunʌŋ=**i***
SOURCE=PL-DEM.PROX today=**CONTR**
'These granaries from *former times* are stronger than these from *today/nowadays*.'

Additionally, contrastive marking is used to highlight the relation between different discourse referents; it marks them as similar and opposing elements with respect to their discourse function, i.e. topics of discourse segments.

(2) Tima (Schneider-Blum, primary data)
T̪amaa=na *u=kwʌyʌwu-w=**i*** *ŋkɔ* *nʌŋ,*
talk=DEM.PROX DIR=sausage.tree-EP=**CONTR** COP.SG here 'This is what can be said about the *sausage* tree.'

The core function of the marker *=i/=ɪ* is to oppose referents that form subtypes of the same concept. As such, it may operate on the one hand on a sentence or inter-sentence level, as shown with (1). On the other hand, the Tima marker can also indicate the opposition between two or more referents in a larger discourse segment, as in (2).

References: • Umbach, C. 2004. On the notion of contrast in information structure and discourse structure. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 155–175.

The expression of contrast in Catalan Sign Language (LSC)

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
SFG 1010

AG4

In Catalan Sign Language, foci and topics seem to display the same marking in order to express contrast (Barberà 2015, Zorzi 2018). In this research we aim at describing the different markers involved in the expression of contrast. Contrast in LSC is mainly expressed through a combination of non-manual markers: left and right body leans (bl) and head tilts (ht), plus the use of the opposite sides of the signing space. These markers are always present when there are salient contextually contrasted alternatives, as shown in (1).

(1) $\overline{\text{left\_bl}}$ $\overline{\text{right\_bl}}$

[[GIORGIA]$_T$ [LINGUIST]$_F$]$_x$ [[RAQUEL]$_T$ [INTERPRETER]$_F$]$_y$.

'Giorgia is a LINGUIST and Raquel is an INTERPRETER.'

Moreover, following Umbach (2004), we identify three different subtypes of contrast: i) parallel contrast, which involves contrast due to similarity (common integrator) plus dissimilarity (semantic independence); ii) selective contrast, which involves contrast due to similarity plus dissimilarity, plus contrast due to exclusion; and iii) corrective contrast, which involves contrast due to similarity plus dissimilarity, due to exclusion, and, additionally, a conflict with the expectations of the interlocutor (Destruel & Velleman 2014). All these subtypes of contrast are expressed through the same combination of markers. However, in ii) an additional head nod is found towards the selected alternative, and in iii) a head thrust is added to mark the correction. Our analysis proposes that the different subtypes of contrast identified before correlate with different interpretations in terms of exhaustivity, related to the selection of an alternative, and expectations, related to the correction of an alternative.

References: • Barberà, G. 2015. *The meaning of space in Catalan Sign Language (LSC): Reference, specificity and structure in signed discourse*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. • Destruel, E. & L. Velleman. 2014. Refining contrast: Empirical evidence from the English it-cleft. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 10, 197–214. • Kimmelman, V. 2014. *Information structure in Russian Sign Language and Sign Language of the Netherlands*. PhD Dissertation. University of Amsterdam. • Umbach, C. 2004. On the notion of contrast in information structure and discourse structure. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 155–175. • Vallduví, E. & M. Vilkuna. 1998. On rheme and kontrast. In P. Culicover & L. McNally (eds.), 79-108. San Diego/New York: Academic Press. • Zorzi, G. 2018. *Coordination and gapping in Catalan Sign Language (LSC).* PhD Dissertation. Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

Asymmetry and contrast in coordination in Sign Language of the Netherlands

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
SFG 1010

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Research on spoken languages shows that the structure of coordination is typically determined by the parallel architecture of the conjuncts involved, a constraint that we refer to as the "Parallel Structure Constraint" (PSC) (Lang 1987). Apart from syntactic parallelism, the PSC requires that the conjuncts exhibit the same information structure (IS), i.e. that they are elements of the same focus alternative set (1a).

In this presentation, we address the structure of coordination and the working of the PSC in a sign language (SL), Sign Language of the Netherlands (NGT), using corpus data. To date, coordination in SL has only received little attention, and all examples reported in the literature obey the PSC (e.g. Liddell 1980; Tang & Lau 2012). Data extracted from the Corpus NGT, however, reveal that the PSC may be violated in this language. In (1b), e.g., the order of predicate and argument varies across conjuncts (OV–VO).

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(1) a. * I brought the salad, and the beer, John (brought).

b. CAN CHOOSE WHEN DILEMMA [CI TAKE.OFF] OR [STAY CI]
'(You) can choose when you feel ambivalent, take the CI (= cochlear implant) off or let the CI stay.'

We argue that the word order variation in the second conjunct follows from fronting of a contrastively focused constituent, thus establishing a contrast relation across the conjuncts. As for the structure of coordination, we follow Munn (1993), according to whom the second conjunct is embedded within a Boolean Phrase (BP). The corpus data clearly show that the head of the BP in NGT can be overt, as in (1b), or covert. We further assume the availability of IS-related projections within the left periphery of NGT. Thus, in the coordinated structure in (1b), the second conjunct projects a FocP whose specifier hosts the contrastively focused element (STAY).

We claim that in NGT, IS-related syntactic movement is preferred over prosodic marking in situ, as it is a more salient foregrounding strategy in such complex (bi-clausal) constructions. Apparently, available prosodic IS-marking strategies (e.g. higher and/or larger articulation of a sign; Crasborn & Kooij 2013) do not make IS-related syntactic movement superfluous.

References: • Crasborn, O. & E. van der Kooij. 2013. The phonology of focus in SL of the Netherlands. *Journal of Linguistics* 49. 515–565. • Lang, E. 1987. Parallelismus als universelles Prinzip der Strukturbildung.In E. Lang & G. Sauer (eds.), *Parallelismus und Etymologie*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. • Liddell, S. 1980. *American SL syntax*. The Hague: Mouton. • Munn, A. 1993. *Topics in the syntax and semantics of coordinate structures*. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Maryland. • Tang, G. & P. Lau. 2012. Coordination and subordination. In R. Pfau, M. Steinbach & B. Woll (eds.), *Sign language. An international handbook*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Prosodic phrasing and accentuation in contrastive contexts

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–10:00
SFG 1010

AG4

One of the central issues in prosody research concerns the prosodic marking of focus (Kügler & Calhoun to appear). Typologically, languages employ different strategies such as stress-based cues or phrase-based cues to the effect that broadly focused elements are more prominent, given less prominent, and it is debated whether and how stress and phrase-based cues are related, e.g. whether both affect the pitch register for instance in terms of raising of the register on the focus domain and lowering of the pitch register before and/or after the focus domain. Whether and how 'contrast' adds to the prosodic marking of focus varies across languages. While for German, 'contrast' enhances prosodic cues used for focus marking in a non-categorical manner (Baumann et al. 2006; Féry & Kügler 2008), in Akan (Kwa language, Ghana) only contrastive focus is prosodically marked by pitch register lowering (Kügler & Genzel 2012). In this talk, I will concentrate on the prosodic marking of focus in the post-focal domain. Many languages are said to show post-focal pitch register compression (e.g. Xu 2011). Data on Hindi suggest that post-focal lowering appears to be the necessary cue for contrastive focus perception (Kügler in prep), while for German, an enhancement of prosodic cues on the focused constituent plays this functional role (Kügler & Gollrad 2015). From the perspective of prosodic phrasing, the classical view is that post-focal constituents are deaccented and hence dephrased (e.g. Cruttenden 2006). For German, however, we could show that post-focal constituents are not completely deaccented, but phrased separately (Kügler & Féry 2017). Concerning post-focal register lowering, I will conclude that languages differ in the degree of lowering: partial lowering in Hindi, almost complete lowering in German. This difference relates to the functional load of that domain, which is high in Hindi (post-focal area contributes to focus identification), and low in German (reduced pitch accents do not add any meaning distinction).

References: • Baumann, S., M. Grice & S. Steindamm. 2006. Prosodic marking of focus domains – Categorical or gradient? *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Speech Prosody,* 301–304. • Cruttenden, A. 2006. The deaccenting of given information: A cognitive universal. In G. Bernini & M. L. Schwartz (eds.), *Pragmatic organization of discourse in the languages of Europe*, 311–355: Berlin: Mouton. • Féry, C. & F. Kügler. 2008. Pitch accent scaling on given, new and focused constituents in German. *Journal of Phonetics* 36(4). 680–703. • Kügler, F. in prep. Post-focal compression in Hindi. MS, U Frankfurt. • Kügler, F. & S. Calhoun. to appear. Typology of focus expression: Prosodic encoding of information structure. In C. Gussenhoven & A. Chen (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Prosody*. Oxford: OUP. • Kügler, F. & C. Féry. 2017. Postfocal downstep in German. *Language and Speech* 60. 260–288. • Kügler, F. & S. Genzel. 2012. On the prosodic expression of pragmatic prominence: The case of pitch register lowering in Akan. *Language and Speech* 55. 331–359. • Kügler, F. & A. Gollrad. 2015. Production and perception of contrast. *Frontiers in Psychology* 6(1254). 1–18. • Xu, Y. 2011. Post-focus compression: Cross-linguistic distribution and historical origin. *The 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, 152–155.

Focus realization in the native Spanish of monolingual and bilingual speakers

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 10:00–10:30 SFG 1010

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AG4

In this paper, we shed new light on the question of how narrow contrastive and information focus is realized in Castilian Spanish and we show that monolingual native speakers and German-Spanish bilingual speakers differ in their prosodic and syntactic strategies.

Background: The theoretically oriented literature suggests that information focus must be realized rightmost, while stress shift is possible for contrastive focus – next to syntactic structures such as clefting or fronting (Zubizarreta 1998). Experimentally-oriented studies suggest that stress shift can be used for both types of focus (Muntendam 2009, Gabriel 2010, Leal et al. 2018). However, as already argued in Feldhausen & Vanrell (2014, 2015), this apparent discrepancy can often be reduced to diatopic differences, since the above-mentioned studies did not consider the same varieties of Spanish. By considering the same variety as Zubizarreta (1998), our experimental study supports the findings of Feldhausen & Vanrell (2014, 2015) and extends them by including German-Spanish bilinguals (living in Germany).

Findings: Based on data from a production test designed to elicit different focus readings (narrow informational and contrastive focus on the subject and (in)direct objects) in the semi-spontaneous speech of 12 speakers of Central-Peninsular Spanish, our study reveals five main findings:

(a) Monolingual speakers realize information focus by different strategies (e.g., clefting, p-movement), but stress shift is not a relevant option – in contrast to Muntendam 2009, Gabriel 2010, Leal et al. 2018;
(b) Bilingual speakers, in turn, realize both types of focus almost always by stress shift, and the pitch accent is predominantly realized by L+H*;
(c) Cleft constructions are used by monolinguals for both focus types even though there are certain preferences: (inverted) pseudo-clefts are favored for neutral focus, whereas simple clefts are preferred for contrastive focus;
(d) Focus does not have to bear always sentential stress: in clefts, prosodic alignment can be a sufficient correlate of focus (supporting Feldhausen & Vanrell 2014, 2015);
(e) Monolinguals typically realize the pitch accents by L+H* for non-final focused constituents and L* for final focused constituents.

References: • Feldhausen, I. & Vanrell, M. 2014. Prosody, focus and word order in Catalan and Spanish. *Proc. 10th ISSP*, Köln (Germany), 122–125. • Feldhausen, I. & Vanrell, M. 2015. Oraciones hendidas y marcación del foco estrecho en español. *RILI* 13(2). 39–60. • Gabriel, C. 2010. On focus, prosody, and word order in Argentinean Spanish. *ReVEL*. 183–222. • Leal, T., Destruel, E. & Hoot, B. 2018. The realization of information focus in monolingual and bilingual native Spanish. *LAB* 8(2). 217–251. • Muntendam, A. 2013. On the nature of cross-linguistic transfer. *BLC* 16(1). 111–131. • Zubizarreta, M. L. 1998. *Prosody, focus, and word order*. MIT Press.

The influence of information status on the prosody of sentence topics

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:15–11:45
SFG 1010

AG4

The aim of this production study on German was to investigate whether differences in the information status of a sentence-initial referent and the type of focus domain the referent is part of influence its prosodic realisation. Our motivation was the unclear status of prenuclear accents: Are they just 'ornamental' (Büring 2007) or do they express meaning differences (e.g. Féry & Kügler 2008)? We hypothesize a positive correlation between the informativeness of a sentence topic and its prosodic prominence.

29 native speakers read out 20 different mini-stories. By varying the second context sentence we designed four conditions rendering the subject argument in the target sentence either *given, accessible, new* or *contrastive* (1).

(1)

Context 1	Nach dem langen Winter freuten sich alle auf ein paar sonnige Stunden im Freien.
Context 2a *given*	Die Nonne kümmerte sich um den Klostergarten.
Context 2b *accessible*	Im Klostergarten blühten die ersten Pflanzen.
Context 2c *new*	Die Sonne schien schon den ganzen Tag und der Schnee war endlich geschmolzen.
Context 2d *contrastive*	Der Mönch hat einen Brombeerstrauch gegossen.
Target	**Die Nonne hat einen Mandelbaum gegossen.**

We found that initial referents were consistently marked by rising prenuclear accents (92%), even on *given* items. Nevertheless, results show a subtle influence of information status: The *newer* the referent the wider the range and the steeper the rise on the accent. Surprisingly, however, contrastive topics were mostly produced as prosodically less prominent (flat hat pattern), probably due to the parallel syntactic structure in the double focus context. In sum, the phonetic effects suggest that prenuclear accents in German are to some extent affected by the information structure of an utterance, challenging a strict view on prenuclear accents as being merely 'ornamental'.

References: • Büring, D. 2007. Intonation, semantics and information structure. In G. Ramchand & C. Reiss (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of linguistic interfaces*, 445–474. Oxford: OUP. • Féry, C. & F. Kügler. 2008. Pitch accent scaling on given, new and focused constituents in German. *Journal of Phonetics* 36(4). 680–703.

The phonetics and phonology of fronted focus in Catalan

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:45–12:15 SFG 1010

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It is generally assumed that Catalan resorts to syntactic movement to mark focus. The specific strategies used to alter the canonical word order are apparently determined by focus type. Since informational focus must be in sentence-final position to receive phrasal stress (Chomsky & Halle 1968), the non-focal material has to be either left- or right-dislocated (Vallduví 1991). Other mechanisms such as focus fronting or clefting seem to correspond to a contrastive interpretation (Solà 1990, i.a.). From the phonological point of view, no intonational difference between information and contrastive focus has been reported so far (Borràs-Comes et al. 2014). Interestingly, recent empirical studies on the syntax-prosody interface of focus in Catalan (Vanrell & Fernández Soriano 2013, i.a.) question the claims made both from the syntactic and the prosodic perspective. First, they observe that constituent fronting can also be a very common strategy to mark information focus. Second, they also report that, when constituent fronting is used as syntactic marking, intonation plays a crucial role in distinguishing the information and contrastive focus: fronted information foci are characterized by a low nuclear tone followed by rising-falling boundary tones which extend to the postfocal region (Fig. 1, left panel), whereas fronted contrastive foci are characterized by a rising nuclear tone and postfocal compression (Fig. 1, right panel). In this talk we will present a phonetic and phonological analysis of fronted focus in Catalan. The results show that, from a prosodic point of view, there is evidence in Catalan that the notion of focus is not homogenous and that, as far as prosodic realization of focus is concerned, Romance languages may not differ so much from Germanic languages.

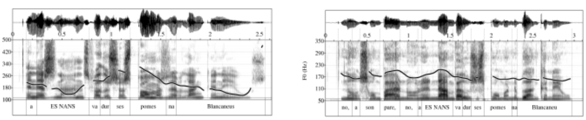

Figure 1. F0 contour of the fronted information focus declarative [*A es nans*]$_{IF}$ *va dur ses pomes na Blancaneus* 'Snow White brought the apples [to the dwarves]$_{IF}$' (left panel) and of the fronted contrastive focus declarative *No, a son pare, no,* [a *es nans*]$_{CF}$ *va dur ses pomes na Blancaneus* 'No, not to her father, no, Snow White brought the apples [to the dwarves]$_{CF}$'.

References: • Borràs-Comes, J., M. del Mar Vanrell & P. Prieto. 2014. The role of pitch range in establishing intonational contrasts. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 44(1). 1–20. • Chomsky, N. & M. Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper & Row. • Solà, J. 1990. L'ordre dels mots en català. Notes pràctiques. Solà, *Lingüística i normativa*, 91–124. Barcelona: Empúries. • Vallduví, E. 1991. The role of plasticiy in the association of focus and prominence. *Proceedings of the Eastern States Conference on Linguistics (ESCOL) 7*, 295–306. • M. del Mar Vanrell & O. Fernández-Soriano. 2013. Variation at the interfaces in Ibero-Romance. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 12. 243–282.

The role of prosody in the processing of prominence in contrastive structures

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
SFG 1010

In Alternative Semantics (e.g. Rooth, 1992) the focused element is assumed to imply an abstract or concrete contrast between alternative interpretations that are available in the discourse context. In many languages this contrast is marked by means of pitch accents, while the background information often lacks an accent.

Furthermore, studies on German have shown that words in contrastive and narrow focus involve greater prosodic prominence in relation to words in non-contrastive and broad focus, respectively. These differences in prosodic prominence marking result from discrete and continuous F0 modifications of accent categories (e.g. Ritter & Grice, 2015; Grice et al., 2017).

However, the *perception* of prominence is not only determined by the auditory input, but may also be affected by expectations derived from language-specific interpretations of pragmatic and phonological context. The present paper is concerned with the role of intonation in building up expectations for subsequent material. Appropriateness and prominence rating tasks using a visual analogue scale and event-related brain potentials are employed to investigate expectation-based effects arising from prosody on the perception and processing of prominence in contrastive structures.

A set-up with two prosodically different pre-contexts for each of 60 test items was designed in which test sentences match or mismatch the prosodically induced expectation. A test sentence expressing surprise or contrast on the proper name (1b), for example, matches (1a) but not (2a). Listeners judged the appropriateness of the test sentences as well as the perceived prominence of each of their words. First experimental results indicate that prosodically induced expectations have a subtle effect on the perception and processing of contrast.

(1) (a) *Wir haben Mi**LE**na getroffen.* (b) *Eigentlich wollten wir **PE**ter treffen.*
‘We met Milena.’ ‘Actually, we wanted to meet Peter.’

(2) (a) *Wir haben Milena ge**TROF**fen.* (b) *Eigentlich wollten wir sie **AN**rufen.*
‘We met Milena.’ ‘Actually, we wanted to call her.’

References: • Grice, M., S. Ritter, H. Niemann & T. B. Roettger. 2017. Integrating the discreteness and continuity of intonational categories. *Journal of Phonetics* 64. 90–107. • Ritter, S. & M. Grice. 2015. The role of tonal onglides in German nuclear pitch accents. *Language and Speech* 58(1). 114–128. • Rooth, M. 1992. A theory of focus interpretation. *Natural Language Semantics* 1. 75–116.

Prosodic restrictions for focus are cues for the realization of spoken French wh-interrogatives in-situ

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
13:45–14:15
SFG 1010

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AG4

Spoken Continental French can employ two different strategies to form information-seeking questions: the wh-word can be fronted (1) or it can appear in-situ (2):

(1) *Où (-est-ce-que) tu vas ?*
where *(q-particle)* you go
'Where are you going?'

(2) *Tu vas où ?*
you go where

There is a substantial body of literature explaining speakers' choice between both, but still no satisfying analysis. The use of information-seeking in-situ questions (2) is said to be subjected to hard presuppositions. There is no consensus in the literature if they are semantic equals. However, newer research (Adli 2015, Baunaz & Patin 2009) point towards a broader spectrum of use for wh-in-situ questions in French without restrictions. The second major claim in the literature is that wh-in-situ conveys some notion of 'givenness' (Hamlaoui 2011, Déprez et al. 2013), namely that the non-wh-part of the question has to be given (in a broad sense, i.e. evoked). In this talk, it is argued that French interrogatives without wh-fronting are semantic equals to fronted questions and are possible out-of-the-blue if they adhere to the right constraints. I.e. you could ask (3) without context:

(3) *Je peux trouver où un tabac ici ?*
I can find where a kiosk here
'Where can I find a kiosk around here?'

In light of the new data contradicting givenness, a new analysis is proposed. The ingredients for non-fronted wh-interrogatives are the following: i) Spoken French marks questions prosodically only, no inversion ii) the wh-word is always stressed in French (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015); iii) French possesses no lexical stress but the position of the word in the sentence determines focus marking (Jun & Fougeron 2002); iv) focus-assignment to the right is preferred (Fery 2001, Hamlaoui 2007), if syntax permits; this leads to information structural changes and v) no stressed constituent before the wh-word. The fifth ingredient is novel in the discussion of wh-in-situ questions in French. I will show its validity with two types of experimental data from perception experiments.

References (selected): • Delais-Roussarie, E. et al. 2015. Intonational phonology of French: Developing a ToBI system for French. In S. Frota & P. Prieto (eds.), *Intonation in Romance,* 63–100. Oxford: OUP**.** • Déprez, V. et al. 2013. The interaction of syntax, prosody, and discourse in licensing French wh- in-situ questions. *Lingua* 124. 4–19. • Féry, C. 2001. Focus and phrasing in French. In C. Féry & W. Sternefeld (eds.), *Audiatur Vox Sapientiae*, 153–181. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. • Hamlaoui, F. 2011. On the role of phonology and discourse in Francilian French wh -questions. *Journal of Linguistics* 47. 129–162.

Encoding information-structure through adverbial placement in written present-day English

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
14:15–14:45
SFG 1010

Since the fixation of English word order to SV(O) in Early Modern English, word-order variation can only be employed to a very limited extent to mark information structure in Present-Day English. The only flexible sentence constituent in unmarked declarative clauses is the adverbial – in particular linking adverbials such as *however* or *therefore* show great flexibility and can be found in initial (1), medial (2), and final position (3):

(1) **However**, I don’t believe […]. (*RL*_Giddens)

(2) The predicted rate of warming, **however**, is uncertain […]. (*RL*_Rees)

(3) We know a few things, **however**. (*RL*_Gawande)

My study focuses on such syntactic patterns, arguing that, in written language, where prosodic devices are not available, the positioning of linking adverbials in different medial positions provides a syntactic strategy used for signaling information structure, encoding contrastive topics and marking focus meanings (for first suggestions, see Greenbaum 1969 and, more recently, Lenker 2014). My corpus material is drawn from the academic-prose part of the *BNC* and the *COCA* and from the *Reith Lectures* of the *BBC*, since linking adverbials in medial position are almost exclusively attested in the register academic prose (Biber et al. 1999: 891).

In my talk, I present the results of a mainly qualitative investigation of distinct medial positions, analyzing topical elements with regard to their (non-)definiteness/anaphoricity. First results show that when contrastive adverbs are placed after the topical element, the topic is mostly realized by a more complex, definite noun phrase (cf. 2), which has enough contrastive material to function as a contrastive topic. In other medial positions, i.e. between auxiliary and verb, the topic is not contrastive and is frequently realized by an anaphoric (personal) pronoun, with the information focus in being on the right periphery of the sentence, which typically presents ‘new information’. Based on the sound files of the *Reith Lectures*, several of these findings will then be discussed against their prosodic reflexes.

References: • Biber, D. et al. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. London: Longman. • Greenbaum, S. 1969. *Studies in English adverbial usage*. London: Longman. • Lenker, U. 2014. Knitting and splitting information: Medial placement of linking adverbials in the history of English. In S. E. Pfenninger et al. (eds.), *Contact, variation, and change in the history of English*, 11–38. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Verbal agreement and the person-agreement split in two North-Eastern Italian varieties

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:00 SFG 1010

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AG4

Cross-linguistically, we observe two different agreement patterns in inversion: (i) full agreement with the postverbal subject, as in English and Standard Italian, and (ii) defective agreement, as in French and several Italian dialects. I will present data from two North-Eastern Italian varieties that display an agreement alternation in inversion, providing evidence against Guasti & Rizzi's (2002) claim that the realization of agreement with postverbal subjects is stable within a language as it is tied to a parametric option. I claim that verbal agreement in inversion of the investigated Italian varieties is a reflex of the thetic/categorical distinction and is determined by the givenness of the postverbal DP. The dialects of Venice and Gazzolo (Verona) display obligatory agreement in SV but (apparent) optionality of agreement in inversion:

(1) *Xè*	*morto*	*/morta*	*na toseta*.	(Gazzolo)
is	died.M.SG	died.F.SG	a girl	

'A girl died.'

Additionally, we observe a person agreement split: postverbal 1st and 2nd person pronouns obligatorily trigger full agreement, while 3rd person pronouns display the agreement alternation. The crucial property for agreement seems to be the givenness of the DP: New and unanchored DPs trigger defective agreement, while given DPs (active and semi-active, according to Lambrecht 1994) trigger full agreement. Building on Sasse's (1987) thetic/categorical distinction, I analyze the defective agreement utterances as thetic and the full agreement utterances as categorical, the decisive property being the givenness of the postverbal DP. Based on Bianchi & Chesi (2014), I assume that the categorical DP moves to a vP-peripheral topic position triggering agreement, while thetic DPs remain vP-internally.

(2) a. thetic: $[_{TP}$ *xè* $[_{AspP}$ *morto*$_i$ $[_{vP}$ $[_{VP}$ t_i *na toseta*]]]]
b. categorical: $[_{TP}$ *xè* $[_{AspP}$ *morta*$_i$ $[_{vP}$ $[_{TopP}$ *na toseta*$_j$] $[_{VP}$ t_i t_j]]]]

Givenness as decisive property for full agreement equally delivers an explanation for the person-agreement asymmetry, since the referents of 1st and 2nd person pronouns are inherently given and thus obligatorily move higher than 3rd person pronouns whose referents are not *per se* given.

References: • Bianchi, V.& C. Chesi. 2014. Subject islands, reconstruction, and the flow of the computation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(4). 525–569. • Guasti, M. T. & L. Rizzi. 2002. Tense and agreement as distinct syntactic positions: Evidence from acquisition. In G. Cinque (ed.), *The functional structure of DP and IP.* Vol. 1, 167–194. Oxford: OUP. • Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form. Topic, focus and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge: CUP. • Sasse, H.-J. 1987. The thetic/ categorical distinction revisited. *Linguistics* 25. 511–580.

The interpretation of syntactic focus variation

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
SFG 1010

In many West-African languages, non-subject focus in questions and answers is expressed in two varying syntactic forms, an *ex situ* form, and an *in situ* form. *Ex situ* focus is syntactically marked in one or several respects involving at least fronting of the focused constituent. *In situ* focus shows the canonical word order and usually no formal indication of focus. This asymmetry has been taken to indicate an information structural split between two types of focus relating *in situ* order to new information, and *ex situ* order to contrastive focus. Whether this semantic distinction is categorical or not, is a matter of controversial debate. Critics of the view that form and interpretation vary along the same coordinates have argued that the correlation between *ex situ* vs. *in situ* focus and contrastive vs. non-contrastive interpretation is only a tendency, and not a 1:1 correlation, e.g. Hartmann & Zimmermann (2007). Zimmermann (2008) and Zimmermann & Onea (2011) propose to derive the 'contrastive' effect of *ex situ* focus from a discourse-semantic strategy that allows the speaker to indicate unexpected discourse moves.

In this talk, I first discuss new data from Dagbani (Mabia), which support the claim in Titov (t.a.) on Akan that the alternative set represented by an *ex situ* focus is interpreted as discourse-salient but not exhaustively. *Ex situ* and *in situ* focus differ wrt. the discourse-salience of the elements from the focus alternative sets. *In situ* focus refers to an open set not expressing any expectation from the part of the speaker wrt. to the state of mind of the hearer. *Ex situ* focus on the other hand, refers to discourse-salient alternatives, which, according to Titov (t.a.), are D-linked. This interpretation is naturally compatible with a uniqueness interpretation of the focus constituent. Exhaustivity is syntactically coded by a cleft structure not regularly used in focus contexts.

Second, I will fathom the possibility of non-matching pairs of *ex situ* and *in situ* questions and answers in some Niger-Congo languages. I show that the sequence *Q in situ - A ex situ* is often blocked. Departing from the assumption that the alternative sets of *in situ* and *ex situ* focus differ in size, I claim that the set denoted by the question must be equal to or contained in the set denoted by the answer. This accounts for the unavailability of the mentioned sequence. I suggest that this may be derived from a presupposition failure.

References: • Hartmann, K. & M. Zimmermann. 2007. Place – out of place: Focus in Hausa. In K. Schwabe & S. Winkler (eds.), *On information structure: Meaning and form,* 365–403. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Titov, E. 2018. Morphosyntactic encoding of information structure in Akan. To appear in *Glossa.* • Zimmermann, M. 2008. Contrastive focus and emphasis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55. 347–360. • Zimmermann, M. & E. Onea. 2011. Focus marking und focus interpretation. *Lingua* 121. 1651–1670.

Exhaustivity marking in German and English: A challenge for L2 acquisition?

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 SFG 1010

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AG4

This paper explores in how far L2 speakers of English with L1 German can acquire exhaustive interpretations. We tested in a study with a forced-choice answer task, whether highly proficient L2 English speakers with L1 German assign exhaustivity interpretations to the construction in (1). 56 participants with a proficiency level of C1 in English were presented with scenes like the one in (1):

(1) Little Johnny is sitting in front of a bowl of fruits wondering what to pick. Strawberries Johnny likes.

This scene is followed by a forced-choice question of the type exemplified in (2), which allows for three possible answers:

(2) Does Johnny also like bananas?
❑ yes ❑ no ❑ don't know

The results from the study clearly indicate that L2 speakers assign an ex-haustivity reading only in under 30% of all cases (whereas native speakers assign exhaustive interpretations in almost 80% of all cases). Thus, highly advanced L2 English speakers with L1 German do not assign an exhaustivity interpretation to topicalization structures. This, we argue, is due to the fact that there is never enough evidence to move from the non-exhaustive interpretation (2) to the exhaustive interpretation of (2) in the interlanguage. Thus, the V2-movement rule that accompanies the topicalization operation in German is not enough to generate an exhaustive reading in this language. This carries over to the topicalized structure in the interlanguage and thus blocks exhaustive readings there as well.

Encoding different types of topics and foci in German Sign Language (*Deutsche Gebärdensprache*). A Cartographic approach to sign language syntax

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–13:30
SFG 1010

Guided by two main hypotheses, (i) the existence of a strict, Cartographic ordering of topic and focus projections in the tradition of Rizzi (1997) and (ii) the Bodily Mapping Hypothesis (Bross & Hole 2017; Bross 2018), this talk gives an overview of the expression and syntactic behavior of different types of topics and foci in German Sign Language (*Deutsche Gebärdensprache*, DGS). I will show that topic and focus phrases are, in line with previous proposals for spoken languages in the Cartographic tradition, strictly ordered in DGS and that topic and focus is expressed non-manually with upper-face articulators as predicted by the Bodily Mapping Hypothesis, i.e., the hypothesis that high scoping categories, to be more precise, categories which are structurally higher than tense, are expressed non-manually in sign languages in an iconic way: the higher an operator is located in the syntactic tree the higher the articulator expressing it will be. Based on data from eleven native signers of DGS from Southern Germany it will be argued that the linear order of signs strictly obeys the following hierarchy (based on Benincà & Poletto 2004; Pittner 2004: 276)

(1) Hanging topic > epistemic frame > temporal frame > locative frame > force > aboutness topic > focus

While moved and base-generated topics generally appear in the left periphery of the clause, contrastive foci appear clause-initially only optionally. The expression of contrastive focus is, somewhat surprisingly, subject to dialectal variation: While signers from the area of Baden-Württemberg raise their brows and move their chin up, signers in Bavaria produce a squint and lower their chin. I will also show that not all combinations of the two topic types are allowed.

References: • Benincà, P. & C. Poletto. 2004. Topic, focus, and V2. Defining the CP sublayers. In: L. Rizzi (ed.), *The cartography of syntactic structures.* Vol. 2: *The structure of CP and IP,* 52–76. Oxford: OUP. • Bross, F. 2018. *The clausal syntax of German Sign Language. A cartographic approach*. Dissertation. University of Stuttgart. • Bross, F. & D. Hole. 2017. Scope-taking strategies and the order of clausal categories in German Sign Language. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, 2(1). 1–30. • Pittner, K. 2004. Where syntax and semantics meet. Adverbial positions in the German middle field. In J. R. Austin, S. Engelberg & G. Rauh (eds.), *Adverbials. The interplay between meaning, context, and syntactic structure*, 253–287. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Rizzi, L. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (eds.), *Elements of grammar. Handbook in generative syntax*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Information structure and syntax interaction: A view from Vietnamese

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:30–14:00
SFG 1010

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AG4

Against the Cartographic view that Vietnamese thì is a topic marker, and that Vietnamese projects a Topic Phrase (Cao 1998; Duffield 2007; Tran 2009; Michaud & Brunelle 2015), the paper argues that the particle is a contrast particle in the spirit of Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012). The exchange in (1) indicates that the particle is appropriate in non-topical contexts, giving rise to the dislocation of the wh-phrase and the focus.

(1) a. *Ai*$_i$ *thì* *Ba* *giúp t*$_i$*?*
who PRT Ba help
'Who will Ba help?'

b. *Nam*$_i$ *thì* *Ba* *giúp t*$_i$
Nam PRT Ba help
'Ba will help Nam.'

Dislocation is also observed in contrastive topic context.

(2) a. *Tôi không biết ai mua trà*$_{CT}$*, nhưng*
I not know who buy tea, but…
'I don't know who bought the tea, but …

b. *Cà phê*$_{iCT}$ *thì Nam mua t*$_i$
coffee PRT Nam buy
'Nam bought the coffee.'

Semantically, the contrast particle yields a contrast component in addition to the ordinary meaning. Specifically, the contrast component of (1a) suggests that there exists a set denoted by the D-linked wh-phrase alternative to the expressed non-D-linked one such that the speaker cannot or does not want to make an enquiry about. The contrast component of the contrastive focus (1b) conveys that there is at least one alternative y to the focus Nam such that it is not the case that the speaker will help y. Likewise, that of the contrastive topic (2b) states that there is at least one alternative such that the speaker cannot make or finds it difficult to make an assertion about.

References: • Duffield, N. 2007. Aspects of Vietnamese clausal structure separating tense from assertion. *Linguistics* 45(4). 765–814. • Neeleman, A. & R. Vermeulen. 2012. The syntactic expression of information structure. In H. van Riemsdijk et al. (eds.), *The syntax of topic, focus, and contrast*,1–38. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Tran, T. 2009. Wh-quantification in Vietnamese. PhD dissertation. University of Delaware.

Arbeitsgruppe 5

Concessives vs. adversatives: Opposing oppositions

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Raum: SFG 1040

Workshop description

Concessive and adversative relations, introduced by adverbs (e.g. *nevertheless*), prepositions (*in spite of*), complementizers (e.g. *while*) and conjunctions (e.g. *but*), express a contrast to the element they are related to and raise different issues in syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Adversative clauses have been studied in relation to information and discourse structure (and the notion of contrast, e.g. Sœbø 2004, Umbach 2005, Jasinskaja & Zeevat 2008, 2009, Jasinskaja 2012), as well as in terms of argumentation theory (Anscombre & Ducrot 1983). Concessives, on the other hand, have been examined alongside causal and conditional clauses, notably by König (1986, 1994), and recently also by Liu (in preparation). However, they have not been systematically compared and contrasted.

The goals of this AG are the following: (1) to debate formal semantic and pragmatic characterisations of adversative and concessive constructions; (2) to discuss analyses of constructions that include adversative or concessive semantics, such as scalar modifiers (*at least*) (3) to compare cross-linguistic, diachronic, experimental and theoretical approaches on the topic, and, (4), ultimately, to deepen our understanding of the semantic and pragmatic distinction between coordination and subordination, as well as the notion of opposition that underlies these semantic and pragmatic relations. Further topics of interest include the import of mood marking (e.g. subjunctive vs. indicative), the question as to what is negated, the semantics-pragmatics of the elements involved in the expression of this relation (adverbs, prepositions, complementizers, conjunctions), the acquisition of concessive and adversative expressions (which are generally assumed to be acquired late), the diachronic development of such expressions (for example, many concessive adverbials are grammaticalized expressions, such as Spanish *sin embargo* 'nevertheless, lit. without + seizure', German *trotzdem* 'nevertheless, lit. despite + demonstrative', Catalan *això no obstant* 'nevertheless, lit. this not preventing'), or the number of meaning types conveyed in the expression of adversativity and concession.

On the disambiguation of *but*

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 13:45–14:45 SFG 1040

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AG5

In this talk I investigate two factors that play a role in the disambiguation of the English connective *but* between a corrective (1) and an adversative reading, cf. (2) and (3). The pragmatic effect of the corrective reading is that some wrong element (Bill) is "replaced" by the correct element (Mary) in the representation of a situation. Corrective sentences in English require negation in the first conjunct of *but* and ellipsis of all linguistic material except the actual correction (Mary) in the second conjunct, as in (1). If the second conjunct does not undergo ellipsis (2), or if negation occurs in the second conjunct instead of the first (3), the corrective reading is lost: Mary does not "replace" Bill in the representation of the same praise event. Rather, the sentences simply state that one situation took place, while the other one didn't.

(1) John didn't praise Bill, but Mary.

(2) John didn't praise Bill, but he praised/did praise Mary.

(3) John praised Mary, but not Bill.

I propose that *but* signals that its conjuncts address a question under dispute (i.e. a question on which the conversation participants disagree), and that the second conjunct of *but* must give a more informative answer to that question. The idea goes back to Anscombre and Ducrot (1977); however, the reformulation in terms of questions and answers, as I will show, is necessary for a uniform account of corrective and adversative uses. In corrections like (1), the question under dispute is a *wh*-question *Who did John praise?* The speaker believes the answer "Mary" to that question, while the hearer believes the answer "Bill". It is this *wh*-question that licenses the ellipsis in (1), cf. Vicente (2010). In contrast, the question under dispute in (2) and (3) is a polar question: *Did John praise both Mary and Bill?* in (3) and *Did John praise neither Mary, nor Bill?* in (2). These questions do not license the same kind of ellipsis; the ellipsis in (3), I will argue along with Vicente (2010), is of a different kind, involving two distinct foci *not* and *Bill* rather than a single focus on *not Bill*. (3) does not have a corrective reading because under exhaustive interpretation (Schulz & van Rooij 2006) the positive proposition "John praised Mary" always gives a more informative answer to the question *Who did John praise?* by picking exactly one cell of the question partition, while the negative answer "John didn't praise Bill" only excludes cells in which Bill is the object of praising, leaving it open who was actually praised. In contrast, the negative proposition gives a more informative answer to the question *Did John praise both Mary and Bill?* than the positive one, since the falsification of one conjunct is enough to falsify a conjunction, whereas verification of one conjunct is not enough to verify it.

References: • Anscombre, J. C. & O. Ducrot. 1977. Deux mais en français? *Lingua* 43(1).23–40. • Schulz, K. & R. van Rooij. 2006. Pragmatic meaning and non-monotonic reasoning: The case of exhaustive interpretation. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 29(2). 205–250. • Vicente, L. 2010. On the syntax of adversative coordination. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28(2). 381–415.

German contrastive connectives beyond *aber.* An analysis of contrast on dimensions

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:45–15:15
SFG 1040

In my talk, I will focus on two types of non-proto-typical contrastive connectives in German: *dagegen* (‘in contrast’) and *wiederum* (‘in turn’) compared to *dennoch* (‘however’) and *trotzdem* (‘nevertheless’).

This comparison emanates from three observations: (i), *dagegen* and *wiederum* are limited to contexts with a parallel information structure as in (2a), in contrast to (1) (cf. Sæbø 2004, Umbach 2005, Breindl et al. 2014). (ii), *dennoch* and *trotzdem* are eligible in both contexts, but invoke a change in meaning in (2b) that is analyzed as an incausal implicature (cf. König 1991, Malchukov 2004). (iii), when both types of connectives are combined, they keep their original functions and criteria of use, as shown in (3).

(1) *Das Wetter ist schön. Wir gehen* ***#dagegen/#wiederum/dennoch/trotzdem*** *nicht spazieren*.
(The weather is fine. We go CONN not for a walk.)

(2a) *Peter ist groß. Fritz ist* ***dagegen/wiederum*** *klein*.
(Peter is tall. Fritz is CONN small.)

(2b) *Peter ist groß. Fritz ist* ***dennoch/trotzdem*** *klein*.

(3) *Peter ist groß. Fritz* ***dagegen/wiederum*** *ist* ***dennoch/trotzdem*** *klein*.

I will present three experimental studies that address the observations in (1) to (3) and suggest an analysis of contrast on dimensions: a structural dimension of contrast for *dagegen*/*wiederum* and a propositional dimension for *dennoch*/*trotzdem*. The first study addresses the structural limitations of *dagegen*/*wiederum* as shown in (1) and indicates that these connectives rely on a parallel information structure. The second study shows that participants retrieve an implicature of an incausal relation between the conjuncts with the connectives *dennoch* /*trotzdem*, regardless of the structure in the two conjuncts. The third study investigated the combinability of *dagegen*/*wiederum* with *dennoch*/*trotzdem* shown in (3). The results indicate that *dagegen*/*wiederum* rely on criteria on the structural dimension, while *dennoch*/ *trotzdem* involve criteria licensed by the propositional dimension of contrast.

References: • Breindl, E., A. Volodina & U. H. Waßner. 2014. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren 2*: *Semantik der deutschen Satzverknüpfer*. Berlin: de Gruyter. • König, E. 1991. Concessive relations as the dual of causal relations. In D. Zaefferer (ed.), *Semantic universals and universal semantics*, 190–209. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Malchukov, A. L. 2004. Towards a semantic typology of adversative and contrast marking. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 177–198 • Sæbø, K. J. 2004. Conversational contrast and conventional parallel: Topic implicatures and additive presuppositions. *Journal of Semantics* 21(2). 199–217. • Umbach, C. 2005. Contrast and information structure: A focus-based analysis of ‘but’. *Linguistics* 43(1). 207–232.

AG5

Parallel puzzles: Concessives, adversatives, and presuppositions in infelicitous conditionals

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 1040

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AG5

Here, I explore a link between infelicitous Hurford conditionals (Mandelkern & Romoli 2018) and reverse Sobel sequences (von Fintel 2001, Gillies 2007, and Moss 2010). I claim that both are infelicitous because they lack certain obligatory particles; when present, these particles allow an additional presupposition – absent from the infelicitous reading – to surface, rendering the constructions less infelicitous.

Hurford conditionals: Mandelkern & Romoli (2018) show that although (1) and (2) have the same underlying structure, the latter is less felicitous:

(1) If John is in France, he is not in Paris.

(2) #If John is not in Paris, he is in France.

The addition of an obligatory particle (e.g., *still*) to (2) allows the presupposition 'John may be in non-Paris France' to surface, yielding a concessive conditional with the result that it is less infelicitous (3):

(3) If John is not in Paris, he is *still* in France.

Sobel sequences: The prototypical reverse Sobel sequence is given in (4):

(4) #If Sophie had gone to the parade and had been stuck behind a tall person, she wouldn't have seen Pedro; but if she had gone to the parade, she would have seen Pedro.

The inclusion of an obligatory particle (e.g., *just*), allows the presupposition 'Sophie did not get stuck behind a tall person' to surface, yielding an adversative conditional, and rendering it less infelicitous (5):

(5) ...but if she had *just* gone to the parade...

The contribution of this study is its demonstration of a link between two constructions involving infelicitous conditionals. In both, the presence of obligatory particles triggers the surfacing of an additional presupposition, which mitigates the infelicitousness.

References: • von Fintel, K. 2001. Counterfactuals in a dynamic context. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language,* 123–152. Cambridge: MIT. • Gillies, T. 2007. Counterfactual scorekeeping. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 30. 329–360. • Mandelkern, M. & J. Romoli. 2018. Hurford conditionals. *Journal of Semantics* 35. 357–367. • Moss, S. 2010. On the pragmatics of counterfactuals. *Nous* 46. 561–586.

Linking some syntactic and semantic features of concessives and adversatives

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16:30–17:00
SFG 1040

AG5

The concessive (Conc) and the adversative (Adver) relation per se cannot be realised as central adverbial clauses (CACs) (e.g. Haegeman 2012) but as peripheral ones (PACs) or as non-integrated dependent clauses (NonICs). Thus, e.g., a German *obwohl*- (‘although‘) or *während*- (‘while’) clause cannot be attached low in its host clause. It is argued that this stems from the fact that the Conc- and the Adver-relation involve a judgement. This is because they come with presuppositions, albeit different ones, which contain modal operators (e.g. Kortmann 1997, Brauße 1998). It will be demonstrated that instances in which a Conc seems to appear as a CAC (Freywald 2018) are those in which the modalised presupposition is not operative.

A judgement constitutes a private act of evaluation, cf. Krifka (2017) building on Frege and Peirce, which is to be distinguished from the public act of a speech act. It follows that Conc- and Adver-clauses involve a richer semantic structure than just a proposition but do not necessarily need to have illocutionary force. The richer semantic structure corresponds to a richer syntactic structure. Following Krifka (2017), it is argued that the act of a judgement is syntactically represented by a J(udge)P(hrase) above TP. PACs contain a JP-projection, while CACs do not. A PAC’s J^0 is locally licensed and valued by the source which also licenses J^0 of the PAC’s host. It follows that a PAC has to be attached high in its host. Further characteristics of Conc- and Adver-clauses follow from the presence of J^0, one example being the admission of (weak) root phenomena like modal particles or epistemic adverbs.

The Conc- and the Adver-relation can also be realised as NonICs, which can be verb-final. NonICs represent independent speech acts; above JP they also contain an A(ct)P(hrase). Because of their status as APs, NonICs cannot appear embedded. It is demonstrated that Conc- and Adver-NonICs in addition to weak may also host so called strong root phenomena like question tags or interjections, which require the presence of an ActP. It will be shown that syntactically and semantically Conc-NonICs must be sharply distinguished from the infamous paratactic *obwohl*-structures.

References: • Brauße, U. 1998. Was ist Adversativität? *Aber* oder *und*?. *Deutsche Sprache* 26. 138–159. • Freywald, U. 2018. *Parataktische Konjunktionen.* Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Haegeman, L. 2012. *Adverbial clauses, main clause phenomena, and the composition of the left periphery*. Oxford, New York: OUP. • Kortmann, B. 1997. *Adverbial subordination: A typology and history of adverbial subordinators based on European languages*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Krifka, M. 2017. Assertions and judgments, epistemics and evidentials. HO. Workshop on speech acts. Leibniz-ZAS, Berlin, May 2017.

Epistemic vs. concessive *at least*: A matter of epistemic uncertainty

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
SFG 1040

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AG5

Whether the two interpretations of *at least*-sentences sketched in (1) must be traced back to two distinct lexical entries for *at least* or not is still an open question in research on that topic.

(1) a. *John caught at least five fish* (EPISTEMIC)
≈ Speaker is uncertain about exactly how many fish John caught
b. *At least John caught five fish.* (CONCESSIVE)
≈ Although catching five fish is less preferable than catching any higher amount of fish, catching five fish is satisfactory

Whereas Nakanishi & Rullmann (2009) distinguish between two separate lexical entries, based on *at least*'s syntactic surface structure position; Biezma (2013) argues that contextual factors determine the EPISTEMIC/CONCESSIVE distinction. But each account is faced with some troubles of its own.

This proposal in favor of just one lexical entry for *at least* argues for an analogy to epistemic uncertainty readings arising from an epistemic modal adverb's, e.g. *possibly,* overt syntactic position. A new perspective on the meaning of CONCESSIVE *at least* is offered, such that it resembles EPISTEMIC *at least*'s meaning, paraphrased as '*p* or more than *p*'. The crucial difference between the interpretations depends on scope relations, as given in (2).

(2) a. scope relation for (1a): TENSE(ATLEAST(five fish))
alternatives at utterance time ≈ five fish or more than five fish
$\lambda w.\exists w'.\exists t.t{=}now \wedge \mathrm{Acc}_{w,s,t}(w') \wedge \exists e[\mathit{catch\text{-}five\text{-}fish}(e,w') \wedge \tau{=}\mathrm{time}(e) \wedge \exists e'[e' {>_{Alt}} e \wedge e' \in w' \wedge \tau'{=}\mathit{time}(e') \wedge \tau' \cong \tau]]$
b. scope relation for (1b): ATLEAST(TENSE(catch five fish))
alternatives at utterance time ≈ none / *p*
$\lambda w.\exists w'.\exists t.t{<}now \wedge \mathrm{Acc}_{w,s,t}(w') \wedge \exists e[\mathit{catch\text{-}five\text{-}fish}(e,w') \wedge \tau{=}\mathrm{time}(e) \wedge \exists e'[e' {>_{Alt}} e \wedge e' \in w' \wedge \tau'{=}\mathit{time}(e') \wedge \tau' \cong \tau]]$

If *at least* has TENSE in its scope, evaluation time for the alternatives shifts to an earlier point preceding utterance time. Hence, under the CONCESSIVE structure, only the first meaning component, disjunct *p,* is accessible from the actual world *w.* Contrary, if *at least* is in the scope of TENSE (EPISTEMIC), both meaning-disjuncts are accessible alternatives from *w* at utterance time.

References: • Biezma, M. 2013. Only one at least. Refining the role of discourse in building alternatives. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(1). 10–19. • Nakanishi, K. & H. Rullmann. 2009. *Epistemic and concessive interpretations of ‚at least'.* Paper presented at CLA, Carleton University (May 24, 2009).

A closer look at concessive *at least* in English and German

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17:30–18:00
SFG 1040

Concessive *at least*, illustrated in (1), has been observed to give rise to a 'settling for less' effect.

(1) *Wenigstens liegt das Hotel zentral*.
'At least the hotel is centrally located'.

It conveys that the speaker considers the prejacent not to describe the optimal, most desirable state of affairs, but that it does not describe the worst, least desirable state of affairs either (Kay 1992, Nakanishi & Rullmann 2009, Grosz 2011, Biezma 2013). Nakanishi & Rullmann (2009) (N&R) propose that concessive *at least* operates on propositional alternatives that are ranked according to the preferences of the speaker and requires the prejacent to be neither the highest nor the lowest ranked among the alternatives.

In this talk, I show that N&R's analysis falls short of capturing several aspects of the meaning of concessive *at least* in English and German. First, while the ranking of alternatives reflects a preference ranking, the ranking is not determined by the preferences of the speaker. Second, N&R's analysis doesn't do justice to the intuition that the prejacent has to be desirable to the speaker. Third, concessive *at least* does not only convey information about the desirability of alternative propositions, but also about their truth value. I discuss each of these issues in detail and propose amendments to N&R's analysis, which result in the following lexical entry for concessive *at least* (where $\mu_{DESs,w}$ is a measure function that maps a proposition p onto a degree of desirability, which represents how desirable p is to the speaker s in world w, and $N(S_{DESs,w})$ is the neutral interval of the corresponding scale):

(2) $[\![\text{at least / wenigstens}]\!]^w(C)(p)$ is defined iff
(i) $\forall r,r' \in C\ [\ r' > r \rightarrow \mu_{DESs,w}(r') >_{DESs,w} \mu_{DESs,w}(r)]$
(ii) $\exists q \in C\ [\ q > p]$
(iii) $\exists q \in C\ [\ q < p]$
(iv) $\forall d \in N(S_{DESs,w})\ [\ \mu_{DESs,w}(p) >_{DESs,w} d\ ]$
(v) $\forall q \in C\ [\ q > p \rightarrow q(w) = 0]$
If defined, $[\![\text{at least}]\!]^w(C)(p) = 1$ iff $p(w) = 1$

References: • Biezma, M. 2013. Only one *at least*: Refining the role of discourse in building alternatives. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 19(1). 10–19. • Grosz, P. G. 2011. A uniform analysis for concessive *at least* and optative *at least*. *Proceedings of SALT 21*. • Kay, P. 1992. At least. In A. Lehrer & E. F. Kittay (eds.), *Frames, fields, and contrasts: New essays in semantic and lexical organization*, 309–331. Hillsdayle, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. • Nakanishi, K. & H. Rullmann. 2009. Epistemic and concessive interpretations of *at least*. Handout for *The 2009 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*. Carleton University, Canada.

AG5

Concessivity: Admissible and inadmissible background assumption

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:00–9:30 SFG 1040

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AG5

Concessive sentences and constructions are fundamentally assertions of two facts against the background assumption of their general incompatibility. One of the basic questions in their analysis therefore concerns the form that these background assumption take: that of (i) conditionals (if p, q), of (ii) proportional correlations (the more p, the more q), that of a general statement (if p, one does not q) or of a more subjective specific judgement (If p, I never q). Judgements on what goes together as cause and effect, as reason and action in the world is based on social and personal experience and is not available to children, who because of late acquisition do not use concessive constructions at all or highly personal ways.

Another open question concerns the precise status of the non-truth-conditional contribution made by such a background assumption: presupposition, implicature, non-at-issue meaning, etc.? Interestingly enough, a concessive statement does still make sense and can be accepted as true if the background assumption is not accepted by the addressee. In contrast to concessive markers, adversative ones (Engl. but; Fr. mais; German aber, etc.) typically express contrasts between the values of the relevant conjoined clauses as arguments in favor or against a certain conclusion (Anscombre & Ducrot 1977).

Building on my own work (1985, 1988) and related studies of others, my paper will discuss such questions in relation to formal properties of concessive constructions found in a variety of languages.

References: • Anscombre, J.-C. & O. Ducrot. 1977. Deux *mais* en français? *Lingua*, 43(1). 23–40. • Harris, M. B. 1988. Concessive clauses in English and Romance. In J. Haiman & S. A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause-combining in grammar and discourse,* 71–99. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Koenig, E. 1985. Where do concessives come from? In J. Fisiak (ed.), *Historical semantics, Historical word-formation*, 263–282. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Koenig, E. 1988. Concessive connectives and concessive sentences. In J. Hawkins (ed.), *Explaining language universals*, 145–166. Oxford: Blackwell. • Koenig, E. 1991. Concessive relations as the dual of causal relations. In D. Zaefferer (ed.), *Semantic universals and universal semantics*, 190–209. Dordrecht: Foris.

On the type of concession expressed by concessive complementizers and bipartite concessive constructions in German: A synchronic and diachronic account

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Donnerstag,
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9:30–10:30
SFG 1040

AG5

I present a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the German bipartite concessive constructions *zwar...aber*, *wohl...aber*, *schon...aber* and the concessive complementizers *obzwar*, *obwohl*, *obschon*. Morphologically, the concessive complementizers are the result of compounding the originally conditional and concessive complementizer *ob* with the frequently co-occurring concessive adverbs/particles *zwar, wohl, schon*, a process that took place in early NHG (cf. Deutsches Wörterbuch). The adverbs/particles *zwar, wohl, schon* have on the other hand evolved from MHG adverbs of affirmation and exhibit sychronically both concessive and epistemic interpretations (cf. Duden). In spite of their related origin and morphological build-up, the two groups of concessives differ with respect to the type of concessive relation they express: while the bipartite constructions are restricted to the ”concessive opposition” type (Spooren 1989; cf. also Anscombre & Ducrot 1989), the concessive complementizers express exclusively the ”denial of expectation” (Lakoff 1971) type of concession. The difference between the two types of concession is captured in Lenke & Stede (1997) in terms of the different inferences they invite. I suggest that the denial-of-expectation interpretation of the three concessive complementizers may be due to the contribution of the originally conditional element *ob* which invites the inference of a “conditionally based” (Pasch et al. 2003) concessive relation between the verbalized propositions. On the other hand, the three bipartite constructions rely on an “additively based” (ibid.) adversative relation between two coordinated clauses, which invites the inference of some non-verbalized proposition C that resolves the incompatibility between the asserted propositions in terms of them implying different consequences for the truth of C. I further suggest that an analysis in terms of a distinction between subordination (conditionally based concession) and coordination (additively based concession) is able to explain two prominent exceptions from the behavior of the two groups of concessives.

References: • Anscombre, J.-C. & O. Ducrot. 1989. Argumentativity and informativity. In M. Meyer (ed.), *From metaphysics to rhetoric*, 71–87. Dordrecht: Kluwer. • *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm* (http://dwb.uni-trier.de/de/). • *Duden* (https://www.duden.de/). • Grote, B., N. Lenke & M. Stede. 1997. Ma(r)king concessions in English and German. *Discourse Processes* 24(1). 87–117. • Lakoff, R. 1971. If’s, and’s, and but’s about conjunction. In C. J. Fillmore & D.T. Langendoen (eds.), *Studies in linguistic semantics*, 114–149. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston. • Pasch, R. et al. 2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Spooren, W. 1989. *Some aspects of the form and interpretation of global contrastive relations*. PhD thesis, University of Nijmegen.

Frustrated expectation and conditional modality: The Japanese concessive *no-ni*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:15–11:45 SFG 1040

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AG5

In this talk, I propose linking concessive meaning and (implicated) frustrated expectation via conditional modality. I base the analysis on Japanese *no-ni*, a concessive conjunction, as shown in (1), that interacts with a variety of modal flavors. *No-ni* also has a sentence-final, non-connective use on which it conveys frustrated expectation.

(1) *Taro-wa okanemochi na no-ni, shiawase dewa-nai.*
PN-TOP rich COP *no-ni* content COP-NEG
'Even though Taro is rich, he is not content.'

Assuming that conditional meaning underlies concessive meaning (*cf.* König 1986), I claim that *no-ni* (φ) roughly denotes what is shown in (2), *i.e.* it asserts φ and indicates the existence of a salient ψ which is (typically) false when φ is true (in (1), ψ is also asserted). The notation $\Box_{[\varphi]}^{?}$ stands for conditional necessity with the restrictor φ and underspecified modal flavor.

(2) $[[\ \textit{no-ni}(\varphi)\ ]] = \varphi \land \exists\psi\ .\ \Box_{[\varphi]}^{?}\ \neg\psi$

The analysis in terms of conditional modality explains interaction of *no-ni* with modals as in (3), assuming the truth of ψ to be (conventionally) implicated by sentence-final *no-ni* conveying frustrated expectation as in (4).

(3) *Taro-wa iru* #(*hazu*) *na no-ni, (i-nai).*
PN-TOP be *hazu* COP *no-ni* be-NEG
'Taro should be [here], but he's not.'

(4) *Hontoo-ni iki-ta-katta no-ni.*
PN-TOP go-BOUL-PST *no-ni*
'[But] I really wanted to go....'

I claim that the modal base of *no-ni* is fixed as circumstantial while the ordering source is underspecified. When interacting with a "human necessity"-type modal (cf. Kaufmann & Schwager 2009) such as *hazu*, the ordering source is stereotypical, so that (3) conveys that the consequent *inai* is typically false given the antecedent. Without an additional modal, I assume *no-ni* by default adopts a stereotypical ordering source, so that (1) conveys that when one is rich, one is typically (not dis-)content.

As for other modal flavors, *no-ni* in (4) inherits the bouletic ordering source from *-ta(i)*, that is, given the speaker's wish to go, the bouletically best worlds are such in which the speaker goes. While not asserted, the implicature arises that this is not the case, yielding the frustrated expectation reading.

From quotation to concession: The case of East Circassian

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:45–12:15
SFG 1040

Concessive and contrastive connectives like *although* and *but* convey commitment to the truth of the complement and matrix clause and a contrast between them (Koenig 1991, Winter & Rimon 1994, inter alia). This talk presents a contrastive adverbial found in East Circassian (or Kabardian, Northwest Caucasian), exemplified in (1), which is headed by the adverbial form of the quotative verb *ž'əʔe* 'say', henceforth the "quotative concessive".

(1) [[*deʁʷ* *wədopŝe*] *ž'ə-p-ʔ-u*]
good 2SG.ABS.climb.PRS PREV-2SG.ERG-say-ADV
ž'əɣəm *wə-de-mə-pŝe*
tree.OBL 2SG.ABS-LOC-NEG-climb
'Although you think you climb well, don't climb the tree.'

This adverbial diverges from more familiar concessive and contrastive connectives in intriguing ways. Its use does not commit the speaker to the truth of its complement, it cannot modify positive indicative sentences, and it is a strictly matrix or root phenomenon. The quotative concessive, furthermore, gives rise to three inferences (the full talk provides more evidence and arguments):
(a) Attenuated concession: The speaker entertains, but does not commit to, the truth of the complement of 'say'.
(b) Prevention: The speaker wants to prevent the potential eventuality described in the matrix clause.
(c) Pretext denial: The speaker denies a link between the attributed belief and the realization of the potential evetnuality.

Familiar concessives can express pretext denial when modifying non-assertions, but always express full, rather than attenuated, concession, and need not express prevention. We explicate the nature of these inferences and relate them to the observed distributional restrictions. We argue that the adverbial presupposes that the matrix subject referent is epistemically committed to the complement of 'say', and preferentially committed to the realization of a contextually familiar potential eventuality. The adverbial conventionally selects for modifiands that express speaker dispreference for the realization of this eventuality, leading to the observed restriction against positive indicatives. Attenuated concession and prevention are thus both features of the conventional meaning of a sentence modified by the adverbial. The inference of pretext-denial arises from the interaction of the presupposition of the adverbial and the semantic force of the matrix sentence it modifies.

The additivity of concessive *still*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 12:15–12:45 SFG 1040

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English concessive constructions with *although* and *but* convey the truth of both propositions as well as the fact that the combination of the two propositions is odd or unexpected. Little attention has been given to availability of concessive *still* in the consequent, especially to cases in which *although* and concessive *still* are not both available (1b); current accounts do not invoke the additive presupposition and assume an identical distribution of both operators.

(1) a. Although Ana had a sore throat, she (√still) went to work.
b. *Ana grabbed the wrong bottle of pills.* Although Ana had a sore throat, she (#still) took the headache medicine.

I propose to account for the contrast in (1) by an additive presupposition: *if not p, then q*. Such a presupposition is counterfactual by nature, as the constructions involved convey *p*; the conditional may need to access worlds in a previous context set in which *p* was not settled, perhaps sharing theoretical similarity with aspectual *still* in which its additivity is restricted to a previous point in time. Applied to (1a), this would result in "if Ana didn't have a sore throat, she would go to work", a reasonable presupposition that is met. The infelicity of (1b) is explained as follows: if Ana didn't have a sore throat, it's not the case that she would have taken the headache medicine, since in such cases Ana may be perfectly healthy. This contradicts the additive presupposition as described, resulting in infelicity.

This proposal generates several classes of predictions on the distribution of concessive *still* within concessive constructions, including classes of examples in which *not p* logically entails *q*, in which *q* entails *p*, and in which *p* entails *q*. For example, in cases in which *q* entails *p*, *not p* entails *not q* by contraposition, thus contradicting the counterfactual additive presupposition. In such cases, still is always infelicitous as predicted:

(2) Although Bob is a swimmer, he's (#still) a poor swimmer.

References: • Guerzoni, E. & D. Lim. 2007. *Even if*, factivity and focus. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*, 276–290. • Ippolito, M. 2007. On the meaning of some focus-sensitive particles. *Natural Language Semantics* 15(1). 1–34. • König, E. & P. Siemund. 2000. Causal and concessive clauses: Formal and semantic relations. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & B. Kortmann (eds.), *Cause – condition – concession – contrast. Cognitive and discourse perspectives*, 341–360. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Lund, G. 2017. Deriving *even though* from *even*. *Proceedings of ESSLI.*

AG5

The siblings in the shadow of *if*: The semantics and pragmatics of conditional connectives

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
13:45–14:45
SFG 1040

The restrictor analysis of conditionals (Kratzer 1986) and conditional connectives (CCs) has inspired many insightful follow-up studies through which it becomes clear that the interpretation of conditional sentences is subject to a process of semantic and pragmatic modulation, that is, the semantic and pragmatic properties of a conditional can be affected by narrow linguistic broad pragmatic context. As of today, there is a huge literature on the interaction between conditionals and, for example, polarity items, quantification, tense and mood (von Fintel 2011). Although CCs can influence the interpretation of conditionals in various ways, the role of CCs in the modulation process remains understudied. In this talk, I will present several studies on the semantics and pragmatics of CCs (in comparison to causal and concessive connectives) in different languages.

One of the studies (Liu *to appear 1*) focuses on the nonveridical property of indicative conditionals (Giannakidou 1998), i.e. they do not entail the truth of the antecedent. I report on three experiments in German, English and Mandarin. They show that in German and Mandarin, certain CCs (i.e. German *falls* 'if' and Mandarin *wanyi* 'if' (lit. 'one ten thousandth') triggered significantly lower ratings of speaker commitment (Giannakidou & Mari 2015), or speaker credence, towards the antecedent, but no contrast was found for English *if* vs. *in case.* Similarly, there is cross-linguistic variation concerning the effect of negative polarity items (NPIs) as well: German NPIs *jemals/überhaupt* and English *ever/at all* convey a weakened speaker commitment towards the antecedent but no such effect was found for the Mandarin NPI *renhe* 'any' – which was tested due to the lack of counterparts for *ever/at all* in the language. This shows that the nonveridicality property of indicative conditionals is elastic. I will discuss the semantic or pragmatic nature of such secondary meaning contributions of CCs (see also Liu *to appear 2*) by combining the experimental results with further distributional observations, diagnostic tests and introspective evaluations of the data.

References: • Kratzer, A. 1986. Conditionals. *Chicago Linguistics Society* 22(2). 1–15. • von Fintel, K. 2011. Conditionals. In C. Maienborn, K. von Heusinger & P. Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language and meaning*, 1515–1538. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.• Giannakidou, A. 1998. *Polarity sensitivity as (non)veridical dependency*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Giannakidou, A. & A. Mari. 2015. Future and universal epistemic modals: Reasoning with nonveridicality and partial knowledge. In J. Blaszack et al. (eds.), *Tense, mood, and modality: New answers to old questions*. Chicago: CUP. • Liu, Mingya. (to appear 1): Graded biconditionality and reasoning. *Chicago Linguistics Society* 54. • Liu, Mingya. (to appear 2): The elastic nonveridicality property of indicative conditionals. *Linguistic Vanguard.*

From existential modality to concessivity: Alternatives and reasoning *per absurdum*

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:30 SFG 1040

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AG5

Since the sixties, the literature on Italian (and some other Romance languages) mentions a concessive use of the future tense (see e.g. Squartini 2012). We claim that there is a cross-linguistic equivalence between this use (1) and what has been labeled 'speech act modality' in the literature on English modals (Sweetser 1990 (2)). In these parallel literatures, the idea is advanced that the future and the modals *may/might* are concessive in that they 'concede' to the addressee that *p* is true and they thus convey 'distancing'.

(1) *Sarà simpatico, ma non ha amici.*
be-FUT nice, but not has friends
'He might be nice, but he does not have friends.'

(2) *He may be a university professor, but he sure is dumb.*

*A*rguing that there is no such category as 'discourse modality' (see also Papafragou 2000) and establishing a connection with *irrelevance conditionals* (König 1986 and sqq.), we propose a different unified view of these phenomena, which grounds in the existential epistemic modal semantics of both the future tense in Italian and the epistemic modal in English their capacity of enhancing a concessive interpretation in discourse and in particular in an adversative construction. Specifically, we will argue that concessivity arises as a pragmatic enrichment of a literal meaning featuring a tautology.

We capitalize on their alternative semantics, as well as on the interaction between the alternatives and the adversative, and propose an account in which distancing is the pragmatic counterpart of the dismissal of a premise that leads to an inconsistency in a pragmatic reasoning *per absurdum*. We will spell out a variety of pragmatic effects, which have been all previously gathered under the label 'distancing' and which correspond, in our analysis, to different strategies to repair *the absurdum*.

References: • Baranzini, L. & L. Saussure. 2017. Le futur épistémique en français et en italien. In L. Baranzini (ed.), *Le futur dans les langues romanes,* 305–322. Bern : Lang; • Ducrot, O. 1980. *Les échelles argumentatives*. Paris : Minuit. • Giannakidou A. & A. Mari. 2018. A unified analysis of the future as epistemic modality. *NLLT* 36. 85–129 • König, E. 1986. Conditionals, concessive conditionals and concessives: Areas of contrast, overlap and neutralization. In E. C. Traugott et al. (eds.), *On conditionals,* 228–246. Chicago: CUP. • Mari, A. 2015. French future: Exploring the future ratification hypothesis. *Journal of French Language Studies* 26(3). 353–378 • Papafragou, A. 2000. On speech-act modality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 32. 519–538 • Squartini, M. 2012. Evidentiality in interaction: The concessive use of the Italian Future between grammar and discourse. *JoP* 44. 2116–2128 • Sweetser, E. 1990. *From etymology to pragmatics*. Cambridge: CUP. • Winterstein, G. 2012. What but-sentences argue for: An argumentative analysis of but. *Lingua* 122. 1864–1885.

Concessive elements and the role of superlative morphology

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:30–13:00
SFG 1040

The main question that is addressed in this talk is whether the morphological make-up of concessive elements is connected to their interpretation. It is well known that several languages systematically employ the same particle in order to convey an epistemic and a concessive meaning, viz. English *at least* (Nakanishi & Rullmann 2009). Greek employs two particles to give rise to an epistemic interpretation, *tulahiston* and *to ligotero.* However, only *tulahiston* can additionally induce a concessive interpretation.

The first question that arises is whether it is incidental that in both Greek and English it is the same particle that gives rise to an ambiguity. A further question is what makes *tulahiston* different from *to ligotero*, so that only the former can convey a concessive meaning. In order to answer these questions, I will start from the observation that both Greek particles at first sight, seem to bear superlative morphology; they consist of the definite article *to* ('the') and are followed by a comparative form, a common way of forming superlatives cross-linguistically (Bobaljik 2012). There is a crucial difference, however, which seems to matter for their semantic behaviour. While *to ligotero* is followed by the regular comparative form of the Modern Greek adjective *ligos* i.e. *ligotero, tulahiston* consists of the suppletive Ancient Greek-based superlative form of *ligos, elahiston.* Based on this I will explore the role of the superlative morphology behind the backdrop of a prominent theory of the morphology of superlatives, Bobaljik's (2012) theory.

AG5

Based on the diachrony of the elements in question, I will argue that they differ in their underlying structure: *to ligotero* is a regular superlative, morphologically transparent to all native speakers, while *tulahiston* is an obsolete superlative type from ancient Greek, non-transparent to native speakers. Following Bobaljik (2012), this implies that the abstract representation of *to ligotero* contains an instance of the comparative morpheme and therefore qualifies as a regular superlative. On the other hand, the particle *tulahiston* shares the same properties of so-called 'absolute superlatives'/'elatives'. Deviating from Bobaljik (2012), I will claim that elatives also contain a morpheme that expresses comparison, yet different than in regular superlatives.

The proposal to be submitted will account for the fact that only *tulahiston* licenses a concessive interpretation. I will suggest that more generally only absolute superlatives can trigger a concessive interpretation, while regular superlatives and comparatives cannot do so. The proposed analysis of elative forms is mainly based on Greek, but the connection between the semantics of elative forms and concessive elements should hold cross-linguistically. Additional evidence is provided by Chinese.

References: • Bobaljik, J. D. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology: Suppletion, superlatives, and the structure of words*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.• Nakanishi, K. & H. Rullmann 2009. *More about At Least*. Slides for a paper presented at the meeting of the Canadian Linguistics Association. Ottawa: Carleton University.

Concessive conditionals with non-scalar additives in Cuzco Quechua and German

Freitag, 08.03.2019 13:00–14:00 SFG 1040

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AG5

Concessive conditionals assert *if p then q* against the assumption that *p* and *q* are in some sense incompatible (Haspelmath & König 1995). In Cuzco Quechua and German, concessive conditionals are formed by adding an additive marker to the conditional antecedent, as shown in (1a,b).[1]

(1) [Context: Yesterday, we decided to go walking today, provided it wasn't raining. This morning, it looks like it might rain, and I say:]

a. Cuzco Quechua (elicited)
*Para-sha-**qti**-n**=pas*** *ri-sunchis*.
rain-PROG-NMLZ.DS-3=ADD go-1.INCL.FUT
'We will go **even** if it is raining.'

b. German: *Wir werden gehen **auch wenn** es regnet.*

c. Assertion: We will go if it is raining

d. Additive presupposition: We will go if it is not raining

e. Conditional perfection of (1d): We won't go if it is raining

Both *=pas* and *auch* are non-scalar additives; the standard scalar analysis of concessive conditionals with *even* is therefore not directly applicable. Instead I propose, following Pasch (1995), to derive the concessive implication via conditional perfection (Geis and Zwicky 1979) of the additive presupposition in (1d), which is obtained by substituting the conditional antecedent in (1a,b) with its negation, its only focus alternative. The assertion (1c) contradicts (1e), resulting in the concessive interpretation. (1e) exemplifies a new species of *presupposetional implicature* (Leahy 2016): it strengthens (1d), and does not rely on a comparison with what else could have been said. Since conditional perfection only applies under the presumption of exhaustivity (de Cornullier 1983), concessive interpretations should not be available in non-exhaustive contexts. This will be shown to be the case for *auch wenn*.

References: • Cornulier, B. de. 1983. 'If' and the presumption of exhaustivity. *Journal of Pragmatics* 7(3). 247-249. • Geis, M. & A. Zwicky. 1971. On invited inferences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 2. 561–566. • Haspelmath, M. & E. König. 1998. Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe. In J. van der Auwera (ed.), *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe,* 563–640. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter • Leahy, B. 2016. On presuppositional implicatures. *Topoi* 35(1). 83–91. • Pasch, R. 1995. Implikaturen im Bereich lexikalisch induzierter Präsuppositionen. In F. Liedtke (ed.), *Implikaturen: Grammatische und Pragmatische Analysen,* 75–86. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.

[1] 1, 3: person, ADD: additive, INCL: inclusive, NMLZ.DS: nominalizer different subject, PROG: progressive.

Arbeitsgruppe 6

Factors influencing the stability of phonetic contrasts and phonemic oppositions

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Raum: SFG 1020

Workshop description

Three research areas seem be especially promising with regard to exploring the stability of phonetic contrasts and phonemic oppositions:

1) typological deliberations and within-system oppositions;
2) category (in-)stability in speech perception – especially in the context of added/co-presented extralinguistic information;
3) and intra- and inter-speaker variability in speech production.

From a typological perspective, some phonemic oppositions are undoubtedly rarer than others but the question as to why this is the case remains a recurring topic in the fields of typology and phonetics/phonology. Recent advances in the testing of phonetic explanations for diachronic sound changes that shape a phoneme inventory have identified a link to the misparsing of co-articulation (Kleber et al. 2012).

This is related to the accumulating evidence from speech perception research suggesting that the stability of an opposition of a phonetic contrast is somewhat compromised because perceptual categories are flexible and highly dependent on contextual information (Jannedy & Weirich 2014).

The third area of relevance is the intra-and inter-speaker variability among others connected to different speech registers (i.e. formal vs. informal), addressees (i.e. child vs. adult directed speech), and speaker characteristics such as gender, age, dialect, ethnic background etc. (Weirich & Simpson 2017).

This workshop addresses the challenge of investigating the realization and loss of contrast and opposition in speech and the various conditioning factors of what makes oppositions and contrasts stable or instable. It will provide a forum for all linguists (phonetics/phonology, typology, computational modeling, psycholinguistics, dialectology, historical linguistics) interested in the causes (system-internal and extralinguistic factors) leading to phonemic stability or instability consequently influencing the linguistic system.

References: • Jannedy, S. & M. Weirich. 2017. Spectral moments vs. discrete cosine transformation coefficients: Evaluation of acoustic measures distinguishing two merging German fricatives. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 142(1). 395–405. • Kleber, F., J. Harrington & U. Reubold. 2012. The relationship between the perception and production of coarticulation during a sound change in progress. *Language and Speech* 55(3). 383–405. • Weirich, M. & A. P. Simpson. 2017. Acoustic correlates of parental role and gender identity in the speech of expecting parents. *Interspeech* 924–928.

Phonological (in-)stability in bilingual language acquisition

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 14:15–14:45 SFG 1020

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AG6

This contribution reports on the causes of (in-)stable prosody in bilingual language acquisition based on a case study of one French-Spanish child. This language combination serves as an excellent testing ground because as two Western Romance varieties French and Spanish are typologically closely related, but at the same time differ importantly from each other when lexical stress, prosodic phrasing and intonation are considered (e.g. Jun & Fougeron 2000, Lleó 2002, Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015, Hualde & Prieto 2015). These categories are more flexible in Spanish where variation needs to be learned, while French prosody is less variable and therefore possibly more easily acquired. Research questions for acquisition are: (i) Do children separate the phonological systems from each other? (ii) Does phonological variability influence the process of acquisition (e.g. acceleration, delay or transfer)? In line with findings from the literature (e.g. Paradis 2001: 29), it is hypothesized that the invariable system (French) is more likely to influence the variable system (Spanish) in the acquisitional process.

Data taken from five naturalistic recordings between 2;0 and 3;0 containing 3,340 utterances in total were extracted and prosodically coded with *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2018) and Tones and Break Indices (Delais-Roussarie et al. 2015, Hualde & Prieto 2015). First results indicate that variability indeed poses a problem: Phrase-final stress as a possible source of negative transfer from French onto Spanish can be observed at and above the word level in ips and IPs (*en una camiseta* 'on a t-shirt', *el señor no haBLA* 'the man does not talk'). Preliminary data analyzed for narrow focus constructions reveal that in French the child consistently produced the expected L* L% or H* H% configurations (100.0%, n=14), while in Spanish only half of the realizations correspond to the grammatical L+H* L% pattern (50.0%, n=6); 16.7% (n=2) are produced using the French template. Even though these findings are too scanty to draw reliable conclusions, they point at the importance of phonological variability for acquisitional (in-)stability. In order to maintain the hypothesized direction of influence, the results need to be related to monolingual acquisition and to language dominance (Paradis 2001).

References: • Boersma, P. & D. Weenink. 2018. *Praat: doing phonetics by computer*, http://www.praat.org (accessed 2018-05.28). • Delais-Roussarie, E. et al. 2015. Developing a ToBI system for French. In S. Frota & P. Prieto (eds.), *Intonation in Romance*, 63–100. Oxford: OUP. • Hualde, J. & P. Pilar. 2015. Intonational variation in Spanish. In S. Frota & P. Prieto (eds.), *Intonation in Romance*, 350–391. Oxford: OUP. • Jun, S.-A. & C. Fougeron. 2000. A phonological model of French intonation. In A. Botinis (ed.), *Intonation: Analysis, modeling and technology*, 209–242. Dordrecht: Kluwer. • Lleó, C. 2002. The role of markedness in the acquisition of complex prosodic structures by German-Spanish bilinguals. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 6. 291–313. • Paradis, J. 2001. Do bilingual two-year-olds have separate phonological systems? *International Journal of Bilingualism* 5. 19–38.

The spatial dimension of fortis and lenis in German near standard pronunciation: Opposition and contrast

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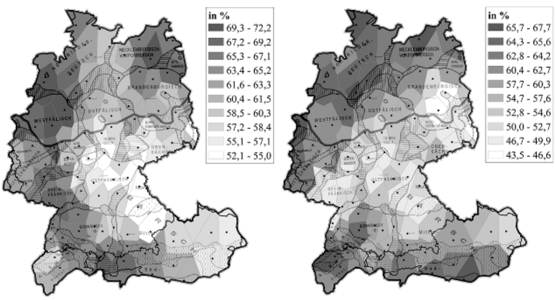
Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:45–15:15
SFG 1020

AG6

This talk addresses the fortis-lenis-opposition in German (cf. Kohler 1995) which is based on various phonetic features in the different dialects. The data used here is a read text ('the North Wind and the Sun') from the Deutsch heute-corpus (IDS Mannheim) that is recorded twice, in a normal and in a fast speaking rate (cf. Kleiner 2015, Hahn & Siebenhaar 2016). The phonetic analysis of the fortis-lenis-opposition is reduced and simplified to the dimension of segment duration (Willi 1996). The duration of the bursts of initial velar plosives /k/ and /g/ are measured and their relative temporal contrast is calculated. The results are presented as geophonetic maps (cf. Fig. 1) and compared to traditional dialect maps, which show related lenition or neutralization phenomena like the 'binnenhochdeutsche Konsonantenschwächung'. Herewith it can be shown that the phonological opposition of the dialects is stored as a residual phonetic contrast in the near standard varieties.

(1) Temporal contrast /k/ vs. /g/ realizations. From: Hahn (in prep.)



References: • Hahn, M. in prep. Zwischen Prozess und Produkt. Zur Lenisierung velarer Plosive im Deutschen. In M. Hahn, A. Kleene, R. Langhanke & A. Schaufuß (Hgg.), *Dynamik in den deutschen Regionalsprachen*. Hildesheim: Olms. • Hahn, M. & B. Siebenhaar. 2016. Sprechtempo und Reduktion im Deutschen (SpuRD). In O. Jokisch (Hg.), *Elektronische Sprachsignalverarbeitung 2016.* 198–205, Dresden: TUDpress. • Kleiner, S. 2015. „Deutsch heute" und der Atlas zur Aussprache des deutschen Gebrauchsstandards. In R. Kehrein, A. Lameli & S. Rabanus (Hgg.), *Regionale Variation des Deutschen: Projekte und Perspektiven*, 489–518. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Kohler, K. J. 1995. *Einführung in die Phonetik des Deutschen*. Berlin: Schmidt. • Willi, U. 1996. *Die segmentale Dauer als phonetischer Parameter von "fortis" und "lenis" bei Plosiven im Zürichdeutschen: Eine akustische und perzeptorische Untersuchung*. Zürich, Univ. Diss. 1993 (Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik Beihefte 92). Stuttgart: Steiner.

On the instability of the voicing contrast in final position in the Viennese Standard variety

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 1020

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Final devoicing is a phonological process by which the opposition of homorganic fortis (long closure) and lenis (short closure) obstruents in domain / word or syllable final position (Rad 'wheel' and Rat 'advice') is neutralized. Despite the longstanding debate regarding the completeness of the process (e.g. Port & O'Dell 1985) final devoicing can be considered quite robust in the standard variety spoken in Germany (e.g. Fourakis & Iverson 1984). For the southern dialectal varieties of German, like Bavarian (spoken in Germany and Austria) it has been claimed that the final voicing contrast is maintained in terms of a durational contrast in word final position. The case of the standard variety spoken in Austria is less clear as it shares features both with Standard German and the Bavarian dialect. This raises the question as to whether the variance regarding final devoicing can be attributed to the Bavarian influence on Standard Austrian German which should be greater in older than in younger speakers of this variety or to the general pattern of incomplete neutralization which is also found in Standard German German. The current contribution includes data from 19 speakers of the Viennese Standard Variety (VS) and 16 speakers of the Viennese Dialect (VD). The data is automatically segmented with MAUS (Schiel 1999) and the analysis has been carried out with R (R Core Team 2017). Preliminary analyses indicate that the speakers of the Viennese varieties show a tendency to maintain the duration of the word final plosive (normalized to word duration) in word pairs like Rad and Rat. Furthermore, the evidence for younger WS speakers to differentiate the final plosive via the duration is less pronounced than for older WS speakers, suggesting that final devoicing might be on the increase in younger speakers of the Viennese Standard variety. The results will be discussed in light of a potential sound change in progress by which final devoicing becomes more important in southern varieties of German. One focus will be on the question as to whether such a change is fueled by internal vs. external factors.

AG6

References: • Fourakis, M. & G. K. Iverson. 1984. On the 'incomplete neutralization' of German final obstruents. *Phonetica* 41, 140–149. • Port, R. F. & M. L. O'Dell. 1985. Neutralization of syllable-final voicing in German. *Journal of Phonetics* 13(4). 455–471. • R Core Team. 2017. R: *A language and environment for statistical computing*. Vienna, Austria. https://www.R-project.org/. • Schiel, F. 1999. Automatic phonetic transcription of non-prompted speech. *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences; San Francisco, 1–7 August 1999.* 607–610.

Vowel reduction and auditory discriminability in stressed and unstressed syllables: A mismatch negativity study

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
SFG 1020

Brazilian Portuguese distinguishes seven vowels in stressed syllables. The distinction between high-mid and low-mid vowels is neutralized in prestressed syllables, resulting in a canonical five-vowel inventory – the most common pattern across languages. A proposed motivation for such kind of vowel reduction is to avoid perceptually challenging distinctions in positions other than the most salient ones (Crosswhite 2004). We used the Mismatch Negativity (MMN) event-related brain response to investigate whether automatic auditory discrimination of vowel quality is enhanced in stressed syllables and whether vowel [e] is more discriminable from [i] than from [ɛ] – given the presumably higher degree of representational complexity involved in the latter distinction. We were also interested in exploring the possibility that discriminability (as assessed by MMN) decreases specifically for the distinction that undergoes neutralization, namely, the prestressed /e:ɛ/ distinction. Multiple exemplars of two-syllable pseudowords consisting of a single vowel followed by a /ga/ syllable were used as stimuli. The MMN was elicited by infrequent deviant 'ega' exemplars interspersed among frequent standard 'iga' or 'ɛga' exemplars. Responses to 'ega' deviants were measured relative to control 'ega' stimuli presented in sequences in which they were equiprobable with 'iga', 'aga','oga', 'ɔga', and 'uga' exemplars. The deviant vowel (hence, the distinction of interest) always occurred in the first syllable. In half of the stimulus sequences, the first syllable was stressed; in the other half, the second syllable was stressed. Thus, six conditions were defined: *e(i) stressed*, *e(ɛ) stressed*, *e(i) prestressed*, *e(ɛ) prestressed*, *control stressed*, and *control prestressed* – with standards indicated within parentheses. Twenty-two native Brazilian Portuguese speakers participated as volunteers in the experiment. The MMN peaked earlier in stressed than in prestressed conditions irrespective of whether 'ega' deviants were presented among 'iga' or 'ɛga' standards, suggesting a facilitatory effect of stress. This partially supports the suggestion that vowel reduction phenomena of the kind investigated here reflect constraints against perceptually confusing distinctions. However, although MMN seemed larger for distinction /e:i/ than for distinction /e:ɛ/ in stressed syllables, this difference did not reach statistical significance. As for the prestressed position, the MMN was detected for distinction /e:i/, but not for the neutralized distinction /e:ɛ/. The results provide evidence for a perceptual correlate of neutralization.

References: • Crosswhite, K. 2004. Vowel reduction. In B. Hayes, R. Kirchner & D. Steriade (eds.), *Phonetically based phonology*, 191–231. Cambridge: CUP.

AG6

Optimization for lexical information transmission shapes systems of phonological contrast

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–18:00
SFG 1020

Andrew Wedel (invited speaker)
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AG6

For many possible phonological contrast pairs, one member of the contrast is typologically ‘marked’, that is, less common cross-linguistically. As an example, phoneme inventories are more likely to include /k/ but not /g/, than /g/ without /k/. Recent work shows further that when marked members of contrast pairs are nonetheless present in an inventory, they tend to occur in fewer word-types than the unmarked member (Everett 2018). Finally, for many such pairs, the marked member has been shown experimentally to be relatively more articulatorily effortful, and/or perceptually more confusable. These observations have formed the basis for the hypothesis that greater articulatory or perceptual difficulty makes marked contrasts more likely to be reduced or merged with other sounds over time, leading to relative under-representation within a lexicon and outright loss over time (e.g., Wedel 2012).

But why then do marked members of contrasts exist in a lexicon to begin with? Starting from the observation that speakers tend to hyperarticulate high-information phonetic cues (Wedel et al. 2018), we predict that a marked member of a contrast pair should persist in words in which it contributes more disambiguating information to the listener in conveying word meaning, e.g., when it distinguishes a lexical minimal pair. Conversely, an unmarked member of a phoneme contrast should be able to persist in words even when it contributes little disambiguating information. In this talk I present evidence from a range of languages and phoneme contrasts that indeed, marked members of phoneme contrast pairs carry a higher relative functional load in the lexicon. These results support previous work indicating that the evolution of phoneme inventories is strongly influenced by the role that phoneme contrasts play in disambiguating lexical items.

References: • Everett, C. 2018. The global dispreference for posterior voiced obstruents: a quantitative assessment of word list data. *Language*. • Wedel, A. 2012. Lexical contrast maintenance and the organization of sublexical contrast systems. *Language and Cognition* 4(4). 319–355. • Wedel, A., N. Nelson & R. Sharp. 2018. The phonetic specificity of contrastive hyperarticulation in natural speech. *Journal of Memory and Language* 100. 61–88.

From language change to phonetic convergence (and back again)

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9:00–9:30
SFG 1020

I present *Kamoso*, a computational simulation framework based on exemplar theory (Johnson 1997, Pierrehumbert 2001, Wedel 2006) which assumes that perceived speech items are stored fully specified in memory. Production is based on the selection of a specific exemplar from memory as a production target depending on the phonetic quality, recency and social factors. The population of agents is embedded in a social network, facilitating simulations of different types of interactions and network topologies (Watts & Strogatz 1998).

Application 1: Mechanisms of variant competition in language change in Setswana, a language in which post-nasal devoicing competes with voiced realizations (Coetzee & Pretorius 2010). We incorporate social impact theory [Nettle 1999] to model social dynamics and test the effects of networks reflecting a parochial society structure versus more open networks.

Application 2: Phonetic convergence in dyadic dialogs, a phenomenon in which two speakers become more alike in their speech during the course of a dialog. This provides a scenario to investigate intra- and inter-speaker variability and its relation to cognitive processes in speech processing, its underlying psychological and social factors as well as the mental representation and organization of linguistic knowledge. Understanding phonetic convergence may help to understand aspects of language acquisition or the mechanisms of language change. This latter link between phonetic convergence in dialogs and language change within a speech community is of particular interest in this present study. A socio-cognitive model which incorporates both social and psychological *top-down* as well as cognitive and phonetic *bottom-up* mechanisms is implemented based on the Kamoso framework and tested in a series of simulations.

This present work shows how very similar underlying processes are at work in sound change and phonetic convergence. I discuss methodological issues in agent-based modelling and the specific results and predictions of the simulations on sound change and phonetic convergence.

References: • Coetzee, A. & R. Pretorius. 2010. Phonetically grounded phonology and sound change. *Journal of Phonetics* 38. 404–421. • Johnson, K. 1997. Speech perception without speaker normalization: An exemplar model. In K. Johnson & J. W. Mullennix (eds.), *Talker variability in speech processing*, 145–165. London: Academic Press. • Nettle, D. 1999. Using social impact theory to simulate language change. *Lingua* 108. 95–117. • Watts, D. & S. Strogatz. 1998. Collective dynamics of 'small-world' networks. *Nature*, 393(6684). 440–442. • Wedel, A. 2006. Exemplar models, evolution and language change. *The Linguistic Review* 23. 247–274.

AG6

Human-computer interaction: Convergence in allophonic contrasts

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:30–10:00
SFG 1020

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Humans in conversational interaction tend to become more similar to each other with respect to features pertaining to the phonetic domain (Pardo 2006). Since such phonetic convergence contributes to successful communication, the phenomenon is relevant for human-computer interaction (HCI) as well. A core question arising in the HCI context is whether users of spoken-dialogue systems (SDS) converge to the synthetic speech output. To shed light on this question, we consider reasons for converging behavior between humans assumed in the literature that apply to HCI as well: an automatic perception-production link and the belief of the speaker that their interlocutor, in HCI the computer, will benefit communicatively from the convergence (Branigan et al. 2010). The first should take effect independent of the interlocutor being a human or a computer, the second might be even more decisive in HCI than between humans. Given this background, we expect phonetic convergence on the part of the user to occur in HCI.

Studies exploring phonetic convergence in HCI are so far testing global features, such as speaking rate and pitch. We are targeting local features, specifically the German allophonic contrasts (1) [eː] vs. [ɛː] in a word like ***Kä**se* and (2) [ɪç] vs. [ɪk] as realization of the suffix *-ig* in a word like *biss**ig***. In a shadowing experiment with natural and synthetic stimuli, where participants repeated short German sentences containing these contrasts, a convergence effect was found for (1) and (2) in the case of the natural stimuli, but only for (2) in the case of the synthetic stimuli (Gessinger et al. 2017). A possible reason is insufficient perceptibility of fine phonetic detail in the synthetic stimuli, which makes it possible for the user to converge to the coarse, binary [ɪç] vs. [ɪk] contrast, yet prevents the same effect from occurring for the continuous [eː] vs. [ɛː] contrast.

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The shadowing paradigm, although offering the advantage of high controllability, lacks a crucial element of real-life HCI: the dynamic, often goal-oriented, exchange of information. The latter is covered in a new corpus that we are collecting in a Wizard-of-Oz experiment. In this paradigm the user converses with a simulated intelligent SDS. The allophonic contrasts described above are elicited in a map task: The user asks the system about hidden target items on the map. The SDS is informed about the preferred allophone of the user and provides the missing information using the opposite allophone. The latter can then be adopted by the user in the following utterance.

References: • Pardo, J. 2006. On phonetic convergence during conversational interaction. *JASA* 119(4). 2382–2393.
• Branigan, H. et al. 2010. Linguistic alignment between people and computers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42(9). 2355–2368.
• Gessinger, I. et al. 2017. Shadowing synthesized speech – segmental analysis of phonetic convergence. *Interspeech.* 3797–3801.

Arbeitsgruppe 7

Language change at the interfaces. On the interaction between syntax, prosody and information structure

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Raum: SFG 1020

Workshop description

In recent years, a lively scientific debate has uncovered a (relative) interdependency between the encoding of different information-structural (IS) categories and syntactic reordering in the diachrony of Germanic and Romance, thereby laying the ground for a novel approach to language change at least in part based on language-internal mechanisms at the interface with syntax and prosody. Diachronic change can, indeed, be described as a change in the way IS categories are displayed in the grammar, e.g. through LF or PF conditions. Cf. for instance the loss of V2 in Middle English (van Kemenade & Westergaard 2012) and Old Italian (Poletto 2014), the loss of IS-triggered leftward movements in Old Spanish and Old Portuguese (Eide & Sitaridou 2014) or the impact of IS on the OV/VO alternation in Old High German (Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2018), the alternation between V2 and V3 in older West Germanic (Walkden 2015).

In this workshop, we bring together linguists of different theoretical persuasions with original contributions on the intricate relation between syntax, prosody and IS from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, aiming to gain insights on the following questions:

– In what way does the encoding of IS categories such as Topic and Focus, referential givenness/newness, contrast etc. contribute to parametric resetting in diachronic syntax? What factors determine this change and how can we model it in a (non-)cartographic framework?

– What is the role of discourse-structural strategies (such as discourse particles or the anaphoric properties of demonstratives) in IS-induced syntactic change?

– From a broader cross-linguistic perspective, what kind of insights do other languages provide in which a diachronic switch from information-structurally to syntactically triggered configurations is observed?

References: • Eide, K. & I. Sitaridou, I. 2014. Contrastivity and information structure in the old Ibero-Romance languages. In K. Bech & K. Eide (eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in Germanic and Romance languages*, 377–412. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins • Hinterhölzl, R. & S. Petrova. 2018. Prosodic and information-structural factors in word order variation. In Jäger, A. et al. (eds.), *Clause structure and word order in the history of German*, 277–288. Oxford: OUP • Kemenade, Ans van & M. Westergaard. 2012. Syntax and information structure: Verb-second variation in Middle English. In A.Meurman et al. (eds.), *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English*, 87–118. Oxford: OUP • Poletto, C. 2014. *Word order in Old Italian*. Oxford: OUP • Walkden, G. 2015. Verb-third in early West Germanic: A comparative perspective. In T.Biberauer & G. Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over time*, 236–248. Oxford: OUP.

Prosody and syntax in the earliest Germanic

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:30–12:15 SFG 1020

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One account of the origin of the verb-second phenomenon in Germanic is that it started out as prosodically motivated, with the unstressed finite verb (like other clitics) moving to second position for metrical reasons, and was later reanalyzed as a syntactic phenomenon making reference primarily to verbs and constituency (Wackernagel 1892; Kuhn 1933; Dewey 2006). This stands in contrast to another type of account in which the factors crucial to the development of V2 were primarily syntactic and/or discourse-structural in nature (Kiparsky 1995; Hinterhölzl & Petrova 2010; Walkden 2014, 2017).

These two types of account have rarely been explicitly contrasted with one another, partly due to the different type of evidence employed: the prosodic account is usually based on evidence from poetic texts, while the discourse-syntactic account draws on evidence from prose. In order to establish whether the two types of account are really incompatible, and (if so) which is correct, more work needs to be done. In this talk I will take steps in this direction, focusing on the following two areas:

i) Theoretically, our understanding of the syntax-prosody interface has come a long way since the work of e.g. Sievers (1893). Is the traditional prosodic account statable in terms of (for instance) Match Theory (Selkirk 2011), and/or do these more recent approaches shed light on the phenomena?

ii) On the view that the patterns found in poetry are not purely artificial but reflect genuine intonational properties of Germanic (Sievers 1893: 23; Dewey 2006: 19), we might expect to see a residue of “prosodic” V2 in early prose texts, with light and/or auxiliary verbs showing more of a tendency towards V2 than full lexical verbs. Is there any evidence for this?

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The findings should have implications for our understanding of the diachronic interrelationships between syntax, prosody and information structure.

References: • Dewey, T. K. 2006. *The origins and development of Germanic V2*. PhD dissertation, UC Berkeley. • Hinterhölzl, R. & S. Petrova. 2010. From V1 to V2 in West Germanic. *Lingua* 120. 315–328. • Kiparsky, P. 1995. Indo-European origins of Germanic syntax. In A. Battye & I. Roberts (eds.), *Clause structure and language change*, 140–169. Oxford: OUP. • Kuhn, H. 1933. Zur Wortstellung und -betonung im Altgermanischen. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 57. 1–109. • Selkirk, E. 2011. The syntax-phonology interface. In J. Goldsmith, J. Riggle & A. Yu (eds.), *Handbook of phonological theory*, 2nd edn, 435–484. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell. • Sievers, E. 1893. *Altgermanische Metrik*. Halle: Niemeyer. • Wackernagel, J. 1892. Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1. 333–436. • Walkden, G. 2014. *Syntactic reconstruction and Proto-Germanic*. Oxford: OUP. • Walkden, G. 2017. Language contact and V3 in Germanic varieties new and old. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 20. 49–81.

Syntactic and prosodic factors in the rise and fall of V2 in English

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
SFG 1020

The paper discusses the rise and loss of V2 in Middle English (ME). The paper proposes that the loss of the construction in early Modern English is closely intertwined with the grammaticalization and subsequent reanalysis to functional head status of modals and other auxiliaries and the prosodic reanalysis of pronouns from affixal clitics to free clitics which is caused by a change in metrical structure of the prosodic word in the ME period.

The background: A subset of adverbs, which we call THEN-adverbs, pattern with question elements and initial negative elements in triggering categorical V to C movement as in (1) while other initial adverbs fail to trigger verb movement to the highest head, as in (2).

(1) coblick, HomS_46_[BlHom_11]:119.49.1511
þa *<u>cwæþ</u>* *he to him*…;
then said he to them...

(2) a. (*ÆCHom* I, 1.20.1)
On twam þingum hæfde God þæs mannes sawle gegodod
in two things had God the man's soul endowed
'With two things God had endowed man's soul'

b. (*HomU*19, 26)
Forðon we sceolan mid ealle mod & mægene to Gode gecyr
therefore we must with all mind and power to God turn
'Therefore we must turn to God with all our mind and power'

The proposal:
A) In the transition from OE to ME *þa* was lost, and the V to C construction was continued with *then* as the most regular adverb, and with *thus* and *now*. This development is visible as a substantial dip in the frequency of V to C with THEN-adverbs and probably necessitates a reinterpretation of its trigger. Since most of the other adverbs newly recruited in the construction are short discourse linking adverbs, the trigger for verb movement arguably was purely prosodic; B) The grammaticalization of auxiliaries and their correspondingly increased use made possible a prosodic reanalysis of subject pronouns from affixal clitics to free clitics – necessitated by an independent change in the metrical structure of the prosodic word in ME that is evidenced by schwa-deletion in word-final position; C) The construction disappears at the point at which auxiliaries are fully realized as functional elements, since they fail to be able to host subject pronoun and the discourse referential initial adverb.

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Information-structural domains and the emergence of head-initial VPs in Caucasian Urum

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 13:45–14:15 SFG 1020

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Caucasian Urum is a Turkic language spoken in Georgia by a population originating in Anatolia. The present-day spoken Urum shows a change from OV to VO (between generations). After establishing the structural properties of the verb projections, this talk will focus on the mapping of different linearizations to information structural domains.

SYNTACTIC PROJECTIONS. Postverbal constituents in Urum do not display the set of properties that appear with right-dislocated constituents in Turkish (cf. Kural 2002; Öztürk 2005). Postverbal arguments can be stressed. The variation between clause-final and non-clause-final Vs is accounted for through a semantically vacuous operation, i.e., by raising the (finite/non-finite) V-head to the head position of a functional projection above the V-layer.

BETWEEN GENERATIONS. Observational data reveal that the OV/VO ratio changes over time (generalization from spoken data). While Old Urum is a variety with flexible V placement (resulting from V-movement), Young Urum is a grammar that allows both descending and ascending structures in the postverbal domain (data from adjunct order).

INFORMATION STRUCTURE. Both varieties share in common that the focus can be postverbal (which applies to VO languages and to OV languages with V-fronting, e.g., in Georgian) and may appear immediately left adjacent to the verb (which applies to OV languages such as Basque and Turkish as well as to VO languages with a left peripheral focus position). The crucial developments are: (a) preverbal material can be focused in the canonical order, i.e., focused subjects may appear in $S_F OV$ (while $O_F SV$ is excluded) only in Old Urum, but not so in Young Urum; (b) prefocal topics are interpreted as contrastive topics in Young Urum, but not so in Old Urum. While the old variety is a type of V-final language (especially, a V-final languages that allow for wh- in situ and V-fronting; similar facts are reported for Eastern Armenian), Young Urum changes to a VO language, with a left peripheral position for topics preceding foci.

References: • Kural, M. 2002. *Properties of scrambling in Turkish*. Unpublished Ms, UCLA. • Öztürk, B. 2005. *Case, referentiality and phrase structure*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Information-structure driven word order variation in Old Norwegian

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
14:15–14:45
SFG 1020

Old Norwegian (ON) is considered to be a VO-language with a strong V2-rule (cf. Faarlund 2004, Aamodt Nielsen 2013), as is his modern counterpart. However, in ON we also find OV-patterns, as shown in (1), as well as VAux word order patterns, although not all equally common. Assuming an underlying AuxVO base, this alternation can be explained as information-structurally driven in line with Hinterhölzl & Petrova (2018) (for OHG), Pintzuk & Taylor (2015) (for OE) or Hroársdóttir (2010) (for OI), e.g. in order to focalize or background complements.

(1) OV-pattern in ON

þvi at	*[til þæss]o*	*[væliaz]v*	*opt*	*[hiner*	*bæztu*	*mænn]s*
because	to this	choose	often	the	best	men

‘because often the best of men are chosen for this’ (KS, 2r; col.a 4-5)

In this talk I will present a new corpus study for ON, identifying relational and referential structures, and examining the interplay between IS, syntax, and prosody. The loss of OV in Modern Norwegian will thus be explained as a change in the way IS categories are displayed in the grammar. In the example above, both IS and prosodic factors seems to play a role in determining the OV word order, as well as for the positioning of the subject. The corpus data also shows the tendency that old information precedes new information with 34.89% for previously mentioned objects in OV order, compared to OV order affiliated with new information by 22.29%. These numbers include all phrase types and heaviness categories. As for prosodic factors, it seems that light DPs (including pronouns) are generally preferred in preverbal position whereas heavier entities appear more often in postverbal position (cf. Hróarsdóttir 2010). I will give a more detailed analysis with the exact nature of the clauses and the categories involved in these contexts for ON.

References: • Aamodt Nielsen, M. 2013. Syntaktisk utvikling fra urnordisk til mellomnorsk. In O. E. Haugen (ed.), *Handbok i norrøn filologi,* 556–599. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget. • Faarlund, J. T. 2004. *The syntax of Old Norse. With a survey of the inflectional morphology and a complete bibliography*. Oxford: OUP. • Hinterhölzl, R. & S. Petrova. 2018. Prosodic and information-structural factors in word order variation. In A. Jäger, G. Ferraresi & H. Weiß (eds.), *Clause structure and word order in the history of German,* 277–288. Oxford: OUP. • Hroársdóttir, T. 2010. Information structure and OV order. In M. Zimmermann & C. Féry (eds.*), Information structure: Theoretical, typological and experimental perspectives,* 258–281. Oxford: OUP. • Kemenade, A. van. 2009. Discourse relations and word order change. In R. Hinterhölzl & S. Petrova (eds.), *Information structure and language change: New approaches to word order variation in Germanic,* 91–118. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Pintzuk, S. & A. Taylor. 2015. Verb order, object position and information status in Old English. In T. Biberauer & G. Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over time: Lexical, morphological, and information-structural interactions,* 318–335. Oxford: OUP.

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Informational aspects of the extraposition of relative clauses

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:00 SFG 1020

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One reason why intertwined clauses are harder to perceive than their counterparts might be information structure (IS). The current idea is that speakers choose extraposition of new information to help the audience perceive their text and to distribute information evenly across a discourse (Levy and Jaeger 2007). The purpose of this paper is to verify the relation between IS and extraposition or adjacency of relative clauses (RC).

(1) Adjacent RC: *Er hat ein Kind, das spielte, gesehen*.
he has a child, who played, seen.

(2) Extraposed RC: *Er hat ein Kind gesehen, das spielte*.
he has a child seen, who played.
'He has seen a child, who played.

In order to assess the connection between IS and extraposition of RC across the history of German, a corpus study was conducted covering the periods 1530-1600, 1630-1700 (Early ENHG) and 1830-1850 (Late ENHG). The corpus consists of letters due to their conceptional closeness to conceptional orality (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 2007). For every RC variant, I quantified the cognitive status of the referents in RC and matrix clause, which were categorized following Gundel, Hedberg and Zacharski (1993) and Prince (1981).

A significant correlation between extraposition and IS in the 16th and 17th century parts of the corpus can be shown. In adjacent RC, there is a higher proportion of given referents than new referents. These results can be explained by the position of the adjacent RC in the middle field of the matrix clauses. Literacy in 16th and 17th century was not as widespread as in the 19th century, therefore the letters might have been read out aloud, meaning that processing conditions for oral communication applied. By the end of the matrix clause, the listener has new capacities to understand the content of the RC (cf. Gibson 1998). In the 19th-century letters, no connection between IS and extraposition could be detected. This suggests a decreasing influence of the IS on extraposition.

The results of the present study clearly show an influence of IS on the syntactic surface of complex sentences and offer an explanation for syntactic variants to improve the comprehensibility of texts.

References: • Gibson, E. 1998. Linguistic complexity: locality of syntactic dependencies. *Cognition* 68(1). 1–76. • Gundel, J., N. Hedberg & R. Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of reffering expressions in discourse. *Language* 69. 274–307. • Koch, P. & W. Oesterreicher. 2007. Schriftlichkeit und kommunikative Distanz. *ZGL* 35. 346–375. • Prince E. 1981. Toward a taxonomy of given-new information. In P. Cole (ed.), *Radical pragmatics*, 223–255. New York: Academic Press. • Levy, R. & T. F. Jaeger. 2007. Speakers optimize information density through syntactic reduction. In B. Schöllkopf, J. Platt & T. Hoffman (ed.), *Advances in neural information processing systems* 19, 849–856. Cambridge Ma.

AG7

Contextual dimensions of clefts

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
SFG 1020

The present work investigates the rise of clefts in the history of English (Jespersen 1937, Ball 1991, Los & Komen 2012, Trips & Stein 2018) primarily on the basis of the Penn parsed corpora of historical English focusing on the four centuries of Early and Late Modern English (16th to 19th c.; cf. Kroch et al. 2004, Kroch et al. 2016). The reason for concentrating on theses periods lies in the prolific use of clefts in Modern English (as opposed to earlier stages of the language), a fact that is needed in the quantitative part of our investigation.

Our main driving point is that information packaging strategies played a role in the spurt of clefts and the question is what impact information structure had on the frequencies of types of clefts. We study the presuppositional and givenness behavior of the pivot or clefted constituent together with its contextual environment over time. Having developed corresponding annotation guidelines which have been designed for clefts but also other presuppositional markers – such as additives (*too*, *even* etc.), we proceeded in assigning the interpretation of clefts to one of four categories: new, inferred, based on world-knowledge, or given. We focus on what is usually considered to be the existential presupposition of clefts. For example, if *It was Sally that solved the problem,* then somebody must have solved the problem. What we observe on the basis of our results thus far is that at least clearly given clefts are a proportionally smaller pattern (unlike e.g. in the case of a parallel study on additives, where givenness is the rule and accommodation infrequent). What we clearly observe is the development of so-called informative presuppositional clefts (Prince 1978, Tonhauser 2015) in which apparent accommodation frequently has to take place. While our current results indicate that an even further rise can be observed at the transition towards Present-day English, the incidence of new clefts is already surprisingly high from the Early Modern English period onwards. We explore to what extent the clefts that have developed in English are a particular rhetorical device (cf. Prince's 1978 initial remarks) and a rather manipulating information-structural means to direct the question-under-discussion into a particular direction.

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References: • Ball, C. 1991. *The historical development of the it-cleft*. Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania. • Ball, C. 1994. The origins of the informative-presupposition it-cleft. *Journal of Pragmatics* 22. 603–628. • Jespersen, O. 1937. *Analytic syntax*. London: Allen and Unwin. • Kroch, A., B. Santorini & L. Delfs. 2004. *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)*. Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania, first edition. Release 3. • Kroch, A., B.Santorini & A. Diertani. 2016. *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME)*. Department of Linguistics, University of Pennsylvania, second edition. Release 1. • Los, B. & E. R. Komen. 2012. Clefts as resolution strategies after the loss of a multifunctional first position. In T. Nevalainen & E. C. Traugott (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*, 884–898. New York: OUP. • Prince, E. F. 1978. A comparison of wh-clefts and it-clefts in discourse. *Language* 54(4). 883–906. • Tonhauser, J. 2015. Are 'informative presuppositions' presuppositions? *Language and Linguistics Compass* 9(2). 77–101.

The internal and external syntax of bare quantifiers in Old Italian

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 SFG 1020

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1. The aim of this talk is to put to the test the idea that the internal structure of bare quantifiers can determine their position in the clause, and to investigate how this interacts with general sentence phenomena like V2. Our empirical domain are the Old Italian bare quantifiers *tutto* 'all, everything', *niente* 'nothing' and *molto* 'a lot/very', which can be shown to target different positions in the low IP area (Poletto 2014; Garzonio & Poletto 2017). Yet, when they appear before the tensed verb they all seem to occupy the same low CP projection. Thus, while low (vP) syntax is not uniform, high (CP) syntax is. How can we account for this asymmetry? More generally, to which extent is their external syntax driven by their internal make-up?
2. When in the low portion of the sentence, the above bare quantifiers show distributional differences indicating that they target different but dedicated projections in the low IP area. Furthermore, *molto and tutto* can be shown to never occur in the low vP thematic area, while *niente* can. These differences can be captured by assuming that while *niente* is ambiguous and can contain *–ente*, a lexical classifier-like n° category, *molto* never does. We surmise that when quantifiers are not paired with such n° items, they are free to move to the adverbial space in IP, and behave like adverbs.
3. *Molto*, *niente* and *tutto* can be shown to be located in the same low CP projection since they are never followed by enclisis on the finite verb, and are usually only separated from it either by clitics or by negative marker. (Benincà 2006; Poletto 2014; cfr. also Franco 2009 for fronted *molto* as a case of Stylistic Fronting).
4. The reason for this asymmetry is that in the low IP area QPs check for their quantificational features, as they still do in Modern Italian. When they raise to CP, they do so to satisfy a different pragmatic driven constraint, which is no longer active in the modern language. So, the first step of the movement to the low IP area is driven by the internal makeup of the QP, while the second to the CP area is not.

AG7

References: • Beninca, P. 2006. A detailed map of the left periphery of Medieval Romance. In R. Zanuttini, H. Campos & E. Herburger (eds.), *Crosslinguistic research in syntax and semantics: Negation, tense, and clausal architecture*, 53–86. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. • Franco, I. 2009. *Verbs, subjects and stylistic fronting. A comparative analysis of the interaction of CP properties with verb movement and subject positions in Icelandic and Old Italian*. PhD thesis, University of Siena. • Poletto, C. 2014. *Word order in Old Italian*. Oxford: OUP. • Garzonio, J. & C. Poletto. 2017. How bare are bare quantifiers? Some notes from diachronic and synchronic variation in Italian. *Linguistic Variation* 17(1). 44–67.

Language change and information structure: Parametric resetting in the history of German and Italian

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–13:30
SFG 1020

In older stages of Italian (OI) and Old High German (OHG), null subjects are much more frequent in main than in embedded clauses. Benincà (1984) for OI and Axel (2007) for OHG propose that null subjects are licensed syntactically by the movement of the finite verb to C° which is possible in main but not in embedded clauses. Schlachter (2012) claims for OHG that null subjects are a discourse phenomenon and are licensed by a Topic antecedent. By analysing the distribution of overt and null subjects in the OHG and the OI Diatessaron, I show that in both languages the licensing and the interpretation of referential null subjects depend on both discourse and syntactic factors, which are similar, though not identical, to those licensing null subjects in present-day Italian (cf. Frascarelli 2007, 2018).

References: • Axel, K. 2007. *Studies on Old High German syntax. Left sentence periphery, verb placement and verb second*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Benincà, P. 1984. Un'ipotesi sulla sintassi delle lingue romanze medievali. *Quaderni Patavini di Linguistica* 4. 3–19. • Frascarelli, M. 2007. Subjects, topics and the interpretation of referential *pro*. An interface approach to the linking of (null) pronouns. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25. 691–734. • Frascarelli, M. 2018. The interpretation of pro in consistent and partial NS languages: A comparative interface analysis. In F. Cognola & J. Casalicchio (eds.), *Null subjects in generative grammar*, 211–239. Oxford: OUP. • Schlachter, E. 2012. *Syntax und Informationsstruktur im Althochdeutschen. Untersuchungen am Beispiel der Isidor-Gruppe*. Heidelberg: Winter.

AG7

Different shades of *si*. Information structure, V-to-C movement and the loss of V2

Freitag, 08.03.2019 13:30–14:00 SFG 1020

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In this paper I will argue that the resumptive particle *si* in Old French is closely linked to V2 word order. *Si* occurs after initial topics, both clausal and phrasal ones. I will argue that when the initial constituent is a fronted adverbial clause, *si* is a specialized resumptive and is a maximal category. With all other initial constituents, *si* is a specialized category and a head. It follows that as a maximal category, *si* has retained its original temporal or sequential reading, while it is completely bleached when it is a head.

In (1) the antecedent is an adverbial clause, that has been base-generated in a clause-peripheral position (dubbed SceneSettingP), and the resumptive *si* is a phrase in the specifier of CP (2).

(1) *Et [quant le Pasque fu passee],* ***si*** *y vinrent trestout*.
and when the Easter was passed SI there came all
'And when Easter was over, everybody came there.' (clari, p.8)

(2) $[_{\text{ScSP}}$ quant le Pasque fu passee $[_{\text{Scs0}}$] $[_{\text{CP}}$ si $[_{\text{C0}}$ y vinrent] ...]]

In (3) the antecedent is a thematic DP, that has been moved through SpecFinP to its surface position in SpecTopP. The resumptive *si* is the lexicalisation of Top^0 (4).

(3) [*Vostre mere]* ***si*** *fu moult sage*\\
your mother SI was very wise\\
'Your mother was very wise.' (atrper, p.50, v.1576)

(4) $[_{\text{TopP}}$ vostre mere $[_{\text{Top0}}$ si] $[_{\text{FinP}}$ ~~vostre mere~~ $[_{\text{Fin0}}$ fu] ...]]

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I will make the assumption that *si* is a C-element and that it is closely linked to Verb Second word order. If the language does not project the CP layer in main clauses, *si* may not occur. By comparing data from different stages of Old French I will trace the disappearance of *si* and see how this patterns with the loss of V2.

Arbeitsgruppe 8

Who cares? Contrast and opposition in “free” phenomena

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Raum: SFG 1030

Workshop description

Syntactic theories have taken different routes to the question of optionality. With move-alpha, movement, e.g., was free (everybody move anywhere!). In early minimalism, movement was feature-driven (check to feed your Greed!), and given internal/external merge, it may be free again (depending on your definitions). Similarly, the output of movement operations can be handled in the mapping to PF through the deletion of the copies created by movement, making the pertinent word order options “free”, at least from the point of view of syntax (/semantics). Thus, theories differ with regard to the question, which operations are “free” – and “free” for which component(s) of the grammar.

Empirically, we find that some phenomena seem to display “optional” variations – which grammars then have to be equipped to handle. Verb-second languages, e.g., allow more or less any constituent to occupy the pre-verbal position, resulting in an optionality as to which element of the clause is fronted. But if movement is feature-driven, either some interpretative impact has to be connected to this movement (singling out a particular XP for every case) or the set of XPs that have the potential to be fronted need to receive a treatment that makes them all equally likely for fronting, depending on theoretical implementations. As another example, consider scrambling. Whereas scrambling was treated as “free”, possibly up until Lenerz 1977, it was later considered free but coupled to semantic effects (Frey 1993). In yet other treatments, scrambling is analyzed as triggered by information structural properties (Frey 2004) – and thus not optional at all. Still other analyses deny that scrambling involves triggered movements (Fanselow 2006) or else propose different solutions for triggers and moved materials (Struckmeier 2017).

Our questions include but (are not restricted to) ones like: Do truly “free” oppositions exist at all in syntax and morphology, or are they “optical illusions”, observer effects, or theory-induced artifacts? When we talk about “free”' and optional phenomena, which language subsystems do indeed regard them as “free”? (Can phenomena be truly “free” across all subsystems?) Do seemingly “unrestricted” formal contrasts reflect underlying functional oppositions? Do performance restrictions or pragmatic principles bar “true” optionality from ever arising (in all cases)? Are there formal oppositions hitherto regarded as “free” that in fact involve subtle functional contrasts and should thus be taken off the list of “optional” phenomena after all?

Free variation in verb cluster serialization – A harmonic grammar analysis

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:15–14:45
SFG 1030

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German verb clusters are normally serialized according to the rule “selected verb > selecting verb”, with certain lexically specified deviations. For example, the auxiliary must occur before a modal verb in the perfect tense. According to prescriptive grammars, *auxiliary fronting* must put the auxiliary into the cluster-initial position. Empirical investigations have shown, however, that native speakers accept the auxiliary in all positions preceding the modal verb; only the cluster-final position is consistently rejected (Bader & Schmid 2009; see (1)).

(1) *dass* *Peter* *den* *Wagen* (*hatte*) *reparieren* (*hatte*) *müssen* (**hatte*).
that P. the car had repair had must had
‘that Peter had to repair the car.’

Experimental results as well as corpus data indicate that verb cluster serialization is a case of free variation. I discuss how this variation can be accounted for, taking into account experimental data obtained using the method of magnitude estimation and corpus data from the deWac corpus. A comparison of acceptability ratings and corpus frequencies reveals two mismatches that have been reported repeatedly before: First, a slight acceptability advantage for a certain syntactic variant can lead to a strong frequency advantage. Second, syntactic variants with (near) zero frequency can still vary substantially in acceptability.

Mismatches of this kind have been used to argue that constraint weights cannot be learned from experience. I will show that this argument only holds when acceptability is related to language use on the level of sentence probabilities, as in Stochastic OT (Boersma & Hayes 2001), but not when this relationship is considered on the level of individual constraints, as in Harmonic Grammar (HG; see overview in Pater 2009). Under an HG analysis, the two mismatches between acceptability and corpus frequencies follow from the way constraint weights are derived from corpus frequencies. First, because the mapping between constraint weights and frequencies is non-linear, small differences in acceptability can appear as huge differences in corpus frequencies. Second, syntactic variants with zero or near-zero corpus frequencies can still show significant acceptability differences because acceptability reflects constraint weights directly but corpus frequencies only indirectly.

AG8

References: • Bader, M. & T. Schmid. 2009. Verb clusters in Colloquial German. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 12. 175–228. • Boersma, P. & B. Hayes. 2001. Empirical tests of the gradual learning algorithm. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32. 45–86. • Pater, J. 2009. Weigthed constraints in generative linguistics. *Cognitive Science* 33. 999–1035.

Two types of optionality in Mari and Udmurt verb clusters

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:45–15:15
SFG 1030

We investigate two instances of optionality in the syntax of verb clusters in the two Finno-Ugric languages Mari and Udmurt. We argue that one of these is a genuine instance of an optional syntactic operation (namely extraposition), the other arises as an indeterminacy of rule ordering. The verb cluster forming operation can either precede or follow cliticization leading to different results (Embick & Noyer 2001, Arregi & Nevins 2012).

Data: Negative verb clusters in the two Finno-Ugric languages Mari and Udmurt make use of a negative auxiliary verb, which governs a special form of the highest verb in the clause (referred to as the connegative form) (see Edygarova 2015, Saarinen 2015). In unmarked orders, the negative verb, which also takes semantic wide scope, occurs in the second-to-last position. In 3-verb-clusters, the unmarked order is thus [312] (with 1 being the negative verb)(cf. (1)). Alternatively, [123]-orders are acceptable (cf (2)).

(1) Mari

a.	*Tud-əm*	*už-ən*	*o-m*	*kert*.
	3SG-ACC	see-INF	NEG-1SG	can.CN
b.	*Tud-əm*	*o-m*	*kert*	*už-ən*
	3SG-ACC	NEG-1SG	can.CN	see-INF
	'I cannot see him.'			

We show that the negative verb and the verb in the connegative form an indivisible unit, whereas the embedding verb *kert* (can) in (1) and (2) can be separated from the verb it embeds.

The second instance of optionality arises with adverbial clitics that can be interleaved in various positions in the cluster (Archangelskiy 2014). While affirmative verb clusters only allow the attachment after the highest verb, negative verb clusters allow for more options:

(2) Udmurt:

a.	*Ta*	*peśanaj*	*kyrdźa-ny*	*ug=ńi*	*bygaty*.
	this	grandma	sing-INF	NEG.3=anymore	can
b.	*Ta*	*peśanaj*	*kyrdźa-ny*	*ug*	*bygaty=ńi*.
	this	grandma	sing-INF	NEG.3	can=anymore
	'This grandma cannot sing anymore.'				

References: • Arkhangelskiy, T. 2014. Clitics in the Beserman dialect of Udmurt. Linguistics, WP BRP 10/LNG/2014. • Arregi, K. & A. Nevins. 2012. *Morphotactics*. Dordrecht: Springer • Edygarova, S. 2015. Negation in Udmurt. In M. Miestamo et al. (eds.), *Negation in Uralic languages,* 265–292. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Embick, D. & R. Noyer. 2001. Movement operations after syntax. *Linguistic Inquiry* 32(4). 555–595 • Saarinen. 2015. Negation in Mari. In M. Miestamo et al. (eds.), *Negation in Uralic languages,* 325–352. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins.

AG8

Optional agreement in Santiago Tz'utujiil (Mayan) is syntactic

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 1030

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Contribution: A number of Mayan languages display *optional verbal agreement* (Henderson 2008, England 2011). Focusing on novel data from Santiago Tz'utujiil (ST), we demonstrate that this optionality is not reducible to phonological or morphological factors. Rather, the source of optionality is in syntax. Regarding optional agreement, there is a syntactic distinction between external arguments (EA) and internal arguments (IA). Only IAs show optional agreement; EAs in contrast must be indexed for person/number on the verb. We provide an analysis in which surface optionality is a result of two possible syntactic derivations.
Data: The dichotomy in the optionality/obligatoriness of agreement is explained in terms of the base-position of the argument involved.

Transitive objects (1), unaccusative subjects, passive subjects, and subjects of existential constructions are commonly thought to be base-generated in Compl-position; they are IAs and agreement is optional:

(1) optional agreement with transitive object in ST

Ajoj	*x-**e-/Ø**-qa-loq'*	*i-k'e'*	*ab'aj.*
1PL	PRF-**A3PL-/Ø-**E1PL-buy	PL-two	stone

'We bought two stones.'

In contrast, transitive subjects, antipassive subjects, positional subjects (2), possessors, and sole arguments of non-verbal predicates are base-generated in Spec-position; they are EAs and agreement is obligatory.

(2) obligatory agreement with positional subject in ST

Penliew	***e-/*Ø-**tzb'ola*	*i-k'e'*	*etzb'al.*
PREP.ground	**A3PL-/*Ø-**sit	PL-two	doll

'There are two dolls sitting on the ground.'

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Analysis: We argue that the patterns of (non-)optionality reflect an underlying contrast between specifiers and complements. Complements can be deficient and thus, rendered "invisible" to the agreement probe. Specifiers cannot be deficient and agreement always obtains. This deficiency can be realized as either (i) *structural reduction*; the argument may lack a particular functional head; or (ii) *featural reduction*; the argument may lack the feature sought by the agreement probe.

On 'free' clitic placement in production

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
SFG 1030

Less obvious examples displaying 'free' operations or 'optional' variations in grammar would be speakers that seemingly switch between pre- and post-verbal placement of a pronominal object clitic. The rationale why this would not really be expected is clear: Languages pattern as either proclitic or enclitic, possibly allowing the other under certain syntactic conditions. So most Romance languages, for example, require proclisis by 'default' (say, in an indicative declarative clause) but exhibit enclisis in *wh*-questions. European Portuguese is different in setting the default to enclisis, with proclisis reserved for special circumstances (such as negation, interrogatives, focus, etc.). We also know from child language that (i) not only are clitics acquired relatively early (around age 2), but (ii) once acquired, children do not make any placement errors. That is, children do not go through a stage in which they would produce proclisis in an indicative declarative clause where enclisis is required or the other way around. This holds for monolingual first language acquisition. We will provide an overview of our vast research on the acquisition and development of pronominal object clitics for several subsets of speaker communities: bilectal Greek Cypriot children compared to their bidialectal Hellenic–Cypriot and monolingual Hellenic Greek peers as well as Russian–Greek bilingual children. In addition, we tested developmentally impaired bilectal Greek Cypriot children to compare errors to their typically developing peers and to bilingual children. Emphasis will be put on the different cliticization sites, proclisis in Standard Modern Greek indicative declarative contexts vs. enclisis in their Cypriot Greek counterparts. The same tool was administered to a total of 727 children and 60 teenagers and adults, spread across the above-mentioned populations. The basic pattern that can be observed is that, while typically developing Greek Cypriot children use exclusively enclisis at age 3 and 4, at around age 5 a change occurs—or rather: with the onset of formal schooling in H, they switch increasingly to proclisis until grade 3. We will report patterns of switching to and from, or even mixing, the placement strategies and we will put forth the Socio-Syntax of Development Hypothesis to address grammatical variation in post-critical period language development: Children growing up in diglossia take on properties of the sociolinguistically High variety (H) in their L(ow) speech in unstable environments. These environments include competing motivations, competition of grammars, and, primarily, the transition into formal schooling when reading and writing are introduced in H to speakers of L—crucially, they do not involve 'free' choice of clitic placement site or 'optional' cliticization rules, which we will expand on in the talk.

Free alternations across modules: Theoretical consequences

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–18:00
SFG 1030

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Grammatical theories have a modular architecture with defined interfaces. The opportunity for one-to-many mappings arises across the interfaces: There are well known syntactic and semantic alternations that are “free” as far as the phonological interface is concerned: Textbook examples are structural and scope ambiguities. There is no strong a priori reason to restrict such one-to-many relations in one direction. Corresponding to structural ambiguities (syntactic structure underdetermined by phonology), there could also be ‘linear ambiguities’ (syntax underdetermines output strings, as suggested in various places). Underdetermination could also arise at the syntax-semantics interface. Cases where multiple syntactic structures map onto the same semantic representation are sometimes discussed under the heading of spurious ambiguities. Also, syntactic structures could provide underdetermined input to semantic interpretation, resulting in structurally unconditioned ambiguities. This leads quite naturally to the idea that scrambling and prefield positioning in German are such operations: Both are semantically heterogeneous but syntactically homogenous. Thus, at least in German, we do not find the dedicated functional projections postulated in the cartographic literature.

The talk will discuss the question of whether cross-linguistic justifications advanced in support of these projections (and specifically, dedicated focus heads) stand up to scrutiny. I argue that some languages often taken to exhibit left peripheral focus heads (Gungbe, Tuki, etc.) can or should be given alternative analyses. More damagingly, left peripheral focus heads do not account for the cross-linguistic ordering typology of the analyzed markers. These heads always appear adjacent to the focus, but if they occupied a position in the clausal spine, they should potentially separate linearly from the focused phrase on a par with clause-final question particles. Also, hypothesized focus heads do not seem to select, be selected, or create opacity for selection, unlike uncontroversial left-peripheral heads.

The syntax of left-peripheral focus never seems to be dedicated to focus, again unlike uncontroversial cases of dedicated feature-driven syntax. Finally, fine-grained left-peripheral positions create wrong expectations regarding V2 systems.

Word order variation in parallel syntax

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–9:30
SFG 1030

In languages with (domains of) flexible word order, there is usually a multitude of factors that influences the actual order of constituents within a clause. For example, Müller (1999, 2000) assumes at least five factors for the German *middle field.* These are modelled as syntactic (OT) constraints. Other authors argue for stress (as a phonological factor, cf. Fanselow, n.d.) or information structural factors (Lenerz 1977, and much subsequent work).

Modelling the influence of such disparate factors is a challenge, e.g. one factor may cancel out the effects other factors. For example, in German, definite NPs tend to precede indefinite ones, but if the indefinite NP happens to have nominative case, it may precede other NPs despite the definiteness constraint. Optimality Theory is often seen as a good way to handle such interactions (cf. Müllers model), but suffers from well-known problems, such as the need to give up the strict modularisation of grammar and the difficulty of modelling degrees of acceptability/grammaticality.

The aim of this talk is to suggest that structures are licensed by *schemata* (similar to, but not identical with HPSG schemata). A schema is a piece of structure, either semantic, syntactic or phonological, that can be small (i.e., a single head), or larger (a complex node describing some aspects of itself and its daughter nodes). In a parallel grammar model (e.g., Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, Sadock 2012), a piece of syntactic structure can have an *inter*modular link to a piece of semantic and a piece of phonological structure, thus creating either a lexical entry or a grammar rule. In the current proposal, a piece of syntactic structure can also have *intra*modular links, i.e., links to other *syntactic* schemata. This talk, thus, explores how this idea can express Müller's OT-style analysis of German scrambling. As it turns out, this is indeed feasible, and the required assumptions are conceptually even simpler than Müller's.

References: • Culicover, P. & R. Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler syntax*. Oxford: OUP • Fanselow, G.. 2007. The restricted access of information structure to syntax – a minority report. In C. Féry, G. Fanselow & M. Krifka (eds.), *The notions of information structure,* 205–220. • Lenerz, J. 1977. *Zur Abfolge nominaler Satzglieder im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Narr. • Müller, G. 1999. Optimality, markedness, and word order in German. *Linguistics* 37(5). 777–818. • Müller, G. 2000. *Elemente der optimalitätstheoretischen Syntax*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Sadock, J. M. 2012. *The modular architecture of grammar*. Cambridge: CUP.

On "optional" wh-/focus fronting in Igbo: A SYN-SEM-PHON interaction

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:30–10:00 SFG 1030

Doreen Georgi & Mary Amaechi
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We present new data from Igbo (Benue-Kwa, Nigeria) in which wh- and focus fronting seem to be optional. We argue that the optionality is not syntactic but arises at PF. Syntactically, exactly one wh-/focused phrase must move to the left periphery (SpecFocP). What is optional is where the moved constituent is pronounced: in its base position (leading to wh-/focus in-situ) or in its landing site (resulting in wh-/focus ex-situ). We show that the optionality in pronunciation of the displaced wh-/focus constituent is influenced by semantic/pragmatic factors. Thus, pronunciation at PF is influenced by LF, which suggests that these two modules can interact somehow.

For some languages it has been argued that wh-in-situ is only a surface PF effect (see e.g. Bayer & Cheng 2017). We show that Igbo provides evidence for this view based on the observation that sentences with in-situ elements exhibit the hallmarks of (A'-)movement just like ex-situ elements: (i) in-situ wh-/focus elements cannot occur inside islands, (ii) they license parasitic gaps (*pgs*) – and we know that *pgs* can only be licensed by syntactic but not by LF movement (cf. Engdahl 1983), and (iii) they do not induce Beck intervention effects when c-commanded by negation or a foc-sensitive particle (cf. Beck 1996, 2006). Thus, we conclude that in apparent in-situ cases the wh-/foc-constituent undergoes syntactic movement to SpecFoc just like in ex-situ cases, but the lowest copy is pronounced at PF.

We identified semantic/pragmatic factors that influence the choice: Ex-situ focus is preferably used for expressing contrast or corrections, while in-situ focus is used to express new information (cf. e.g. Fiedler et al. 2010). As for questions, sentences with in-situ wh-elements can receive an echo or a matrix question interpretation, while wh-ex-situ can only have a matrix question interpretation. It is semantic/pragmatic factors rather than syntactic factors that govern the spell-out of the lowest or the highest copy in a movement chain at PF. This is unexpected under the classic T/Y-model of grammar (Chomsky 1981 et seq.) where spell-out and interpretation are strictly separated. Instead, they need to interact e.g. as suggested in Bobaljik's (2002) Single Output Syntax, which we adopt for Igbo.

AG8

References: • Bayer, J. & L. Cheng. 2017. Wh-in-situ. Blackwell Companion to Syntax 2. • Beck, S. 1996. Quantified structures as barriers for LF movement. *NLS* 4. 1–56. • Bobaljik, J. 2002. A-chains at the PF-interface: Copies and 'covert' movement. *NLLT* 20. 197–267. • Engdahl, E. 1983. Parasitic gaps. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 6. 5–34. • Fiedler, I. et al. 2010. Subject focus in West African languages. In M. Zimmermann & C. Féry (eds.), *Information structure from different perspectives*, 234–257. Oxford: OUP.

Subject inversion as a 'free' phenomenon

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
10:00–10:30
SFG 1030

1. Preliminary assumptions. In Spanish and other Romance languages a distinction between two types of subject inversion has to be made. In the first set of contexts, subject inversion is obligatory (for instance, in *wh*-interrogatives and Focus Fronting), and the postverbal subject is not in focus. The second set of contexts roughly corresponds to what is traditionally called *'free' inversion*: here inversion is not syntactically induced, and the subject is always in focus. It seems natural to derive the informational value of the subject from the (non-)optionality of inversion by means of general economy principles. From this point of view, 'free' subject inversion, together with its competing alternative option – movement of the subject to its canonical preverbal position – is a "free" phenomenon, in the sense of being the result of a speaker's choice.
2. Aims. The aim of this presentation is to show that subject inversion and its competitor are free options in languages like Spanish and that this view can be maintained even when faced with two apparent difficulties.

The first difficulty concerns language-internal issues. It is well known that VS order with unaccusative predicates is the default, unmarked option, whereas SV is sometimes anomalous, so that inversion does not entirely look like a matter of free choice. In an approach that maintains movement as a free operation, this can however be accommodated, if the constraints that limit acceptability of the output of movement operations are not a part of core syntax, but rather parts of a different component of the grammatical system that includes information structure and prominence hierarchies.

The second difficulty involves cross-linguistic, comparative issues. A potential problem is raised by other Romance languages that allow subject inversion, but in a more restrictive way (Italian, Catalan, and in particular French). My claim is that we should keep core syntax maximally simple, with free operations, and account for cross-linguistic variation by placing most factors responsible for variation out of core syntax, as pieces of a component that filters and restricts word order options (cf. Leonetti 2017).
3. Conclusions. A treatment of free grammatical phenomena along these lines favours a "subtractive" model of grammar like the one described in Struckmeier (2017).

AG8

References: • Leonetti, M. 2017. Basic constituent orders. In Stark, E. & A. Dufter. (eds.), *Manual of Romance morphosyntax and syntax,* 885–930. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Struckmeier, V. 2017. Against information structure heads: a relational analysis of German scrambling. *Glossa* 2(1). 1–29.

Arbeitsgruppe 9

Koloniale und post-koloniale Toponomastik

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Raum: SFG 1030

Arbeitsgruppenbeschreibung

Toponymische (Um-)Benennungen waren Teil des Sprachhandelns der Kolonisatoren sowohl im kolonisierten Raum als auch in den sog. kolonialen Metropolen. Diese sprachlichen Praktiken werden seit einigen Jahren in koloniallinguistischer und onomastischer Perspektive eingehend erforscht. Dazu wurden in Fallstudien zur Produktion kolonial motivierter Toponyme und zu (historischen) Benennungs- und Umbenennungspraktiken Nameninventare erhoben, analysiert und verglichen. In solchen Zusammenhängen wurden auch Fragen zu strukturellen und funktionalen Besonderheiten (oder Übereinstimmungen) zwischen Benennungspraktiken im kolonisierten Raum und Benennungspraktiken in den sog. koloniale Metropolen sowie nach dem Vorhandensein übergreifender sprachlicher Strukturen bei Benennungs- und Umbenennungspraktiken unterschiedlicher europäischer Kolonialmächte aufgeworfen. Der erreichte Forschungsstand soll skizziert werden. Ein Teil der Vorträge der AG schließt unmittelbar daran an und kann ihn erweitern.

Neben sprachstrukturellen Fragestellungen geraten aktuell auch solche zur Repräsentation, zur Verwendung und zu den semantischen Strukturen kolonialer Mikro- und Makrotoponyme in Texten und Diskursen in den Blick. Neben Benennungen werden dabei erstmals auch Umbenennungen als musterhafte, system- und diskursanalytisch zu untersuchende onymische Einheiten erfasst. Analysen von sprachlichen Benennungs- wie auch Umbenennungsprodukten werfen dabei auch Fragen nach sprachlicher Wahrnehmung und sprachlichen Einstellungen auf. Gesprächsanalytische Verfahren erweitern das Spektrum koloniallinguistischer Untersuchungsmethoden. Sie können Befunde zur Identifizierbarkeit und zur sprachlichen Bewertung onomastischer Einheiten als koloniale Toponyme aus zeitlicher Distanz heraus erbringen, usuelle Argumentationsmuster aufdecken und womöglich auch strukturelle Hinweise zur Wahrnehmung und Bewertung endonymischer und exonymischer Einheiten und der Priorisierung bestimmter Typen von Modifikatoren und Klassifikatoren liefern. An diese Forschungsbereiche schließen weitere Beiträge der AG an.

Die aktuelle Kolonialtoponomastik kann sich in der erreichten Vielfalt methodischer Zugriffe damit der Frage nähern, welche Rolle koloniale Toponyme (als Benennungen und Umbenennungen) bei sprachlicher Kolonisierung, aber womöglich auch bei angestrebten sprachlichen Dekolonisierungsprozessen einnehmen. Die AG soll diese Fragestellungen datenbasiert und einzelsprachübergreifend erörtern.

Italo-koloniale Urbanonyme im Vergleich: Asmara, Mogadishu, Tripolis und Addis Abeba während der Zeit des Liberalismus und des Faschismus

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:45–12:15 SFG 1030

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Der Zeitraum des italienischen Kolonialismus (1882–1941/42) kann in zwei politische und konstitutionelle Phasen aufgeteilt werden, nämlich in die des liberalen sowie des faschistischen Italiens. Im Vortrag werden die italienischen Mikrokolonialtoponyme in den Blick genommen, insbesondere (als Unterkategorie) die sog. Urbanonyme (Dromonyme (Straßennamen), Hodonyme (Platznamen) und weitere Namensklassen, z.B. Denkmal-, Brücken und Gebäudenamen (Schulz & Aleff 2018)). Es geht um funktionale und strukturelle Analysen der italienischen Urbanonyme (im besonderen Exonyme) innerhalb der Ex-Kolonien. Als Beispiele fungieren die kolonialen Hauptstädte Asmara (Eritrea), Mogadischu (Somalia), Tripolis (Libyen) und Addis Abeba (Äthiopien).

Als Analyseergebnisse werden diverse Differenzierungen präsentiert: Toponyme mit Erinnerungsfunktion werden in solche mit einer nicht-kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion und solche mit einer kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion differenziert. Toponyme mit einer kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion werden in Toponyme mit einer internen und externen kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion differenziert. Toponyme mit einer internen kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion kommemorieren Objekte, die eine Beziehung zu der Kolonie, in der sie geprägt wurden, haben, während Toponyme mit einer externen kolonialen Erinnerungsfunktion die Metropole, den italienischen Kolonialismus im Allgemeinen oder andere Kolonien kommemorieren.

Literatur: • Nübling, D., F. Fahlbusch & R. Heuser. 2015. *Namen. Eine Einführung in die Onomastik*. Tübingen: Narr. • Marcato, C. 2009. *Nomi di persona, nomi di luogo. Introduzione all'onomastica italiana.* Bologna: Il Mulino. • Miccoli, P. angenommen. Italo-koloniale Urbanonyme im Vergleich. Tripolis und Rom während Liberalismus und Faschismus. In M. Aleff, V. Ebert, T. Mühlan-Meyer & M. Schulz (Hgg.), *Koloniale Urbanonyme. Forschungsperspektiven und interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter Mouton. • Schulz, M. & M. Aleff. 2018. Mikrotoponyme in der Kolonialtoponomastik: Deutsch-Samoa und Deutsch-Neuguinea. In T. Stolz & I. H. Warnke (Hgg.), *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik – Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 125-160. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Stolz, T. & I. H. Warnke. 2018. System- und diskurslinguistische Einblicke in die vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Eine gemeinsame Einführung. In T. Stolz & I. H. Warnke (Hgg.), *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik – Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 1–75. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

AG9

Hotelnamen in den französischen Kolonien Afrikas und Asiens

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
SFG 1030

In den französischen Kolonien des 20. Jhs. kristallisierte sich zunehmend die Tourismusbranche als bedeutender wirtschaftlicher Sektor heraus. Obwohl das französische Kolonialreich sich seit dem 16. Jh. über mehrere Kontinente ausdehnte, konzentrierte sich das touristische Interesse Frankreichs nur auf bestimmte Regionen Afrikas und Asiens. Bezüglich der afrikanischen Kolonien waren es zunächst Länder des Maghrebs – wie beispielsweise Marokko – in denen das Tourismusgeschäft aufblühte. Anschließend begann die Kolonialmacht Frankreich den Tourismus auch in weiteren Gebieten Afrikas zu fördern: Ab den 1920er Jahren wurden subsaharische Gebiete – im kolonialen Diskurs häufig als *Afrique Noire* bezeichnet – verstärkt als Reiseziel beworben. Die französische Wirtschaftspolitik versuchte vor allem das Interesse von Reisenden mit Affinität zur Großwildjagd zu wecken. In diesem Kontext wurden in zeitgen. Reiseführern Jagdmöglichkeiten auf exotische Tiere angepriesen. Der Reiz der Exotik wurde außerdem genutzt, um eine Tourismusbranche in Asien insbesondere in Indochina (heute: Vietnam, Laos, Kambodscha) zu etablieren. Infolgedessen entstand in den Kolonien eine touristische Infrastruktur, die neben gastronomischen Betrieben auch Unterkünfte für Reisende zur Verfügung stellte.

Vor diesem Hintergrund beschäftigt sich der Vortrag aus mikrotoponomastischer Perspektive mit der Benennung touristischer Unterkünfte: Namen von Hotels und auch Namen von Gaststätten. Die Analyse der Hotel- und Gaststättennamen bezieht sich geographisch auf diejenigen Kolonien, in denen der Tourismus eine bedeutende Rolle spielte, d. h. auf Französisch-Westafrika (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) und auf Französisch-Indochina (*Indochine française*). Als Datenbasis werden zeitgenössische Reiseführer und Jahresbücher des französischen Staates, die Auskunft über den wirtschaftlichen Status der einzelnen Kolonien gaben, herangezogen. Letztere eignen sich als Quelle für Mikrotoponyme, da alle seitens der Kolonisten errichteten (und benannten) Gebäude verzeichnet wurden. Das zugrunde liegende Hotelnamen-Korpus soll unter verschiedenen Aspekten analysiert werden: In der Regel weisen Hotelnamen ein objektbezeichnenden Appellativ (*Hotel*) sowie ein onymisches Element auf wie z.B. *Hotel France*. Neben der Struktur soll der Frage nachgegangen werden, welche Benennungsmotivik den Hotelnamen zugrunde liegt. So lassen sich beispielsweise Hotelnamen mit Bezug auf die Kolonialmacht Frankreich wie *Hotel France*, *Hotel Métropole* beobachten, aber auch Namen, die auf das eigentliche Kolonialgebiet referieren wie z.B. *Hotel Afrique*. Schließlich soll der Aspekt untersucht werden, inwiefern sich geografisch bedingte Unterschiede (zwischen Asien und Afrika) in der Benennungspraxis touristischer Unterkünfte ausfindig machen lassen.

Sprachliche Besetzung. Deutschsprachige Toponyme in Usambara

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
13:45–14:15
SFG 1030

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Namen wird vielfach nachgesagt, sie hätten keinen Einfluss auf die Qualität oder die Funktion der benannten Objekte. Diese Anschauung wird aber nicht nur vom Forschungsansatz der *Critical Onomastics* in Frage gestellt (vgl. Puzey & Kostanski 2016, Bigon 2016), sondern auch vom rezenten Forschungsfeld der Kolonialtoponomastik, das zeigen kann, dass in kolonialen Kontexten weltweit eine primäre Funktion der Benennung von Raum darin besteht, den Machtanspruch der Invasoren zu bekräftigen: „Wir können hier von einer linguistischen, genauer toponomastischen Kartierung weiter Flächen der kolonisierten Welt sprechen“ (Stolz & Warnke 2018: 4). Die bisher vorliegenden Untersuchungen zeigen zudem, dass die verzeichneten Kolonialtoponyme sowohl im Hinblick auf die Zusammensetzung der Toponomastika insgesamt als auch auf die vorkommenden Bildungsmuster eine Reihe von Merkmalen teilen. So enthält auch das deutsche Kolonialtoponomastikon überwiegend Namen aus der vorkolonialen Zeit und nur wenige mit deutschen Elementen, wobei die hybriden Bildungen (indigene Sprachen – Deutsch) gegenüber den rein deutschsprachigen leicht überwiegen. Prototypische Hybride und die hier besonders interessierenden deutschen Namen sind wiederum überwiegend zweigliedrige Bildungen aus einem Klassifikator und einem Modifikator. Auffällig am deutschen kolonialen Toponomastikon ist allerdings die relative Häufigkeit von Namen mit einem deutschsprachigen anthroponymischen Modifikator.

Der Beitrag versteht sich als Detailstudie zum kolonialen Toponomastikon des im Nordosten der Kolonie Deutsch-Ostafrika gelegenen Usambaragebiets. Die Untersuchungsbasis bilden deutschsprachige Texte von Missionaren, Forschungsreisenden und Kolonialbeamten (1858–1920), aus denen ein Korpus von aktuell ca. 450 Ortsnamen zusammengestellt werden konnte. Dieses Korpus wird mit den bisher vorliegenden Ergebnissen zum gesamten deutschen kolonialen Toponomastikon verglichen. Dabei stehen strukturelle Eigenschaften der deutschsprachigen Toponyme sowie Art und Distribution deutschsprachiger Klassifikatoren im Mittelpunkt der Analyse.

Literatur: • Bigon, L. (ed.). 2016. *Place names in Africa. Colonial urban legacies, entangled histories*. Cham: Springer. • Puzey, G. & L. Kostanski (eds.) 2016. *Names and naming. People, places, perceptions and power*. Bristol et al.: Multilingual Matters. • Stolz, T. & I. H. Warnke. 2018. System- und diskurslinguistische Einblicke in die vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Eine gemeinsame Einführung. In T. Stolz & I. H. Warnke (Hgg.), *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 1–75. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Colonial city names as labels

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
14:15–14:45
SFG 1030

The dominant theories on the semantics of proper names (Mill, Kripke, etc.) explain that these names are simple interchangeable labels. The case of colonial onomastics can be seen as an illustration of this idea: The initial labels were replaced by others, imposed by the colonialists. However, the phenomenon of decolonisation may prove the opposite: It is because these new names were not perceived as labels that they were replaced. They had an important symbolic weight: the idea that the domination of the colonialists was shown by these names.

In the first part, we will discuss different semantic theories to infer that different points of view lead to different conclusions: Philosophers suggest that proper names are empty because they do not have intension (for instance, the toponym *Newcastle* is not a new castle), but historians or common people see other things in these names; they are not focused on intension but on historical facts or symbolical thoughts. In the second part, we will consider the colonial practices in terms of toponymy. Belgian and German practices are compared, especially concerning Rwanda and Burundi which were firstly German colonies and, in 1916, were given to Belgium. What stands out is that the Belgian rulers imposed city names linked to Belgium. For instance, Kinshasa was *Léopoldville* from *King Leopold*, but all the main cities in the colonies were given this kind of name. When Rwanda became a Belgian colony, Butare was the new capital under the name of *Astrida*, because of the queen Astrid.

This practice seems close to French colonial method, but different from the German one. In the German colonial empire, names from motherland were used but the data imply that main cities were not given German names, cf. *Dar Es Salaam*, *Lomé* and *Tsingtao*. There were German street names, for instance a *Marktstrasse* in Tsingtao or *Kaiserstrasse* in Windhoek (and castles built in Windhoek were also German-named), but the city names remained non-German. In Oceania, there were also a lot of German names (*Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land*, *Neupommern*, *Neumecklenburg*), but very few German city names. In the Ostafrika part, many geo-objects received German names (*X-Insel* or *X-Berge*), but there only seems to be less than a dozen city names (*Neu-Köln*, *Neu-Trier*, *Bismarckburg*, *Alt-Langenburg*, *Wilhelmstal*, etc.).

Belgian names were for the most part a hommage to the royal family and the motherland. We will conclude that most of these names disappeared with decolonisation because the symbolic weight of these names was too important to keep them. The new governments, just like the colonial administration, did not seem to consider them empty labels. Ironically, one of the very few that still exist is a city name that is German: *Finschhafen* in Papua New Guinea.

Benennungen, Umbenennungen und Übersetzungen von kolonialen Namen in ihrer Repräsentation auf Karten

Freitag,
08.03.2019
11:30–12:00
SFG 1030

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Beim 2003 in Kapstadt durchgeführten Symposium *The History of Carto-graphy of Africa* hat Ferjan Ormeling insgesamt 9 Phasen für die seit der Frühen Neuzeit vorgenommenen Namensgebungen kolonialer Einschreibe-praxis vorgestellt. Dabei weist er als Phase g) *replacement of German names by English names after WW I* aus (Ormeling 2003: 50), die am Beispiel des Kilimandscharo näher untersucht werden soll.

Zunächst wird die Neubildung von Toponymen durch Forschungsreisende in bislang unbesiedelten und unbewirtschafteten Naturräumen anhand von Karten untersucht, um mögliche Muster in der Vergabepraxis zu ermitteln. Dabei wird ein besonderes Augenmerk auf kleine Einheiten eines Land-schaftsausschnittes gelegt, die bei einer weiteren Untersuchung den Neu-benennungen in Kulturräumen gegenüberzustellen wären.

Die Bedeutung einzelner Örtlichkeiten und ihrer Bezeichnungen lässt sich an ihrer Verwendung in verschiedenen Maßstabsebenen ablesen. Die bei kleineren Maßstäben notwendige Generalisierung verlangt eine Auswahl und Gewichtung aufzunehmender Informationen, die Anzahl der in einer Karte enthaltenen Toponyme zeigt diese Abhängigkeit und lässt Rück-schlüsse auf deren Stellenwert zu. Einen besonderen Aspekt liefern zudem Karten aus anderen Staaten, die Aufschluss über die Internationalisierung von Exonymen geben können. Karten erhalten durch derartige Betrachtun-gen das Attribut eines zeitkritischen und gesellschaftspolitischen Dokuments.

Literatur: • Brunner, K. 2004. Frühe Karten des Kilimandscharo: Ein Beitrag zur Expeditionskartographie. *Cartographica Helvetica* 30. 3–9. • Demhard, J. I. 2000. *Die Entschleierung Afrikas: Deutsche Kartenbeiträge von August Petermann bis zum kolonialkartographischen Institut*. Gotha: Klett/Perthes. • Ormeling, F. 2003. Place name change models and European expansion. In E. Liebenberg (ed.), *Proceedings of the Symposium on the History of Cartography in Africa*, 49–50. Pretoria: Copy Master. • Pillewizer, W. 1941. Der Anteil der Geographie an der kartographischen Erschließung Deutsch-Ostafrikas. *Jahrbuch der Kartographie*. 145–175.

Anthropozentrik als ein Motiv der (kolonialen) Geoobjekt-Klassifizierung

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
SFG 1030

Das deutsche Lexikon kennt eine Vielzahl von Ausdrücken, in denen sich eine dichotome Auffassung von naturräuml. und kulturräuml. topografischen Phänomenen manifestiert. Geographische Bezeichnungen wie *Enge* und *Passage* sind potenziell referenzidentisch, implizieren jedoch in unterschiedlichem Maße die Involviertheit von Menschen. Diese Dichotomie ist weder auf einzelne Sprachen noch auf Geoobjekte einer bestimmten Größenordnung beschränkt. Als Bestandteile von kolonialen Toponymen wie *Reker-Enge* (Deutsch-Ostafrika) oder *Eulibai-Passage* (Bismarck-Archipel) fungieren *Enge* und *Passage* als Klassifikatoren (K). K lassen sich mit einem framesemantischen Ansatz als appellativische Toponym-Konstituenten definieren, die einen Eigennamen als Token eines lexembezogenen Frames kenntlich machen (vgl. Busse 2012: 619) – etwa als Token des Frames mit dem Kern ENGE bzw. PASSAGE. Auf diese Weise wird der toponymische Ausdruck als die sprachliche Realisierung eines epistemischen Konzepts ausgewiesen. Das Potenzial, das eine solche Analyse der K als Frame-Elemente gegenüber anderen semantischen Modellen bei der Erforschung von Wissensstrukturen mit sich bringt, soll dargestellt werden.

Betrachtet man toponymische K als in Frames eingebettete Größen und Frames selbst als sozio-kulturell heterogene Strukturen, dann können topografische Kategorien in einem objektivistischen Sinne nicht (mehr) per se als existent angesehen werden. Stattdessen muss nicht nur die Benennung eines Geoobjekts als *Einfahrt*, *Straße* etc. (= das *place naming*), sondern bereits seine Wahrnehmung als signifikantes und zu benennendes Ding (= die *place identification*) als von bestehenden epistemischen Strukturen abhängig betrachtet werden. Im Vortrag soll der Begriff der Anthropozentrik eingeführt werden. Mit ihm lassen sich toponymische K abseits einer Raumwahrnehmung der topografischen Natur- und Kulturelemente einordnen. Dabei sollen auch Überlegungen zur Begründbarkeit der Einordnung von K auf einer anthropozentrischen Skala vorgestellt werden. Es wird dafür plädiert, K-Bestandteile in Toponymen ebenso als Ausdrücke von kolonialer Raumaneignung zu betrachten, wie es etwa bei anthroponymischen Namensbestandteilen bereits der Fall ist (vgl. z.B. Stolz et al. 2016). Das Potenzial des Anthropozentrik-Konzepts soll für andere, nicht-toponomastische Forschungszusammenhänge verdeutlicht werden, in denen kognitive und sprachliche Kategorisierungen eine Rolle spielen.

Literatur: • Busse, D. 2012. *Frame-Semantik: Ein Kompendium*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Stolz, T., I. H. Warnke & N. Levkovych. 2016. Colonial place names in a comparative perspective. *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 51(3). 279–355.

AG9

Sprachliche Praktiken der Dekolonisation? Umbenennungen kolonial motivierter Straßennamen und deren Bewertung – Vorstellung eines Projektvorhabens

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 SFG 1030

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Die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Dekolonisationsprozess als sprachlicher Praxis steht für den öffentlichen Raum Deutschlands von Seiten der Linguistik noch aus. Das Projektvorhaben setzt sich daher zum Ziel, die administrativ verfügten Tilgungs- und Umbenennungspraktiken kolonial motivierter Straßen- und Denkmalnamen im öffentlichen Raum sowie deren Bewertung durch die Bevölkerung aus system-, diskurs- und gesprächslinguistischer Perspektive zu untersuchen. Bisher haben sich vorrangig die Geschichts- und (weiteren) Kulturwissenschaften mit der gesellschaftspolitisch forcierten Dekolonisation als Ablöseprozess von kolonial geprägten, asymmetrischen Machtstrukturen und den daraus resultierenden politischen sowie sozialkulturellen Auswirkungen beschäftigt. In jüngerer Zeit setzt sich auch die sich etablierende Koloniallinguistik bzw. die *Postcolonial Language Studies* mit den postkolonialen Gebrauchskontexten von Sprache auseinander.

Das Projektvorhaben erarbeitet in einem innovativen linguistischen Zugang den Prozess der „Dekolonisation" aus zwei Perspektiven: Die von Seiten der jeweiligen Administration verfügten Tilgungs- und Umbenennungspraktiken kolonial motivierter Straßen- und Denkmalnamen, die ortsübergreifend von 1884 – 1945 als usuelle sprachliche Praktiken im öffentlichen Raum fixiert wurden, werden in diachroner Perspektive von 1945 bis heute aufgearbeitet (top-down), indem das Inventar der getilgten Namen und der jeweiligen Umbenennungsprodukte ortsübergreifend zusammengestellt und unter toponomastischen und diskurslinguistischen Ansätzen (Strukturen, Funktionen, Argumentationen) nach „diskursive[n, d. Verf.], das heißt über das Einzeltoponym hinausreichende[n, d. Verf.] Wissensordnungen" (Stolz & Warnke 2018: 47) untersucht wird. Mit einem gesprächslinguistischen Ansatz wird mithilfe von Interviews analysiert, ob sich derartige administrative Umbenennungspraktiken mit den Assoziationen und Einstellungen der Bevölkerung (Betroffene und Nicht-Betroffene) deckt (bottom-up). Mithilfe der ineinander verschränkten linguistischen Verfahren wird eine Beantwortung der übergeordneten Leitfrage erarbeitet, inwiefern derartige sprachliche Umbenennungsprozesse im öffentlichen Raum und deren Bewertung Bestandteile dekolonisatorischer Wissensproduktion darstellen.

AG9

Literatur: • Stolz, T. & I. H. Warnke. 2018. System- und diskurslinguistische Einblicke in die vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. In dies. (Hgg.): *Vergleichende Kolonialtoponomastik. Strukturen und Funktionen kolonialer Ortsbenennung*, 1–76. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Kolonial intendierte Mikrotoponyme ohne aktive Kolonialpolitik? Benennungen und Umbenennungen in der urbanen Mikrotoponymie der Deutschschweiz

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–13:30
SFG 1030

Während sich die früheren kolonialpolitischen Ansprüche einiger europäischer Staaten als Straßennamen mit kommemorativer Funktion in deren urbane Mikrotoponymie eingeschrieben haben und diese auffällig präg(t)en, stellt sich die Frage, wie und ob sich der koloniale Diskurs auch in der Schweiz zeigt, einem Land, das keine direkte kolonialistische Außenpolitik betrieb. Gerade im Kontrast zu kolonialthematischen Benennungen in deutschen Städten beschäftigt sich mein Beitrag mit den vereinzelt auftretenden und vor dem Hintergrund des kolonialen europäischen Diskurses zu lesenden Mikrotoponymen der Deutschschweiz und mit deren sprachlichen und kulturhistorischen Hintergründen sowie mit deren Wahrnehmung innerhalb der urbanen Mikrotoponymie. Zudem werde ich auch einen Blick auf die Spracheinstellungen zu diesen als ungewöhnlich wahrgenommenen Toponymen werfen.

Literatur: • Mischke, J. & I. Siegfried (Hgg.). 2013 u. 2016. *Namenbuch Basel-Stadt*. 3 Bände. Basel: Christoph Merian. • Schulz, M. & V. Ebert. 2017. *Kaiser-Wilhelm-Ufer, Wissmannstraße, Stuhlmann-Straße* – Straßennamen im Kontext kolonialer Raumaneignung. In A. Dunker, T. Stolz & I. H.Warnke (Hgg.), *Benennungspraktiken in Prozessen kolonialer Raumaneignung*, 161–186. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter. • Warnke, I. H. (Hg.). 2009. *Deutsche Sprache und Kolonialismus. Aspekte der nationalen Kommunikation 1884–1919*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter.

AG9

Die deutsche Toponymie in Brasilien: Überlegungen, Forschungslücke und Herausforderungen

Freitag, 08.03.2019 13:30–14:00 SFG 1030

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Aufgrund der Raumeignung Brasiliens seit Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts liegen Ortsnamen in den jeweiligen deutschsprachigen Ansiedlungen vor allem in Südbrasilien häufig eine portugiesische und eine deutsche Basis zugrunde. Dazu zählen Toponyme für Bäche, Täler, Berge, Plätze sowie Ortschaften wie die sogenannten *Pikade* (pt. *Picada*) beziehungsweise *Schneis* – mit den jeweiligen phonetischen Varianten. Die bisherigen Arbeiten haben sich überwiegend aus einer historischen Perspektive mit der Namenmotivation auseinandergesetzt. Dabei werden einerseits Forschungslücken deutlich, die durch neue ortsübergreifende Erhebungen im Verbreitungsgebiet der deutschsprachigen Ansiedlungen aufzudecken sind. Andererseits erweckt die Toponymie Südbrasiliens nicht nur das Interesse der Onomastik, sondern auch anderer Teildisziplinen (etwa Sozio- und Variationslinguistik). Ziel des vorzustellenden Projekts ist die Erschließung

(a) der rekurrenten sprachlichen Basis und der Typen der Benennungen (z.B. Anthroponyme aus Familiennamen oder Spitznamen);
(b) der diatopischen Verteilung der deutschen Toponyme;
(c) der Korrelation der Benennungspraktiken mit Sprachvariation anhand der sozialen Parameter der Gewährspersonen (z.B. Alter (diagenerationell), Geschlecht (diagenerisch)) bei deutschsprachigen und nicht-deutschsprachigen SprecherInnen;
(d) der Korrelation zwischen Sprachvariation in der Benennungspraktiken und der Einstellungen der SprecherInnen zur heutigen Relevanz von deutschsprachigen Toponymen an den jeweiligen Orten.

Es lässt sich annehmen, dass ehrende Anthroponyme, die auf Orte oder Familiennamen in Europa verweisen, besonders produktiv erscheinen. Es wird weiterhin davon ausgegangen, dass frühere Ansiedlungsgebiete häufiger und länger deutsche Toponyme beibehalten. Schließlich weisen ältere SprecherInnen in ihrem Repertoire aufgrund der Sprachkompetenz mehr deutsche Benennungen auf. Sie bewerten diese zugleich positiver als die jüngeren Generationen. Die Erhebungsmethode beruht auf dem Prinzip der Pluridimensionalität der Sprachvariation. Dabei sollen sprachliche Interviews mit unterschiedlichen Gruppen von Gewährspersonen in einem Ortspunktnetz Südbrasiliens durchgeführt werden. Der Fragebogen soll aus onomasiologischen und semasiologischen sowie offenen Fragen bestehen.

Arbeitsgruppe 10

Prosody from a cross-domain perspective: How language speaks to music (and vice versa)

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Raum: GW2 B 1400

Workshop description

Relations between language and music have been discussed for centuries. The antique perspective suggested a close affinity of the two domains, with poets considered singers, and poems equated with songs. Generative linguistic approaches, on the other hand, assume a separate language module.

Recent research contributed substantially to the language-music debate, and we have now some evidence for shared as well as separate processing areas in the human brain. Surprisingly, despite the fact that both domains consider prosody as organizational principle of at least rhythm and intonation, and despite a possible joint origin, shared prosodic accounts of language and music are rare.

Can linguistic theory entirely ignore shared prosodic principles in the two domains? Or can the new insights prove beneficial for advancing linguistic theories on prosody? This workshop intends to bring together interdisciplinary researchers in order to sparkle discussions how mutual exchange between language and music can be fruitful. We invite contributions focusing on general mechanisms and representations underlying the prosody of language and music, addressing questions such as: What are the key units of prosody? What do they share between language and music, what is specific to either domain? What cognitive and neural networks support linguistic and musical prosody? Moreover, we invite contributions that explore evolutionary and developmental aspects of linguistic and musical prosody, addressing questions such as: Did linguistic and musical prosody co-evolve? Is language and musical acquisition supported by transfer/interactions between the two domains? Welcome are, furthermore, contributions studying the immediate link between the two domains in poetry or text-setting, particularly if they address the role of underlying language-specific principles. The workshop also aims at incorporating a wide range of methodologies, reaching from generative accounts of prosody to brain imaging techniques establishing prosodic networks, in order to seek for a best-possible approach to a timely and very interesting crossdomain research topic.

Text-setting and quantitative meter

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:15–15:15
GW2 B1400

Paul Kiparsky (invited speaker)
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How is a metrical text fitted to a song or chant? In stress-based meters, such as that of English, text-setting generally respects lineation, but otherwise subordinates meter to phonological prominence (Halle and Lerdahl 1993). The overarching constraint is that stressed syllables should be aligned with Strong musical beats, regardless of whether they fall in Strong or Weak positions in the verse.

In quantitative meters, on the contrary, the treatment of syllable weight does not show a comparable asymmetry between meter and text-setting. A possible explanation is that syllable weight is a paradigmatic contrastive property, whereas stress is a hierarchical syntagmatic property.

Like phonological constraints, metrical constraints and text-setting constraints come in stringency hierarchies. For example, the exclusion of stressed syllables from W(eak) positions, categorical in text-setting and in some accentual meters, context-dependent and/or frequentistic in others, is always more rigorously enforced for polysyllabic words than for monosyllables. This can be modeled Optimality-theoretically by adding to the general constraint against stress in W a constraint against polysyllabic word stress in W. Similar stringency hierarchies have been recently shown to underlie the typology of quantitative and accentual-quantitative meters (Ryan 2017, Kiparsky 2018).

This talk presents ongoing work on syllable weight in text-setting, based on analysis of Hausa songs, Urdu ghazal performances, and several Finnish musical genres. The evidence suggests that alignment preferences are better predicted by saliency than by phonological contrastiveness.

References: • Blumenfeld, L. 2015. Meter as faithfulness. *NLLT* 33. 79–125. • Dell, F. & J. Halle. 2009. Comparing musical textsetting in French and in English songs. In J.-L.s Aroui & A. Arleo (eds.), *Towards a typology of poetic forms: From language to metrics and beyond*, 63–78. Amsterdam: Benjamins. • Halle, J. & F. Lerdahl. 1993. A generative textsetting model. *Current Musicology* 55. 3–23. • Hayes, B. 2009. Textsetting as constraint conflict. In J.-L. Aroui & A. Arleo (eds.), *Towards a typology of poetic forms: From language to metrics and beyond*, 43–61. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Kiparsky, P. 2018. Indo-European origins of the Greek hexameter. In D. Gunkel & O. Hackstein (eds.), *Language and meter,* 77–128. Leiden: Brill • Kiparsky, P. 2006. A modular metrics for folk verse. In B. E. Dresher & N. Friedberg (eds.), *Formal approaches to poetry*, 7–49. Hague: Mouton. • Lerdahl, F. & R. Jackendoff. 1983. *A generative theory of tonal music*. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Ryan, K. 2017. The stress-weight interface in meter. *Phonology* 3. 581–613.

The connection between regional variation in African American English and regional variation in hip-hop music

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
GW2 B1400

Regional variation in African American English (AAE) is salient to many of its speakers, especially those involved with hip-hop culture, in which great importance is assigned to regional identity, and regional accents are a key means of expressing regional identity (Morgan, 2001). In hip-hop music, regional variation can also be observed, with different regions' rap performances being characterized by distinct "flows" (i.e. rhythmic and melodic delivery), possibly due to certain language varieties being better suited for certain flows (Kautny, 2015).

The present study is concerned with regional variation in AAE speech and rap, specifically regarding the United States' East and West Coasts. It intends to establish (1) how East and West Coast AAE differ regarding vowel duration and prosody (rhythm and melody), (2) how East and West Coast rap flows (rhythm and melody) are distinct, and (3) whether regional variation in speech and music are related to each other. To this end, free speech and rap recordings of 20 prominent African American members of the East and West Coast hip-hop communities were phonetically analyzed regarding vowel duration, rhythm (a.o. degree of syllable isochrony, musical timing), and melody (i.e. pitch fluctuation).

The results show that compared to West Coast AAE, East Coast AAE has shorter vowels, is more isochronous, and is more monotonous. Correspondingly, East Coast rap flows were found to be less rhythmically diverse and less melodic. This supports the idea that regional flows may derive from regional prosody. The data provide evidence for an intricate relationship between regional dialects and regional styles of music. They also suggest that the influence of sociolinguistic factors (in this case: expressing regional identity linguistically) is not limited to the domain of language, but that it may cross over into the domain of music as well.

References: • Kautny, O. 2015. Lyrics and flow in rap music. In J. A. Williams (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to hip-hop,* 101–117. Cambridge: CUP. • Morgan, M. 2001. "Nuthin' but a G thang": Grammar and language ideology in hip hop identity. In S. L. Lanchart (ed.), *Sociocultural and historical contexts of African American English*, 187–209. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Language, music, and text-setting: Mismatches in length and intonation

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B1400

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Verse language and western art music share a rhythmic foundation of positing equally prominent elements at regular intervals. A striking difference between the rhythmic organization of the two domains is the much wider range of rhythmic distinctions in music. The rhythmic categories of language tend to be restricted to binary values (e.g. short vs. long syllables). In art music, however, non-binary organization is common, and the relative lengths of notes can include a much greater amount of hierarchical levels, for example ten different length values featuring in the same song.

Word stress in text-setting has already received previous scholarly attention, whereas the other aspects of prosody have been more neglected. In my corpus-based study on Finnish, I focus on length clashes, misalignments between segment or unit length (notes, sound segments, and syllable length) in songs. Prosodic clashes can also occur on other suprasegmental levels; a shared prosodic feature of language and music is the use of intonation and accents for the purposes of information structure and conveying affective emphasis. In text-setting, however, simultaneous expression of linguistic and musical emphasis can be difficult.

Finnish is structurally different from the major European languages, and has a prosodic system featuring both phonemic and stress-independent length distinctions. As these features make the language speakers particularly sensitive to length clashes, Finnish is an intriguing test environment for prosodic behavior in vocal music. Determining the amount and nature of prosodic clashes acceptable to actual songwriters and audiences can also reveal new insights into the aesthetic and practical functions of prosody in speech.

References: • Lerdahl, F. & R. Jackendoff. 1983. *A generative theory of tonal music*. Massachusetts: The MIT Press. • Patel, A. 2008. *Music, language and the brain*. Oxford & New York: OUP. • Prince, A. 1989. Metrical forms. In P. Kiparsky & G. Youmans (eds.), *Phonetics and phonology 1: Rhythm and meter,* 45–80. San Diego: Academic Press. • Proto, T. & F. Dell. 2013. The structure of metrical patterns in tunes and in literary verse. Evidence from discrepancies between musical and linguistic rhythm in Italian songs. *Probus,* 25(1). 105–138. • Rodríguez-Vázquez, R. 2010. Text-setting constraints: A comparative perspective. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 30(1). 19–34.

Comparative tonal text-setting in Mandarin and Cantonese popular song

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
GW2 B1400

Much as there exist metrical constraints on poetic language based on properties like stress and vowel length, comparable text-setting constraints in tone languages govern the ways in which tonal sequences can be married to musical melodies. The fundamental principle appears to be an avoidance of *contrary settings*-asymmetry between the direction of melodic bigrams (rising, falling, level) and the corresponding sequence of tones in an accompanying text. One can then ask how strictly this basic constraint is enforced across languages and musical genres, as well as how the direction of a lexical tone sequence might be determined.

Our paper contributes to this line of research through a comparative case study of tonal text-setting in Mandarin and Cantonese popular song. Differently from earlier work, we use a corpus of songs in which pairs of language-specific texts are set to the same musical melody. By holding the musical component constant, any observed variation in tone-tune alignment is more likely to be a function of linguistic, rather than purely musical, differences.

Consistent with previous studies (Chan 1987a,b; Ho 2010; Schellenberg 2013), we observe a high degree of tone-tune correspondence in Cantonese (75%) with few contrary settings (6%), while in Mandarin, contrary settings are common no matter what grouping of tonal bigrams is considered (20-30%). We show how these differences can be explained by reference to the distribution of tonal registers in the two languages: Cantonese tones inhabit a space of four equally distributed registers, whereas for the purposes of text-setting, most Mandarin tones belong to just one of two registers. This may help explain why tonal text-setting constraints appear to be 'ignored' by lyricists of Mandarin popular song, and highlights the ways in which language-specific principles impact the relation between linguistic and musical domains.

References: • Chan, M. K. M. 1987a. Tone and melody in Cantonese. *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (1987)*, 26–37. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society. • Chan, M. K. M. 1987b. Tone and melody interaction in Cantonese and Mandarin songs. *UCLA Working Papers in Phonetics* 68. 132–169. • Ho, W.-S. V. 何詠詩. 2010. *A phonological study of the tone-melody correspondence in Cantonese pop music*. PhD dissertation, University of Hong Kong. • Schellenberg, M. 2013. *The realization of tone in singing in Cantonese and Mandarin*. PhD dissertation, University of British Colombia.

Metrical mapping in text-setting: Empirical analysis and grammatical implementation

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 17:30–18:00 GW2 B1400

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Linguists and musicologists share a persistent interest in text-setting, that is, in how the language of a poem is matched to musical structure (e.g. Halle & Lerdahl 1993, Kiparsky 2006, Hayes 2009). For example, it is generally assumed that in English vocal music, stressed syllables tend to fall on relatively strong beats of the musical meter (Palmer & Kelly 1992, Halle & Lerdahl 1993), but there is surprisingly little quantitative evidence for it (cf. Temperley & Temperley 2013: 521).

In this paper we present a systematic quantitative investigation of how poetic meter (i.e. S and W positions of a metrical template) and syllabic prominence is matched to three dimensions of musical structure: musical meter, tone length, and tone pitch. To assess the range of variability possible in such mappings we chose a corpus which comprised three different Lieder by the same composer (Haydn, based on three poems by Hunter) and three different settings of the same poem (Annabel Lee by Poe), with 161 lines overall.

Using a set of constraints that evaluate the mapping of poetic/linguistic and musical structure, we are able to establish grammars that underlie particular text-settings. The songs in our sample vary in the probabilities with which particular constraints are violated. In all text-settings, constraints demanding the alignment of poetic-metrical positions with musical metrical strength are less easily violated than constraints demanding the alignment of syllabic prominence and musical metrical strength. Furthermore, constraints concerning musical-metrical strength are less easily violated than constraints demanding the alignment of poetic/linguistic prominence and longer tone duration. The correspondence of poetic/linguistic prominence with tone pitch does not play a significant role in our sample of songs. Overall, our study provides solid empirical evidence about general tendencies underlying the text-setting of classical songs, and second, for the existence of particular typesetting strategies.

References: • Halle, J. & F. Lerdahl. 1993. A generative textsetting model. *Current Musicology* 55. 3–23. • Hayes, B. 2009. Textsetting as constraint conflict. In J.-L. Aroui & A. Arleo (eds.), *Towards a typology of poetic forms: From language to metrics and beyond*, Vol. 2. 43–52. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Kiparsky, P. 2006. A modular metrics for folk verse. In B. E. Dresher & N. Friedberg (eds.), *Formal approaches to poetry*, 7–49. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Palmer, C. & M. H. Kelly. 1992. Linguistic prosody and musical meter in song. *Journal of Memory and Language* 31(4). 525. • Temperley, N. & D. Temperley. 2013. Stress-meter alignment in French vocal music. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 134(1). 520–527.

The Neuropragmatics of prosody – From contour to meaning

Daniela Sammler (invited speaker)
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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–10:00
GW2 B1400

During verbal communication, humans regularly decode not only *what* is said but also *why*. Pragmatic theory posits that it is particularly the *why* – the communicative intention (illocution) of speakers – that drives the recipient's reactions (Bühler 1934; Grice 1957). Intonational phonologists (Bolinger 1986) and developmental psychologists (Malloch & Trevarthen 2009) have long been aware of the importance of prosody for communicating social-relational (illocutionary) meaning. How the brain extracts meaning from voice tone remains, however, poorly understood. In this keynote lecture, I will integrate previous neurofunctional accounts of language with novel evidence from behavioral, neuroimaging, brain stimulation and cross-cultural studies to reveal the complex neurocognitive architecture of prosody perception in speech. I will show (i) dual streams for prosody in the right hemisphere, (ii) sensorimotor contributions to prosody perception, (iii) the relevance of social cognition for the extraction of meaning from prosody, and (iv) cross-cultural misunderstandings of social-relational, prosodic meaning. Taken together, this research proposes the interaction of several complementary mechanisms during prosody perception and offers a fresh look on the neural basis of interpersonal communication and mutual understanding.

References: • Hellbernd, N. & D. Sammler. 2018. Neural bases of social communicative intentions in speech. *Soc Cogn Affect Neurosci* 13. 604–615. • Hellbernd, N. & D. Sammler. 2016. Prosody convey's speaker's intentions: Acoustic cues for speech act perception. *J Mem Lang* 88. 70–86. • Sammler, D., M.H. Grosbras, A. Anwander, P. E. G. Bestelmeyer & P. Belin. 2015. Dorsal and ventral pathways for prosody. *Curr Biol* 25(23). 3079–3085.

Cognitive strategies in structuring language and music

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 10:00–10:30 GW2 B1400

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Humans structure music and language by identifying some sounds as more important than others, and they do so by employing cognitive strategies based on universal well-formedness conditions. However, which sounds are considered to be most salient differs across cultures, as evidenced by the world's many linguistic and musical typologies.

The first goal of the current research approach is to identify these universal well-formedness conditions (e.g. "prominence of strong elements based on the syllable/chord structure") for speech and music, based on theories from linguistics (Prince & Smolensky 1993) and musicology (Lerdahl & Jackendoff 1983). The second goal is to assess how cultures differ from each other regarding the relative salience assigned to these conditions. For example, in the assignment of stress in stress-timed languages such as English, syllable weight plays an important role, just like harmonic consonancy in the culture's music. In a tonal language, such as Sino-Tibetan Hmong, syllable weight is less important. The syllables in this language are less complex. Diversity in meaning is established by means of tonal differences and in the culture's music, prolongation of the melody line is more important than its harmonic consonancy. It is our aim to look for patterns of this kind between the language and music of different cultures.

The findings from these investigations will reveal 1) to what extent language and music are structurally similar, and 2) whether the world's musical typologies and the corresponding regions' linguistic typologies are related to each other on a structural level. If it is found that the rankings of universal well-formedness conditions in both the language and the music of a particular culture are related, this research will provide fundamental insight into the cognitive mechanisms that underlie the way people learn and structure language and music (i.e. universal well-formedness conditions) and provide basic insight into the possible variation in language and music of different cultures (i.e. the ranking of these conditions).

References: • Lerdahl, F. & R. Jackendoff. 1983. *A generative theory of tonal music*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. •Prince, A. & P. Smolensky. 1993. Optimality Theory: Constraint interaction in generative grammar. Technical Report CU-CS-696-93, Department of Computer Science, University of Colorado at Boulder.

Getting the rhythm for infant language learning

Tineke M. Snijders
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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:15–11:45
GW2 B1400

Young infants are very sensitive to the melody and rhythm of speech (Nazzi et al. 1998). These prosodic cues help to identify lexical and syntactic units in language, and might thereby serve to bootstrap language learning (Morgan 1986). Prosodic cues are often exaggerated in child-directed speech and in songs. I will discuss possible neural mechanisms through which infants can so effectively use prosodic cues for early language learning. I will first describe two infant EEG studies addressing whether word segmentation is easier from a rhythmic stimulus (in song, and in rhythmic compared to arrhythmic speech). Then, I will present a study that looks at the importance of neuronal entrainment in infants for word segmentation. Neurons in the brain process information in a rhythmical way, and can take over the speech rhythm to focus on salient aspects of the input (Lakatos et al. 2008). I will present results of a study in which infants' neuronal sensitivity to rhythm was assessed at 7.5 months in an EEG experiment (N=108). I will discuss individual differences in infant neuronal entrainment and relate those to speech segmentation ability at 9 months and vocabulary scores at 18 and 24 months. My results will shed light on how children use the music of language for language acquisition.

References: • Lakatos, P., G. Karmos, A. D. Mehta, I. Ulbert & C. E. Schroeder. 2008. Entrainment of neuronal oscillations as a mechanism of attentional selection. *Science* 320(5872). 110–113. • Morgan, J.L. 1986. *From simple input to complex grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. • Nazzi T., J. Bertoncini & J. Mehler. 1998. Language discrimination by newborns: Toward an understanding of the role of rhythm. *J. Exp. Psychol. Hum. Percept. Perform*. 24(3). 756–766.

Behavioral and electro-physiological evidence for early rhyme sensitivity

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:45–12:15
GW2 B1400

Laura E. Hahn[1,2], Tineke M. Snijders[1,3], Titia Benders[4] & Paula Fikkert[1]
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Rhyming songs are ubiquitous in early childhood. Yet it is unknown, whether infants already recognize the rhyme at phrase endings in songs. Here we report evidence for infants' sensitivity to rhyme in songs from two experiments. In both studies, Dutch infants listened to rhyming and non-rhyming songs. The songs resembled typical western child songs in their melody and contained Dutch nonsense words as lyrics. First, we will present data from a head-turn-preference study where 9-month old Dutch infants (n=35) preferred to listen to non-rhyming over rhyming songs (Hahn et al. 2018). Secondly, we will present results from an EEG study with 10.5 months old Dutch infants. Preliminary results (n=8) so far confirm our behavioral data: infants are indeed able to recognize the rhyme words at phrase endings in songs. For the workshop, we will present the full EEG dataset and will compare our results with recent findings for rhyming single words in 3-year old children (Andersson et al. 2018). Furthermore, we will explore individual differences in rhyme sensitivity by correlating ERPs with vocabulary questionnaires. Potentially, child songs are not only a means of infant mood regulation, but are also a source of linguistic learning for young children.

References: • Hahn, L. E., T. Benders, T. M. Snijders & P. Fikkert. 2018. Infants' sensitivity to rhyme in songs. *Infant Behavior and Development* 52, 130–139. • Andersson, A., L. D. Sanders, D. Coch, C. M. Karns & H. J. Neville. 2018. Anterior and posterior erp rhyming effects in 3- to 5-year-old children. *Developmental Cognitive Neuroscience* 30. 178–190.

AG10

Meter as a mnemonic device

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
GW2 B1400

Poetry is an expression of language comparable to music: besides linguistic structures such as syntax and semantics, it is also characterized by a special "rhythm" provided by the devices of meter. Such devices are linked to phonology and, therefore, to prosody (Vogel & Nespor 2007). Throughout the history of humankind, it has always been intuitive that rhythmic structures can help information settle down in long term memory. In every culture, we find songs and poems that have been transmitted for centuries without a written support, but just relying on memory (Rubin 1995). The importance of the surface form for this kind of material is confirmed by studies comparing the ease of recalling material for prose and poetry (Tillman & Dowling 2007).

In our study we aim at investigating the role played by meter devices in long term memory. We consider these devices as examples of schemata that, by creating regularities, facilitate the recall of verses. What is exactly the strength of each metric device? We chose passages from the Divine Comedy, which employs metrical schemata widely familiar to Italians. We manipulated three main schemata: rhyme, pattern of accents and number of syllables. We used non-words in order to eliminate semantic effects. The experiment includes two phases. The first encourages participants to encode and retain something in memory by listening to four 9-verse passages several times. The following day the material is presented tachistoscopically and they are asked to remember a specific non-word per passage.

We hope that this study, particularly once extended to ERPs, will help understand how memory for poetic material works from a neurocognitive point of view, where the notion of schema has already been very influential.

References: • Nespor, M. & I. Vogel. 2007. *Prosodic phonology*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter • Rubin, D. C. 1995. *Memory in oral traditions*. Oxford: OUP •Tillman, B. & W. J. Dowling. 2007. Memory decreases for prose, but not poetry. *Mem. Cognit*. 35. 628–639.

The interaction of isochronous music and speech rhythms in a chanting task

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 13:45–14:15 GW2 B1400

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Language and music production share structurally-determined rhythmic properties like phrase-final lengthening, where events (i.e. syllables or notes) at the ends of groups are produced with longer durations than comparable events in the middle of groups (Byrd & Saltzman 1998, Byrd 2000, Todd 1985, Repp 1992). However, little work has been done to explore the rhythmic behavior of events that are planned in a simultaneously musical and linguistic context.

In this experiment, chanting was employed to test how the demands of imposed isochrony interact with phrase-final syllable lengthening at the ends of sentences. Participants learned to say four nonsense place names ("Deebobo", "Zadeedee", "Kopapa", and "Busasa") in two frame sentences that manipulated whether the final syllable of the nonsense word coincided with a sentence boundary:

• Sentence-final: "Have fun in ______. It's a nice get-away."

• Sentence-initial: "Have fun there. _______ is a nice get-away."

Every combination of word and frame sentence was repeated five times. Before each repetition, an isochronous metronome played six beeps at 200 beats per minute, with the first and fourth beats at a higher pitch and amplitude than the two beeps that followed. Participants listened to the metronome while seeing a filled frame sentence; after the last beep sounded, participants chanted aloud the sentence on-screen to the rhythm primed by the metronome. The duration of the final syllable of the nonsense word in each repetition was measured using Praat. Preliminary results indicate that, for most speakers, the presence of a language boundary altered syllable duration even in the context of an isochronous rhythmic constraint, indicating an interaction between chanting rhythm and speech rhythm. Extensions of this experiment may show how music and language rhythms interact and provide insight for how they are planned.

References: • Byrd, D. & E. L. Saltzman. 1998. Intragestural dynamics of multiple prosodic boundaries. *Journal of Phonetics* 26. 173–199. • Byrd, D. 2000. Articulatory vowel lengthening and coordination at phrasal junctures. *Phonetica* 57(1). 3–16. • Repp, B. H. 1992. Diversity and commonality in music performance: An analysis of timing microstructure in Schumann's '"Träumerei."' *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 92(5). 2546–2568. • Todd, N. 1985. A model of expressive timing in tonal tusic. *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 3(1). 33–57.

Prosodic cues for rhythm in adult vs. child-directed song

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Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 14:15–14:45 GW2 B1400

With parallels between music and language widely explored, little is known as to how child-directed music reinforces linguistically relevant information such as rhythm. Research in this direction relies on the assumptions that (i) different musical traditions reveal language-specific rhythmic values (e.g., higher nPVI for English and German vocal music than for French and Italian, see Daniele & Patel 2013), and (ii) child-directed music reflects the tendencies found in child vs. adult-directed speech irrespective of language (i.e., lower nPVI in child than adult-directed music). Research testing these assumptions on vocal music has however yielded incompatible results. While musical nPVIs could not distinguish German from French (VanHandel & Song 2010) or English and German from French and Italian (Temperley 2017), Hannon et al. (2016) have recently found higher nPVI values in English than French children's songs but no difference between English and French adult (folk) songs. The cross-linguistic and cross-genre validity of these findings therefore beg for further investigation.

Here we investigate parallels between rhythm and vocal music in Turkish, a syllable-timed language, and tests whether rhythmic differences are found in adult-directed and child-directed music within the same language, controlling for different musical traditions. Specifically, we analyze nPVI values of a carefully selected children's vs. adult songs composed in two genres: Turkish Makam (classical) music (n=44) and Turkish non-Makam music (n=44).

Preliminary analyses of the Makam songs reveal that mean nPVI values are significantly lower in children's than in adult's songs (33.33 vs. 72.07), the latter showing properties of stress-timing. Whether similar trends hold for non-Makam songs remains to be seen. We will discuss the implications of our current findings for the psychotypology of other prosodic phenomena (stress) and their mirroring in other musical levels (meter and melody) using recent findings from children's songs (Domeno Moreno & Kabak 2018).

References: • Daniele, J. R. & A. D. Patel. 2013. An empirical study of historical patterns in musical rhythm: Analysis of German and Italian classical music using the nPVI equation. *Music Perception* 31(1). 10–18. • Domene Moreno, C. & B. Kabak. 2018. Psycho-typologizing word stress through prosody-music alignment in children's songs. Paper presented at 40th Annual Meeting of the German Linguistic Society (DGfS 2018), Universität Stuttgart. 7.–9.3.2018. • Hannon, E. E., Y. Lévêque, K. M. Nave & S. E. Trehub. 2016. Exaggeration of language-specific rhythms in English and French children's songs. *Frontiers in Psychology* 7, article 939. • Temperley, D. 2017. Rhythmic variability in European vocal music. *Music Perception* 35(2). 193–199. • VanHandel, L. & T. Song. 2010. The role of meter in compositional style in 19th century French and German art song. *Journal of New Music Research* 39(1). 1–11.

Perception of word stress by German congenital amusics

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:00 GW2 B1400

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Congenital amusia negatively influences the perception of musical pitch and rhythm (Peretz et al. 2002) and is not caused by a hearing deficiency, brain damage or intellectual impairment. It has been shown that amusics also have impaired perception of intonation (Patel et al. 2008) and linguistic tones (Tillmann et al. 2011). In the present study we investigated whether congenital amusia also negatively impacts the perception of word stress.

For this, we used the German minimal stress pair ˈumstellen 'to reposition' vs. umˈstellen ‘to enclose’, and systematically manipulated the stress cues of pitch, intensity, duration and spectral tilt. We assessed amusics’ behavioral and electrophysiological responses (Mismatch negativity: MMN) in two separate experiments with 11 congenital amusics and 11 matched controls.

In the behavioral study, the stimuli were presented in isolation via headphones, and participants had to indicate the meaning by clicking on one of two pictures. A generalized linear model of the replies showed that amusics performed worse than controls, and that only duration and pitch had a significant influence on the perception of stress.

Based on these results, we selected the stimuli for the EEG study. These stimuli were presented in a multi-deviant oddball paradigm in 4 blocks. In each block, one stimulus was the standard and occurred 85% of the time, while the three other stimuli served as deviants, resulting in 16 event-related potentials (ERPs) per participant. The results of this study revealed that both amusics and controls showed MMNs but that amusics had a significantly smaller MMN than controls.

We conclude that congenital amusia affects the linguistic perception of pitch and duration, therefore having more far-reaching consequences for speech perception than previously assumed. Not only was the behavior of amusics shown to be affected, we also showed differences in the MMN, reflecting differences in early auditory change detection.

References: • Patel, A. et al. 2008. Speech intonation perception deficits in musical tone deafness. *Music Perception* 25(4). 357–368 • Peretz, I. et al. 2002. Congenital amusia: A disorder of fine-grained pitch discrimination. *Neuron 33*(2), 185–191. • Tillmann, B. et al. 2011. Congenital Amusia interferes with pitch processing in tone languages. *Frontiers in Psychology* 2.

Stylistic rhythmic patterns and musicality

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
GW2 B1400

What are the prosodic units that are relevant for the characterization of prosodic styles? Do those units resemble musical units? We transcribed 20 minutes of speech for 5 Russian public figures that are associated with different personae (e.g., ingénue, diva) and are commonly known for their distinct prosodic styles. Similar to (Calder & Popova 2014), we found that one of the most stylistically prominent prosodic units are rhythmic patterns: several IPs, sometimes divided by a short (filled) pause that form a rhythmic unit akin to a musical phrase. Each pattern is characterized by a particular placement or realization of accents. The occurrence of final lengthening, filled pauses, filler words, creaky or breathy voice is best explained in terms of those rhythmic patterns.

We then hypothesized that musical aptitude and musical experience might be correlated with the ability of participants to recognize similar rhythmic patterns and to form expectations about the end of a rhythmic pattern that they have heard before. We designed stimuli based on the patterns from the transcripts mentioned above and recruited 20 Russian native speakers to participate in the experiment. Musical experience and musical aptitude were defined as in (Boll-Avetisyan et al. 2017).

We found that musical aptitude as measured by the Musical Ear Test, unlike a measure of productive musical experience, was strongly correlated with the ability of participants to recognize similar stylistic rhythmic patterns and to form expectations about patterns.

The majority of the studies of speech rhythm do not look beyond the IP level; we claim that rhythmic units relevant for the studies of prosodic styles often comprise multiple IPs that form rhythmic patterns akin to musical phrases. Together with our experimental evidence that perception of such rhythmic patterns is correlated with musicality, our data suggests a close relation between stylistic prosody and music.

References: • Boll-Avetisyan, N., A. Bhatara & B. Höhle. 2017. Effects of musicality on the perception of rhythmic structure in speech. *Laboratory Phonology* 8(1). • Calder, J. & D. Popova. 2014. Dimensions of rhythm: The multi-layered nature of rhythmic style. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 20(2). article 3.

Are musicians at an advantage when processing speech in two-talker masker?

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 GW2 B1400

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Musical training might grant normal-hearing listeners an advantage on auditory tasks, not only when these relate to music, but also for speech comprehension, in particular in noise or in the presence of background talkers (Başkent & Gaudrain 2016; Swaminathan et al. 2015). The current study explores whether understanding speech in a cocktail party situation, specifically with two-talker masker, differs between musicians and non-musicians. Various previous studies addressing a 'musician effect' for speech perception in noise provide inconclusive results (for a review see: Coffey et al. 2017), which can be partly ascribed to differences in stimuli selection (phonemes vs sentences) between studies with behavioral versus on-line measures. The present study combined a behavioral task with an on-line measure of speech perception to investigate the extent to which the automatic, effortless speech processing in both groups is affected by noise. In a sentence-recall task (offline task) participants were asked to repeat Dutch sentences masked with varying target/masker ratios. In a further visual-world paradigm, employing similar sets of stimuli both in quiet and masked speech (Salverda & Tanenhaus 2017), listeners' gazes were recorded while listening to sentences and performing a visual search for the image corresponding to a target word within the sentence (e.g. hamster) among images of a phonological competitor (i.e. ham) and two unrelated images. The online measure indicates how quickly participants integrate the acoustic information to access the target word in their mental lexicon (gaze tracking), and the extent of the mental effort involved in processing (pupil dilation). Results indicate that there is an overall positive effect of musical training in the behavioral task. The online measures also show differences between musicians and non-musicians, in particular musicians are faster regarding the timing of resolution of lexical competition in masked condition. In combination with the results from pupillometry, this could indicate that musicians are better able to allocate attention to the relevant acoustic information.

References: • Başkent, D. & E. Gaudrain. 2016. Musician advantage for speech-on-speech perception. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 139(3). EL51-EL56. • Coffey, E. B. J., N. Mogilever & R. J. Zatorre. 2017. Speech-in-noise perception in musicians: A review. *Hearing Research*. • Salverda, A. P. & M. K. Tanenhaus. 2017. The visual world paradigm. In A. de Groot, & P. Hagoort (eds.), *Research methods in psycholinguistics: A practical puide*, 89–110. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons. • Swaminathan, J., C. R. Mason, T. M. Streeter, V. Best, G. Kidd & A. D. Patel. 2015. Musical training, individual differences and the cocktail party problem. *Scientific Reports 5*(11628), 1–10.

AG10

Facilitators of the "speech-to-song illusion"

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–13:30
GW2 B1400

Listeners usually have no difficulties telling the difference between speech and song. Yet when a spoken sentence is repeated several times, listeners often report a perceptual transformation from speech to song (S2S, Deutsch 1995, Deutsch et al. 2011). There are, however, large differences in the perception of S2S. They seem to arise primarily from the acoustic properties of the spoken phrases that are looped to create S2S (Falk et al. 2014). Moreover, much variability in S2S perception arises from the individual listener experience. Musicality of the listener has been extensively studied but is insufficient to explain the observed individual variability (Deutsch et al. 2011, Falk et al. 2014, Vanden Bosch et al. 2015). Our work addresses the question whether or not the general individual differences in cognitive processing styles and previous linguistic experience of the listener shape the perception of S2S. We hypothesize that the transformation is achieved by a mechanism of a functional re-evaluation of prosodic properties, and make predictions regarding individual listener traits that might facilitate or block S2S. We tested 160 listeners (English and French, native and non-native) in total. They evaluated their impressions of spoken sentences on a scale from 1 (clearly speech) to 8 (clearly song) before and after being exposed to their massed repetitions. Individual data (Zimmermann & Fimm 2002) along with the listeners' scores of stimulus song-likeness and S2S likelihood were obtained. The findings support our main hypothesis, and provide the first unique evidence that listener-specific cognitive traits can modulate S2S.

References: • Deutsch, D. 1995. *Musical illusions and paradoxes*. La Jolla: Philomel Records; • Deutsch, D., T. Henthorn & R. Lapidis. 2011. Illusory transforms from speech to song. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 129(4). 2245–2252. • Falk, S., T. Rathcke & S. Dalla Bella. 2014. When speech sounds like music. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance* 40. 1491–1506. • Vanden Bosch der Nederlanden, C. M., E. E. Hannon & J. S. Snyder. 2015. Everyday musical experience is sufficient to perceive the speech-to-song illusion. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 144(2). e43–9. • Zimmermann, P. & B. Fimm. 2002. A test battery for attentional performance (Chapter 4). In M. Leclercq & P. Zimmermann (eds.), *Applied neuropsychology of attention: Theory, diagnosis and rehabilitation*. Psychology Press, 110–151.

The relationship of language and music from an evolutionary perspective and the role of vowels

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:30–14:00
GW2 B1400

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In this paper, I emphasize the role of vowels in the music-language relationship and present arguments (cf. Fenk-Oczlon 2017, Fenk-Oczlon & Fenk 2009) that reinforce the hypothesis of a prosodic protolanguage or 'protomusic' (Fitch 2010). Vowels play a decisive role in generating the sound or sonority of syllables, the main vehicles for transporting prosodic information in speech and singing. Timbre is, beyond question, the primary parameter that allows us to discriminate between different vowels, but vowels also have intrinsic pitch, intensity, and duration. There are striking correspondences between the number of vowels and the number of pitches in musical scales across cultures: an upper limit of roughly 12 elements, a lower limit of 2, and a frequency peak at 5 to 7 elements. Moreover, there is evidence for correspondences between vowels and scales even in specific cultures, e.g., cultures with three vowels tend to have tritonic scales. I report a match between vowel pitch and musical pitch in meaningless syllables of Alpine yodelers and yodelers of African Pygmies. The relevance of vocal timbre in the music of many non-Western cultures, in which vocal timbre/vowel timbre and musical melody are often intertwined, further supports a close relationship between vowels and music. Studies showing the pivotal role of vowels and their musical qualities in the ontogeny of language and in infant directed speech, will be used as further arguments supporting the hypothesis that music and speech evolved from a common prosodic precursor, where the vowels exhibited both pitch and timbre variations.

References: • Fenk-Oczlon, G. 2017. What vowels can tell us about the evolution of music. *Frontiers in Psychology Cognition* 8.1581. • Fenk-Oczlon, G. & A. Fenk. 2009. Some parallels between language and music from a cognitive and evolutionary perspective. *Musicae Scientiae* 13. 201–226. • Fitch, W. T. 2010. *The evolution of language*. Cambridge: CUP.

AG10

Arbeitsgruppe 11

Iconicity in language

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Raum: SFG 0140

Workshop description

It has long been a general assumption that natural languages exhibit an arbitrary pairing of form and meaning. The arbitrary mapping of form to meaning has even been formulated as a defining property for natural languages (Hockett 1960). In recent years, however, there is increasing empirical evidence that iconicity in language is more pervasive than often thought.

For example, Blasi et al. (2016) show in their study about the 100 most important vocabularies in over 4000 languages strikingly similar non-arbitrary sound-meaning relations, which cannot be explained as language contact phenomena. Other examples for iconicity in spoken language are ideophones, i.e. words which evoke sensory imagery, like English *splish-splash* or German *holterdipolter*. Furthermore, there are iconic prosodic modulations (Perniss & Vigliocco 2014). Here, prosodic features such as duration and fundamental frequency are modulated to express additional meaning components such as size and speed as in *looooooooong* (in written or spoken language) to iconically express extreme length/size/duration/... of the item under consideration. In sign languages, there is a long tradition for the investigation of the iconic aspects of these languages. Recently, also gestures in spoken languages and their iconic contributions have been investigated more systematically under formal semantic and pragmatic aspects (Ebert & Ebert 2014, Schlenker 2017).

In our workshop, we want to deal with all these different aspects of iconicity and pursue the following questions among others: in which contexts and why do we use iconic means in communication? Which pragmatic meaning and function do they have? What are language universals and what are language specific iconic means? Which prosodic, gestural, or written means are used to express iconicity? In this introduction session, we will introduce the main issues and questions that we are after and that will become relevant in the different contributions to this workshop.

References: • Blasi, D. E., S. Wichmann, H. Hammarström, P. F. Stadler & M. H. Christiansen. 2016. Sound–meaning association biases evidenced across thousands of languages. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 113(39). 10818–10823. • Ebert, C. & C. Ebert. 2014. Gestures, demonstratives, and the attributive/referential distinction. *Semantics and Philosophy in Europe* 7, ZAS, Berlin. • Hockett, C. S. 1960. The origin of speech. *Scientific American* 203. 88–106. • Perniss, P. & G. Vigliocco. 2014. The bridge of iconicity: from a world of experience to the experience of language. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* B 369. 20130300. • Schlenker, P. 2018. Gesture projection and cosuppositions. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 41(3). 295–365.

The role of iconicity in word learning: Insights from multimodal language

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:15–15:15
SFG 0140

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Understanding how children acquire language remains one of the great challenges of research in the language sciences. Much of the work that explores how children learn to map words to objects and events in the world has been underpinned by two fundamental assumptions: that label and referent are linked by arbitrary convention alone and that learning occurs in situated contexts, where label and referent co-occur. However, in addition to being indisputably arbitrary, language also exploits iconicity, resemblance relationships between form and meaning, e.g. *meow*. Recent research has shown that iconicity is prevalent in children's early vocabulary (Laing 2014; Thompson et al. 2012) and that iconicity may bootstrap word acquisition (Imai & Kita 2014). Furthermore, displacement, the ability to talk about things that are spatially and temporally removed, is an important hallmark of language, and previous research has shown that children are able to learn novel referents in both situated and displaced contexts (Tomasello & Barton 1994).

In this talk, I take a multimodal approach to word learning from the perspective of the amount and type of iconicity that children receive in the input. The focus is on the use of iconicity in child-directed language across modalities, signed and spoken, and across vocal and visual channels, including phonology, gesture and hand actions. I discuss evidence that caregivers exploit iconicity to highlight salient properties of referents and that their use of iconic forms is modulated depending on whether referents being talked about are present in the environment or not and whether they are familiar or not to the child. I furthermore discuss evidence that children find iconic labels easier to learn, especially in displaced contexts, where iconicity can help link label and referent by evoking physical properties of the referent (Perniss & Vigliocco 2014). The talk explores the role of iconicity as a strategy supporting referential mapping, drawing on insights from multimodal language and from complementary studies using naturalistic and experimental data.

References: • Imai, M. & S. Kita. 2014. The sound symbolism bootstrapping hypothesis for language acquisition and language evolution. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 369, 20130298. • Laing, C. E. 2014. A phonological analysis of onomatopoeia in early word production. *First Language* 34(5). 387–405. • Perniss, P. & G. Vigliocco. 2014. The bridge of iconicity: From a world of experience to the experience of language. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 369, 20130300. • Thompson, R. T., D. P Vinson, B. Woll & G. Vigliocco. 2012. The road to language learning is iconic: Evidence from British Sign Language. *Psychological Science* 23(12). 1443–1448. • Tomasello, M. & M. Barton. 1994. Learning words in non-ostensive contexts. *Developmental Psychology* 30.639–650.

Repetition avoidance and iconicity of repetition

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
SFG 0140

Various kinds of repetition are deemed characteristic of human language, especially reduplication and recursion, which have both been claimed to be (near-)universal. However, excess repetition is clearly avoided. Here, I focus on German and show how different kinds of repetition (e.g. Freywald 2015; Kentner 2017; Schindler 1991) encode different iconic meanings. The data below suggest that exact adjacent repetitions (1) are banned from entering the lexicon, i.e. cases of exact adjacent repetition are typically post-lexical in nature. However, across phonological levels, we find lexicalised (or at least lexicalisable) kinds of repetition with either phonological alterations thwarting identity (2), or intervening material thwarting adjacency (3). A synopsis suggests that repetitions with alteration (2) or intervening material (3) on the one hand, and exact adjacent repetition (1) on the other, carry systematically different expressive meanings which are related to the form of the construct and thus iconic. The former types convey `ludic' semantic flavors such as affection, diminution, disparagement (2ab) and poeticity (2c, 3) – in line with their `ludic' form involving repetition plus alteration (characteristic traits of all kinds of play). The latter (1) are pure repetitions and iconically encode purity/prototypicality (1a) or intensification of some sort (1b).

(1) Examples of exact adjacent repetition
 a. Identical constituent compound: *Reis-Reis* ('rice-rice')
 b. Unbounded repetition: *sehr sehr schön* ('very very nice')

(2) Examples of repetition with alterations (including stress alterations)
 a. Syllable doubling: *Papa, Mama, Pipi;* nicknames: *Jojo, Vivi*
 b. Rhyme/ablaut reduplication: *Schickimicki, Mischmasch*
 c. Frozen coordinations: *Hegen, pflegen [und bewahren]*

(3) Examples of repetition with intervener (linking element or semantically opaque preposition)
 a. Recursive compounding: *Kindeskind, Freundesfreund*
 b. Sequential construction: *Tag für Tag, Jahr um Jahr*

In sum, the data strongly suggest an iconic form-meaning relationship: repetition conveys expressive meaning, and depending on the type of repetition (with or without alteration), different kinds of iconic meanings arise.

References: • Freywald, U. 2015. Total reduplication […] in German. *Studies in Language* 39. 905–945. • Kentner, G. 2017. […] reduplication in German morphophonology. *ZS* 36. 233–277. • Schindler, W. 1991. Reduplizierende Wortbildung im Deutschen. *ZPSK* 44. 597–613.

Onomatopoeia and reduplication in Modern Hebrew

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
SFG 0140

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This research describes a systematic association between onomatopoeia and reduplication in the verb system of Modern Hebrew (MH). It is argued that, as a result, iconicity came to assumes a role in the process where verbs with Reduplicated Roots gradually have become the encoding of semelfactive aspect. Cross-linguistically, repetition is often expressed by reduplication, but this is not the general rule (Inkelas & Zoll). Also, onomatopoeic verbs tend to describe repetitive events in nature, but reduplication is not a necessary property of these verbs. The combination of onomatopoeia and reduplication may be found within a single word, particularly in ideophones. Their structure is less morphologically constrained (Watson). For instance, the English ideophone *tick tock* is reduplicated, but the verb *tick* is non-reduplicated. In MH, repetitivity came to be systematically encoded by reduplication within verbal roots – Quadriliteral Reduplicated Roots (QRR). They consist of the repetition of two pairs of consonants – $C_1C_2C_1C_2$, e.g. *tiktek* 'ring' (TKTK). Moreover, reduplication within verbal roots also systematically characterizes onomatopoeic verbs in MH, for example, *kirker* 'cackle'.

The factor of iconicity become very strong because of a special characteristic of the Hebrew verb system. It is 'well-suited' for reduplication, which iconically represents repetition, because the morphology of some Hebrew verb patterns can allow Quadriliteral roots. It is 'ill-suited' for onomatopoeia, which iconically represents a sound, because the vowels are determined by template and inflection, so it cannot consistently retain syllable patterns, therefore, the onomatopoeic effect is weakened. Thus, the morphology of Hebrew verbs is 'ill-suited' to represent onomatopoeic iconicity and 'well-suited' for an iconic representation of cyclic events, therefore the role of QRR in iconicity is enhanced.

The claim of this research is that the encoding of these two types of iconicity within the system promoted QRR verbs the means of encoding the Semelfactive Aspect. These verbs have become the exclusive productive form to express semelfactivity in MH, for example *hinhen* 'nod', *rišreš* 'rustle'. The development of this trend began in the earlier periods of Hebrew, and was strengthened by the Russian influence during the Revival Period of MH.

References: • Inkelas, S. & C. Zoll. 2005. *Reduplication: Doubling in morphology*. Cambridge: CUP. • Rothstein, S. 2008. Two puzzles for a theory of lexical aspect: semelfactives and degree achievements. In J. Dölling, T. Heyde-Zybatow & M. Schäfer (eds.), *Event structures in linguistic form and interpretation*, 175–198. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Watson, R. L. 2001. A comparation of some Southeast Asian ideophones with some African ideophones. In F.K. E. Voeltz & C. Kilian-Hatz (eds.), *Ideophones*, 385–406. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

The sound of meaning: The sound symbolism of unconventional onomatopoeia

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
SFG 0140

This research endeavors to identify the most productive morphemic sound clusters, or submorphemes, in English and German in so-called unconventional onomatopoeia, such as *flwomp*, *zzuhuck* and *zzzwwmmmboom*. Their unconventional status is attributed to having only niche applications and not belonging to the standard-language lexis. A corpus with a total of 474 phoneticized English types and 937 phoneticized German types was constructed to determine: the correlative relationship between 1) sound and context regardless of a submorpheme's syllabic position in the onomatopoeia; 2) sound and the submorpheme's syllabic position in the onomatopoeia but regardless of context; and finally, 3) sound, context, and the submorpheme's syllabic position in the onomatopoeia. Of all the unconventional onomatopoeia investigated, a total of 9 unique submorphemes both in English and in German was found (English: <a>, <ee>, <i>, <oo>, <u>, <k>, <m>, <b>, <w>; German: <a>, <ee>, <i>, <o>, <oo>, <u>, <ng>, <t>, <b>). Syllabic position as opposed to context alone appears to play a greater role in determining whether a sound can be qualified as submorphemic. By and large, however, the interdependency and interrelatedness between sound, context, and syllabic position together proved most informative. Submorphemes were found in all positions of the onomatopoeia (onset, nucleus, and coda) with the nucleus being the most productive syllabic position in every context investigated. As expected, the nucleus was solely occupied by submorphemic vowels, whereas the onset and coda were understandably realized with consonants. Despite the somewhat to incredibly high correlative strength (the lowest phi coefficient being $\varphi = 0.313$ and the highest $\varphi = 0.948$), the submorphemic character of the nucleus in unconventional onomatopoeia may need to be considered with a degree restraint, since it is expected that vowel sounds predominately occupy the nucleus of a word. Furthermore, evidence from this research proves the sub-morphemic status of sound-meaning pairings in unconventional onomatopoeia, in that they are by no means at the same level of productivity or regularity as standard-language morphemes.

References: • Abelin, Å. 1999. *Studies in sound symbolism*. Göteborg: Göteborg Universitet. • Bolinger, D. 1992. Sound symbolism. In W. Bright (ed.), *International encyclopedia of linguistics* 4. 28–30. • Bottineau, D. 2008. The submorphemic conjecture in English: Towards a distributed model of cognitive dynamics of submorphemes. In D. Philps (ed.), *Lexis – Revus de lexicologie anglaise* 2. 19–42. • Dofs, E. 2008. *Onomatopoeia and iconicity. A comparative study of English and Swedish animal sounds*. Abschlussarbeit. Karlstads Universitet. • Mucha, C. M. 2015. *Theorie und Empirie des Phonästhems*. Dissertation. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. • Otis, K. & E.Sagi. 2008. Phonaesthemes: A corpus-based analysis. In Love, McRae, Sloutsky (eds.),*Proceedings of the 30th Annual Conference of the Cognitive Science Society*, 65–70. • Wanka, N. 2013. *Phonästhetische Submorpheme – im Allgemeinen und unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Englischen*. Diplomarbeit. Universität Wien.

How iconic are ideophones in Mande?

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
SFG 0140

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Ideophones are linguistic expressions depicting sensory imagery. They have been best studied in African languages (Dingemanse 2012, 2018 and references therein). However, to my knowledge, ideophones in Mande family have not yet received much attention from Mandeists themselves, let alone lingusits working in broader African as well as general typological perspectives.

In this paper, I provide a brief overview of ideophones in Mande languages belonging to different branches (Manden, Mokole, Southwestern, Southern). I concentrate on intensifying adverbs as a straightforwardly distinguishable lexical class of adverbs which are only used with specific predicates.

I argue that ideophones in Mande are quite typical of the area. On the one hand, they have distinctive phonological properties commonly violating segmental and prosodic constraints of a given language, e.g. having segments unattested elsewhere in the lexicon, allowing for syllable-final stops, being reduplicated, having unusual tonal patterns. On the other hand, they are not as unusual as one expects them to be. I specifically focus on Guinean Kpelle to present a study of formal properties of ideophones as opposed to the rest of lexicon in a given Mande language. For example, most common Guinean Kpelle morpheme structure is CVCV with *-l-* or *-n-* occurring intervocally, and indeed, these are the most common intervocal consonants in ideophonic expressions.

A clear semantic tendency has been attested for better documented as well as less documented Mande languages, that is to have intensifying adverbs co-occurring with specific colour predicates, e.g. ‘to be (very) red’, ‘to be (very) white’, ‘to be (very) black’, and with the predicate ‘to be (very) full’/‘to fill (completely)’. While their functions are similar, the forms of these expressions are usually different, e.g. ‘to be very full’ – Kakabe *tɛ̌f*, Bamana *bánbali*, Dan Gwɛɛtaa *dȅdȅwő*, Mwan *kíkí*, Guinean Kpelle *tóítóí*. Moreover, a given function tends to be covered by multiple synonyms in a single language. These facts suggest that ideophonic words are indeed a lively and expressive domain in Mande. Still, no sound-to-meaning correspondences have been attested in intensifying adverbs implying that they are largely arbitrary in Mande.

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[2] This paper has been prepared with financial support from the Russian Science Foundation, project 17-78-20071 “Languages of West Africa: description and comparative analysis”.

Testing “maluma-takete” in humans and great apes

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–9:30
SFG 0140

There has been a long debate in the literature of semantics between the arbitrariness of language proposed by Saussure (1959) and the non-arbitrary associations, known as sound symbolism. A classic example of sound symbolism is the sound-shape correspondence where the non-word “maluma” was judged to be a good match with a round shape whereas the non-word “takete” matched better to a spiky shape. Recent theories have highlighted the relevant role of sound symbolism and that of iconicity for the evolution of language (Ramachandran & Hubbard 2001). Sound symbolism has been proposed as the linkage between language and human sensory-motor experience, playing a determinant role on the evolution of language (Perniss & Vigliocco 2014). Despite this theoretical interest on the phylogenetic origins of sound symbolism, as far as we are concerned there have been no comparative studies in testing sound symbolic associations in humans and great apes. In addition, considering the new evidence on the perception of iconic gestures in chimpanzees (Bohn et al. 2016), the present study aims to explore whether our closest living relatives are able of perceiving sound-shape correspondences. For that purpose, we ran a two-alternatives forced choice (2AFC) task, testing the classic “maluma”-“takete” effect (Köhler 1929). 24 healthy human subjects, four chimpanzees (Pan troglodytes) and two gorillas (Gorilla gorilla gorilla) were tested. During the task the subjects listened to a word followed by the presentation of two shapes, one edgy and one round, and they had to select one of the two shapes. In accordance with previous studies, humans preferred to associate round shapes to words that sounded “round” and vice versa for the edgy shapes. We found no sound-shape correspondences in great apes. Differences in the brain’s neuroanatomical structure for spoken language and verbal working memory between human and non-human primates (Schomers & Pulvermüller 2016) could possible explain the absence of any sound-shape correspondences in great apes.

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A (morpho)phonological typology of demonstratives: A case study in sound symbolism

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:30–10:00 SFG 0140

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We propose a (morpho)phonological typology of proximal and distal demonstratives; only the most basic proximal ('this') and distal ('that') forms are taken into account. The proximal vs. distal nature of demonstratives is easy to measure both non-linguistically and linguistically. Four major types are distinguished: Vowel type, Consonant type, Additional element – type, and Varia. Examples of the first type comprise, e.g., Betta Kurumba (*i* 'this', *a* 'that') and Alyawarra (*nhinha vs. nhaka*). In type 2, front consonants pair with proximal demonstratives, and back consonants with distal demonstratives (e.g., Bunaq, *bari* 'this' vs. *baqi* 'that'). In the additional element type, the distal demonstrative typically has an additional element, making it longer (e.g., Òko *òne* 'this', *ònébé* 'that'), but the distal demonstrative may also simply be phonologically longer (e.g., Ngalakan *nu-gaʔye* vs. *nu-gunʔbiri*,). Finally, a number of strategies are used in Type 4.

The occurrence of the two first types can be explained by iconicity. In most cases, front or high phonemes appear on the proximal demonstratives, and back/low phonemes on distal demonstratives. Proximal demonstratives are thus pronounced at the front and/or high part of the oral cavity, while distal demonstratives are pronounced lower and more back, reflecting the proximal/distal nature of their referents in the physical world. The first type is the most common in our data, which suggests that iconicity plays a role here. Our findings support earlier findings that proximal and distal demonstratives have an iconic (vowel) phonemic manifestation (e.g., Ohala 1984). Previous studies, however, have not found systematic correspondences regarding consonants (Johansson & Zlatev 2013). The third type can be explained by both markedness and iconicity. The distal element is in most cases more marked than the proximal demonstrative, and some languages use less linguistic substance for referring to entities close to the speaker. The fourth type contains different kinds of cases with few systematic generalizations.

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Onomasiological iconicity in spoken, written and signed languages

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
10:00–10:30
SFG 0140

In this paper I will argue that it is necessary to distinguish between two types of iconicity in order to assess the true scope of this phenomenon in natural languages. In *semasiological* iconicity, a linguistic form is interpreted as suggesting a certain linguistic meaning so we obtain a *form miming meaning* (FMM). This is the usual way of seeing iconicity in natural languages. But there is another way of approaching the iconic relations between meaning and form. It can be called *onomasiological* iconicity. In this case, a linguistic meaning suggests a particular iconic interpretation of a linguistic form, so we obtain a *meaning miming form* (MMF). Phonesthemes are a very clear example of onomasiological iconicity: the semantic value of certain sound combinations as English initial *gl*— (which acquires the connotation of something related to light or vision) is clearly derived from the meanings of several words containing this initial consonant cluster: *glitter, glisten, glow, gleam, glear, glimmer*…. The distinction established by Klima & Bellugi (1979) between transparent and translucent iconic signs can be easily accounted for using the semasiological/ onomasiological dichotomy. A transparent sign can be understood simply from its form alone. For example, in the ASL sign for TREE the forearm represents the trunk of the tree and the hand with the stretched fingers depicts the branches. The iconicity of a translucent sign can only be properly understood if its meaning is previously known. Iconicity in written language is clearly of the onomasiological type. For example, the grapheme <i> has a thin, elongated shape (corresponding with the vowel [i]) contrasting with <o> or <a> (corresponding with the vowels [o] and [a]), that have a rounded, more voluminous shape: so the written word *thin* has a thin letter <i> and the word *fat* has a bigger rounded letter <a> (Nänny 1999). But these associations cannot be semasiological, that is, based on supposed intrinsic values of these letters (as a reflection of those of the corresponding vowels), simply because, in their original form (that of the Phoenician abjad), they transcribe consonants and not vowels and their shapes were slightly or completely different.

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Triangulating sound symbolism: Where to find it and how to create it

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:15–11:45 SFG 0140

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Sound symbolism is a universal, yet flexible component of language. However, most previous cross-linguistic studies have been small in scope or lacked crucial phonetic distinctions, and experiments have investigated ready-made sound symbolic words, rather than investigating how sound symbolism develops among language users. It is thus natural to investigate the phonetic and semantic features involved in sound symbolism from a bottom-up perspective. First, by investigating 344 near-universal concepts (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2002) in 245 language families, 125 statistically significant sound-meaning associations were found. Secondly, 23 macro-concepts, e.g. basic descriptors, deictic distinctions and kinship attributes, were identified based on cooccurring shared semantic and phonetic features between the significant concepts. Furthermore, the macro-concepts were grounded in unimodal imitation, cross-modal imitation, relational diagrammatic mappings or bio-cultural circumstantial mappings (Johansson & Carling 2015). Thirdly, four sound symbolic concepts were further investigated through iterated learning experiments (Kirby et al. 2015). Naïve participants were divided into five condition groups which contained ten chains of 15 participants each. They either received no information about the meaning of the word they were about to hear, or that it meant BIG, SMALL, ROUND or POINTY. The first participant in each chain was then audially presented with a phonetically diverse word and asked to repeat it. Thereafter, the recording of the repeated word was played for the next participant in the same chain. After 15 generations, the SMALL-condition showed increases of voiceless sounds and the ROUND- and BIG-condition showed increases of stops. These findings show considerable cross-linguistic sound symbolic effects on basic vocabulary, that sound symbolism is an active part of language, and that sound symbolism is based in the human perception of the body and its interaction with the surrounding world. Thus, it is likely that sound symbolism has originated as a bootstrapping mechanism for human.

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Iconicity, ideophones and mimesis

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:45–12:15
SFG 0140

Speakers in spontaneous interactions often switch into what has been termed the “mimetic mode” (Güldemann 2008: 289) or “demonstration” (Clark & Gerrig 1990), as illustrated by *wham, bam* in (1) (rather than the descriptive *I crashed into the door).* A correlate of the mimetic mode is “performative foregrounding” (Nuckolls 1992: 53), e.g. interruption of rhythmic flow, higher intensity, or a noticeable change in pitch. Alongside vocalizations, direct quotations and gestures, conventionalized expressions often labelled “ideophones”, e.g. English *wham* (1) or Jaminjung *deb* (2), are often employed in the mimetic mode.

(1) *I came up, didn't see his door, went through the gap and .. wham, bam*.

(2) Jaminjung (Mirndi, Australia) (own fieldwork)

Deb .	*gurunyung=gi*	*gani-ma=nu*.
knock	head=LOC	3SG>3SG-hit.PST=3SG.OBL

‘(Her husband ran after the goanna and) WHACK! hit it on the head.’

This paper builds on research on the mimetic mode and on the prototype approach to the typology of parts of speech (Hengeveld 1992; Croft 2000), in arguing that mimesis should be recognized as a major function of language, on a par with reference, predication and attribution. Ideophones can be defined as lexemes which, without further measures being taken, serve the function of mimesis. Distributionally, this means that they can appear in syntactic isolation as in (2), but also in specialized mimetic constructions marked e.g. by prosody or quotative markers. It is also in line with the prototype approach that ideophones can be employed in other, non-mimetic functions in many languages, e.g. as predicates with a light verb (Amha 2001; Franco 2017); this multifunctionality has been described as a trade-off between expressiveness and syntactic integration (Dingemanse & Akita 2016). These findings not only underline the linguistic relevance of the mimetic mode but also its close integration with the descriptive mode in language use.

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The relation of name phonology and gender across languages

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 12:15–12:45 SFG 0140

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Our study is dedicated to the relation of a first name's phonological structure and the gender of the referent. According to Alford (1988: 66–68), gender is universally the most frequently marked information on names. Gender marking languages are traditionally assigned to one of three types: (i) gender is marked via the semantics of the name, (ii) on the basis of formal means (e.g. suffixes), or (iii) because there are separate inventories. In the latter case, gender is associated with a name by convention. However, phonology also seems to play an important role. Studies on English (cf., e.g., Cassidy et al. 1999) and German (cf., e.g., Oelkers 2003, Nübling 2009) – languages which are usually assigned to type (iii) – have shown in detail that female and male names show significantly different phonological structures. Female names in those languages, for example, have more syllables and tend to show a vocalic final sound, while male names are shorter on average and more often have a non-vocalic final sound. To date there has been little agreement on how these findings relate to the concepts of iconicity and phono semantics. In our study, we compare the relation of gender and the phonological structures of names across different cultures/languages. By doing so, we hope to shed some new light on the presumed iconicity in the proprial domain: Are there language/culture-overarching similarities between names of a specific gender or are correlations of name structure and gender language/culture specific? Are there correlations at all in languages/cultures which have not yet been examined in this respect? Which phonological properties indicate (at least by tendency) gender? Are there such properties in languages which mark gender semantically or formally (apart from, e.g., the suffix)? In order to tackle the outlined questions we analysed a sample of popular first names from linguistically rather disparate countries: China, France, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Russia and Turkey. Our results indicate that there are some language-overarching similarities between names used for people of the same gender. However, these correlations are rather weak. Thus, our findings support the idea that we are not dealing with language universal iconic means but rather with conventional sound symbolism (cf. Hinton, Nichols & Ohala 1994).

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Comprehension of non-linguistic vocalizations across cultures

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13:45–14:15
SFG 0140

When strangers who do not share a language want to communicate with each other, they commonly make use of visual communication, such as facial expressions and iconic gestures, like pantomimes. But iconicity – a mapping between the linguistic form and the intended meaning – can also be employed in other modalities, such as vocalization. This paper investigates whether non-linguistic iconic vocalizations can be understood across cultures. For this purpose, we are conducting a web-based comprehension study via Percy (Draxler 2014) with listeners from a large sample of languages.

The set of vocalizations used as stimuli in our study are drawn from a contest conducted by Perlman & Lupyan (2018): Contestants – all speakers of English as a first or second language – submitted recordings of non-linguistic vocalizations intended to communicate 30 different meanings spanning actions, humans, animals, inanimate objects, properties, quantifiers, and demonstratives. The comprehensibility of the vocalizations was then tested by the ability of American English speakers to choose the right meaning from a set of alternatives. Here, we selected the three vocalizations for each meaning that were guessed most accurately. We tested whether listeners from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds – German and Polish – are also able to infer the meanings of the vocalizations.

The results show that German-speaking listeners selected the correct meaning with 72% accuracy, and Polish-speaking listeners with 60% accuracy (with chance performance at 16.7%). For comparison, the overall accuracy by the American English-speaking listeners from the original experiment was 62.4%, when chance was about 10%.

The results shed light on people's ability to communicate across languages and cultures through the use of universally understood iconic vocalizations.

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AG11

Bad or good and why?

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 14:15–14:45 SFG 0140

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The data obtained in 2 sets of perceptual experiments conducted with the use of the semantic differential methodology point to both universal and language specific factors governing emotive interpretation of foreign words. The subjects were exposed to the audio form of a foreign slang word and asked to evaluate its meaning on the scale *perjorative - meliorative*. In the experimental series with the English material the subjects are speakers of Finnish, German, Russian and French. In that with the Russian material the subjects are speakers of English and Swedish. The analysis of the data shows that perception of a foreign lexical unit as a pejorative is universally aligned with the presence in its sound form of peripheral consonants and back rounded vowels, while recognition of a foreign word as a meliorative is usually triggered by its high sonority, as well as the presence of fore-lingual consonants and front vowels. An important contributing factor is the length of the word. The findings are evidence of direct iconic correspondence between the form of an emotive language sign and its meaning. In most cases the respondents were able to guess the emotional connotation of the foreign slang words correctly. This is not surprising as, cognitively speaking, the process of cognition of a phenomenon involves ascribing it a name which may reflect at least some of its content aspects. This leads to an iconic sign of a specific natural language being able to imply by its sound form some features of the signified. Linguistic sound symbolism may be argued to have to be (at least partly) universal because of the neurophisiological basis of speech common for all humans, as well as their common cognitive structures. The data also demonstrate language specific strategies speakers of different languages use in evaluating the emotive meaning of foreign lexis. These mostly refer to the sound form of foreign words assumed to be pejoratives, rather than melioratives, and include the occurrence of fricatives in it, individual choice of phonemes within the sound classes regularly associated with the pejorative semantics and their distribution in the word. It has to be emphasized, though, that the preferences speakers of different languages have for certain sounds to occur in certain types of words still fall within the universal phonosemantic theory, while specific features in the sound organization of a word (including an iconic one) are only to be expected, as any natural language enjoys its own phonological system, phonotactics, forms of suprasegmental events, etc. and these find their reflection in perception, too.

Phonological thumb configuration and iconicity in American Sign Language

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
11:30–12:00
SFG 0140

Iconicity is known to shape signed language lexicons (eg. Taub 2001; Occhino 2016). This study examines iconicity's role in the *synchronic* phonology of American Sign Language (ASL), a still under-explored topic. The native, non-initialized ASL lexicon is traditionally considered to conform to well-formedness constraints without regard to iconic motivation (Eccarius 2008; Brentari 1998). I ask whether this is true of thumb configuration. Brentari (1998) proposes a binary [opposed]/[unopposed] thumb configuration feature, in which alignment of the thumb and index finger (an articulation between these two options) is predicted only when the thumb contacts another finger. Results indicate, however, that thumb-index alignment can also be specified absent this contact and that this configuration is activated by iconic motivation.

Thumb configuration was coded for all non-numeral signs in ASL SignBank (Hochgesang et al. 2018), a usage-based database of 2,281 (at time of analysis) core ASL signs. Ninety-five total signs were specified for thumb-index alignment. Thirty-four were initialized; fifty-one closely resembled their depictive origins but would be considered core signs. The remaining ten derive from metaphorical extension (Taub 2001). Five of these have the “claw 5” handshape, which Occhino (2016) found contributes semantic content to signs even when non-morphemic.

Based on these findings, I propose a third category of thumb configuration which is made available in the grammar when the thumb participates a sign's iconic form-meaning mapping. The role of iconicity therefore cannot be confined to diachronic development. Rather, iconicity must be accounted for on a sign-by-sign basis by taking into account both literal and metaphorical iconic mapping. In other words, iconic mapping must be accessible to the synchronic grammar.

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Iconic gestural demonstrations in sign language narration

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:00–12:30 SFG 0140

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Sign languages share with manual and non-manual gestures the same modality (just as spoken languages do with vocal gestures). Therefore, signers cannot only use co-speech gestures accompanying utterances but also systematically integrate manual and non-manual gestures in various ways into signed utterances. Two particularly interesting and related cases of this integration are modality-specific constructions of reported speech (so-called quotation or attitude role shift) and reported action (so-called action role shift or constructed action). In this presentation, we will show how sign languages interact with gestures in role shift and how iconic gestural aspects of meaning can be systematically integrated into the discourse semantic representation of narratives. The analysis is based on an elicited data set of 5 different fables of German Sign Language (DGS), cf. Herrmann and Pendzich (2018). The results reveal that signers systematically use gestural elements to express actions or attitudes of protagonists. Interestingly, in sign language narration such demonstrations are not restricted to one protagonist. Since sign languages permit the simultaneous realization of different features by various articulators, a signer can represent different protagonists and the narrator at the same time. Moreover, in sign language narration gestural elements directly contribute to the complex proposition in a similar way as linguistic elements; certain aspects of the proposition such as the description of actions, attitudes and emotions can either be conveyed linguistically, by gestures only, or by a combination of gestures and linguistic expressions. In the latter case, gestures typically modify the linguistic expressions in an iconic way and add expressive meaning aspects. In order to account for the complex interaction of gestural and linguistic elements in signed narration, we argue for a modified version of Meir et al.'s (2007) analysis of body as subject, Davidson's (2015) analysis of role shift in terms of demonstration and Maier's theory of unquotation.

References: Davidson, K. 2015. Quotation, demonstration, and iconicity. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 38. 477–520. • Herrmann, A. & N.-K. Pendzich. 2018. Between narrator and protagonist in fables of German Sign Language. In A. Hübl & M. Steinbach (eds.), *Linguistic foundations of narration in spoken and sign languages*, 275–308. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. • Maier, E. 2017. The pragmatics of attraction: Explaining unquotation in direct and free indirect discourse. In P. Saka & M. Johnson (eds.), *The semantics and pragmatics of quotation,* 259–280. Berlin: Springer. • Meir, I. et al. 2007. Body as subject. *Journal of Linguistics* 43. 531–563.

AG11

Quantitative analysis of lexical iconicity in sign languages

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12:30–13:00
SFG 0140

Many if not most lexical signs in natural sign languages (SLs) are iconic (Taub 2012). Recently, various aspects of lexical iconicity in SLs have been studied (e.g. Padden et al. 2015, Östling et al. 2015). However, a more general study of iconicity including multiple iconic features and multiple languages is still missing. We created a database of lexical signs in 19 SLs for signs from 7 semantic fields annotated for 5 iconic features. We analyzed the database quantitatively to find out whether languages and semantic fields are different from each other in iconic features.

Database: We selected 19 SLs from the www.spreadthesign.com multilingual dictionary of SLs with most signs annotated per language. We included 87 concrete concepts from 7 semantic fields: transport, nature, tools, house, clothes, food, and animals (total: 1542 signs). Each sign was annotated for the following iconicity features: form-image association, personification, associated action, location, and part-whole (Taub 2012). The database is available at https://sl-iconicity.shinyapps.io/iconicity_patterns/

Analysis: We conducted multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) to see how similar or different SLs and semantic fields are based on iconicity.

Results: Semantic fields are clearly different from each other in how they use iconic features, although there is still substantial overlap. In contrast, different SLs show a large overlap and almost no differences. We hypothesize that there is an interaction between semantic fields and languages which can obscure the results. When looking at individual iconic features and their distribution across both languages and semantic fields, it turns out that some semantic fields show variation of preferences across languages, while others do not. For instance, the semantic field of transport shows little variation between languages in the choice of the form-image mapping, but the field of tools shows clear variation in this feature, etc.

Discussion: Iconicity features vary both across semantic fields and across SLs, although the latter variation is heavily mediated by the former. It is not surprising that different semantic fields use different iconic mechanisms as concepts of different types are naturally depicted in different ways. More surprising is that variation between SLs can only be observed in some fields. We hypothesize that for some concepts multiple natural iconic strategies exist, while for other concepts only one strategy is naturally available.

References: • Östling, R., C. Börstell & S. Courtaux. 2018. Visual iconicity across sign languages. *Frontiers in Psychology* 9(725). • Padden, C., S.-O. Hwang, R. Lepic & S. Seegers. 2015. Tools for language: Patterned iconicity in sign language nouns and verbs.. *Topics in Cognitive Science* 7(1). 81–94. • Taub, S. F. 2012. Iconicity and metaphor. In R. Pfau, M. Steinbach & B. Woll (eds.), *Sign language: An international handbook,* 388–412). Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Semantic salience as iconic motivation of signs in artificial and natural sign languages

Freitag, 08.03.2019 13:00–13:30 SFG 0140

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The choice of the image for sign creation is claimed to be arbitrary (Occhino et al. 2017), but recent studies show that iconic signs vary less than expected if iconic representations are arbitrary: unrelated sign languages share about 20% of their core lexicons (Guerra Currie et al. 2002). Patterns within languages also suggest a lack of arbitrariness: signs belonging to the same semantic category share the same kind of iconic representation (Padden et al. 2013). And novel signs coined by sign-naïve gesturers belonging to broad conceptual categories (e.g., animates) share iconic sources that motivate their form (Tkachman & Hudson Kam 2016). This suggests that iconicity is constrained, at least at the level of kinds or categories. But what about individual referents? Will specific meanings look similar cross-linguistically? Will sign-naïve gesturers converge on the same underlying concepts as deaf signers? We compared 20 signs for animates created by 50 sign-naïve people, and signs for the same meanings from 33 natural sign languages (spreadthesign.org). We coded each sign (novel and real) for the underlying concept represented in it (e.g., whiskers for 'cat'), counted the number of concepts per sign, and compared the specific concepts, the number of concepts, and the degree of preference for concepts for the invented vs. real signs. We find that the sign-naïve people are more diverse in the choice of underlying concept (9.8 per referent vs. 6.3 in sign languages), but most tokens belong to the same types as most sign tokens. Though there is a range of possible concepts for encoding, some are more likely than others, and what is likely is determined not by language but something more conceptual. We call this phenomenon **semantic salience**: the semantic feature of the referent that is most conceptually salient is being used to label the referent.

References: • Guerra Currie, A. M., R. Meier, K. Walters, K. Cormier & D. Quinto-Pozos. 2002. A cross-linguistic examination of the lexicons of four signed languages. In R. Meier, K. Cormier, & D. Quinto-Pozos (eds.), *Modality and structure in signed and spoken languages*. Cambridge: CUP. • Occhino, C., B. Anible, E. Wilkinson & J. P. Morford. 2017. Iconicity is in the eye of the beholder. *Gesture 16*(1). 100–126. • Padden, C. A., I. Meir, S. O. Hwang, R. Lepic, S. Seegers & T. Sampson. 2013. Patterned iconicity in sign language lexicons. *Gesture* 13(3). 287–308. • Tkachman, O. & C. L. Hudson Kam. 2016. Arbitrariness of iconicity: The sources (and forces) of (dis)similarities in iconic representations. In S. G. Roberts et al. (eds.), *The evolution of language: Proceedings of EVOLANG11*.

Systemitized iconicity: A mapping of components from space, body, hands, face to Wierzbicka's semantic primitives

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:30–14:00
SFG 0140

Iconicity is often treated as a global cognitive process of identifying/mapping similarity between form and referent. We adopt a novel perspective: which semantic concepts can be expressed using space and the human body? Wierzbicka's (1996) 55 semantic primitives is the testbed. We break iconicity into component pieces. How far can we go with basic visible pieces? Further question: could we ever have gotten language without iconicity as a basis?

Visible space is used for: (1) iconic representations – space for space; (2) metaphors – space for something else; and (3) linguistic use – space for grammar. Examples of (1): up/down, left/right, here/there, near/far, side; I, you, other, this – but ONLY after adding the body and a means for indicating besides eyegaze (can't gaze to yourself). Indicating body parts gives say, see, hear. With hand relations: inside, under/above, big/small. For (2) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) orientational metaphors, vertical axis: happy is up, sad is down; space for time on front-back axis: future forward, past behind, now at sender's body; before/after, a long/short time. We are at 22, but needed hands, relations/orientations, and movements.

With (3), we see language-like behavior. ASL uses vertical space for definite/indefinite. Vertical space can show mental activities: think, know, hypothetical *what if*s (the side of the head, 'mental space'). Thus, we get conditional 'if', and other expressions of advanced cognition. The real business of spatial iconicity for grammar (event and argument structure) starts with geometry: point, line, plane shapes/ volumes. Points give individuals (*x*). Movement between points can indicate force dynamics (hit), transfer (give), change of location (arrive). We maintain that representations carry notions of spatial patterning for e.g., ordered/random sets of arguments, temporal patterning for aspect (incessant, habitual, iterative), and event structure, including telic event endings (from visible physics), supporting the Event Visibility Hypothesis (Wilbur 2003).

We argue that SLs recruit available visible resources from physics and geometry, and use them for linguistic purposes in a variety of ways. How these resources are used may vary from SL to SL, but the available visible resources are the same and provide the components to 'visible iconicity'.

References: • Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. • Wierzbicka, A. 1996. *Semantics: Primes and universals*. Oxford: OUP. • Wilbur, R. B. 2003. Representations of telicity in ASL. *Chicago Linguistic Society* 39. 354–368.

Arbeitsgruppe 12

Sorting out the concepts behind definiteness

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Raum: GW2 B 2890

Workshop description

There is no agreement in the literature as to which and how many concepts are needed to capture the meaning of definite descriptions, whether intra- or cross-linguistically. A continuing controversy surrounds even the most agreed-upon notions like uniqueness and familiarity, while novel evidence has been put forth to support the relevance of various other notions (established or new), such as (in)determinacy (Coppock & Beaver 2015), salience (von Heusinger 1997; Barlew 2014) and maximal informativeness (von Fintel et al. 2014).

From a theoretical perspective, the question arises whether any of these notions can be dispensed with. Much work in the tradition of formal semantics, for instance, maintains that familiarity is either theoretically unappealing (Elbourne 2013) or that it can be derived from uniqueness (Beaver & Coppock 2015). Despite these and other reductionist attempts, theories of definiteness must ultimately face the complexity of the empirical landscape – both intra- and cross-linguistic: definite expressions come in different forms (weak and strong articles, demonstratives, bare NPs, pronouns) as well as flavors (referential vs. attributive, situation-based vs. anaphoric, weak, affective, etc.). Important steps towards the understanding of this complexity have been made (Chierchia 1998; Dayal 2004; Schwarz 2009), but many issues remain open (such as the precise division of labor between semantics and pragmatics) and new ones keep arising (such as the problem of the co-existence of definite bare NPs and non-demonstrative definite descriptions within a single language; Jiang 2018).

The goal of this workshop is to shed new light on these and related issues. In addition to the core question of the workshop – Which concepts are needed to capture the meaning of definiteness? – other relevant questions include: Which concepts are needed to capture the meaning of different definite descriptions types? What is the semantic contribution of demonstratives? Are bare NPs in articleless languages semantically definite? What at-issueness status do the implications carried by definite descriptions have?

Selected references: • Beaver, D. & E. Coppock 2015. Novelty and familiarity for free. *Amsterdam Colloquium 20,* 50–60. • Chierchia, G. 1998. Reference to kinds across languages. *NLS* 6. 339–405. • Coppock, E. & D. Beaver 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *L&P* 38. 377–435. • Dayal, V. 2004. Number marking and (in)definiteness in kind terms. *L&P* 27. 393–450. • Elbourne, P. 2013. *Definite descriptions.* Oxford: OUP. • von Heusinger, K. 1997. *Salienz und Referenz.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag. • Jiang, L. J. 2018. Definiteness in Nuosu Yi and the theory of argument formation. *L&P* 41. 1–39.

Anaphoric definites as anchored definites

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 14:15–15:15 GW2 B2890

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AG12

Existing analyses of the distinction between anaphoric and unique definite articles rely on the idea that anaphoric definites are semantically more complex than unique definites (Schwarz 2009). While unique definites are intransitive, taking only their nominal complement as an argument, anaphoric definite articles are transitive, taking as arguments both their nominal complement and a domain restriction, a discourse-bound variable or index. Because the index is a semantic argument of anaphoric definites, it must be projected syntactically. This paper offers novel evidence for each of these two components of anaphoric definites, and further argues that anaphoric definites are just one instance of a general class of transitive definites I call *anchored definites*.

New evidence for the transitivity of anaphoric definites comes from Marka-Dafing, a Mande language of Burkina Faso. Dafing has a general definite article *=ú*, which appears as an enclitic at the right edge of DP, and which is required in all definite noun phrases. In anaphoric environments, *=ú* co-occurs with a prenominal particle *wó*, which I analyze as an index. Notably, *wó* cannot be used for exophoric reference, which requires a distinct exophoric demonstrative article *mí*. Additionally, *wó* is in complementary distribution with possessive noun phrases, which semantically function as arguments of the definite article in competition with *wó*.

Together, then, complex demonstratives, anaphoric definite descriptions, and possessive definite descriptions in Dafing stand in opposition to plain unique definites. I propose that the first group of definites together comprise a class of definites I call *anchored definites*, all of which involve an explicit domain restriction (cp. Simonenko 2014, Hannink 2018). While the Dafing (and English) articles appear regardless of whether such a domain restriction is present, I observe langauges where the presence of these modifiers conditions the appearance of a (strong) definite article, which contrasts with a bare definite form used for unique definites. I describe three such cases: Moro (Kordofanian), Basaá (Bantu), and Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan). The picture that emerges is one where languages vary along a number of dimensions, but the general split between unique and anchored definites, of which anaphoric definites are one variety, is universal.

References: • Hannink, E. 2018. *Structural sources of anaphora and sameness*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. Doctoral dissertation, UMass Amherst. • Simonenko, A. 2014. *Grammatical ingredients of definiteness*. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Definiteness-marking in Turoyo

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
GW2 B2890

AG12

tba

Maximality and situation-sensitivity: The evolution of French possessives

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B2890

Alexandra Simonenko[1] & Anne Carlier[2]
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AG12

This paper explores the evolution of the semantics of possessive morphemes in French in light of the emergence of the ban on their cooccurrence with other determiners, such as *le*/*la*/*les*, as well as *un*/*une* series and demonstratives. Medieval texts feature constructions involving co-occurrence of possessive pronouns with other determiner types, as illustrated in (1) for *la*.

(2)	*la*	*tue*	*aname*	*el*	*ciel*	*seit*	*absoluthe!*
	DET	your	soul	in.the	heaven	be.SBJ	absolved

'…that your soul may be absolved in heaven!'

Such co-occurrences are strictly ungrammatical in Modern French. We propose that possessive pronouns acquired a maximal quantification component: while at the earlier stages of French the possessive pronoun denoted an intersective modifier, in Modern French it denotes a function which picks out the maximal member from the denotation of the nominal predicate related by a possessive relation to the possessor. We suggest that the emerging co-occurrence ban amounts to an instance of No Vacuous Quantification principle (NVQ, Partee et al. 1990, Kratzer 1995, Kennedy 1997, Potts 2002 a.o.). Assuming a formulation of NVQ from Heim and Kratzer (1998: 126) which states that each variable binder must bind at least one variable, we propose that the NVQ arises with two maximality-based determiners (e.g. definite + possessive) due to the saturation of a situation argument of the nominal predicate by the first determiner. We thus make a claim that maximality is intrinsically associated with introducing a restricted quantification domain. We also discuss the fact that both *le*/*la*/*les* and possessive pronouns are compatible with the universal quantifier *tout* "all" in Old as well as in Modern French and that although *tout* and *le*/*la*/*les* make similar contributions to truth conditions, they contrast with respect to a) tolerance to exceptions (Kleiber 2011) and b) sensitivity to situations (Pearce 1976). We use these facts, as well as data from other Romance languages, to strengthen the claim that maximal quantification, characterized by tolerance to exceptions, necessarily involves domain restriction.

References: • Kennedy, C. 1997. Antecedent-contained deletion and the syntax of quantification. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28(4). 662–688. • Kleiber, G. 2011. La quantification universelle en trio: *tous les*, *chaque* et *tout*. *Studii de lingvistică* 1. 139–157 • Kratzer, A. 1995. Stage-level and individual-level predicates as inherent generics. In G. N. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier (eds.), *The Generic Book*, 125–175. Chicago: Chicago University Press. • Partee, B., A. G. ter Meulen & R. Wall. 1990. *Mathematical methods in linguistics*. Dodrecht: Kluwer • Potts, C. 2002. No vacuous quantification constraints in syntax. *Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*.

Familiar vs. unique in a diachronic perspective: Case study of North Germanic

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Mittwoch,
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17:00–17:30
GW2 B2890

AG12

The aim of the present study is to follow the development of the definite article in North Germanic, in particular taking into account the unique reference expressed by the nascent article. The study is based on the corpora of Old Swedish, Old Danish and Old Icelandic texts written between 1200 and 1550. The texts chosen for the corpus represent four genres, i.e. legal prose, religious prose, profane prose and sagas. The study is grounded in the notion of weak vs strong definiteness (Schwarz 2009), which we wish to explore diachronically.

Preliminary results of the study show that both Danish and Icelandic exhibit similar developments, although with different rates, i.e. very low values for the grammaticalizing article with unique referents in the first period studied, gradually rising (in Danish first in the last period studied, in Icelandic already in the second one). The situation in Swedish is more ambiguous, with relatively high values in the first period studied already, an issue we hope to address in our presentation.

It is clear from this preliminary data that the unique reference lags behind in terms of definite expression, in comparison to the strong definiteness type that is direct anaphora. However, we wish to look into the unique contexts qualitatively as well. In the presentation, we hope to discuss the following issues:

1. Are there more than one type of unique reference, e.g. a more global one (the Sun) and more local one (the dog, in the family who only owns one dog)?
2. Does the nascent definite article appear in the more local ones first?
3. Could this local uniqueness be conceived as a case of indirect anaphora (a context ambiguous between strong and weak definiteness), thus providing a link in the grammaticalization chain?

References: • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts dissertation.

The emerging definite article *ten* in spoken Czech: A further analysis in terms of 'semantic' and 'pragmatic' definiteness

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
GW2 B2890

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AG12

My paper proposes a further application of Löbner's notions of 'semantic' and 'pragmatic' definiteness to the Czech demonstrative determiner (DD) *ten* in the contexts where *ten* manifests the characteristics typical for emerging definite articles (DA). I follow up on the work of Czardybon and his own application of Löbner's approach to Polish and, up to a point, other Slavic languages. In my opinion, examples provided by spoken Czech corpora of the Czech National Corpus platform attest the existence of a developing DA *ten* in the contemporary spoken Czech. Yet the grammaticalization process seems far from accomplished as the form does not have all the necessary characteristics of a proper DA. In this respect, the distinction between semantic and pragmatic definiteness seems a reliable indicator to me. It is generally agreed the emergence of DAs from DDs is characterized by a bleaching of the demonstrative semantics (typically the contextual indexation of the referent) including the proximity/distance distinction as well as a phonetical weakening. The process is accomplished once the form becomes systematic in all contexts, including those of semantic definiteness. For Czech, especially its spoken variety, it has been put forward the DD form *ten*, unstressed and neutral as to proximity/distance distinctions, appears in contexts excluding pure DDs. These contexts, pertaining to situational deixis, anaphora as well as recognitional uses, are mostly those of pragmatic definiteness. Relying on a corpus of unformal spoken Czech of more than one million words, not only will I reexamine these uses on concrete empirical material but I will also focus on more ambiguous uses of *ten*, which the 'concept types and determination' approach regard as somehow occupying the transition between the two types of definiteness, i.e. with associative anaphora and noun phrases where the extension of the head noun is restricted to its extensity by the presence of certain modifiers, especially establishing relatives, ordinal numerals and superlative adjectives. In the remaining time, I will also address the phenomenon of *ten* appearing with referents which, I will argue, are semantic definites and where the presence of *ten* has to be accounted for by other pragmatic factors, especially the one of expressivity. The core of my argument is that these employs, very extensive in Czech, should a priori not be confused with those where *ten* is on its way to become a DA.

Definiteness in the absence of uniqueness

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–9:30
GW2 B2890

AG12

The purpose of this paper is to examine what kind of concepts stand (or do not stand) behind the apparent definiteness of Russian bare nominals. A classical analysis of definiteness (Frege 1892, Strawson 1950) implies that definiteness is associated with the uniqueness presupposition, which is built into the meaning of the definite article, as in English. If the uniqueness presupposition in languages without articles is part of the semantic contribution of the article, in the absence of the article we do not expect any uniqueness effects. If uniqueness is built into a semantic operator (a ι operator), we can still expect uniqueness effects associated with definites to appear in languages without articles, assuming that the same semantic operator triggers definiteness in all languages. Coppock & Beaver (2015) allow us to explicitly distinguish these two options. Following them, we assume that definiteness as uniqueness is associated with the ι shift.

We argue that in Russian uniqueness cannot be the concept underlying definiteness. Compare examples from English (1) and Russian (2):

(1) ***The author*** *of this book gave an interview*. #The other author/#the second author/another author appeared in a TV show.

(2) ***Avtor*** *etoj knigi dal intervju Novoj gazete*.
author this.GEN book.GEN gave interview to NG.
Drugoj ***avtor*** *vystupil v ėfire Ėxa Moskvy*.
Other author appeared on radio ‘EM’

The crucial contrast is that in (1) the uniqueness of the author cannot be overruled and *another author* can only refer to *another* author of *another* book. In Russian, however, *drugoj avtor* (other author) can refer to another author of the same book, cancelling any apparent uniqueness effects associated with the first subject in (2). This suggests that uniqueness in Russian is not semantically encoded. This, in turn, means that the *iota* shift, an operator with a universal semantic contribution, does not apply in Russian.

Note that other (i.e., not uniqueness-based) types of definites do exist in Russian. We consider the following sources of definiteness in Russian. First, anaphoricity, when the referent is provided in the previous context. Second, topicality, which strongly favours a definite interpretation (cf. Reinhart 1981). Finally, unique objects like *the sun* are known to be unique in the world. Their uniqueness, however, is not semantically derived or determined, it is simply ‘reflected’ by means of the definite article. In Russian, there is nothing to reflect the unique status of such objects in the world, so they appear bare.

References: • Coppock, E. & D. Beaver. 2015. Definiteness and determinacy. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38. 377–435. • Frege, G. 1892. Über Sinn und Bedeutung. *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik* 100. 25–50. • Reinhart, T. 1981. Definite NP anaphora and C-command domains. *Linguistic Inquiry* 12(4). 605–635. • Strawson, P. 1950. On referring. *Mind* 59. 320–344.

The definite interpretation carried by accusative is an implicature – Evidence from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:30–10:00
GW2 B2890

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In many Slavic languages, both accusative (acc) and genitive (gen) case can be used for objects of transitive verbs (e.g., Borschev 2008, Kagan, 2010; Khrizman, 2014). Novel data from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (BCS) show that while acc contributes the meaning that the amount of the discourse referent is familiar, gen triggers the interpretation that the amount is non-familiar. We analyze both inferences as scalar implicatures.

The non-canonical uses of gen (acc/gen alternation) is possible in BSC with the so-called intensional genitive, genitive of negation and partitive Genitive, the last one is exemplified below:

(1)	*Imam/Nemam*	*vodu/vode*	*haljine/haljina*	*kašiku/*kašike.*
	1SG.have/NEG	water$_{ACC}$/water$_{GEN}$	dresses$_{ACC}$/dresses$_{GEN}$	spoon$_{ACC}$/spoon$_{GEN}$

‘I (don't) have water/ dresses/ spoon.’

In previous literature on Russian, acc was argued to convey the definite interpretation of the discourse referent (Franks 1995; Bailyn 2004; Kagan 2005, 2010; Khrizman 2014). While acc nouns were analyzed as being of type e and hence referential and/or specific, gen were analyzed as being of type <e,t> and thus non-referential and unspecified (e.g., Borschev et al. 2008). By contrast, we propose that both gen and acc nouns in BCS are of the same type but they differ in the implicatures they trigger. The results of our fieldwork show that the choice between acc and gen in BCS relates to the (un)familiarity of the amount of the entities: gen is preferred in contexts with unfamiliar amount/number, acc is preferred for familiar amount/ number. We propose that the inferences of both acc and gen arise as scalar implicatures, as both can be canceled. In the talk, we will present the formal implementation of this idea. In particular, we will discuss the meaning of acc and gen, their competitors and how by Gricean reasoning, the inference that the amount of the entities is familiar/unfamiliar is derived. This novel analysis of the meaning of acc and gen in BCS as a scalar implicature contributes to the ongoing discussion on the semantics of acc/gen alternation in Slavic languages and the definiteness in a cross-linguistic perspective.

References: • Alexander, R. & E. Elias-Bursać. 2010. *Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, a textbook* (2nd ed.). Wisconsin, USA: The University of Wisconsin Press • Borschev, V., E. Paducheva, B. Partee, Y. Testelets & I. Yanovich. 2008. Russain genitives, nonreferentiality, and the property type hypothesis. *FALS* 16. 48–67. • Filip, H. 2001. The semantics of case in Russian secondary predication. *SALT XI*, 192–211. • Kagan, O. 2010. Genitive objects, existence and individuation. *Russ Linguist* 34. 17–39. • Khrizman, K. 2014. Genitive case and aspect in Russian. *FASL* 22. 418–438

Definiteness without determiners

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
10:00–10:30
GW2 B2890

AG12

In German, countable nouns in the singular generally need an article. However, in the construction in (1)–(2), the initial noun phrase, henceforth NP1, may systematically occur bare:

(1) [*Ursache der Flut*]$_{NP1}$ *waren* [*heftige* *Regenfälle*]$_{NP2}$.
cause of-the flood were heavy rains
'The cause of the flood was heavy rains.'

(2) [*Gastland der Leipziger Buchmesse*]$_{NP1}$ *war diesmal* [*Frankreich*]$_{NP2}$.
guest-country of-the Leipzig Book Fair was this_time France
'The guest country of the Leipzig Book Fair was France this year.'

Clauses (1)-(2) belong to so-called specificational copular clauses. According to Higgins (1979), in such clauses NP2 specifies the "value" of the description given in the pre-copular NP1. Specificational sentences have a fixed information structure with NP1 as topic and NP2 as focus (Mikkelsen 2011). The syntactic subject is NP2, since the copula verb agrees with NP2, and not with NP1 as shown in (1). The subject NP2 is clearly referential; the denotational status of NP1, however, is controversial. It does not denote an individual but rather a property as shown by the pronominalization test in (3). NP1 pronominalizes with the property anaphor *es* 'it'/das 'that' as opposed to the gendered pronoun *er* 'he' referring to an individual (Geist 2006).

(3) a. – *Sieger*$_i$ war Arthur Techtow. 'The winner was Arthur Techtow.'
b. – *Nein, es*$_i$*/das*$_i$*/*er*$_i$ *war nicht Arthur T.* 'No it/that/he was not Arthur T.'

The predicate NP1 in specificational clauses differs from predicate NPs in predicational clauses in its existential presupposition (u.a. Declerck 1988: 14 ff.,). In (5a) *Sieger* can be paraphrased as "there is a unique person x who has won". Since the existence of x is preserved under negation in (5b) the existential entailment has the status of a presupposition. My collected data reveal that only inherently unique nouns, which according to Löbner (2011) comprise individual concepts (e.g., *Kursleiter* 'head of course', *Tagungsort* 'conference venue') and functional concepts (*Sieger* 'winner', *Ursache* 'cause') may occur bare. In my presentation I will discuss an analysis of bare definite NPs in specificational clauses as a type of unique ('weak') definites in the sense of Cheng, Heycock and Zamparelli (2017) and Schwarz (2009).

Selected References: • Cheng, L. L-S., C. Heycock & R. Zamparelli. 2017. Two levels for definiteness. In M. Y. Erlewine (ed.), *Proceedings of GLOW in Asia XI*, Vol. 1. USA: MIT, 79–93. • Geist, L. 2006. *Die Kopula und ihre Komplemente. Zur Kompositionalität in Kopulasätzen*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. • Löbner, S. 2011. Concept types and determination. *Journal of Semantics* 28(3). 279–333. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. PhD thesis, MIT.

Bare noun vs. indefinite objects in Persian and their anaphoric uptake

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 11:15–11:45 GW2 B2890

AG12

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In Persian, bare noun objects with the marker *-ra* (BN-*ra*) are typically analyzed as definite, whereas BN objects without *-ra* (BN-Ø) have been argued to be pseudo-incorporated, yielding a number-neutral indefinite reading with limited potential for anaphoric uptake (Modarresi 2014). We have argued that BN objects are always interpreted as definite, but that BN-Ø occur in the scope of existential closure over an event, and are functionally dependent on that event. This creates the effect of number neutrality, and also explains why anaphoric uptake is limited (cf. Krifka & Modarresi 2016). In the current presentation we focus on the difference of anaphoric potential of BN-Ø and of indefinite objects marked by the indefinite article *yek* (IDF), with the goal to shed light on the differences in the mechanism of such update. We tested the naturalness of the anaphoric uptake by singular, plural, or number-neutral covert anaphora. The first experiment used self-paced reading (following a similar design by Law & Syrett 2017 on Mandarin), with no significant result. The second experiment relied on acceptability judgements, showing that IDFs make the best antecedents (except for plural anaphors, due to a number conflict). However, BN-Ø make surprisingly good antecedents as well. The third experiment required selecting the best anaphoric expression; overt singular anaphora was clearly preferred for IDFs, whereas for BN-Ø, overt singular and covert anaphora were selected about equal, with plural anaphora a distant third. We interpret this as evidence that BN-Ø introduce discourse referents, but that they are less accessible than when introduced by IDF (contrary to Farkas & de Swart 2003, Dayal 2011). The low selection of plural anaphora we take as evidence that BN-Ø are not generic (as in Aguilar-Guevara & Zwarts 2010) or number-neutral (Modarresi 2014) or contain a built-in sum operator (Schwarz 2014). We argue that the findings are compatible with Yanovich (2008) and Krifka & Modarresi (2016), who assume that the discourse referents of BN-Ø are singular but have to be recovered by a slightly more complex process than with IDF.

References: • Aguilar-Guevara, A. & J. Zwarts. 2010. Weak definites and reference to kinds. In N. Li & D. Lutz (eds.), *Semantics and linguistic theory* (*SALT*) 20, 1-15. • Farkas, D. F. & H. de Swart. 2003. *The semantics of incorporation.* Stanford: CSLI Publications. • Krifka, M. & F. Modarresi. 2016. Number neutrality and anaphoric uptake of pseudo-incorporated nominals in Persian (and weak definites in English). *SALT* 26. 874–891.• Law, J. H. K. & K. Syrett. 2017, Experimental evidence for the discourse potential of bare nouns in Mandarin. *NELS* 47. • Modarresi, F. 2014. *Bare nouns in Persian: Interpretation, grammar and prosody*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Ottawa & Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. • Schwarz, F. 2014. How weak and how definite are weak indefinites? In A. Aguilar-Guevara, B. LeBruyn & J. Zwarts (eds), *Weak referentiality*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Strong definites in colloquial Persian and referentiality

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Persian has no definite article, while bare nouns express definite or generic readings (Ghomeshi 2003, Krifka & Modarresi 2016). Modern Colloquial Persian has the additional referentiality marker *-e* (*-he* after vowels, *-ye* after *i*), which can optionally be combined with bare nouns in typically "strong referential" readings, such as deictic and anaphoric uses of definites, as in (1) and (2).

(1) *Ketāb-e* *ru* *mize.* [deictic]
book-e on table.be.3SG
'The book is on the table.'

(2) *Ye arus va damād-ro didam.* [anaphoric]
a bride and groom-ACC saw.1SG
Arus-e *xeyli xošgel bud*.
bride-e very beautiful was.3SG
'I saw a bride and groom yesterday. The bride was very beautiful.'

We argue that the marker *-e* marks referentiality and not just anaphoricity, as is often assumed in the literature for strong definites (e.g., Schwarz 2009, Jenks 2018). See the referential/non-referential reading in (3a) vs. (3b), respectively. While (3a) in a clear referential reading, i.e. the *fastest runner*, can refer to Ali, the same is not possible in (3b), where the expression refers to whoever will be the winner. In (3b), *-e* is ungrammatical:

(3) a. *Esme saritarin davande(-he) chi bud?*
name.of **fastest** **runner(-e)** what was.3SG
'What was the name of the fastest runner?
b. *Saritarin davande(*-he) barande.ye jāyeze miše.*
fastest **runner(*-e)** winner.of award become.3SG
'The fastest runner will be the winner of the award.'

In sum, the referentiality marker *-e* in Colloquial Persian can be used with strong definites. This provides novel evidence that the contrast between weak and strong definites is based on referentiality, and not on anaphoricity.

References: • Ghomeshi, J. 2003. Plural marking, indefiniteness and the noun phrase. *Studia Linguistica* 57(2). 47–74. • Jenks, P. 2018. Articulated definiteness without articles. *Linguistic Inquiry* 49(3). 501–536. • Krifka, M. & F. Modarresi. 2016. Number neutrality and anaphoric update of pseudo- incorporated nominals in Persian (and weak definites in English). In M. Moroney, C.-R. Little, J. Collard & D. Burgdorf (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT* 26, 874–891. Austin, TX: University of Texas. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*: University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation.

Temporal definiteness

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 12:15–12:45 GW2 B2890

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AG12

I propose a novel analysis of the present perfect and argue that if we adopt the familiarity theory of definiteness, we can analyze the simple past in English as a definite description for times presupposing an antecedent (either explicit or implicit), and the present perfect as an indefinite.

(1) Context: There is a giant spider$_i$ in the house. Everyone is scared.
Be careful! The giant spider$_i$/a giant spider$_{j/\#i}$ may be in this room!

(2) Context: Mary knows that John had a trip to Italy last month$_i$ and she's asking about it.
Did$_i$ you visit/Have you visited$_{j/\#i}$ Rome?

DRT-Style Formalization (cf.Grønn 2003): I follow Pancheva and von Stechow (2004) and assume that a complex operator [present perfect] is formed at T. To maintain compositionality, it must have the formula as in (5), which competes with the simple past, and is presuppositionally weaker because it doesn't presuppose an antecedent for t'. When referring to a time already in the context, the present perfect is ruled out by Maximize Presupposition. Hence, the present perfect is an indefinite in English (discourse new).

(3) $[\![\text{past}]\!] = \lambda p[t' \mid p(t')]\ \{\underline{t} \mid \underline{t} < n, \rho(\underline{t}, t')\}$; $[\![\text{present}]\!] = \lambda p.[n \mid p(n)]$ (n=now)

(4) $[\![\text{perfect}]\!] = \lambda p \lambda t\ [t' \mid p(t')]\ \{\ \mid t' \leq t\ \}$, $t' \leq t$ iff there is no $t'' \subset t'$ such that $t'' > t$

(5) $[\![\text{present perfect}]\!] = \lambda p.[(n)\ t' \mid p(t')]\ \{\ \mid t' \leq n\}$ ({ } indicates presuppositions)

If past temporal adverbials provide the antecedent the speaker refers to, the Present Perfect Puzzle is derived directly. The current relevance readings of the present perfect can be derived from the discourse new property of the time it introduces. The present perfect and the simple past also pattern with (in)definite DPs in well-established phenomena, such as (presupposition) projection, donkey anaphora, bathroom anaphora, etc.

This analysis also derives the crosslinguistic variation of (in)definites in the nominal and temporal domains, as a result of the presence or absence of a definite competitor. In languages with no competition (the definite simple past is absent or in a different register), the present perfect has more felicitous uses and behaves as if it were ambiguous. This parallels with Heim's (2011) analysis of the variation of (in)definite DPs.

References: • Clark, 1975. *Bridging*.•Grønn. 2003. *The semantics and pragmatics of the Russian factual imperfective*. • Grønn & von Stechow, 2017. *The Perfect*.• Heim. 1983. *File change semantics and the familiarity theory of definiteness*. Heim. 1991. *Articles and definiteness*.• Heim. 2011. *Definiteness and indefiniteness*.• Klein.1992. *The present perfect puzzle*. • Kratzer.1998. *More structural analogies between pronouns and tenses*. • Pancheva & von Stechow. 2004. *On the present perfect puzzle*.• Partee. 1973. *Some structural analogies between tenses and pronouns in English*. •Percus. 2006. *Antipresuppositions*. Portner. 2011. *Perfect and progressive*.• Schlenker. 2012. *Maximize presupposition and Gricean reasoning*.

Relative readings of definite comparatives

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
13:45–14:45
GW2 B2890

tba

Indefinite demonstratives, definiteness, and referentiality

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:00 GW2 B2890

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AG12

Indefinite demonstrative noun phrases, such as *this guy* in *Then I met this guy*, are specific (Prince 1981), cataphoric (Gernsbacher & Shroyer 1989), express noteworthiness, and are discourse prominent (von Heusinger 2011). We tested the claim that indefinite demonstratives introduce their discourse referent more directly, i.e. with less impact of the noun phrase's descriptive content, than regular indefinites (*a guy*), a claim that is compatible with previous studies (Gernsbacher & Shroyer 1989). If this claim were correct, we should find differences in accessibility for indefinites with pre-activated, inferred concepts and indefinites with brand-new concepts. Inferred and brand-new demonstratives should be similarly accessible.

We conducted a visual world, eye-tracking experiment, in which 45 participants (ps) listened to German short stories consisting of three sentences (40 expt; 80 fillers). The first sentence provided a context, the second sentence introduced two human referents, and the third sentence contained a personal pronoun that could be interpreted as the subject or object referent of the second sentence. Importantly, the critical object referent could either be inferred from context (inferred, *gym… a trainer* vs. *this trainer*) or not (brand-new, *theatre… a trainer* vs. *this trainer*) and was either introduced with a noun following a demonstrative (*this*) or an indefinite article (*a*/*an*). We analyzed which of the four pictures onsceen participants were fixating at pronoun encounter: picture of the object referent, the subject referent, or one of the two unrelated pictures.

Starting at pronoun onset and for object NPs with an indefinite article, ps looked more to the related picture when the referent could be inferred than when it was brand-new. For object NPs with a demonstrative article, fixation times were slightly longer for brand-new than inferred referents. Generalized mixed models for various time bins post pronoun onset revealed a significant Information status x Article interaction for the bins 500 – 800 ms and 800 – 1100 ms, both *z*s > 5, both *p*s < .001. Follow-up models confirmed that there were reliable differences in fixation times only between inferred and brand-new indefinites and not between the indefinite demonstrative. Our result suggest that indefinite demonstratives introduce their discourse referent in a more direct way than regular indefinites, possibly because their access interacts more weakly with the descriptive content of the NP.

References: • Gernsbacher, M. A. & S. Shroyer. 1989. The cataphoric use of the indefinite this in spoken narratives. *Memory & Cognition* 17. 536–540. • von Heusinger, K. 2011. Specificity, referentiality and discourse prominence: German indefinite demonstratives. In I. Reich (ed.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 15*, 9–30. Saarbrücken: Saarland University Press. • Prince, E. F. 1981. On the inferencing of indefinite-this NPs. In B. Webber, A. K. Joshi & I. Sag (eds.), *Elements of discourse understanding*, 231–250. Cambridge: CUP.

Conditions for weak readings in German

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
GW2 B2890

AG12

We discuss the referential properties and discourse behavior of weak definite noun phrases in German, such as *zum Arzt gehen* 'go to the doctor'. On the basis of two production studies, we argue that weak definites are less discourse prominent than regular indefinite and definite descriptions and that this is mirrored in a weaker anaphoric potential for them. Furthermore, we investigate the exact conditions that allow for weak readings in German.

Weak definites are definite noun phrases (NPs) that differ in their referential properties from regular definites: They do not imply global uniqueness of their referent, always take narrow scope, and allow for sloppy readings. Also, unlike regular definites and indefinites, weak definites express enriched meanings and have a limited ability to establish discourse referents (Aguilar Guevara & Zwarts 2010; Carlson et al. 2006).

(1) a. Peter went to the doctor.
b. Peter complained to the doctor.

The contexts that trigger weak readings typically express a stereotypical situation which is lexically restricted. If this condition is not met, the weak reading is disfavored (cf. 1a vs. 1b). Now, German has two types of definite articles, a full and a reduced form, and only the reduced form always merges with various preceding prepositions (Nübling 2005; Schwarz 2009). For the full form, merging is optional. Importantly, if a speaker uses the full definite or indefinite article (cf. 2b-c), the weak reading seems to disappear.

(2) a. Peter ging zum Arzt. *Peter went to_the$_{reduced}$ doctor*.
b. Peter ging zu dem Arzt. *Peter went to the$_{full}$ doctor*.
c. Peter ging zu einem Arzt. *Peter went to a doctor*.

(3) The cough has gotten worse and worse. Peter went to the doctor.

To further investigate the exact conditions that trigger weak readings in German we conducted two production experiments. These experiments suggest that weak readings are affected by (i) the (non-)stereotypicality of the described situation, (ii) the morphological marking of the noun phrase, and (iii) an explicit sentence that sets a frame (cf. 3).

References: • Aguilar Guevara, A. & J. Zwarts. 2010. Weak definites and reference to kinds. *Proceedings of SALT* 20. 179–196. • Carlson, G., R. Sussman, N. Klein & M. Tanenhaus. 2006. Weak definite noun phrases. *Proceedings of NELS* 36. 179–196. • Nübling, D. 2005. Von in *die* über *in'n* und *ins* bis *im*: Die Klitisierung von Präposition und Artikel als „Grammatikalisierungsbaustelle". In T. Leuschner, T. Mortelmans & S. De Groodt (eds.), *Grammatikalisierung im Deutschen*, 105–131. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. University of Massachusetts Amherst dissertation.

Weak definites vs. implicit entities vs. indefinites in German

Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:30–13:00
GW2 B2890

AG12

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Weak definites (WDs) as in *ins Kino gehen* (cf. Schwarz 2014) differ from strong definites as in *in das Kino gehen* in various respects: They have a number-neutral reading (cf. *Die Leute gehen gern ins Kino/in das Kino*), narrow scope to quantifiers (as in *Jedes Kind ist ins Kino/in das Kino gegangen*), and co-vary in conjunctions (as in *Peter ist ins/in das Kino gegangen und Maria auch*). In this, WDs are more similar to indefinites (IDs), as in *in ein Kino gehen*. However, WDs differ from IDs as they support anaphoric uptake to a reduced degree, cf. *Wir gingen in ein Kino/ins Kino. Man konnte es schon von weitem sehen* (less felicitous with *ins Kino*).

We will give a survey of approaches to model WDs, which arguably are semantically similar to pseudo-incorporated bare NPs in certain languages, and discuss their respective strengths and weaknesses (e.g. as kind-referring nouns, as nominal properties, and as predicate restrictions that do not introduce any discourse referent). We argue for an analysis in which WDs are definites that are functionally dependent on an event in the scope of an existential closure over an event variable (cf. Krifka & Modarresi 2016 for incorporated nominals). For example, *ins Kino gehen* is a predicate that applies to a person x if there is an event e, and x goes to the unique cinema defined for e. This explains the scopal properties of WDs and their apparent number-neutral interpretation, but also their reduced anaphoric potential, because picking up the discourse referent (DR) requires it to be recovered from a domain that is not directly accessible (cf. Kamp & Reyle 1993).

We will report on experiments designed to test the anaphoric potential of WDs (rating of texts, choice of pronominal or definite DP as anaphoric expression, sentence continuation tasks). We present evidence that WDs are better antecedents than non-expressed participants, ruling out theories that assume that no DR is introduced. But it is difficult to show that WDs really are worse antecedents than IDs. We expect that WDs are preferably picked up by definite DPs than by pronouns, but in test conditions, even indefinite antecedents are preferably picked up by definite DPs. We will present the results of a number of experiments and discuss the experimental bias towards a preference for definite NPs as anaphors. We will also present the result of experiments where the anaphoric expressions are associative anaphora.

References: • Schwarz, F: 2014. How weak and how definite are weak indefinites? In A. Aguilar-Guevara, B. LeBruyn & J. Zwarts (eds.), *Weak referentiality*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins. • Kamp, H. & U. Reyle. 1993. *From discourse to logic*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. • Krifka, M. & F. Modarresi. 2016. Number neutrality and anaphoric uptake of pseudo-incorporated nominals in Persian (and weak definites in English). *SALT* 26. 874–891.

A comparison of anaphoric complex demonstratives and demonstrative pronouns

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–13:30
GW2 B2890

AG12

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In this paper we first report the results of an acceptability study which supports the claims made in Hinterwimmer (to appear), according to which complex demonstratives are not equivalent to definite descriptions on their non-deictic uses (pace King (2001) and Elbourne (2008)). Rather, complex demonstratives not only on their deictic, but also on their anaphoric or bound uses involve (potentially abstract) *demonstrations* (Bühler 1934; Roberts 2002). Crucially, those demonstrations may not have overlapping trajectories, which is unavoidable in the case of two (or more) abstract demonstrations in one-dimensional discourse space being linked to a DP in a preceding sentence. Consequently, the continuation of (1) in (1d) was judged reliably worse than the continuations in (1a-c). In the second part, we compare anaphoric complex demonstratives and German demonstrative pronouns. We argue that only demonstrative pronouns of the *dieser*/*diese*/*dieses* paradigm are 'real' demonstratives in the sense of being associated with (potentially abstract) demonstrations, while demonstrative pronouns of the *der*/*die*/*das* paradigm are simply marked pronouns that as such avoid maximally prominent antecedents.

(1) *Im Zoo hat gestern ein Schimpanse einen Zoowärter angespuckt*.
'In the zoo, a chimpanzee spit at a zoo keeper yesterday.'
  a. *Dann hat der Schimpanse den Wärter auch noch angegriffen.*
  'Then the chimpanzee also attacked the zoo keeper.'
  b. *Dann hat der Schimpanse diesen Wärter auch noch angegriffen.*
  'Then the chimpanzee also attacked that zoo keeper.'
  c. *Dann hat dieser Schimpanse den Wärter auch noch angegriffen.*
  'Then that chimpanzee also attacked the zoo keeper.'
  d. ??*Dann hat dieser Schimpanse diesen Zoowärter auch noch angegriffen.*
  'Then that chimpanzee also attacked that zoo keeper.'

References: • Bühler, K. 1934. *Sprachtheorie: Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*. Fischer. • Elbourne, P. 2008. Demonstratives as individual concepts. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 31. 409–466 • Hinterwimmer, S. to appear. How to point at discourse referents: On anaphoric and bound uses of complex demonstratives. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* (SuB) 23 • King, J. 2001. *Complex demonstratives. A quantificational account.* Cambridge: MIT Press • Roberts, C. 2002. Demonstratives as definites. In K. van Deemter & R. Kibble (eds.), *Information sharing: Reference and presupposition in language generation and interpretation*. CSLI Press.

German weak definites and incorporation

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:30–14:00
GW2 B2890

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AG12

The talk first demonstrates that German Weak definites (WDs) (*Max hat immer gerne die Zeitung gelesen* ['Max always liked to read the newspaper']) show different syntactic properties compared to regular singular definite descriptions independent of whether the regular definites are interpreted with singular or with generic reference. This fact will be documented with data concerning extraposition, positioning relative to sentence negation and verb preposing. The main concern of the talk is to argue that the distributional properties of WDs are best captured by the assumption that they are syntactically incorporated into the verbal complex of the German clause.

There is growing evidence for different languages that maximal phrases can be part of a complex verb (e.g. Barrie & Mathieu 2016). Importantly, only non-specific phrases can be incorporated. Following Ihsane & Puskas (2001) we assume that specificity and definiteness of noun projections are encoded by different functional projections. Furthermore, we assume the semantics for WDs developed in Krifka & Modarresi (2016) according to which a WD denotes a function which applies to the verb's event argument and yields the unique element of this event which satisfies the description of the WD. We argue that a WD has to occur inside the verbal complex because of the very fact that its interpretation is dependent on the verb.

Some further issues to be discussed are: (i) The thesis that WDs are syntactically incorporated into the verbal complex helps to understand why WDs and the verbs together always refer to an 'institutionalized' activity thereby getting an enriched meaning. The non-compositional meaning component is only possible because the WD and the verb constitute a close structural unit. (ii) The reduced possibility of anaphora to WDs does correspond to the WDs' status as not being full DPs (and thus not being regular arguments, Longobardi 1994). (iii) The verbs that allow for WDs are stage level verbs. Individual level predicates, that do not have an event argument, do not allow incorporation. (iv) The German preposition-article contraction is not a sufficient condition for the presence of a WD but presupposes that the nominal projection does not encode specificity (cf. Schwarz 2009, Rehn 2016).

References: • Barrie, M. & E. Mathieu. 2016. Noun incorporation and phrasal movement. *NLLT* 34. 1–51. • Ihsane, T. & G. Puskas. 2001. Specific is not definite. *Generative Grammar in Geneva* 2. 39–54. • Krifka, M. & F. Modarresi. 2016. Number neutrality and anaphoric update of pseudo-incorporated nominals in Persian (and weak definites in English). *Proceedings of SALT* 26. 874–891. • Longobardi, G. 1994. Reference and proper names: A theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry* 25. 609–665. • Rehn, A. 2016. The definite article and its positions in the structure of the DP: evidence from Irish English and Alemannic. *Caderno de Squibs: Temas em estudos formais da linguagem* 2(1). 54–66. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language*. Open Access Diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Arbeitsgruppe 13

Post-truth: The semantics and pragmatics of saying "what you believe to be false"

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Raum: GW2 B 2880

AG13

Workshop description

Grice's first maxim of quality says "do not say what you believe to be false", but we often do. We tell lies ("I did not have sexual relations with that woman"), we deceive (e.g. by lying by implicature), we bullshit ("Trade wars are easy to win"), we make up stories ("When Harry Potter first came to Hogwarts …"), we pretend (Kids playing: "You were Batgirl and I was Wonder Woman"), or we use irony ("Losing the key was very smart!"). In all such speech acts there is a clear sense in which we're not, or at least not literally, speaking the truth. Clinton did have a sexual affair, trade wars are probably not easy to win, there is no Hogwarts, the kids are no superheroes, losing keys is not smart. On the other hand, except in (typical cases of) lying, these speech acts also convey something true: Harry did go to Hogwarts in the well-known series of novels, the kids are superheroes in their play, and the attitude which speakers intend to communicate with their bullshit or irony may be true as well.

Semantics has typically focused on idealized cooperative conversation, where every assertion contributes to a lofty shared truth-seeking endeavor in order to establish a common ground of shared beliefs between speaker and hearer. However, since the phenomena like the above all run counter to this idea, their explanation is usually left to pragmatics, philosophy, or literary theory. And while Grice's other maxims have gained a lot of attention and sparked entire research traditions (quantity implicatures, relevance theory, Horn's division of pragmatic labor and Levinson's M-principle), the role of the quality maxim remained a bit underexplored in linguistic semantics and pragmatics.

In this workshop we want to discuss the challenges that these and other deviations from the Gricean norm of quality pose for semantics and pragmatics and see if we can incorporate ideas from philosophy, literary theory, cognitive science and other related fields to extend the coverage of our theories of meaning and our understanding of the dynamics and logic of (non-)cooperative conversation.

Topics of interest include: truth in fiction, literature, narration; analyses of lying, bullshitting, pretending, story-telling, irony etc.; the relation of non-truthful language to notions like common ground, discourse updates, and commitments; the role of lying and deception and other non-cooperative language for conversations, discourse structure and the common ground; approaches to non-cooperative discourse; psycho- and neurolinguistic studies of these phenomena and their acquisition and their relations to Theory of Mind and other cognitive capacities.

Hot topics in the linguistics of lying

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 13:45–14:15 GW2 B2880

Jörg Meibauer (invited speaker)
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AG13

The goal of this talk is to introduce into recent linguistic research on lying and deception and to highlight controversial positions on a number of hot topics, for instance, how to define lying (as an insincere assertion or as an utterance violating Grice's maxim of Quality?), bald-faced lies (do they prove that an intention to deceive isn't a necessary element of lying?), and bullshitting (are all lies also cases of bullshitting?). Moreover, I will discuss whether the concept of lying is strictly bound to the use of declarative sentences, and present new experimental evidence related to the lying/misleading debate.

References: • Meibauer, J. 2014. *Lying at the semantics-pragmatics interface*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Meibauer, J. 2018. The linguistics of lying. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 4. 357–375. • Meibauer, J. forthcoming. *The Oxford handbook of lying*. Oxford: OUP.

Why truth is not the aim of assertives? The case of explanation

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:15–14:45
GW2 B2880

AG13

The paper investigates the nature of assertives, i.e., speech acts having word-to-world direction of fit. Contrary to what is now commonly assumed, it argues that truth is not the aim of all assertives. I claim that each assertive has a unique aim and function.

The speech act debate is focused on analyzing the illocutionary act of assertion. The most widespread answer to the question “What is the constitutive norm of assertion?” is the knowledge norm (e.g., Williamson 1996). However, there is not much discussion concerning the question “What are the aims and functions of assertives?”. For instance, Marsili (2018) argues that truth is the aim of all assertives. However, if truth is the aim of all assertives, then only the constitutive norm allows us to distinguish between particular assertives. I argue against this claim.

Consider an illocutionary act of explanation. Turri (2015) proposes that understanding is the norm of explanation. Understanding, according to him, is a factive notion, i.e., one who understands that p, knows that p. However, it is not necessary to make a true statement in order to explain something. One can make the following simplification to a child in order to explain the theory of evolution:

(SIM) Man comes from chimpanzee.

In appropriate contexts, SIM is a proper terminological simplification, although it is strictly speaking a false statement. According to my proposal, in order to make a felicitous act of explanation one does not need to aim at truth or believe that p.

This proposal has implications in several debates. For instance, according to many theories of lying, such cases as SIM would be incorrectly classified as lies (e.g., Stokke 2018). I will argue, however, that lies and explanations have different aims and communicative intentions.

References: • Marsili, N. 2018. Truth and assertion: rules versus aims. *Analysis*. • Stokke, A. 2018. *Lying and insincerity*. Oxford: OUP. • Turri, J. 2015. Understanding and the norm of explanation. *Philosophia* 43(4). 1171–1175. • Williamson, T. 1996. Knowing and asserting. *Philosophical Review* 105. 489–523.

Attempts to appropriate slurs and Grice's First Maxim of Quality

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
14:45–15:15
GW2 B2880

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AG13

From the perspective of linguistics and the philosophy of language, one of the most interesting features of slurs is appropriation (also called reclamation or reappropriation). Appropriation is a process by which, for at least some users of a language, a slur comes to lose its negative aspect – cashed out in different ways by different theorists. Sometimes appropriated slurs even come to have a positive usage – by, for example, creating solidarity, fighting systems of oppression, or mocking bigots. We focus on one particular question involving the appropriation of slurs: What goes on when a speaker attempts to appropriate a theretofore unappropriated slur? We argue that we can make sense of this act using a Gricean picture – relying on a violation of something like Grice's First Maxim of Quality. However, since on many accounts of slurs, their negative aspect is not truth-conditional, a more general version of that maxim must be at play. So, our project has an upshot both for theorizing about slurs – that attempts to appropriate can be made sense of from a Gricean perspective – and for theorizing about Grice's framework – that we have further evidence for generalizing Grice's First Maxim of Quality beyond the realm of information exchange.

Lies, indexicals, and metaphors in language evolution: The view from science fiction

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06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
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AG13

Sturtevant (1947) argues that lies, indexicals, and metaphors developed before spoken language, and are what made it possible. Specifically, booth indexicals (which stand for unrealized actions) and metaphors are lies that are used to inform. I suggest that the key to testing this hypothesis lies in the relation between metaphors and similes. Davidson (1978) famously points out that, literally, metaphors are (usually) lies whereas similes are true. Other comments by Davidson can be interpreted to mean that, figuratively, metaphors are indexical but similes are existential.

Here is a "method" to test this claim. Construct a language without lies and indexicals, and see if it has similes and/or metaphors. Add lies and indexicality to it, and see if it has similes and/or metaphors now. Such an experiment cannot, of course, be conducted in practice. But it can be carried out in science fiction

China Miéville, in his novel Embassytown, creates aliens whose language has no lies and no indexicals. Interestingly, their language is portrayed as having similes but no metaphors, but the author's own interpretation of the language he imagines is dubious. In fact, the aliens only acquire similes together with metaphors and lies, when they acquire indexicals.

Science fiction authors, even when they construct an alien language, are still humans, and are bound by the constraints of human languages. Hence, Miéville's failure to construct a language that contains similes but not metaphors tells us something about real human languages: that the two phenomena are fundamentally very close.

I propose that a simile is existential, but its domain is contextually restricted (cf. Camp 2006) like an indexical. Therefore, similes, just like metaphors, are indexical and can be lies. Thus, indexicals, metaphors, and similes are all informative lies: lies that can be used to tell the truth in a "deeper" sense.

References: • Camp, E. 2006. Metaphor and that certain 'je ne sais quoi'. *Philosophical Studies* 129. 1–25. • Davidson, D. 1978. What metaphors mean. *Critical Inquiry* 16. 43–57. Sturtevant, E. H. 1947. *An introduction to linguistic science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Deceptive language: A new methodology in language acquisition and implicature theory

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B2880

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AG13

We will present four experimental studies demonstrating that deceptive language in experimental pragmatics is a suitable method for distinguishing different kinds of meaning and for revealing children's pragmatic competence. Studies on whether lying, as opposed to merely deceiving, is possible with untruthful implicatures conflicted (affirmative: Meibauer 2014; dissenting: Saul 2012). First, we discuss two experiments investigating whether untruthful PCIs and GICs are judged as lies (Antomo et al. to appear). Our results show that false implicatures are categorized as lies, but that participants differentiate between assertion and implicature. Moreover, the contrast between GCIs and PCIs only features in truthful usages, whereas untruthful GCIs and PCIs are judged alike. Last, our results reveal an overall similar performance across tested age groups (5–6 years, 8–9 years and adults), showing that inferences are accessible earlier than originally thought. We conclude that deceptive language not only does not add to the complexity of the task, but implicated lies might also prove to be a setting which brings to the fore children's inferential abilities.

In a follow-up experiment, we show that using deceptive language is a novel way to distinguish between different kinds of meaning. In the study presented above, GCIs and PCIs were rated on par in untruthful usage. However, results differ employing a Forced Choice Task with the options 'truth', 'lie', and 'deception'. Here, we obtained a significant difference between implicatures such that false GCIs were predominantly categorized as lies, while untruthful PCIs were regarded as deceptions. This result supports the neo-Gricean distinction between GCIs and PCIs, whereas it challenges post-Gricean pragmatics such as Relevance Theory. The results of the same experiment, conducted with speakers of Mandarin Chinese and items translated accordingly, in order to assess whether this pattern results from a universal phenomenon

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Bald-faced lies and parafictional beliefs

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
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AG13

A famous counterexample to definitions of lying that involve intention to deceive is what Sorensen (2007) has dubbed the 'bald-faced lie'. For instance, in The Godfather II, Pentangeli testifies in court "I never knew no Godfather", to ensure that mafioso Corleone is not convicted. However, it is common knowledge in the courtroom that Pentangeli did know the Godfather. Hence, even though we judge that Pentangeli lied, his speech act cannot involve an intention to deceive anyone.

In response, Stokke (2013) has proposed a Stalnakerian analysis according to which Pentangeli does not intend that anyone believes that he knew no Godfather but instead intends that this becomes commonly accepted. I argue that this is not a convincing characterization of the bald-faced lie; Pentangeli does not care if anyone somehow accepts that he knew no Godfather. Rather, Pentangeli's bald-faced lie is focused on getting on the record that he said the right things in court.

I propose an alternative Stalnakerian framework according to which bald-faced lies are more akin to fictional statements than to stereotypical lies: The 'workspace account' (Semeijn, 2017). All statements – fictional statements, assertions and (bald-faced) lies – are modelled as proposals to first update a temporal common ground: the 'workspace'. At the end of the discourse, 'assertive' or 'fictive closure' is performed; The content of the workspace is added to the common ground as belief (for non-fictional statements) or as 'parafictional belief' of the form "In story S, p" (for fictional statements). Crucially, Pentangeli's bald-faced lie is aimed at making it common belief that according to the account that Pentangeli gave in court, he knew no Godfather. This is a parafictional belief. Hence, bald-faced lies have a stronger resemblance to fictional statements than to lies: Whereas bald-faced lies and fictional statements result in parafictional belief forming, lies do not.

References: • Semeijn, M. 2017. A Stalnakerian analysis of metafictive statements. *Proceedings of 21st Amsterdam Colloquium,* 415–424. • Sorensen, R. 2007. Bald-faced lies! Lying without the intent to deceive. *Pacific Philosophical Quarterly* 88(2). 251–264. • Stokke, A. 2013. Lying and asserting. *Journal of Philosophy* 110(1). 33–60.

“Truth in fiction”: A problem for truth or for fiction?

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
GW2 B2880

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AG13

The problem of “truth in fiction” consists in explaining the following contrast:

(1) Hamlet is a human being. (true)

(2) Hamlet is a crocodile. (false)

Since neither (1) nor the denial of (2) is explicitly in Shakespeare’s text, the problem of “truth in fiction” is a problem about inferences. But in fiction, inferences can go astray: there are fictions in which princes of Denmark are crocodiles…

In the philosophical literature, one can find two families of solution to the problem, and they contradict each other. The first I call the “modal account”, which can be traced back to Lewis 1978, says quite literally that “truth in fiction” is truth at a fictional world. The second I call the “functionalist account”, which is associated with the work of Walton, says that what is “true in a fiction” is rather an appropriate “move” in a corresponding game of make-believe. The two accounts are contradicting each other: according to the modal theorist (1) and (2) actually differ in their truth-value; according to the functionalist, they differ in their fictionality, a technical notion which is analogous but distinct from truth. Consequently, the problem of “truth in fiction” is a problem for a general theory of truth if you are a modal theorist, but it is a problem for the philosopher of fiction only if you are a functionalist.

My contribution to the debate in this talk is to analyze a real controversy between literary critics over “what is true in a fiction”, this example will provide an argument against the modal account and a challenge for the functionalist. The “great beetle debate”, as Stacie Friend calls it, comes from Nabokov’s lecture on Kafka, when he was teaching at Cornell in the 50s.

References: • Friend, S. 2011. The great beetle debate: A study in imagining with names. *Philosophical studies* 153(2). 183–211. • Lewis, D. 1978. Truth in fiction. *American Philosophical Quarterly* 15(1). 37–46. • Walton, K. L. 1990. *Mimesis as make-believe.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. • Woods, J. 2018. *Truth in fiction. Rethinking its logic.* Heidelberg: Springer. • Woodward, R. 2011. *Truth in fiction. Philosophy Compass* 6(3). 158–167.

(Strategic) miscommunication on the hearer side

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:00–9:30
GW2 B2880

AG13

Discussions on controversial issues tend to go wrong. This is of interest for pragmaticians because of the conspicuous absence of charitable interpretation, and also because at first sight, it does not seem to follow Bayesian procedures of inference. We will focus on the issue of a hearer overshooting a speaker's intended discourse goal.

Following Merin (1999), we consider that asserting an utterance u creates a relevance-cone of propositions u is an argument for. The elements in this cone are not necessarily incompatible: many arguments for (moderate) right/left positions will also be (weaker) arguments for more extreme right/left positions. We consider the choice of a goal as a Bayesian process, maximizing the hearer's utility. In adversarial conversation, the aim of the hearer should be to pick the goal that benefits them the most, i.e. disfavors the speaker (and hence a tendency to exaggerate goals).

The same outcome occurs if the hearer has the goal already set, and interprets the message in the light of that goal they attribute to the speaker. Here, the set of necessary assumptions are abduced to make the literal content of the message consistent with the assumed goal. Borrowing terms from the literature on social meaning (e.g. Burnett 2017), the hearer attributes a given persona to the speaker and interprets all signals sent by the speaker in a way that is consistent with that persona, rather than interpreting the persona on the basis of the signal. The issue can be also be seen as the ascription of the equivalent of a dog whistle (see, e.g., Henderson and McCready, to appear) to the speaker, based on some choice of argumentation or of words, even when the speaker did not attempt one.

References: • Burnett, H. 2017. Sociolinguistic interaction and identity construction: The view from game-theoretic pragmatics. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 21(2). 238–271. • Henderson, R. & E. McCready. to appear. How dogwhistles work. *Proceedings of LENLS.* • Merin, A. 1999. Information, relevance, and social decision making: Some principles and results of decision-theoretic semantics. In S. Moss et al.(eds.), *Logic, language, and computation*. Vol. 2, 179–221. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Between truth and imagination. The case of celebrity gossip headlines in weekly magazines

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:30–10:00 GW2 B2880

AG13

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Gossiping is a conversational activity that deviates from the Gricean maxim of quality in that it may involve speculation, exaggeration, or falsehoods, without losing interest to the listener. It seems that as long as listeners can integrate the contents of the gossip somehow into their narrative of the target person, they will not have a problem with the potential untruthfulness of gossip. However, they probably would lose interest in the gossip if they knew for sure that its contents were false, or essentially unreliable (Adler 2007).

While the concept and the practice of gossip(ing) is a recurrent research topic in various disciplines such as ethnography (Bergmann 1987), moral philosophy (Holland 1996), or social psychology (Franks & Attia 2011), the linguistics of gossiping is still underexplored. In my talk, I will approach the meaning and functions of gossip based on a case study of celebrity gossip headlines in selected German weekly magazines, cf. (1) and (2).

(1) Welche Rolle spielte Barbara bei der Trennung? (Bunte, 7.6.2018)
‘What role did Barbara play in the separation?’

(2) Herzogin Kate: Hat sie genug vom Mutterschaftsurlaub? (Gala.de, 10.7.2018)
‘Duchess Kate: Is she fed up with maternity leave?’

(1) and (2) trigger readers to seek for evidence in the accompanying text (and pictures) as to Barbara’s role in the separation of Boris and Lily Becker, or as to Duchess Kate’s being fed up with maternity leave. Upon close reading, however, it will often turn out that the article does not really answer the question posed in the headline. Nevertheless, questions such as (1) and (2) are commonly accepted means to frame gossip, stimulating cognitive processes of assessing the target person’s behavior against the value system of the reader.

Against the backdrop of an analysis of selected gossip headlines, the talk will discuss the concept of gossip(ing) more broadly in the light of truth-telling, narration, and the Gricean maxim of quality.

References: • Adler, J. 2007. Gossip and truthfulness. In J. Mecke (ed.), *Cultures of lying*, 69–78. Berlin: Galda+Wilch. • Bergmann, J. 1987. *Klatsch. Zur Sozialform der diskreten Indiskretion*. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Franks, B. & S. Attia. 2011. Rumours and gossip as genres of communication. In D. Hook et al. (eds.), *The social psychology of communication*, 169–186. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. • Holland, M. 1996. What’s wrong with telling the truth? An analysis of gossip. *American Philosophical Quarterly* 33, 197–209.

Skewed stereotypes

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
10:00–10:30
GW2 B2880

Stereotypes are an essential part of human reasoning. The semantics of a wide range of words and constructions rests on stereotypes and knowledge about stereotypical situations. Stereotypes are usually acquired by generalizing over personal experience: We plan and reason about S based on earlier experiences with instances of S – or so it should be.

Our input of information about the world, however, is frequently filtered by media both traditional and digital. Journalists as well as algorithms select instances of S that are worth being reported. In making such choices, they can influence our personal statistics and thus shape our expectations as to what is “frequent” and “typical”. In this way pieces of news that may be correct information about the world can still lead to skewed stereotypes.

The talk reviews generic sentences, progressives and evidential markers. All arguably have a meaning that refers to beliefs about stereotypes. By way of case studies, I trace how skewed stereotypes, created by biased media input, lead to false beliefs about the world.

Arbeitsgruppe 14

Variation in der Argumentstruktur des Deutschen. Empirische und theoretische Perspektiven im Spannungsfeld von Valenz und Konstruktion

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Arbeitsgruppenbeschreibung

Die grammatiktheoretische Modellierung der Argumentstruktur im Deutschen ist dann besonders problematisch, wenn Variation erklärt werden soll. In jüngerer Zeit wurden neben rein projektionistischen Analysen auch immer wieder ergänzend konstruktionistische Perspektiven herangezogen (z.B. Herbst 2014; Müller & Wechsler 2014). Dabei stehen beide Modelle oftmals nur als unabhängige Erklärungsvarianten nebeneinander. Ziel der AG ist es, die Grenzen zwischen Valenz und Konstruktion im Deutschen zu konkreti-sieren, empirisch zu überprüfen und Möglichkeiten zur Integration beider Modelle zu diskutieren. Mögliche Phänomenbereiche sind u.a.:

- Komplementweglassungen (z.B. bei direktivem Infinitiv: *Sofort ausmachen!*)
- Komplementmodifikation (z.B. Lokativalternation: *Eva belud den Wagen mit Heu* vs. *Eva lud Heu auf den Wagen*)
- Komplementerweiterungen (z.B. Caused-Motion-Construction: *Eva niest die Serviette vom Tisch*).

Unsere Kernfragen lauten:

1. Wo zeigt sich Variation in der Argumentstruktur des Deutschen?
2. Wie ist sie grammatiktheoretisch zu modellieren?
3. Wie kann eine empirisch fundierte Antwort auf 1) und 2) aussehen?

Ein möglicher Ansatzpunkt sind die von Jacobs (2009) vorgeschlagenen Kriterien zur Valenz- bzw. Konstruktionsbindung. Neben theoretischen Ansätzen sind empirische Arbeiten, z.B. neuro-, psycho- und korpuslinguistische Studien, willkommen.

Literatur: • Herbst. T. 2014. The valency approach to argument structure constructions. In T. Herbst, H.-J. Schmid & S. Faulhaber (eds.), *Constructions – collocations – patterns*, 167–216. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Jacobs, J. 2009. Valenzbindung oder Konstruktionsbindung? *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 37. 490–513. • Müller, S. & S. M. Wechsler. 2014. Lexical approaches to argument structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40(1/2). 1–76.

15 Jahre Diskussion phrasaler Argumentstruktur-konstruktionen und kein Ende. Heute mal Benefaktiv-konstruktionen

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:15–12:15
GW2 B2880

Stefan Müller (invited speaker)
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AG14

Vor 15 Jahren habe ich in Bremen begonnen, mit Kerstin Fischer und Anatol Stefanowitsch über phrasale Analysen von Argumentstrukturkonstruktionen (z.B. Goldberg 1995) zu diskutieren. Diese Diskussion führte zu einem Aufsatz in *Language* (2006) und 2014 zu einem Target-Artikel in *Theoretical Linguistics*. Die Idee der phrasalen Konstruktionen ist jedoch so unmittelbar einleuchtend, dass sie trotz aller Gegenargumente immer noch und immer wieder neu vorgeschlagen werden. Ich zeige in meinem Vortrag, warum Phänomene, die mit Valenzinformation interagieren, wenn man bestimmte Grundannahmen macht, lexikalisch behandelt werden müssen. Dazu gehe ich kurz auf Probleme ein, die in den 80er Jahren beim Übergang von GPSG (phrasal) zu HPSG (lexikalisch) eine Rolle gespielt haben, und diskutiere dann die Benfaktivkonstruktion nach dem Muster in (1b):

(1) a. *Er bäckt einen Kuchen.*
b. *Er bäckt ihr einen Kuchen.*

In (1b) wird ein eigentlich zweistelliges Verb mit einem Dativobjekt zusammen benutzt. Asudeh et al. (2014) haben für die entsprechende englische Konstruktion im Rahmen der LFG eine phrasale Analyse vorgeschlagen. Ich zeige, wo die Probleme solcher Analysen liegen, wieso sprachinterne Generalisierungen nicht erfasst werden können und warum solche Analysen nicht sprachübergreifend funktionieren. Eine lexikalische Analyse im Rahmen der HPSG für das Deutsche und Englische wird präsentiert.

Literatur: • Asudeh, A., G. Giorgolo & I. Toivonen. 2014. Meaning and valency. In M. Butt & T. Holloway King (eds.), *Proceedings of the LFG 2014 conference*, 68–88. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications. •Goldberg, A. E. 1995. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press. •Müller, S. 2006. Phrasal or lexical constructions? *Language* 82(4). 850–883. •Müller, S. 2018. *A lexicalist account of argument structure: Template-based phrasal LFG approaches and a lexical HPSG alternative*. Berlin: Language Science Press. http://hpsg.hu-berlin.de/~stefan/Pub/phrasal-lfg-langsci.html • Müller, S. & S. M. Wechsler. 2014. Lexical approaches to argument structure. *Theoretical Linguistics* 40(1/2). 1–76.

Effekte der Konstruktions- und Valenzbindung bei der Realisierung von Benefizienten

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12:15–12:45
GW2 B2880

Angesichts struktureller Alternativen encodieren Sprecher/innen häufiger die Struktur, die sie zuvor bereits produziert haben (strukturelles Priming). Die Effekte sind größer, wenn eine vorangehende Struktur (Prime) und die nachfolgende Äußerung (Target) dasselbe Verb enthalten. Zur Erklärung der Effekte wurden sogenannte *kombinatorische Knoten* im mentalen Lexikon angenommen (Pickering & Branigan 1998). Die Modellierung ähnelt dem Vorschlag, die Repräsentationen verbspezifischer Valenzen und verbunabhängiger Konstruktionen zu verknüpfen (Herbst 2011).

Es ist umstritten, ob Benefizienten valenz- und/oder konstruktionsgebunden (Jacobs 2009) sind. Berichtet werden zwei Priming-Experimente, in denen wir den Status von nicht in einen Transfer involvierten Benefizienten untersucht haben. Das Priming der Benefaktivalternation durch Strukturen mit Benefizienten (*jemandem das Auto parken / das Auto für jemanden parken*) wurde mit dem durch Strukturen mit *für*-Temporalen (*das Auto für eine Stunde parken*) verglichen. In Experiment 1 gab es keine Verbwiederholung zwischen Prime und Target. Wenn allein die oberflächliche Form entscheidend ist, sollten *für*-Temporale wie phrasenstrukturell identische Benefizienten primen. Wenn aber (auch) die Bedeutung kritisch ist, sollte strukturelles Priming nur nach Benefizienten auftreten. Priming-Effekte zeigten sich lediglich für Benefizienten. Dies kann als Evidenz für Konstruktionsbindung (Chang et al. 2003) oder als rein semantischer Effekt der Partizipantenabfolge (Pappert & Pechmann 2014) interpretiert werden. In Experiment 2 wurden die Primes und Targets aus Experiment 1 so gepaart, dass sich die Verben wiederholten. Für eine Valenzbindung der Benefizienten spräche ein größerer Priming-Effekt als in Experiment 1. Wiederum zeigten lediglich die Strukturen mit Benefizienten einen Priming-Effekt. Da der Effekt in Experiment 2 größer war als in Experiment 1, ist von einer Valenzbindung der Benefizienten auszugehen.

Die Studie zeigt beispielhaft, wie Satzproduktionsdaten zur Unterscheidung von Valenz- und Konstruktionsbindung beitragen können.

Literatur: • Chang, F., J. K. Bock & A. E. Goldberg. 2003. Can thematic roles leave traces of their places? *Cognition* 90. 29–49. • Herbst, T. 2011. The status of generalizations. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 59, 347–367. • Jacobs, J. 2009. Valenzbindung oder Konstruktionsbindung*? Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 37, 490–513. • Pappert, S., & T. Pechmann. 2014. Priming word order by thematic roles. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 67, 2260–2278. • Pickering, M. J. & H. P. Branigan. 1998. The representation of verbs. *Journal of Memory and Language* 39. 633–651.

Lexikonprojektion und Konstruktion bei Argumentalternationen im Deutschen: Empirische Studien zu Pseudoclefts mit *tun*, Passiv und Konstruktionen mit *man*

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 13:45–14:15 GW2 B2880

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AG14

Die Debatte zur lexikon- vs. konstruktionsbasierten Modellierung von Argumentalternationen speist sich in der Regel aus Daten zu einzelnen Konstruktionen, in denen jeweils verschiedene Verbtypen vorkommen. Konstruktionsvergleichende Untersuchungen mit denselben Verbklassen, die sich systematisch in ihrer lexikalischen Bedeutung unterscheiden, gibt es unseres Wissens nach bislang nicht. Solche Daten sind allerdings unerlässlich, um Konstruktions- und Lexikonabhängigkeit in ihrer Interaktion gezielt zu prüfen.

Wir präsentieren Akzeptabilitätsstudien für Pseudoclefts mit “tun”, Passiv und unpersönliche Konstruktionen mit “man”. Neben dieser Konstruktionsvariation haben wir in unseren Experimenten die Lexembedeutung der Verben hinsichtlich der semantischen Rolle ihres Subjekts (vgl. Dowty 1991) systematisch variiert, da für jede dieser Konstruktionen in der bisherigen Forschung diesbezüglich spezifische Beschränkungen formuliert wurden (u. a. Jackendoff 2007, Siewierska 2008, Eisenberg 2013). In jeder getesteten Konstruktion kamen dieselben fünf Verbklassen vor: volitionale Perzeptionsverben wie *anschauen*, nicht-volitionale Perzeptionsverben wie *sehen*, nicht-volitionale Emotionsverben *wie hassen*, nicht-volitionale Kognitionsverben wie *kennen* und schließlich nicht-volitionale Zuschreibungsverben wie *aufweisen*. Damit konnte die Variation in der Verblexembedeutung recht zuverlässig auf Subjektselektion eingeschränkt und mit der gewählten Konstruktionsvariation gekreuzt werden (vgl. Kretzschmar et al. eing.).

Prima facie scheinen unsere Ergebnisse für einen konstruktionsgrammatischen Ansatz zu sprechen, denn die einzelnen Konstruktionen ergeben jeweils ein individuelles Akzeptabilitätsprofil. Eine angemessene Erklärung dieser Profile gelingt jedoch nur unter Rückgriff auf die lexikalische Bedeutung der eingesetzten Verben. Die plausibelste Erklärung für die jeweiligen Akzeptabilitätsprofile ist nämlich, dass ein Abgleich zwischen den konstruktionslizenzierenden und den durch das jeweilige Verb bereitgestellten Agenseigenschaften stattfindet.

Literatur: • Dowty, D. R. 1991. Thematic proto-roles and argument selection. *Language* 67. 547–619. • Eisenberg, P. 2013. *Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik. 2. Bd. 4. Auflage*. Stuttgart: Metzler. • Jackendoff, R. 2007. *Language, consciousness, culture: Essays on mental structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. • Kretzschmar, F., T. Graf, M. Philipp & B. Primus. eingereicht. Decomposition and interaction of agentive features: Experimental evidence for agent prominence in German. Proceedings LE2018. • Siewierska, A. 2008. Introduction: Impersonalization from a subject-centred vs. agent-centred perspective. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 106. 115–137.

Nach dem Öffnen rasch verbrauchen! – Nullobjekte in direktiven Infinitiven

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
14:15–14:45
GW2 B2880

AG14

Bestimmte Textsorten, wie z.B. Hinweisschilder, Produktverpackungen und Kochrezepte, zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass in selbständigen direktiven Infinitivsätzen Objekte unrealisiert bleiben können:

(1) a. *Vorsicht! Bei Alarm nicht betreten!* (Warnschild)
b. *Einfach mehrfach verwenden.* (Aufdruck auf Papiertüte, Rewe)
c. *Abgekühlt in Würfel schneiden.* (Rezept für Selleriesalat)

Selbständigkeit und Direktivität scheinen dafür notwendige Bedingungen zu sein, denn Nullobjekte sind ungrammatisch, sobald der infinite Satz entweder abhängig, vgl. (2a), oder aber nicht direktiv ist, vgl. (2b):

(2) a. **Sie hat ihn aufgefordert, abgekühlt in Würfel zu schneiden.*
b. **Endlich einmal bei Alarm betreten!*

Gleichzeitig sind Nullobjekte aber nicht generell durch Direktivität lizenziert:

(3) **Verwenden Sie doch mehrfach! / *Du sollst bei Alarm nicht betreten!*

Im Vortrag werde ich anhand empirischer Daten diskutieren, unter welchen syntaktischen und (kon)textuellen Bedingungen Objekte in direktiven Infinitiven ausgelassen werden können und welche Funktionen damit einhergehen. Für die syntaktische Analyse sind besonders jene Fälle brisant, in denen das Nullobjekt im Text kein Antezedens hat, wie in (4), wo es sich in Satz 2 und 3 nicht auf 'Sellerieknolle', sondern auf 'Sellerieviertel' bzw. auf 'gekochte Sellerieviertel' bezieht (Weir 2017, Massam et al. 2017):

(4) *Die Sellerieknolle* […] *gründlich bürsten, schälen und vierteln. In leicht gesalzenem Wasser nicht zu weich kochen. Abgekühlt in Würfel schneiden.* (Calis 2005: 53)

Auch in (1b) ist das Nullobjekt nicht eindeutig rekonstruierbar, vgl. (5):

(5) {*Die Tüte, diesen Beutel, die Tasche, …*} *einfach mehrfach verwenden.*

Es zeigt sich, dass hier jeweils unterschiedliche Typen von Auslassungen vorliegen. Zu unterscheiden sind insbesondere Ellipsen im engeren Sinn, Topic/Object Drop und phonetisch leere Pronomina.

Literatur: • Calis, U. 2005. *Berliner Spezialitäten.* Innsbruck: Kompass. • Massam, D., B. Kazuya & P. Murphy. 2017. Obligatory null pronouns in the instructional register and beyond. *Linguistic Variation* 17. 272–291. • Weir, A. 2017. Object drop and article drop in reduced written register. *Linguistic Variation* 17. 157–185.

Präpositionsvariationen bei Präpositionalobjekten im Deutschen

Freitag, 08.03.2019 11:30–12:00 GW2 B2880

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Der Vortrag berichtet aus dem IDS-Projekt *Verben und Argumentstrukturen,* das eine datengetriebene Identifikation und Systematisierung präpositionaler Verb-Argumentstrukturmuster (“ASM”) des Deutschen erarbeitet. Als ASM werden dabei Generalisierungen über Strukturen bestehend aus Verben und Argumenten bezeichnet, die direkt mit einer Bedeutung gepaart sind. Ein Beispiel dafür wäre die Struktur in (1), die mit der Bedeutung PROSPEKTIVE POSSESSION verknüpft ist (alle Belege aus DeReKo):

(1) *In der pfälzischen Stadt bohren zwei Firmen nach Öl.*

Phrasen wie *nach Öl* in (1) werden traditionell als Präpositionalobjekte analysiert. Neben einer speziellen Pronominalisier- und Erfragbarkeit weisen sie eine “verblasste” Bedeutung der Kopfpräposition auf (Breindl 1989: 39–42, DUDEN 2016: 614–615), aus der ihre Nicht-Kommutierbarkeit mit anderen, auch semantisch ähnlichen Präpositionen folgt. Tatsächlich sind in solchen Strukturen jedoch Fälle von Präpositionsvariation zu beobachten, und zwar auch innerhalb derselben Verblesart:

(2) a. *Danach durchsuchten die Einbrecher die Rezeption* ***nach*** *Bargeld und machten sich wieder aus dem Staub.*
b. *Die Wohnung der 32-Jährigen wurde anschließend von der Polizei* ***auf*** *Drogen durchsucht.*

Am Beispiel verschiedener Variationsphänomene dieser Art wird untersucht, ob mit solchen Kontrasten systematische Bedeutungsunterschiede einhergehen. Für die Variation zwischen *nach* und *auf* in (2) lässt sich z.B. zeigen, dass die *auf*-Variante in (2b) auf Gebrauchskontexte spezialisiert ist, die man als *Inspektionsszenarien* charakterisieren kann: das präpositionale Argument bezeichnet meist etwas Verbotenes/Gefährliches/ Unerwünschtes, und der Subjektreferent ist dazu befugt, diese Entität am bezeichneten Ort ausfindig zu machen (vgl. ?*Die Einbrecher durchsuchten die Rezeption auf Bargeld*). Es wird diskutiert, (i) inwiefern es sich bei solchen Ausdifferenzierungen um ein rekurrentes Phänomen handelt, (ii) wie musterbasierte Generalisierungen mit der lexikalischen Semantik instanziierender Verben interagieren, und (iii) welche Merkmale valenz- wie auch konstruktionsgrammatischer Beschreibungsansätze eine angemessene Darstellung dieser Befunde in sich vereinen sollte.

Literatur: • Breindl, E. 1989. *Präpositionalobjekte und Präpositionalobjektsätze im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • DUDEN. 2016. Die Grammatik. A. Wöllstein (Hg.) Dudenredaktion. Berlin: Dudenverlag.

Präpositionale Komplementerweiterung und semantische Nischen

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Freitag,
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12:00–12:30
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AG14

In meinem Vortrag präsentiere ich den theoretischen Ansatz meiner Dissertation, der Komplementerweiterungen – konkret produktive Präpositionalobjekte (PO) – für die funktionale Unterscheidung von präpositionalen Strukturen in PO und Adverbiale nutzbar macht und die Valenztheorie mit der Konstruktionsgrammatik vereint (Höllein 2019). Meine These ist, dass PO-Präpositionen nicht – wie in der Fachliteratur angenommen – semantisch leer sind, sondern signifikativ-semantische Nischen indizieren. Nach dieser auch von Lerot (1982) und Rostila (2007) bezogenen Gegenposition kodieren PO-spezifische semantische Nischen Bedeutung und über diese Nischen wird eine funktionale Beschreibung des PO-Bereichs möglich (Ágel 2017: 529; Welke 2011). An die Stelle des bislang inhaltlich ungeordneten PO-Bereichs tritt ein inhaltlich deutlich konturiertes System signifikativ-semantischer Nischen. Diese gelten als etabliert, wenn sie produktiv belegt werden können. Produktive Belege wiederum sind Realisierungen von PO in der Umgebung von Verben, die diese nicht lizenzieren; valenztheoretisch handelt es sich um Komplementerweiterungen wie folgender Korpusbeleg zeigt: *Supermarkt-Angestellte erwischten ihn, als er in einer Tiefkühltruhe nach Schoko-Eis buddelte*. Das Verb *buddeln* wird hier – entgegen seiner Grundvalenz – mit $PO_{nach+Dat}$ realisiert, für das ich die Nische QUAESITUM (‘das Gesuchte’) ansetze. Verben, die diese Nische kodieren, die also ein $PO_{nach+Dat}$ regieren, sind z. B. *suchen* und *forschen*. In der zur Etablierung der Nischen durchgeführten Korpusuntersuchung wurden 28 Nischen mit ca. 2000 Verben für 17 PO-Präpositionen identifiziert, die jeweils durch produktive Belege abgesichert sind. In meinem Vortrag präsentiere ich anhand von empirischem Belegmaterial Variation in der Argumentstruktur und einen Lösungsweg zur Entschärfung eines grammatiktheoretischen Standardproblems: Da zwischen PO und Adverbial die Grenze zwischen Komplementen und Supplementen verläuft, hängt die Adäquatheit der Valenztheorie entscheidend von einer überzeugenden Unterscheidung ab. Analoges gilt de facto auch für die nicht-projektionistische Konstruktionsgrammatik, die profilierte von nicht profilierten Partizipantenrollen abgrenzen muss. Mit dem entwickelten Nischensystem wird die Abgrenzung im Bereich der PO möglich.

Literatur: • Ágel, V. 2017. *Grammatische Textanalyse. Textglieder, Satzglieder, Wortgruppenglieder*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Höllein, D. 2019. *Präpositionalobjekt vs. Adverbial. Die semantischen Rollen der Präpositionalobjekte.* Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Lerot, J. 1982. Die verbregierten Präpositionen in Präpositionalobjekten. In W. Abraham (Hg.), *Satzglieder im Deutschen. Vorschläge zur syntaktischen, semantischen und pragmatischen Fundierung*, 261–291. Tübingen: Narr. • Rostila, J. 2007. *Konstruktionsansätze zur Argumentmarkierung im Deutschen.* Tampere: University Press. • Welke, K. 2011. *Valenzgrammatik des Deutschen.* Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Zwischen Verbvalenz und Konstruktion: Resultativkonstruktionen im Deutschen und Niederländischen

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 GW2 B2880

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AG14

In der Konstruktionsgrammatik gelten Argumentstrukturkonstruktionen als schematische Muster mit ihren eigenen Bedeutungen, und lexikalische Elemente werden in diese Konstruktionen gemäß der Konstruktionsbedeutung integriert. Doch in letzter Zeit wird diese Dominanz der schematischen Argumentstrukturkonstruktionen zunehmend relativiert, insbesondere in der sprachvergleichenden Perspektive. Die Idee, dass lexikalische Elemente in die freien Slots einer schematischen Konstruktion „eingefügt“ werden, scheint zu rigide. So wird vermutet, dass sich Sprachen voneinander dahingehend unterscheiden können, ob sie schematische Konstruktionen bevorzugen oder sich vor allem auf lexikalisch spezifizierte verbale Konstruktionen stützen. Letztere lassen sich wiederum im Sinne der Valenzrahmen einzelner verbaler Lexeme interpretieren. Wir untersuchen in einer komparativen Korpusstudie deutsche und niederländische Resultativkonstruktionen, die den Zustandswechsel des Subjekts kodieren (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004).

D *Er arbeitet sich müde/tot*. NL *Hij werkt zich kapot/dood*.
D *Sie lachte sich zu Tode*. NL *Ze lacht zich een breuk/een ongeluk*.

Diese Konstruktionen haben die allgemeine Form [V Refl RES-Phrase] und lassen sich in beiden Sprachen als Argumenterweiterungen begreifen: Die Valenz eines normalerweise intransitiven Verbs wird um eine Stelle erweitert, nämlich um eine Resultativphrase (AdjP, PP oder NP; vgl. u.a. Müller 2002, Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004, Cappelle 2014). Basierend auf diesen Studien und eigenen vergleichenden Arbeiten zu Reflexivkonstruktionen im Deutschen und Niederländischen (Mortelmans & Smirnova demn.), gehen wir der Frage nach, ob ein Kontinuum zwischen schematischen Argumentstrukturkonstruktionen und lexikalisch spezifizierten Verbvalenzrahmen etabliert werden könnte.

Literatur: • Cappelle, B. 2014. Conventional combinations in pockets of productivity: English resultatives and Dutch ditransitives expressing excess. In R. Boogaart, T. Colleman & G. Rutten (eds.), *Extending the scope of Construction Grammar*, 251–282. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Goldberg, A. E. & R. Jackendoff. 2004. The English resultative as a family of constructions. *Language* 80(3). 532–568. • Mortelmans, T. & E. Smirnova. demn. Analogues of the way-construction in German and Dutch: another Germanic sandwich? In T. Leuschner, D. Koster & G. de Vogalaer (eds.), *German and Dutch in contrast: Synchronic, diachronic and psycholinguistic perspectives*, 251–282. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Müller, S. 2002. *Complex predicates: Verbal complexes, resultative constructions, and particle verbs in German*. Stanford: CSLI.

Von der Valenz zur Konstruktion und wieder zurück zur Valenz

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
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AG14

Anhand von Resultativkonstruktionen (RSK) und von kognaten Objekten (KO) zeige ich, warum A-Konstruktionen nicht auf Valenz verzichten können, wie Valenz und Konstruktion interagieren und was unter Konstruktionen verstanden werden kann. Zuerst geht es um die ‚valenzielle Anlage' von A-Konstruktionen. Ich werde dafür argumentieren, dass Konstruktionen wie KO und RSK auf Abstraktionen lizenzierter Argumente (1), teils auf Erweiterungen durch sekundäre Prädikate (2) bzw. entsprechendem Muster beruhen.

(1) NP_{Nom} V_{fin} eff. KO-NP_{Akk}: *Er baut einen schmucken Bau.*

(2) NP_{Nom} V_{fin} aff. NP_{Akk} resultatives Präd.: *Er bügelt die Wäsche glatt.*

Konstruktionen erzeugen einen parallelen Valenzträger. Auch bei RSK wie *jemanden schlank kochen* werden die im Verb angelegten Argumente (*jemandem*) *etwas kochen* mitverstanden.

Die reine Gebrauchshäufigkeit von Verben mit nicht-valenziell lizenzierten Konstruktionen führt nicht automatisch zu Valenzeinträgen (Welke 2015). Dies wird im Falle der KO pragmatisch erklärt.

Abschließend geht es darum, was unter Konstruktionen verstanden werden kann (Schneider 2014). Abstrakte Konstruktionen gleichen aufgrund ihrer Mentalität Valenzeinträgen. Anders als die Valenz sind sie vorhersagbar und tragen Bedeutung (Ereignistypen). Diese ist nicht an die konkreten syntaktischen Realisierungen gebunden (Müller 2006). Zwei Modellierungen sind m. E. möglich. Die Verben werden vor dem Hintergrund ihrer Valenz mit A-Konstruktionen fusioniert. Möglich ist auch, dass Lexikon-Regeln, wie in der HPSG, jedoch vor dem Hintergrund des Wissens um holistische Schemata, zu entsprechenden ad hoc Valenzen führen. Dies würde entsprechende Regeln motivieren und die Relationalität minimal hinzugefügter Argumente als Argumente einer zukünftigen Prädikation erfassen.

Literatur: • Müller, S. 2006. Resultativkonstruktionen, Partikelverben und syntaktische vs. lexikonbasierte Konstruktionen. In K. Fischer & A. Stefanowitsch (Hgg.), *Konstruktionsgrammatik. Von der Anwendung zur Theorie*, 177–202. Tübingen: Stauffenburg • Schneider, J. G. 2014. In welchem Sinne sind Konstruktionen Zeichen? Zum Begriff der Konstruktion aus semiologischer und medialitätstheoretischer Perspektive. In A. Lasch & A. Ziem (Hgg.), *Grammatik als Netzwerk von Konstruktionen. Sprachwissen im Fokus der Konstruktionsgrammatik*, 357–374. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. • Welke, K. 2015. Wechselseitigkeit von Valenz und Konstruktion: Valenz als Grundvalenz. In S. Engelberg et al. (Hgg.), *Argumentstrukturen zwischen Valenz und Konstruktionen*, 35–59. Tübingen: Narr.

Argumentstrukturen zwischen Valenz und Konstruktion

Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:30–14:00
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AG14

Levin (1993) behauptet, dass englische Verben, die ähnliche Bedeutungen haben, in denselben Kombinationen von Alternationen vorkommen. Ihre Untersuchung führt sie zu der Etablierung von insgesamt 193 distinktiven Verbklassen, bestehend aus insgesamt 3024 Verben (mit 4186 Verbbedeutungen) und 79 syntaktischen Alternationen. Levins Ergebnisse wurden auch auf andere Sprachen angewandt, u.a. auf das Deutsche, um zu sehen, inwieweit sich syntaktische Alternationen wirklich mit semantischen Klassifizierungen in Verbindung bringen lassen. So zeigen z.B. Frense & Bennett (1996), dass sich nicht alle Verbklassen vom Englischen auf das Deutsche übertragen lassen, sondern dass semantisch basierte Verbklassen sich typologisch unterschiedlich verhalten. Dux (2018) kommt zu ähnlichen Ergebnissen und zeigen, dass es nur selten möglich ist, alle Argumentstrukturmuster eines Verbes anhand eines minimalen Lexikoneintrags und abstrakten oder zu erfassen. Dieser Beitrag soll zeigen, wie die Methoden der Konstruktionsgrammatik und Frame-Semantik angewendet werden können, um zu einer ganzheitlichen Beschreibung von Argumentstrukturen von deutschen Verben zu kommen. Im Mittelpunkt stehen die Argumentstrukturen der Mitglieder von 3 Verbklassen (Kreation, Bewegung, Kommunikation). Anhand von aus dem DeReKo-Korpus extrahierten Daten zeige ich zunächst, dass sich Mitglieder der drei Verbklassen nur einige Argumentstrukturmuster teilen und dass sich andere Argumentstrukturmuster „nur“ mit Bezug auf feinkörnigere Verbklassen im framesemantischen Sinn (Fillmore 1982) verallgemeinern lassen. Dies führt im Extremfall dazu, dass in einigen Fällen einzelne Verben bzw. Verbbedeutungen ihre eigenen Klassen bilden. Die so resultierenden Verbklassen sind sowohl durch ein formseitiges als auch durch ein bedeutungsseitiges Netzwerk miteinander verbunden, so dass sich generelle und verbspezifische Argumentstrukturmuster im Sinne von Herbst (2014) erfassen lassen.

Literatur: • Dux, R. 2018. Frames, verbs, and constructions: German constructions with verbs of stealing. In H. C. Boas & A. Ziem (eds.), *Constructional approaches to syntactic structures in German*, 367–405. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Fillmore, C. J. 1982. Frame semantics. In Linguistic Society of Korea (ed.), *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, 111–138. Seoul. • Frense, J. & P. Bennett. 1996. Verb alternations and semantic classes in English and German. *Language Sciences* 18(1/2). 305–317 • Herbst. T. 2014. The valency approach to argument structure constructions. In T. Herbst, H.-J. Schmid & S. Faulhaber (eds.), *Constructions – collocations – patterns*, 167–216. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Levin, B. 1993. *English verb classes and alternations.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Arbeitsgruppe 15

Encoding emotive attitudes in non-truth-conditional meaning

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Raum: GW2 B 2900

AG15

Workshop description

The work of Kaplan (1999) spurred broad interest in non-asserted, non-truth conditional meaning, especially in what has recently been termed expressive or use-conditional meaning (Potts 2005; Gutzmann 2015). Much has been accomplished in different frameworks in understanding how expressive meaning interacts with truth-conditional meaning. However, many questions remain in characterizing the types of expressive meaning predicates available, exploring which linguistic constructions encode expressive meaning, and formalizing expressive meaning. In this workshop we narrow our focus to properties, particularly emotive attitudes, of the expressive content itself. Questions we hope to address in this workshop include (but are not limited to):

- What is the range of emotive attitudes that can be expressed (e.g., Good, Bad, Surprise) in non-truth-conditional meaning and what do they encompass?
- Can an expression encode multiple attitudes simultaneously? Do their availability vary cross-linguistically? Can (and how do) different syntactic configurations encode particular emotive attitudes?
- What linguistic mechanisms encode non-truth-conditional attitudinal content?
- Are there particular grammatical means for encoding the content? How do certain expressions, such as exclamatives, make use of expressive meaning (i.e., Castroviejo 2008)?
- Does intonation, either in spoken and sign (=non-manual markers), mark or otherwise influence the expression of attitudinal content, and in what way?
- How can we formalize attitudinal content? Is a multi-dimensional semantics, a dynamic semantics with context updates (AnderBois et al. 2013), or a combination of both best?

References:
• AnderBois, S., A. Brasoveanu & R. Henderson. 2013. At-issue proposals and appositive impositions in discourse. *Journal of Semantics* 32(1). 93–138. • Castroviejo, E. 2008. An expressive answer: Some considerations on the semantics and pragmatics of wh-exclamatives. *Proceedings from the 44th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 3–17.
• Gutzmann, D. 2015. *Use-conditional meaning: Studies in multidimensional semantics*. Oxford: OUP. • Kaplan, D. 1999. The meaning of ouch and oops: Explorations in the theory of meaning as use. Ms. University of California, Los Angeles.
• Potts, C. 2005. *The logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford: OUP.

The semantics of emotive markers and other illocutionary content

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
13:45–14:45
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AG15

I coin the term 'emotive markers' to describe words, like *alas,* which encode not-at-issue information about the speaker's emotive attitude towards the content of the utterances they occur in. Emotive markers can be morphologically or prosodically encoded; other examples include exclamation intonation, or mirative markers.

I argue that there are important differences between emotive markers and other encoders of not-at-issue content that range over propositions, in particular utterance modifiers like *frankly* and evidential adverbs like *apparently*. In contrast to these, emotive markers can result in Moore's Paradox (Rett & Murray 2013); and they always scope over their local argument. In (1), the two sentences are synonymous; but the contrast in (2) shows that *alas* can only take narrow scope when embedded.

(1) a. Frankly/Apparently, if the mayor is convicted, she must resign.
 b. If, frankly/apparently, the mayor is convicted, she must resign.

(2) a. #Alas, if the mayor is convicted, at least we'll have the chance of getting a better one.
 b. If, alas, the mayor is convicted, at least we'll have the chance of getting a better one.

I conclude that the contribution of emotive markers should be treated as 'illocutionary content', on par with the sincerity conditions encoded in illocutionary mood (Searle & Vanderveken 1985). I present a formal analysis of illocutionary content in which it differs from other not-at-issue content in restricting the speaker's Discourse Commitments (Gunlogson 2001) rather than the Common Ground (Farkas & Bruce 2010).

I argue this treatment correctly predicts emotive markers' behavior with respect to Moore's Paradox and scope, as well as the observation that emotive markers can only apply to clauses associated with single propositions. I discuss why emotive markers form a class to the exclusion of these other encoders of not-at-issue content, and tentatively extend this explanation to cross-linguistic differences in the types of contributions made by evidentials.

References: • Farkas, D. & K. Bruce. 2010. On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27. 81–118. • Gunlogson, C. 2001. *True to form: rising and falling declaratives as questions in English*. New York: Routledge. • Rett, J. & S. Murray. 2013. A semantic account of mirative evidentials. In T. Snider (ed.), *Proceedings of SALT XXIII*. Ithaca: CLC Publications. • Searle, J. & D. Vanderveken. 1985. *Foundations of illocutionary logic*. Cambridge: CUP.

Syntacticizing scalar evaluation

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Mittwoch,
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14:45–15:15
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AG15

1. Introduction, main claims and overall significance. In this talk, I review the scopal evidence that has been adduced for a syntactic disentanglement of ‘exclusion of alternatives’ and (use-conditional) ‘scalarity’ in ‘only’ words (Hole 2015, 2017), and I introduce novel evidence into the discussion. This research forms part of a larger endeavor to chart use-conditional meaning in the syntax.

2. The syntax-semantics set-up. (1) is a German example featuring *nur*, and (2) provides paraphrases of its truth-functional and of its scalar component of meaning. (I leave the evaluative BAD meaning surfacing in many nur sentences undiscussed in this contribution.)

(1) Paul trinkt nur TEE. ‘Paul only drinks TEA.’

(2) a. ‘Paul drinks nothing but tea.’ (truth-functional)
b. ‘Paul drinks as little as nothing but tea.’ (use-conditional)

(2a) is uncontroversial. ‘As little as’ in (2b) spells out the kind of scalarity that I assume to be active in many uses of *nur* and that this talk concentrates on. It partly coincides with Jacobs‘ (1985) WENIG operator, non-truth-functionally implying that the asserted focus value ranks lower on some contextually defined scale than the contextually determined threshold value. It is likewise akin to Coppock & Beaver’s (2014) evaluative strength parameter. Now, as can be seen from the paraphrases in (2), I have the scalar operator (spelled out *as as little as* in (2b)) scope above the exclusive component rendered as *nothing but*. This flies in the face of standard accounts, which invariably implement the scalar predicate as a presupposition of the exclusive operator (Guerzoni 2003, Klinedinst 2004). The main goal of this talk is to illustrate the explanatory potential of the proposal made here. The proposal is summarized in (3), where SCAL is the ‘as little as’ operator taking scope above tense in the relative vicinity of epistemic modality. EXCL is the exclusive meaning component which adjoins not any lower than at the VoiceP level.

(3) [SCAL…[EXCL [prejacent]]]

References: • Coppock, E. & D. Beaver. 2013. Principles of the exclusive muddle. *Journal of Semantics* 31(3). 371–432. • Guerzoni, E. 2003. Why even ask?: on the pragmatics of questions and the semantics of answers. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. • Hole, D. 2015. A distributed syntax for evaluative ‘only’ sentences. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 34(1). 43–77. • Hole, D. 2017. A crosslinguistic syntax of scalar and non-scalar focus particle sentences: the view from Vietnamese and Chinese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 26(4). 389–409. • Jacobs, J. 1983. *Fokus und Skalen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Klinedinst, N. 2004. Only scalar *only*. *Hand-out Journées Présuppositions et Implicatures*.

Expressive predicative coordination

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:15–15:45
GW2 B2900

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AG15

States of emotional arousal have been observed to make available syntactic structures which sometimes differ in intriguing ways from what we observe in emotionally neutral language (see Corver 2013, 2016). For example, expressive English includes structures like *What, me mad?!*, even though the purpose of **Me Tarzan, you Jane* is to exemplify 'broken English'. Interestingly, in some languages predicative structures equivalent to the *Mad Magazine* example involve joining the two constituents with a coordinator (e.g. *Bronsky und schlau?!* (German); see Lambrecht 1990, Bücker 2012). At the level of semantics, guided by the presence of the coordinator in German, Potts & Roeper (2006) analyse these structures in general as conjunctions of entity-level expressions with predicates by means of a pair-formation (rather than Boolean) operator. Lambrecht (1990), Potts & Roeper (2006), and, in his brief comment concerning Dutch, Corver (2013) take the second conjunct to be a predicate and see the conjunction of an argument and a predicate as one of the key distinguishing aspects of this structure. However, based on novel data from Polish, including tests employing anaphoric binding, I will show here that the representation of expressive predicative coordinated structures can actually involve a conjunction of a noun phrase and a control structure, with PRO being obligatorily controlled by the first conjunct. This leads to the semantic representation suggesting a pair-formation operation involving an entity and a full proposition, rather than an entity and an unsaturated predicate.

Generally speaking, data of the type discussed here pose questions about the mental mechanisms employed when grammatical means available in affectively neutral language are reorganized and used in non-standard ways in expressive speech. I suggest that this issue can be viewed against the background of the distinction between core grammar and the periphery (Chomsky 1981, 1995). When considered from the point of view of computational rules rather than only, for example, morphological irregularities, the periphery starts where the core language system (narrow syntax, CI and SM interfaces) enters into interactions with other mental systems (the affect system in the case at hand, see (1); cf. also Corver 2016 for relevant discussion).

(1) *Core*: narrow syntax, CI and SM interfaces
Periphery: core + other interface (e.g. with the affect system)

References: • Bücker, J. 2012. *Sprachhandeln und Sprachwissen*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. • Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris. • Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. • Corver, N. 2013. Colorful spleeny ideas speak furiously. Ms., Utrecht University. • Corver, N. 2016. Emotion in the build of Dutch. Ms., Utrecht University. • Lambrecht, K. 1990. "What, me worry?" — 'Mad Magazine sentences' revisited. In K. Hall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of BLS 16*, 215–228. Berkeley, CA: BLS. • Potts, C. & T. Roeper. 2006. The narrowing acquisition path. In L. Progovac et al. (eds.), *The syntax of nonsententials*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Non-speaker surprise ascription

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
16:30–17:00
GW2 B2900

AG15

Much research on mirativity claims that surprise arises from the mismatch of the new information relative to speaker's expectation (e.g. DeLancey 1997, 2012, Peterson 2013, Rett & Murray 2013, AnderBois 2018). However, the speaker-orientation claim has not been subject to close scrutiny and is usually based on examples where the mirative marker occurs in the root clause. Recently, Aikhenvald (2012) and Hengeveld & Olbertz (2012) claimed that mirative markers in some languages can mark information surprising to the addressee or even a third party. This study investigates (A) whether <u>n</u>on-<u>s</u>peaker <u>s</u>urprise <u>a</u>scription (NSSA) is available, and (B) when.

This study first reviews the empirical evidence for NSSA in previous studies. It is found that the alleged NSSA could potentially be explained by the speaker's adoption of addressee's perspective, especially in narration. As a result, the examples do not seem to constitute strong support of NSSA.

<u>To answer (A)</u>, this study argues that NSSA can be more clearly observed when mirative elements occur in embedded clauses. Though surprise ascription of Cantonese mirative adverbs *gingjin* / *jyunloi* is speaker-oriented in root clauses (1), the adverbs in non-root clauses can ascribe surprise relative to the expectation of the matrix subject "Tim" (2) or the experiencer "Bill" (3), but not necessarily the speaker [John] or addressee.

(1) John:	*Deikau*	*gingjin/jyunloi*	*hei*	*jyun*.				
	Earth	MIR /MIR	be	round				
	'[To John's surprise] The Earth is round.'							
(2) John:	*Tim*	*faatgok*	*[deikau*	*gingjin*	*/jyunloi*	*hai*	*jyun*	*]*.
	Tim	realized	Earth	MIR	/MIR	be	round	
	'Tim realized that [to ✓Tim's/✓John's surprise] the Earth is round.							
(3) John:	*Tim* ***mou***	*faatgok*	*[deikau*	*gingjin*	*/jyunloi*	*hai*	*jyun*	].
	Tim **not**	realized	Earth	MIR	/MIR	be	round	
	'Tim did not realize that [to *Tim's/✓John's surprise] the Earth is round.							

<u>To answer (B)</u>, I propose that a crucial condition for ascribing surprise to X is that X should commit to the truth of the clause *p* where the mirative adverb occurs. It explains why the mirative adverb in root clauses (1) is ascribed only to the speaker because when uttering (1), the speaker commits to the truth of "the Earth being round". It correctly predicts that "Tim" in (2) but not (3) receives ascription as the higher (factive) predicate (e.g. "realized") guarantees that "Tim" in (2) but not (3) commits to the Earth being round.

Selected References: • Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2012. The essence of mirativity. *Ling.Typology* 16(3). 435–485. • Hengeveld, K. & H. Olbertz. 2012. Didn't you know? Mirativity does exist!. *Linguistic Typology* 16(3). 487–503. • Rett, J. & S. Murray. 2013. A semantic account of mirative evidentials. *SALT* 23.

Defending epistemic indefensibility: Enrichment and the case of quasi-denial

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:00–17:30
GW2 B2900

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AG15

This work reports on "Quasi-Denial": a class of utterances that are straight-forward denials in their core semantics, yet which encode mirative speaker attitude once the interpretation departs from their truth-conditional content.

In the words of Kartunnen (1972), "consider a speaker who realizes that the rain is pouring down from the sky. He cannot honestly proclaim [(1)], unless he doubts his own senses": **(1)** It is possible that it isn't raining.

Such utterances, Kartunnen claims, are "epistemically indefensible". Quasi-Denials (QDs), by contrast, exploit the evidential component of epistemic modality (von Fintel & Gillies 2010; Rett 2016) to express speaker attitude toward a prejacent φ. Below are 2 QD flavors, differentiated by context:

CG $\Vdash$ φ **(2)** [Said of rain visibly falling onto one's head.]
CG $\nVdash$ φ **(3)** [Said of people with dripping-wet raincoats entering the room.]
Speaker A: a. It can't be raining. → Speaker is surprised that φ.
b. # It must not be raining. ↛ Speaker is surprised that φ.
Speaker B: Wait a minute… Surely, you can't expect it to not be raining?
Speaker A (**the defense!**): *It is perfectly reasonable for me to say so*, …

(of (2a)): …*I examined a detailed weather analysis this morning that clearly stipulated 0% chance of rain. This rain does not conform to my expectations!*

(of (3a)): …*The weather report said 0% chance of rain. Perhaps these people got caught in the sprinklers? Seeing them covered in water is not necessarily enough evidence for me to conclude that it is (or must be) raining.*

The QD **(2a)** is "trivially false", as the contextual evidence entails the truth of φ. Not so for **(3a)**, where the CG merely entails the possibility of φ. So counter-expectation obtains independently of truth-conditional falsity, and thus begs the question: by what means is this speaker skepticism encoded?

QDs show that the meaning contributed by negated epistemic possibility modals to indicative sentences is not limited to inferential evidentiality, but also carries a signal of (*counter*-)expectation relevant to both inferential *and* contextually-supplied evidence. The facts are as such: when non-inferential evidence supports a proposition which is not contained in the *S*'s expectation state, QDs are used *not* to outright deny the truth of the contextually-derived proposition, but to *indicate* that the speaker is bringing to bear private, inferential restrictions into casting doubt on the question of the prejacent. In discourse, the use of QDs constitutes a cooperative, inquisitive move by the *S* to negotiate, or accommodate, the inclusion of the prejacent into the CG.

References: • Karttunen, L. 1972. *Possible and must*. In J. P. Kimball (ed.), *Syntax and semantics*, vol. 1, 1–20. Seminar Press. • von Fintel, K. & A. S. Gillies. 2010. *Must stay strong. Natural Language Semantics* 18. 351–383. New York: Academic Press. • Rett, J. 2016. On a shared property of deontic and epistemic modals. In N. Charlow & M. Chrisman (eds.), *Deontic modality,* 200–229. Oxford: OUP.

Encoding emotion in discourse: A cross-linguistic approach to *that*-exclamatives

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
17:30–18:00
GW2 B2900

The cross-linguistic inventory of exclamatives is a (if not *the*) key phenomenon at the grammar-emotion interface. Some languages feature *that*-configurations that can be used as root clauses expressing an exclamatory speech act; German (1) is a prominent case. Crucially, Catalan features *that*-exclamatives as well (2), without strict parallels in other Romance varieties (Villalba 2003):

(1)	*Dass*	*er*	*diese*	*Bücher*	*lesen*	*kann!*
	that	he	those	books	read	can
	'Wow, he can read those books!'					

(2)	*¡Que*	*n'és,*	*de*	*car!*
	that	of.it-is	of	expensive
	'How expensive it is!'			

In this paper, we show that *that*-exclamatives in Germanic and Romance languages differ semantically in expressing either a non-degree (German) or a degree reading (Catalan). However, both languages pattern alike at the discourse level: when used as responses to polar questions, *that*-exclamatives (i) can in fact assert (and not only presuppose) *p* and (ii) the speaker typically expresses either a self-directed negative emotion towards *p* ('I regret that p' = [3a]) or an addressee-directed negative emotion (i.e., a reproach; see [3b]).

(3) A: Have you already done the shopping for tonight?

B: a.	*Dass*	*ich*	*das*	*vergessen*		*habe!*		
	that	I	that	forgotten		have		
	'How could I have forgotten that!?'							
b.	*Dass*	*Du*	*mich*	*daran*	*nicht*	*erinnert*	*hast!*	
	that	you	me	that	not	reminded	have	
	'You should have reminded me!'							

We account for these observations within Farkas & Bruce's (2010) discourse model and will treat exclamatives as two-dimensional semantic objects, conveying an expressive content *and* asserting *p*. Support for this account will also be provided by recent experimental work showing that the 'descriptive' content of exclamatives is in fact 'at-issue' (Villalba 2017; Trotzke to appear).

References: • Farkas, D. F. & K. B. Bruce. 2010. On reacting to assertions and polar questions. *Journal of Semantics* 27. 81–118. • Trotzke, A. to appear. Approaching the pragmatics of exclamations experimentally. *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society 54*. University of Chicago <http://chicagolinguisticsociety.org/ public/short/7.pdf>. • Villalba, X. 2003. An exceptional exclamative sentence type in Romance. *Lingua* 113. 713–745. • Villalba, X. 2017. Non-asserted material in Spanish degree exclamatives. In I. Bosque (ed.), *Advances in the analysis of Spanish exclamatives*, 139–158. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press.

Not-at-issue processing: More than semantics

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 9:00–9:30 GW2 B2900

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AG15

Expressives are speaker-oriented, not-at-issue (NAI) content. How is the expressive dimension (Potts 2007) of language processed and represented? Multidimensional semantic accounts (Potts 2007) remain influential, but several alternatives also exist (e.g. Barker et al. 2010; Schlenker 2010; Frazier et al. 2015/2017). The present study focuses on swear words to offer new insight on this debate. We present findings using a Maze Task, which is comparable to self-paced reading (Forster et al. 2009). Stimuli included 66 **Swear/Descriptive Adj** pairs (e.g. *damn car* vs. *old car*), which were preceded by a short context and controlled for frequency and other factors. We predicted that, because expressives reflect NAI content, they will be processed relatively quickly. Behavioural results of 31 participants were analysed using linear-mixed effects modelling in R (Table 1), and show that participants are significantly *faster* for **Swear Adj** than **Des Adj**. Still, even though psycholinguistic factors were controlled for, ultimately e.g. *old* and *damn* are different words. To control for this, RT results on the noun were compared when it was preceded by a Swear Adj or Des Adj, as the noun is the same in both conditions. Here, participants were significantly *slower* for the **Swear Adj** versus the **Des Adj** condition (754 vs. 721 ms). Together, these results show that swear words presented in context facilitates their processing relative to descriptive adjectives, but there is a wrap-up effect downstream. These results are difficult to incorporate into the current semantic-only approaches. We follow Gutzmann (forthcoming) and argue that the results support an agreement-based analysis, accounting for the processing differences in adjective types. We thus contribute a new data set for probing our understanding of the syntactic-pragmatic boundary and its intersection with social meaning.

Table 1: RT in ms for each stimulus type. Significance is with respect to noun as the baseline (0~***, .001~**, .01~*, .05~.).

Det (*The*)	Des Adj (*old*)	Swear (*damn*)	Noun (*car*)
616.3***	988.9***	871.8***	736.2

References: • Barker, C., R. Bernardi & C. C. Shan. 2010. Principles of interdimensional meaning interaction. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 20. 109–127 • Forster, K. I., C. Guerrera & L. Elliot. 2009. The maze task: Measuring forced incremental sentence processing time. *Behavior Research Methods* 41(1) 163–171. • Frazier, L., B. Dillon & C. Clifton. 2015. A note on interpreting damn expressives: transferring the blame. *Language and Cognition* 7(2). 291–304 • Gutzmann, D. forthcoming. *The grammar of expressivity*. Oxford: OUP. • Potts, C. 2007. The expressive dimension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33(2). 165–198 • Schlenker, P. 2010. Supplements within a unidimensional semantics I: Scope. *Logic, Language and Meaning*, 74–83.

The dynamics of expressive content

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
9:30–10:30
GW2 B2900

AG15

In this talk, I'll be investigating a compositionality puzzle raised expressive adjectives such as "damn" and "fucking". Consider, e.g., the following example:

(1) Hanson ate my damn sandwhich.

This sentence can be felicitously uttered in a context where the speaker has no negative attitude towards their sandwhich, or sanswhichs in general, but rather has a negative attitude towards *the fact that Hanson ate their sandwhich.* The sentence can also be felicitously uttered in a context where the speaker has a negative attitude towards their sandwhich, and is glad that Hanson stole it, since they wanted to be rid of it. Gutzmann (2018) analyzed this phenomenon from a syntactic perspective, by conjecturing the presence of an interpretable *expressivity feature* on the expressive adjective, and uninterpretable correlates of this feature, which can be inserted at either the edge of the DP [my damn sandwhich], or the CP [Hanson ate my damn sandwhich]. Via an agreement mechanism, the expressive semantics of the modifier may be interpreted at different syntactic nodes, thus capturing the observed ambiguity.

I'll instead pursue the idea that the expressive modifiers *take scope.* Straightforward evidence for this position comes from the fact that readings associated with expressive modifiers seem to be sensitive to scope islands. When the expressive modifier is located in an embedded clause, (2) lacks a reading where it conveys that the speaker has a negative attitude towards Lauren's *saying.*

(2) Lauren said that Hanson ate my damn sandwhich!

I'll formalize this idea by treating expressive adjectives as *hybrid scope takers*, using Barker & Shan's (2014) continuation semantics.

References: • Barker, C. & C. Shan. 2014. Continuations and natural language. Oxford: OUP. • Gutzmann, D. 2018. The dog ate the damn cake. Expressive adjectives at the syntax/semantics interface. Slides from a talk given at LENLS 2018, Yokohama.

Arbeitsgruppe 16

New horizons in the study of nominal phrases

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Raum: GW2 B 2900

Workshop description

Does the DP-projection dominate the NP or does the latter dominate the determiner system? As of yet this simple question has not received a conclusive answer. The DP- vs. NP-debate remains unresolved, despite the decades-long success of the DP-hypothesis.

Empirically, early arguments in its favor include possessor agreement in Hungarian as well as the possessor -*s* that can attach to XPs, and gerunds in English (Szabolcsi 1983, Abney 1987). The NP-hypothesis is arguably a minority position in the field as evidenced by the fact that many syntax text books introduce the DP-hypothesis as a standard (e.g. Radford 2004; Adger 2003, Koneman & Zeijlstra 2017; Sag et al. 2003 being a notable exception). Several arguments speak in its favor nonetheless and tacit endorsements have recently been expressed from prominent side, based mainly on conceptual grounds (Chomsky 2007: 25–26 and Chomsky et al. 2017). There is no shortage of data and observations surrounding the debate. We believe that the time is ripe to carefully evaluate the strength of the arguments advanced to buttress one or the other position.

References: • Abney, S. 1987. *The English NP in its sentential Aspect*, MIT doctoral dissertation. • Adger, D. 2003. *Core syntax*. Oxford: OUP. • Chomsky, N., Á. Gallego & D. Ott. 2017. Generative grammar and the faculty of language: Insights, questions, and challenges. Revised version to appear in *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*. • Chomsky, N. 2007. Approaching UG from below. In U. Sauerland & H.-M. Gärtner (eds.), *Interfaces + recursion = language? Chomsky's minimalism and the view from semantics*, 1–29. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter. • Koeneman, O. & H. Zeijlstra. 2017. *Introducing s*yntax. Cambridge: CUP. • Radford, A. 2004. *Minimalist syntax: Exploring the structure of English*. Cambridge: CUP. • Sag, I. A., T. Wasow & E. M. Bender. 2003. *Syntactic theory: A formal introduction*. Stanford: CA CSLI. • Szabolcsi, A. 1983. The possessor that ran away from home. *The Linguistic Review* 3. 89–102.

Regularity and idiosyncrasy in the formation of nominals

Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
11:20–12:15
GW2 B2900

Frank Van Eynde (invited speaker)
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The talk explores the interaction of regularity and idiosyncrasy in the formation of nominals. Building on recent developments in Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar and Construction Grammar I propose a bi-dimensional hierarchy of nominal phrase types in which regular nominals inherit their properties from independently motivated higher types, while more idiosyncratic nominals are characterized by a mixture of inherited and inherent properties. The resulting treatment is sufficiently flexible to deal with the subtle interaction between the regular and the idiosyncratic, and sufficiently rigorous to be falsifiable.

D and N are different nominalizers

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:15–12:45
GW2 B2900

This paper argues for a split between NP and DP from the perspective of de-rivational morphology, by looking at deverbal nominals. The NP-DPsplit is challenged not only by competing frameworks or theories that argue, e.g., that NPs, and not DPs, are selected. Another challenge comes from derivational theories as in Borer (2013), which refuse to recognize the possibly covert 'lexical' categorizers n(oun)/ v(erb)/ a(adjective) (as in Distributed Morphology: Marantz 2001, Panagiotidis 2011) and posit instead overt functional categorizers like Classifier and especially D for nominalizations. In this latter trend, it is the NP/nP (not the DP) whose existence is questioned. This paper argues in favor of 'lexical' categorizers like n/N and for D as a necessary but 'exceptional' nominalizer. I will show that the difference between fully nominalized constructions such as the nominal gerund in English (1a) and those that, in spite of a nominal distribution, heavily resemble their base category (see the verbal gerund in (1b)) is best accounted for by analyzing the former as nominalizations by n/N, and the latter as lacking n and being nominalized by D.

(1) a. *Mary's/the/that* ***slow/*slowly*** *reading* *<u>of the book</u>* nominal gerund
b. *Mary's/*the/*that* ***slowly/*slow*** *reading* *<u>the book</u>* verbal gerund

While this idea is reminiscent of Abney (1987), the contribution of this paper is twofold. First, I bring crosslinguistic evidence in favor of a well-defined syntactic domain (i.e., TP), which n cannot nominalize anymore – only D can – and show how Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) insights on Agree can account for this contrast. Second, while both nominalizations take determiners, I will show that those whose D is a nominalizer impose language-specific restrictions on the lexicalization of D, which allow semantic correlations with Chierchia's (1984) insights on nominalizing operators. In a nutshell, the crucial difference between the two nominalization types lies in the nominal properties in (1a) and the verbal ones in (1b), as reflected by adjectival and adverbial modifiers, respectively. Since in nominalizations such as in (1a) nP is available, feature valuation as in Pesetsky & Torrego (2007) is possible for all determiners under D. In the pattern of (1b), nP is not available, so the determiner under D cannot value its features and will receive a default specification, which is only compatible with particular overt items: the possessive in English as in (1b) and the definite determiner in Spanish, Romanian and German.

References: • Abney, S. P. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect*. PhD Thesis, MIT • Borer, H. 2013. *Taking form*. Oxford: OUP • Chierchia, G. 1984. *Topics in the syntax and semantics of infinitives and gerunds*. PhD Thesis. Amherst: University of Massachusetts • Marantz, A. 2001. Words. WCCFL 20 Handout, USC, February 2011. • Panagiotidis, P. 2011. Categorial features and categorizers. *The Linguistic Review* 28. 325–346 • Pesetsky, D. & E. Torrego. 2007. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In S. Karimi, V. Samiian & W. K. Wilkins, *Phrasal and clausal architecture: Syntactic derivation and interpretation,* 262–194. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

The DP vs. NP-debate: Why previous arguments for the DP-hypothesis fail and what a good argument for it should look like

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 13:45–14:15 GW2 B2900

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I will first show that most arguments that have been offered in favor of the DP-hypothesis fail. Second, I will make a general proposal as to what a solid argument in favor of the DP-hypothesis should look like and provide a concrete example. I take the following to be a useful diagnostic for headedness:

(1) The features of the head are present on the maximal projection

This implies that the features of the head of the NP are closer to heads/probes outside the NP than (the features of) other constituents within the NP. There is evidence from agreement switches between semantic and grammatical agreement that it is indeed D and not N that is closer to outside probes: In Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian adjectives and determiners can show different agreement in the context of hybrid nouns (nouns bearing both grammatical and biological gender). In (8), the adjective agrees in grammatical gender, while the demonstrative agrees in biological gender:

AG16

(2) *Ovi* *stare* *vladike* *su* *me juče* *posetili/*posetile*.
these.M.PL old.F.PL bishops are me yesterday visited.M.PL/visited.F.PL
'These old bishops visited me yesterday.' *BCS*

The switch between A and D can only be in this direction (grammatical → biological), not the other way around (*biological → grammatical; Agreement Hierarchy). Simplifying somewhat, this can be captured by assuming that biological gender is more complex than grammatical gender and that the probes on A, D and V can be relativized to the type of gender feature (simple vs. complex). Since it is more complex, agreement in biological gender is preferred if the probe allows it. As a consequence, D can probe across A and find the biological gender feature on N if A is not complex (=grammatical agreement), but D cannot probe the grammatical gender feature on N if A is complex. Thus, once one of the elements of the noun phrase has acquired a complex (biological) gender feature, higher probes cannot see past it (relativized minimality). The DP- and NP-hypothesis now make crucially different predictions: Under the DP-hypothesis, the demonstrative is the head of the entire phrase so that its features are closest to V. Under the NP-hypothesis, however, the features of N are closest to V. Only the DP-hypothesis makes the correct prediction: If the demonstrative shows biological gender agreement, V must also agree in biological gender. Under the NP-hypothesis, however, the features of N should be easily accessible for V so that a switch back to grammatical agreement should be possible, contrary to fact.

N-to-D movement, hybrid agreement & conventionalized expressions

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
14:15–14:45
GW2 B2900

Bruening (2009), Bruening et al. (2018) argue against the DP Hypothesis. Here I refute two recent defenses of the DP Hypothesis & extend the selection argument against it.
1. Shona. Carstens (2017) shows that the only element that can precede the N in Shona is a demonstrative. She proposes N-to-D movement to capture the fixed position of N: the only things that can precede N are ones that can occupy Spec-DP (demonstratives). However, it is equally simple to stipulate that merge places all elements to the right of N, except demonstratives. Since languages differ in linear order, such language-particular stipulations are unavoidable. Stipulating that N-to-D takes place in Shona is no more explanatory.
2. Agr. In BCS, certain Ns can have both formal & semantic gender & agreement can target either. Once agreement targets semantic gender, it cannot switch back to formal gender for agreement relations that are structurally higher. Salzmann (2018) argues that this requires the DP Hypothesis: The D head can block agreement with N. A simple analysis is available without the DP Hypothesis: a principle requires that once agreement triggering a presupposition has taken place, all agreement has to be with the features that triggered the presupposition. Semantic agreement triggers a presupposition, formal does not.
3. Idioms. Salzmann (2018) dismisses the selectional argument against DP in Bruening (2009), claiming there is no evidence that Vs select for Ns. Idioms show that Vs do enter into close relationships with Ns but ignore dependents of N like determiners. In contrast, functional heads like C, P, Asp cannot be skipped. There are many expressions like *light a fire under X*, where the expression has an open slot for the object of P. There are no expressions that include a V & the object of a P, leaving P unspecified. This contrasts with V-NP expressions, where D is often unspecified (e.g., *jump the/that/another gun*), & there are no expressions where V & D are fixed but N can vary. Extending Bruening et al. (2018), there are expressions where a V combines with an embedded clause, like *know which way the wind blows* The functional material (C) is fully fixed. Contra Salzmann (2018), V & N do enter into a close dependency, that of *l-selection* (selection for a particular lexical item). V & D never do, but V & C do, and V & P, contrary to the DP Hypothesis.

References: • Bruening, B. 2009. Selectional asymmetries between CP and DP suggest that the DP hypothesis is wrong. In L. MacKenzie (ed.), *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics 15.1: Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*, 26–35. • Bruening, B., X. Dinh, & L. Kim. 2018. Selection, idioms, and the structure of nominal phrases with and without classifiers. *Glossa* 3. 1–46. • Carstens, V. 2017. Noun-to-determiner movement. In M. Everaert & H. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to syntax*. Wiley. • Salzmann, M. 2018. Revisiting the NP vs. DP debate. http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/003823.

AG16

Adverbial reinforcement of demonstratives in Franconian of Rhine and Moselle

Freitag,
08.03.2019
11:30–12:00
GW2 B2900

Philipp Rauth & Augustin Speyer
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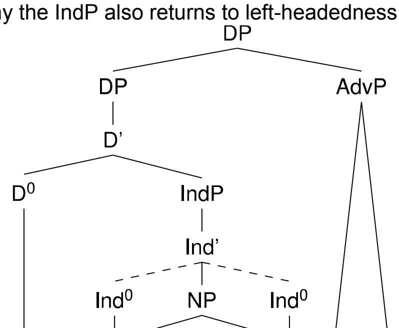
AG16

In demonstrative contexts, speakers of Franconian of Rhine and Moselle reinforce the phonetic matter or emphasize the deictic strength of determiners or pronouns by the local adverbs *do/lo* 'there' in an intermediate position. We claim that a new demonstrative has been grammaticalized. We act on the assumption that in a pre-grammaticalization state, the local adverb is loosely right adjoined to the top of the DP (1). A functional Index Phrase (IndP) (see Roehrs 2010) which denotes a deictic location of the respective NP and which is associated with a feature of prosodic emphasis. Once the grammaticalization process has begun, the former adverb *do/lo* is base generated as the head of IndP (2). Thus, according to Van Gelderen (2007), grammaticalization is interpreted as reanalysis of a phrasal category to a syntactic head. Since (2) is not an appropriate serialization for the coalescence of the definite article and the adverb to begin, we assume that the IndP changes the position of its head from right to left (3). This change is inspired by the anaphoric use of the demonstrative, where the exact position of the head of IndP is ambiguous (4). Usually, lexical and functional phrases in the nominal domain of German are left-headed, which makes plausible why the IndP also returns to left-headedness in the case of a complex demonstrative.



(1)	die	–	Biercher	Ø	doo
(2)	die	–	Biercher	doo	–
(3)	die	doo	Biercher	–	–
(4)	die	doo?	–	doo?	–

References: • Gelderen, E. van. 2007. The definiteness cycle in Germanic. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 19(4). 275–308. • Roehrs, D. 2010. Demonstrative-reinforcer constructions. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 13(3). 225–268.

Prenominal genitives: Locality, theta-roles, and quantifiers

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
12:00–12:30
GW2 B2900

Some of the arguments pro DP-analysis are based on the configurational analogies between sentences (as IP-structures) and NPs (as DP-structures). However, this proposal has been challenged since the IP-analysis for German sentences has been denied by many (Haider 1993, a.o.) making the fundament for the parallelism void. A further syntactic problem of the DP-analysis concerns the realization of arguments of relational nouns. While postnominal arguments can get case and theta-role locally, i.e. inside the NP, prenominal arguments are normally assumed either in D or in SpecDP position presenting difficulties for theta-role and case assignment (e.g. Olsen 1991). We are proposing an NP-analysis in accordance with Strict Locality (Sag 2012) in the framework of HPSG. Therefore, prenominal genitives are realised in SpecNP, showing its dependency from the head noun and getting theta-role and case assigned by the noun.

W.r.t. quantified prenominal genitives further problems of compositional nature arise (Machicao y Priemer 2017). It has been assumed that prenominal genitives are allowed only with proper names, that they are not recursive, and always interpreted as definites (Hartmann & Zimmermann 2003). These assumptions can be challenged, e.g. by (1) & (2). (1) shows the possibility of recursive prenominal genitives, not only with proper names but also with common nouns. (2) exemplifies that quantified prenominal genitives show the same interpretational scope ambiguities as other quantifiers, and not only the definite interpretation.

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(1) *Peters Bruders Harley wurde schnell repariert*.
‘Peter’s brother’s Harley was quickly repaired.’

(2) *Jeder Gauner raubte* {*die*/*Rothschilds*/*eines Bankiers*} *Tochter aus*.
‘Every trickster has mugged {the/Rothschild’s/a banker’s} daughter.’

We present a semantic analysis licensing structures such as (1) & (2) accounting correctly for the scope ambiguities presented by prenominal quantified genitives. Thus, in our analysis, determiners, possessives, and genitive NPs can be treated in a uniform way.

References: • Haider, H. 1993. *Deutsche Syntax – generativ*. Tübingen: Narr. • Hartmann, K. & M. Zimmermann. 2003. Syntactic and semantic adnominal genitive. In C. Maienborn (ed.), (A-)symmetrien – (A-)symmetries, 171–202. Tübingen: Stauffenbrug.• Machicao y Priemer, A. 2017. *NP-arguments in NPs: An analysis of German and Spanish noun phrases in Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Berlin: Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin • Olsen, S. 1991. Die deutsche Nominalphrase als ‘Determinansphrase’. In S. Olsen & G. Fanselow (eds.), *Det, Comp und Infl*, 35–56. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Sag, I. 2012. Sign-Based Construction Grammar: An informal synopsis. In H. Boas & I. Sag (eds.), *Sign-Based Construction Grammar,* 69–202. Stanford: CSLI.

Pseudo-noun incorporation and the DP/NP distinction

Freitag, 08.03.2019 12:30–13:00 GW2 B2900

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AG16

Pseudo-noun incorporation languages (e.g. Spanish, Korean, Turkish, Niuean) show a robust cross-linguistic correlation between the lack of case-marking and the restriction to low scope, shown for Hindi in (1). Some languages additionally require adjacency between N and V (Tamil, Spanish).

(1) Hindi (Dayal 2011: 137)

Anu	*bacca*$^{\neg\exists,*\exists}$*/bacce – ko*$^{\neg\exists,\exists\neg}$	*nahiiN*	*samhaalegii.*
Anu	child/child-ACC	not	look.after-FUT

'Anu will not look after children.'

DP/NP accounts attribute case-drop, low scope, and adjacency to V's availability of optionally selecting for NPs/NumPs which are of type $<e,t>$ (whereas DPs are $<e>$ or $<<e,t>,t>$). Case-marking is tied to a [+D]-feature, either via category-sensitive case assignment (Dayal 2011), movement to (Massam 2001) or merge in (Öztürk 2009) a case position, or phase status (López 2012). In addition to flexible c-selection, many theories need to postulate either separate lexical entries for each verb that allows for incorporation (van Geenhoven 1998, Dayal 2011) or an additional compositional mode, tailor made for incorporation (Chung & Ladusaw 2004, López 2012), thereby ensuring that verbs can compose with properties.

I propose a version of a DP/NP approach that makes use of a silent operator (2) which merges with the to be incorporated argument. The operator itself checks the selectional feature [uD] on V/*v*, while also introducing incorporation semantics and obligatory low scope. While this assumption leads to consistent c-selection and avoids enrichment of the lexicon, the reason for the lack of case-marking can be found in the syntactic nature of a pseudo-incorporated NP: a shell created by the operator (ResP constitutes a phase) blocks case assignment by *v*/T (Chomsky 2000).

(2) $[[\text{Res}]] = \lambda P_{<e,t>} \lambda Q_{<e<s,t>>} \lambda e \exists z [P(z) \wedge Q(z)(e)]$

Evidence for Res comes from the inability of incorporated arguments to act as a binder and to control PRO. The adjacency requirement can be implemented as a contextual restriction on the spell-out of the operator Res.

References: • Chomsky, N. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin et al. (eds.), *Step by step: Essays in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Chung, S. & W. Ladusaw. 2004. *Restriction and saturation*. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Dayal, V. 2011. Hindi pseudo incorporation. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 29, 123–167. • López, L. 2012. *Indefinite objects. Scrambling, choice functions, and differential marking*. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Massam, D. 2001. Pseudo-noun incorporation in Niuean. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 19. 153–197. • Öztürk, B. 2009. Incorporating agents. *Lingua* 119. 334–358. • Van Geenhoven, V. 1998. •*Semantic incorporation and indefinite descriptions*. Stanford: CSLI.

D as a feature in the nominal bundle: A unifying approach to the NP/DP-dispute

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Freitag,
08.03.2019
13:00–14:00
GW2 B2900

Giusti (2015, 2018) attempts a unification of the NP/DP debate based along the following lines:

- Heads are hierarchical bundles of features.
- The head N, bundled with its features, remerges as many times as necessary in order to
  - saturate open positions of N (its arguments);
  - externally agree with a possessor (if present);
  - internally agree with an indexical (cf. Arsenijević 2007, 2015);
  - value an uninterpretable Case feature at the phasal level.

The structure in (5) captures Italian (1) or English (4):

(3) *le sue tre simpatiche amiche americane*

(4) her/Mary's three nice American friends

(5) $[_{NP6}$ indP N_6 $[_{NP5}$ Card N_5 $[_{NP4}$ NP_{poss} N_4 $[_{NP3}$ AP N_3 $[_{NP2}$ AP N_2 $[_{NP1}$ $\cancel{NP_{poss}}$ $N_1]]]]]]$

In (5) N1, N2, etc. are identical segments of the same head N. Parametric variation regards which segment(s) is/are realized. Economy prohibits to realize more than one identical segments (cf. Nunes 2004).

- English realizes N1 and no other segment.
- Italian realizes the definite article (N5) with Case features, and the lexical N in N3. Number and gender overlap on both.

In both languages, IndP is covert. In both languages, N4 activates a probe feature that assigns case to NP_{poss}.

- In English NP_{poss} remerges in SpecNP4, irrespective of whether it is a pronoun or a full NP.
- In Italian NP_{poss} only remerges if it is a pronoun. If it is a full NP, it remains in place and possessive case is realized as *di* (a segment of the possessive NP).

The contribution provides an answer to many research questions, a.o.:

- Are nominal functional categories justified? → Yes, but they are not independent heads. They are bundled with N.
- Are determiners phrasal? → articles are high segments of N, demonstratives and cardinal adjectives are phrasal.

References: Arsenijević, M. 2007. Arsenijević, M. 2015. • Giusti, G. 2015. *Nominal syntax at the interfaces*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. • Giusti, G. 2018. Demonstratives as modifiers and arguments of N. In M. Coniglio, A. Murphy, E. Schlachter & T. Veenstra (eds.), *Atypical demonstratives*, 23–55. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

AG16

Postersession
der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Organisation: Matías Guzmán Naranjo & Rainer Osswald

Ort: GW2 B 3010

Teil 1: Mittwoch, 06.03.2019, 15:45–16:30

Xin Dong & Gerard de Melo
Cross-lingual word vectors for deep sentiment analysis

Daniela Gierschek
Automatic detection of sentiment in Luxembourgish user comments

Armin Hoenen
Interpreting and post-correcting the minimum spanning tree

Amit Kirschenbaum
Extracting inflectional paradigms from raw text: German as a test case

Carsten Klaus, Dietrich Klakow & Peter Fankhauser
OCR post-correction of the Royal Society Corpus based on the Noisy Channel Model

Anna Moskvina
Reimagining topic models with feature engineering

Dominik Schlechtweg & Sabine Schulte im Walde
Comparing annotation frameworks for lexical semantic change

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Gertrud Faaß & Laura Guse
Bewegungsereignisse und Bewegungsverben – eine korpuslinguistische Untersuchung

Anna Ferger & Hanna Hedeland
Technological and methodological aspects of research data quality control

Katrin Menzel
Daltonian atoms, Steiner's curve and Voltaic sparks – the role of eponymous terms in a diachronic corpus of English scientific writing

Fahime Same, Laura Becker & Alessia Cassarà
MultiSub: A multi-parallel corpus of movie subtitles

Esther Seyffarth
Identifying the causative alternation in English

Teil 3: Donnerstag, 7.03.2019, 12:45–13:45

Felix Bildhauer & Roland Schäfer
Assessing and comparing corpus composition using COReX lexico-grammatical features

Vanya Dimitrova & Heike Renner-Westermann
Fachinformationsdienst (FID) Linguistik: Services im Bereich Korpora/Forschungsdaten

Stefan Fischer & Elke Teich
More complex or just more diverse? Capturing diachronic linguistic variation

Miriam Gerken, Jule Isbrandt & Ulrich Heid
Einfluss der Variation in Referenzübersetzungen auf die Bewertung von NMT-Ergebnissen durch BLEU

Jessica Nowak & Stefan Hartmann
Sprachgebrauch süddeutscher Klosterfrauen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Linguistische Aufbereitung und Annotation eines historischen Spezialkorpus

Cross-lingual word vectors for deep sentiment analysis

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15:45–16:30
GW2 B3010

There is a long history of inducing vector-based representations of linguistic utterances. In our work, we induce *sentiment embeddings* custom-tailored for the task of sentiment analysis. Deep neural networks normally require large annotated training corpora for each combination of language, domain, and genre. We conjecture that encoding the prior sentiment polarity of words in different domains into their word vectors may mitigate this challenge.

Our approach consists of three main ingredients. First, we induce monolingual sentiment embeddings. Given *n* binary polarity classification tasks for different domains in a resource-rich language such as English, we learn *n* corresponding linear binary classification models using bag-of-words features. Then, each word present in the vocabulary is assigned a new word vector consisting of the series of linear coefficients for the respective word across the *n* linear models.

Next, we cross-lingually extend these via graph-based propagation (de Melo 2015, de Melo 2017). Given the initial sentiment embedding vectors, we make use of a lexical knowledge graph containing multilingual words and weighted directed arcs between them. Our objective function ensures that sentiment embeddings of words accord with those of their connected words, in terms of the dot product. At the same time, a second component of the objective function ensures that the deviation from the initial word vectors computed earlier does not grow too large for words that have such vectors. For optimization, we rely on stochastic gradient descent steps.

Finally, we propose to rely on a modified convolutional neural network architecture (Dong & de Melo 2018), in which the input utterance is both fed through regular convolutional filters, while as well being processed in a second network module that makes use of our sentiment-specific word vectors.

Our experiments suggest that such a dual-module approach is best suited to exploit the automatically induced multilingual sentiment vectors. The overall approach leads to gains on datasets for seven different languages from different domains, and is most useful when training data is scarce.

References: • de Melo, G. 2015. Wiktionary-based word embeddings. *Proceedings of MT Summit XV. Vol 1: MT Researchers' Track*. Washington, DC, USA: AMTA. • de Melo, G. 2017. Inducing conceptual embedding spaces from Wikipedia. *Proceedings of WWW 2017*. ACM • Dong, X. & G. de Melo. 2018. A helping hand: Transfer learning for deep sentiment analysis. *Proceedings of ACL 2018*. Stroudsburg, PA, USA: ACL.

Automatic detection of sentiment in Luxembourgish user comments

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 15:45–16:30 GW2 B3010

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Luxembourgish is a language that is mainly spoken by approximately 400,000 speakers (Steiner et al.) in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg.

Having become the national language in 1984, it coexists with the two other official languages, French and German, and has become an important symbol for national identity (Gilles). This project aims to advance the research in natural language processing for the Luxembourgish language in which only little work has been done so far. Combining techniques and knowledge from machine learning and linguistics, the project will use the user comments part of a large news corpus to implement the first sentiment analysis for texts written in Luxembourgish. On the machine learning level, a supervised approach will be the starting point. For this method, a part of the corpus was preprocessed and annotated with “positive”, “negative” and “neutral” labels. Further steps are training, testing and evaluation of the supervised system. Subsequently, the possible usage of word embeddings to improve sentiment detection shall be looked at. Besides techniques from machine learning, linguistics play an important role for the project. Challenges for natural language processing of Luxembourgish texts are especially the relatively low number of linguistic resources available and the high language variation on lexical and grammatical level (Gilles). As Luxembourgish is structural close to German (Gilles), one possibility to overcome those shortcomings could be to take existing linguistic resources for German language processing and translate and adapt them to Luxembourgish. Additionally, the role of parts of speech, especially adjectives, in expressing sentiment need to be examined. Adjectives are important for transmitting the subjective content of a text (Taboada) and therefore essential for a successful detection of sentiment.

References: • Gilles, Peter. in press. Luxembourgish. In Maitz, P., H. C. Boas, A. Deumert & M. Louden (eds.), *Varieties of German worldwide*. Oxford: OUP. • Steiner, I., S. Le Maguer, J. Manzoni, P. Gilles & J. Trouvain. 2017. Developing new language tools for MaryTTS: the case of Luxembourgish. *Proceedings 28th Conference Elektronische Sprachsignalverarbeitung,* 186–192. • Taboada, M. 2016. Sentiment analysis: An overview from linguistics. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 2. 325–347.

Interpreting and post-correcting the minimum spanning tree

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15:45–16:30
GW2 B3010

Producing trees which exemplify the evolutionary relationships between languages is one of the fields CL is involved in. Criticism has arisen early, e.g. based on language contact. To date lexicostatistics using cognate lists of words chosen to minimize the influence of language contact as the “genome of a language” (Swadesh, 1971) is still practiced.

Bio-informatic software is being applied, see for instance Bouckaert et al. (2012); Pereltsvaig and Lewis (2015) for Indo-European. Bio-informatically generated trees do not place languages at the internal space of a tree meaning that there is no direct connection between any two languages. This is due to their biological origin. The Minimum Spanning Tree (MST) method generates topologically entirely different trees where direct relations, such as

Latin-Italian can be present, see Figure 1, data from Bouckaert et al. (2012), a subset where the IPA was present.

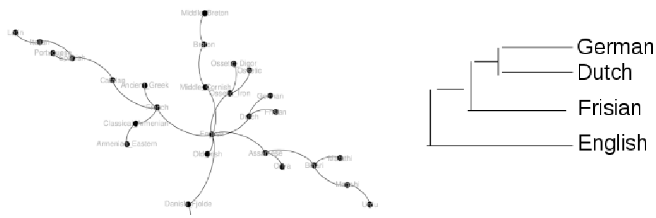

Figure 1: Subtree of self-generated MST visualized with gephi and bio-informatic NJ subtree.

CL POSTER

Looking at the distributions of numbers of comparisons, a plateau with 51 IE languages from 8 families (Armenian, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Indian, Iranian, Romance and Slavic) was found to have IPA and enough comparable but imbalanced data. Pairwise distances were generated using the Damerau-Levenshtein distance. We present a bio-informatic tree, an MST, a 2-d cluster plot and a method for post correcting MSTs.

References: • Bouckaert, R., P. Lemey, M. Dunn, S. J. Greenhill, A. V. Alekseyenko, A. J. Drummond, R. D. Gray, M. A. Suchard & Q. D. Atkinson. 2012. Mapping the origins and expansion of the Indo-European language family. *Science* 337(6097). 957–960. • Pereltsvaig, A. & M. Lewis. 2015. *The Indo-European controversy: Facts and fallacies in historical linguistics*. Cambridge: CUP. • Swadesh, M. 1971. The origin and diversification of language. Aldine Transaction.

Extracting inflectional paradigms from raw text: German as a test case

Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:45–16:30
GW2 B3010

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CL_{POSTER}

Unsupervised learning of morphology aims to capture the structure of words based on statistical methods and machine-learning applied to an unannotated corpus as input. From a theoretical perspective, unsupervised methods can provide empirical evidence in support of a morphological theory. In addition, they can have practical applications, e.g., in information retrieval and language documentation (Hammarström & Borin 2011).

The current study focuses on extraction of inflectional paradigms from raw text in an unsupervised manner. It is inspired by Bybee's Network Model (1995), which describes the lexicon as a network of elements, where words are linked with each other through sets of phonological and semantic features. According to this model, if parallel phonological and semantic connections represent a pattern found in multiple sets of items, then these connections constitute morphological relations. Inflectional paradigms are then viewed as clusters of highly connected words.

The proposed method uses word embeddings to model semantic similarity between words, following the distributional hypothesis (Harris 1954). Form similarity is computed by applying an approximate string matching to pairs of word forms. The two measures are combined to a single similarity score, which is then used to create a word similarity graph. Our hypothesis is that cohesive sub-graphs which are sparsely connected to each other, also termed *communities*, correspond to groups of morphologically similar words, which are candidates for inflectional paradigms. We apply the Clique Percolation Method (Palla et al., 2005) that uses cliques, fully connected sub-graphs, to identify communities in the constructed graph. The method detects morphological patterns by exploring relations within and across communities, using multiple-sequence alignment, a technique used in computational biology to detect similarities among bio-sequences (e.g., DNA, proteins). It then constructs inflectional classes where inter-communities relations are found.

The method is tested on German, a morphologically challenging language, due to the variety of the morphological processes it involves (concatenative affixation, circumfixation, stem alternation). The results show that the method outperforms equivalent unsupervised methods addressing the same task.

References: • Bybee, J. 1995. Regular morphology and the lexicon. *Language and Cognitive Processes* 10(5). 425–455 • Hammarström, H. & L. Borin. 2011. Unsupervised learning of morphology. *Computational Linguistics* 37(2). 309–350. • Harris, Z. 1954. Distributional structure. *Word* 10(2/3). 146–162 • Palla, G., I. Derényi, I. Farkas & T. Vicsek. 2005. Uncovering the overlapping community structure of complex networks in nature and society. *Nature* 435. 814–818.

OCR post-correction of the Royal Society Corpus based on the noisy channel model

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GW2 B3010

Linguistic analysis of historical texts are posing substantial challenges for researchers. Old documents are often of inferior quality hence errors occur during the reading process. Such errors can be severe disruptive factors for further processing and analysis. In this contribution we introduce the *Noisy Channel Spell Checker*, an approach for automatic detection and correction of optical character recognition (OCR) induced misspellings in historical data, with a particular focus on the *Royal Society Corpus*. This corpus is a collection of scientific texts from 1665 to 1869 published in the journal *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. It comprises about 10.000 documents with 35.000.000 tokens in total. Due to the old material words have been recognized incorrectly thus leading to files corrupted by thousands of OCR misspellings. This motivates a post processing step. (UdS Fedora Commons n.d.). The current correction technique is a pattern-based approach (Knappen 2016). Misspellings are corrected by applying a replacement mechanism for substituting the errors with their corresponding correction. Due to its lack of generalization it suffers from bad recall. For that a new approach is required. The *Noisy Channel Spell Checker* is based on the noisy channel model (Shannon, 1948) which is able to estimate the most likely correction. The special characteristic of the tool's model is that the training is completely corpus-specific. It does not require any annotation of training data since only the Royal Society Corpus itself is used.

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For the purpose of evaluation we extracted a subset of documents from the corpus and corrected it manually to create a ground truth. Then we applied our tool and the pattern-based approach separately. With an F1-Score of 0.61 the *Noisy Channel Spell Checker* significantly outperforms the pattern-based state of the art which only accomplishes an F1-Score of 0.28. Enhancing the denoising of the Royal Society Corpus will promote further investigation of the historical data. Thus it is conceivable to replace the current correction technique permanently with the approach presented in this contribution.

References: • Kermes, H., S. Degaetano-Ortlieb, A. Khamis, J. Knappen & E. Teich. 2016. The Royal Society Corpus: From Uncharted Data to Corpus. *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2016).* European Language Resources Association (ELRA). • Knappen, J., S. Fischer, H. Kermes, E. Teich & P. Fankhauser. 2008. The making of the Royal Society Corpus. *ListLang@NoDaLiDa*. • Shannon, C. E. 1948. A mathematical theory of communication. *Bell System Technical Journal*. • UdS Fedora Commons Repository (n.d.) The Royal Society Corpus (RSC), https://fedora.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/rsc/. (last accessed 29.03.2018)

Reimagining topic models with feature engineering

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019 15:45–16:30 GW2 B3010

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This study was carried out in the framework of the BMBF-funded project Rez@Kultur, where the contents of online book reviews is being analyzed. We propose to apply differently trained topic models on data aggregated from the online platform Amazon (McAuley & Leskovec 2013) in order to create a more thorough description of review content that is at the same time understandable to humans.

One of the main concerns when working with topic models is the difficulty humans have in interpreting the results, especially when the topic models are applied to an inhomogenous corpus the text subject of which varies from medical articles to historical novels.

The research conducted by F. Martin and M. Johnson showed that just training a topic model on a corpus consisting only of nouns significantly improves the outcome as well as the interpretability by humans (word intrusion evaluation, introduced by J. Chang). Though A. Schofield and D. Mimno later indicated that though it is assumed that introducing stemmers to topic models would also result in better topics, the effect was negligible and the procedure was time-consuming. However both of the studies involved only English language, which is by far less morphosyntactically complex than German.

We proposed to go a step further by combining bigrams/trigrams with part of speech information. Instead of using documents comprising of a sequence of unlemmatized words as input for training the models, we represent a document as a sequence of syntactically relevant pairs: combinations of lemmatized nouns and verbs as well as combination of lemmatized adjectives and nouns. Additionally we ran experiments with applying the algorithm on sequencies of bigrams and trigrams.

CL POSTER

We trained multiple models on 27.857 German reviews, by using the Gensim implementation (see Rehurek & Sojka 2010) of the Latent Dirichlet Allocation algorithm.

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Comparing annotation frameworks for lexical semantic change

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Mittwoch,
06.03.2019
15:45–16:30
GW2 B3010

Evaluation in research on Lexical Semantic Change (LSC) detection is still an unsolved issue (cf. e.g. Lau et al. 2012; Cook et al. 2014; Frermann & Lapata 2016; Takamura et al. 2017). This is mainly due to a lack of LSC resources, e.g. in the form of a test set comprising a number of words annotated for whether they changed semantically or not. In the creation of such a test set the same problems as in traditional word sense annotation are encountered (e.g. definition and dichotomy of word senses), as LSC is related to loss or emergence of word senses (cf. Blank 1997: 113). In order to avoid these problems Schlechtweg et al. (2018) developed DURel, an annotation framework relying on graded word sense annotation (Erk et al. 2013). However, as Schlechtweg et al. acknowledge, DURel is unable to distinguish certain semantic constellations, e.g., it confuses polysemy with LSC. Although the authors propose a preliminary solution to this issue, DURel can be shown to have a rather low correlation with true LSC.

In order to overcome the above-mentioned shortcomings of DURel we propose an alternative annotation framework relying on the manual choice of representative uses for each word sense cluster. More specifically, we try to retrieve the underlying word sense distributions by choosing a representative centroid for each sense cluster against which a random sample of uses is to be compared. As we show by simulation of LSC in idealized graph models, from the inferred word sense distributions a more accurate value of LSC can be retrieved on the basis of a feasible sample size. At the same time the proposed framework retains the advantages of DURel relying on graded word sense annotation of use pairs.

CL$_{\text{POSTER}}$

The two annotation strategies are compared and analyzed on the same set of words annotated by the same annotators. The newly proposed framework is not only relevant for research in LSC but for research on lexical semantics with relation to word sense distributions in general.

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Bewegungsereignisse und Bewegungsverben – eine korpuslinguistische Untersuchung

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 10:30–11:15 GW2 B3010

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Die bisherige Forschung zur Versprachlichung von Bewegungsereignissen im Deutschen hat sich auf prototypische Konstruktionen konzentriert, in denen das Verb entweder die Art und Weise (MANNER) der Bewegung spezifiziert oder eine kausale Relation (CAUSE) ausdrückt. Darüber hinaus liegen für das Deutsche jedoch eine Reihe weiterer Konstruktionen zur Versprachlichung von Bewegungen vor, deren systematische Analyse hinsichtlich syntaktischer wie semantischer Relationen die Forschungslücke schließen soll.

Denn es können nicht nur prototypische Bewegungsverben faktive Bewegung ausdrücken, sondern (im Deutschen) auch Verben eingesetzt werden, die andere, zusätzliche Frames (Co-Ereignisse nach Talmy 2000) evozieren (Fillmore 1976; Olofsson 2014). Beispiele hierfür finden sich unter (1) und (2).

(1) Sie chillt sich in die Sonne.

(2) Sie platscht ins Wasser.

Das Verb chillen aus (1) ist aus valenztheoretischer Perspektive ein einwertiges, statisches Verb. Hier wird das Verb jedoch als Co-Ereignis verwendet, indem eine Bewegung in Richtung eines Ziels versprachlicht wird. In Beispiel (2) erhält das Geräuschverb 'platscht' ebenfalls (mit der Präposition [in + AKK]) eine Bewegungsbedeutung (Engelberg 2009; Goschler 2011). Die semantische Relation ist in (2) derart, dass das Co-Ereignis 'platschen' als Geräuschemission gleichzeitig zur Bewegung stattfindet und aus eben dieser Bewegung resultiert.

CL POSTER

Unser Beitrag zeigt die Ergebnisse einer korpuslinguistischen Untersuchung auf, bei der verschiedenste Versprachlichungen von Bewegungsereignissen (auch Kopulativkonstruktionen sowie metaphorische Formulierungen) gefunden wurden. Dafür wurde unter Mitarbeit von Studierenden der Informationswissenschaft mithilfe von vorweg identifizierten Indikatoren von Bewegungsvorgängen in Sätzen ein annotiertes Korpus zusammengestellt.

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Technological and methodological aspects of research data quality control

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Donnerstag,
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GW2 B3010

Despite recent technological advances, the creation of linguistic corpora based on spoken language still include time-consuming manual tasks. Transcription of lesser-resourced varieties or other types of non-standard language and several types of linguistic annotation must be carried out manually. Due to the great variety of research questions and theoretical frameworks, the creation of spoken corpora can not be standardized. At the same time, spoken language corpora are highly complex resources, comprising recordings, transcripts, annotations, further related files and metadata on recorded sessions and persons. The required flexibility and the resource's complexity often result in insufficiently controlled workflows and thus major problems with data integrity and consistency. These problems become evident when project data has to comply with quality standards to enable wide re-use in other contexts, but also prevent reliable searches on the data throughout the project duration. Our poster will illustrate our work aimed at developing the necessary technology and support for researchers to move towards a workflow which integrates Git-based versioning and automatic quality control tests into the corpus creation process.

Since the idea of bringing the concept of continuous quality control (or integration) into research data management is rather new to the Humanities (cf. Almas & Clérice (2017) and Ayer et al. (2017)), a major challenge is to overcome the impression of negative methodological impact through technology imposed on researchers' current workflows. Our focus has thus been on achieving acceptance among mainly non-technical users. For the automated consistency checks and fixes for (mainly EXMARaLDA (Schmidt & Wörner 2014)) corpus data and metadata we have developed, we provide the results and further diagnostic overviews of the data in familiar sort- and filterable HTML data tables and error lists. To support manual correction of the data, we also use interactive EXMARaLDA error lists allowing users to display the needed changes for each transcript and correct these from within the familiar transcription editor. Apart from intuitive graphical user interfaces and familiar contexts, comprehensible, non-technical error messages have proven crucial for acceptance. With our poster and a demonstration of our system we hope to continue the dialogue with researchers on how to best exploit these technologies within various methodological approaches.

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CL~POSTER~

Daltonian atoms, Steiner's curve and Voltaic sparks – Eponymous terms in a diachronic corpus of English scientific writing

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 10:30–11:15 GW2 B3010

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CL_{POSTER}

This poster has a focus on eponymous academic and scientific terms in the first 200 years of the Royal Society Corpus (RSC, ca. 9,800 English scientific journal articles from the Royal Society of London, 1665–1869, cf. Kermes et al. 2016). It is annotated at different linguistic levels and provides a number of query and visualization options. Various types of metadata are encoded for each text, e.g. text topics/academic disciplines. This dataset contains a variety of eponymous terms named after English, foreign and classical scholars and inventors. The poster presents the results of a corpus study on eponymous terms with common structural features such as multiword terms with similar part of speech patterns (e.g. adjective + noun constructions such as *Newtonian telescope*) and terms with shared morphological elements, e.g. those that contain possessive markers (e.g. *Steiner's curve*) or identical derivational affixes (e.g. *Bezoutic, Hippocratic*). Queries have been developed to automatically retrieve these terms from the corpus and the results were manually filtered afterwards.

There are, for instance, around 3,000 eponymous adjective + noun constructions derived from ca. 160 different names of scholars. Some are used as titles for institutions or academic events, positions and honours (e.g. *Plumian Professor, Jacksonian prize*) while most refer to scientific concepts and discoveries (e.g. *Daltonian atoms, Voltaic sparks*). The terms show specific distribution patterns within and across documents. It can be observed how such terms have developed when English became established as a language of science and scholarship and what role they played throughout the following centuries. The analysis of these terms also contributes to reconstructing cultural aspects and language contacts in various scientific fields and time periods. Additionally, the results can be used to complement English lexicographical resources for specialized languages (cf. also Menzel 2018) and they contribute to a growing understanding of diachronic and cross-linguistic aspects of term formation processes.

References: • Kermes, H., S. Degaetano-Ortlieb, A. Khamis, J. Knappen & E. Teich. 2016. The Royal Society Corpus: From uncharted data to corpus. *Proceedings of LREC 2016*. Portoroz, Slovenia. 1928–1931, • Menzel, K. 2018. Using diachronic corpora of scientific journal articles for complementing English corpus-based dictionaries and lexicographical resources for specialized languages. *Proceedings of Euralex 2018*, 17–21 July 2018 in Ljubljana, Slovenia. 363–372. • The RSC is available for free download and online query via the CLARIN-D center at Saarland University under the persistent identifier: http://hdl.handle.net/ 11858/00-246C-0000-0023-8D1C-0).

MultiSub: A multi-parallel corpus of movie subtitles

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10:30–11:15
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While there are a number of open-access parallel corpora targeting the linguistic community, most of the resources either only allow pairwise comparisons across languages. This poster presents MultiSub, a new corpus based on movie subtitles that can be used for comparative linguistic studies.

The largest collection of freely available parallel corpora can be found on the OPUS website (http://opus.nlpl.eu/OpenSubtitles2018.php, cf. Tiedemann 2012). There are two main issues: (i) the parallel texts are only available in language pairs; (ii) in most parts, additional morphological and syntactic information are not (yet) included. A multi-parallel corpora, the ParTy corpus (Levshina 2016), includes subtitles from 14 movies. However, this corpus only contains the aligned, primary linguistic data in a downloadable text format. Building on this solid basis, we present the MultiSub corpus which targets crosslinguistic research especially in the domain of discourse analysis. We want to provide a text collection based on open-source subtitles that can be made available online for download in text and xml-based formats, and that comes with additional annotation layers which include linguistic (lemmatization, POS tagging, syntactic annotation) and extra-linguistic information (speaker, scene cuts). Given that (at least certain types of) movies are very close to naturalistic language use, movie subtitles are a rich resource for studying discourse. We focus on movie subtitles of a smaller number of languages for which well-developed POS taggers and syntactic parsers are available. We start with gathering movie and series subtitles from a number of European languages: English, German, French, Spanish, Russian. The preprocessing of the texts involves the following steps: text standardization, tokenization, xml-file generation. Alignment is based on time stamps from the srt-files. The additional layers added are: lemma and POS tags, dependency parsing, speaker information and scene cuts (added manually for English).

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References: • Tiedemann, J. 2012. Parallel data, tools and interfaces in OPUS. *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation.* Istanbul: ELRA. • Levshina, N. 2016. Verbs of letting in Germanic and Romance: A quantitative investigation based on a parallel corpus of film subtitles. *Languages in Contrast* 16(1). 84–117.

Identifying the causative alternation in English

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10:30–11:15
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The causative alternation in English is an example of a *diathesis alternation* where semantic roles are encoded in different syntactic positions, as demonstrated in sentences (1) and (2):

(1) The number of students has decreased.

(2) We have decreased the number of students.

Identifying verbs that participate in this alternation is not trivial: The syntactic patterns of these verbs overlap with patterns of verbs with optional objects.

This poster presents and evaluates 8 different strategies for the automatic identification of English verbs in the causative alternation, based on statistics about syntactic patterns, distributional information about arguments of the verbs, perplexity scores calculated by a Recurrent Neural Network, and VerbNet classes. Each approach is evaluated in three test conditions for two sources of gold data (Levin 1993; VerbNet class annotations). The wide range of accuracy scores in our different test conditions shows how important reproducible evaluation conditions are for this type of task.

Earlier work in this area, such as McCarthy (2000), Schulte im Walde (2000), McCarthy (2001), Merlo & Stevenson (2001), tends to evaluate on small or hand-picked test sets. We compare our approaches to the work of Merlo and Stevenson (2001). They achieve an accuracy of 69% on the three-way distinction of unaccusative, unergative, and unexpressed-object verbs. One of our unsupervised approaches outperforms that of Merlo and Stevenson by 6% on a balanced test set. Our setup is simpler than that of Merlo and Stevenson, requiring only a dependency-parsed corpus from which to derive statistics, whereas their system makes use of features like animacy or causativity, which pose problems when a verb or its arguments are attested infrequently.

CL POSTER

The methods we present can be applied to any role-switching alternation (McCarthy 2001) in any language for which the necessary preprocessing tools are available. In future work, we plan to compare the performance of our approaches to the performance they achieve on other languages, which will be informative from a typological perspective.

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Assessing and comparing corpus composition using lexico-grammatical features

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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:45–13:45
GW2 B3010

Many large corpora are built not by sampling texts or documents according to a pre-defined sampling scheme (like the BNC) but by acquiring huge unstructured collections of textual data from available sources. The Corpora from the Web (COW; Schäfer and Bildhauer 2012) and the WaCky corpora (Baroni et al. 2009) are examples of such corpora. Little is known about their composition in terms of genres, registers, or even basic lexico-grammatical properties. However, many believe that distributions of linguistic phenomena depend on registers or similar categories. Assessing the composition of corpora and annotating documents with appropriate categories is thus vital.

Methods of comparing corpora and methods of assessing the homogeneity of corpora have emerged from the web corpus construction scene (e.g., Kilgarriff 2012; Ciamarita and Baroni 2006). Such methods can be used in order to assess how similar a corpus is to a corpus with a known composition, and how similar sub-corpora of a corpus are to each other. They are often based on simple word or lexeme frequencies. We present an approach for German corpora using many automatically extracted lexico-grammatical features (frequencies of function words, morphological categories, syntactic constructions, etc.). Using our COReX feature-extractor, we compare the DECOW16B web corpus with the German reference corpus DeReKo. We also measure the difference in the distribution of lexico-grammatical features between forum documents and non-forum documents in DECOW16B, as the divide between standard and non-standard written German overlaps with the forum/non-forum distinction. We also compare DECOW16B to the RandyCOW web corpus constructed using a bias-free web-crawling method (Schäfer 2016). Finally, we assess the homogeneity of all of these corpora.

The results show that there are relevant differences in the distributions of lexico-grammatical features in most of the comparisons described above. The interpretation of those differences proves to be a much more intricate problem, with the exception of a broad distinction between colloquial, less standard, dialogic texts vs. more standard narrative or reporting texts.

CL~POSTER~

References: • Baroni, M. et al. 2009. The WaCky Wide Web: A collection of very large linguistically processed web-crawled corpora. *Language Resources and Evaluation* 43(3). 209–226. • Ciamarita, M. & M. Baroni. 2006. Measuring web-corpus randomness: A progress report. In M. Baroni & S. Bernardini (eds.), Wacky! Working papers on the Web as Corpus. Bologna: GEDIT. • Kilgarriff, A. 2012. Getting to know your corpus. In Sojka, P. et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of Text, Speech and Dialogue – 15th International Conference*, 3–15. Heidelberg: Springer.

Fachinformationsdienst (FID) Linguistik: Services im Bereich Korpora/Forschungsdaten

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019 12:45–13:45 GW2 B3010

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2013 startete die Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft das Förderprogramm „Fachinformationsdienste für die Wissenschaft" mit dem Ziel, Wissenschaftler aller Fachrichtungen mit forschungsrelevanten Inhalten und Informationen zu versorgen. Im Rahmen des neuen Fördersystems werden neben traditionellen verstärkt auch innovative Services angeboten, die sich an den spezifischen fachlichen Anforderungen der Forscher orientieren.

Der Fachinformationsdienst (FID) Linguistik ist eine Serviceeinrichtung für die Allgemeine und Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft und die einzelphilologischen Sprachwissenschaften an deutschen Hochschulen und außeruniversitären Forschungseinrichtungen. Der FID wird seit 2017 an der Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt in Kooperation mit der Arbeitsgruppe für Angewandte Computerlinguistik am Institut für Informatik der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt aufgebaut.

Die Online-Plattform des FID ist das Linguistik-Portal (www.linguistik.de), das seit 2013 einschlägige Suchfunktionen und Fachinformationen zu allen Bereichen der Sprachwissenschaft zur Verfügung stellt. Im Rahmen des FID-Programms wird das Portal konsequent weiter ausgebaut: Erweiterte Funktionalitäten und neue Angebote sollen vor allem die Sichtbarkeit, Auffindbarkeit und Verfügbarkeit linguistisch relevanter, digitaler Sprachressourcen erhöhen (Renner-Westermann, 2018). Um dies zu erreichen, werden bibliothekarisches Know-how, Semantic-Web-Technologien und Methoden der angewandten Computerlinguistik eingesetzt.

CL POSTER

Das Ziel der Präsentation ist, über bestehende oder geplante FID-Services im Bereich Forschungsdaten/Sprachkorpora zu informieren. So wird z.B. der Suchraum qualitativ und quantitativ erweitert, indem die Vernetzung des Linguistik-Portals mit der (Linguistic) Linked Open Data Cloud weiter ausgebaut wird (Dimitrova et al. 2018). Durch den Einsatz und die Weiterentwicklung ontologiebasierter NLP-Werkzeuge werden frei verfügbare Sprachkorpora analysiert und mit inhaltlichen Metadaten angereichert. Über die Verknüpfung linguistischer Veröffentlichungen mit den darin behandelten Forschungsdaten wird die Sichtbarkeit sowohl der Daten als auch ihrer wissenschaftlichen Analyse erhöht.

More complex or just more diverse? Capturing diachronic linguistic variation

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12:45–13:45
GW2 B3010

We present a diachronic comparison of general (register-mixed) and scientific English in the late modern period (1700–1900). For our analysis we use two corpora which are comparable in size and time-span: the Corpus of Late Modern English (CLMET; De Smet et al. 2015) and the Royal Society Corpus (RSC; Kermes et al. 2016).

Previous studies of scientific English found a diachronic tendency from a verbal, involved to a more nominal, abstract style compared to other discourse types (cf. Halliday 1988; Biber & Gray 2011). The features reported include type-token ratio, lexical density, number of words per sentence and relative frequency of nominal vs. verbal categories – all potential indicators of linguistic complexity at a shallow level.

We present results for these common measures on our data set as well as for selected information-theoretic measures, notably relative entropy (Kullback–Leibler divergence: KLD) and surprisal. For instance, using KLD, we observe a continuous divergence between general and scientific language based on word unigrams as well as part-of-speech trigrams. Lexical density increases over time for both scientific language and general language. In both corpora, sentence length decreases by roughly 25%, with scientific sentences being longer on average. On the other hand, mean sentence surprisal remains stable over time.

The poster will give an overview of our results using the selected measures and discuss possible interpretations. Moreover, we will assess their utility for capturing linguistic diversification, showing that the information-theoretic measures are fairly fine-tuned, robust and link up well to explanations in terms of linguistic complexity and rational communication (cf. Hale 2016; Crocker et al. 2016).

References: • Biber, D. & B. Gray. 2011. The historical shift of scientific academic prose in English towards less explicit styles of expression: Writing without verbs. In V. Bhatia, P. Sánchez & P. Pérez-Paredes (eds.), *Researching specialized languages*, 11–24. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. • Crocker, M. W., V. Demberg & E. Teich. 2016. Information density and linguistic encoding (IDeaL). *KI – Künstliche Intelligenz* 30(1). 77–81. • De Smet, H., S. Flach, J. Tyrkkö & H.-J. Diller. 2015. The Corpus of Late Modern English (CLMET), version 3.1: Improved tokenization and linguistic annotation. Retrieved 1 November 2018, from http://fedo-ra.clarin-d.uni-saarland.de/clmet/clmet.html • Hale, J. 2016. Information-theoretical complexity metrics. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 10(9). 397–412 • Halliday, M. A. K. 1988. On the language of physical science. In M. Ghadessy (ed.), *Registers of written English: Situational factors and linguistic features*, 162–178. London: Pinter. • Kermes, H., S. Degaetano-Ortlieb, A. Khamis, J. Knappen & E. Teich. 2016. The Royal Society Corpus: From uncharted data to corpus. In N. Calzolari, K. Choukri, T. Declerck, S. Goggi, M. Grobelnik, B. Maegaard & S. Piperidis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2016)*. Paris, France: European Language Resources Association (ELRA).

Einfluss der Variation in Referenzübersetzungen auf die Bewertung von NMT-Ergebnissen durch BLEU

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In der Übersetzungswissenschaft existieren mehrere Kriterien, um zu überprüfen, wann eine Übersetzung geglückt ist. Statt einer manuellen Überprüfung maschineller Übersetzungen (MÜ) bezüglich solcher Kriterien wird bei der Entwicklung von MÜ-Systemen wie SMT oder NMT oft auf automatische Evaluation zurückgegriffen. BLEU ist dabei das Standardverfahren.[1] Es vergleicht MÜ-Ergebnisse mit manuell erstellten Referenzübersetzungen (RÜ). Je höher die Übereinstimmung zwischen MÜ und RÜ, desto besser wird die MÜ durch BLEU bewertet. Wir haben untersucht, welche Eigenschaften der RÜ Einfluss auf eine positive BLEU-Bewertung nehmen und wie nahe die BLEU-Bewertung von NMT-Ergebnissen einer übersetzungswissenschaftlichen Evaluation kommt.

Für diese Untersuchung wurde ein Korpus von RÜ je eines journalistischen Textes zur Brexit-Thematik in den Sprachrichtungen EN-DE (587 W.) und DE-EN (425 W.) aus Übersetzungskursen der Universität Hildesheim gewonnen. Das Korpus beinhaltet je drei Gold-Lösungen sowie je elf Studierendenlösungen, die z.T. erhebliche lexikalische, morphosyntaktische bzw. syntaktische Variation aufweisen. Die RÜ wurden danach klassifiziert, ob sie besonders ausgangstextnah oder besonders zielsprachlich orientiert sind und ob sie sich bezüglich der obigen Variationen markant von den Gold-Lösungen unterscheiden. Mit den 14 RÜ in unterschiedlichen Konstellationen wurden je eine Google Translate- sowie eine DeepL-Übersetzung durch BLEU bewertet.

Dabei wurde zunächst untersucht, wie sich die Anzahl von RÜ sowie unterschiedliche Reihenfolgen der RÜ auf die BLEU-Bewertung auswirken.

Wie erwartet steigen die BLEU-Werte mit der Anzahl der RÜ. Je unterschiedlicher dabei die RÜ sind, desto stärker ist die Zunahme des BLEU-Werts. In unserem Setup nähert sich der BLEU-Wert ab acht RÜ einer Obergrenze an. Ausgangstextorientierte RÜ erzielten außerdem höhere BLEU-Werte als zielsprachlich orientierte RÜ: Die MÜ-Systeme übersetzen eher ausgangstextnah. Bei der BLEU-Bewertung EN-DE gegen zielsprachlich orientierte RÜ erzielt Google Translate höhere Werte als DeepL. Dies widerspricht der übersetzungswissenschaftlichen Bewertung der Ergebnisse, die DeepL als stärker zielsprachlich orientiert klassifiziert. Aus übersetzungswissenschaftlicher Sicht relevante lexikalische, morphosyntaktische oder syntaktische Variationen gegenüber den Gold-Lösungen scheinen dagegen nur einen geringen Einfluss auf die BLEU-Bewertung zu haben.

CL POSTER

Sprachgebrauch süddeutscher Klosterfrauen des 17. Jahrhunderts: Linguistische Aufbereitung und Annotation eines historischen Spezialkorpus

Jessica Nowak[1] & Stefan Hartmann[2]
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Donnerstag,
07.03.2019
12:45–13:45
GW2 B3010

In historischen Referenzkorpora des Deutschen sind Texte, die von Frauen verfasst wurden, nach wie vor stark unterrepräsentiert. Gerade aus kultur-, aber auch aus sprachhistorischer Perspektive kann sich jedoch der Vergleich von Texten, die von Schreiberinnen stammen, mit solchen, die von Männern verfasst wurden, als aufschlussreich erweisen, wie etwa die Befunde zeigen, die auf Grundlage des Fürstinnenkorrespondenz-Korpus von Lühr (2016) erzielt wurden. In diesem Poster stellen wir ein Projekt vor, das zur digitalen Verfügbarkeit von Texten frühneuzeitlicher Schreiberinnen in linguistisch annotierter Form beiträgt und damit wichtige Grundlagenarbeit für weiterführende Analysen etwa aus kulturgeschichtlicher oder genderlinguistischer Sicht leistet. Ziel des Projekts ist die linguistische Aufbereitung und öffentliche Zugänglichmachung der von Nolting (2010) edierten Briefe und chronikalischen Texte süddeutscher Klosterfrauen des 17. Jahrhunderts. Mithilfe von CAB („Cascaded Analysis Broker“, Jurish 2012) werden die edierten Texte graphematisch zum Neuhochdeutschen hin normalisiert und auf dieser Basis POS-getaggt und lemmatisiert. In einem weiteren Schritt erfolgt eine manuelle Korrektur der Annotation. Weiterhin werden nach dem Vorbild des Fürstinnenkorrespondenz-Korpus grammatische, diskurs- und textpragmatische Annotationen vorgenommen, soweit diese auf die Klosterfrauen-Texte übertragbar sind. Hierzu gehören beispielsweise die Annotation syntaktischer Funktionen oder für die Brieftexte die Auszeichnung einzelner Kategorien des Briefstils (bspw. Grußformeln). Zusammengenommen können diese Annotationen die Grundlage einer umfassenden grammatischen wie auch pragmatischen Analyse bilden. Für die manuelle Annotation wird dabei die Software GATE verwendet (Cunningham et al. 2002). Für die Veröffentlichung werden die Daten für das browserbasierte Korpusabfragesystem ANNIS (Krause & Zeldes 2016) aufbereitet und können voraussichtlich Ende 2019 öffentlich zugänglich gemacht werden.

References: • Cunningham, H., D. Maynard, K. Bontcheva & V. Tablan. 2002. GATE: A framework and graphical development environment for robust NLP tools and applications. *Proceedings of the 40th Anniversary Meeting of ACL*. • Jurish, B. 2012. Finite-state canonicalization Techniques for historical German. PhD Thesis, University of Potsdam. urn:nbn:de:kobv:517-opus-55789. • Krause, T. & A. Zeldes. 2016. ANNIS3: A new architecture for generic corpus query and visualization. *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 31(1). 118–139. • Lühr, R. 2016. Satzkomplexität in fürstlichen Korrespondenzen der frühen Neuzeit. In S. Kwekkeboom & S. Waldenberger (eds.), *PerspektivWechsel,* Bd. 1, 455–478. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.

CL_{POSTER}

Tutorium
der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Describing corpora, comparing corpora

Felix Bildhauer[1] & Roland Schäfer[2]
[1]IDS Mannheim, [2]Freie Universität Berlin

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Dienstag, 05.03.2019, 11:00–18:00 Uhr, Raum SFG 1020

Short description

Large corpora built from mixed sources are used in many different subfields of linguistics, such as descriptive approaches; empirical work within formal morphological, syntactic, and semantic frameworks; computational linguistics; and even cognitively oriented linguistics. For many languages, researchers can choose between several linguistically annotated corpora. However, questions arise as to the validity and generalizability of findings on the basis of the particular corpus chosen. For the same phenomenon, findings may differ across different corpora, with a possible reason being the different types of language found in different corpora. In order to make sense of divergent findings and to enable a better assessment of the validity of results obtained only from a single corpus, we need to be able to characterize single corpora and compare different corpora using informative criteria. The "types of language found in a corpus" can be characterized in many ways. For example, external metadata at the document level (such as socio-demographic information) or the communicative function of texts (register, text type, genre, etc.) can be utilized to de scribe the composition of a corpus. If such metadata are not available, corpus creators sometimes derive or reconstruct metadata from the text in the document itself (using counts of linguistic features, etc.). Especially in the case of very large corpora, such data often have to be generated (semi-)automatically. Douglas Biber's attempts at inferring register categories semi-automatically are probably the most prominent such methods in corpus linguistic circles.

In this tutorial, we will take a closer look at corpus metadata suitable for corpus comparison and their use in linguistic case studies, with an emphasis on automatically created meta data. Topics include: different kinds of document-level metadata; reliability of automatically generated meta data; usage of such meta data in linguistic corpus studies; (dis-) advantages of feature aggregation (such as Factor Analysis in Biber's approach); aspects of statistical modeling.

The course language is English. However, many examples and illustrations will be taken from corpora of German. As part of this tutorial, there will be hands-on exercises in order to give participants a chance to get started working with meta data available for German corpora.

Tagung der
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik
(ALP e.V.)

Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik e.V. (ALP)

50 Jahre *Speech Acts* – Bilanz und Perspektiven

Organisation: Lars Bülow[1], Frank Liedtke[2], Konstanze Marx[3], Simon Meier-Vieracker[4] & Robert Mroczynski[5]

[1]Universität Salzburg, [2]Universität Leipzig, [3]Universität Mannheim, [4]TU Dresden, [5]Universität Düsseldorf

Dienstag, 05.03.2019, 08:45–19:00, SFG 0140, Postersession SFG 0150

Die Sprechakttheorie, die vor 50 Jahren in John Searles Buch Speech Acts. *An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (1969) ihre kanonische Form gefunden hat, gehört zweifellos zu den zentralen Theorieansätzen der linguistischen Pragmatik. Zusammen mit den Theorien der Deixis und der Implikaturen ist sie essentieller Bestandteil jeder noch so knappen Darstellung pragmatischer Forschungsgegenstände. Ihre Grundannahmen und Grundbegriffe gehören zu jeder linguistischen Grundausbildung und haben auch andere Teildisziplinen wie z.B. die Textlinguistik und die Soziolinguistik maßgeblich beeinflusst. Auch in Spezialfeldern wie der Politolinguistik oder der Internetlinguistik spielen sprechakttheoretisch inspirierte Analysen eine wichtige Rolle, und selbst neurolinguistische Studien untersuchen die neuronalen Prozesse bei der Verarbeitung von Sprechakten.

Unbenommen ihrer Kanonisierung liegen die Zeiten, in denen ganze Kongressbände mit immer neuen Sprechaktanalysen in Searle'scher Manier gefüllt werden konnten, nun schon lange zurück. Die vielgescholtene Sprecherzentriertheit hat schon früh die Forderung nach gesprächsanalytischen Erweiterungen auf den Plan gerufen. Im Zuge neuerer Theorieentwicklungen etwa der poststrukturalen Diskurslinguistik mit ihrer Kritik am Subjekt- und Intentionalitätsbegriff oder der Konjunktur des Konzepts der Praktiken scheint die klassische Sprechakttheorie abermals an Attraktivität verloren zu haben. Hinzu kommen (wissenschafts-)historische Arbeiten, die den Neuheits- und Universalitätsanspruch der Sprechakttheorie kritisch betrachten. Trotz allem entstehen in jüngerer Zeit aber auch wieder Arbeiten, die im Rückgang auf Searle wie auch auf Austin neue sprechakttheoretische Modelle entwickeln.

Das 50-jährige Jubiläum des Erscheinens von John Searles *Speech Acts* soll Anlass bieten, im Rahmen der ALP-Tagung 2019 die Karriere der Sprechakttheorie als pragmalinguistische Grundlagentheorie zu reflektieren, ihre Prägungen und Einflüsse ebenso wie die aus verschiedensten Richtungen formulierten Einwände und Gegenentwürfe zu diskutieren und eine kritische Bilanz zu ziehen. Neben empirischen, grundlagentheoretischen sowie wissenschafts- und fachgeschichtlichen Beiträgen sind auch Fallstudien aus anderen linguistischen Teildisziplinen erwünscht, die die Potenziale und Grenzen sprechakttheoretischer Zugänge beleuchten. Auch Beiträge aus dem Bereich der (Hochschul-)Didaktik sind willkommen.

Schließlich sind Vertreter/innen weiterer Disziplinen, in denen die Sprechakttheorie rezipiert und fruchtbar gemacht wurde, etwa die Geschichtswissenschaft, die Psychotherapie oder die Theologie, ebenfalls eingeladen, an der bilanzierenden Reflexion mitzuwirken.

Keynote Speaker
Sven Staffeldt (Universität Würzburg)

Programm

8:45–9:00	*Begrüßung und Einführung*
9:00–9:45	Sven Staffeldt (Halle) *SAT(T)?*
9:45–10:15	Hans-Martin Gärtner (Budapest) & Markus Steinbach (Göttingen) *Zum Verhältnis von Satztyp- zu Illokutionstypinventaren: Ein Blick auf kognitive Ansätze*
10:15–10:45	Tilo Weber (Liberec) *Das Individuelle und das Soziale – die Rolle der Intentionalität aus der Perspektive der Sprechakttheorie*
10:45–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Rita Finkbeiner (Düsseldorf) *Expressive Sprechakte revisited*
11:45–12:15	Andreas Trotzke (Konstanz) *How cool is that! Ein neuer Sprechakt und seine theoretischen Herausforderungen an der Grammatik/Pragmatik-Schnittstelle*
12:15–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Frank Liedtke (Leipzig) *Sprechhandlung und Aushandlung*
14:15–14:45	Leonard Kohl (Leipzig) *Sprechakte in der Interaktion – auf dem Weg zu einer interaktionalen und empirischen Sprechaktpragmatik*
14:45–15:15	Simon Meier-Vieracker (Dresden) *Vormoderne Sprechaktanalysen als Herausforderung für die moderne Sprechakttheorie*
15:15–16:15	Postersession und Kaffeepause
16:15–16:45	Diana Walther (Leipzig) *1.15 Uhr: Mutter ist eingeschlafen – Notizen zum Tod eines geliebten Menschen als assertive Sprechakte in Kalenderbucheinträgen älterer Schreiber/-innen*

16:45–17:15	Katharina Turgay (Landau) & Daniel Gutzmann (Köln) *Fiktionale Aussagen als Assertionen? Grenzen der Searle'schen Sprechaktklasse*
17:15–17:45	Pawel Sickinger (Bonn) *Die Rolle von Sprechakten bei der theoretischen Beschreibung pragmatischer Kompetenz und deren Vermittlung und Überprüfung in der Sprachlehrpraxis*
17:45–18:00	Abschlussdiskussion
18:15	Mitgliederversammlung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik e.V.

Postersession

Joschka Briese (Flensburg)
Intentionalität ohne Intentionalismus? Entwurf eines sprachgebrauchs- und zeichenbasierten Konzepts von Denk- und Handlungsfähigkeit

Andreas Osterroth (Landau)
Die Relevanz von Sprache-Bild-Akten in öffentlichen Diskursen anhand von Internet Memes in Antworten auf Tweets von @realDonaldTrump

Astrid Tuchen (Leipzig)
Is that the best you can do??? – Über den Sprechakt KONDOLIEREN von Donald Trump auf Twitter und dessen Gelingen

Doktorandenforum

Organisation: Daniel Schmidt-Brücken & Cornelia Stroh

Ort: SFG 1080

Doktorandenforum

Sprachcorpora

Referent: Michael Cysouw (Universität Marburg)

Dienstag, 05.03.2019, 9:00–16:00, Raum SFG 1080

DF

Infotag der Lehramtsinitiative der DGfS

Organisation: Andreas Jäger

Ort: GW2 B 2880, B 2890, B 2900, B 3009

Lehramtsinitiative/Lehrerinformationstag

Sprachhürden überwinden – Rezeptiver und produktiver Umgang mit Fachsprache

Organisation: Andreas Jäger

Dienstag, 05.03.2019, 15:00–19:15, Räume GW2 B 2880, 2890, 2900, 3009

Im Rahmen ihrer Jahrestagung 2019 in Bremen veranstaltet die DGfS einen Lehrerinformationstag mit dem Ziel, aktiven Lehrpersonen Impulse aus der aktuellen sprachwissenschaftlichen Forschung für den Schulunterricht zu geben. Das diesmalige Rahmenthema „Sprachhürden überwinden – Rezeptiver und produktiver Umgang mit Fachsprache“. Ein Plenarvortrag sowie eine Reihe von 90-minütigen Workshops thematisieren hierbei insbesondere die Probleme von Jugendlichen, die Deutsch als Zweitsprache erwerben, im Umgang mit deutschen Fachtexten sowie bei der fachspezifischen und -übergreifenden bildungssprachlichen Kommunikation. Sprachsensibilität und das Bewusstsein über Sprachregister im Unterricht werden dabei ebenso angesprochen wie die Diskrepanz von Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit im Umgang mit fachsprachlichen Ausdrücken und die Frage, was gutes Erklären ausmacht.

Zielgruppe: Lehrkräfte in der Mittelstufe (Vorkurse und Regelklassen, allgemein- und berufsbildenden Schulen)

Programm

15:00–15:45	**Begrüßung und Plenarvortrag**	
	Christoph Kulgemeyer (Bremen)	GW2 B 3009
	Verbale Erklärungen im Unterricht – welche Rolle spielt die Sprache?	
15:45–16:00	Kaffeepause	
16:00–17:30	**Arbeitsgruppen**	
	Christina Noack (Osnabrück)	GW2 B 2880
	Sprachliche Herausforderungen im Fachunterricht	
	Sarah Fornol (Bremen)	GW2 B 2890
	Sprachliche und formale Herausforderungen von Fachtexten	

	Madjid Nezhad Masum (Oldenburg) *Die Herkunftssprache der Neuzugewanderten ist den Fremdsprachlehrkräften nicht bewusst, bzw. nicht bekannt*	GW2 B 2900
17:30–17:45	Kaffeepause	
17:45–19:15	**Arbeitsgruppen**	
	Sarah Rose & Katrin Kleinschmidt-Schinke (Köln) *Entwicklungssensitives sprachliches Lehrerhandeln zur Förderung der Bildungssprache*	GW2 B 2880
	Yasemin Can-Nizamoglu (Bremen) *Überlegungen zu einer Herkunftssprachendidaktik*	GW2 B 2890
	Isabell Harder (Bremen) *„Elevator Pitch"-Workshop: Wie erkläre ich mein Fach?*	GW2 B 2900

Verbale Erklärungen im Unterricht – welche Rolle spielt die Sprache?

Christoph Kulgemeyer
Universität Bremen

Erklären ist eine zentrale Tätigkeit von Lehrkräften, die von Schülerinnen und Schülern eingefordert und geschätzt wird. Auch Schülerinnen und Schüler erklären sich gegenseitig Fachinhalte, beispielsweise in kooperativen Lernformen. Doch wie effektiv kann Erklären eigentlich sein? Ist es nicht nachhaltiger, sich einen Inhalt selbstständig zu erarbeiten, als ihn sich erklären zu lassen? Und wenn man schon erklärt – worauf kann man als Lehrkraft achten, damit solche Situationen möglichst effektiv genutzt werden können? Was muss eigentlich eine gute Erklärerin bzw. ein guter Erklärer können? Welche Rolle spielt die Sprache in einem solchen Prozess? Im Vortrag wird diesen Fragen auf Basis breiter empirischer Untersuchungen nachgegangen. Ein besonderer Fokus liegt dabei auf dem Physikunterricht, aber die Ergebnisse lassen sich auch auf andere Fächer übertragen.

Sprachliche Herausforderungen im Fachunterricht

Christina Noack
Universität Osnabrück

Sprachförderung in der Schule ist längst nicht mehr nur ein Thema für Schüler mit Deutsch als Zweitsprache. Im aktuellen Bildungsdiskurs hat sich die Überzeugung durchgesetzt, dass die Besonderheiten der geschriebenen gegenüber der gesprochenen Sprache im Unterricht für alle Kinder herausfordernd sind. Gleichzeitig ist es für Lehrkräfte im Schulalltag oft schwierig zu entscheiden, wann Leistungsdefizite bei Schülern auf sprachliche Barrieren zurückzuführen sind und welche Maßnahmen erfolgversprechend sind. Im Workshop wird es zunächst um eine theoretische Einführung in das Thema Unterrichtssprache – Fachsprache – Bildungssprache gehen. Anschließend werden Unterrichtskonzepte wie der Scaffolding-Ansatz und Materialien vorgestellt und gemeinsam bearbeitet.

Sprachliche und formale Herausforderungen von Fachtexten

Sarah Fornol
Universität Bremen

Im schulischen Fachunterricht spielt die Arbeit mit Fachtexten eine große Rolle. Sie vermitteln den Lernenden einerseits Fachwissen, andererseits wird durch den Umgang mit ihnen eine fachspezifische Literalität aufgebaut. Vielfach stellen Fachtexte jedoch für die Schüler/-innen eine große Hürde dar. Im Rahmen des Workshops setzen sich die Teilnehmer/-innen mit sprachlichen sowie formalen Herausforderungen von Fachtexten auseinander. Sie erfahren, wie ein Text so gestaltet werden kann, dass er den Lernenden weniger Schwierigkeiten bei der Bearbeitung bereitet. Um sprachliche Herausforderungen jedoch nicht nur zu reduzieren bzw. zu vermeiden, wird den Teilnehmer/-innen außerdem aufgezeigt, wie mit ihnen im Unterricht umgegangen werden kann.

Die Herkunftssprache der Neuzugewanderten ist den Fremdsprachenlehrkräften nicht bewusst bzw. nicht bekannt

Madjid Nezhad Masum
Carl von Ossietzky-Universität Oldenburg

Jeder Sprecher verfügt über seine eigenen sprachlichen Erfahrungen, die er unbewusst während des Sprachgebrauchs in alltäglichen Kommunikationssituationen benutzt. Diese Erfahrungen sind zwar von Sprache zu Sprache unterschiedlich und werden ebenfalls durch unterschiedliche Mittel, d.h. Bezeichnungen und Strukturen realisiert, sie berufen sich jedoch zum Teil auf ähnliche Kompetenzen, die als Ressourcen während des Sprachunterrichts bewusst gemacht und in die Prozesse des Lernens mit einbezogen werden können.

Am Beispiel von ausgewählten Herkunftssprachen zielt der Workshop zum einen darauf ab, einen Einblick in diese Kompetenzen zu werfen und zum anderen darzustellen, wie sie didaktisch im Kontext des Sprachenunterrichts umzusetzen sind.

Entwicklungssensitives sprachliches Lehrerhandeln zur Förderung der Bildungssprache

Sarah Rose & Katrin Kleinschmidt-Schinke
Universität zu Köln

In diesem Workshop stehen die Möglichkeiten im Fokus, mit denen Lehrer/innen mit ihrem eigenen sprachlichen Handeln die Bildungssprache der Schüler/innen fördern können. Basierend auf aktuellen empirischen Erkenntnissen soll zum einen die Input-Seite der Lehrersprache betrachtet werden. Es soll gefragt werden, wie erfahrene Lehrpersonen über die Jahrgangsstufen immer mehr Elemente der Bildungssprache in ihre eigene Sprache aufnehmen, inwiefern sie sich also sprachlich entwicklungssensitiv verhalten. Zum anderen soll auch die interaktionale Seite des sprachlichen Lehrerhandelns in den Blick geraten. Hier soll analysiert werden, wie Lehrpersonen interaktional die Äußerungen von Schüler/innen bearbeiten und sie so durch Feedback immer mehr zur Bildungssprache hinführen können.

Der schulische Herkunftssprachenunterricht

Yasemin Can-Nizamoglu
Universität Bremen

Der schulische Herkunftssprachenunterricht (HSU) bzw. Muttersprachlicher Ergänzungsunterricht wird in den Bundesländern unterschiedlich entweder als Konsulatsmodell und/oder als staatliches Angebot zur Verfügung gestellt. Institutionell gesehen ist jedoch der HSU eine Marginalie. Der Workshop beschäftigt sich mit den Chancen und Potentialen des HSU sowie mit den aktuellen Entwicklungen des HSU am Beispiel des Türkischunterrichts. Hierbei soll der HSU aus einer wissenschaftlichen und didaktisch-methodischen Perspektive fokussiert werden. Zudem sollen mögliche Transferprobleme erörtert und Überlegungen zu einer Herkunftssprachendidaktik präsentiert werden. Welche Auswirkungen hat ein Ausbleiben der Herkunftssprachenförderung auf die erstsprachlichen Kompetenzen? Wie kann man mit “Fehlern” umgehen?

Elevator-Pitch-Workshop – oder: Wie erkläre ich mein Fach?

Isabell Harder
Universität Bremen

„Und was machen Sie so beruflich?“ – das ist eine Frage, die uns im Alltag relativ häufig gestellt wird. Als Lehrkraft können Sie meist eine schnelle Antwort geben, die auch die meisten Leute verstehen: „Ich bin Lehrerin“ oder „Ich bin Lehrer“. Auch die Frage, was Sie unterrichten, können Sie wahrscheinlich unproblematisch beantworten. Schwieriger wird es da schon, wenn Sie gefragt werden: „Und wofür braucht man das eigentlich?“ In diesem Workshop üben wir gemeinsam, ihr Fach und seine Sinnhaftigkeit als Schulstoff prägnant zu erklären – sei es einem Elternteil oder einem Kollegen, der ein anderes Fach unterrichtet. Ziel ist es, Ihren persönlichen Elevator-Pitch zu entwickeln. Das ist ein Mini-Vortrag von der Dauer einer längeren Aufzugfahrt, der ursprünglich fürs Marketing und in der Personalentwicklung entwickelt wurde.

Informationsveranstaltung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft

(DFG)

Informationsveranstaltung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

Helga Weyerts-Schweda

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019, 12:45–13:45 GW2 B 3770

Informationsveranstaltung zu den Förderungsmöglichkeiten der DFG:
Im Vordergrund stehen Fragen wie folgende:

- Welche Fördermöglichkeiten gibt es bei der DFG für Forschungsvorhaben in der Linguistik?
- Worauf ist bei der Antragstellung zu achten?
- Wie verläuft die Begutachtung und wie hoch sind die Chancen für eine Bewilligung?

Nach einer Skizzierung der wichtigsten Förderprogramme und deren Besonderheiten sollen diese und ähnliche Fragen in der Info-Veranstaltung beantwortet werden. Einzeltermine zu speziellen Fragen können im Anschluss ebenfalls vereinbart werden.

Personenverzeichnis

Personenverzeichnis

Gesamtübersicht
der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

Mittwoch, 06.03.2019

	AG 1	AG2	AG3	AG4	AG5	AG6/ AG7	AG8/ AG9	AG10	AG11	AG12	AG13/ AG14	AG15/ AG16
Raum	B 3009	B3850	SFG0150	SFG1010	SFG1040	SFG1020	SFG1030	B1400	SFG0140	B2890	B28280	B2900
13:45-14:15	Müller-Spitzer; Lobin	Handschuh	Hartmann, Mucha, Trawiński, Wöllstein **Intro**	Mursell, Repp	Jasinskaja	Kleber, Jannedy, Weirich **Intro**	Struckmeier	Scharinger, Boll-Avetisyan **Intro**	Ćwiek, Ebert, Fuchs **Intro**	Bombi, Šimik **Intro**	Meibauer	Rett
14:15-14:45	Becker		Landau	Cruschina		Stahnke	Bader	Kiparsky	Perniss	Jenks	Gaszczyk	
14:45-15:15	Günther	El Idrissi			Zielecke	Hahn	Georgieva, Salzmann, Weisser				Lennertz, Gray	Hole
15:15-15:45	Ott	Helmbrecht	Barbosa	Cotfas	Coltz	Klingler	Levin, Lyskawa, Ranero	Gilbers, Hoeksema, de Boot, Lowie	Kentner	Yifrach, Copock	Cohen	Ruda
15:45-16:30	Kaffeepause											
16:30-17:00	Kürschner	Caro Reina	Paz	Becker, Schneider-Blum	Frey	Silva, Rothe-Neves	Grohmann, Kambanaros, Leivada, Pavlou	Arjava	Agranovsky	Simonenko, Carlier	Antomo, Chen, Müller, Paluch, Paul, Thalmann	Cheung
17:00-17:30	Toonen	Jeffay, Rothstein	Sheehan	Navarrete Gonzáles	Butschety	Wedel	Abels	Kirby, Lin	Gahman	Skrzypek, Piotrowska	Semeijn	Czuba
17:30-18:00	Koster, Urbanek, Kötterheinrich, Bölte	Wälchli	Brandt, Bossuyt	Hartmann, Legeland, Pfau	Penka			Girardi, Plag	Konoshenko	Dvorak	Rouillé	Trotzke, Villalba

Donnerstag, 07.03.2019

	AG 1	**AG2**	**AG3**	**AG4**	**AG5**	**AG6/ AG7**	**AG8/ AG9**	**AG10**	**AG11**	**AG12**	**AG13/ AG14**	**AG15/ AG16**
Raum	B 3009	B3850	SFG0150	SFG1010	SFG1040	SFG1020	SFG1030	B1400	SFG0140	B2890	B28280	B2900
9:00-9:30	Birkenes, Fleischer	Okubo	Fischer, Flaate Høyem	Kügler	König	Duran	Kremers	Sammler	Margiotoudi, Allritz, Bohn, Pulvermüller	Borik, Serés	Schaden, Winterstein	Donahoo
9:30-10:00	Ulbrich, Werth	Salaberri, Salaberri, Zubiri	Gerard		Karagjosova	Gessinger, Möbius, Raveh, Steiner	Amaechi, Georgi		Dahlgren, Kittilä	Husić, Renans	Finkbeiner	Elliott
10:00-10:30	Kopf	Bébiné	Herbeck	Del Mar Vanrell, Feldhausen		**Final discussion**	Leonetti	Gilbers	Moreno Cabrera	Geist	Eckardt	
10:30-11:15	Kaffeepause											
11:15-11:45	Busley, Fritzinger	Ursini, Long	Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou	Baumann, Mertens	Rieser	Coniglio, De Bastiani, Catasso **Intro** Walkden	Schulz, Stolberg	Snijders	Johansson	Modarresi, Krifka	Müller	Blümel, Holler **Intro**
11:45-12:15	Leser-Cronau	D'hulst, Schöneich, Meisenburg	Lee, Berger	Torres-Tamarit, del Mar Vanrell	Ershova, Francez		Miccoli	Hahn, Snijders, Benders, Fikkert	Schultze-Berndt	v. Heusinger, Sageghpoor		Van Eynde
12:15-12:45	Nickel	Haspelmath, Michaelis	Popp	Röhr, Grice, Baumann, Schumacher	Zhu	Hinterhölzl, van Kemenade	Herling	Andreetta, Lakretz, Treves	Ackermann, Zimmer	Zhao	Pappert, Baumann	Iordăchioaia
12:45-13:45	Mittagspause											
13:45-14:15	Klein	Schmuck	Burukina	Wallner	Liu	Skopeteas	Rieger	Blaylock	Ćwiek, Draxler, Fuchs, Winter, Perlmann	Coppock	Primus, Kretzschmar	Salzmann
14:15-14:45	Schmidt-J., Späth	Cui, Hu	Giurgea, Cotfas	Harthan		Tiemann	Vaxelaire	Moreno, Kabak	Shamina		Freywald	Bruening

Freitag, 08.03.2019

	AG 1	AG2	AG3	AG4	AG5	AG6/ AG7	AG8/ AG9	AG10	AG11	AG12	AG13/ AG14	AG15/ AG16
Raum	B 3009		SFG0150	SFG1010	SFG1040	SFG1020	SFG1030	B1400	SFG0140	B2890	B28280	B2900
11:30-12:00	Claus, Willy		Matsuda	Schaefer	Baranzini, Mari	Voigtmann	Crom	Pfeifer, Hamann	Becker	v. Heusinger, Brocher	Proost, Zeschel, Laptieva, Winkler	Rauth, Speyer
12:00-12:30	Hübner		Szécsényi	Hartmann		Gergel, Watkins	De Bloom	Popova	Hermann, Pendzich, Steinbach	Weeber	Höllein	Machicao y Priemer, Müller
12:30-13:00	Rosar		Rapp, Laptieva	Bauke	Barouni	Poletto, Rossi	Ebert, Mühlan-Meyer	Canseza Kaplan, Wagner Başkent	Kimmelman, Klezovich, Moroz	Modarresi, Fortmann, Krifka	Smirnova, Mortelmans	Driemel
13:00-13:30	Trutkowski		Stiebels	Bross	Faller	Cognola	Siegfried	Rathcke, Falk Dalla Bella	Tkachman, Hudson Kam	Hinterwimmer, Patil	Felfe	Giusti
13:30-14:00	**Final discussion**			Tran		Meklenborg Slavesen	Löff Machado, Prediger, Tavares de Barros	Fenk-Oczlon	Wilbur	Fortmann, Frey	Boas	