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der Deutschen Gesellschaft
für Sprachwissenschaft**

Referenz und Relation

**07.–09. März 2018
Universität Stuttgart**

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www.katjaschloz.de

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[Stand bei Redaktionsschluss]

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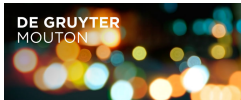


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www.linguistik.de

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Teil I.

Informationen



Informationen zur Tagung

Benutzen Sie folgenden Hashtag in den sozialen Netzwerken: **#dgfs18**

Veranstalter

Universität Stuttgart, Institut für Linguistik/Germanistik (ILG)
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)

Wissenschaftliche Leitung & Lokale Organisation

Prof. Dr. Daniel Hole, Institut für Linguistik/Germanistik
Eva-Maria Uebel, Institut für Linguistik/Germanistik

Homepage

www.dgfs2018.uni-stuttgart.de

Tagungsort

Universität Stuttgart
Campus Stadtmitte
Keplerstraße 17 (K2) + 11 (K1)
70174 Stuttgart

Tagungsbüro: Anmeldung und Information

Die Anmeldung erfolgt ab Mittwoch, 07.03.2018 im Tagungsbüro neben dem Tiefenhörsaal 17.01 in der Keplerstraße 17 (K2).

Dort erhalten Sie Ihre Teilnahmeunterlagen und alle wichtigen Informationen zur Tagung. Als zentrale Anlaufstelle ist das Tagungsbüro vom 07.03.–09.03.2018 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, 07. 03. 2018, 8:00–18:00 Uhr

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018, 8:00–18:00 Uhr

Freitag, 09.03. 2018, 08:00–14:15 Uhr

Telefon

Bei dringenden Fragen können Sie das Tagungsbüro während der oben genannten Zeiten unter folgender Telefonnummer erreichen:

(+49) 0711 685-83135

Internetnutzung – W-LAN

Für alle Hochschulangehörige besteht grundsätzlich der Internetzugang über Eduroam (www.eduroam.org). Sollten Sie keinen Zugriff auf Eduroam haben, wenden Sie sich an das Tagungsbüro, um ein Passwort für das Konferenz-WLAN zu bekommen.

Kopieren und drucken

Der Copy-Shop Wiesinger liegt ca. 7 Gehminuten vom K1 und K2 entfernt. Dort können Sie kurzfristig drucken oder kopieren:

WiesingerMedia GmbH

Lautenschlagerstr. 20 • 70173 Stuttgart

0711 – 29 64 33 // www.copyshop-stuttgart.de

lautenschlager@wiesingermedia.de

Gepäck

Während der Tagung besteht die Möglichkeit, Gepäck zu deponieren. Wenden Sie sich hierzu bitte an das Tagungsbüro.

Barrierefreiheit

Die Räumlichkeiten der Konferenz in den Gebäuden K1 und K2 sowie die Mensa sind barrierefrei zugänglich.



Anmeldung

Die Online-Anmeldung zur DGfS 2018 erreichen Sie über die Internetseite der DGfS 2018 (www.dgfs2018.uni-stuttgart.de) unter dem Menüpunkt „Anmeldung“. Vor Ort kann die Teilnahmegebühr außerdem noch in Barzahlung entrichtet werden. Dort erhalten Sie weiterhin Ihre Teilnahmeunterlagen und alle wichtigen Informationen zur Tagung.

Tagungsgebühren

Der Frühbucherrabatt ist bei Registrierung bis zum 15.01.2018 gültig. Bei Registrierung nach dem 15.01.2018 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 auch DGfS-Homepage](#).

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

Geldautomat

S-Mitte Katharinenhospital
Kriegsbergstr. 60 • 70174 Stuttgart
(= hinter Keplerstraße 17 (K2))

S-Mitte Friedrichsbau
Friedrichstr. 24 • 70174 Stuttgart
(= Richtung Fußgängerzone)



Informationen zur Tagung

Bankverbindung

Institut: BW-Bank Stuttgart

Kontoinhaber: Universität Stuttgart

Kontonummer: 7871 5216 56

Bankleitzahl: 600 501 01

IBAN: DE15 6005 0101 7871 5216 56

BIC: SOLADEST600

Referenz: Vorname Nachname DGfS 2018

Fachausstellung

Besuchen Sie auch die Fachausstellung der Verlage im untersten Foyer der Keplerstr. 17 (K2).



Rahmenprogramm

Warming-Up

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018 ab 19 Uhr

Café Félix
Robert-Bosch-Platz 1
70174 Stuttgart
www.felix-stuttgart.de

Das Café Félix liegt im Bosch-Areal, hinter dem Cinemaxx. Die Teilnehmerzahl ist auf 200 begrenzt.

Empfang im Rathaus

Mittwoch, 07. 03. 2018 um 18.30 Uhr

Bürgermeisterin Isabel Fezer lädt die Tagungsteilnehmer zu einem Empfang im Foyer des 4. OGs des Stuttgarter Rathauses. Die Anzahl der Plätze ist auf ca. 200 begrenzt.

Das Rathaus befindet sich am Stuttgarter Marktplatz, nur 5 Gehminuten von der U-Bahnstation ‚Rathaus‘, ca. 10 Gehminuten von der S-Bahnstation ‚Rotebühlplatz/Stadtmitte (das Gerber)‘.

Geselliger Abend

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018 ab 19.30 Uhr

Mensa Stadtmitte
Holzgartenstraße 1
70174 Stuttgart

Die Teilnehmerzahl ist auf 300 begrenzt.

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



Anreise

Mit der Bahn

In Kooperation mit der Deutschen Bahn bietet das Convention Bureau der Stadt Stuttgart Bahn-Kontingente für Tagungsreisende. Bei frühzeitiger Buchung können Sie dort eine kostengünstige An- und Abreise mit der Bahn erhalten.

(<https://congress.stuttgart-tourist.de/anreise-mit-der-bahn>)

Mit dem Flugzeug

Stuttgart hat einen internationalen Flughafen (STR). Dieser wird von zahlreichen inner- und außereuropäischen Städten angeflogen. Er liegt etwas außerhalb der Stadt (in Leinfelden-Echterdingen).

Vom Flughafen gelangen Sie mit den S-Bahn-Linien **S2 (Richtung Schorndorf)** oder **S3 (Richtung Backnang)** in ca. 20-24 Minuten in die Innenstadt.

Mit dem Auto

Stuttgart ist direkt an der Autobahn A 8/A 81 gelegen. Am Stuttgarter Kreuz verbinden sich die Autobahnen A 8 (Saarland – Salzburg) und A 81 (Würzburg – Singen), sowie eine ganz kurze Teilstrecke mit der Bezeichnung A 831.

Adresse

Campus Stadtmitte
Keplerstraße 17 und 11
70174 Stuttgart



Mit dem ÖPNV zum Campus Stadtmitte

Die nächste S-Bahnstation ist **Hauptbahnhof (Arnulf-Klett-Platz)**.

- 7 Gehminuten vom Campus entfernt

Die nächste U-Bahn-Station ist **Börsenplatz (L-Bank)**.

- 5 Gehminuten vom Campus entfernt

Die nächste Busstation ist **Katharinenhospital**.

- 3 Gehminuten vom Campus entfernt

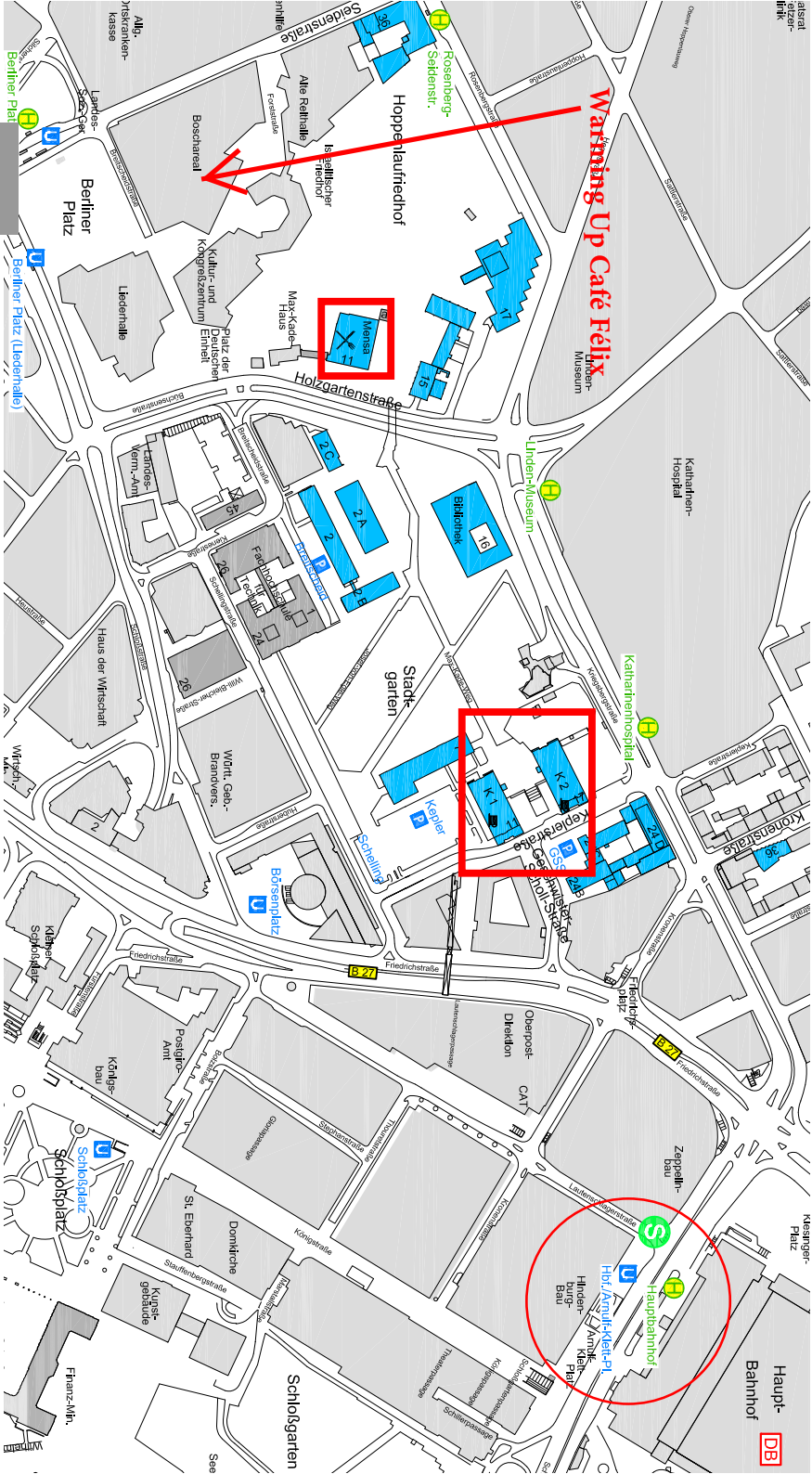
Vom Flughafen

Vom UG des Flughafens fahren Sie mit der S-Bahn-Linie **S2 (Richtung Schorndorf)** oder **S3 (Richtung Backnang)** in ca. 25 Minuten bis Haltestelle "Hauptbahnhof".

Wegen den Bauarbeiten zu Stuttgart 21 kann es zu Fahrplanabweichungen kommen, die zum Redaktionsschluss noch unbekannt waren. Bitte informieren Sie sich daher auf den Seiten des Stuttgarter Verkehrsverbundes: www.vvs.de

Parken

Ist fast ausschließlich mit Parkschein möglich und dadurch kostspielig. Falls sie mit dem Auto anreisen und nicht bei Ihrem Hotel parken können, empfiehlt es sich, das Auto in einem Parkhaus abzustellen. Freie Parkhäuser und Infos zur aktuellen Verkehrslage finden Sie auf dieser Sonderseite der Stadt Stuttgart: www.stuttgart.de/parken





Raumübersicht

Die DGfS 2018 findet auf dem Campus Stadtmitte der Universität Stuttgart statt. Alle Veranstaltungen finden in einem der beiden Türme—K1 oder K2—statt.

Systematik der Raumbezeichnungen

- Zahl vor dem Punkt steht für das Gebäude:
11 = K1 (Keplerstraße 11)
17 = K2 (Keplerstraße 17)
- Erste Zahl nach dem Punkt steht für das Stockwerk, zweite Zahl nach dem Punkt steht für den Raum:
17.28 = Keplerstraße 17 (K2), 2. Stock, Raum 8
17.01 = Keplerstraße 17, (K2), 2.UG, Tiefenhörsaal
Ausnahmen: 17.98 und 17.99 sind im 10. Stock

Raumverteilung

Allgemeines

Anmeldung	K2, 2. UG
Tagungsbüro	K2, 2. UG
Gepäckaufbewahrung	K2, 2. UG



Di., 06.03.2017

Lehramtsinitiative	s. Seite 359
ALP Tagung	11.82
Initiative Linguistik & Wikimedia	17.74
Doktorandenforum	11.32
CL-Tutorium	11.42

Mi., 07.03.2018 – Fr., 09.03.2018

Kaffeepausen		K2 Foyer 1. & 2. UG
Verlagsausstellung		K2 Foyer 2. UG
DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung	(08.03., 15:00-18:00)	17.02
Postersession CL		K2 Foyer 1.UG
Postervorstellung		K2 Foyer EG
CL-Mitgliederversammlung	(07.03.18, 12:30-13:45)	17.99
Preisverleihung		17.01
Plenarvorträge	Artemis Alexiadou <i>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin</i> Anette Frank <i>Universität Heidelberg</i> Julie Anne Legate <i>University of Pennsylvania</i> Roberto Zamparelli <i>Università degli Studi di Trento</i>	17.01
Arbeitsgruppe 1	Variation and phonetic detail in spoken morphology	11.32
Arbeitsgruppe 2	The relation between prosodic and referential structure	11.42
Arbeitsgruppe 3	Evaluative meanings: theoretical and computational perspectives	11.62



Arbeitsgruppe 4	One-to-many relations in morphology, syntax, and semantics	11.71
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Arbeitsgruppe 6	Referential and relational approaches to syntactic asymmetries	11.91
Arbeitsgruppe 7	Why indeed? Questions at the interface of theoretical and computational linguistics	17.71
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Arbeitsgruppe 9	Lost in change: causes and processes in the loss of grammatical constructions and categories	17.73
Arbeitsgruppe 10	Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe in narrativen Strukturen	17.51
Arbeitsgruppe 11	Specificity, definiteness and article systems across languages	17.52
Arbeitsgruppe 12	Relating elliptical utterances to information in context	17.81
Arbeitsgruppe 13	Referenz in der ontogenetischen Schreibentwicklung	17.98
Arbeitsgruppe 14	Variable perception and production correlates for word stress in first language acquisition and child second language learning	17.98



Raumübersicht

Arbeitsgruppe 15	Reference determination: literal and non-literal uses of referring expressions	17.92
Arbeitsgruppe 16	Applications of probability theory in linguistics	17.92



Essen & Trinken auf dem Campus

Kaffeepausen

Die Kaffeepausen werden in den Foyers des 1. und 2. UG im K2 ausgerichtet.

Mensa Stadtmitte

Holzgartenstraße 1 • 70174 Stuttgart

Die Mensa liegt ca. 5 Gehminuten von den Türmen K1 und K2 entfernt.

In der Nähe des Campus Stadtmitte befinden sich viele kleine Gastronomiebetriebe. In weniger als 15 Gehminuten erreichen Sie für die Mittagspause z.B.:

Mezzogiorno

Italiener unmittelbar auf dem Campus

0711/29 50 89 // www.mezzo-giorno.de/bar-ristorante-cafe/

Valle

Italiener unmittelbar neben dem Campus

0711/220 27 27 // www.ristorante-valle.de

San's

Suppen und Sandwiches

Kleiner Schloßplatz 13 • 70173 Stuttgart

www.sans-stuttgart.de

Tobi's

schwäbisch-bürgerlicher Imbiss

Bolz-Str. 7 • 70173 Stuttgart (Eingang Theodor-Heuss-Straße)

www.tobis-food.de/standorte/stuttgart/

Food-Lounge Königsbau Passagen

verschiedene Gastronomiebetriebe unter einem Dach

Königsstraße 26 • 70173 Stuttgart

www.koenigsbau-passagen.de/gastronomie/food-lounge/



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Bolzstraße 10 • 70173 Stuttgart

www.flo-burger.de

Café Félix

Robert-Bosch-Platz 1 • 70174 Stuttgart

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www.felix-stuttgart.de

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- Lidl Supermarkt
Breitscheidtstraße 12 • 70174 Stuttgart
- Rewe Supermarkt
Breitscheidstraße 10 • 70174 Stuttgart



Gastronomie in Stuttgart

Sterne-Küche

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Zirbelstube Schillerstrasse 23, 70173 Stuttgart 0711/202 60 www.hotelschlossgarten.com/zirbelstube	Mitte	59–149 €
Speisemeisterei Schloss Hohenheim, 70599 Stuttgart 0711/34 21 79 79 www.speisemeisterei.de	Hohenheim	111–155 €

Deutsche und schwäbische Küche

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Weinstube Fröhlich Leonhardstrasse 5 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/24 24 71 www.weinstube-fruehlich.de	Mitte	12–28 €
Weinstube Zur Kiste Kanalstraße 2 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/24 40 02 www.zur-kiste.de	Mitte	13–26 €
Weinstube Schellenturm Weberstraße 72 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/236 48 88 www.weinstube-schellenturm.de	Mitte	14–30 €



Gastronomie in Stuttgart

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Weinstube Feuerbach Mühlstr. 24 • 70469 Stuttgart 0711/882 26 22 www.lamm-feuerbach.de	Feuerbach	10–38 €
Weinstube am Stadtgraben Am Stadtgraben 6 • 70372 Stuttgart 0711/56 70 06 www.weinstube-stadtgraben.de	Bad Cannstatt	13–24 €
Römerhof Robert-Leicht-Straße 93 • 70563 Stuttgart 0711/68 78 80 www.roemerhof-kulinarium.de/roemerhof	Vaihingen	10–23 €

Weitere

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Amadeus Charlottenplatz 17 • 70173 Stuttgart 0711/29 26 78 http://amadeus-stuttgart.de/	Mitte	12–30€
Der Zauberlehrling Rosenstrasse 38 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/237 77 70 www.zauberlehrling.de	Mitte	26–38€
Heuss am Killesberg Am Höhenpark 2 • 70192 Stuttgart 0711/25 37 72 20 www.heuss-am-killesberg.de	Nord	9–36€
Goldener Adler Böheimstraße 38 • 770178 Stuttgart 0711/633 88 02 www.goldener-adler-stuttgart.de	Mitte	14–30€



Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Augustenstüble Augustenstraße 104 • 70197 Stuttgart 0711/62 12 48 www.augustenstueble.de	West	17–27€

Mediterran

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Mozzarella Bar <i>ital. Tapasbar</i> Paulinenstraße 16 • 70182 Stuttgart 0170/485 45 96	Mitte	5–9€
L.A. Signorina Am Marienplatz • 70178 Stuttgart 0711/62 07 89 90	Süd	7–12€
Il Pomodoro Am Wilhelmsplatz 4 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/86 02 57 77 www.il-pomodoro-stuttgart.de	Mitte	5–16€
Il Pomodoro Silberburgstraße 72 • 70176 Stuttgart 0711/44 68 90 www.il-pomodoro-west.de	West	5–16€
Il Pomodoro Filderstraße 25 • 70180 Stuttgart 0711/51 87 66 50 www.ilpomodoro-filderstrase25.de	Süd	5–16€
José y Josefina Gutenbergstraße 87 • 70197 Stuttgart 0711/67 41 66 36 www.joseyjoefina.de	West	7–30€



Gastronomie in Stuttgart

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Taverna Reinsburgstraße 102 • 70197 Stuttgart 0711/50 48 18 88 www.taverna-stuttgart.de	West	7–23€
Ilysia am Wallgraben Möhringer Landstraße 100 • Vaihingen 0711/780 17 56 www.ilysia-am-wallgraben.de	Vaihingen	13–29€

Asiatisch

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
DO's <i>vietnamesisch und thai</i> Tübinger Str. 15 • 70178 Stuttgart 0711/65 83 68 93 www.dos-stuttgart.de	Mitte	6–12€
Sushi Beatfish Hiro Rotenwaldstr. 43 • 70197 Stuttgart 0711/95 89 95 59 www.hiro-sushi.de	West	5–40€
Noir Cuisine <i>vietnamesisch</i> Tübinger Straße 92 • 70178 Stuttgart 0711/50 48 18 88 www.noir-cuisine.de	Süd	11–18€
Prince of India Urban Str. 38 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/24 51 08 www.indianrestaurantgermany.de	Mitte	7–23€



Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Eat Drink Man Woman <i>koreanisch</i> Schloßstr. 77 • 70176 Stuttgart 0711/93 30 30 09 www.eatdrinkmanwoman.de	West	14–26€

Mit guter Auswahl an fleischlosen Gerichten

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Vegi Stuttgart <i>Imbiss: vegan u. vegetarisch</i> Steinstraße 13 • 70173 Stuttgart	Mitte	4–7€
Hans im Glück <i>klassische, vegetarische und vegane Burger</i> Heusteigstraße 114 • 70180 Stuttgart 0711/87 03 86 17 hansimglueck-burgergrill.de	Süd	5–10€
Hans im Glück <i>klassische, vegetarische und vegane Burger</i> Lissabonner Straße 2 • 70173 Stuttgart 0711/6749 53 00 hansimglueck-burgergrill.de	Nord	5–10€
Super Jami <i>vegan Deli</i> Di/Mi nur bis 16:30; Do/Fr bis 21:00 Uhr Bopserstr. 10 • 70180 Stuttgart 0711/32 09 97 49 www.super-jami.de	Mitte	7–11€
Reiskorn Torstr. 27 • 70173 Stuttgart 0711/664 76 33 www.das-reiskorn.de	Mitte	14–20€



Gastronomie in Stuttgart

Name & Adresse	Lage	Preis
Aspendos <i>Türkisch</i> Neckarstraße 98 • 70190 Stuttgart 0711/285 95 03 www.restaurant-aspendos.de	Ost	14–20€
Injeera <i>afrikanisch</i> Wagnerstraße 30 • 70182 Stuttgart 0711/46 91 35 85 www.sites.google.com/site/tesinjeera	Mitte	13–45€
Weltcafé Charlottenstraße 17 • 70173 Stuttgart 0711/31 51 63 48 www.welthaus-stuttgart.de/ueber-uns/weltcafe/	Mitte	8–15€

Cafés

Name & Adresse	Lage
Mókuska Caffè Johannesstraße 34 • 70176 Stuttgart	West
Hüftengold Olgastraße 44 • 70182 Stuttgart	Mitte
Café Königsbau Königsstraße 28 (Königsbau Passage • 70173 Stuttgart	Mitte
Café Le Théâtre Bolzstr. 6 • 70173 Stuttgart	Mitte
Café Kaiserbau Am Marienplatz • 70178 Stuttgart	Süd



Bars & Kneipen

(+ = mit Essen, r = für Raucher, nr = für Nichtraucher, r/nr = getrennte Räume)

Name & Adresse	Lage	r/nr
Café Liebreich Rotebühlstraße 151 • 70197 Stuttgart liebreich-stuttgart.de	West	[nr]+
Bar Augustenstraße 81 • 70178 Stuttgart	West	[r]
Mos Eisley Fritz-Elsas-Straße 20 • 70174 Stuttgart 0711/50 48 18 88 www.mos-eisley-stuttgart.de	Mitte	[r/nr]+
Schlesinger Schlossstraße 28 • 70174 Stuttgart www.schlesinger-int.de	Mitte	[r/nr]+
Platzhirsch Geißstraße 12 • 70173 Stuttgart	Mitte	[r/nr]+
Kap Tormentoso <i>auch vegane Gerichte</i> Hirschstraße 27 • 70173 Stuttgart www.kap-tormentoso.de	West	[r/nr]+
fais dodo Rotebühlplatz 33 • 70178 Stuttgart http://www.fais-dodo.de	Mitte	[r/nr]+
Immer Beer Herzen Hauptstätterstr. 45 • 70173 Stuttgart immer-beer-herzen.de	Mitte	[r]
Schwarz Weiß Bar <i>erlesene Longdrinks</i> Wilhelmstraße 8A • 70182 Stuttgart www.schwarz-weiss-bar.de/stuttgart/	Mitte	[r]
Botanical Affairs <i>Gin-Bar</i> Weberstraße 10 • 70182 Stuttgart	West	[nr]



Gastronomie in Stuttgart

Name & Adresse	Lage	r/nr
Kiste <i>Jazz</i> Hauptstätter Str. 35 • 70173 Stuttgart www.kiste-stuttgart.de	Mitte	[r]
Café Weiß Geißstraße 16 • 70173 Stuttgart	Mitte	[r]

Für mehr Inspiration liegt im Tagungsbüro der Stadtführer *Stuttgart geht aus* vom Stadtmagazin *Lift* für Sie bereit. (Auch online: www.lift-online.de)

Sehenswertes in und um Stuttgart

Fernsehturm

712 Fuß über Stuttgart, mit Restaurant
Jahnstraße 120 • 70597 Stuttgart
0711/23 25 97 // www.fernsehturm-stuttgart.de

Mercedes-Benz-Museum

Mercedesstr. 100 • 70372 Stuttgart
0711/17 30 000 // www.automuseum-stuttgart.de

Bad Cannstatt

Wilhelma

Zoo & Botanischer Garten
Wilhelma 13 • 70376 Stuttgart
0711/54020 // www.wilhelma.de

Bad Cannstatt

Weissenhofsiedlung am Killesberg

Architektur der Moderne
1927 vom Deutschen Werkbund unter Leitung
von Mies van der Rohe errichtete Wohnsiedlung.
Weissenhofmuseum ist im Haus Le Corbusier.
Rathenaustraße 1-3 • 70191 Stuttgart
0711/257 91 87 // www.stuttgart.de/weissenhof/

Nord



Porsche-Museum

Zuffenhausen

Porscheplatz 1 • 70435 Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen
0711/91 12 09 11 // www.porsche.com

Esslingen am Neckar

Große Kreisstadt, ca. 10 km südöstlich von Stuttgart.
Altstadt mit den ältesten Fachwerkhäusern Deutschlands.
www.esslingen.de

Barockschloss Ludwigsburg

Schlossstraße 30 • 71634 Ludwigsburg
07141/18 64 00 // www.schloss-ludwigsburg.de

Mineralbäder

- Das Leuze

Bad Cannstatt

Am Leuzebad 2 • 70190 Stuttgart
0711/216 99701 // www.stuttgart.de/baeder/leuze/allgemein

- MineralBad Cannstatt

Bad Cannstatt

Sulzerrainstraße 2 • 70372 Stuttgart
0711/216 66270 // www.stuttgart.de/baeder/mineralbadcannstatt

- Schwaben Quellen

Möhringen

Plieninger Straße 100 • 70567 Stuttgart
0711/60 60 60 // www.schwabenquellen.de

Teil II.

Programmübersicht und AG-Programme

Programmübersicht

Mittwoch, 07. 03. 2018

8:00–9:00	Registrierung	Tagungsbüro
9:00–9:30	Begrüßung	17.01
9:30–10:30	Plenarvortrag 1: Artemis Alexiadou	17.01
10:30–11:00	Wilhelm von Humboldt-Preis	17.01
11:00–11:30	Kaffeepause	K2 Foyer
11:30–12:30	Plenarvortrag 2: Roberto Zamparelli	17.01
12:30–13:45	Mittagspause / Mitgliederversammlung der Sektion Computerlinguistik	17.99
13:45–15:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause / Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 1)	K2 Foyer
16:30–18:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2
18:30	Empfang im Rathaus	Rathaus

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

9:00–10:30	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause / Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 2)	K2 Foyer
11:15–12:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2
12:45–13:45	Kaffeepause / Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 3)	K2 Foyer
13:45–14:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2

Programmübersicht

15:00–18:30	Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS	17.02
ab 19:30	Geselliger Abend	Mensa Stadtmitte

Programm

Freitag, 09.03. 2018

9:00–10:00	Plenarvortrag 3: Anette Frank	17.01
10:00–10:15	Verleihung des Open Access/Open Science-Preises der DGfS	17.01
10:15–11:15	Plenarvortrag 4: Julie Anne Legate	17.01
11:15–11:45	Kaffeepause	K2 Foyer
11:45–14:15	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	K1 & K2

AG 1

Variation and phonetic detail in spoken morphology

Sabine Arndt-Lappe, Gero Kunter, Ruben van de Vijver & Fabian Tomaschek

Raum: 11.32

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

13:45–14:15 Sabine Arndt-Lappe, Gero Kunter, Ruben van de Vijver & Fabian Tomaschek

Introduction

14:15–15:15 Sharon Peperkamp (invited talk)
Competition between whole-word and decomposed representations of complex words: evidence from prefixed words in English

15:15–15:45 Swetlana Schuster & Aditi Lahiri
Morphological decomposition: all at once or step by step?

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Melanie Bell, Sonia Ben Hedia & Ingo Plag
Morphological gemination and boundary strength: Evidence from English compounds

17:00–17:30 Anna-Marleen Pessara
Phonetic realization of the phonological word boundary in German un-derivatives

17:30–18:00 Ingo Plag, Ute Marie Engemann & Gero Kunter
The effect of morphological boundaries on stem vowel duration in English

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

9:00–9:30 Donald Alasdair Morrison
Vowel nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic: The search for paradigm uniformity effects in fine-grained phonetic detail

9:30–10:00 Benjamin Storme
A new case of paradigmatic contrast: Haitian Creole third person pronouns

10:00–10:30 Pia Bergmann
Phonetic reductions in conversation – With a focus on epistemic constructions in German

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Pepe Droste
Grammar and phonetic detail in spoken German: The case of haben

11:45–12:15 Lei Wang & Carlos Gussenhoven
Towards an explanation of incomplete neutralization: Inhibited realizations of Kaifeng Mandarin sandhi tones

12:15–12:45 Inga Hennecke
Morphosyntactic patterns of schwa deletion in syntagmatic compounds and nominal syntagmas in French

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Fabian Tomaschek, Ingo Plag, Mirjam Ernestus & Haarrald R. Baayen
How learning morpho-phonological relations affects phonetic encoding: Modeling the duration of morphemic and non-morphemic S

14:15–14:45 Sabine Arndt-Lappe & Javier Sanz Álvarez
Stress variability in English -ory derivatives: a nonce word study

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:45 Scott Seyfarth, Jozina Vander Klok & Marc Garellek
(invited talk)
Investigating the relation between morphophonology and phonetics in Javanese verb prefixes
- 12:45–13:15 Jessica Nieder & Ruben van de Vijver
Pluralization in the grammar of Native speakers: Phonotactics determines singular-plural mapping in Maltese
- 13:15–13:45 All participants
Final discussion

Programm

AG 2

The relation between prosodic and referential structure

Stefan Baumann, Klaus von Heusinger & Petra B. Schumacher

Raum: 11.42

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Stefan Baumann, Klaus von Heusinger & Petra Schumacher
Introduction: Prosody and referential structure
- 14:15–15:15 Jennifer E. Arnold (invited talk)
Is prosody an intentional signal of information structure?
- 15:15–15:45 Markus Greif & Stavros Skopeteas
Discourse status, lexical mention, and prosodic plasticity
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Burkhard Meyer-Sickendiek & Hussein Hussein
On prosody and semantics in readout-poetry

17:00–18:00 Arndt Riester, Kerstin Eckart, Ina Rösiger, Antje Schweitzer, Katrin Schweitzer & Sabrina Stehwen
Studying the prosodic properties of referring expressions in corpus resources: Obstacles and state of the art

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

9:00–10:00 Jennifer Cole (invited talk)
Intonational meaning and the representation of prenuclear melodies

10:00–10:30 Nicole Gotzner & Katharina Spalek
Speakers' expectations about upcoming discourse referents: Effects of pitch accents and focus particles

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Alessandra Zappoli, Francesco Vespignani, Stefan Baumann, Martine Grice & Petra Schumacher
The processing of German Pitch Accents by Italian learners of German

11:45–12:15 Gerard O'Grady
Given and New: the interaction of prosody, word order and semantics

12:15–12:45 Malte Belz
Filler form and dialogue structure

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Marcel Schlechtweg & Holden Härtl
Do we pronounce quotation marks? A comparison of referring and name-mentioning expressions

14:15–14:45 Gerrit Kentner & Michael Wagner
Prosodic rendering of conflicting information structures

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Carola De Beer, Clara Huttenlauch, Sandra Hanne & Isabell Wartenburger
Inter- and Intra-individual Variability in Prosodic Cue Production
- 12:15–12:45 Swantje Tönnis
Investigating the Distribution of Clefts in Written and Spoken German: The Role of Prosody
- 12:45–13:15 Andrea Pešková & Ingo Feldhausen
Intonation and discourse status of Spanish subject pronoun yo ('I')
- 13:15–13:45 Jacopo Torregrossa & Maria Andreou
Er and der: their interpretation and phonology in child language
- 13:45–14:15 Utz Maas & Nabila Louriz
Prosodic structures in spontaneous (interactive) vs. canonical (edited) utterances. Examples from Moroccan Arabic

Programm

AG 3

Evaluative meanings: theoretical and computational perspectives

Valentina Bianchi & Patrick Georg Grosz

Raum: 11.62

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Valentina Bianchi & Patrick Georg Grosz
Introduction – Remarks on the State of the Art
- 14:15–15:15 Andrea Beltrama (invited talk)
Subjective assertions and inquisitiveness: a hybrid speech act?

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 15:15–15:45 | Valentina Benigni and Mara Frascarelli
<i>Negate to mitigate. A corpus-based discourse-structural approach to evaluative speech acts</i> |
| 15:45–16:30 | Kaffeepause |
| 16:30–17:00 | Fabian Renz-Gabriel
<i>Ambiguous Evaluative Adjectives as a Major Source of Expressive Intensifiers in German</i> |
| 17:00–17:30 | Alon Fishman
<i>Presupposing expressive meaning: the case of Hebrew xatixat</i> |
| 17:30–18:00 | Elsi Kaiser, Catherine Wang & Gwenyth Portillo-Wightman
<i>Evaluative adjectives in different sensory domains: Comparing sight, smell and taste</i> |

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 9:00–9:30 | Peter Alrenga
<i>Unifying Epistemic and Concessive at least</i> |
| 9:30–10:00 | Yi-Hsun Chen
<i>The scalarity and quantificational domain of speaker concession</i> |
| 10:00–10:30 | Marion Jäger
<i>The role of scalar meaning and emphasis in leftward association of the German focus particle nur ('only')</i> |
| 10:30–11:15 | Kaffeepause |
| 11:15–11:45 | Patrick Muñoz
<i>Evaluativity as epistemic non-convergence</i> |
| 11:45–12:15 | Hanno Beck
<i>Studying the Footprint of Subjective Adjectives</i> |
| 12:15–12:45 | Dan Zeman
<i>A Rich-Lexicon Approach to Evaluative Predicates</i> |
| 12:45–13:45 | Mittagspause |

- 13:45–14:45 Farah Benamara (invited talk)
*Evaluative Language: When Linguistics Meets
Computational Linguistics*

Programm

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Alessandra Giorgi, Roland Hinterhölzl & Chiara DalFarra
Prosody in expressing surprise
- 12:15–12:45 Shinya Okano
*A non-epistemic-modal analysis of the ‘half modal’
scheinen in German*
- 12:45–13:15 Katherine Fraser (joint work with Daniel Hole)
*Scalar evaluativity and other secondary meaning types in
argument alternations*
- 13:15–13:45 Andrea Beltrama, Farah Benamara, Valentina Bianchi &
Patrick Grosz
Panel Discussion: Evaluative meanings – Future Perspectives

AG 4

**One-to-many relations in morphology, syntax,
and semantics**

Berthold Crysmann

Raum: 11.71

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:45 Andrew Spencer (invited talk)
One-to-many in periphrases and paradigms
- 14:45–15:15 Matthew Baerman
Sliding scales in inflection
- 15:15–15:45 Borja Herce
The morpheme-morphome continuum

15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Kathrin Byrdeck, Kurt Erbach & Hana Filip (based on joint work with Peter Sutton) <i>Object mass nouns in Japanese</i>
17:00–17:30	Shiao Wei Tham <i>Directional interpretations for the Mandarin locative ZAI ('be at')</i>
17:30–18:00	Ryan Dux <i>"One-to-one" or "one-to-many" correspondences in verb classes and argument realization patterns?</i>

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

9:00–10:00	Hedde Zeijlstra (invited talk) <i>One to many relations and the nature of syntactic dependencies</i>
10:00–10:30	Monica-Mihaela Rizea <i>A New Perspective on Romanian Weak NPIs</i>
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Alex Alsina & Eugenio M. Vigo <i>The morphology-syntax interface: agreement morphology in Plains Cree</i>
11:45–12:15	Imke Driemel & Jelena Stojković <i>One-to(o)-many Agreement Options in Serbo-Croatian</i>
12:15–12:45	Céline Pozniak, Barbara Hemforth & Anne Abeillé <i>French Object Relatives and subject inversion: what's your preference?</i>
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Jamie Y. Findlay <i>Conspiracy theories: the problem with lexical approaches to idioms</i>

- 14:15–14:45 Sascha Bargmann & Frank Richter (based on joint work with Berit Gehrke)
How to modify idioms

Programm

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Olivier Bonami & Gert Webelhuth
Periphrasis and morphosyntactic mismatch in Czech
- 12:15–12:45 Sahar Taghipour
Why sequencing rules?
- 12:45–13:15 Jovana Gajić
Configurations of negative coordination
- 13:15–13:45 Roland Pfau & Tamar Makharobidze
Negative modals in Georgian Sign Language: partial suppletion and concord
- 13:45–14:15 Manfred Sailer & Frank Richter
Negation marking in conjuncts: A many-to-one relation?

AG 5

Possessive relations: interpretation, syntax and argument structure

Ljudmila Geist, Daniel Jacob & Ilja Seržant
Raum: 11.82

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:45 Nora Boneh (invited talk)
Dative and Possession
- 14:45–15:15 Svitlana Antonyuk & Peter Hallman
On the Syntax of U-possessor phrases in Ukrainian and Russian
- 15:15–15:45 Grete Dalmi
How “external” is the possessor of BE-possessives?

15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause
16:30–17:00	Denis Creissels <i>Existential predication and transpossession constructions in typological and diachronic perspective</i>
17:00–17:30	Jan Křivan & Ivan Kartáč <i>Possession as a grammatical category or usage tendency? Evidence from Czech</i>
17:30–18:00	Liljana Mitkovska <i>Internal versus external possessives: The case of Macedonian</i>

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

9:00–9:30	Neil Myler <i>Attributive Possession and the Contributions of Roots</i>
9:30–10:00	Martin Elsig <i>Adnominal possession in Spanish: Regional variation and the adjectival/determinative status of the possessor</i>
10:00–10:30	Kerstin Hoge <i>On the Syntax of Yiddish Adnominal Possession</i>
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause
11:15–11:45	Lena Karvovskaya <i>Differential possessive marking: a meaning-based account</i>
11:45–12:15	Julia Kolkman <i>Thinking about: possessive interpretation</i>
12:15–12:45	Johan Rooryck <i>Against ‘inalienable’ possession</i>
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause
13:45–14:15	Luis Eguren <i>Evaluative pronominal possessives in Spanish</i>
14:15–14:45	Tamás Halm <i>From Possessive Suffix to Affective Demonstrative Suffix in Hungarian: A Grammaticalization Analysis</i>

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Bill Palmer
The grammatical behaviour of semantically non-canonical possessive relations in Oceanic
- 12:15–12:45 Fanny Muchembled
Diachrony of the possessive classifiers in Uto-Aztec languages: back-and-forth between attributive and predicative possession
- 12:45–13:15 Polina Pleshak
Morphosyntax of possessive constructions in Moksha and Hill Mari
- 13:15–13:45 Alicja Piotrowska
Case study in the genitive variation in Swedish -s-genitive vs. prepositional phrases
- 13:45–14:15 András Bárány, Oliver Bond, Greville G. Corbett & Irina Nikolaeva
Towards a typology of Prominent Internal Possessors

Programm

AG 6

Referential and relational approaches to syntactic asymmetries

Doreen Georgi, Fabian Heck, Johannes Hein, Andrew Murphy & Gereon Müller

Raum: 11.91

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Doreen Georgi, Fabian Heck, Johannes Hein, Andrew Murphy & Gereon Müller
Introduction: Referential and relational asymmetries
- 14:15–15:15 Norbert Hornstein (invited talk)
Questions regarding a minimalist theory of islands

- 15:15–15:45 Carlo Cecchetto & Caterina Donati
Extraction asymmetries: Why the DP and vP domains are different
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Hyunjung Lee
Asymmetry on Extraction and Extraposition
- 17:00–17:30 Andreas Schmidt
Extraction asymmetries in and between OV and VO languages
- 17:30–18:00 Mike Berger
Complements to ber-verbs are pseudo-incorporated: Deriving a further subject/non-subject asymmetry in Indonesian

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- 9:00–10:00 Michelle Sheehan, Jamie Douglas & Rodrigo Ranero
(invited talk)
How A-movement can lead to extraction restrictions
- 10:00–10:30 Guido Mensching, Stefan Müller, Franziska Werner & Elodie Winckel
Asymmetries in long distance dependencies in French
- 10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause
- 11:15–11:45 Jamie Douglas
Subject extraction asymmetries in Māori: An intervention account
- 11:45–12:15 Gisbert Fanselow & Yranahan Traoré
The Object Position in Tagbana: an SOVX Language
- 12:15–12:45 Mary Amaechi & Doreen Georgi
On subject /non-subject extraction asymmetries in Igbo
- 12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

- 13:45–14:15 Martin Haspelmath
*Universals of argument marking scenario splits and
universals of reflexive marking in a functional-adaptive
theory of syntax*
- 14:15–14:45 Philipp Weisser
*Subject vs Non-Subject Asymmetries of Case Drop as
Domain Effects of Context Sensitive Spell-Out*

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine, Theodore Levin & Coppe Van
Urck
The role of nominal licensing in Austronesian voice systems
- 12:15–12:45 Josef Bayer & Martin Salzmann
*That-trace effects without traces: in favor of a phonological
EPP*
- 12:45–13:15 Andreas Pankau
Quirky Subjects in German – A Relational Analysis
- 13:15–13:45 Joachim Sabel
Argument-Adjunct Extraction Asymmetries
- 13:15–14:15 Myung-Kwan Park & Yongsuk Yoo
*On the long-distance scrambling/phonological suppression
of adjuncts in Korean*

AG 7

Why indeed? Questions at the interface of theoretical and computational linguistics

Annette Hautli-Janisz, Aikaterini-Lida Kalouli & Tatjana Scheffler

Raum: 17.71

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

13:45–14:15 Annette Hautli-Janisz, Aikaterini-Lida Kalouli & Tatjana Scheffler

Introduction

14:15–15:15 Jonathan Ginzburg (invited talk)

Characterizing the Response Space of Questions

15:15–15:45 Pawel Łupkowski, Jonathan Ginzburg & Sebastian Seyda

Dependent Query Responses

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:30 Kordula De Kuthy, Tobias Kolditz & Detmar Meurers

Generating Questions under Discussion

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

9:00–10:00 Sven Lauer & Sunwoo Jeong

The functional heterogeneity of interrogatives: An optimistic approach

10:00–10:30 Sophia Malamud & Tatjana Scheffler

Propositions, updates, speech acts – what is involved in “won’t you?” question tags in American English?

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Masaharu Shimada & Akiko Nagano

Selection of Sentence-Final Particles in Answers

11:45–12:15 Aleksandar Trklja

A relevance-theoretic perspective on the typology of questions

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Mark-Matthias Zymła
Linguistic Variation in the Realization of Rhetorical Questions —Providing Semantics and Pragmatics for German RQs

14:15–14:45 Brian Plüss, Katarzyna Budzynska & Chris Reed
Modelling Questions in Public Arbitrations with Inference Anchoring Theory

Freitag, 09.03. 2018

11:45–12:45 Georg A. Kaiser & Katharina Kaiser
What parallel texts can tell us about word order variation and change: A case study on wh-interrogatives in Romance

12:45–13:45 Farhat Jabeen & Miriam Butt
Word Order and Question Type: A Corpus Analysis of Bollywood Scripts

AG 8

Reference beyond the DP: towards a crosslinguistic typology of the syntax and semantics of proforms

Andreas Konietzko & Vera Hohaus

Raum: 17.72

Mittwoch, 07. 03. 2018

13:45–14:15 Andreas Konietzko & Vera Hohaus
Welcome and introduction

14:15–15:15 Kristine Bentzen (invited talk)
±Object shift and es/das: Form and position of pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents in Norwegian and German

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 15:15–15:45 | Nicholas LaCara
<i>Anaphoric one: When Ellipsis is Blocked</i> |
| 15:45–16:30 | Kaffeepause |
| 16:30–17:00 | Steffen Heidinger
<i>Proforms in French depictives and copula Constructions and the ‘favor clitic’ principle</i> |
| 17:00–18:00 | Emily Hanink
<i>Anaphoric same and the Syntax of Implicit Proforms</i> |

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 9:00–10:00 | Łukasz Jędrzejowski
<i>On the Link between Proposition-Denoting Proforms and Factivity: Evidence clauses in German</i> |
| 10:00–10:30 | Alassane Kiemtoré & Daniel Hole
<i>Morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of clausal complementation in Ĵula</i> |
| 10:30–11:15 | Kaffeepause |
| 11:15–11:45 | Lawrence Cheung
<i>Metalinguistic wh-placeholders</i> |
| 11:45–12:45 | Berit Gehrke (joint work with Olga Borik)
<i>Anaphoric Reference by Russian Imperfective Past Passive Participles</i> |
| 12:45–13:45 | Mittagspause |
| 13:45–14:45 | Marcin Morzycki (invited talk)
<i>Adjectives, conjunction, and anaphora</i> |

Freitag, 09.03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 11:45–12:15 | Carla Umbach
<i>Comparing similarity demonstratives and similarity adjectives with respect to gradability</i> |
|-------------|--|

- 12:15–12:45 Doris Penka
The Degree Proform so in German
- 12:45–13:15 Britta Stolterfoht
Manners and Proforms: Processing Ambiguous Adverbials
- 13:15–13:45 Vera Hohaus & Andreas Konietzko
The Puzzle from VP Proforms in Comparative Clauses

AG 9

Lost in change: causes and processes in the loss of grammatical constructions and categories

Svenja Kranich & Tine Breban

Raum: 17.73

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Svenja Kranich & Tine Breban
Lost in Change. Processes and causes in the loss of constructions and categories
- 14:15–14:45 Helen Sims-Williams (based on joint work with Matthew Baerman)
The external typology of the loss of inflection
- 14:45–15:15 Christine Elswailer & Judith Huber
Loss of number in the Standard English 2nd person
- 15:15–15:45 Martina Werner & Gianina Iordachioaia
Gender decrease in English and the grammaticalization of nominal aspect
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Stefanie Eckmann & Dominik Schlechtweg
Detection of fossilized, archaic words
- 17:00–17:30 Ondřej Tichý
Corpus driven analysis of obsolescence of multi-word expressions in Late Modern English

- 17:30–18:00 Jan Čermák
Obsolescence of multi-word expressions in Updated Old English: The case of impersonal constructions

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

- 9:00–9:30 Alexandra Rehn
Loss, Optionality and Free Variation of Categories
- 9:30–10:00 Marianne Hundt
“The next Morning I got a Warrant for the Man and his Wife, but he was fled”: Did sociolinguistic factors play a role in the loss of the be-perfect?
- 10:00–10:30 Yueh Hsin Kuo
A constructional investigation into the loss of the adverse averitive in Mandarin Chinese
- 10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause
- 11:15–11:45 Melitta Gillmann
Wiewohl daß der Türck in Polen eingefallen. The loss of the German connector-dass-construction
- 11:45–12:15 Luise Kempf
German so-relatives: Lost in grammatical, typological, and sociolinguistic change
- 12:15–12:45 Karolina Rudnicka
Grammatical obsolescence in the network of English purpose subordinators
- 12:45–13:45 Mittagspause
- 13:45–14:15 Christoph Hauf
Cweþan Lost, say and tell Gained: Changes in Speaking Verbs from Old to Modern English
- 14:15–14:45 Ulrike Schneider
Causes and processes in the decline of causative bring

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Dörte Borchers
*Loss of object marking in verbal paradigms of Koic (Engl.:
Sunuwar; Tibeto)*
- 12:15–12:45 All participants
Final discussion & closing of workshop

Programm

AG 10

**Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe in narrativen
Strukturen**

Maria Averintseva-Klisch, Irene Rapp & Stefan Engelberg
Raum: 11.32

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Maria Averintseva-Klisch, Irene Rapp & Stefan Engelberg
Begrüßung und Einführung
- 14:15–15:15 Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen
*Selbstständige nicht-direkte (Rede-/Gedanken-)Wiedergabe:
ein Thema mit Variationen*
- 15:15–15:45 Annelen Brunner & Lukas Weimer
*Redewiedergabe – eine literatur- und
sprachwissenschaftliche Korpusanalyse*
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Fabian Dirscherl
Erlebte Rede als 'oratio mixta'
- 17:00–17:30 Kathia Schäfer
*Inwiefern kann man an der erlebten Rede eine innere
Entmenschlichung der Figur Gregor Samsa erkennen?*
- 17:30–18:00 Lars Bülow & Ulrike Krieg-Holz
*Form und Funktion der Redewiedergabe in Herta Müllers
Prosa*

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

Programm

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 9:00–9:30 | Daniel Altshuler
<i>Openings and closings in narrative discourse</i> |
| 9:30–10:00 | Stefan Hinterwimmer & Sara Meuser
<i>Erlebte Rede und Protagonistenprominenz</i> |
| 10:00–10:30 | Anke Holler & Thomas Weskott
<i>Perspektivierungstrigger: Vom Wort zum Diskurs (und zurück)</i> |
| 10:30–11:15 | Kaffeepause |
| 11:15–11:45 | Sonja Zeman
<i>Wer spricht? Zur Interaktion grammatischer
Perspektivierung und Redewiedergabe in narrativen
Strukturen</i> |
| 11:45–12:15 | Ingmar Brilmayer
<i>Perspektivenwechsel in narrativen Texten: der Effekt von
Figur und Person auf die neuronale Verarbeitung von
Pronomen</i> |
| 12:15–12:45 | Rosemarie Lühr
<i>Indexikalische Ausrücke in der Redewiedergabe
altindogermanischer Sprachen</i> |
| 12:45–13:45 | Mittagspause |
| 13:45–14:15 | Stefan Engelberg & Ngoc Duyen Tanja Tu
<i>Redeeinleiter</i> |
| 14:15–14:45 | Christian Fortmann
<i>Parenthesen – Nischen, Skopus und Assoziation</i> |

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Elisa Wessels & Susanne Günthner
Formen und Funktionen von so-Quotativen bei Jugendlichen
- 12:15–12:45 Katharina Turgay
Gefühlswiedergabe in Form einer neuen narrativen Struktur
- 12:45–13:15 Alle Teilnehmer
Enddiskussion

Programm

AG 11

Specificity, definiteness and article systems across languages

Robert D. Van Valin, Jr., Anja Latrouite & Kata Balogh

Raum: 17.52

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:45 Robert D. Van Valin, Jr., Anja Latrouite & Kata Balogh
Introduction
- 14:45–15:45 Nigel Vincent (invited talk)
Definiteness in diachrony: Romance vs Germanic
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Dominika Skrzypek
Evolution of article systems. Indirect anaphora in North Germanic
- 17:00–17:30 Kaius Sinnemäki & Max Wahlström
Case loss and the rise of articles: Evidence for a typological tendency
- 17:30–18:00 Olga Borik
Is there semantic definiteness without articles?

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

Programm

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 9:00–9:30 | Laura Becker
<i>Definiteness in languages with and without articles: A parallel corpus study</i> |
| 9:30–10:00 | Walter Bisang & Kim Ngoc Quang
<i>Classifiers and definiteness/indefiniteness in Vietnamese</i> |
| 10:00–10:30 | Rebwar Tahir
<i>Definiteness, Specificity and DP Shells in Central Kurdish</i> |
| 10:30–11:15 | Kaffeepause |
| 11:15–11:45 | Svetlana Toldova (based on joint work with Polina Pleshak)
<i>Properties of definite declension in Moksha</i> |
| 11:45–12:15 | Justin Royer
<i>Overt choice-functions: two Mayan languages</i> |
| 12:15–12:45 | Eve Danziger & Ellen Contini-Morava
<i>Determination, Bare Arguments, and Discourse Salience in Mopan Maya</i> |
| 12:45–13:45 | Mittagspause |
| 13:45–14:15 | Valentina Schiattarella
<i>Accent on nouns in Siwi (Afro-asiatic) and its reference coding</i> |
| 14:15–14:45 | Daria Seres
<i>The interpretation of Russian bare plurals in object position</i> |

Freitag, 09.03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 11:45–12:15 | Alina Tigau (based on joint work with Klaus von Heusinger)
<i>Specificity with Clitic Doubling and Differential Object Marking in Romanian</i> |
|-------------|---|

- 12:15–12:45 Roya Sadeghpour (based on joint work with Klaus von Heusinger)
The specificity marker e in spoken Persian with indefinite noun phrases
- 12:45–13:15 Masoud Jasbi & James Collins
Deriving definiteness from specificity: The case of case marking in Persian
- 13:15–13:45 All participants
Final discussion

AG 12

Relating elliptical utterances to information in context

Ingo Reich & Susanne Winkler

Raum: 17.81

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Robin Lemke, Ingo Reich & Lisa Schäfer
Syntactic cues license voice mismatch in VP ellipsis – An experimental study
- 14:15–14:45 Muhammad Ahmad, Ingo Reich & Dietrich Klakow
Coping with limited training data in VP ellipsis detection using active learning
- 14:45–15:15 Katharina Hartmann
Coordination ellipsis and verbal morphology in Dagbani
- 15:15–15:45 Lílían Teixeira de Sousa
IP versus VP ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese: An experimental study
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 James Griffiths, Güliz Güneş & Anikó Lipták
A Minimalist approach to reprise fragments

- 17:00–17:30 Dennis Ott & Volker Struckmeier
QUD-anaphoricity of fragments and constraints on clausal ellipsis
- 17:30–18:00 Dennis Ott
Peripheral Fragments in Discourse

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- 9:00–10:00 Colin Phillips (invited talk)
Ellipsis in the context of linguistic memory access
- 10:00–10:30 Meike Pentrel
Framing fragments: A cognitive approach to situational ellipsis
- 10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause
- 11:15–11:45 Gabriela Bilbiie
An experimental approach to embedded gapping in Romance
- 11:45–12:15 Giuliano Armenante
Closing the gap: Syntactic complexity does not disambiguate Gapping sentences
- 12:15–12:45 Timm Lichte
Gapping without surprise: Toward an ellipsis-agnostic model of context dependence
- 12:45–13:45 Mittagspause
- 13:45–14:15 Jesse Storbeck (based on joint work with Elsi Kaiser)
Discourse status of possessed nouns affects interpretation of VP ellipsis
- 14:15–14:45 Ewa Trutkowski
Theta role identity as a condition on ellipsis

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:45 Jason Merchant (invited talk)
Stochastic resolution of ellipsis: Why the holy grail of a grand unified theory will never be found
- 12:45–13:15 Sven Müller
Partial IP-ellipsis in German loose appositives
- 13:15–13:45 Alvaro Cortés Rodríguez
Multiple Sluicing in English
- 13:45–14:15 Bettina Remmele
The prosody of ambiguous Sluicing: A production experiment

Programm

AG 13

Referenz in der ontogenetischen Schreibentwicklung

Angela Grimm, Renate Musan & Christina Noack

Raum: 17.98 (10. Stock)

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

- 13:45–14:15 Angela Grimm, Renate Musan & Christina Noack
Einführung
- 14:15–14:45 Caroline Schuttkowski
Sprachsensible Leseinstruktionen als Anknüpfungspunkt für die Lese- und Schreibdidaktik
- 14:45–15:15 Ben Jakob Uhl
Von Definitheit und Indefinitheit in narrativen Schülertexten – Über die Rolle des Konzepts von Definitheit/Indefinitheit für die Schreibentwicklung von Grundschulkindern

Programm

- 15:15–15:45 Guido Nottbusch
*Kohärenz und Komplexität und ihr Einfluss auf die
Dynamik der Textproduktion von Grundschulkindern*
- 15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause
- 16:30–17:00 Doreen Bryant
Referentielle Kohärenz im Schulalter
- 17:00–17:30 Corinna Peschel
*Schwierigkeiten bei der Kohärenzherstellung in
Schülertexten – ein schul- und lehrwerkinduziertes
Problem?*
- 17:30–18:00 Natalia Gagarin
*Referenz in den schriftlichen Texten bilingualer
Grundschul Kinder*

AG 14

**Variable perception and production correlates
for word stress in first language acquisition and
child second language learning**

Janet Grijzenhout, Monika Lindauer & Katharina Zahner
Raum: 17.98 (10. Stock)

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- 11:15–11:45 Janet Grijzenhout, Monika Lindauer & Katharina Zahner
Opening
- 11:45–12:45 Natalie Boll-Avetisyan (invited talk)
*We got the beat: The role of biases, abstractions, and
experience in prosody acquisition*
- 12:45–13:45 Mittagspause
- 13:45–14:15 Mireia Marimon & Barbara Höhle
Prosody outweighs statistics: Evidence from German

- 14:15–14:45 Annika Unger & Barbara Höhle
*Early word segmentation in bilingual infants acquiring
German and French*

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:15 Laura Hahn, Paula Fikkert, Tineke Snijders & Titia
Benders
Infants' perception of linguistic information in songs
- 12:15–12:45 Baris Kabak & Christina Domene Moreno
*Psycho-typologizing word stress through prosody-music
alignment in children's songs*
- 12:45–13:15 Francesco Olivucci, Mario Vayra, Cinzia Avesani &
Claudio Zmarich
*Acoustic correlates of word stress in young Italian children's
productions*
- 13:15–13:45 Johanna Stahnke
*Word stress and determiner omission in French-Spanish
bilingual language acquisition*
- 13:45–14:15 Piers Messum
*The acquisition of stress in production: looking beyond cues
and correlates*

AG 15

Reference determination: literal and non-literal uses of referring expressions

Dolf Rami & Sarah Zobel

Raum: 17.92

Mittwoch, 07. 03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 13:45–14:15 | Dolf Rami & Sarah Zobel
<i>Welcome and introduction to Reference Determination</i> |
| 14:15–14:45 | Eva Csipak
<i>Conditionalizing referential uses of definite descriptions</i> |
| 14:45–15:15 | Daniel Gutzmann
<i>That damn idiot! Expressives, definite descriptions, and reference</i> |
| 15:15–15:45 | Dolf Rami
<i>Donnellan, Nunberg and the distinction between literal and non-literal uses of referring expressions</i> |
| 15:45–16:30 | Kaffeepause |
| 16:30–17:00 | Antonin Thuns
<i>Partial meaning eliminativism and literalness</i> |
| 17:00–18:00 | François Recanati (invited talk)
<i>Direct Reference</i> |

Donnerstag, 08. 03. 2018

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 9:00–9:30 | Gregory Bochner
<i>Two Pragmatic Notions of What Is Said</i> |
| 9:30–10:00 | Jan Köpping
<i>On Individuating Contexts</i> |
| 10:00–10:30 | Katarzyna Kijania-Placek
<i>Deferred vs. descriptive. The case of proper names and indexicals</i> |

AG 16

Applications of probability theory in linguistics

Hendrik Zeevat, Peter Sutton und Vasiliki Tsouni

Raum: 17.92

Programm

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

- 11:15–12:15 Silke Hamann (invited talk)
Probability in phonotactic acquisition and loanword adaptation
- 12:15–12:45 Yulia Zinova
Ambiguity in Russian Verbal Prefixation System: From Lexical Semantics to Probability Theory
- 12:45–13:45 Mittagspause
- 13:45–14:15 Paul Egré & Steven Verheyen
Vagueness, approximation, and the maxim of quality
- 14:15–14:45 Maryam Mohammadi & Ralf Klabunde
A probabilistic approach to the generation of conditional speech acts

Freitag, 09.03.2018

- 11:45–12:45 Søren Wichmann (invited talk)
New short words and compounds in English: probabilities
- 12:45–13:15 Simon Dobnik & John Kelleher
Probabilistic priming for situated interaction
- 13:15–14:15 Anton Benz (invited talk)
Inferring implicature from production: interactive experiments and a model



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Teil III.

Plenarvorträge

Underspecification in form and meaning

Artemis Alexiadou
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
artemis.alexiadou@hu-berlin.de

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
9:30–11:30
Raum: 17.01

In this talk I will revisit the complex relationship between form and meaning of linguistic expressions by focusing on the realization and interpretation of plurality. The main questions under investigation are: is the meaning of the plural identical across languages? How does the realization of plurality relate to its interpretation? How is plurality represented within a language and across languages? By applying experimental methodology as well as cross-linguistic comparisons, the aim is to offer a contribution towards a unified theory of plural number for morphology, syntax, and semantics/pragmatics.

PV

t.b.a.

Roberto Zamparelli
Università degli Studi di Trento
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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
11:30–12:30
Raum: 17.01

Classifying common sense knowledge relations and using them in NLP tasks

Freitag,
09.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 17.01

Anette Frank
Universität Heidelberg
frank@cl.uni-heidelberg.de

Natural Language Processing has made great progress in analyzing discourse at a semantic level using corpus-based (deep) learning methods. While some types of semantic relations can today be learned and classified efficiently using dense representations learned from large corpora, common sense knowledge is still very difficult to acquire and systems are confronted with challenges when trying to classify such knowledge reliably.

In my talk I will give an overview of where and how common sense knowledge is expected to improve computational Natural Language Understanding. I will present ongoing work that assesses the difficulty of classifying common sense knowledge with different classification methods. I will close with recent studies we are conducting that target the integration of common sense knowledge in NLP applications.

Voice beyond Parameters

Freitag,
09.03.2018
10:00–11:00
Raum: 17.01

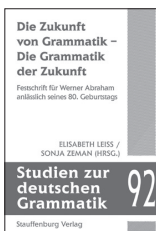
Julie Anne Legate
University of Pennsylvania
jlegate@ling.upenn.edu

Sprachwissenschaft im Stauffenburg Verlag

Elisabeth Leiss /
Sonja Zeman (Hrsg.)

Die Zukunft von Grammatik – Die Grammatik der Zukunft

Festschrift für Werner
Abraham anlässlich
seines 80. Geburtstags



Studien zur deutschen Grammatik, Band 92
2017, ca. 400 Seiten, kart.
ISBN 978-3-95809-543-4 € 64,–

Der Band umfasst Beiträge zu einem Symposium über die „Zukunft von Grammatik – Die Grammatik der Zukunft“, das zu Ehren des 80. Geburtstags von Werner Abraham an der LMU München abgehalten wurde. Thematisiert wird der Stellenwert von Grammatikschreibung, Grammatiktheorie und Universalgrammatik in einer Zeit, die sich zunehmend von der Beschreibung und Erklärung grammatischer Strukturen sowie von übereinzelsprachlichen Generalisierungen abwendet.

Nicholas Catasso

V2-Einbettung im Spannungsfeld von Hypotaxe und Parataxe

Studien zur deutschen Grammatik, Band 93
2017, XX, 609 Seiten, kart.
ISBN 978-3-95809-544-1 € 98,–

Thilo Weber

Die TUN-Periphrase im Niederdeutschen

Funktionale und formale
Aspekte

Studien zur deutschen
Grammatik, Band 94
2017, 418 Seiten, kart.
ISBN 978-3-95809-545-8 € 64,–



Ulrike Freywald

Parataktische Konjunktionen

Zur Syntax und Pragmatik der
Satzverknüpfungen im Deutschen
– am Beispiel von *obwohl*, *wobei*,
während, *wogegen* und *dass*

Studien zur deutschen Grammatik, Band 90
2017, 442 Seiten, kart.
ISBN 978-3-95809-541-0 € 64,–

Sven Staffeldt /

Jörg Hagemann (Hrsg.)

Semantiktheorien

Lexikalische Analysen
im Vergleich

Stauffenburg Einführungen, Band 32
2017, 262 Seiten
Buch (kart.) € 39,80
ISBN 978-3-95809-413-0
eBook € 39,80
ISBN 978-3-95809-414-7



Das bereits bewährte Konzept, ausgehend von ein und demselben Text Konzeptionen und methodische Vorgehensweisen unterschiedlicher Grammatiktheorien im Vergleich ihrer Analyseergebnisse vorzustellen, wird hier an prominenten lexikalischen Semantiktheorien vorgestellt.

Arne Krause / Gesa Lehmann /
Winfried Thielmann /
Caroline Trautmann (Hrsg.)

Form und Funktion

Festschrift für Angelika Redder
zum 65. Geburtstag

Stauffenburg Festschriften
2017, 686 Seiten, geb.
ISBN 978-3-95809-443-7 € 94,50

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Teil IV.

Arbeitsgruppen und Abstracts

Arbeitsgruppe 1

Variation and phonetic detail in spoken morphology

Sabine Arndt-Lappe¹, Gero Kunter², Ruben van de Vijver² & Fabian Tomaschek³

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Raum: 11.32

AG1

Workshop description

There is growing evidence that some of the assumptions of morphophonological theory are challenged when tested against spoken data. For instance, the stress pattern of morphologically complex words has been found to be much more variable than expected, and recent work has found structured variation in the phonemic detail of homophonous morphemes.

This workshop brings together work from different disciplines that study and model variation and phonetic detail in complex words, and it discusses the new insights that can be gained from spoken data about morphophonological variation.

Competition between whole-word and decomposed representations of complex words: Evidence from prefixed words in English

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 11.32

Sharon Peperkamp
Laboratoire de Sciences Cognitives et Psycholinguistique, Paris
sharon.peperkamp@ens.fr

Morphologically complex words have both a whole-word and a decomposed representation. Evidence for coexisting representations is provided by the fact that the pronunciation of these words can vary in case they contain a target for a structure-sensitive phonological rule at an internal boundary. An example is provided by English words with the prefix *mis-* or *dis-*: given that voiceless stops are aspirated word-initially and unaspirated following /s/, stem-initial voiceless stops have variable aspiration.

Thus, the /t/ and /k/ in words like *mispronounce* and *discomfort*, respectively, can be either aspirated, i.e. treated as word-initial, or unaspirated, i.e. treated as word-internal. Frequency effects — e.g., aspiration is more likely if the stem exists as a free-standing word — suggest the existence of competing access routes during speech production. In this talk I will provide independent evidence for on-line competition in a speech production experiment with a structural priming paradigm.

AG1

Morphological decomposition: All at once or step by step?

Swetlana Schuster & Aditi Lahiri

University of Oxford

swetlana.schuster@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk, aditi.lahiri@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.32

While there is substantial evidence for morphological effects in word recognition, there is no unified account of how the decomposition process is implemented (Amenta & Crepaldi, 2012). Partly, this is due to a focus on single-affixed forms as the processing of more complex words has only recently been investigated using fMRI (e.g. Pliatsikas et al., 2014). Complex words that were matched on critical lexical factors showed differences in LIFG activation, depending on derivational depth.

Based on these findings, we turned to the processing of multimorphemic pseudowords. In a series of four lexical decision tasks with delayed priming, we investigated the processing of two sets of German pseudowords. The pseudowords were derived using the following sequence of derivations: *adjective* > *zero-derived verb* > *complex noun* in *-ung*. While the final noun form did not exist in both sets (**Spitzung* ‘sharpening’, **Hübschung* ‘beautifying’), there were differences in internal composition: only the **Spitzung* set had an existing lexical representation in the intermediate derivation; thus compare **Spitzung* (*spitz*_A ‘sharp’ > *spitzen*_V > **Spitzung*) with **Hübschung* (*hübsch*_A ‘pretty’ > **hübschen*_V > **Hübschung*). We found that the priming effect between **Spitzung* and *spitz* was significantly stronger than for **Hübschung* and *hübsch*. This suggests that intermediate levels of derivation were accessed during decomposition. Together with the findings reported by Pliatsikas et al. (2014), the present results point to step-wise decomposition of multimorphemic forms in which the internal composition of intermediate levels is considered.

References: • Amenta, S., & Crepaldi, D. (2012). Morphological processing as we know it: An analytical review of morphological effects in visual word identification. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 3. • Pliatsikas, C., Wheeldon, L., Lahiri, A., & Hansen, P. (2014). Processing of zero-derived words in English: An fMRI investigation. *Neuropsychologia*, 53, 47–53.

AG1

Morphological gemination and boundary strength: Evidence from English compounds

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 11.32

Melanie J. Bell¹, Sonia Ben Hedia² & Ingo Plag²

¹Anglia Ruskin University, ²Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

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ingo.plag@uni-duesseldorf.de

Ben Hedia & Plag (2017) find that, in prefixed English words, consonant duration at the morphological boundary varies according to the prefix involved. They hypothesise that these differences reflect differences in segmentability: consonants at morphological boundaries are longer in more semantically transparent, hence more decomposable, complex words. If this is correct, we would expect to find similar variation in compounds, with compounds featuring a stronger internal boundary having longer consonant durations than opaque compounds.

From the British National Corpus, we extracted compounds with one of the consonants /n/, /m/, /l/ or /s/ either at the end of the first word, the start of the second word or both (i.e. geminates). Thirty-one adult native speakers of British English were recorded reading the compounds in carrier sentences. Consonant duration was extracted using Praat and used as the dependant variable in linear mixed effects regression modelling, with speaker as a random effect. Other predictors included various phonetic measurements, speech rate, consonant type (final, initial or geminate) and different correlates of boundary strength: overall frequency of the modifier, and spelling ratio (compound frequency with unspaced orthography/ compound frequency with spaced orthography).

Initial results suggest that, although consonant length is indeed related to boundary strength, the picture may be more complex than Ben Hedia & Plag (2017) suggest, since the effects of boundary strength interact with consonant type and are strongest for consonants in word final position.

References: • Ben Hedia, S. & Plag, I. (2017). Gemination and degemination in English prefixation: Phonetic evidence for morphological organization. *Journal of Phonetics* 62, 34–49.

Phonetic realization of the phonological word boundary in German *un*-derivatives

Anna-Marleen Pessara
 Universität Mainz
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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:00–17:30
 Raum: 11.32

AG1

While there is some debate on the diagnostics for determining phonological word (pword) structure in Standard German, most accounts within the generative framework of prosodic phonology agree that (i) the prefix *un*- forms a separate pword and (ii) phonological processes such as degemination and syllabification do not cross the pword boundary (cf. e.g. Auer 1994, Wiese 1996). However, some of those accounts concede that phonetic variants like *u[n]ormal* or *u[n]echt* exist, which clearly violate the combination of (i) and (ii). Generative ways to deal with this include declaring (i) optional and (ii) obligatory (cf. Wiese 1996), or declaring (i) obligatory and (ii) optional in casual and rapid speech (cf. Auer 1994). Either way, whenever there is phonetic variation, it is considered speaker-specific and thereby random.

For usage-based accounts, on the other hand, the existence of different phonetic variants does not pose a problem—quite the contrary. Phonetic variation is at the core of usage-based theory. For instance, Bergmann (2014) shows that the phonetic realization of German pword boundaries not only varies, but that it varies systematically: Whether degemination or syllabification may cross the pword boundary depends on factors such as frequency and accentuation.

While Bergmann's test items include particle verbs and compounds, this paper focuses on *un*-derivatives: Do they yield similar results? The answer comprises an empirical production study, approximately 1,400 tokens, the same amount of PRAAT analyses, and a statistical evaluation.

References: • Auer, P. (1994). Einige Argumente gegen die Silbe als universale prosodische Hauptkategorie. In: *Universale phonologische Strukturen und Prozesse*, 55–78. • Bergmann, P. (2014). Reduction and deletion of glottal stops and geminates at pword-boundaries in German. Effects of word frequency and accentuation. In: *Syllable and Word Languages*, 251–278. • Wiese, R. (1996). *The Phonology of German*. Oxford University Press.

The effect of morphological boundaries on stem vowel duration in English

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 11.32

Ingo Plag, Ute Marie Engemann, & Gero Kunter
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Recent research provides evidence that phonetic detail may reflect aspects of morphological structure. For example, Kems et al. (2005) and Blazej & Cohen-Goldberg (2015) showed that free and bound variants of a stem may differ acoustically. Looking at several English suffixes realized as /s/ and /z/, Plag et al. (2017) found systematic durational differences between the different morphemes, and between morphemic and non-morphemic segments. Such findings challenge important traditional phonological assumptions and models of speech production.

The present study investigates whether the different morphological contexts also systematically influence the duration of stem vowels preceding final morphemic or non-morphemic consonants in English. We find that pre-boundary vowels are shorter than vowels in the same position of mono-morphemic words. Our results thus provide further evidence for the influence of morphological structure on phonetic detail in a domain hitherto unobserved. While Plag et al. (2017) have shown that the word-final consonant differs in duration depending on the type of morphological context, we show that this effect also extends to the preceding vowel. We will conclude by discussing the implications of our findings for extant theories of morpho-phonology-phonetics interaction.

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Vowel nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic: The search for paradigm uniformity effects in fine-grained phonetic detail

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 9:00–9:30
 Raum: 11.32

AG1

According to the modular feedforward architecture of grammar, phonetics is sensitive only to the output of phonology and is thus blind to morphological or lexical conditioning (Pierrehumbert 2002). However, this prediction is challenged by claims that fine-grained phonetic detail may display e.g. paradigm uniformity (PU) effects (Steriade 2000) or effects of usage factors such as lexical frequency (Bybee 2001). In the present study I search for potential phonetic PU effects in vowel nasalisation in Scottish Gaelic by investigating alternating items in which a nasalising environment is removed by a morpho(phono)logical process known as *lenition*, which replaces initial /m/ with /v/ under certain morphosyntactic conditions.

In vowels following initial /m/, a clear distinction is found between (i) categorical phonological nasalisation, which may be subject to lexically conditioned blocking and which displays overapplication in lenited forms, and (ii) gradient phonetic nasalisation, which applies in those items where categorical phonological nasalisation fails to occur and which disappears completely in lenited forms. The differing patterns displayed by these two types of nasalisation fit neatly with the predictions of a modular architecture, in which categorical phonology has direct access to morphological (and lexical) information but gradient phonetics does not, and I conclude that wholesale dismissal of this empirically more restrictive framework in favour of non-modular architectures such as Exemplar Theory is premature.

References: • Bybee, J. (2001). *Phonology and Language Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Pierrehumbert, J. B. (2002). Word-specific phonetics. In C. Gussenhoven & N. Warner (eds.), *Laboratory Phonology 7*, 101–139. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. • Steriade, D. (2000). Paradigm uniformity and the phonetics-phonology boundary. In M. B. Broe & J. B. Pierrehumbert (eds.), *Papers In Laboratory Phonology V*, 313–334. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A new case of paradigmatic contrast: Haitian Creole third person pronouns

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 11.32

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Paradigmatic contrast describes cases where the phonological grammar seems to conspire to avoid pernicious homophony or similarity between two forms in a morphological paradigm. This paper proposes that a puzzling phonotactic restriction in Haitian can be analyzed as a case of paradigmatic contrast motivated by perceptual similarity avoidance.

In Haitian, pronouns can generally reduce when adjacent to a vowel, but the 3rd person plural pronoun *yo* [jo] cannot reduce to *y* [j] after a vowel. The reduction of *yo* is argued to be blocked to avoid a perceptual confusion with the short form *l* [l] of the 3rd person singular pronoun *li* [li] in this context. The hypothesis is supported by external phonological evidence showing that the [l]-[j] contrast may be maintained prevocalically but not postvocalically (e.g. in Cibaeno) and by internal perceptual evidence showing that Haitian [l] and [j] are more confusable postvocalically than prevocalically. The fact that reduction of *yo* rather than *li* is blocked postvocalically is argued to be a frequency effect: plural pronouns are less frequent than singular pronouns and are therefore more resistant to reduction.

If correct, this analysis provides further evidence for the role of phonetic detail in shaping morphological paradigms.

Phonetic reductions in conversation – With a focus on epistemic constructions in German

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 11.32

AG1

Phonetic reductions have seen an increase in interest within the past decades. One reason for this increase lies in the theoretical significance of phonetic variation that has come to be acknowledged in many usage-based accounts of language (cf. Ernestus 2014). From a different angle, the conversation analytic perspective, phonetic detail has been at the centre of interest since roughly the 1980s. Here, it could be demonstrated that detailed phonetic realizations are systematically linked to conversational aspects like sequence structure (Local et al. 1985; Szczepek Reed 2015). Taking up both the thought of the theoretical significance of phonetic detail as well as the insight that conversational structure has an important role to play for phonetic realizations, the present paper turns to an in-depth analysis of German *(ich) weiß nicht* 'I don't know' and *keine Ahnung* 'no idea' – two phrases that have been shown to vacillate between epistemic and pragmatic / discourse functional usage (cf. Bergmann 2017; Helmer, Reineke & Deppermann 2016). It will present the results of a study covering roughly 270 conversational instances of *(ich) weiß nicht* and *keine Ahnung*.

References: • Bergmann, P. (2017). Gebrauchsprofile von *weiß nicht* und *keine Ahnung* im Gespräch – Ein Blick auf nicht-responsive Vorkommen. In: Blühndorn, H. et al. (eds.): *Diskursmarker im Deutschen. Reflexionen und Analysen*. Göttingen: Verlag für Gesprächsforschung, 157–182. • Ernestus, M. (2014). Acoustic reduction and the roles of abstractions and exemplars in speech processing. *Lingua* 142, 27–41. • Helmer, H., Reineke, S., Deppermann, A. (2016). A range of uses of negative epistemic constructions in German: ICH WEIß NICHT as a resource for dispreferred actions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 106, 97–114. • Local, J., Wells, W. & Sebba, M. (1985): Phonology for conversation. Phonetic aspects of turn delimitation in London Jamaican. *Journal of Pragmatics* 9, 309–330. • Szczepek Reed, B. (2015): Managing the boundary between “yes” and “but”: Two ways of disaffiliating with German *ja aber* and *jaber*. *Research on language and social interaction* 48, 32–57.

Grammar and phonetic detail in spoken German: The case of *haben*

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 11.32

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In contemporary spoken German, the word form *haben* is frequently phonetically reduced (Wesener 1999; Lanwer 2015; Droste *fc.*), which is linked to the irregularization of the verb (Nübling 2001). Against a backdrop of a present tense paradigm that may show (i) vowel shortening and (ii) syllabic reduction this leads to homophones for the infinitive, 1.Pl and 3.Pl that show substantial loss of phonological material and softened morphologic boundaries. However, it remains still unclear if the variation between more and less reduced forms is random or systematic.

In this paper, I present the results of a corpus-analysis of conversational speech exploring the effects of known and supposed factors on the reduction of *haben*. The data is taken from the whole German language area covering *Deutsch heute* corpus. Mixed-effects models were used to bring other known or suspected determinants of word duration and reduction forms under statistical control. I find that the degree of reduction is systematically structured by the position within the verbal brace. However, the effect is gradual (i) as it is bounded to regional provenance and (ii) since reduction is marginally co-determined by prosodic and cognitive factors.

I conclude by discussing how the patterns observed in this study reflect the utilization of morphophonological variants for syntax and discourse organization.

References: • Droste, P. (*fc.*). Voll- und Reduktionsformen im Dienst der Klammer. • Lanwer, J. (2015). Allegro oder usuell? Zum Status sogenannter ‚Allegroformen‘ aus Sicht einer gebrauchsbasierten Linguistik. In: *Deutsche Dialekte. Konzepte, Probleme, Handlungsfelder*. Steiner, 169–190. • Nübling, D. (2001). The development of “junk”. Irregularization strategies of HAVE and SAY in the Germanic languages. In: *Yearbook of Morphology* 1999. Kluwer, 53–74. • Wesener, Th. (1999). The phonetics of function words in German spontaneous speech. *AIPUK* 34, 327–377.

Towards an explanation of incomplete neutralization: Inhibited realizations of Kaifeng Mandarin sandhi tones

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:45–12:15
 Raum: 11.32

AG1

Incomplete neutralization refers to the more or less systematic existence of small phonetic differences between words which phonological accounts characterize as having the same pronunciation as a result of the neutralization of an underlying phonological distinction (Port & O'Dell 1985). Generally, the phonetic differences, even if they are small, have appeared to be in the direction of what the underlying contrast would lead one to expect. There have been two approaches in theoretical discussions of the phenomenon that assume different surface representations. First, van Oostendorp (2008) proposed that the underlying representation is partially preserved in the output representation. Second, Yu (2007) argues that the effect is to be understood in terms of an exemplar-based conception of phonological representations.

The purpose of this investigation is to present two cases of incomplete neutralization in the tonal phonology of Kaifeng Mandarin which are not straightforwardly accounted for by the above approaches and to argue that they may instead be explained in terms of a difference between a 'confident' realization of the surface form and an 'inhibited' one. The inhibited pronunciation is attributed to the existence of various factors, the most important of which is a phonological rule creating the neutralized pronunciation, while the confident pronunciation either has no rule creating it (or, in terms of classical phonological theory, one that applied vacuously to it), or corresponds to the underlying form. The first type of evidence we call on is provided by the incomplete neutralization of a privative underlying contrast. The second type of evidence is based on the neutralization of multiple underlying forms, i.e. neutral tone.

References: • Port, R. & O'Dell, M. (1985). Neutralization of syllable-final voicing in German. *Journal of Phonetics* 13, 455–471. • van Oostendorp, M. (2008). Incomplete devoicing in formal phonology. *Lingua* 118, 1362–1374. • Yu, A. (2007). Understanding near mergers: The case of morphological tone in Cantonese. *Phonology* 24, 187–214.

Morphosyntactic patterns of schwa deletion in syntagmatic compounds and nominal syntagmas in French

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 11.32

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AG1

Syntagmatic compounds of the type N Prep N, such as *charbon de bois* ‘charcoal’ or *jouet d’enfant* ‘toy’ are a very productive type of compounding in Romance languages. Still, they remain one of the most problematic issues of Romance word formation. This is primarily due to the fact that syntagmatic compounds may have the same overall structure as nominal syntagmas. The present talk aims to focus on the alternation between schwa and zero in the clitic *de* as a distinguishing feature between syntagmatic compounds and nominal syntagmas. The occurrence or deletion of schwa in French clitics depend on multiple factors, such as the position of schwa in the word, the number of syllables of the word, the number and structure of the surrounding consonant clusters, the prosodic structure of the word as well as its position in the rhythmic group (see *Projet PFC*). According to Bouvier, there are numerous cases in which schwa is optional in compounds and free syntagmas, such as *chemin de/d’fer* ‘railway’ and *chemin de/d’pierre* ‘stone path’ (Bouvier 2000:182). But Côté and Morrison remark that there is a “greater likelihood for schwa to be pronounced inside phonological words than at edges” (Côté & Morrison 2007: 182). In the present talk, the role of schwa realization in the delimitation of syntagmatic compounds from nominal syntagmas will be exemplified by means of experimental data from an eye-tracking reading task. It will be discussed if schwa realization may indeed shed new light on the delimitation of morphological processes and syntactic processes.

References: • Côté, M.-H. & Morrison, G. S. (2007). The nature of the schwa/zero alternation in French clitics: experimental and non-experimental evidence. *French Language Studies*. 17, 159–186. • *Projet PFC* ‘Phonologie du Français Contemporain’: www.projet-pfc.net/le-francais-explique/le-e-muet/quest-ce-que-le-e-muet.html.

How learning morpho-phonological relations affects phonetic encoding: Modeling the duration of morphemic and non-morphemic S

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.32

Just recently, Plag, Homann, and Kunter (2017) showed that the duration of phonologically homophonous word final [s] in American English differs systematically between its morphological functions. The current paper further investigates the source of these durational differences. Specifically, we investigated [s] durations in the Buckeye Corpus and how they relate to the morphological function of word final [s] (e.g. non-morphemic, clitics (*has*, *is*), genitive singular, plural noun, third person singular, etc.). A Naïve Discriminative Learning Model (cf. Arnold, Tomaschek, Sering, Ramscar, & Baayen, 2017) was trained to discriminate morphological functions by means of word and diphone cues and calculated activations and activation diversities for each morpheme. Our analysis shows that the more word final [s] supports a morphological function the longer it is articulated ($\beta = 0.76$, $t = 5.05$). At the same time, the larger the uncertainty about the morphological function, the shorter [s] is articulated ($\beta = -1.13$, $t = -20.39$). These results indicate that fine phonetic detail is affected by how strongly the phonetic signal is learned to be associated with a certain morphological function.

References: • Arnold, D., Tomaschek, F., Sering, K., Ramscar, M., & Baayen, R. H. (2017). Words from spontaneous conversational speech can be recognized with human-like accuracy by an error-driven learning algorithm that discriminates between meanings straight from smart acoustic features, bypassing the phoneme as recognition unit. PLOS ONE. • Plag, I., Homann, J., & Kunter, G. (2017). Homophony and morphology: The acoustics of word-final S in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, 53(1), 181–216.

AG1

Stress variability in English -ory derivatives: A nonce word study

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 11.32

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In descriptions of English morphophonology, traditionally a distinction is made between stress-shifting and stress-preserving affixes, a distinction which has figured prominently in theoretical debates about the architecture of the phonology-morphology interface. At the same time, it is wellknown that some affixes are not easily accomodated within this dichotomy. One of them is -ory (e.g. Zamma 2012, Bauer et al. 2013).

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (1) | a. | stress shift with -ory: | oscillatory, compénsatory |
| | b. | stress preservation with -ory: | artículatory, antícipatory |

In a recent reading study that tested existing -ory words (Arndt-Lappe & Sanz 2017), we found that the variation is systematic. Crucially, structural factors favouring stress shift ('stress rules') interacted with correlates of lexical storage, in a way that raises questions about to what extent traditional stress rules are actually computed online by speakers. In addition, there are robust differences between groups of speakers, suggesting that adult speakers do not share a common prosodic representation of the suffix.

In the present paper we report on a large-scale reading study that elicited non-existing -ory adjectives in context, investigating the interaction of factors favouring stress shift and stress preservation in a systematic way with words that are clearly not stored. Our statistical analyses corroborate the differences we observed between groups of speakers in the previous study. Furthermore, there are indications of a newly emerging default stress pattern. Traditional stress rules, by contrast, seem to be only marginally relevant. The theoretical implications will be discussed.

References: • Arndt-Lappe, S. & J. Sanz (2017). Stress Variation in English Complex Adjectives. Paper presented at the 25. mfm conference. • Bauer, L. et al. (2013). *The Oxford Reference Guide to English Morphology*. OUP. • Zamma, H. (2012). Patterns and Categories in English Suffixation and Stress Placement: A Theoretical and Quantitative Study. PhD Dissertation: University of Tsukuba.

Investigating the relation between morphophonology and phonetics in Javanese verb prefixes

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:45
Raum: 11.32

AG1

One mechanism through which morphological constituency may interact with phonetic realization involves the co-activation of morphologically-related wordforms. For example, if both English *freese* and its morphological relative *free* are co-activated during the production of the target word *freese*, the resulting phonological plans may be blended together to some extent, either during planning or during articulation. The result is predicted to be interference in the coordination of articulatory gestures for the target word, which can lead to measurable effects on acoustic realization.

In this study, we test for such inter-paradigmatic interference in a morphological alternation in Javanese. In Javanese, active transitive verbs usually take a nasal prefix: *godhog* [gɔdɔk] ‘to boil’ is realized with the nasal prefix as *ng-godhog* [ŋgɔdɔk]. However, stems beginning with voiceless tense obstruents are realized in the active voice not with a nasal prefix, but with substitution of the onset consonant: *padal* ‘to press against’ becomes *madal* with the verbal prefix. Moreover, monosyllabic stems are prefixed in the active voice with the syllabic *nge-* [ŋə-]: *pəl* ‘to mop’ becomes *ngepəl* with the verbal prefix. Finally, disyllabic stems beginning with nasals are homophonous with or without the verbal prefix: the stem *masak* ‘to cook’ has the active counterpart *masak*.

If the phonological plan of a morphological relative influences gestural coordination for the target word, we hypothesize that verb forms like *madal*, which alternates with *padal*, should be realized with less nasality than verbs like *masak*, which does not phonologically alternate. In addition, nasal-substituted forms like *ngepəl* (stem *kepəl*) should also be realized with less onset nasality than forms with a full syllabic prefix like *ngepəl* (stem *pəl*). These differences should be measurable in acoustic indices such as stop closure duration and A1-P0. Further, since the voiceless obstruents in forms like *padal* are tense, we hypothesize that nasal-substituted related forms like *madal* should have voice quality associated with tenseness to some extent.

To test this hypothesis, we recorded 28 native speakers of Semarang Javanese producing 98 prefixed words, with equal numbers from each of the alternation classes. This study extends previous work on Germanic languages, and avoids the potential orthographic confounds in such languages. More generally, it tests the broad predictions of the co-activation account on a new phonetic dimension.

Pluralization in the Grammar of Native Speakers: Phonotactics Determines Singular-Plural Mapping in Maltese

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 11.32

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We investigate the formation of sound and broken plurals in Maltese, a Semitic language with a complex and variable plural system (cf. Schembri, 2012). The complexity raises the question about the knowledge of native speakers regarding the correspondence between singular and plural forms.

We hypothesized that the phonotactics of the singular determines the shape of the plural. We performed a production study in which Maltese speakers had to produce plurals for nonce singulars, created on the basis of real nouns with sound plurals, broken plurals and with both plural forms. Indeed, participants produced significantly more sound plural forms for nonces based on sound plurals and significantly more broken plurals for nonces based on broken plurals, supporting our hypothesis that the noun's phonotactics determines the shape of the plural.

We furthermore predicted the plural category by means of the naive discriminative learner (NDL, Baayen et al., 2011), a cognitive two-layer network trained on singular-plural pairs with different cue-to-outcome structures and compared NDL's classification with that of the participants. Doing so, we were able to show that different plural categories are based on different phonotactics of the singular.

References: • Baayen, R. H., Milin, P., Đurđević, D. F., Hendrix, P., & Marelli, M. (2011). An amorphous model for morphological processing in visual comprehension based on naive discriminative learning. *Psychological Review*, 118(3):438–481. • Schembri, T. (2012). The Broken Plural in Maltese: A Description. II – Lingwa Tagħna. Universitäts-Verlag Brockmeyer.

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AG2

Arbeitsgruppe 2

The relation between prosodic and referential structure

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Raum: 11.42

Workshop description

The workshop aims at broadening our view of the interaction between prosodic and referential structure. We want to discuss the following questions: (i) Which aspects determine the prosodic setup of referring expressions? (ii) What is the influence of the prosodic structure on the semantics of sentences? (iii) To what extent do we rely on prosodic information to understand discourse structure?

AG2

Introduction: Prosody and referential structure

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.42

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Prosodic structure (of spoken language) contributes together with syntactic, morphological and lexical material to the referential structure of phrases, sentences and discourses. Research on prosodic and referential structure has mainly focused on the linguistic cues speakers use to mark the discourse status of a referring expression (cf. Arnold 2010). We would like to broaden this view to different levels of interaction between prosodic and referential structure, both theoretically and methodologically. As an introduction to this workshop, we provide a brief overview of some research on the prosodic realization of referent accessibility in language production and its consequences for online language comprehension (cf. e.g., Schumacher & Baumann 2010, Baumann & Riester 2013), and on the contribution of prosodic cues to reference tracking (e.g. Baumann & von Heusinger 2016). Furthermore, we will relate both levels of description (prosody and referential structure) to the notion of prominence.

References: • Arnold, J. (2010). How speakers refer: the role of accessibility. *Language and Linguistic Compass* 4. 187–203. • Baumann, S. & K. von Heusinger (2016). The Role of Accent Types in Referent Tracking. Oral presentation at Prosody and Information Structure in Stuttgart (PINS), 22 March 2016. • Baumann, S. & A. Riester (2013). Coreference, Lexical Givenness and Prosody in German. *Lingua* 136. 16–37. • Schumacher, P.B. & S. Baumann (2010). Pitch accent type affects the N400 during referential processing. *NeuroReport*. 21(9), 618–622.

Is prosody an intentional signal of information structure?

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 07.03.2018
 14:15–15:15
 Raum: 11.42

Speakers frequently use prosody to mark information status. For example, in the phrase “The panda blinks”, the pronunciation of “panda” is likely to be shorter when it is given (previously mentioned) than when it is new. The standard explanation is that prosody encodes the information structure, as a part of the intended meaning. Given information is topical, while new or contrastive information is focused, and needs to be marked with an accent. Yet this effect may also be influenced by the fluency of speech production processes. Given information is primed, which can speed production and promote reduced pronunciations, which sound less accented (Bard et al., 2000). I examine the relative contribution of both processes in two studies.

In Study 1, participants described images of animals performing pairs of actions (spin, expand, blink, shrink). The target instruction *The panda blinks* was preceded by a sentence making it given (*The panda spins*), or new (*The frog spins*), lexically given but not informationally in focus (*The panda and the frog spin*), or conceptually but not lexically given (*All the animals spin*). The information-status account predicts reduction only in the given condition, whereas the fluency account predicts reduction in both the given and lexically-given conditions. When there was no addressee, results supported the fluency account, but with a live addressee speakers reduced more when the target was in focus. Study 2 examined the effect of predictability, where the nonsubject *Liz* is relatively predictable following an implicit causality verb (*Ana admired Liz because ...*) or a transfer verb (*Ana gave the book to Liz ...*; Stevenson et al., 1994). We found durational reduction only in cases where production was slow, suggesting that fluency is a stronger determinant of reduction than semantic predictability. Together these studies show that both fluency and information status influence prosody.

References: • Bard, E. G., et al. (2000). Controlling the intelligibility. *JML*, 42, 1–22. • Stevenson, R. J., et al.. (1994). Thematic roles. *LCP*, 9, 519–548.

AG2

Discourse status, lexical mention, and prosodic plasticity

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.42

Markus Greif¹, Stavros Skopeteas²

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Recent studies on the prosodic reflexes of givenness show that the presence of pitch accents is not only influenced by the discourse status of the referents, but also by the presence of the exact lexical mention in the explicit common ground (Baumann & Riester 2013). These findings are crucial for our understanding of the Common Ground, since they indicate that the prosodic realization of an utterance does not only depend on the set of available propositions but also on the exact way these propositions were lexically realized.

This talk presents the results of a study on scripted speech production, examining the effects of DISCOURSE STATUS (given vs. new referent) and LEXICAL MENTION (given vs. new word). The obtained results in German and British English show that given referents are deaccented independently of LEXICAL MENTION, i.e., deaccenting is a necessary condition in order to establish a co-reference chain to the antecedent. Comparative data from French and Hungarian confirm that these languages rely on tonal events aligned with the edges of prosodic constituents instead of pitch accent contrasts (Féry 2013). Effects of LEXICAL MENTION on the prosodic boundaries are observed in these languages as well, but direct reflexes of DISCOURSE STATUS are not found in our data.

References: • Baumann, S. & Riester, A. (2013): Coreference, lexical givenness and prosody in German. *Lingua* 136, 16–37. • Féry, C. (2013): Focus as prosodic alignment. *NLLT* 31, 683-734.

On prosody and semantics in readout-poetry

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*Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 11.42*

What new insights can be gained about the relationship between prosody and semantics, if one listens to audio-recordings of poets reading their poems? How do metrical, rhythmical or rhetorical patterns change when we not just read but also hear them? How does an enjambment, an alliteration, or a cadence change its meaning, when it is emphasized by the poets in their reading? And how does a stressed enjambment differ from an unstressed one?

In our paper we will answer these questions by applying digital pattern recognition techniques to a corpus of modern and postmodern poems as read aloud by the original authors. We are a team of computer scientists and literary scholars from both the FU Berlin and Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Our partner is “lyrikline”, the world’s most important internet portal for international readout-poetry. Making use of the vastly improved prosody detection available in speech processing technology today, we will identify rhythmical features through methods including phrase break prediction, prosodic phrasing, spoken document analysis, and fluency/disfluency modeling.

So far, we have taken the following steps: first, the philological sub-project defined rhythmical patterns based on a comparison of the textual line arrangement with the prosodic phrasing of the poet’s voice. These patterns were mainly taken from an US-american theory on rhythmical patterns, the so-called free verse prosody. In a second step, the digital sub-project now develops an automatic pattern recognition tool, based on machine learning techniques, that is capable of analyzing further material. Having classified the corpus mentioned above, we will compare in our paper each of these patterns by its two versions: The stressed one and the unstressed one. This will enable us to answer the questions raised above: What difference does it make, when the poet emphasizes rhetorical or metrical patterns during his/her performance?

AG2

Studying the prosodic properties of referring expressions in corpus resources: Obstacles and state of the art

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–18:00
Raum: 11.42

Arndt Riester, Kerstin Eckart, Ina Rösiger, Antje Schweitzer,
Katrín Schweitzer & Sabrina Stehwien
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We provide a synopsis of long-standing efforts to create German spoken corpus resources – the DIRNDL corpus of radio news and the GRAIN corpus (part of the SFB732 silver standard collection, Eckart & Gärtner 2016) of radio interviews – that combine the annotation levels of information status (Riester & Baumann 2017), information structure (Riester et al. 2017), intonation – manual (DIRNDL) and automatic (GRAIN, Schweitzer 2010, Stehwien & Vu 2017) – and syntax. We are interested in the relation between prosody and referentiality beyond the widespread observation that new information is often, but not always, prosodically more prominent than given information. Major complications arise from three sources: (i) annotation quality (on all levels) is an issue which can strongly influence results. (ii) Syntactic complexity: new information tends to be expressed by longer phrases, and these may exhibit some form of tonal prominence for non-pragmatic reasons. Referring expressions can be nested inside each other. (iii) Information structure: focus typically receives sentence stress while backgrounded information is prosodically reduced. However, information can be backgrounded for reasons other than givenness, e.g. accommodation or parallelism.

References: • Eckart, K. & Gärtner, M. (2016): Creating silver standard annotations for a corpus of non-standard data. In: Proceedings of KONVENS, Bochum, 90–96. • Riester, A. & Baumann, S. (2017): The RefLex Scheme – Annotation Guidelines. SinSpeC 14, SFB 732, Universität Stuttgart. • Riester, A., Brunetti, L. & De Kuthy, K. (to appear) Annotation guidelines for Questions under Discussion and information structure. In: Adamou, E. et al. (eds.) Information Structure in Lesser-Described Languages: Studies in Syntax and Prosody. Benjamins. • Schweitzer, A. (2010): Production and Perception of Prosodic Events – Evidence from Corpus-based Experiments. PhD thesis. Universität Stuttgart. • Stehwien, S. & Vu, N. T. (2017): Prosodic event recognition using convolutional neural networks with context information. In: Proceedings of Interspeech, Stockholm, 2326–2330.

Intonational meaning and the representation of prenuclear melodies

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 11.42

A long line of research documents the meaning function of the English nuclear pitch melody. Though less studied, prenuclear pitch melodies are described as serving a purely phonological function expressing phrasal rhythm, or as “ornamental” prosody. These claims raise questions about the status of the prenuclear pitch melody in phonological and phonetic encoding, which I explore in a series of studies on prosody production, perception, and imitation. Our perception and imitation studies support a hybrid model of intonational encoding that specifies categorical distinctions among prenuclear melodies and phonetic detail of the melody spanning the entire prenuclear region. Our production studies show prenuclear melodies are associated with meaning related to information status at the (acoustic) phonetic level, but not at the level of the categorical pitch accent feature. Overall, we observe a remarkable dissociation between the phonological specification of a prenuclear melody and its meaning function as reflected in acoustic-prosodic measures.

AG2

Speakers' expectations about upcoming discourse referents: Effects of pitch accents and focus particles

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 11.42

In the current study, we investigate how pitch accents (H^* , $L+H^*$) and focus particles (*only*, *also*) affect speakers' choices to mention referents in a contrast set in the upcoming discourse. Participants were presented with short discourses

involving two referents and were asked to orally produce two sentences that continue the story. An analysis of speakers' continuations showed that participants were most likely to mention a contextual alternative in the condition with *only*, followed by the $L+H^*$ and H^* conditions (see Figure 1). In the condition with *also*, in turn, participants mentioned both the focused/accented referent and the alternative or picked out these referents with a pronoun. Our findings indicate a strong influence of different information-structural devices on speakers' expectations and their choice of referential form.

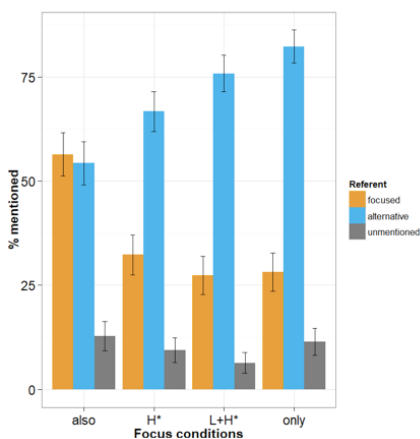


Figure 1: % referents mentioned

The processing of German pitch accents by Italian learners of German

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 11.42

Prosody and information structure (IS) are differently integrated in plastic languages (e.g. German) and non-plastic languages (e.g. Italian). Recording the EEG of native (L1) and second language (L2) speakers of German, we studied the online perception of three pitch contours aligned to final NPs corresponding to accessible information in a whole-part relationship in sentence pairs as in (1) (H+L*-congruent, L+H*-incongruent, deaccentuation–incongruent; cf. Baumann & Grice 2006).

- (1) *Sabine findet einen alten Schuh. Dann repariert sie die Sohle.*
'Sabine finds an old shoe. Then she repairs the sole.'

The L1 group (N=24) shows a three-way-modulation of the N400 with a strong effect for deaccentuation, replicating the results in Schumacher & Baumann (2010) and a Late Positivity associated with L+H*. The L2 group (N=25) shows a binary modulation of the N400 component, indicating the absence of a mismatch from deaccentuation, while late effects are similar to the results for L1 speakers.

The overall pattern for all L2 participants suggests that they are able to perceptually detect a difference between the expected pitch accent and the other ones (early positivity and L1-like late P600). However, it also shows that deaccentuation, unlike for L1, is not yet integrated in the processes that deal with information status and affect the N400. Thus, the semantic integration of prosody and IS appears to be guided by the presence or absence of plasticity in L1.

References: • Baumann, S., Grice, M. (2006). The intonation of accessibility, *J. Pragmatics* 38(10), 1636-1657. • Schumacher, P.B., Baumann, S. (2010): Pitch accent type affects the N400 during referential processing, *NeuroReport*, 21(9), 618-622.

AG2

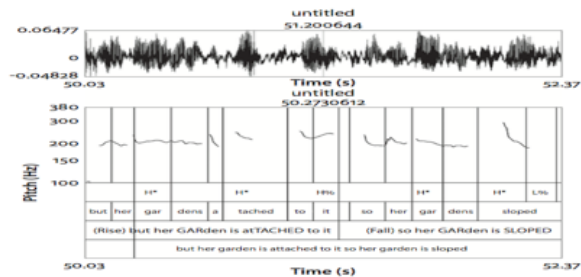
Given and New: The interaction of prosody, word order and semantics

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.42

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Previous studies indicate that in English speakers signal the informational status of referents through a combination of intonation, word order and lexical realisation. I argue here for a non-binary view of information structure with referents being (1) hearer and discourse new, (2) discourse new but hearer given and (3) hearer and discourse given. In the data examined, evidence was found to substantiate a relationship between referential distance and lexical realisation, but not between referential distance and accenting. For instance, in the figure below, the speaker chose to make garden prominent despite its mention in the previous tone unit.

AG2



Accents signal speakers’ projection of the importance of a referent but the exact informational meaning signalled by the referent depends on a combination of a number of interacting factors of which accenting is only one.

References: • Brazil, D (1997). *The Communicative value of intonation in English*. Cambridge University Press. • Halliday, M. A. K., & W. S. Greaves. (2008). *Intonation in the Grammar of British English*. Equinox. • Ladd, D, R. (2008). *Intonational Phonology* 2nd edition. Cambridge University Press. • Lambrecht, K. (1994). *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge University Press.

Filler form and dialogue structure

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 11.42

This study hypothesizes that acoustic filler form is not chosen arbitrarily by the speaker, but is dependent on its context on the level of adjacent segments (or words) as well as on the level of dialogue structure.

Fillers, or filled pauses, are a familiar phenomenon of spontaneous speech. The acoustic form of fillers consists of their segmental construction, e.g., vowel quality and quantity, glottalization, fundamental frequency. In German, there are mainly vocalic or vocalic-nasal forms attested [ə ə: ə:m ε ε: ε:m], but sometimes also clicks or glottalized sequences. **Dialogue structure** is understood in terms of chunks that constitute dialogues, such as questions, responses, explanations, etc. These chunks are also called *dialogue moves*. For the annotation of dialogue structure, the dialogue move scheme from Carletta et al. (1997) is adapted, describing various initiating and response moves within dialogues. A subset of the GECO corpus (Schweitzer & Lewandowski 2013), comprising 8 task-free spontaneous dialogues (25 min each) of 8 German female speakers, is annotated for fillers, filler context and dialogue structure on multiple layers. Different adjacent contexts exhibit different proportions of vocalic/vocalic-nasal, click and glottal fillers. As to dialogue structure, the duration of vocalic and vocalic-nasal fillers is significantly shorter within negative replies to polar questions compared to replies to wh-questions as well as to replies that reflect uncertainty. Filler vowels occurring within narrative sequences are located significantly lower in the vowel space (ca. 50 Hz difference in F1) than filler vowels within replies to wh-question. These findings suggest that filler form varies systematically as a function of dialogue structure. The combination of filler form and dialogue structure thus provides cues for the disambiguation of filler function.

References: • Carletta, J., Isard, A., Isard, S., Kowtko, J., Doherty-Sneddon, G., Anderson, A. H. (1997): The reliability of a dialogue structure coding scheme. *Computational Linguistics*, 23(1), 13–31. • Schweitzer, A., Lewandowski, N. (2013): Convergence of Articulation Rate in Spontaneous Speech. In: *Proceedings of Interspeech*, 525–529.

AG2

Do we pronounce quotation marks? A comparison of referring and name-mentioning expressions

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.42

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The current paper aims at comparing the phonetic features of (i) referring, see (1a), and name-mentioning expressions, see (1b), and (ii) quoted, i.e., (1a/b) with the underlined noun in quotation marks, and non-quoted material, see (1a/b).

- (1) a. *Diese Blütenknospen werden in Essig oder Öl eingelegt. Man kennt die Kapern in vielen Regionen.*
b. *Diese Blütenknospen werden in Essig oder Öl eingelegt. Man nennt sie Kapern in vielen Regionen.*

While the semantic properties of (pure) quotation are well understood, there is only few systematic empirical evidence as to how they are phonetically realized. Generally speaking, a quotational construction informs the addressee about the name of a lexical concept and the quotes indicate the use of an expression as a name. In contrast, denotational contexts do not inform about the name of a concept so that the quotes around the item are underspecified and could also adopt a distancing function, i.e., the function of what is known as scare quotes in the literature. This explains why it is rather uncommon that quotes are placed around referring expressions unless a distanced interpretation is intended.

Based on these observations, the questions to be addressed are, first, whether quoted and non-quoted material differ phonetically and, crucially, whether quoted name-mentioning expressions can be distinguished from quoted referring expressions on a phonetic basis. It is hypothesized that quoted and non-quoted items differ with respect to their phonetic characteristics, e.g., with respect to the dependent variables VOT, F0, intensity, and duration. Further, and crucially, it is expected that quoted name-mentioning expressions differ from quoted referring expressions on phonetic grounds. In the study to be reported on, we analyze eight low-frequent German nouns. The sound files of eight German native speakers serve as the basis for the analyses of the dependent variables. QUESTION MARKS (yes/no) and TYPE OF EXPRESSION (name-mentioning/referring) represent the two independent variables, which are investigated in repeated-measures ANOVAs (both independent variables are within-subject/item).

Prosodic rendering of conflicting information structures

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 11.42

In narrative texts, the narrator may introduce referents that subsequently appear in the direct speech of a literary character. Such referents are therefore given for the reader but not (necessarily) for the character whose discourse may remain unaffected by the narrator. This conflict is exemplified in (1): while *gold coin* is a new referent within Pippi's speech (and should therefore be accented), it is mentioned by the narrator and thus, for the reader, given information, which is generally de-accented.

- (1) Pippi went off to hunt for her purse, which was full of gold coins. "Spink," she said. "It sounds as if it might be expensive. I'd better take a gold coin along."

We tested how readers handle this conflict by assessing the prosodic realisation of transitive verb phrases in short narratives. The critical verb-object sequences appeared in A) either direct or indirect speech. We varied B) previous mention; C) the salience; and D) definiteness of the object.

De-accentuation was clearly more likely for objects that had been aforementioned within the direct speech when compared to objects mentioned in the narrator's text. Regarding indirect speech, aforementioned objects were likewise more likely to be de-accented. Importantly, readers still differentiated between previous mention by the narrator and previous mention within the indirect speech of the character. The experiment suggests that readers can handle two conflicting discourse representations in parallel. When encountering direct speech, readers temporarily de-activate (and, accordingly, accent) discourse referents that are given in the narrative, but which are new within the discourse of the character. Interestingly, the coexistence of different discourse representation is still reflected in indirect speech. We submit that, beyond reflecting the discourse structure, the prosodic rendering of (given) referents in direct and indirect speech conveys the degree to which the reader identifies with the text and the character(s) within it.

AG2

Inter- and Intra-individual Variability in Prosodic Cue Production

Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.42

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Collaborative Research Centre SFB 1287, Project B01.]

Speakers show a fair amount of intra- and inter-individual variability in their use of different prosodic cues for resolving (morpho-)syntactic ambiguities (e.g. Clifton et al., 2002; Peters et al., 2005; Cangemi et al., 2015). We present results of a larger project on variability in producing and processing prosody in different types of ambiguities in German: (i) structurally ambiguous coordinate name sequences, disambiguated or not disambiguated by prosodic cues after the second NP, (ii) semantically reversible locally case-ambiguous SVO and OVS main clauses, and (iii) reversible globally case-ambiguous main clauses. Concerning (i), we extend previous results (e.g. Holzgrefe-Lang et al., 2016) by addressing how production of prosodic cues can be modified by manipulation of top-down information (e.g. the speaker's knowledge, expectations about the communicative situation). Regarding (ii) and (iii), we will explore which prosodic cues are realised acoustically, the type and strength of the cues, and inter-individual differences in producing prosody.

References: • Cangemi, F., Krüger, M., & Grice, M. (2015): Listener-specific perception of speaker-specific productions in intonation. In S. Fuchs, D. Pape, C. Petrone, & P. Masson-Perrier (Eds.), *Individual Differences in Speech Production and Perception*, 123–145, Frankfurt: Lang.
• Clifton, C., Carlson, K., & Frazier, L. (2002): Informative Prosodic Boundaries. *Language and Speech*, 45, 87–114.
• Holzgrefe-Lang, J., Wellmann, C., Petrone, C., Råling, R., Truckenbrodt, H., Höhle, B., & Wartenburger, I. (2016): How pitch change and final lengthening cue boundary perception in German: Converging evidence from ERPs and prosodic judgements. *Language, Cognition and Neuroscience*, 31, 904–920.
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Investigating the Distribution of Clefts in Written and Spoken German: The Role of Prosody

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Freitag,
 09.03. 2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 11.42

In a previous corpus study, Tönnis et al. (2016) propose that clefts are found less frequently in spoken German because they are a device to mark focus intonation in written language, while spoken language usually marks focus with an A-accent. This study aims to filter out those clefts from Tönnis' et al. cleft sample that are preferred over their canonical version (compare (1) and (2)). This will be done using eye-tracking and acceptability judgment tasks.

- (1) *Es ist Peter, der Maria liebt.*
 It is Peter who_{NOM.SG} Maria loves.
 'It is Peter who loves Maria.'
- (2) *Peter liebt Maria.*
 Peter loves Maria.
 'Peter loves Maria.'

AG2

A follow-up experiment will test the following hypothesis: For all those clefts that are perceived better than their canonical counterpart in written text, focus intonation of the former pivot constituent should improve the acceptability of the canonical in spoken language. The experiment will collect acceptability judgments comparing spoken and written stimuli including the original clefts, their canonical version, and different intonation patterns for the spoken stimuli.

References: • DeVaugh-Geiss, J. P. et al. (2015): Contradicting (not-)at-issueness in exclusives and clefts: An empirical study. *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 25, 373–393. • Szendrői, K. (1999): A Stress-driven Approach to the Syntax of Focus, *UCL Working Papers in Linguistics* 11, 545–573. • Tönnis, S. et al. (2016): Argument Asymmetry in German Cleft Sentences. In: *ESSLLI 2016 Proceedings*.

Intonation and discourse status of Spanish subject pronoun *yo* ('I')

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 11.42

The present paper investigates intonational patterns of the referring expression *yo* ('I') in Buenos Aires Spanish, a typically null-subject language. The pronoun of the first-person singular is expressed at very high rates in spoken Spanish and exhibits several pragmatic-discourse functions. This study assumes five information-structural functions of pronominal subjects (PS): Two categories with optionally overt form of the PS (familiar topic, aboutness-shift topic), and three categories with obligatorily overt form of the PS (disambiguating topic, contrastive topic, focus). As for tonal analysis, the study applies the Spanish Tones and Break Indices system (e.g., Prieto & Roseano 2010) based on the Autosegmental-Metrical model of intonational phonology (Pierrehumbert 1980). The author's manual labeling technique is supported by the Eti-ToBI, a tool for automatic transcription of intonation according to the Spanish ToBI (Elvira-García et al. 2016). The results (based on ten-hour-long undirected natural interviews) show that *yo*-topics differ from *yo*-focus in intonation, whereas different types of topics do not show clear patterns, as, for example, Frascarelli (2007) assumes for Italian. We cannot thus simply rely on prosody by reconstructing discourse properties of topics in the variety under study, since (the proposed) IS categories can have variant correlates (see, e.g., Féry 2007).

References: • Elvira-García, W., Roseano, P., Fernández Planas A. M. & Martínez Celdrán E. (2016). A tool for automatic transcription of intonation: Eti-ToBI a ToBI transcriber for Spanish and Catalan. *Language Resources and Evaluation*, 50(4), 767–792. • Féry, C. (2007). Information structural notions and the fallacy of invariant correlates. In Féry, C., Fanselow, G., & Krifka, M. (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure* 6, 161–184. • 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(4): 691–734. • Pierrehumbert, J. B. (1980). The Phonetics and Phonology of English Intonation. PhD Dissertation. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. • Prieto, P. & Roseano, P. (2010). *Transcription of intonation of the Spanish language*. München: Lincom.

Er and der: their interpretation and phonology in child language

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Freitag,

09.03. 2018

13:15–13:45

Raum: 11.42

This paper aims to compare the use of personal (PP) and demonstrative (DEM) pronouns by German children (8-10 y.o.) and adults. We perform a multi-layered analysis of pronouns, considering the grammatical role of their discourse antecedents [1], their semantic interpretation (contrastive/non-contrastive, [2]) and prosodic features. Children differ from adults in two aspects: i) they do not distinguish PPs and DEMs in their conditions of use (both refer to subject antecedents to the same extent); ii) they do not mark prosodically contrastive vs. non-contrastive interpretations of PPs. DEMs express contrastive interpretations both among children and adults, and are always accented. We interpret the results as showing that children do not master the distinction between accented and unaccented PPs. To express contrastive interpretations, they rely on the use of DEMs, even when referring to a subject antecedent. We discuss the results in the light of economy principles guiding reference acquisition [3].

References: • [1] Hinterwimmer, S. (2015): A Unified Account of the Properties of German Demonstrative Pronouns, In: Proceedings of the Workshop on Pronominal Semantics at NELS 40, 61–107. GLSA Publications. • [2] Riester, A. & Baumann, S. (2013): Focus triggers and focus types from a corpus perspective. In: *Dialogue and Discourse* 4(2). 215–248. • [3] Clahsen, H., Eisenbeiss, S. & Penke, M. (1996): Underspecification and lexical learning in early child grammars. In: *Generative Approaches to First and Second Language Acquisition*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

AG2

Prosodic structures in spontaneous (interactive) vs. canonical (edited) utterances. Examples from Moroccan Arabic.

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.42

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A large corpus of spontaneous spoken recordings of Moroccan Arabic has been elaborated with the aid of local informants (v. Maas / Assini 2013). Reanalyzing the data, found some systematic differences between the transcriptions and the recordings. The case of referential marking (called in most grammars ‘articles’) will be taken as example for the conference. If used as arguments, nominal forms are marked [+ referential]: default by prefixing /l-/, otherwise (depending on the character of the initial consonant) by fortization, e.g. /d: r:i/ vs. /d r:i/ “boy”. In predicative function nominal forms are unmarked. The informants aligned to this canonical pattern in repeating the recordings, which in contrast very often do not show the marking. Instead the spontaneous data reduced the syntactically integrated domains, and presented further semantic information as added conceptual (nominal) forms, not referentially marked. This difference is mirrored in quite different prosodic structures.

References: • Maas, U. & Assini, A. (2013): Marokkanisch arabische Texte. Lincom.



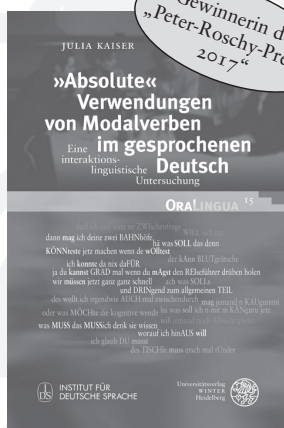
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AG3

Arbeitsgruppe 3

Evaluative meanings: Theoretical and computational perspectives

Valentina Bianchi¹ & Patrick G. Grosz²

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Raum: 11.62

Workshop description

Interest in the encoding of evaluative meanings has significantly increased in recent years, both in theoretical and in computationally oriented research. Much recent research in formal linguistics (particularly in semantics and syntax) has turned towards topics such as evaluativity, subjectivity, and expressivity. In parallel, computational linguistics has given rise to fields such as sentiment analysis, which explicitly aim at investigating evaluative phenomena computationally. This workshop aims to address current issues in the investigation of evaluativity within formal linguistics and to allow for cross-fertilization with computational linguistic research.

AG3

Subjective assertions and inquisitiveness: a hybrid speech act?

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 11.62

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Sentences containing subjective predicates—e.g., *awesome* in (1)—intuitively feature a perspective-dependent flavor, which is instead missing in sentences describing objective facts (as in (2)).

- (1) The movie was awesome.
- (2) The movie started at 8.

Scholars have long debated on whether this intuition tracks a genuine lexical distinction between subjective and factual predicates (e.g., Lasersohn 2005, Stephenson 2007, Moltmann 2010, Pearson 2013). Less explored, however, is the issue concerning how the difference between (1) and (2) is reflected at the illocutionary level (Umbach 2016). Combining evidence from two experimental studies and the distribution of response particles, I show that assertions containing subjective predicates display a different discourse behavior from objective assertions. I suggest that subjective assertions should be modeled as a mixed discourse move, which encodes both an informative component (similar to regular assertions) and an inquisitive one (similar to polar questions).

References: • Lasersohn, P. (2005). Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistic & Philosophy* 28(6): 643–68. • Moltmann, F. (2010). Relative truth and the first person. *Philosophical Studies* 150, 187–220. • Pearson, H. (2012). A judge-free semantics for predicates of personal taste. *Journal of Semantics* 30(1), 103–154. • Stephenson, T. (2007). Judge dependence, epistemic modals, and predicates of personal taste. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 30(4), 487–525. • Umbach, C. (2016). Evaluative propositions and subjective judgments. In: Meyer, C. & van Wijnbergen-Huitink, J. (eds.) *Subjective meaning: Alternatives to Relativism*, 127–168.

Negate to mitigate. A corpus-based discourse-structural approach to evaluative speech acts

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¹Università degli Studi Roma Tre, ²Universität Göttingen

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.62

In this work we propose a **discourse-structural approach** to sentiment analysis, aimed at a classification of a number of expressive speech acts used by social nets reviewers in order to mitigate the negative import of their judgements ('mitigative-compensative' speech act). Specifically, a comparative analysis is proposed between Italian and Russian Tripadvisor reviews, concentrating on:

- (a) Structures in which the negative predicate is used as a compensative strategy to 'temper' the illocutionary force of the negative part of the utterance;
- (b) Negative cleft sentences of the 'it's not that p' type, in which the proposition following the C head is negated to exclude commitment w.r.t. a specific aspect of the relevant negative evaluation;
- (c) Structural patterns in which the concessive clause is followed by an adversative sentence;
- (d) Use of epistemic and evidential markers (e.g. raising verbs or impersonal constructions);
- (e) Use of approximators to reduce the referential force of words with a negative polarity (e.g., It. *mezzo*, lit. 'half', Rus. *tipa* 'kind of').

The combination of a corpus-based methodology with a **corpus-driven approach** is shown to be extremely advantageous, since it permits to study structures within their context and identify mixed strategies. This **discourse-structural perspective** is proposed as an **advanced method**, opening novel synergies between linguists and computational experts in the automatic extraction of deliberative contexts from corpora.

References: • Collomb A. et al. (2014). A Study and Comparison of Sentiment Analysis Methods for Reputation Evaluation. *Rapport de recherche RR-LIRIS-2014*. • Kerbrat-Orecchioni, C. (2005). *Le discours en interaction*. Paris, A. Colin. • Mittal N. et al. (2013). Discourse Based Sentiment Analysis for Hindi Reviews, in Maji P., Roy S., Kundu M.K. (eds.), *Pattern Recognition and Machine Intelligence*, 720–725, Springer, New York.

AG3

Ambiguous Evaluative Adjectives as a Major Source of Expressive Intensifiers in German

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 11.62

Fabian Renz-Gabriel
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Expressive intensifiers (EIs) in German such as *voll* ‘fully’ and *total* ‘totally’ differ from common intensifiers like *sehr* ‘very’ regarding their syntactic distribution: they can occur in the so-called ‘NP-external intensifying construction’ which is frequently used in colloquial German (*Du hast gestern voll/*sehr die geile Party verpasst*. ‘Yesterday, you missed EI/*very a cool party’, cf. Gutzmann & Turgay 2015). Web-based corpus research shows that the chief (but not only) source lexemes for EIs are ambiguous evaluative adjectives (AEAs) such as *krass* lit. ‘crass’, *pervers* lit. ‘perverse’ and *übel* lit. ‘bad’ (cf. Androutsopoulos 1998). Example (1) shows the use of *übel* as an evaluative adjective that apparently expresses a positive evaluation through the speaker and not a negative one.

- (1) *Ein typisches Slayer-Konzert, aber das war auch verdammt geil. Und die Bassdrum war übel.* (DECOW16A)
‘A typical slayer concert, but it was damn good, too. And the bass drum was AEA.’

Even though the development of evaluative adjectives into intensifiers has received considerable attention in diachronic research—the phenomenon of AEAs has been neglected so far. In my talk I will show the advantages the developmental path ‘adjective with a specific meaning > AEA > intensifier’ has over other paths. Whereas e.g. exclusively negative evaluative adjectives are initially restricted to utterances with a negative evaluation and must undergo a lengthy process of semantic bleaching to be useable in positive contexts, AEAs are possible in all kinds of contexts ‘from the outset’.

References: • Androutsopoulos, J. (1998). *Deutsche Jugendsprache*. Frankfurt: Lang. • Gutzmann, D. & Turgay, K. (2015). Expressive intensifiers and external degree modification. In: *The Journal of Comparative German Linguistics* 17(3), 185–228.

Presupposing expressive meaning: the case of Hebrew *xatixat*

Alon Fishman

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alonfishman@mail.tau.ac.il

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 11.62

The Hebrew form *xatixat* ‘piece.of’ has a function that mimics taboo words modifying a predicate, such as *damn* in the phrase *damn linguist*. Thus, the speakers of (1a-b) are understood to have a negative attitude towards the predicates *linguist* and *smolan*, respectively.

- (1) a. He’s a damn linguist
b. hu xatixat smolan
he (is) (a) piece.of leftist
‘He’s a (damn) leftist’

Yet *xatixat* differs from words like *damn* in two ways. First, it lacks immediacy, the property of altering the context of interpretation simply by being uttered (Potts 2007). Second, it’s limited with regards to the predicates it can modify (Linzen 2009).

I account for these facts under Potts’ (2007) Expressive Dimension framework, proposing that *xatixat* modifies an expressive index introduced by its complement (Gutzmann 2011), but cannot introduce a new expressive index. This amounts to a presupposition that the contextual judge has a negative attitude towards the denotation of the complement.

Consequently, the negative interpretation in (1b) is due to presupposition accommodation, and the unavailability of many emotionally-neutral predicates as complements of *xatixat* is due to presupposition failure. The lack of immediacy falls out from the fact that no new expressive index is introduced.

References: • Gutzmann, D. (2011). Expressive Modifiers and Mixed Expressives. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 8, 123–141. • Linzen, T. (2009). Corpus of blog postings collected from the Israblog website. Tel Aviv University. • Potts, C. (2007). The Expressive Dimension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33, 165–198.

AG3

Evaluative adjectives in different sensory domains: Comparing sight, smell and taste

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 11.62

Elsi Kaiser, Catherine Wang & Gwenyth Portillo-Wightman
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Subjective adjectives (e.g., *fun*, *tasty*) have received considerable attention, but (to the best of our knowledge) current linguistic theories do not make distinctions based on sensory modality, although the senses are known to differ in their biological and social-communicative aspects. We tested experimentally whether interpretation of subjective evaluative adjectives depends on whether they refer to the visual vs. olfactory (smell) vs. gustatory (taste) domains. Does people's interpretation of who is the attitude holder/judge of an adjective depend on whether the situation involves seeing, smelling or tasting? We manipulated verbs (ex.1) and asked people to indicate whose opinion the adjective (e.g. *disgusting*) reflects (ex.2), in contexts with two potential attitude-holders.

- (1) When I came into the room, Eliza {saw/smelled/tasted/put_{baseline}} the muffin on the platter. It {looked/smelled/tasted/was_{baseline}} disgusting. [example item]
- (2) Whose opinion is it that the muffin {looked/smelled/tasted/was} disgusting? The narrator's / Eliza's

Sensory modality has a significant effect: There are more first- person/narrator interpretations of the adjectives with *see* than *taste* or *smell*. If subjectivity is context-dependent, we can derive these results from the biological and social properties of sight, taste and smell, without adjusting the lexical entries of individual adjectives.

Unifying epistemic and concessive *at least*

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 9:00–9:30
 Raum: 11.62

Kay (1992) identifies epistemic (1) and concessive/evaluative (2) uses for the scalar operator *at least*: whereas (1) conveys that the speaker does not know exactly how well Kate performed, (2) instead conveys that Kate's performance could have been better.

- (1) At the very least_{epi}, Kate won a [bronze]_F medal.
- (2) At least_{con} K. won a [bronze]_F medal.

While epistemic *at least* has attracted considerable recent attention, concessive *at least* has gone comparatively under-studied. This paper aims to develop a unified approach to the two uses that still leaves enough room for attested differences in their distributions and interpretations. Its central claim is that the two uses share the same truth-conditional meaning, but differ in (i) the pragmatic competitors that they evoke, and (ii) what they presuppose about their associated scales. It is shown how such an approach allows for a uniform account of certain shared aspects of interpretation.

References: • Kay, P. (1992). At least. In: Lehrer, A. and E. Kittay (eds), *Frames, Fields and Contrasts. New Essays in Semantic and Lexical Organization*: Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 309–331.

AG3

The scalarity and quantificational domain of speaker concession

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 11.62

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This study probes the concessive meaning of *at least* (CON) by examining its scalar property. Five discoveries are presented. First, CON is focus-sensitive and compatible with various scales. Second, CON demonstrates two scalar effects: the top-of-the-scale effect (TSE) and the bottom-of-the-scale-effect (BSE). TSE demands that the associate cannot be the element at the top of the scale while BSE that the associate cannot be the element at the bottom of the scale. Third, CON arises when the set of contextually relevant alternatives is evaluated against the speaker's goal and the interlocutor's interest in a given discourse (Biezma 2013), and when the speaker knows that the relevant higher alternatives are false in the discourse. Forth, the relevant higher alternatives are not always more preferable by the common world knowledge. Finally, CON does not arise with short answers. This study shows how these empirical properties are captured by a scalar meaning interacting with pragmatics.

References: • Biezma, M. (2013). Only one at least — refining the role of discourse in building alternatives. In: *Penn Working Papers* 19(1), 11–19. • Nakanishi, K. & H. Rullmann (2009). Epistemic and concessive interpretations of 'at least'. Slides presented in CLA. • Kay, P. (1992). At least. In: *Frames, Fields, and Contrasts. New Essays in Semantic and Lexical Organization*: Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 309–331.

AG3

The role of scalar meaning and emphasis in leftward association of the German focus particle *nur* ('only')

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 10:00–10:30
 Raum: 11.62

According to the *Principle of Lexical Association* (PLA), “[a]n operator like *only* must be associated with a lexical constituent in its c-command domain” (Tancredi 1990: 30). Therefore, the example in (1) cannot mean ‘A professor and nobody else will come to the party’, as the focus particle *only* cannot associate with the leftward material *a professor*.

- (1) *A [professor]_F will only come to the party. (Erlewine 2014: 12)

It is controversial, whether the PLA also holds for the corresponding German particle *nur*. While some linguists assume that *nur* behaves like *only* in constructions similar to the English sentence in (1) (e.g., Abraham 2005), others propose that leftward association (LeA) of *nur* is possible (e.g., Krifka 1999). I conducted rating studies in order to answer the following research question: How strong is the c-command relation between the focus sensitive particle *nur* and its associated focus? Is their relation fixed or are there factors which can license LeA?

The results of my rating studies and the analysis of authentic data from spoken language show that the factors (i) prosody, (ii) scalar, evaluative meaning, and (iii) special emphasis characterized by the expression of speaker attitude can improve and license LeA of *nur*. I argue that LeA of *nur* is possible if it is used in a construction with focus fronting which yields an emphatic or mirative interpretation. In order for *nur* to be felicitous in these structures, the meaning of the particle has to support the evaluative interpretation of the construction.

References: • Abraham, W. (2005). *Deutsche Syntax im Sprachenvergleich: Grundlegung einer typologischen Syntax des Deutschen* (2nd ed.). Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag. • Erlewine, M.Y. (2014). Movement out of Focus. Ph.D thesis. MIT, Massachusetts. • Krifka, M. (1999). Additive Particles under Stress. In D. Strolovitch & A. Lawson (Eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 8*, pp. 111–128, CLC Publications. • Tancredi, C.D. (1990). Not only even, but even only, ms., Cambridge, MA.

Evaluativity as epistemic non-convergence

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 11.62

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Subjective attitude verbs (SAVs), like English *consider* (Lasersohn 2009, Kennedy & Willer 2016, Coppock to appear), embed only evaluative complements, unlike neutral attitude verbs (*think*).

- (1) a. Alfonse **thinks** that {Bethany is six feet tall / the soup is tasty}.
- b. John **considers** {?Bethany six feet tall / the soup tasty}.

I cast evaluative propositions as ‘epistemically non-convergent:’ their truth values are undecided according to the epistemic norms of a set of individuals C on any reachable body of evidence E .

(2) Epistemic convergence of a proposition

A proposition φ is epistemically convergent in w with respect to C iff there is a body of evidence E such that:

in all w' in which C exists that preserve the epistemic norms active for C in w , and in which for all $x \in C$, x is presented with E :

for all $x \in C$, $Evid_{x,w} \subseteq \varphi$ or $Evid_{x,w} \subseteq \neg\varphi$.

(3) Evaluativity of a proposition

A proposition φ is evaluative in w with respect to C iff it is not epistemically convergent in w with respect to C .

SAVs quantify over doxastic alternatives determined by belief in evaluative propositions. Non-evaluative complements with SAVs are anomalous, as evaluative beliefs cannot decide on their truth.

$$(4) \quad \llbracket \text{consider} \rrbracket^w = \lambda\varphi_{st}.\lambda x_e.\text{Dox-eval}_{x,w} \subseteq \varphi$$

References: • Coppock, E. (to appear). Outlook-based semantics. *Linguistics and Philosophy*.
• Kennedy, C. & M. Willer (2016). Subjective attitude verbs and counterstance contingency. *Proceedings of SALT 26*, 913–933. • Lasersohn, P. (2009). Relative truth, speaker commitment, and control of implicit arguments. *Synthese* 166(2), 359–374.

Studying the Footprint of Subjective Adjectives

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:45–12:15
 Raum: 11.62

Seeking ways to pinpoint the presence of “subjectivity” in texts, Wiegand *et al.* (2013) observed that subjective adjectives appear relatively more frequently in predicative position than attributive position. That finding from the computational world can serve as a tool in evaluating theories of subjective semantics. Sundell (2016) theorizes that subjective adjectives are not fundamentally different from ordinary ones; rather, there exist multiple criteria where adjectives near one end of these scales are more likely to receive subjective interpretations. What at first looks like an all-or-nothing semantic distinction is actually a gradient phenomenon.

Drawing on the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008), I operationalize and test Sundell’s ideas using the attributive/predicative adjective facts. We find support for one proposal, and this poses a challenge to recent semantic theories that view subjective adjectives as lexically special, rather than regarding both subjective and nonsubjective adjectives as occupying various points along a continuum.

References: • Davies, M. (2008). *The Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). Online at corpus.byu.edu/coca/. • Sundell, T. (2016). The tasty, the bold, and the beautiful, *Inquiry* 59:6. • Wiegand, M.; Ruppenhofer, J.; and Klakow, D. (2013). Predicative Adjectives: An Unsupervised Criterion to Extract Subjective Adjectives. In *Proceedings of HLT-NAACL*, 534–539, Atlanta, GA.

AG3

A Rich-Lexicon Approach to Evaluative Predicates

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 11.62

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Evaluative predicates (moral terms, aesthetic adjectives, predicates of taste, etc.) have a number of characteristics that an adequate theory strives to capture: they are *perspectival*, *context-sensitive* and *gradable*. In addition, evaluative predicates have a number of different uses: absolute and perspectival, evaluative and normative.

While these uses have been addressed by various authors, no unitary theory that captures all of them has been offered. Moreover, theories of evaluative terms have either postulated several levels of meaning (assertive vs. evaluative, semantic vs. pragmatic etc.) or have deemed the target expressions ambiguous. The aim of this paper is to sketch a unitary proposal that departs from extant theories on the market by situating the source of these uses not in the semantic and pragmatic features of evaluative predicates, but in their lexical entry instead. Thus, the approach proposed here is a rich-lexicon model (based on work by del Pinal (forthcoming) and del Pinal & Reuter (2016)) in which the various meanings of the target expressions exposed above are encoded in the lexicon as separate dimensions. However, in communication each such dimension can be foregrounded or backgrounded in the detriment of others, thus communicating only one or several of the meanings encoded. This happens through a process of selection. This process is, in turn, dependent in significant measure on the intentions of speakers, but not to the extent that this justifies claiming that the entire meaning of the predicate is dependent on speaker intentions.

References: • del Pinal, G. (forthcoming). Meaning, Modulation, and Context: A Multidimensional Semantics for Truth-conditional Pragmatics. *Linguistics and Philosophy*. • del Pinal, G. & Reuter, K. (2016). Dual character concepts in social cognition: Commitments and the normative dimension of conceptual representations. *Cognitive Science*, 43.

Evaluative Language: When Linguistics Meets Computational Linguistics

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:45
Raum: 11.62

In this talk, I will argue that future developments in sentiment analysis need to be grounded in linguistic knowledge (and also extra-linguistic information). In particular, discourse and pragmatic phenomena play such an important role in the interpretation of evaluative language that they need to be taken into account if our goal is to accurately capture sentiment. I will show that processing evaluative language requires different linguistic levels of interpretation:

- *From words to sentences*: Focusing on lexical semantics of evaluative expressions and sentiment composition.
- *From sentences to discourse*: Focusing on the study of the role of discourse structure to sentiment analysis.
- *From discourse to pragmatic inferences*: Focusing on implicit evaluations, figurative language, and intention detection.

The results show that incorporating linguistic insights, discourse information and other contextual phenomena, in combination with the statistical exploitation of data can result in an improvement over approaches which take advantage of only one of those perspectives (Benamara et al, 2017; Chardon et al, 2013; Cadilhac et al, 2013; Karoui et al, 2015).

References: • Benamara, F., Taboada, M., Mathieu Y. 2017. Evaluative Language Beyond Bags of Words: Linguistic Insights and Computational Applications. *Computational Linguistics* 43(1): 201–264 • Chardon, B., Benamara, F., Mathieu Y., Popescu, V., and Asher, N. (2011): Measuring the Effect of Discourse Structure on Sentiment Analysis. *CICLing (2)* 2013: 25–37 • Cadilhac, A., Asher, N., Benamara, F., Lascarides, A. (2013): Grounding Strategic Conversation: Using Negotiation Dialogues to Predict Trades in a Win-Lose Game. *EMNLP* 2013: 357–368 • Karoui, J., Benamara, F., Moriceau, V., Aussenac-Gilles N., and Belguith, L. (2015): Towards a Contextual Pragmatic Model to Detect Irony in Tweets. *ACL* 2015: 644–650

AG3

Syntax and Prosody in expressing surprise

Alessandra Giorgi, Roland Hinterhölzl & Chiara Dal Farra

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.62

In this work we consider sentences expressing surprise in Italian and German. In particular, we analyze counter-expectational questions, and exclamations and show that these utterances require the presence of a syntactic projection *EvalP* that operates on the evidence that the interlocutors have at their disposal in a given discourse situation. This *EvalP* interacts with different discourse particles and high negation and gives rise to a particular intonational morpheme that expresses the speakers attitude towards the proposition.

As for Italian, we consider examples of the following type. In a scenario where I have been told that Mario is on a diet and eats only fruit, when I see him eating a hamburger, I am surprised. The following question or exclamation is appropriate in such a case:

- (1) *Ma non mangiavi solo frutta?*
But not eat.IMPF only fruit?
'But weren't you eating only fruit?'
- (2) *Ma è un hamburger!*
But is a hamburger!
'But it is a hamburger!'

In German, the use of a modal verb is quasi-obligatory in the surprise - question and in the parallel exclamative, as is illustrated in (3) and (4):

- (3) *Wolltest du nicht nur Obst essen?*
Wanted you not only fruit eat?
'Weren't you going to eat only fruit?'
- (4) *Aber du wolltest doch nur Obst essen!*
But you wanted PAR only fruit eat!
'But should you not eat only fruit!'

References: • Giorgi, Alessandra. (2017). *Ma non era rosso?* (But wasn't it red?): On counter--expectational questions in Italian, in, L. Repetti et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the 46th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*. • Hinterhölzl, Roland & Munaro, Nicola. (2015). On the interpretation of modal particles in non-assertive speech acts in German and Bellunese. In: Josef Bayer, Roland Hinterhoelzl, Andreas Trotzke (eds.), *Discourse-oriented Syntax*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins, 41–70.

A non-epistemic-modal analysis of the “half modal” *scheinen* in German

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Freitag,
 09.03.2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 11.62

In this talk, I propose a non-epistemic-modal analysis of *scheinen* in German. While the use of typical epistemic modals like *können* ‘might’ or *müssen* ‘must’ is odd when the truth value of the prejacent is known to the evaluator, it is not the case with *scheinen*:

- (1) Die rechte Linie scheint kürzer zu sein als die linke, aber das
 the right line seems shorter to be than the left but that
 stimmt nicht.
 correct not
 ‘The right line seems to be shorter than the left one, but that is not true.’
 (Colomo 2011: 225)

What matters in the case above is the speaker’s subjective impression evoked by the present situation rather than the truth or falsity of the prejacent. My proposal builds on McCready & Ogata’s (2007) analysis of Japanese evidential markers in their adjectival use, which makes crucial use of stereotypical properties associated with properties denoted by their complement NPs. Analogously, the present analysis refers to stereotypical properties of situations associated with the prejacent. As a potential alternative to this analysis, Davis & Hara’s (2014) causation-based approach to evidentials is examined. It is argued that the present proposal is more permissive than theirs in that the former can more naturally explain examples with embedded conditionals and futurates.

References: • Colomo, K. (2011). *Modalität im Verbalkomplex*. Dissertation. Ruhr-Universität Bochum. • Davis, C. & Hara, Y. (2014). Evidentiality as a Causal Relation: A Case Study from Japanese youda. In C. Piñón (ed.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 10, 179–196. CSSP, Paris. • McCready, E. & Ogata, N. (2007). Adjectives, stereotypicality, and comparison. *Natural Language Semantics* 15, 35–63.

Scalar evaluativity and other secondary meaning types in argument alternations

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 11.62

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[Based on joint work with Daniel Hole, Universität Stuttgart]

Although there is extensive work on the semantics and syntax of argument alternations (see, e.g., Levin 2015 for an overview), the literature lacks a systematic investigation of the not-at-issue meanings that the non-base variants contribute. This talk takes a selection of syntactically-high, not-at-issue, categories from the literature (Cinque 1999, Hole 2015) and presents observations on projective meanings—so far overlooked—in non-base variants of a few argument alternations. This work contributes to the growing body of literature that describes morphosyntactic communication between INFL-level categories on the one hand, and C-level categories on the other (Kratzer 2009, Wiltschko 2014, Hole 2015).

References: • Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press. • Hole, D. (2015). A distributed syntax for evaluative ‘only’ sentences. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 34(1):43–77. • Kratzer, A. (2009). Making a pronoun: Fake indexicals as windows into the properties of pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(2), 187–237. • Levin, B. (2015). Semantics and pragmatics of argument alternations. *Annual Review of Linguistics* 1, 63–83. • Wiltschko, M. (2014). *The universal structure of categories: Towards a formal typology* (Vol. 142). Cambridge University Press.

Arbeitsgruppe 4

One-to-many relations in morphology, syntax, and semantics

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Raum: 11.71

Workshop description

One-to-many relations between form and function are common in inflectional morphology (e.g. cumulation or multiple/extended exponence). However, this perspective is not yet standard in the areas of syntax and semantics. The aim of the workshop is to explore the deviation from 1:1 mappings across the modules of the grammar. Besides documenting the ubiquity of the phenomenon, the workshop will stimulate cross-framework discussion as to which analytical tools are necessary to handle the phenomena in an adequate and scalable way.

AG4

One-to-many relations in periphrases and paradigms

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
13:45–14:45
Raum: 11.71

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Periphrastic inflectional paradigms provide many instances of mismatch between s- and m-features, resulting in inflectional polysemy for ancillary elements and inflected forms of lexical heads. These pose unique problems for formal description. In Bulgarian a reconfigured periphrastic perfect has developed into an evidential (Renarrated) mood form but the periphrasis has been applied to the auxiliary verb itself to give a Doubly Renarrated mood, a case of a ‘superexhaustive’ paradigm (Spencer 2003). For this a new stem type has had to be innovated (the imperfective l-participle) and a significant zero allomorph of the auxiliary. In Lithuanian bare participles have been reanalyzed as predicative forms expressing evidential mood.

I address the question of how such constructions are to be integrated into a formal grammar in which the periphrases interface with syntax while remaining exponents of the inflectional (morphological) paradigm (Bonami & Webelhuth 2013, Bonami et al. 2016). In particular, it is unclear how they fit into the typology of mismatches explored in Stump (2016) in terms of the CONTENT/FORM paradigm distinction. I take as my starting point the analysis of participles as verb-to-attributive-adjective transpositions developed in Spencer (2017). On this basis I extend proposals sketched in Popova & Spencer (2015) for Bulgarian, redefining Stump’s CONTENT/FORM distinction and showing how this can be used to implement a version of the s-/m-feature distinction deployed in Sadler & Spencer’s (2001) analysis of the Latin perfect passive periphrasis. I draw general conclusions for the syntax-morphology interface and the nature of one:many relations within paradigms.

References: • Bonami, O. & G. Webelhuth (2013). The phrase-structural diversity of periphrasis: a lexicalist account. In M. Chumakina & Corbett, G.G. (eds.): *Periphrasis. The Role of Syntax and Morphology in Paradigms*, 141–167. • Bonami, O. et al. (2016). On pseudo-non-finite clauses in Welsh. In D. Arnold et al. (eds): *Proceedings of HeadLex16*, 104–124. • Popova, G. & Spencer, A. (2015). Stacked periphrases. Talk given at FDSL, U. Potsdam. • Sadler, L. & Spencer, A. (2001). Syntax as an exponent of morphological features. *Yearbook of Morphology* 2000, 71–96. • Spencer, A. (2003). Periphrastic paradigms in Bulgarian. In U. Junghanns & L. Szucsich (eds.): *Syntactic Structures and Morphological Information*, 249–282. • Spencer, A. (2017). Split-morphology and lexicalist morphosyntax: The case of transpositions. In C. Bowerman et al. (eds) *On Looking Into Words (And Beyond)*, 385–420. • Stump, G. (2016). *Inflectional Paradigms*. CUP.

Sliding scales in inflection

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Freitag,
 09.03.2018
 14:45–15:15
 Raum: 11.71

The morphological structure of inflectional paradigms can be thought of as aligning with the feature structure it realizes, or as operating along independent ‘morphomic’ principles. A third possibility – little studied because rarely encountered – is for the two to display parallel structure without a consistent mapping between them. In effect, the morphological paradigm is iconic of the feature structure even in the absence of a reliable form-function relationship. A striking example of this comes from the Yuman language Hualapai (Wataghomigie et al. 2001). Verbs have up to four number forms that mark a mixture of subject, object and event number that I interpret as four values of morphosemantic number, e.g. SINGULAR **dagwan** ‘one person beats up (somebody)’, PAUCAL **dagwanj** ‘a few people beat up (somebody)’, PLURAL **dadgwan** ‘many people beat up (somebody)’, GREATER PLURAL **dadgwanj** ‘many beat up (many people)’. Singular forms are unmarked, while the non-singular forms are built up using suffixes, prefixes and stem lengthening, varying in shape and combinatorial properties across several inflection classes. The striking property of this system is that no fixed number value can be assigned to any of the morphological markers. For example, the contrast of lengthened stem vs. lengthened+suffixed stem marks paucal versus plural in the case of the verb ‘dig’ (**hwa:l** ~ **hwa:l-j**), but plural versus greater plural in the case of ‘tie’ (**gilgyo:** ~ **gilgyo:-j**). But one can always ascertain the *relative* number value of two forms within a paradigm. I model this as two independent but parallel hierarchies: (i) the morphosemantic number values, and (ii) the morphological forms, which express relative but not absolute quantification. The mapping between the two takes the form of a sliding scale, maintaining the relative order of both components while still allowing for a many-to-many mapping.

References: • Watahomigie, L. J., Bender, P., Watahomigie Sr. & Yamamoto, A. (2001). *Hualapai Reference Grammar*. ELPR Publications.

The morpheme-morphome continuum

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.71

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A piece of morphology which appears systematic but does not correspond to any natural morphosyntactic category is usually labelled 'morphomic', after Aronoff (1994). These one-to-many mappings constitute the opposite pole of what form-meaning relations 'ought' to look like and yet they do not appear to be especially vulnerable in language change (see e.g. Maiden 2011). Purely morphological determination is usually invoked in these cases whereas for morphemic phenomena morphosyntactic considerations are usually preferred. What is usually forgotten, however, is that between 'natural class' distributions and unrestricted ones there are various intermediate configurations.

The literature on the morphome has tended to focus on whether specific elements are morphomic or not. Different researchers or models may draw the border at different points in the continuum, depending on feature structure, the status of mechanisms like blocking or other assumed properties of morphosyntactic architecture. However, the dichotomization of quantitative variables is often not a scientifically desirable practice (MacCallum et al. 2002). My purpose, therefore, is to improve our understanding of the morpheme-morphome continuum by identifying the various scales of variation at work (in the vein of Canonical Typology, Corbett 2005), thus increasing our understanding of the possible relations between form and function in grammar.

References: • Aronoff, M. (1994). *Morphology by itself: Stems and inflectional classes*. Cambridge (MA): MIT press. • Corbett, G. G. (2005). The canonical approach in typology. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Hodges, Adam & Rood, David S.(eds.) *Linguistic diversity and language theories*: 25–49. Amsterdam: John Benjamins • Maiden, M. (2011). Morphological persistence. In Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway (eds.), *Cambridge history of the romance languages*: 155–215. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press • MacCallum, R. C., S. Zhang, K. J. Preacher & D. D. Rucker. (2002). On the practice of dichotomization of quantitative variables. *Psychological Methods* 7: 19–40.

Object Mass Nouns in Japanese

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 11.71

[Based on joint work with Peter Sutton, HHU Düsseldorf]

Classifier languages (CLLs), like Japanese, are commonly taken to have no grammaticized lexical mass/count distinction. Chierchia (1998, 2010) argues all Ns in CLLs uniformly denote kinds, and the mass/count distinction is encoded through the syntax and semantics of classifiers. CLLs, therefore have a one-to-one mapping from syntax to semantics, whereby Ns are uniformly mapped to kinds. We contest this view and show that Japanese has a mass/count distinction grammaticized in classifier-less constructions with quantifiers like *nan-byaku to iu* ‘hundreds of’, which are felicitous with Ns like *hon* ‘book’ but infelicitous with Ns like *doro* ‘mud’ or *yūbinbutsu* (partly based on Sudo 2016). Our acceptability judgment study, with 50 native speakers, shows that such quantifiers are not sensitive to atomicity alone as a bi-partite split between nouns denoting objects and nouns denoting stuff could suggest: the quantifier *nan-byaku to iu* ‘hundreds of’ is not acceptable with some collective artifacts like *yūbinbutsu* ‘mail’, despite the fact that such nouns have sets of individuable units in their denotations. Building on Sutton & Filip (2016), Japanese Ns are analyzed as having lexical entries consisting of tuples: $\langle \text{qualities}, c_base_p, \text{presuppositions} \rangle$ with **qualities** as the number neutral predicate *P*, representing the perceptual/functional properties of the relevant N. The *counting base*, **c_base_p**, is the (possibly overlapping) set of entities that count as ‘one’ with respect to *P*. The **presuppositions** slot is used to track conditions of compositions with, e.g., classifiers. We therefore reject the one-to-one mapping between syntactic categories and semantic types of Ns in CLLs, and instead propose a one-to-many mapping, based on our conclusion that Japanese has a grammaticized lexical mass/count distinction.

References: • Chierchia, G. (1998). Reference to Kinds Across Languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6, 339–405. • Chierchia, G. (2010). Mass Nouns, Vagueness and Semantic. *Synthese* 174, 99–149. • Sudo, Y. (2016). The Semantic Role of Classifiers in Japanese. *Baltic International Yearbook of Cognition, Logic, Communication*, 11. • Sutton, P. and Filip, H. (2016). Counting in Context. In: Moroney, M. et al. (eds.) *Semantics and Linguistics Theory (SALT)* 26, 350–370. LSA and CLC Publications.

AG4

Directional interpretations for the Mandarin locative ZAI ('be at')

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 11.71

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This paper argues that directional interpretations for the locative morpheme ZAI in Mandarin Chinese may come from (i) the structural configuration or (ii) verb meaning. Directional ZAI arises with inherently directional verbs (Gehrke's (2008) 'put' verbs) (1), e.g. *fāng* 'put', *dǎo* 'fall', whether pre- (parenthesized ()) or post-verbally (square bracketed []).

- (1) *ta (zai zhuo-shang [fāng-le ben shu) zai zhuo-shang]*
3sg be.at table-upon put-PERF CL book be.at table-upon
'(S)he put a book on the table.' (dir)

Directional ZAI is optionally available with manner of motion verbs, but only post-verbally (3). With manner of motion verbs, pre-verbal ZAI only has a locative interpretation (Tai 1972).

- (2) *wūyā fēi zai kōng-zhōng*
crow fly be.at space-centre
'The crow flew in(to) the air.' (dir or loc)

The asymmetry between pre- and post-verbal positions for directional ZAI argues against a polysemy analysis for ZAI or manner of motion verbs: If *fēi* 'fly' or ZAI had both manner and result senses, pre-verbal ZAI should also allow a directional interpretation. I argue that (1) exemplifies a lexical source for directional ZAI, while (2) exemplifies a configurational source, i.e. the verb+ZAI structure, which I argue forms a compound. I derive directional V-ZAI in (2) via Rothstein's (2004) RSUM operation (3).

- (3) $RSUM [fly', [ZAI in.the.air]] = \lambda y \lambda e \exists e1 \exists e2 [e = {}^S(e1 \sqcup e2) \ \& \ fly'(e1, y) \ \& \ loc(y, in.the.air)(e2) \ \& \ TPCONNECT(Cul(e1), e2, y)]$

References: • Gehrke, B. (2008). Ps in motion: On the syntax and semantics of P elements and motion events. PhD thesis, Utrecht University. • Rothstein, S. (2004). *Structuring Events*. Blackwell. • Tai, J. H.-Y. (1972). On two functions of place adverbials in Mandarin Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 3, 154–79.

“One-to-one” or “one-to-many” correspondences in verb classes and argument realization patterns?

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:30–18:00
 Raum: 11.71

Drawing on data from English verbs (verb classes) of Change, Theft, and Giving, this talk demonstrates a novel approach to verb classes which reconciles the assumption of a “one-to-one” correspondence between verb meaning and argument realization (Levin 1993: 1) with recent findings that argument realization is not predictable from verb meaning but exhibits a “one-to-many” correspondence (e.g. Faulhaber 2011). After briefly reviewing previous literature, I discuss the distribution of sets of near-synonymous verbs across various argument realization patterns (“constructions”). When comparing verbs of the same class, the data show that no two verbs exhibit identical constructional behavior (especially when frequency of occurrence is accounted for). However, when comparing distinct classes against each other, the data show that each class is associated with a unique range of constructions.

While it is obvious that verbs of a given class exhibit similar but not identical behavior, linguists have yet to formalize this observation. I thus show how verb classes and verbal lexical entries can be formulated at multiple levels of granularity. At a coarse-grained level, these classes specify the general, shared meaning of all verbs in the class and the class’s “constructional range”, which delimits the set of constructions the verbs may *potentially* occur in. The fine-grained “frame-based verb entry”, in turn, specifies how each verb profiles certain aspects of the class’s more general semantics, as well as the relative frequency with which the verb appears in each construction of the constructional range. Where possible, sub-classes are formulated to capture medium-grained similarities in both meaning and syntax among more closely related verbs of a given class. To conclude, I discuss the implications of these data and theoretical concepts and point to avenues for future research.

References: • Faulhaber, S. (2011). *Verb Valency Patterns*. Mouton de Gruyter. • Levin, B. (1993). *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. U. of Chicago Press.

AG4

One to many relations and the nature of syntactic dependencies

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 11.71

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Various syntactic dependencies have been attested: φ -agreement, binding, selection, (structural) case, negative concord, and many others. All these dependencies also involve one-to-many relations. For instance, φ -agreement involves multiple markings of the features of one nominal (or other) expression. Binding involves multiple references to one discourse referent, etc. Such syntactic dependencies are also subject to syntactic locality conditions. At the same time, these dependencies also show various characteristic differences. In this talk I discuss to what extent such syntactic dependencies can be accounted for as different manifestations of the same underlying operations. I also address the question what the nature of such operations are; and how they are connected to each other within the model of grammar.

A new perspective on Romanian weak NPIs

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 11.71

This paper revisits the issue of the licensing conditions of weak negative polarity items (NPIs) in strict negative concord (NC) languages and of their assumed competition with n-words, from the perspective of Romanian. I will deal with the contexts where two n-words co-occur in a clause [n-word₁ + *(NM) + FiniteVerb + n-word₂; *(NM) = obligatory negative marker]. Fălăuş (2008) argues that in these contexts *vre*-NPIs (e.g.: *vreun* (masc.)/*vreo* (fem.) ‘any’) win the competition with n-word₂ in a NC language, because the latter would trigger an ambiguity between double (DN) and single negation (SN) as in (1) (see Iordăchioaia 2010).

Based on a corpus analysis, I will argue that, in fact, when an n-word precedes the NM, weak NPI licensing requires the same pattern as DN in Romanian: i.e., a denial interpretation with marked intonation as in (2); see also Iordăchioaia (2007) on marked intonation with *vre*-NPIs and no n-word. This excludes the hypothesis that *vre*-NPIs are used instead of an n-word to convey the typically unmarked SN/NC reading, against DN:

- (1) **Niciun student** *(**nu**) a citit **nicio carte**.
no student NM has read n-word book
‘No student read no book.’ (denial, marked intonation, DN)
‘No student read any book.’ (*denial, unmarked intonation, SN)
- (2) **Niciun student** *(**nu**) a citit **vreo carte**.
no student NM has read vre-NPI book
‘No student read any book.’ (denial, marked intonation, SN)

I will also show that the only case when the speaker is forced to replace the n-word with a *vre*-NPI to avoid the ambiguity with DN and convey a SN reading is that when denial targets the subject position.

References: • Fălăuş, A. M. (2008). Is there any negative polarity in Romanian? *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics* X, 5–20. • Iordăchioaia, G. (2007). A Case of Negative Polarity in Romanian. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, LII, 195–209. • Iordăchioaia, G. (2010). *Negative Concord with Negative Quantifiers*. PhD Thesis, University of Tübingen.

The morphology-syntax interface: agreement morphology in Plains Cree

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 11.71

The goal of this paper is to provide an account of the complex agreement morphology of Plains Cree (Algonquian). Our main theoretical claim is that the inflectional morphology of a word is licensed by its abstract syntactic features. For this we adopt the LFG idea that syntactic information is factored into two different structures (c- and f-structure), which are in a mutually constraining relation, and assume that this is so not only at the phrasal level, but also at the word level. The inflectional morphology-syntax interface is an instance in which the word-level f-structure licenses the morphological composition of the word (the c-structure terminal node).

Verbal inflectional morphology in Plains Cree presents many examples of one-to-many relations between person and number affixes and the grammatical function (GF) they refer to (data from Dahlstrom 1986 and Zúñiga 2008). One of the salient properties of Plains Cree verbal agreement morphology is that person-number affixes are neutral with respect to GFs. It is the direction suffix that connects the person and number information to specific GFs. Affixes form independent sets (*schemata* in Anderson 1992): within each set affixes are licensed by rules that are ranked in a preferential order; the first applicable rule blocks the application of any subsequent, lower ranking rule.

The proposal of deriving the morphological composition of the word from its f-structure information allows us to avoid making use of additional structures or features like m-features (Dalrymple 2015), which essentially duplicate the f-structure information. Our proposal provides a way to explain one-to-many relations at the morphology-syntax interface while keeping the architecture of the theoretical framework as simple as possible.

References: • Anderson, S. (1992). *A-morphous morphology*. Cambridge University Press.
• Dahlstrom, A. (1986). *Plains Cree morphosyntax*. PhD thesis. UC Berkeley.
• Dalrymple, M. (2015). Morphology in the LFG architecture. In Butt, M. and King, T. H. (Eds.), *Proceedings of LFG15* (64–83). CSLI.
• Zúñiga, F. (2008). How many hierarchies, really? Evidence from several Algonquian languages. In Richards, M. and Malchukov, A. L. (Eds.), *Scales* (277–294). Universität Leipzig.

One-to(o)-many Agreement Options in Serbo-Croatian

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.71

We report on a great variety of agreement patterns with quantified noun phrases (QNP) in Serbo-Croatian (BCS). Participles have been shown to optionally agree either with the quantifier (Q-Agr) or with the noun (N-Agr), or show default Agree (neuter singular). Previous analyses of Slavic QNP agreement patterns (Pesetsky 1982, Franks 1994, Bošković 2003, 2006) derive agreement alternations from positional differences and/or nominative case assignment. For BCS, the alternation between default and N-Agr, triggered by uninflecting quantifiers and numerals ≥ 5 , see (1), has been argued to result from failed agree, where *N.sg* is the default value and *F.pl* arises from the semantic interpretation of the QNP.

- (1) *Pet devojak-a je došl-o / su došl-e.*
 five girl-F.PL.GEN AUX.3SG **come-N.SG** / AUX.3PL **come-F.PL**
 ‘Five girls came’

Not only is there optionality between default and N-Agr, nominal (and paucal-triggering) quantifiers generally allow for N-Agr as well as Q-Agr, see (2). Since N-agr tracks gender features, an analysis based on semantic agreement is untenable.

- (2) *Niz stvar-i je/su ugrozi-o/*
 string.M.SG.NOM stuff-F.PL.GEN AUX.3SG/3PL **endangered-M.SG**
ugrozil-e avion.
endangered-F.PL plane
 ‘A string of issues endangered the plane’

We will show that the data can be described by a strictly derivational agreement system, based on **rule ordering** (Müller 2009, Georgi 2014, Assmann et al. 2015, Puškar and Murphy 2017). The key observation for our analysis stems from the preverbal/postverbal agreement pattern which parallels that of *closest conjunct agreement* in Serbo Croatian.

References: • Assmann et al. (2015). Ergatives move too early. *Syntax* 18:343-387. • Bošković (2006). Case and Agreement with GQ in Russian. In: *Agreement Systems*, 99-121. • Georgie (2014). Opaque Interactions of Merge and Agree. *PhD thesis*.

French Object Relatives and subject inversion: what's your preference?

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 11.71

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Subject inversion in French is restricted to certain constructions (Marandin 2011). We compare Object Relative Clauses with preverbal subjects (1) (OR_{snoinv}) and with postverbal subjects (2) (OR_{sinv}).

- (1) *l'homme que l'avocat voit*
the.man that_{obj} the.lawyer sees...
- (2) *l'homme que voit l'avocat*
the.man that_{obj} sees the.lawyer_{subj}

In generative grammar, such subject inversion is considered as optional and the result of verb movement (Kayne & Pollock 1978), with higher processing costs (see Holmes & O'Regan 1981 with reversible verbs). But other studies suggest that OR_{sinv} depend on factors such as semantics or length (Fuchs 2006, Marandin 2011). Using the French Treebank (newspaper), we obtained 184 OR, with 48% inversion, and annotated verb semantics, subject and verb length, number of arguments, a. o. Using logistic regression models, we found that both ORs do not differ significantly in frequency, and that OR_{sinv} are preferred when the subject is longer, and the verb is shorter and non agentive. Thus, OR_{snoinv} and OR_{sinv} are not alternatives but are used in specific contexts. An acceptability judgment experiment testing subject length and agentivity with materials inspired from our corpus, confirmed that with a long subject and a non agentive verb, OR_{sinv} are preferred. Our results are compatible with semantic accounts in RC processing (Mak et al. 2006).

References: • Holmes, O'Regan (1981). Eye Fixation patterns during the reading of Relative--Clause sentences. *JVLVB* 20 417-430. • Kayne, Pollock. (1978). Stylistic inversion, successive cyclicity and move NP in French. *LI9*: 595-621. • Mak, Vonk, Schriefers (2006) Animacy in processing relative clauses: The hikers that rocks crush, *JML* 54 466-490. • Marandin (2011). Subject Inversion in French. The Limits of Information Structure. *Proc. 18th HPSG conference*, CSLI Publications.

Conspiracy theories: The problem with lexical approaches to idioms

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 13:45–14:15
 Raum: 11.71

According to a particular strand of research, idioms are not stored as units, but are rather conspiracies of single-word lexical items which combine in just the right way so as to give the correct idiomatic form and meaning. In this way, expressions which seem to represent a one-to-many relation between the lexicon and the grammar are, instead, reduced to the usual kind of one-to-one correspondence. In this paper, however, I argue that such a move is misguided, and that we should instead prefer a theory where idioms are represented as units, such as that of Abeillé (1995).

I present arguments of three main kinds against such a ‘lexical ambiguity’ approach: based on theoretical elegance, empirical coverage, and psycholinguistic plausibility. I contend that such a theory leads to undesirable consequences in all these areas. The challenge of correctly constraining the collocational patterns, for instance, leads to an explosive proliferation of homophonous forms in the lexicon. It is also not obvious that the correct collocational restrictions can be stated in general terms in the first place. And psycholinguistic experiments (Swinney & Cutler 1979, i.a.) have found that idiomatic meanings are processed faster than literal ones, and are looked up rather than computed: this is not the prediction of a model where idioms are put together in the same way as any other phrase.

Idioms embody a tension between word-like and phrase-like properties. The lexical ambiguity approach ignores this tension by treating idioms as regular phrases made up of words in the usual way. But this fails to match our intuitions about idioms, and does not accord with the psycholinguistic findings either. Instead, we need an approach in which idioms are represented as units, but with internal structure that can be manipulated.

References: • Abeillé, A. (1995). The flexibility of French idioms: A representation with Lexicalized Tree Adjoining Grammar. In: Martin Everaert, Erik-Jan van der Linden, André Schenk & Rob Schreuder (eds.), *Idioms: Structural and psychological perspectives*. Lawrence Erlbaum.
 • Swinney, D. A. & Cutler, A. (1979). The access and processing of idiomatic expressions. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 18, 523–534.

AG4

How to modify idioms

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 11.71

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[Based on joint work with Berit Gehrke, CNRS-LLF / Paris Diderot]

The analysis of adjectival syntactic modification of nominal complements in idiomatic expressions by Ernst (1981) distinguishes between *internal*, *external*, and *conjunctive* modification. In internal modification (1), the meaning of the adjective applies to the meaning of the nominal complement. In external modification (2), the meaning of the adjective applies to the meaning of the idiom as a whole, and, according to Ernst (1981), the modifier functions like a domain adverb. In conjunctive modification (3), the meaning of the adjective applies to the literal meaning of the nominal complement, so that the idiomatic and the literal meaning of the nominal complement must be accessible at the same time.

- (1) [...] many people were eager to jump on the **horse-drawn** Reagan bandwagon.
- (2) Carter does not have an **economic** leg to stand on.
- (3) [...] there is that little stab of shame we feel [...] for having had so much fun pulling his **cross-gartered** leg for so long.

The goal of our paper is to relate the types of modification illustrated in (1)–(3) to more general modification strategies outside the realm of idioms, and to derive restrictions on modification in idioms from general restrictions on modification in other domains. We propose that the internal modification in (1) can be treated on a par with modification of weak definites. Following a proposal by Gehrke & McNally (2014), we conjecture that the kind of modifying strategy in (2) involves independently attested (semantic) noun incorporation, with an effect of the adjective on the V-N combination. In (3), we observe non-intersective modification that adds secondary content (at the CI tier) to the main content of the sentence.

References: • Ernst, T. (1981). Grist for the linguistic mill: Idioms and “extra” adjectives. In: *Journal of Linguistic Research*, vol. 1(3), 51–68. • Gehrke, B., & L. McNally (2014). Event individuation by objects: Evidence from frequency adjectives. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 18, 146–163.

Periphrasis and morphosyntactic mismatch in Czech

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.71

We propose a formal HPSG analysis of periphrastic conjugation in Czech at the morphology-syntax interface. In the past 1st and 2nd person, the past is realized periphrastically by a combination of the main verb, in what is historically an *l*-participle, and what is historically a 2nd position clitic homophonous with matching forms of the copula. In the 3rd person, the main verb occurs on its own.

	MAS	PST	
		FEM	NEU
1SG	čekal jsem	čekala jsem	čekalo jsem
2SG	čekal jsi	čekala jsi	čekalo jsi
3SG	čekal	čekala	čekalo
1PL	čekal(i/y) jsme	čekaly jsme	čekala jsme
2PL	čekal(i/y) jste	čekaly jste	čekala jste
3PL	čekal(i/y)	čekaly	čekala

Past subparadigm of ČEKAT 'wait'

Tseng and Kupść (2006) address this situation by taking past auxiliaries to be phrasal agreement suffixes, but this is invalidated empirically by the evidence presented by Hana (2007, chap. 4) that Czech clitics are words. The alternative of postulating an empty auxiliary is conceptually unsatisfactory. We propose a new analysis building on the recent literature on periphrastic inflection and morphosyntactic mismatches (Sadler & Spencer, 2001; Ackerman & Stump, 2004; Bonami, 2015). We posit that in the Czech past, two different mismatches occur: the non-3rd person involves a mismatch on the auxiliary, whereas the 3rd person involves a mismatch on the main verb. As a result, the expression of the past always involves a morphosyntactic mismatch, although it does not always involve periphrasis.

References: • Ackerman, F. and Stump, G. T. (2004). Paradigms and Periphrastic Expression. In: *Projecting Morphology*, CSLI Publications. • Bonami, O. (2015). Periphrasis as Collocation. *Morphology* 25. • Hana, Jiri (2007). Czech clitics in Higher Order Grammar. PhD Dissertation, Ohio State University. • Sadler, L. and Spencer, A. (2001). Syntax as an exponent of morphological features. In: *Yearbook of Morphology* 2000. • Tseng, J. and Kupść, A. (2006). A cross-linguistic approach to Slavic past tense and conditional constructions. In: *Proceedings of FDSL6*.

Why Sequencing Rules?

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 11.71

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This study investigates person and number marking of subject and object in one of the Iranian languages, known as Laki. This language belongs to the Northwestern branch of Iranian languages (Windfuhr 2009). In Laki, person and number properties of the subject and object can both be realized on the verb. These markers are polyfunctional; because they have distinct but related content depending on the context in which they appear. These person and number markers are classified in three groups: one is a set of clitics (hereafter group A) that mark {1 and 2 sg} and {1-3 pl}. The other one is a set of suffixes (hereafter group B) that mark {1 and 2 sg} and {1-3 pl}. The third one is the suffix *-i*, that marks {3 sg} (Taghipour 2017). The distribution of these markers is what is remarkable. Group A marks subject agreement of the preterite transitive verbs, and pronominal object in present tense. Group B marks subject agreement in present tense, and pronominal object in preterite transitive verbs. They also mark subject agreement in preterite intransitive verbs. Suffix *-i* marks subject agreement of {3sg} in preterite transitive and present verbs. It serves as the pronominal object for present verbs as well.

Group A. {sbj trans pret} $\wedge$ {obj prs} Group B. {sbj prs} $\wedge$ {obj trans pret} $\wedge$ {sbj intrans pret}

=em	{1sg}
=et	{2sg}
=man	{1pl}
=tan	{2pl}
=an	{3pl}

=em	{1sg}
in	{2sg}
imen	{1pl}
inan	{2pl}
en	{3pl}

{OBJ/SBJ} depending on being more specified with {pret/prs} and {trans/intrans} features, will be morphologically realized by different forms either by clitics (Group A), or by affixes (Group B). Hence I am going to argue that {SBJ} and {OBJ}, apart from their person and number properties, should be specified with tense and valence values as well. Furthermore, I draw a distinction between intrinsic and positional exponence (Stump 2017). The distinction between intrinsic and positional exponence suggests that rules of exponence should actually consist of two independent parts: exponence declarations which specify intrinsic content $\tau:\{\alpha_{PER} \beta_{NUM}\}$ and sequencing rules which specify an exponent's linear ordering and its positional content.

Configurations of negative coordination

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Freitag,
 09.03. 2018
 12:45–13:15
 Raum: 11.71

Many languages make use of special coordination markers in negative contexts, such as (*neither...*) *nor* in English: *I have **neither** read the book **nor** seen the film*. The main question is whether they should be analyzed as conjunctions that scope over negation or as disjunctions in the scope of negation (Gonzalez & Demirdache 2015, Wurmbrand 2008, inter alia). I argue that both configurations are indeed attested in natural languages and that this is directly related to the Negative Concord (NC) status of a given language. Using data from English, Serbo-Croatian and French, I defend the claim that negative coordination markers in Double Negation languages are inherently negative and, in fact, represent the overt realization of the semantic operator, as the presence of subject-auxiliary inversion suggests. Although conjunction-based, they themselves do not represent the spell-out of the logical connective. In NC languages, the negative coordination markers are not inherently negative, including the peculiar case of French. This raises the issue of the mapping between the morphological forms and their interpretation, since languages have a choice between the overt realization of as many negative coordination markers as there are members of the coordination, or, alternatively, realizing only the marker on the last member. I show that this can only be handled under a disjunction-based analysis for negative coordination in NC languages, where the actual logical connective is not overtly realized in any of the occurrences of the marker (*ni*, in French and Serbo-Croatian), since it could not maintain its usual lexical entry. They represent non-*wh*-based neg-words, whose uninterpretable features must be checked by a c-commanding silent negative operator (Zeijlstra 2004).

References: • Gonzalez, A. and H. Demirdache (2015). Negative Coordination: *ni* vs. *ni..ni* in French. *LSRL 44 Proceedings*. • Wurmbrand, S. (2008). Nor: neither disjunction nor paradox. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39. 511–522 • Zeijlstra, H. (2004). Sentential Negation and Negative Concord. PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam.

AG4

Negative modals in Georgian Sign Language: Partial suppletion and concord

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 11.71

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In sign languages (SLs), negation can be realized by manual signs and/or a headshake [3]. Interestingly, across SLs, modals commonly involve an irregular negative form [2,4]. We investigate the behavior of modals under negation in Georgian SL (GESL), an understudied language.

We first show that under negation, GESL modals (e.g. CAN, WANT) display a (partially) suppletive form, as they are characterized by a change in movement. We are thus dealing with a morphological *one-to-many relation*. Second, when used in a past tense context, the irregular negative forms obligatorily combine with the particle NOT, as is illustrated for WANT-NOT in (1a). That is, we observe Negative Concord (NC), a syntactic *many-to-one* relation. Using only the suppletive form leads to ungrammaticality (1b), and so does combining WANT-NOT with NOT in the present/future tense (1c). That is, this type of NC in GESL is tense-specific (tense-specific negation strategies also exist in spoken languages [1], but they usually don't apply to only a subset of verbs).

- (1) a. YESTERDAY **WANT-NOT NOT** PAINT
'Yesterday I didn't want to paint.'
b. *YESTERDAY **WANT-NOT** PAINT
c. *TODAY **WANT-NOT NOT** PAINT

We hypothesize that NegP has to be lexicalized. In the present/future tense, this is achieved by moving the modal to Neg, yielding the irregular form. In the past, the modal moves further up to Tns (as evidenced by it preceding NOT), due to [+past] being a strong feature. Thus, merging NOT in SpecNegP is obligatory in [+past] contexts.

References: • [1] Miestamo. (2005). *Standard negation*. Mouton. • [2] Pfau & Quer. (2007). The syntax of negation and modals in Catalan SL and German SL. In *Visible variation*, 129–61. Mouton. • [3] Quer. (2012). Negation. In *Sign language: International handbook*, 316–39. De Gruyter Mouton. • [4] Zeshan. (2004). Hand, head, and face: Negative constructions in SLs. *Linguistic Typology* 8. 1–58.

Negation marking in conjuncts: A many-to-one relation?

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.71

In Standard German (and in Standard English), sentential negation can be expressed by a constituent containing a so-called *n-word* such as *niemand* ‘no-body’ or *kein-* ‘no’. If this constituent occurs in a conjunction, as in (1), several such negative constituents can be conjoined without giving rise to a double negation reading or a negative concord reading (see fn. 1 of Larrivé 2016). We will point out analytical challenges of these cases and suggest a possible analysis.

- (1) Die meisten Berühmtheiten beantworten **keine** Briefe und **keine** e-Mails.
‘Most celebrities answer no letters and no e-mail messages.’

A simple first analysis interprets sentence (1) as a conjunction of two negated sentences with the logical representation $(\neg \exists x(\phi \wedge \psi)) \wedge (\neg \exists x(\phi' \wedge \psi))$. Closer inspection of the data reveals that negatively marked conjuncts can bind a pronoun outside of the conjunction, which shows that an interpretation as clausal conjunction is not possible. An alternative logical form is $\neg \exists x((\phi \vee \phi') \wedge \psi)$. It contains a single negation, and the restrictors of the two negative determiners are combined by logical disjunction instead of conjunction.

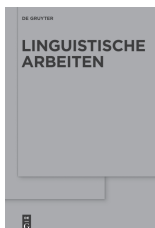
We argue that current analyses of negation do not predict the observed semantic behavior. We propose an analysis in *Lexical Resource Semantics* (Richter & Sailer 2004), which allows for negation amalgamation in coordination structures in German, and discuss independent evidence for analyzing the coordination particle *und* ‘and’ as ambiguous between logical conjunction and disjunction. Its actual reading is determined on the basis of the overall semantic contribution of its arguments.

References: • Larrivé, P. (2016): The markedness of double negation. In P. Larrivé & Ch. Lee (eds.), *Negation and polarity: Experimental perspectives*, vol. 1, 177–197. Springer. • Richter, F. & M. Sailer (2006): Modeling typological markedness in semantics. the case of negative concord. In St. Müller (ed.), *Proceedings of the 13th international conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*, Varna 2006, 305–325. Stanford: CSLI Publications. cslipublications.stanford.edu/HPSG/7/richter-sailer.pdf.

AG4

LINGUISTISCHE ARBEITEN

Herausgegeben von Klaus von Heusinger, Gereon Müller, Ingo Plag,
Beatrice Primus, Elisabeth Stark und Richard Wiese



Die Buchreihe *Linguistische Arbeiten* (LA) trägt wesentlich zur aktuellen linguistischen Theoriebildung im Bereich der allgemeinen und einzelsprachlichen Linguistik bei. Veröffentlicht werden hochwertige Arbeiten, die aktuelle Fragestellungen bearbeiten und die Entwicklung der Sprachwissenschaft, synchron oder diachron, empirisch oder theoretisch orientiert, vorantreiben.

Jetzt aktuell

Band 569
Agnes Jäger
VERGLEICHSKONSTRUKTIONEN IM DEUTSCHEN
(2018)

Band 567
Christiane Ulbrich, Richard Wiese, Alexander Werth (Eds.)
EMPIRICAL APPROACHES TO THE PHONOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF WORDS
(2018)

Band 566
Jan Michalsky
FRAGEINTONATION IM DEUTSCHEN
(2017)

Band 565
Nanna Fuhrhop, Renata Szczepaniak, Karsten Schmidt (Hrsg.)
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Josef Bayer, Volker Struckmeier (Eds.)
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Anke Holler, Katja Suckow (Eds.)
EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ANAPHORA RESOLUTION
(2016)

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Arbeitsgruppe 5

Possessive relations: interpretation, syntax and argument structure

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Ilja.serzants@uni-leipzig.de

Raum: 11.82

Workshop description

The workshop's focus is the morphosyntactic means employed for encoding different types of possession such as predicative, external, internal, etc. We ask such questions as to what extent can the particular interpretation be derived from the meaning of the parts and how much is determined by pragmatic reasoning, world knowledge and context; or, whether subtypes of possession are associated with different structures or are derived from one underlying locative structure. We invite contributions with a theoretical, functional-typological or diachronic focus.

Dative and possession

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
13:45–14:45
Raum: 11.82

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Dative marked DPs referring to animates are often identified with marking possessors (e.g. Haspelmath 2003, Levin 2008). The paper explores this linkage in ditransitive constructions featuring both core and non-core argument in several languages (Hebrew, Arabic, French, Russian and English).

Whereas syntactically there have been shown to be two main underlying structures for ditransitives: one where the dative is c-commanded by the direct object, which is prepositional-like, the other where the dative c-commands the direct object (Larson 1988, Bruening 2010 among many others). In this talk it will be demonstrated how both underlying structures make available possessive interpretations, tracing the underlying structures identified by Boneh & Sichel (2010) for clausal possession in ditransitive constructions as well. The syntactic analysis coupled with interpretative considerations pertaining to the lexical semantic properties of the verb and pragmatic factors will allow to shed light on the question why possessors are marked similarly to recipients and bene-/maleficiaries, blurring at times the difference between them (see Boneh & Nash 2017). Consequently, the proposed account will question the independent availability of the category labeled “possessor dative” derived by possessor raising, for some of the languages under consideration (e.g. Landau 1999, cf. Deal 2013).

Finally, it will further be suggested that the source for the cross-linguistic variation in the syntactic and interpretative properties of dative arguments should be mainly sought in the syntax, observing the height of attachment of the dative argument, and the availability or lack thereof of a derivational link between the two underlying structures.

On the syntax of U-possessor phrases in Ukrainian and Russian

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:45–15:15
Raum: 11.82

We use purpose clauses to distinguish the base positions of different kinds of PPs headed by u- ‘at’ in Ukrainian and Russian. U-phrases have been argued to mark a possessor, a location, or a ‘human location’. Freeze (1992) claims that the locative use is basic that the others are derived from. We argue here that each of these u- phrases has a different base position, with u- phrases with true possessive meaning merged in the highest position, while u-phrases denoting locations are merged low in the structure. Evidence for the base structural distinctness of the three kinds of u- phrases comes from their compatibility with a certain binding configuration in purpose clauses (following Hallman 2015). We see that the possessor u-PP in (1) has no difficulty binding the PRO subject of the purpose clause, while the true locative u-PP in (2) cannot.

- (1) *U Kolii est’ mašinaj [čtoby PRO_i ezdit’ na rabotu e_j]*
 At KoliaGEN is carNOM in.order.to drive on workPREP
 ‘Kolia has a car to drive to work’ (POSSESSIVE)
- (2) **Koljaj byl v Moskvei [čtoby PRO_i vpečatlit’ ej]*
 KoliaNOM was in MoscowPREP in.order.to impressINF
 ‘Kolia was in Moscow to be impressed’ (LOCATIVE)

Thus we claim that the possessor u-phrases are generated high, possibly in Spec,ApplP, while the location u-phrases are generated low, in the complement of V. Locative-possessive u-phrases prefer to function as locations but may marginally occur in a high position like possessors.

References: • Freeze, R. (1992). Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68, 553–595. • Hallman, P. (2015). Syntactic Neutralization in Double Object Constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46, 389–424.

How “external” is the possessor of BE-possessives?

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.82

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It is claimed in this paper that BE-possessives and BE-existentials do not have any external argument in the canonical sense, hence no VoiceP needs to project in their VP-internal domain. This undermines the universal status of VoiceP in the VP-layer of verbal predicates (see Kratzer 1996, Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulous & Schäfer 2015, Myler 2016). Existential and possessive BE-sentences are taken to be dyadic unaccusatives, in which the verbal predicate lacks the upper vP layer altogether. Possessor and location arguments in possessive and existential sentences take the highest argument position of the truncated VP-shell but they are lower than canonical causer arguments are. The theme argument, on the other hand, is hosted in the lowest layer of the VP-shell. The syntactic tests used in Russian and Hungarian existential and possessive sentences point in the direction that possessor and location arguments are not external in the sense of Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015). Accommodating possessor and location arguments in VoiceP (Myler 2016) would imply that they occupy the same VP-internal position in possessive and existential sentences as causer subjects do elsewhere, contrary to the facts.

The present proposal starts out with a truncated VP-shell. This makes existential and possessive BE-sentences reminiscent of dyadic unaccusative psych-predicates. The surface positioning of the arguments in these sentences is derived from discourse-semantic factors. Possessor and location arguments target the C-domain of the sentence, where discourse-semantic functional projections are hosted (see Rizzi 1997, 2013). This makes additional functional projections or abstract prepositions inside the VP-shell unnecessary.

References: • Alexiadou, A., Anagnostopoulou, E. & Schaefer, F. 2015. External Arguments in Transitivity Alternations. • Kratzer, A. 1996. Severing the external argument from the verb. • Myler, N. 2016. Building and interpreting possession sentences. • Rizzi, L. 1997. *The fine structure of the left periphery*.

Existential predication and transpossession constructions in typological and diachronic perspective

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 16:30–17:00
 Raum: 11.82

Existential predication as illustrated by English *There is a book (on the table)*, like plain locational predication (*The book is on the table*), encodes figure-ground relationships, but with a different perspectivization. In some languages, the existential predicator is also found in have-possessive constructions. This type of existential construction is not rare in the languages of the world. Its historical development can be analyzed as starting from the depersonalization of the possessive construction: *X has Y* > (*at some place*) *they have Y* > (*at some place*) *Y is available* > (*at some place*) *there is Y*. Another aspect of the relationship between existentials and have-possessives is the ‘have-drift’, by which be-possessives may acquire coding properties typical of transitive predication. The conclusion is that a typological investigation of existential and possessive predication does not support the popular view that the notion of possession would be a mere excrescence of location/existence.

References: • Creissels, D. (2013): Control and the evolution of possessive and existential constructions. In: Elly van Gelderen, Jóhanna Barðdal, and Michela Cennamo (eds.), *Argument structure in flux*. The Naples-Capri papers. John Benjaúo, 461–476. • Stassen, L. (2009): *Predicative possession*. Oxford University Press.

Possession as a grammatical category or usage tendency? Evidence from Czech

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 11.82

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This paper focuses on two syntactic possession related dichotomies in Czech grammar: (i) attributive-possessor construction vs action-nominal construction (1a–b), (ii) dative external-possessor construction vs dative benefactive/malefactive construction (1c–d).

- (1) a. *jeho vlasy* ‘his hair’
 b. *matčino zpívání* ‘mother’s singing’
 c. *matka mu myje vlasy* ‘the mother washes his hair (on him)’
 d. *matka mu zpívá písničku* ‘the mother sings a song for him’

The talk presents a corpus-based analysis showing that the difference between the two notions in each dichotomy is not based on formal distributional properties but it is rather a matter of interpretation. We are conducting a research using a behavioral profiles methodology (Divjak & Gries 2006) to reveal specific usage tendencies in these constructional patterns. Our investigation indicates that the interpretation of modifying adjectives/pronouns/genitives as possessors/agents/patients depends particularly on the semantics of the head and on pragmatic context (cf. nominal- and verbal-based nominalizations in Shibatani (to appear)). Similarly, the interpretation of the dative emerges mainly from the predicate semantics (cf. free-affectee construction in Seržant 2016).

To conclude, only one associational attributive relation and one dative free-affectee construction should be discriminated for Czech: the notion possession may be used merely as a semantic label for certain functions of these grammatical constructions.

References: • Shibatani, M. (to appear). Nominalization in crosslinguistic perspective. In P. Pardeshi & T. Kageyama (eds.), *Handbook of Japanese Contrastive Studies*. De Gruyter. • Divjak, D. & Gries, S. (2006). Ways of trying in Russian: clustering behavioral profiles. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 2(1): 23–60. • Seržant, I. (2016). External possession and constructions that may have it. *STUF* 69(1): 131–16.

Internal versus external possessives: The case of Macedonian

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:30–18:00
 Raum: 11.82

This paper examines the competition between two strategies of expressing prototype possession in Macedonian: the prepositional *na*-construction (*kolata na Stefan* Lit. the car on Stefan ‘Stefan’s car’), an internal possessive construction marking the possessive relation explicitly in the NP and the possessive dative (PDC), example below, the most widespread external possessive strategy (Mitkovska 2000).

- (1) *Vesna mu_i ja rasipa kolata (na Stefan_i).*
 Vesna him:DAT her:ACC broke car:DET to Stefan
 ‘Vesna broke Stephan’s car.’

The aim of this presentation is to show that in contemporary Macedonian the distribution of the two types of possessive constructions is primarily contingent on pragmatic and stylistic factors (O’Connor 2007). PDCs are rarely found in serious press where an objective account of events is the primary goal, while in fiction it is a common feature. In the latter presenting the events from the possessor’s perspective and empathizing with them creates an atmosphere of familiarity and intimacy.

References: • Mitkovska, L. (2000). On the possessive interpretation of the indirect object in Macedonian. *Linguistica Silesiana* 21, 85–101. • O’Connor, M.C. (2007). External possession and utterance interpretation: a crosslinguistic exploration. *Linguistics* 45(3), 577–613.

Attributive Possession and the Contributions of Roots

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–9:30
Raum: 11.82

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A large amount of typological work points towards the following generalizations (Ultan 1978; Seiler 1983; Haiman 1983; Nichols 1992; Heine 1997; Haspelmath 2008; see also also Karvovskaya and Schoorlemmer 2017, 291; Myler 2016, 50–55 for discussion): (a.) If there is a contrast between alienable and inalienable possession with respect to the presence of morphological structure, alienable possession is always more morphologically marked; and (b.) inalienable possession involves a tighter structural bond between possessee and possessor. An intuitively satisfying account of these facts appeals to selection by roots: inalienable noun roots denote relations and select a complement directly, whereas alienable roots denote simple predicates, thus requiring an additional Poss head to introduce a possession relation.

I argue against a root-selection approach to inalienable possession, using a detailed case study of attributive possession in the Mayan language Tzutujil (Dayley 1985). Tzutujil (like other Mayan languages) provides instructive exceptions to (a.) and (b.), the proper analysis of which motivates the following claims: (i) “relational” noun roots are not, in fact, semantically relational; (ii) instead, inalienable relations are introduced by specific variants of little-*n*; (iii) in contrast, as on existing accounts, alienable possession relations are introduced by a head Poss, higher in the structure than *nP*. Claim (i) goes against much existing work (Alexadiou 2003; Karvovskaya & Schoorlemmer 2017; Myler 2016) but supports Adger (2013); claim (ii) implies that at least inalienable possession relations have to be introduced rather lower in the structure than argued in Adger (2013); claim (iii) is not novel (see the works cited earlier in this paragraph and Barker 1995), but I show that my analysis has novel implications for the place of (iii) in understanding the typology of the alienable vs. inalienable contrast cross-linguistically.

Adnominal possession in Spanish: Regional variation and the adjectival/determinative status of the possessor

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 11.82

Prenominal possessors in Spanish are generally considered to occur in complementary distribution with other determiners, suggesting that Spanish ranks among the class of ‘determiner-genitive’ languages (Lyons 1999). This analysis is challenged by article-possessor combinations in certain regional Spanish varieties. Thus, the possessor may cooccur with the indefinite article in Central America (*un mi hermano* ‘a my brother’) and with the definite one in Northern Spain (*el mi hermano* ‘the my brother’).

Evidence stemming from an analysis of the PRESEEA Guatemala (PRESEEA 2014–2017) and the COSER corpora (Fernández-Ordóñez 2005) suggests that these combinations are contingent on an emphatic or contrastive interpretation of the possessor’s referent. At the same time, the possessive itself appears to be a fully grammaticalized determiner.

I propose that a split-DP analysis accounts best for the observed patterns and accommodates the fact that article-possessor combinability does not require the possessor to be analyzed as an adjective.

References: • Fernández-Ordóñez, I. (dir.) (2005–2017). *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural*. www.corpusrural.es [June 14th, 2017] ISBN 978-84-616-4937-2. • Lyons, C. (1999). *Definiteness*. Cambridge: CUP. • PRESEEA (2014–2017). *Corpus del Proyecto para el estudio sociolingüístico del español de España y de América*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá. <http://preseea.linguas.net> [June 14th, 2017].

On the Syntax of Yiddish Adnominal Possession

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 11.82

Kerstin Hoge
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This paper offers a Minimalist analysis of Yiddish prenominal possessive constructions, as exemplified in (1).

- (1) a. *der shkheyne-s kets-l* b. *der shkheyne-s a kets-l*
the neighbour-s cat-DIM the neighbour-s a cat-DIM
'the neighbour's cat' 'a cat of the neighbour'

The proposed analysis contains three central claims:

- (i) Yiddish prenominal possessors do not originate in postnominal position. Prenominal and postnominal possessors differ in their morphosyntactic and distributional properties.
- (ii) Yiddish indefinite possessives, formed with an indefinite article following the prenominal possessor (see (1b)), constitute a subtype of prenominal possessive constructions and have a distinct phrase structure. The prenominal possessor in an indefinite possessive construction is first-merged in a reduced relative clause (cf. Cinque's 2010 analysis of indirect modification adjectives) situated in the specifier position of a functional phrase dominating the Num(ber)P in the extended nominal projection.
- (iii) (In)definiteness spread in Yiddish prenominal possessives has a syntactic explanation (contra Dobrovie-Sorin 2003, 2004), resulting from an Agree relation that values the person feature of D.

References: • Cinque, G. (2010). *The syntax of adjectives*. MIT Press. • Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (2003). From DPs to NPs: A bare phrase structure account of genitives. In: *From NP to DP*, vol. 2, 75–120. John Benjamins. • Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (2004). Genitives and determiners. *UMOP (University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics)* 29, 115–32.

Differential possessive marking: a meaning-based account

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:15–11:45
 Raum: 11.82

In many languages, the alternation of possessive marking (differential possessive marking) gives rise to a meaning effect that can be described as a change in the relation between the possessor and the possessed. For the possessed noun *toqa* ‘people’ in (1a), this relation is ‘origin’, while in (1b) it is ‘work for’.

- (1) a. *toqa-na fanu qena* b. *toqa nia*
 people-3 place that people 3SG
 ‘people of that place’ ‘his people (who work for him)’

Toqabaqita (Lichtenberk 2008: 97)

I argue that this meaning effect should be attributed to the semantics of the possessive markers. I provide a pragmatic analysis that relies on the principle Maximize presupposition (Heim 1991) in (2).

- (2) Make your contribution presuppose as much as possible!

I argue that the possessive marker in (1a) is maximally specific (MaxSpec): it carries a presupposition that restricts the possessive relations it expresses to those derived from the most salient features of the possessed noun P. By contrast, the marker in (1b) is minimally specific (MinSpec): it a variety of relations including relations that can be derived from the context. The lexical entries are shown in (3).

- (3) a. $\llbracket \text{MaxSpec} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda R_p \lambda P \lambda x \lambda y. R_{p_n}(x,y) \ \& \ P(y)$
 (where $g(n)$ is a stereotypical P-based relation)
 b. $\llbracket \text{MinSpec} \rrbracket^{g,c} = \lambda R_{\text{free}} \lambda P \lambda x \lambda y. R_{\text{free}_n}(x,y) \ \& \ P(y)$
 (where $g(n)$ is a relation provided by c)

References: • Heim, I. (1991) Artikel und Definitheit. In: von Stechow, A. and Wunderlich, D. (eds.), *Semantik: Ein internationales Handbuch der zeitgenössischen Forschung*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 487–535. • Lichtenberk, F. (2008). *A grammar of Toqabaqita*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Thinking about: possessive interpretation

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.82

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It is well known that English possessive NPs such as *John's car* are open to numerous different interpretations (e.g. the car John owns/drives/crashed), the precise nature of which depends on the utterance context (i.a. Recanati 2004, Carston 2009, Peters & Westerståhl 2013). Despite the almost trivial nature of this observation, no single account exists which explicates the underlying interpretive mechanisms involved in possessive interpretation.

The aim of my paper is to rectify this status quo by outlining a way of thinking about possessive interpretation which is both theoretically parsimonious and does the empirical data justice. I will discuss the results of a large-scale corpus study of 3,000 possessive NPs which investigated the role of the linguistic context (Kolkmann & Falkum, ms) in their interpretation. The results of our study go against the currently dominant account (Vikner & Jensen 2002) which suggests that most possessive interpretations are generated lexicon-internally. Throughout, I will make reference to theoretical issues at the semantics-pragmatics interface that may be informed by the study of attributive possessive constructions. I conclude by outlining some open questions that a full account of possessive interpretation ought to answer.

References: • Carston, R. (2009). The explicit/implicit distinction in pragmatics and the limits of explicit communication. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 1(1), 35–62. • Kolkmann, J. & Falkum, I.L. Ms. The pragmatics of possession: a corpus study of English prenominal possessives. • Peters, S. & Westerståhl, D. (2013). The semantics of possessives. *Language*, 89(4), 713–759. • Recanati, F. (2004). *Literal meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Vikner, C. & Jensen, P.A. (2002). A semantic analysis of the English genitive. Interaction of lexical and formal semantics. *Studia Linguistica*, 56(2), 191–226.

Against ‘inalienable’ possession

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 11.82

Inalienable possession (IP) is often viewed as a semantic relation of possession in which possessor and possessum are presented as inseparable, with the possessum an untransferable relational noun. Inalienable possession is expressed in French by a definite article introducing the possessed noun (Hatcher 1944, Kayne 1975, Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992, Guéron 2006). The subscripts in (1) indicate IP.

- (1) *Oriane_i a levé les_i mains*
 Oriane has lifted the hands
 ‘Oriane_i lifted her_i hands’

It has rarely been noted that ‘definite’ IP extends to mental and physical states (good spirits, life, and health), and (entirely transferable) articles of clothing, personal protection, or adornment, as in (2ab):

- (2) a. *Pierre_i a gardé le_i moral/ perdu la_i vie*
 Pierre has kept the mood/ lost the life
 ‘Pierre kept up his_i good spirits/ lost his_i life’
 b. *Pierre_i s_i’est sali la_i chemise/ déchiré le_i pantalon*
 Pierre to-SELF dirtied the shirt/ torn the pants
 ‘Pierre dirtied his_i shirt / tore his_i pants’

I claim that IP in French is neither inalienable nor possessive. I show that the definite determiner in IP is a ‘weak definite’ in the sense of Aguilar-Guevara (2014). I also argue that *only nouns that can be located on or in the body of an animate DP can function as weak definites in IP contexts*, and that this generalization derives from the syntax of Location as proposed by Rooryck & Vanden Wyngaerd (2011).

References: • Aguilar-Guevara, A. (2014) Weak definites: semantics, lexicon and pragmatics. PhD, Utrecht. • Hatcher, A.G. (1944) Il me prend le bras vs. il prend mon bras. *Romanic Review* 35, 2:156–164. • Kayne, R. (1975) *French syntax*. Cambridge: MIT. • Rooryck, J. & Vanden Wyngaerd, G. (2011) *Dissolving Binding Theory*, OUP.

Evaluative prenominal possessives in Spanish

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.82

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In this talk, the semantic and syntactic properties of Spanish evaluative prenominal possessives (i.e. the affective possessive preceding a proper name (1a), the so-called emphatic possessive (1b), and the possessive in the Old and American Spanish doubled possessive construction (1c)) are thoroughly described, and compared with those of canonical prenominal possessives (2).

- (1) a. *(Mi) Juan me quiere mucho*
my John me loves a.lot
- b. *Todos los días me bebo una/mi cervecita*
all the days CL have a/my beer-DIM
- c. *Yo trabajaba aquí con la/su mamá de él*
I worked here with the/his mum of he
- (2) *Su foto es muy bonita.*
his/her/their picture is very nice

It is proposed that Spanish evaluative possessives, in contrast to canonical prenominal possessives, do not originate as nominal modifiers, and then raise to D (3a), but are all directly merged in the DP-domain (3b), which captures the fact that affective, emphatic and doubling possessives just evaluate the relation between the possessed noun and the possessor, and are not interpreted as complements of the noun.

- (3) a. $[_{DP} [_D Poss_i] [_{NP} N t_i]]$ (canonical possessives)
- b. $[_{DP} Poss [_{NP} N]]$ (evaluative possessives)

In order to account for their (partially) different distribution (1), it is further argued that affective, emphatic and doubling possessives are generated in different structural positions within the DP domain.

From Possessive Suffix to Affective Demonstrative Suffix in Hungarian: A Grammaticalization Analysis

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*Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 11.82*

The non-possessive uses of possessive morphology in Uralic languages have been a topic of intense debate. In my talk, I will focus on Hungarian, where the third person singular possessedness suffix (poss.3SG) can be used in a negative emphatic demonstrative function:

- (1) *a hülyé-je*
the idiot-POSS.3SG
i. 'his/her/its idiot'
ii. 'that total idiot'

I claim that this suffix is an affective demonstrative suffix, grammaticalized from a full-fledged possessive construction of the form *a világ hülyéje* (the world stupid-poss.3SG): lit. 'the world's stupid', meaning: 'the biggest idiot in the world'. I will reconstruct this process using corpora and show that this grammaticalization pathway is based on a set-element relationship which is often expressed by possessive constructions cross-linguistically, and facilitated by the availability of silent pro possessors and the lack of gender agreement on the possessive suffix. Since Uralic languages in general have these parameters, I will argue that this grammaticalization pathway should be regarded as one of the possible sources of the demonstrative (and definiteness marking) uses of poss.3SG suffixes in Uralic languages.

References: • Nikolaeva, I. (2003). Possessive affixes in the pragmatic structuring of the utterance: evidence from Uralic. *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Deictic Systems and Quantification*. 130–145. • Lakoff, R. (1974). Remarks on this and that. *CLS* 10. 345–356. • Liberman, M. (2008). Affective demonstratives. *Language Log* 674.

AG5

The grammatical behaviour of semantically non-canonical possessive relations in Oceanic

Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.82

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Oceanic languages mark possession in two constructions: ‘direct’, for inalienables, with possessor-indexing marking the possessum noun, and ‘indirect’, where it attaches to a relational classifier (Lichtenberk 1983). However, several noncanonical semantic relations are marked directly or with a ‘food’ classifier – possession of: characteristics; items acting on the possessor; stories etc about the possessor; and intimate items. Earlier studies assumed that all noncanonical types behave alike, but Palmer (2008) found diverse treatment of noncanonical types in 7 languages. Here I survey intimate, characteristic, undergoer and subject matter possession in 23 languages from every major Oceanic subgroup, finding that no language treats all types alike. Instead, a bidirectional implicational hierarchy (1) treats noncanonical types either like canonical inalienables or like food. This requires an elaboration of Nichols’ (1988) inalienability hierarchy, as (2). Nichols’ “culturally basic items” requires expanding from “items essential for the possessor’s livelihood” (Chapell & McGregor 1996:4) to items in physical contact with the possessor, while characteristic, subject matter and undergoer possession are added. The study finds inalienability is not necessarily a lexical property of nouns (contra Nichols 1988:574), the inalienability hierarchy applying to inalienable relations as well as to lexically specified inalienable nouns.

- (1) inalien. < > subject matter < > characteristic < > undergoer < > food
(direct) (FOOD)
- (2) body parts/ > pt-whole/ > characteristics/ > cult. basic/ > undergoer
kin terms spatial rel’s by subj. matter intimate

References: • Chappell, H. & W. McGregor. (1996). The grammar of inalienability. Berlin: de Gruyter. 3–30. • Lichtenberk, F. (1983). Relational classifiers. *Lingua* 60:147–176 • Nichols, J. (1988). On alienable and inalienable possession. In Shipley ed. *In honour of Mary Haas*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 557–609. • Palmer, B. (2008). Passive possession in Oceanic. *Studies in Philippine Language and Culture*. 18:119–141.

Diachrony of the possessive classifiers in Uto-Aztecan languages: back-and-forth between attributive and predicative possession

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Freitag,
 09.03.2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 11.82

Uto-Aztecan languages, a linguistic stock located in Northern America, may exhibit an inalienable/alienable and/or an animate/inanimate possessive distinction within possessive NPs (1).

- (1) Tarahumara (SUA, Tarahumaran)
- a. *anijé-ka níwa echi machete juan níwa-ra*
 1SG.S-ENF have DEM machete J. have-POS
 ‘I have Juan’s machete’ (Lit.: ‘I have Juan’s possession-machete’ (MKR)
 - b. *nijé bucu-ra cahué ju*
 1SG.S animal:SG-POS horse COP
 ‘This is my horse.’ (Lit.: ‘My animal-horse is’) (Hilton 1993: 13)

One particular evolutive pattern for these classifiers is that they tend to evolve into possessive transitive verbs (1a). Some of them even derive from a construction of predicative possession. We analyze this back-and-forth diachronic movement between attributive and predicative possession as the illustration of the strength of the subjacent cognitive model that is used in UA languages to express predicative possession, that is, the Genitive Schema (Heine 1997), which seems to act like a rubber band or a bungee, that keeps on pulling and pushing possessive classifiers between attributive and predicative possession.

References: • Heine, B. (1997a). *Possession : Cognitive Sources, Forces and Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP. • Hilton, K. S. (1993) [1959]. *Diccionario tarahumara de Samachique*. Catalina: ILV. • Langacker, R. W. (1977). *Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar I: An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar*. Dallas / Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics / University of Texas.

Morphosyntax of possessive constructions in Moksha and Hill Mari

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 11.82

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This paper is dealing with syntactic status of possessor in adnominal possessive constructions of two Finno-Ugric idioms: Moksha and Hill Mari (based on field data collected in 2014-2017. In both languages possessor is in genitive case and triggers possessive agreement (cf. Hill Mari ex. (1)).

- (1) *mān' ädärämäš-än plat'ä-(žä)-m* *už-a-m*
I woman-GEN dress-POSS.3SG-ACC see-NPST-1SG
'I see woman's dress'.

Here three main problems arise:

1. There are nominal phrases with genitive possessor but without possessive agreement on the head.
2. Possessive phrases can appear also without expressed genitive possessors.
3. As oblique phrases lack DP, there is no functional head that could assign case to DP of possessor.

Following Alexiadou et al. (2007) (see also references in it) and Simonenko and Leontjev (2012), I claim that possessors move from the NP to DP or ObIP (in oblique phrases) to receive the case and there is an anaphorical *pro* in Spec,PossP. In my talk I show, how it supports the separate analysis of direct and oblique cases both in Hill Mary and Moksha.

References: • Alexiadou, A. et al. (eds.) (2007). *Noun phrase in the generative perspective*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter. • Simonenko, A. P. & Leontjev, A. P. (2012): Morfosintaksis imennogo kompleksa [Morphosyntax of the nominal complex]. In Finno-ugorskije jazyki: fragmenty grammatičeskogo opisanija, *Formal'nyj i funkcional'nyj podkhody*. Moscow: Russkije slovari.P. 259–337.

Case study in the genitive variation in Swedish - s-genitive vs. prepositional phrases

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 11.82

The aim of the paper is to present a case study on the variation of two Swedish possessive constructions, i.e. the choice between the s-genitive and prepositional phrases, as in the following examples.

- (1) *taket* *på* *huset*
 roof-DEF on house-DEF
 ‘the roof of the house’
- (2) *?husets* *tak*
 house-DEF-s roof
 ? ‘the house’s roof’

Even though the two expressions may be used interchangeably in certain cases, the choice between the synthetic and the analytical construction depends on a number of constraints, such as animacy, definiteness or heaviness of an NP, which have proven to be decisive in the choice of the possessive in English. The aim of the study is to see to what extent the given three variables influence the choice of a possessive construction, therefore a multivariate analysis using a method of Logistic Regression is conducted. The study is based on the corpus of contemporary Swedish texts.

References: • Hinrichs, L. & Szmrecsanyi, B. (2007). Recent changes in the function and frequency of Standard English genitive constructions: a multivariate analysis of tagged corpora. *English Language and Linguistics* 11, 437–474. • Kreyer, R. (2003). Genitive and of-construction in modern written English: Processability and human involvement. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8, 169–207. • Rosenbach, A. (2008). Animacy and grammatical variation - Findings from English genitive variation. *Lingua* 118, 151–171.

Towards a typology of Prominent Internal Possessors

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.82

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Syntacticians usually agree that properties of the head of a possessive phrase control clause-level syntactic processes like predicate agreement and that possessors, as non-heads, do not participate in the same processes. Such analyses, however, fail to capture that there are languages in which internal possessors trigger grammatical agreement on the clausal predicate, as in (1) from Maithili. Here, the possessor exhibits a certain level of syntactic, pragmatic and semantic prominence. We call such possessors **prominent internal possessors** (PIPs).

- (1) *tohar bāp aelthun.*
your.MH father came._{3>2MH}
'Your (MH) father (H) came.' (Stump & Yadav 1988: 309)

We have two goals: (A), we identify a sample of languages with PIPs. (B), we propose a typological parameter based on what grammatical function(s) (GFs) PIPs are available on. As to (A), PIPs triggering agreement are found in the Americas, Australia and Eurasia (from Siberia to India). As to (B), languages differ in allowing PIPs on a single GF or more than one. In languages restricting PIPs to a single GF, such as Tseltal or Mi'gmaq, agreement with PIPs is syntactically restricted and can be defined in structural terms. Here, agreement with PIPs resembles "possessor raising", without actual raising. In languages where PIPs appear on more than one GF, PIPs can appear on arguments and sometimes even adjuncts. Here, there is no one-to-one mapping between GFs and agreement. The choice of agreement controllers is determined by functional prominence based on information structure or, in the case of Maithili, honorific status, for example. This might not be grammatical agreement, but multiple marking of a feature in terms of Corbett (2012).

References: • Corbett, G. G. (2012). *Features*. CUP. • Stump, G. & Yadav, R. (1988). Maithili verb agreement and the control agreement principle. *CLS* 24.

Arbeitsgruppe 6

Referential and relational approaches to syntactic asymmetries

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Raum: 11.91

Workshop description

There are a number of well-known asymmetries between syntactic elements, for example, between subjects and objects, indirect and direct objects, and arguments and adjuncts. The goal of this workshop is to expand the theoretical and empirical base of syntactic asymmetries and revive the pursuit of a unified approach to this phenomenon in contemporary theories. On the empirical side, this workshop aims to bring together research on asymmetries from a wide range of languages to gain a better understanding of the status of asymmetries cross-linguistically.

Questions regarding a minimalist theory of islands

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 11.91

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In the good old days the theory of unbounded movement, in particular A'-dependencies, was the crowning achievement of syntactic theory. Building on Ross's thesis work, Chomsky proposed Subjacency Theory (ST) as a way of unifying various of the islands Ross had discovered. Along the way, it was discovered that additional theory was required to explain some asymmetries (subject vs. object, argument vs. adjunct). These empirical exigencies called forth another layer of theory, the ECP. ST and ECP concerns largely evaporated as syntacticians turned their attentions away from A'-dependencies and their nifty restrictions in the Minimalist Program (MP). Parts of the pre-MP theory appeared conceptually incompatible with MP leading ideas. As regards the last point, the ECP was hit particularly hard. The reason is that its leading idea fits poorly with MP's swapping of copies for traces: the intuition behind the ECP is that traces are grammatically toxic. Derivations are made safe from toxic traces by relating them to relevant licensers. The MP problem is that if traces are understood as nothing more than copies then it is unclear what their toxicity can consist in. No traces, no MP rationale for anything analogous to the ECP and if no ECP, then what of its close kissing cousin ST? I will address five more specific questions: **(i)** Why do islands exist at all? Is their source UG or the more generic aspects of FL? **(ii)** Why do we find the specific islands and the phases/bounding nodes we do? Are they parametric? **(iii)** What aspects of FL/UG do these effects reflect? **(iv)** Should island effects be understood as restricted to movement chains? If MP unifies movement and binding, then what should we expect wrt. island and ECP effects? **(v)** Why do we have both subjacency and ECP effects? Their domains of application are very close to one another, so having two theories is redundant.

The form of the answer I will explore treats ST and ECP as effectively the same kind of condition arising from concerns about computational efficiency. It further expects that we will find island like effects in all antecedent-anaphor relations, not only those with gaps. This position has challenges. I will discuss these as well, all the while trying to convince you that the best possible theory is not as empirically hopeless as we generally assume.

Extraction asymmetries: Why the DP and the vP domain are different

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 11.91

In this talk we extend Cecchetto and Donati's (2015) approach to successive-cyclic movement and strong islands to the following vP/DP asymmetry, for which there is no account in minimalist theories which dispense with notions like ECP and the like: adjuncts can be extracted from the vP domain but not from the DP domain.

References: • Cecchetto, C. & Donati, C. (2015). *(Re)labeling*, Linguistic Inquiry Monograph, Cambridge Ma: MIT Press.

Asymmetry on Extraction and Extraposition

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 11.91

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This talk aims to contribute to the understanding of the right periphery, focusing on Right Dislocation (RD) and to argue that RD is not a uniform phenomenon. The right periphery remains comparatively unexplored, whereas the left periphery has been paid much attention in syntactic theories. Various asymmetric behaviors between pre- vs. post-verbal positions are observed. There is an interesting asymmetry between the pre- vs. post-verbal positions, with respect to extraction. Extraction is allowed out of an embedded CP in a pre-verbal position, but not out of a RD position, as shown in the following example in (1):

- (1) * $[Ciswu\text{-}eykey]_i$ $na\text{-}nun$ t_j $sayngkakhanta$ $[Yusu\text{-}ka$ t_i $insahaysstako]_j$
C-DAT_i I-TOP t_j think [Y.-NOM t_i greeted]
'I think Yusu greeted Ciswu.'

Under this proposal, rightward movement is triggered by a head *c* above the *C* which types the clause such as a declarative or question marker. The head *c*, hosts a focus or topic which scopes over the proposition. The head *c* trigger the rightward movement of an argument in RDC, where the appendix argument specifically clarify the meaning of the root proposition.

It seems quite clear that these investigations can contribute to the research proposed by Rizzi (1997) on the universal properties and possible variations in the left/right periphery. Overall, the conclusion drawn in this paper implies that the right periphery is not merely parallel to the left periphery. Still many questions need to be asked regarding the right periphery. This issue gives an attention of language universals and variations in each periphery.

References: • Choe, H. S. (1987). Successive-cyclic rightward movement in Korean. In: *Harvard studies in Korean linguistics* 2 40–56. • Chung, D. (2012). Pre- vs. post-verbal asymmetries and the syntax of Korean right dislocated construction *Studies in Generative Grammar*. 22(4): 703–721 • Ko, H. (2014b). Remarks on right dislocation construction in Korean: challenges to bi-clausal analyses. *Language Research* 50(2): 275–310. • Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.): *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 281–337.

Extraction asymmetries in and between OV and VO languages

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:00–17:30
 Raum: 11.91

This talk will argue for a relationally determined asymmetry between elements in lexical vs. functional projections that predicts systematic asymmetries between OV and VO languages with regard to which phrases are transparent for sub-extraction. When the head of a phrase is in a linear relation with respect to its complements and adjuncts in syntax proper via symmetric Merge (Janke & Neeleman 2012) or directional selection (Haider 2010; Sheehan 2013), the lexical domain of the VP is preverbal in OV languages (1-a), while it is postverbal in VO languages (1-b).

- (1) a. $\underbrace{\dots \text{XP YP ZP V}}_{\text{VP domain}}$ b. $\text{XP } \underbrace{\text{V YP ZP } \dots}_{\text{VP domain}}$

Given that functional Specs are not transparent for extraction, this theory predicts that preverbal phrases in VO languages (1-b) should be islands since they are in functional Specs (Haider, 2010: 79ff.), whereas preverbal phrases in OV languages (1-a) can potentially be transparent for sub-extraction. This account would also explain why some OV languages do not exhibit subject islands (cf. Sheehan 2013) and why postverbal subjects in Romance languages are transparent (Bianchi & Chesi 2014).

Finnish and Estonian are ideal for testing the predictions of the theory presented above because Finnish is a VO language that allows for OV order, and Estonian is an OV language that allows for VO order. The data from these languages are as predicted: preverbal phrases in Finnish are not transparent, while both preverbal and postverbal phrases are transparent for sub-extraction in Estonian. The result in Estonian can be understood as the result of optional verb raising that strands the originally preverbal elements in a postverbal, VP-internal position.

References: • Bianchi, V. & Chesi, C. (2014). Subject islands, reconstruction, and the flow of computation. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(4), 525–569. • Haider, H. (2010). *The syntax of German*. Cambridge University Press. • Janke, V. & Neeleman, A. (2012). Ascending and descending VPs in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 43(2), 151–190. • Sheehan, M. (2013). Some implications of a copy theory of labeling. *Syntax* 16(4), 362–396.

Complements to *ber*-verbs are pseudo-incorporated

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 11.91

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In Indonesian, the prefix *ber-* blocks extraction of complements (Soh (1998)):

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) <i>Siapa t_i ber-main gitar</i>
who BER-play guitar
‘Who plays the guitar?’ | (2) <i>Apa_i Ali (*ber-)main t_i ?</i>
what Ali BER-play
‘What does Ali play?’ |
|--|--|

Proposal: complements to *ber-* are pseudo-incorporated (Massam (2001)).

***ber-*:** *ber-* derives intransitive verbs, in opposition to transitive *meN-*. With V bases, *ber-* alternates with *meN-* to yield intransitive vs transitive verbs. Some verbs take complements despite *ber-*; these specify habitual action on an indefinite object, in contrast to their transitive *meN-* variant:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) <i>Ali ber-main gitar</i>
Ali BER-play guitar
‘Ali plays the guitar’
(habitual action, indef. O) | (4) <i>Ali me-main gitar</i>
Ali MEN-play guitar
‘Ali is playing the guitar’
(specific action, def. O) |
|---|---|

Analysis: P(seudo) N(oun) I(ncorporation) (Massam (2001)) involves the juxtaposition of V and NP. PNI properties include: **(i)** valency reduction (intransitive *ber-* vs transitive *meN-*); **(ii)** N is adjacent to V, **(iii)** can’t be a DP, **(iv)** is indefinite and non-referential, and **(v)** has obligatory low scope. Since only adjectives may modify the object, it is an NP. In the *meN*-variant, these properties are absent. A PNed nominal is derived via head movement and PF constraints (Baker (2014)). Objects may extract when *ber-* is absent as bare verbs are ambiguous as to whether their object is PNed or not. I discuss how PNI can be extended to **(i)** clausal complements, which also cannot be extracted from, and **(ii)** the more well-known blocking effect of *meN-*, which has been linked to — seemingly non-PNI-related — Agreement (Cole et al. (2008)) and CED (Fortin (2006)) effects.

References: • Baker, M. (2014). PNI as covert NI. • Cole et al. (2008). Voice in Malay. • Fortin, C. (2006). Reconciling meng- and NP movement. • Massam, D. (2001). PNI in Niuean. • Soh, H.L. (1998). Certain restrictions on A-bar movement in Malay.

How A-movement can lead to extraction restrictions

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 11.91

This talk considers cases where it appears that A-movement leads to extraction restrictions either of the moved argument itself or of some competitor(s). We examine syntactic ergativity in Mayan (Campana 1992; Tada 1993; Coon et al. 2014, Assmann et al. 2015) and show that it comes in two different guises. In predominantly VSO languages any argument can be A-bar extracted *except* the ERG and partial syntactic ergativity is possible. In predominantly VOS languages only the ABS argument can escape vP and we find no partial syntactic ergativity. The two systems arise because T needs to agree with the internal argument and there are two ways to resolve the defective intervention of the ERG: sidestepping or leapfrogging. In VSO languages, the transitive subject sidesteps to specTP making it too local to C (Erlewine 2016). In VOS languages, object leapfrogging to specVoiceP traps all other material inside VoiceP (Coon et al. 2014).

References: • Assmann, A., Georgi, D., Heck, F., Müller, G., & Weisser, P. (2015). Ergatives Move Too Early: On an Instance of Opacity in Syntax. *Syntax*, 18(4), 343–387 • Campana, M. 1992. A movement theory of ergativity. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, QC. • Coon, J., P. Mateo P. & O. Preminger. (2014). The role of case in A-bar extraction asymmetries: Evidence from Mayan. *Linguistic Variation* 14(2):179–242. • Erlewine, M. Y. (2016). Anti-locality and optimality in Kaqchikel Agent Focus. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34(2):429–479. • Tada, Hiroaki. (1993). A/A-bar partition in derivation. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, MA.

Asymmetries in long distance dependencies in French

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 11.91

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This talk focuses on asymmetries in *wh*- and relative extractions from embedded domains in French and the types of rules that have been used to explain them. One type of asymmetries is shown in (1):

- (1) a. *M. X* [_{PP} *dont*] [_{DP} *la maison* [_{PP} *de Le Corbusier*]_{*t*_i}] *n'est guère*
Mr. X of.which the house of Le C. NEG.is hardly
confortable]
comfortable (Milner 1978)
'Mr. X, whose house of (=by) Le Corbusier is hardly comfortable.'
b. **Le Corbusier* [_{PP} *dont*]_{*i*} [_{DP} *la maison* *t*_{*i*} [_{PP} *de M. X*]] ...
Le C. of.which the house of Mr. X
'Le Corbusier, of (=by) whom the house_ of Mr. X. ...'

During the 1990s, both in GB and in HPSG frameworks, this contrast was explained by a relational rule: only one argument of N can be extracted from a DP, the choice depending on a thematic hierarchy. However, Kolliakou (1999) showed that non-extractable phrases in examples such as (1b) are property denoting expressions; thus, a referential rule would suffice (only arguments can be extracted). In contrast, Cinque (2014), in a phase based approach for similar data, uses a combination of a referential rule (only subjects can be extracted) and a relational rule (relativized minimality). In our talk, we will show how a purely referential minimalist account can be formulated and compare such an account to a modern HPSG implementation.

References: • Cinque, G. (2014). Extraction from DP in Italian revisited. In: Aboh et al. (eds.), *Locality*, OUP, 86–103. • Kolliakou, D. (1999). De-phrase extractability and individual/property denotation. *NLLT* 17, 713–781. • Mensching, G. (in press). Extraction from DP in French: A minimalist approach. In: L. Franco et al. (eds.), *Local vs. non-local dependencies in the nominal and verbal domains*, Language Science Press. • Milner, J.-C. (1978). *De la syntaxe à l'interprétation*. Du Seuil. • Sag, I. & Godard, D. (1994). Extraction of *de*-Phrases from the NP. In: *Proceedings of NELS* 24, 519–541.

Subject extraction asymmetries in Māori: An intervention account

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:15–11:45
 Raum: 11.91

Māori has several constructions which can be grouped by the category of the predicate phrase: nominal, prepositional or verbal. Whilst subject topicalisation is generally permitted in all constructions, subject questioning is restricted, being permitted in prepositional and verbal predicate constructions but prohibited in nominal ones (see Bauer 1997, de Lacy 1999).

I propose that question movement is triggered by a [D] feature rather than an A-feature, and that Māori questions are clefts with an embedded focus clause (see Belletti 2015). Given that Māori is predicate-initial, nominal predicate phrases block movement of DP subjects by intervention, whilst prepositional and verbal predicate phrases do not. In contrast, topicalisation is triggered by a [K] (Case) feature and so predicate phrases of any category are neither potential goals nor interveners.

I will discuss some predictions of this analysis, and some implications for an emergentist approach to typology and acquisition (see Biberauer & Roberts 2017).

References: • Bauer, W. (1997). *The Reed Reference Grammar of Māori*. Reed. • Belletti, A. (2015). The focus map of clefts: Extraposition and predication. In: *Beyond functional sequence*, 42–59. Oxford University Press. • Biberauer, T. & Roberts, I. (2017). Parameter setting. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Historical Syntax*, 134–162. Cambridge University Press. • de Lacy, P. (1999). Predicate Nominals and Equatives in Maori. Ms., UMass.

The Object Position in Tagbana: an SOVX Language

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.91

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S(Aux)OVX languages are typologically interesting because they share many syntactic properties with SVO languages, in spite of the reversed order of the verb and the object. In Tagbana (Niger-Congo, Senufo), SOV order alternates with SVO serialization for standard transitive verbs, without any differences in information structure. We argue that lexical restrictions on alternating verbs show that the alternation comes about by leftward verb movement.

The formation of constituent questions and focus constructions (but not of relative clauses) obeys an important restriction: in addition to an *in situ* strategy, wh-phrases and focussed XPs can be fronted, but they cannot cross an object, so that, in transitive constructions, only subjects, higher adverbs and direct objects themselves can be fronted. We attribute this to A-bar-properties of the object position, in line with the proposal of van Urk & Richards (2015) for Dinka (Nilo-Saharan): wh-movement must proceed through the slot occupied by the object. Tagbana differs from Dinka in showing this blocking effect of objects also for the extraction of PPs. We suggest that this is due to a difference in the case system of the two languages that is also responsible for the absence of double object constructions and the possibility of placing thematic objects into the subject position in the absence of any passive marking in Tagbana.

References: • an Urk, C. & Richards, N. (2015). Two Components of Long-Distance Extraction: Successive Cyclicity in Dinka. *Linguistic Inquiry* 46.

Relational subject / non-subject asymmetries in Igbo

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 11.91

We present new data from $\bar{A}$ -constructions in Igbo (Benue-Congo, Nigeria) that exhibit subject / non-subject asymmetries: If a non-subject is questioned ex-situ, the presence of the marker *ka* next to the displaced constituent is required; however, questioned subjects must not co-occur with *ka*, see (1):

- (1) Short questions (simple wh-phrase):
- a. *Òbí hùrù Ádá n'-áhíá*
Obi saw Ada P-market
'Obi saw Ada at the market.' *declarative*
 - b. *Ònyé hùrù Ádá n'-áhíá*
who saw Ada P-market
'Who saw Ada at the market?' *SU question*
 - c. *Ònyé kà Òbí hùrù n'-áhíá*
who FOC Obi saw P-market
'Who did Obi see at the market?' *OBJ question*

Furthermore, Igbo exhibits the *that*-trace effect under subject extraction and disposes of several repair strategies (resumption, C-drop, special C-form). We argue that these subject / non-subject asymmetries are relational in nature, i.e. they are not due to some inherent property of subjects. Rather, it is the structural configuration that singles out *local* subjects. We present empirical arguments that suggest that the structurally highest argument (in SpecTP) cannot move to SpecCP in focus / question constructions. We will present an anti-locality based approach to model these findings. The Igbo facts are also interesting from a comparative perspective because they run counter the empirical generalization in Fiedler et al. (2010) according to which in languages that exhibit a (morphological) subject / non-subject asymmetry, it is (local) subjects that have to be marked for focus, while focus marking is not obligatory for non-subjects.

References: • Fiedler, I., Hartmann, K., Reineke, B., Schwarz, A. & Zimmermann, M. (2010). Subject focus in West African languages. In: *Information structure from different perspectives*, Oxford: OUP, 234–257.

Universals of argument marking in scenario splits and universals of reflexive marking in a functional-adaptive theory of syntax

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.91

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In functional-adaptive syntactic theory, an additional type of constraint on possible linguistic systems is posited: Not only representational constraints (of the UG type) can account for limits on attested systems, but functional-adaptive constraints can do so as well. These derive from adaptive processes in the cultural evolution of languages. Scenario splits (situations where the referential prominence values of two arguments need to be taken into account) obey a very general principle, given in (1).

- (1) In a scenario split, downstream scenarios show the shortest marking, upstream scenarios show the longest coding, and balanced scenarios are intermediate.

Rules of reflexive marking also involve relational conditions. One general principle that languages seem to follow is given in (2) (cf. Haspelmath 2008, where a number of further principles are discussed).

- (2) If a language uses a special reflexive pronoun in long-distance contexts, it also uses a special reflexive pronoun in local contexts, but not vice versa.

These universals can be seen as falling under the general principle of form-frequency correspondence, and can thus be explained by coding efficiency (Hawkins's 2014 "Minimize Form").

References: • Haspelmath, Martin. (2008). A frequentist explanation of some universals of reflexive marking. *Linguistic Discovery* 6(1). 40–63. • Hawkins, John A. (2014). *Cross-linguistic variation and efficiency*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Subject vs Non-Subject Asymmetries of Case Drop as Domain Effects of Context-Sensitive Spell-Out

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 14:15–14:45
 Raum: 11.91

Claim: Recent work on context-sensitive spell-out (i.e. allomorphy and suppletion) has shown that locality domains such as phases play a crucial role in determining whether the realization of a head X can be sensitive to the features of a head Y. In this paper, I argue that certain asymmetries wrt. case marker alternations can and should be derived using the same mechanisms. In the case study at hand, the case of internal arguments in Tamil is deleted iff the verb is contained in the same locality domain.

Argumentation: Direct objects in the Dravidian language Tamil, which usually bear accusative, can drop the case marker in the presence of the verb (1a). Subjects of unaccusatives can drop (zero) nominative and then no longer control agreement on the verb (1b).

- (1) a. *Kumaar [kar-(aik)] keet-t-aan.* 'Kumaar asked for a car.'
 kumaar car-ACC ask.PAST-3M.SG
 b. *Mala-kku kolande-nge keɽe-cc-icci.* 'Mala got some children.'
 Mala-DAT child-PL get-PAST-3SG (Baker 2014)

This pattern is called to as Pseudo-Noun Incorporation and a number of syntactic accounts have been developed to capture the distribution of caseless nouns (see e.g. Massam 2001, Dayal 2011, Baker 2014). In this talk, three arguments are proposed that a morphological account in terms of context-sensitive spell-out is more adequate: (i) Many syntactic accounts cannot derive the requirement of case marker to be adjacent to the verb. (ii) Syntactic accounts cannot derive that different case markers can occur on different conjuncts in coordination (cf. Kalin & Weisser 2017). (iii) Syntactic accounts are not flexible enough to account for the parametric variation we find wrt. the syntactic position of the case-dropping noun.

References: • Baker, M. (2014). Pseudo-Noun Incorporation as Covert Noun Incorporation: Linearization and Crosslinguistic Variation. *Language & Linguistics* 15 • Dayal, V. (2011). Hindi Pseudo-Noun Incorporation. *NLLT* 29 • Kalin, L. & Weisser, P. (2017). Asymmetric DOM in coordination and its implications. To appear in *LI Squibs* • Massam, D. (2001). Pseudo-Noun Incorporation in Niuean. *NLLT* 19

The role of nominal licensing in Austronesian voice systems

Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 11.91

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A distinctive and well-studied feature of many Austronesian languages is their **voice system**, whereby each clause has one argument (the “**pivot**”) which commands a privileged status. In this talk, we highlight the role of nominal licensing (abstract Case) in explaining three observed (a)symmetries:

- (i) Only the pivot argument can be $\bar{A}$ -extracted.
- (ii) The pivot is in a particular case form, regardless of the marking on corresponding non-pivot DPs.
- (iii) Non-pivot core arguments {**are** / **are not**} treated equally in their {**case marking** / **word order**}.

Voice system clauses have a “joint” head **CT** (Martinović 2015) with a composite $A/\bar{A}$ -probe (Van Urk 2015). Because CT is uniquely involved in attracting DPs to the clause edge, $\bar{A}$ -movements are limited to the pivot, explaining (i), following Richards (2000), Pearson (2005). We assume all DPs require nominal licensing (abstract Case) and the pivot will be case-licensed (nominative) by CT. This explains the case-marking asymmetry (ii).

We propose two parameters which explain the (a)symmetries in (iii):

- (a) $\pm\text{ACC}$: v {can/cannot} assign accusative case.
- (b) **LAST RESORT**: If a DP lacks a source for structural Case-licensing, it can be licensed (a) *by insertion of a case-marker* (genitive) (Stowell 1981, Halpert 2012, Imanishi 2014, Van Urk 2015) or (b) *under linear adjacency* with the verb (Baker 1988, 2014, Levin 2015).

We discuss four languages—Atayal, Tagalog, Balinese, and Toba Batak—as exemplars for the four types of languages predicted by these parameters.

	+ACC	−ACC
Insertion:	Atayal	Tagalog
Adjacency:	Balinese	T.B.

References: • Levin, T. (2015). *Licensing without case*, MIT PhD • Martinović, M. (2015). *Feature geometry and head-splitting*, Chicago PhD • Pearson, M. (2005). The Malagasy subject/topic as an A' -element, *NLLT* 23 • Richards, N. (2000). Another look at Tagalog subjects, in *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics* • van Urk, C. (2015). *A uniform syntax for phrasal movement*, MIT PhD.

***That*-trace effects without traces: In favor of a phonological EPP**

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Freitag,

09.03.2018

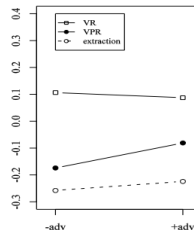
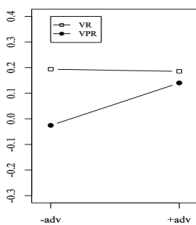
12:15–12:45

Raum: 11.91

We argue that *that*-trace effects in German as in (1) are neither due to inherent properties of the extractee (subjecthood) nor due to extraction as such. Rather, the deviance of long subject extraction is due to a violation of a general (subject-unrelated) PF-based EPP-requirement of the middle field. We will demonstrate this by showing that *that*-trace-(like) effects don't only arise with SU-extraction (3) but also in sentences with verb projection raising in the embedded clause (2). Crucially, if complementizer and finite verb are adjacent, both structures are perceived as degraded, while their acceptability improves once an adverb is inserted after the complementizer. The empirical part of the presentation rests on experiments in which the position of the finite verb in the verb cluster as well as its adjacency to the complementizer are systematically varied.

- (1) *Wer glaubst du, dass _ ?*(morgen) kommt?*
 who.NOM believe you that tomorrow comes

- (2) (3)



References: • Culicover (1993). The adverb effect. *NELS* 97–110. • Featherston (2005). *That*-trace in German. *Lingua* 1277–1302. • Haider (2006). Mittelfeld phenomena. *The Blackwell companion to syntax*, 204–274. • Kiziak (2010). *Extraction Asymmetries*. Amsterdam: JB. • Landau (2007). EPP Extensions. *LI* 485–523.

Quirky Subjects in German – A Relational Analysis

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 11.91

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There is a debate in the literature on German syntax about the status of the dative marked DP in sentences such as (1).

- (1) **Mir** gefällt dieses Buch.
I.DAT likes this book
'I like this book.'

One line of research takes such DPs to be quirky subjects, that is, non-nominative marked subjects (Barðdal 2006). One argument for this approach comes from the observation that such DPs can bind reflexive pronouns, hence pass a typical subject test. The other line of research denies that they are quirky subjects and analyzes them as objects (Haider 2010). What speaks in favor of this approach is that such DPs do not pass all subjects tests: for instance, they cannot be controlled.

The aim of this talk is to show that the debate is misguided. It rests on the false premise that a DP can only be a subject or only an object. Instead, I argue that such DPs are in fact quirky subjects and that quirky subjects are uniformly both subjects and objects: they are deep subjects and surface objects (Perlmutter 1984). That the DP in (1) passes some subject tests follows because it was a subject at some point of the derivation. That it doesn't pass all subject tests follows because some subject tests in German reference surface subjects only. This analysis also captures the difference between German and Icelandic. In Icelandic, subject tests are never (except for V-agreement) sensitive to surface subjects exclusively. In sum, the syntax of quirky subjects is uniform. The differences follow from language particular rules. They can take into account the subject demoted to object (as in German), but they need not (as in Icelandic).

References: • Barðdal, J. (2006). Construction-specific properties of syntactic subjects in Icelandic and German. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17(1), 39–106. • Haider, H. (2010). *The Syntax of German*. Cambridge University Press. • Perlmutter, D. (1984). Working 1s and Inversion in Italian, Japanese, and Quechua. In: *Studies in Relational Grammar* 2, Perlmutter, D. & Rosen, C. (eds.), 292–330.

Argument-adjunct extraction asymmetries

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*Freitag,
09.03. 2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 11.91*

t.b.a.

On the long-distance scrambling/phonological suppression of adjuncts in Korean

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 11.91

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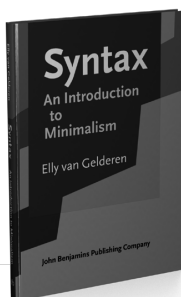
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Unlike arguments, adjuncts are disallowed from undergoing long-distance scrambling in Korean or topicalization in English. This is because adjuncts do not enter into labeling when initially (pair-)merged into syntactic structure (cf. Chomsky, 2013). They do not bear any relevant formal feature either, hence failing to enter into an Agree relation with the higher Probe and undergo scrambling or topicalization. Put simply, adjuncts do not leave any record behind in a syntactic derivation involving external or internal merge, thus being unable to be moved back to the position from where it has moved (cf. Oseki, 2014). In Korean (and Japanese) where agreement is absent (cf. Kuroda, 1988), however, adjuncts can adjoin to argumental elements like object NPs without disrupting an Agree relation between the latter and their Probe (cf. Chomsky, 1986).

A similar, albeit not exactly identical, asymmetry also holds between arguments and adjuncts in regard to phonological suppression in Korean. Nominal adjuncts like time or place adverbials as well as arguments undergo phonological suppression, by assumption being realized as null pronominal *pro*. By contrast, non-nominal adjuncts such as manner or reason adverbials (and amount adverbials as well) cannot be phonologically suppressed (cf. Park, 1994). This contrast between the two differing groups is found in their distribution in cross-clausal or cross-sentential ‘apparent VP ellipsis’ constructions.

Since manner or reason adverbials adjoin to argumental elements like object NPs, the former can be recovered from the antecedent clause/sentence when the latter are recovered, by assumption, at LF (cf. Saito, 2016). This also renders additional supporting evidence for the fact that manner or reason adverbials are parasitic on arguments for the syntactic licensing in the course of their recovery.

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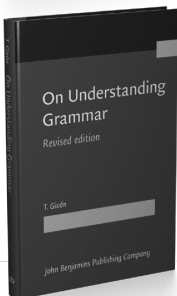
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Arbeitsgruppe 7

Why indeed? Questions at the interface of theoretical and computational linguistics

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Raum: 17.71

Workshop description

The aim of this workshop is to provide a forum for joining formal theoretical work on the linguistic structure of questions with computational approaches targeted at question classification, interpretation, processing, or generation. Our goals are two-fold: On the one hand, we aim to promote theoretical linguistic investigations of questions that are amenable to computational formalization. On the other hand, we are interested in computational analyses of questions and NLP systems that make use of existing linguistic insights or shed new light on specific issues regarding the linguistics of questions.

Characterizing the Response Space of Questions

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 1771

Jonathan Ginzburg
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One of the ultimate testing grounds for a theory of questions is its ability to characterize the response space to a query use of a question, as in (1), where the (a) cases include felicitous and the (b) examples include infelicitous responses:

- (1) a. A: Is that chair new?
B: Yes/It's a Louis XIV replica/new?
b. B: # Tomorrow/ Please insert your card /The train.

In this talk the setting I will assume is dialogue. I will consider two aspects of this problem, (i) the practical task of developing classifications of the different classes of responses, and (ii) the theoretical problem of characterizing the relation of relevance that holds between a felicitous response and a query.

With respect to the first problem, the most detailed work to date has been on developing taxonomies for clarification requests (Purver et al. 2003) and more generally for query/query responses (Łupkowski and Ginzburg 2016); I will describe an extension of the latter work. For the second problem, which remains surprisingly underexplored, I will propose an account within the KoS framework (Ginzburg 2012), considering in particular the problem of domain dependence (Larsson and Berman 2016).

References: • Larsson, S. & Berman, A. (2016). Domain-specific and general syntax and semantics in the Talkamatic Dialogue Manager In: Christopher Piñón (ed.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 11*, Paris: CSSP. www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss11 • Ginzburg, J. (2012). *The Interactive Stance: Meaning for Conversation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford. • Łupkowski, P. & Ginzburg, J. (2016). Query Responses *Journal of Language Modelling*, 4(2): 245–292. • Purver, M., Ginzburg, J., & Healey, P. (2003). On the means for clarification in dialogue. In van Kuppevelt, J. & Smith, R. (Eds.), *Current and New Directions in Discourse and Dialogue*. Kluwer. 235–256.

Dependent Query Responses

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sebastianseyda@gmail.com

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.71

We will address the issue of automatically recognizing query responses (q-responses), i.e. responses that answer a query with a query. Our starting point is a corpus study of q-responses covering BNC, CHILDES, BEE and AMEX and develop a taxonomy for query responses (see Łupkowski and Ginzburg, 2016). In the talk we focus on the DP class (dependent questions, i.e. cases where the answer to the initial question depends on the answer to a q-response).

In the first part of our talk we provide a formal analysis of such responses using the framework of Inferential Erotetic Logic (IEL; Wiśniewski 2013).

The second part covers automatic classification of CR (clarification requests) and DP types of q-responses. For this task 154 question-question pairs of each type were selected. Further they were divided on the training set (204 instances, 102 of each class) and testing set (104 instances, 52 of each class). As a learning approach supervised learning was used with two models: BoW and N-gram ($N = 2$). The best results obtained for the BoW model are CR: F-score=0.757 and DP: F-score=0.762. For the N-gram model—CR: F-score=0.901 and DP: F-score=0.887. We will present detailed results for this classification, discuss misclassified cases and potential future development of the classifier to cover all observed q-responses types. In this part we will also present a procedure which generates q-responses based on question dependency and erotetic search scenarios (a tool developed within IEL).

References: • Łupkowski, P. & Ginzburg, J. (2016). Query responses. *Journal of Language Modelling*, 4(2):245–293. • Wiśniewski, A. (2013). *Questions, inferences and scenarios*. College Publications, London.

Generating Questions under Discussion

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:30
Raum: 17.71

Kordula De Kuthy, Tobias Kolditz & Detmar Meurers
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Questions under Discussion (QUD) (Roberts 2012) have emerged as a way to spell out the hinge between the properties of the sentence and the nature of the discourse in which the sentence can function. Riester, Brunetti & De Kuthy (2017) spell out a discourse annotation approach based on explicit pragmatic principles for determining a QUD for every assertion in a text. We propose to partially automate the annotation by generating all potentially relevant questions for a given sentence. From this set, the annotator can then select the contextually appropriate QUD.

In computational linguistics, question generation has been tackled in several applied contexts for English. To explore the possibilities and challenges of question generation for German, we piloted the development and implementation of a trans-formation-based question generation system (Kolditz 2015). We showed that the majority of generated questions are of high quality for the limited set of targeted question types, potential answerphrases, and syntactic environments in which they can occur. We are currently extending the empirical reach to cover a broader range of question types and syntactic configurations for which questions need to be expressible.

The nature and formulation of the questions we need to be able to generate for a sentence crucially is constrained by the nature of the immediate context in which the sentence occurs. Following the Q-Givenness principle (Riester et al. 2017), QUDs essentially consist of Given material. Generating questions for a text sentence by sentence makes it possible to model the constantly evolving set of given material, using approximations of the formal pragmatic notion of givenness (Ziai, De Kuthy & Meurers 2016).

References: • Kolditz, T. (2015). *Generating questions for German text*. Master thesis. University of Tübingen. • Riester, A., L. Brunetti & De Kuthy, K. (2017). Annotation guidelines for questions under discussion and information structure. In E. Adamou, K. Haude, & M. Vanhove (eds.), *Information structure in lesser-described languages: Studies in prosody and syntax*. John Benjamins. • Roberts, C. (2012). Information structure in discourse: Towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 5(6). 1–69. • Ziai, R., De Kuthy, K. & Meurers, D. (2016). Approximating Givenness in Content Assessment through Distributional Semantics. In *Proceedings of *SEM*, 209–218. ACL.

The functional heterogeneity of interrogatives: An optimistic approach.

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 17.71

On its stereotypical information-requesting use, an interrogative like *Is John an only child?* conveys that (i) the speaker does not know whether John is an only child, (ii) the addressee might know, and (iii) the speaker wants the addressee to make it so that the speaker knows.

At the same time, interrogative sentences are *functionally heterogenous*: They can be used with various illocutionary forces, as in exam questions, Socratic questions, combative questions, discussion questions or rhetorical questions. Crucially, none of the implications (i–iii) arises for all uses.

We defend an ‘optimistic’ approach to the functional heterogeneity problem (à la Truckenbrodt 2004), which assumes that *all* the varied uses of interrogatives are ‘literal’ uses, and that a very general, underspecified force interacts with contextual conditions to produce observed interpretations. The crucial challenge for such approaches (Plunze & Zimmermann 2006) is to account for the fact, that, in many contexts, an interrogative will reliably signal the implications (i–iii), even in contexts where this was not established before. We argue that this challenge can be met by paying attention to the Gricean reasoning triggered by interrogative utterances, as well as their pragmatic competition with sentences of other clause types.

By pursuing an ‘optimistic’ approach, this talk advertises an emerging trend in the theoretical literature (Kaufmann 2012; Condoravdi & Lauer 2012): Human language users are not taken to be assigning illocutionary labels to utterances. Instead they are taken to derive particular implications like the ones in (i–iii), depending on their knowledge of the context, as well as various linguistic cues in the interpreted utterance. We conjecture that NLP systems can benefit from adopting a similar approach.

References: • Truckenbrodt, H. (2004). Zur Strukturbedeutung von Interrogativsätzen. *Linguistische Berichte* 199, 313–350. • Plunze, C. & Zimmermann, E. (2006): On Truckenbrodt on interrogatives. *Theoretical Linguistics* 32(3), 321–333. • Kaufmann, M. (2012). Interpreting imperatives. Dordrecht: Springer. • Condoravdi, C. & Lauer, S. (2012). Imperatives: Meaning and illocutionary force. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 9, 37–58.

Propositions, updates, speech acts – what is involved in “won’t you?” questions tags in American English?

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.71

Sophia A. Malamud¹ & Tatjana Scheffler²

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We examine the question tag *won’t you?* in American English. We start by noting that the effect of the anchor+tag (1-a) differs markedly from (1-b), in which the anchor and the question appear as independent utterances.

- (1) a. You will take care of her, won’t you?
 b. You will take care of her. Won’t you?

The contrast in the felicity conditions of (1) (e.g. the level of authority of the speaker over the hearer) shows that the tag prevents the anchor from realizing its full speech act effects. We conclude that (1-a) represents a single speech act, rather than two separate ones.

At the same time, examples like (2) show that the tag cannot apply simply to the proposition denoted by the anchor, since the anchor does not denote a proposition (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984).

- (2) Why don’t you hold me down outside for a moment, won’t you?

Our proposal is two-fold. First, we claim that the tag functions as a normal question (with VP-ellipsis), soliciting the addressee’s answer regarding whether the addressee “will VP” (Searle 1976).

Second, the tag question modifies the discourse update of the anchor, so that the two are interpreted together: they address the same question under discussion, among other things. This can prevent the full effect of the anchor from being realised (1), and requires the anchor to involve an at-issue proposition that the addressee will perform a given action (2).

References: • Groenendijk, J., & Stokhof, M. (1984). On the Semantics of Questions and the Pragmatics of Answers. *Semantics: Critical Concepts in Linguistics*. • Ladd, D. R. (1981). A first look at the semantics and pragmatics of negative questions and tag questions. In *Proc. of CLS* 17. • Malamud, S. A., & Stephenson, T. (2014). Three ways to avoid commitments: Declarative force modifiers in the conversational scoreboard. *Journal of Semantics* 32(2). • Scheffler, T. (2009). Evidentiality and German Attitude Verbs. In *PWPL* 15(1). • Searle, J. R. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. In *Language in society* 5(1).

Selection of Sentence-Final Particles in Answers

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 17.71

Hakata Japanese, spoken in a southern area in Japan, has the two types of SFP, *-bai* and *-tai*.

- (1) *Taro-wa gakusee-bai/tai.*
Taro-TOP student-SFP
'Taro is a student.'

Nagano (2016) finds that a sentence with athetic judgment, bearing information focus, ends up with *-bai*, whereas a sentence with a contrastive topic or a subject bearing an exhaustive interpretation always requires *-tai*. Though both SFPs are markers for new information, *-tai* is used in the environment of identification and valuation of a variable, while *-bai* just introduces new information to discourse, not involved in a process of identification. Interestingly, she further observes that while an ordinary *wh*-question is answered by *-tai* phrases, a rhetorical question is answered by *-bai* phrases. This is the evidence suggesting that an ordinary *wh*-question truly involves a variable to be valued, while a rhetorical one is not an interrogative question but an assertion.

References: • Nagano, A. (2016). Morphological Realization of Focus Head in Hakata Japanese. *Tsukuba English Studies* 35, 1-31.

A relevance-theoretic perspective on the typology of questions

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.71

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The present paper proposes a model of studying typology of questions that relies on the notions of *common ground* (Stalnaker 1978, 2002) and *cognitive environments* (Sperber and Wilson 1986) and corpus linguistics methodology. Following Sperber and Wilson (1986), it will be assumed that what happens in communication is that the speaker's and addressee's individual cognitive environments interact. This interaction creates an intersection of these environments and results in the emergence of a mutual cognitive environment. I will argue that when the speaker asks a question she assumes one of the following four situations. K here refers to knowledge that according to the speaker's assumptions is or is not part of the speaker's or addressee's beliefs (coded as SB and AB respectively).

Situation 1: $(K \in SB) \wedge (K \in AB)$;

Situation 2: $(K \notin SB) \wedge (K \in AB)$;

Situation 3: $(K \notin SB) \wedge (K \notin AB)$;

Situation 4: $(K \in SB) \wedge (K \in AB) \vee (K \notin AB)$

References: • Sperber, D. & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* Basil Blackwell, Oxford. • Stalnaker, R. (1978). Assertion. In Cole, P. (ed.), *Syntax and semantics* 9, 315–332. • Stalnaker, R. (2002). Common ground. In: *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 25(5), 701–721.

Linguistic Variation in the Realization of Rhetorical Questions – Providing Semantics and Pragmatics for German RQs

Mark-Matthias Zymla
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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 13:45–14:15
 Raum: 17.71

In this talk we provide a semantic and pragmatic analysis of rhetorical questions (RQs) in German. RQs differ from information-seeking question (ISQ) in that there is usually only one possible answer intended by the speaker. We explore the role of several semantic building blocks whose composition obligatorily or possibly leads to the interpretation of a question as rhetorical. We mainly focus on rhetorical questions marked with the discourse particle *schon* and those marked with a combination of a subjunctive auxiliary and negation.

- (1) *Wer mag schon Spinat?*
 Who like.3sg **particle** spinach
 ‘Who likes spinach?’
- (2) *Wer hätte nicht gerne einen Ferrari?*
 Who **have.3sg.subj neg** gladly a Ferrari
 ‘Who wouldn’t gladly own a Ferrari?’

These two types of constructions robustly carry rhetorical readings, where (1) expresses that nobody likes spinach and (2) expresses that everybody wants to own a Ferrari. Following the literature, we assume that the semantic input of the two question types leads to their pragmatic interpretation as RQs. For this reason, we propose a lexical entry for the discourse particle *schon*. Thereby, we show that *schon* contains a temporal component that affects the felicity of *schon* RQs in specific temporal contexts. We apply this analysis to *subj+neg* RQs and show that the temporal semantics of *schon* are part of the pragmatic interpretation of RQs, while tense is not.

References: • Abraham, W. (1991). *Discourse Particles: Descriptive and Theoretical Investigations on the Logical, Syntactic and Pragmatic Properties of Discourse Particles in German*, volume 12. John Benjamins Publishing. • Biezma, M. & Rawlins, K. (to appear). Rhetorical Questions: Severing Questioning from Asking. • Caponigro, I. & Sprouse, J. (2007). Rhetorical Questions as Questions. In: *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 11, 121–133. • Meibauer, J. (1986). *Rhetorische Fragen*, volume 167. Walter de Gruyter.

Modelling Questions in Public Arbitrations with Inference Anchoring Theory

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.71

Brian Plüss, Katarzyna Budzynska & Chris Reed

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Public arbitrations are important tools for governing bodies to consider the views of citizens when making controversial decisions. At the same time, they present challenges to effective moderation, participation, and sense-making, both during and after the event.

Inference Anchoring Theory (IAT; Budzynska & Reed 2011) is a tool-supported analytical method for annotating dialogue transcripts to extract propositional structures that are anchored on the speakers' locutions. As such, it offers a robust methodology to formally identify, represent, assess, and visualise argumentation structures in public arbitrations. The process is fully automatable, as manual annotations can be used to train algorithms that are able to process new transcripts without human intervention.

Questions are key in public arbitration, where participants answer questions from each other and from moderators. In the Citizen Dialogue corpus (public hearings by the US Department of Transport; <http://arg.tech/cd>) 83 of the 672 locutions were questions (Lawrence et al. 2017). IAT distinguishes between assertive questions (assertions in question form) and pure questions (information-seeking questions): of the 83 questions in the corpus, 30 were pure and 53 were assertive. The distinction is crucial in the analysis of discourse dynamics, and leads to different propositional structures: pure questions may anchor challenges, while assertive questions convey propositional content in support of, or conflict with, other assertions.

IAT supports automation of the processing of questions from linguistic analysis, to identification and assessment of argumentative role, to the production of analytics and visualisations. These results can be catered to participants, moderators, and decision-makers in public arbitrations, increasing the quality, cost-effectiveness, and efficacy of the deliberations.

References: • Budzynska, K., Reed, C. (2011). Whence inference. *University of Dundee Technical Report*. • Lawrence, J., Snaith, M., Konat, B., Budzynska, K., Reed, C. (2017). Debating technology for dialogical argument: Sensemaking, engagement, and analytics. *ACM Transactions on Internet Technology (TOIT)*, 17(3), 24.

What parallel texts can tell us about word order variation and change. A case study on *wh*-interrogatives in Romance

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Freitag,

09.03. 2018

11:45–12:45

Raum: 17.71

(Old and Modern) Romance languages are characterized by a relatively high stability with respect to word order in *wh*-interrogatives. They generally exhibit the fronting of the *wh*-phrase (*wh*-ex-situ) in combination with subject-verb inversion. In Modern Romance, however, there is some variation with respect to these word order constraints. On the one hand, many (varieties of) Modern Romance languages exhibit, mostly under very specific conditions, *wh*-ex-situ interrogatives without subject-verb inversion. On the other hand, (Modern) Romance languages allow the *wh*-phrase to remain in its base position (*wh*-in-situ) in some (restricted) contexts.

The aim of this presentation is to discuss whether and how parallel texts can help to explain the (diachronic) emergence and the constraints of these word order strategies. Firstly, we will present an investigation on Bible translations into different Romance languages and from different periods of time. A preliminary analysis based on an automatic compilation of interrogative clauses reveals that *wh*-in-situ is completely absent in all Bible translations under investigation. A second result is that *wh*-ex-situ without subject-verb inversion is rare in almost all Bible translations.

In order to verify these results we will present further pilot studies of colloquial parallel texts. Given some diverging results in a pilot study on translations of an Italian and a French detective story, we will present some reflections about these differences. In particular, we will explain them by claiming that the (new) word order strategies under investigation are (still) optional rules in Romance and that their choice depends on a number of factors (e.g. speech situation, colloquiality, translator). As a consequence, we propose a coding system for the analysis of parallel text data in which these features are encoded.

Word order and question type: A corpus analysis of Bollywood scripts

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:45
Raum: 17.71

Miriam Butt & Farhat Jabeen

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Urdu/Hindi has a number of interesting properties with respect to questions. It is a language with default SOV word order, but where major constituents can scramble. The major determinant of word order seem to be information-structural concerns. With respect to constituent questions, the most natural position for *wh*-phrases is the immediately preverbal position, a position that is also associated with focus. However, *wh*-phrases can in principle appear anywhere else in the clause and have the same scrambling possibilities as NPs. The constraints and licensing conditions on the scrambling possibilities of *wh*-phrases in Urdu/Hindi remain under investigated, however there is a marked dispreference for the clause initial position. The reason for this appears to be due to the structure of polar questions.

Polar questions in Urdu/Hindi have a declarative syntax, but also allow for the presence of a question marker *kya* ‘what’. The clause initial position for this polar *kya* has been characterized as being its default position. However, just like *wh*-phrases in constituent questions, the polar *kya* can in principle appear anywhere in the clause, with a marked dispreference for the immediately preverbal position – the default position of the *wh*-phrase.

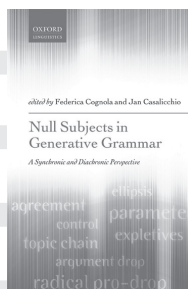
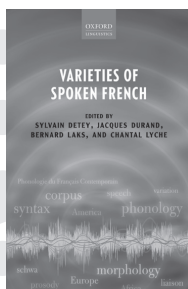
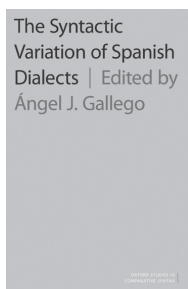
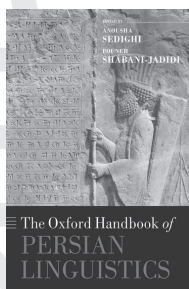
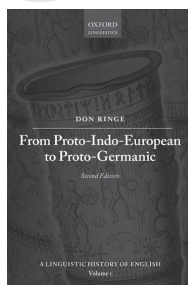
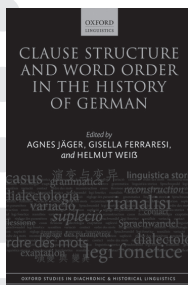
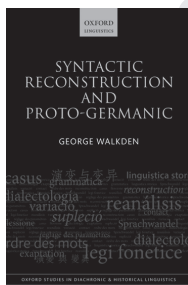
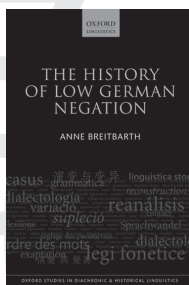
While some progress has recently been made on understanding the distribution and meaning of polar *kya*, the constraints and licensing conditions associated with where it appears in a clause are still understudied.

In this talk, we present work from a corpus study of 10 Bollywood film scripts. We investigate the position of *wh*-phrases and polar *kya* and how this correlates to interpretational possibilities of questions. For example, clause final polar *kya* is more often associated with the expression of rhetorical questions, while immediately postverbal *wh*-phrases seem to be used to express secondary focus. With our results, we seek to inform the current theoretical linguistic discussion with data that very closely approximates spoken language and in turn draw on the existing insights coming from theoretical linguistics in order to form the hypotheses that form the basis of our corpus study.

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Arbeitsgruppe 8

Reference beyond the DP: Towards a crosslinguistic typology of the syntax and semantics of proforms

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Raum: 17.72

Workshop description

The grammar of natural languages relies on proforms as one means of reference and context dependency. The workshop focuses on the typology of proforms that are not entity-denoting and aims at providing a forum for theoretical and experimental researchers, fieldworkers and corpus linguists to address crosslinguistic variation and potential generalizations in the syntax and semantics of those proforms, their type inventory and their development.

±Object shift and *es/das*: Form and position of pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents in Norwegian and German

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 17.72

Kristine Bentzen
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[Joint work with Merete Anderssen]

This paper explores parallels between the placement of pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents in Norwegian, and the use of pronouns *es* (it) and *das* (that) in German. In Norwegian, while pronominal objects with non-nominal antecedents generally do not shift across adverbs, this is not the case when these elements refer to a continuing topic in the discourse. This is reminiscent of a pattern observed in German. However, this is not related to object scrambling, but rather to the form of the pronominal element referring to a clausal antecedent. In German, *das* is generally used to refer back to non-nominal antecedents, however, *es* is also sometimes available. In this study, we find parallels between the use of OS and *es*, on the one hand, and lack of OS and *das*, on the other. Based on judgements of dialogues, we propose that –OS/*das* is preferred when referring to a proposition that is not yet established as part of the common ground. In contrast, when referring to a proposition that is part of the common ground in the discourse OS/*es* is preferred. This ties in nicely with previous research on Norwegian OS, as in order for a proposition to constitute a continuing topic in the discourse, it has to be established as part of the interlocutors' common ground.

Anaphoric *one*: When ellipsis is blocked

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Where other languages use noun phrase ellipsis (NPE), English often requires use of the NP pro-form *one(s)*, as in (1). This is curious since English appears to have NPE, as in (2). One might therefore expect NPE to also be available where *one* appears, but this is not possible. Likewise, anaphoric *one* cannot appear in contexts where NPE is used.

- (1) Bill bought a long book, and I bought three short *(ones).
- (2) Bill bought my books, and I bought yours / *your ones.

In this talk, I argue that *one* is used when the use of NPE is blocked by independent factors. First, I show that *one* cannot be construed as a reflex of NPE (c.f. Llombart-Huesca 2002) and must therefore be a distinct phenomenon, taking the position that it is simply a nominal pro-form that derives its interpretation anaphorically (Payne et al. 2013). I then argue that anaphoric *one* is used when NPE would target new or focused information. Since ellipsis cannot delete material that is not GIVEN (Tancredi 1992, Merchant 2001), *one* must be used instead. The apparent complementary distribution of the phenomena falls out if we assume that ellipsis is generally preferred to pro-forms when both are available in principle (Bentzen et al. 2013, Houser 2010, Payne et al. 2013). I then discuss cross-linguistic variation.

References: • Bentzen, K., Merchant, J. & Svenonius, P.: (2013). Deep properties of surface pronouns: Pronominal predicate anaphors in Norwegian and German. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 16, 97–125. • Houser, M. J. (2010): *The Syntax and Semantics of Do So Anaphora*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. • Llombart-Huesca, A. (2002): Anaphoric One and NP-Ellipsis. *Studia Linguistica* 56, 59–89. • Merchant, J. (2001): *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis*. Oxford University Press. • Payne, J., Pullum, G. K., Scholz, B. C. & Berlage, E. (2013): Anaphoric one and its implications. *Language* 89, 794–829 • Tancredi, C. (1992): *Deletion, Deaccenting and Presupposition*. Doctoral Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Proforms in French depictives and copula constructions and the 'favor clitic' principle

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 17.72

Steffen Heidinger
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In French copula constructions, the clitic proform *le* is used for 'adjectival coreference' (reference to a state explicitly mentioned by an adjective in the preceding context) (Sandfeld 1965, Kayne 1975, Sportiche 1995).

- (1) *Jean est intelligent_i. Oui, il l_i' est.*
 Jean is intelligent yes he CL is
 'Jean is intelligent. Yes, he is.'

In contrast, French depictive constructions only allow non-clitic proforms (*ainsi* 'like that') while *le* is ungrammatical (Sandfeld 1965, Kayne 1975).

In depictive constructions, the non-clitic proform *ainsi* is used for 'adjectival coreference' (unlike in copula constructions). We therefore argue that the absence of non-clitic proforms in the 'adjectival coreference' function in copulas is not rooted in the non-clitic proforms themselves. Instead, non-clitic proforms are blocked from the 'adjectival coreference' function in copulas by the combination of (i) the existence of a clitic proform (namely *le*) and (ii) the 'favor clitic' principle (Jones 1996).

References: • Jones, M. A. (1996). *Foundations of French syntax*. CUP. • Kayne, R. S. (1975). French syntax: The transformational cycle. *Current studies in Linguistics*. • Sandfeld, K. (1965). *Syntaxe du français contemporain: Les pronoms*. Paris : Librairie Honore Champion. • Sportiche, D. (1995). French predicate clitics and clause structure. *Syntax and semantics* 28, 287–324.

Anaphoric *same* and the syntax of implicit proforms

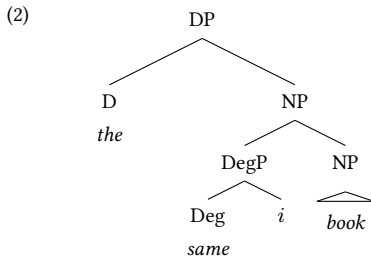
Emily Hanink
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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:00–18:00
 Raum: 17.72

Recent work has investigated the anaphoric nature of certain adjectives. Consider the following example, in which *same* participates in anaphora:

- (1) Mary recently finished a book. Now Sarah is reading **the same book**.

Considerably little work addresses the *syntactic* properties of such modifiers that give rise to anaphora. I investigate *same* on its anaphoric reading, and propose that it selects for an implicit proform in the same way as more familiar degree expressions that likewise host anaphora. In a nutshell, I argue that anaphora involving *same* have the following structure, as in (2):



In (2), *same* heads a degree phrase that modifies NP. The anaphoric relationship is encoded through the presence of the null proform selected for by the degree head; I show that the same position may also host an *as-relative* (Carlson 1977) which removes the need for an antecedent:

- (3) Sarah is reading the **the same book** as Mary.

I support the idea that anaphora with and without *same* are different with morphological evidence from German, which displays a sensitivity in the form of the definite article to whether the referent picked out by the DP is anaphoric (Schwarz 2009). I argue that anaphoric DPs in German likewise host null proforms, but in a different position than shown in (2). Crucially, the form of the definite article used in anaphora is affected by the presence of *same*, a puzzle which I explain with the proposed difference in structure. I go on to corroborate this account with data from Washo, an endangered Amerindian language spoken around Lake Tahoe in the USA, which lacks *same* along with any other degree morphology but which nevertheless provides evidence that indices are structurally encoded in anaphoric definites.

References: • Schwarz, F (2009). Two types of definites in natural language *Penn Dissertation*.
 • Carlson, G. (1977). Reference to kinds in English. *UMass Dissertation*.

On the link between proposition-denoting pro-forms and factivity: Evidence from embedded clauses in German

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 17.72

In this talk, I examine the ambiguous behavior of the predicate *mögen* ‘like’ in (the history of) German and show that the pro-form *es* ‘it’ disambiguates its semantics and syntax. The verb *mögen* can be used either as a modal verb in the sense claimed by Reis (2001), (1), or as a factive verb, cf. (2):

- (1) *Julia mag Max (*zu) fotografieren*
Julia like.3SG Max to photograph.INF
‘Julia likes to take pictures of Max.’
- (2) *Julia mag [es] [Max *(zu) fotografieren]_i*
Julia like.3SG it Max to photograph.INF
‘Julia likes to take pictures of Max.’

I argue that *mögen* loses its modal verb status, as soon as it embeds the pro-form *es* as its internal argument referring to the attached clause. Main arguments for this analysis come from: i) embeddability of conditional clauses, ii) Spec,CP position restrictions, iii) Third Construction properties, and iv) root phenomena (cf. Frey 2016). Synchronically, I assume *es* to trigger a factive presupposition on the embedded clause, which, in turn, is analyzed as a CP lacking a Force-projection representing the illocutionary force. Diachronically, I show that the semantic shift of *mögen* from ‘being capable of doing something’ to ‘like’ in Early New High German (1350–1650), as described by Bech (1951), paved the way for the possibility of embedding factive complements.

References: • Frey, W. (2016). On properties of differentiating constructions with inner-sentential pro-forms for clauses. In: Frey, Meinunger, Schwabe (eds.): *Inner-sentential Propositional Proforms: Syntactic Properties and Interpretative Effects*. John Benjamins: 73–104. • Reis, M. (2001). Bilden Modalverben im Deutschen eine syntaktische Klasse? In: Müller & Reis (eds.): *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen*. Hamburg: Buske: 287–318.

Morphosyntactic and semantic aspects of clausal complementation in Jula

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.72

Jula is a West-African Mande language of the Manding dialect group (Niger-Congo). In this preliminary study, we explore relations between semantic properties of two types of clause-embedding predicates (factive and *believe*-type) and the form and function of their clausal complements. We show that meanings associated with those predicates are determined by the finiteness status of the complement clause, and therefore are not easily predictable on the basis of the embedding predicate alone.

Crucially, there appears to be a parallel between syntacticosemantic complement types and restrictions on *topicalization* and *extraposition* (leaving open the question whether these structures come about by movement or base-generation), along with the occurrence of *sentential proforms* (cf. Frey, Meinunger & Schwabe 2016, Schwabe 2015). Topicalized complement clauses must co-occur with a *referential proform* (**o**-form) and only non-finite clauses undergo topicalization, the finite ones never do. Extraposed clauses often co-occur with correlates of the **a**-form.

We propose that those facts indicate a morphosyntactic relationship between the left edge of clausal complements and their embedding structures. To take this idea one step further, we postulate syntactic heads at the right edge of the embedding structures that interact with, but are syntactically distinct from the embedding lexical predicates themselves.

References: • Schwabe, K. (2015). On the licensing of argument conditionals. In: Aber, Jerabek, Hole & Kunke (eds): *Logic, Language and Computation. 10th International Tbilisi Symposium TbiLLC* 2013, Berlin/Heidelberg: SpringerVerlag: 290-309. • Schwabe, K., Frey, W. & Meinunger, A. (2016). Sentential proforms: An overview. In: Schwabe, Frey & Meinunger (eds): *Inner-sentential Propositional Proforms: Syntactic properties and interpretative effects*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 1-22.

Metalinguistic *Wh*-Placeholders

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:15–11:45
 Raum: 1772

The Cantonese *wh*-word *me* ‘what’ can serve as a proform to substitute syllables, heads and phrases when the speaker cannot utter these elements for pragmatic reasons, e.g. euphemism (1) or forgetting someone’s name (2). The reference of *wh*-placeholders is contextually determined.

- (1) *Popo jiging me-zo laa.*
 old.lady already what-PERF Prt
 ‘The old lady already WHAT-ed (= died).’
- (2) *Mak-me-ji hai jinjam Dakgwok Zungli.*
 Mak-what-ji be current Germany Chancellor
 ‘Mak-WHAT-ji (= Merkel) is the current Chancellor of Germany.’

Unlike most other uses of *wh*-words, *wh*-placeholders can flexibly substitute elements of various syntactic categories, e.g. N, V and A. Cheung (2015) analyzes that *wh*-placeholders are metalinguistic proforms denoting linguistic expressions (type *u*). The type *u* expression then type-shifts to the intended category (e.g. <*e*> for nouns). What has not been discussed is that if unconstrained, *wh*-placeholders are predicted to replace expressions of any category. However, they only substitute non-word syllables (2), NPs, N’s, VPs, V’s (1), A’s (i.e. *u*, *e*, <*e*, *t*> and <*e*, <*e*, *t*>>) but not higher types like P’s, D’s, quantified DPs, etc. This suggests that higher-type *wh*-placeholders may be denied due to a constraint similar to the *No Higher-Type Variables* constraint (e.g. Chierchia 1984, Baker 2003, Landman 2006).

References: • Baker, M. (2003). *Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns and adjectives*. CUP. • Cheung, L. (2015). Uttering the unutterable with *wh*-placeholders. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 24(3), 271–308. • Chierchia, G. (1984). Topics in the Syntax & Semantics of Infinitives & Gerunds. PhD diss., UMass Amherst. • Landman, M. (2006). Variables in natural language. PhD diss., UMass Amherst.

Anaphoric reference by Russian imperfective past passive participles

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:45
Raum: 17.72

[Based on joint work with Olga Borik, UNED, Madrid]

In this talk, we focus on Russian periphrastic passives with imperfective (IPF) past passive participles (PPPs), which are standardly assumed not to be grammatical, but for which we find ample evidence in contemporary corpora, for example (1).

- (1) *Stroeno bylo éto ploxo, xromo, ščeljasto.*
built.IMP was this badly lamely with holes
'It was built badly, lamely, with holes.'

We argue that this construction exemplifies the event counterpart of definite descriptions. In particular, we show that the licensing conditions for this type of construction necessarily involve a link to a previously established or inferable eventive discourse referent. This use of the IPF aspect that relies on anaphoric reference is called 'presuppositional' (after Grønn 2004). We show that presuppositional IPF PPPs are parallel to definite descriptions in the sense that they signal under which file card/dr the event description has to be stored. We argue that such uses of the IPF are parallel to definite descriptions in the sense that the IPF signals an anaphoric link to a previously introduced or inferable eventive discourse referent, for example (2).

- (2) *Čto kasaetjsja platy deneg, to plačeny byli naličnymi [...]*
what concerns payment.GEN money.GEN then paid were in cash
'Regarding the payment, it was paid in cash.'

We will also show that just like definites, they can establish anaphoric links that are not based on identity but on associative contextual relations, which we take to be parallel to bridging.

References: • Grønn, A. (2004). The Semantics and Pragmatics of the Russian Factual Imperfective. PhD Oslo.

Adjectives, conjunction, and anaphora

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:45
Raum: 17.72

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Among the more intuitively appealing and elegant ideas in the analysis of adjectives is that they denote measure functions (Kennedy 1999). But as Bale (2007) pointed out, conjoined adjectives are problematic for this view. He, Schwarz (2010), and Schwarzschild (2013) have wrestled with the thorny issue of how to conjoin adjectival scales in ways that ultimately bear on the nature of degrees. In this talk I'll consider how this problem might be approached if degrees are understood in terms of kinds, and what that might predict about anaphora to conjoined adjectives (e.g. *Donald is ignorant and unpleasant, and his son even more so*).

References: • Bale, A. C. (2006). The Universal Scale and the Semantics of Comparison. PhD diss., McGill University. • Kennedy, Ch. (1999): *Projecting the Adjective: The Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison*. New York/London: Garland. • Schwarz, B. (2010): A note on *for*-phrases and derived scales. Handout, Sinn und Bedeutung 15, Saarbrücken. • Schwarzschild, R. (2013): Degrees and segments. *Proceedings of SALT* 23: 212–238.

Comparing similarity demonstratives and similarity adjectives with respect to gradability

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.72

This talk starts from the analysis of German *so* and English *such* as *similarity demonstratives* expressing similarity (instead of identity) to their demonstration targets (Umbach & Gust 2014). This analysis differs from, e.g., Anderson & Morzycki (2015) in assuming that demonstration targets are (token) individuals (instead of kinds). On the other hand, the similarity classes created by *so/such* (e.g. the class of haircuts similar to Claire's) may constitute kinds created ad hoc.

This analysis allows comparing *so/such* to adjectives expressing similarity, e.g. *ähnlich/similar* and *gleich/same*, which are at first sight equivalent in meaning, see (1), but on a closer look differ in a number of respects. Most prominently, while *ähnlich/similar* are gradable, neither *so/such* nor *gleich/same* are, see (2).

Speaker points to Claire's haircut:

- (1) a. Anna hat auch *so* einen Haarschnitt / einen *ähnlichen* Haarschnitt / den *gleichen* Haarschnitt wie dieser da.
b. Anna has also *such* a haircut / a *similar* haircut / the *same* haircut.
- (2) a. Annas Haarschnitt ist diesem *ähnlicher* /*mehr *so* ein Haarschnitt / *diesem mehr *gleich* als/wie der von Berta.
b. Anna's haircut is more similar to this one /*more *such* a haircut / *more the same haircut than/as Berta's.

It will be argued in the talk that in the case of *gleich/same* non-gradability is a matter of the adjectives' content while in the case of *so/such* it relates to the fact that the relation of similarity is due to their nature as demonstratives. From this point of view, *so/such* are in fact closer to pro-forms than to two-place predicates of similarity.

References: • Anderson, C. & Morzycki, M. (2015). Degrees as Kinds. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33(3), 791–828. • Umbach, C. & Gust, H. (2014). Similarity demonstratives. *Lingua* 149, 74–93.

The degree proform *so* in German

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.72

Doris Penka
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Besides other uses, *so* in German can be used as a demonstrative pronoun referring to a degree. Like other demonstratives, degree *so* has deictic and anaphoric uses, illustrated in (1).

- (1) Peter ist (auch) *so* groß.
Peter is (also) *SO* tall
'Peter is that tall (too).'

In this talk I argue that *so* used as parameter marker in scalar equatives like (2) is also the degree proform illustrated in (1).

- (2) Peter ist *so* groß wie Paul.
Peter is *SO* tall how Paul.
'Peter is as tall as Paul.'

Following Haspelmath and Buchholz (1998), I take the morphological make-up of equatives as guiding line and propose a semantic analysis of equatives in German as correlative constructions. The standard clause headed by the degree interrogative pronoun *wie* is analyzed as a free relative clause that is interpreted as a definite description (e.g. Dayal, 1995). This degree is then cataphorically picked up by the demonstrative degree pronoun *so* in argument position.

In support of this analysis, three empirical facts are discussed that are puzzling under the standard degree operator analysis of equatives but can be explained under the correlative analysis: (i) measure phrases cannot be used as standard, (ii) negative expressions can occur in the standard, whereas (iii) negative polarity items cannot.

References: • Dayal, V. (1995). Quantification in correlatives. In: Bach, Jelinek, Kratzer & Partee (eds.): *Quantification in Natural Languages*. Kluwer Academic Publishers: 179–205. • Haspelmath, M. & Buchholz, O. (1998). Equative and similative constructions in the languages of Europe. In Auwera (ed.): *Adverbial constructions in the languages of Europe*. Berlin: de Gruyter: 277–334.

Manners and proforms: processing ambiguous adverbials

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Freitag,
 09.03. 2018
 12:45–13:15
 Raum: 17.72

Anderson & Morzycki (2015) analyze manner adverbials as predicates of event kinds. One important piece of evidence they present is the observation that German *so* (and also Polish *tak*) serve as proforms for kinds as well as manner. The example in (1a) illustrates this observation, namely that the German demonstrative *so* serves as a manner proform.

- (1) a. *Gestern hat Ulf das Gedicht **laut** rezitiert,*
 b. *Gestern hat Ulf das Gedicht **sicher** rezitiert, und Peter hat*
Yesterday has Ulf the poem loud/secure recited and Peter has
es auch so rezitiert.
 it also SO recited.
 ‘Yesterday, Ulf recited the poem loudly/confidently, and Peter recited it like this, too.’

The example in (1b) illustrates that German adjectives like *sicher* (‘secure’) in their adverbial use, which are ambiguous between a manner and a speaker-oriented interpretation, are disambiguated by *so*, since it can only refer back to a manner modifier, but not to a speaker-oriented one. The study I will present is concerned with the question whether the position of an ambiguous modifier determines its interpretation. With different experimental methods, I investigated whether the interpretation of ambiguous modifiers and the use of the proform *so* are influenced by the syntactic position of the modifier. The results reveal that position indeed is an important factor. Furthermore, the data show that the manner interpretation clearly prefers the assumed base position for manner adverbials below the direct object (see e.g., Frey, 2003).

References: • Anderson, C. & Morzycki, M. (2015). Degrees as kinds. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 33(3), 791–828. • Frey, W. (2003). Syntactic conditions on adjunct classes. In: Lang, Fabricius-Hansen & Maienborn (eds.): *Modifying Adjuncts*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter: 261–306.

The puzzle from VP proforms in comparative clauses

Vera Hohaus & Andreas Konietzko

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 17.72

The starting point for our talk is a puzzling contrast between English and German when it comes to the acceptability of VP proforms in comparative clauses: While German (1) is grammatical (see also Bentzen, Merchant & Svenovius 2013), English **Louise swam faster [than Johann did so]* is not.

- (1) Louise ist schneller geschwommen
 Louise is faster swum
 [_{<d,t>} als (wie) Johann es ist].
 than how Johann pro(VP) is
 ‘Louise swam faster than Johann did.’

Superficially, German (1) thus seems to be a case of extraction out of a proform, as comparative clauses are syntactically characterized by *wh*-movement of a covert degree head (Bresnan 1973), as sketched in (2). Semantically, this movement triggers the required abstraction over degrees.

- (2) [_{<d,t>} than (how₁) Johann [VP [swam [t_{1,d} fast]]]]

Yet, movement out of or binding into proforms is not possible under standard assumptions about their syntax and semantics (Hankamer & Sag 1976 and subsequent research). We therefore suggest that German (1) is a case of pseudo-extraction from a proform: Extraction is not from the proform but from an elided constituent, which is adjoined to the pronominalized verb phrase. In English, the internal make up of the proform blocks this operation.

References: • Hankamer, J. & Sag, I. (1976). Deep and Surface Anaphora. *Linguistic Inquiry* 7(3), 391–428. • Bresnan, J. (1973). Syntax of the Comparative Clause Construction in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(3), 275–343. • Bentzen K., Merchant, J. & Svenovius, P. (2013). Deep properties of surface pronouns: pronominal predicate anaphors in Norwegian and German. *J Comp German Linguistics* 16(2), 97–125.

Arbeitsgruppe 9

Lost in change: causes and processes in the loss of grammatical constructions and categories

Svenja Kranich¹ & Tine Breban²

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Raum: 17.73

Workshop description

This workshop investigates how grammatical constructions and categories disappear from the language system. Contributions, covering a wide range of languages, focus on far-reaching changes such as the complete loss of a category, a major reduction of grammatical distinctions or loss of the prototypical member of a paradigm. They deal with the typical steps and features of processes of loss, the motivations behind them, the consequences for the language system, as well as with theoretical modelling of the processes.

The external typology of the loss of inflection

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 1773

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[Joint work with Matthew Baerman]

AG9

The loss of inflectional morphology has been instrumental in shaping many languages, but has been relatively little studied. We present a model of inflectional loss along two parameters:

1. Mechanism of change, subdivided into LOSS, EXTENSION OR DISPLACEMENT. Loss is seen in the history of Malayalam, where subject suffixes were gradually dropped (Ramaswami Ayyar 1936), so that the loss of inflectional contrasts was a by-product of morphological attrition. Extension is inherently contrast erasing, as in Mand (Trans New Guinea), where the 3SG subject form is taking over the paradigm (Daniels 2015). Displacement comes from outside the paradigm, as in Basque verbs, where periphrastic verbal constructions replace synthetic ones (Jendraschek 2003).
2. Manner of change, subdivided into two cross-cutting contrasts. UNIDIRECTIONAL vs. MULTIDIRECTIONAL change is seen in the contrast between Mand, where all values converge on the 3sg, vs. Ancient Egyptian, where the stative verb ends up swapping subject suffixes at random (Sethe 1899). GLOBAL vs. INCREMENTAL change is seen in the contrast between Mand, where the loss of subject marking affects all values simultaneously, and Swedish, where loss of person precedes loss of number (Mørck 2005).

While inflectional loss has many potential causes (morphological, phonological, morphosyntactic or semantic), this typology relies solely on observable properties, as a first step towards a broader account.

References: • Daniels, D. (2015). A reconstruction of Proto-Sogeram. PhD Thesis, UCSB. • Jendraschek, G. (2003). When Old Paradigms Die, New Paradigms are Born. *Journal of Universal Language* 4, 27–59. • Mørck, E. (2005). Morphological developments from Old Nordic to Early Modern Nordic. Bandle, O. et al. (eds), *The Nordic Languages* (vol. 2) 1128–1149. • Ramaswami Aiyar, L. V. (1936). *The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology*. • Sethe, K. (1899). *Das Aegyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen* (v. 2).

Loss of number in the Standard English 2nd person

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:45–15:15
Raum: 17.73

AG9

Historically, English had a number contrast in the 2nd-person pronouns with a distinction between *thou* (subject) and *thee* (object) in the singular and *ye* (subject) and *you* (object) in the plural, with the plural forms also used for polite address. The singular pronouns *thou/thee* were, however, lost from Standard English by the 18th century.

This loss of *thou/thee* has been attributed primarily to pragmatic and sociolinguistic factors (e.g. Jucker & Taavitsainen 2013). Recently though, Aalberse & Stoop (2015) suggested that it might additionally be connected to a morphosyntactic improvement: The loss of the original 2nd-person singular pronoun in English and Dutch, they argue, is motivated by the simplification of verb inflection: The 2nd-person singular ending Du. *-s* / *E -est* (*thou say-est*) was marked compared to the 2nd-person plural one Du. *-t* / *E -Ø* (*you say-Ø*). Avoiding the 2nd-person singular and using the plural (Du. *-t* / *E -Ø*) instead not only disposes of the number opposition in the second person, but also of a person opposition in the singular (Du. *-t* in third, *E -Ø* in first singular). Due to larger-scale second language and/or second dialect learning in the course of increased migration to English and Dutch cities in the early modern period, Aalberse & Stoop claim there would have been more pressure on the inflectional system of English and Dutch in comparison to German, where, in principle, loss of *du* would have yielded a similar simplification of the inflectional paradigm.

This hypothesis is tested in Aalberse & Stoop (2015) for Dutch only. In our presentation, this theory is tested for Standard English too, by reviewing the distribution of T and V forms in Middle and Early Modern English as well as the general contact scenario and the relevant L1 grammars of learners of Middle and Early Modern English.

References: • Aalberse, S. & Stoop, W. (2015). The Exceptional Loss of the Pronoun T. In: *Journal of Pragmatics* 88, 190–201. • Jucker, A. & Taavitsainen, I. (2013). *English Historical Pragmatics*. Edinburgh University Press.

Gender decrease in English and the grammaticalization of nominal aspect

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.73

Martina Werner¹ & Gianina Iordăchioaia²

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AG9

This talk illustrates how historically emergent syncretisms across categories re-shaped the gender system and the associated nominal aspect in English. The intertwined processes illustrate the grammaticalization of nominal aspect whose count and mass aspects developed simultaneously.

Nominalizations are crucial in the investigation of the gender system of a language. Here, grammatical gender is understood as a category for countability (e.g. Werner 2012, following Brugmann 1897): masculine represents countable nouns as opposed to neuter, which stands for mass nouns, while the feminine represents abstract-collective nouns.

Gender in English is usually considered to have decreased due to the loss of inflectional morphology in Middle English (see Curzan 2003) resulting in a sex-based gender system despite ‘peaceful coexistence’ in Old English (Siemund 2013: 10f). However, random nominalization samples from the OED (Clark Hall/Merritt 1984) show that a gender confusion was taking place already in Old English. We find masculine semi-suffixations with *-hād* (e.g., *cild-hād*, M ‘childhood, enfancy’), *dōm* (e.g., *reccen-dōm* M ‘authority, governance’) or *-scipe* (e.g., *ten-scipe* M ‘inhabitant; population of a city’), which besides the usual individualized count nouns, also denote (typically, feminine) abstract-collective nominalizations (Werner 2012: 30ff).

Based on a case study of deverbal nominals we argue that the gender decrease in English was not due to the loss of inflection, but to its emerging syncretism with countability encoded in nominalizing suffixes, which resulted in grammaticalized nominal aspect.

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Detection of Fossilized, Archaic Words

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 17.73

AG9

According to Fritz (2006) obsolescence and loss of words has been investigated to a lesser extent than the occurrence of new words and uses (cf. p. 79). A particular type of loss of words is fossilization in phraseologisms where it may occur that words that are not in the lexicon of the language anymore still occur as part of a bigger lexical unit such as *Fug* in *mit Fug und Recht* (Jang 2006, cf. p. 22). Fossilized structures are still integral parts of the synchronic grammar and/or lexicon. Similar examples are *gang und gäbe* or *geschweige denn* (Hackstein 2014).

We exploit the observation that archaic words in phraseologisms have a very narrow context, in order to detect them automatically in a large corpus. E.g., *Fug* can only occur in the context of *mit Fug und Recht*. We measure the degree of contextual narrowness of words by drawing from the notion of entropy and using methods from distributional semantics. In hypernym detection, word entropy reflects semantic generality (Santus et al. 2014). It has been successfully applied to detect metaphoric change (Schlechtweg et al. 2017). This measure is now applied to detect fossilized words. The hypothesis is that fossilization results in an extreme drop of word entropy over time and a significantly lower word entropy than other words in the same frequency area at a specific time point. For our investigation, we use the corpus of *Deutsches Textarchiv (erweitert)* (DTA), which is accessible online and downloadable for free (www.deutschestextarchiv.de/). The DTA provides more than 2447 lemmatized and POS-tagged texts (with more than 140M tokens) and covers a time period from the late 15th to the early 20th century.

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Corpus driven analysis of obsolescence of multi-word expressions in Late Modern English

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

This paper explores a new methodology for extracting multi-word constructions, that were once common but have since become obsolete (Tichý 2018), from large corpora (esp. from the Google n-grams dataset of the Google Books project).

It proceeds from a novel method for a bottom up multi-word construction extraction (Wahl & Gries, forthcoming), to the formulation of a semi-automatic procedure for identifying constructions that may have become lost or obsolete in the course of the last three centuries, from the Late Modern era to Present-day English (1700–2000). The procedure makes use of both relative frequencies to establish currency, as well collocational measures such as mutual information.

In the analytical part, the paper focuses on analysing select constructions of the type *there needs no* (as in “there needs no priest”) whose obsolescence is indicative of wider structural and typological changes, e.g. as in this case a decline of impersonal constructions.

Conditions, circumstances and consequences of the loss of such constructions are considered with a focus on the competing forms expressing similar functions that may be recognized as supplanting the old forms.

References: • Michel, J.-B., Shen, Y. K., Aiden, A.P., Veres, A., Gray, M. K., Pickett, J.P., Hoiberg, D. et al. (2011). Quantitative analysis of culture using millions of digitized books. *Science* 331(6014): 176–182. • Tichý, O.. (2018). Lexical obsolescence 1700-2000. In: *Applications of Pattern-driven Methods in Corpus Linguistics*. Kopaczyk, J & Tyrkkö, J (eds). Studies in Corpus Linguistics, John Benjamins • Wahl, A. & Gries, S.Th. (forthcoming): Multi-word expressions: A novel computational approach to their bottom-up statistical extraction. In Pascual Cantos (ed.), *Lexical collocation analysis: advances and applications*. Berlin & New York. Springer.

Obsolescence of multi-word expressions in Updated Old English: The case of impersonal constructions

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 17.73

AG9

The paper proposes to explore several structural tendencies at work in the first stages of the decline of impersonal constructions as reflected in the texts of the copies of homilies by Ælfric as well as of some of the anonymous Old English homilies preserved between 1066 and 1220 and catalogued and analysed now, along with other texts, as the so-called Updated Old English.

Proceeding by the method of manual collation of the Old English originals and their copies, the analysis will focus on the incipient demise of impersonal verbs but will also take into consideration some of the conditions, circumstances and consequences of category and marker loss in the English of the day related to this central issue, such as case marking (with a focus on the dative and on the variation in its formal representation as related to the syntactic and semantic complexity of the context), the functional rise of prepositions, and changes in syntactic and lexical representation of the “inherited” phrases, clauses and constructions.

Though this approach may appear, by objective necessity, methodologically antiquarian, it allows us to open up useful new perspectives on one of the decisive periods in the typological transformation of English over time, when so much happened offstage, and on the subtle quasi-synchronic mechanics of language change generally.

References: • Čermák, J. (2008). Ælfric's homilies and incipient typological change in the 12th century English word-formation. *Prague Studies in English*, XXV, 1, 109–115. • McColl Millar, R. & Nicholls, J.P. (1997). Ælfric's *De Initio Creaturae* and London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A.xxii: omission, addition, retention and innovation. In P. C. Szarmach and J. T. Rosenthal. (eds.): *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*. Kalamazoo: Publications of the Center for Medieval Studies, 431–64. • da Rold, O. (with M. Swan) (2012). Linguistic Contiguities: English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220. In: E. Tyler (ed.): *Conceptualizing Multilingualism*. Brepols, 255–70.

Loss, Optionality, and Free Variation of Categories

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–9:30
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

To get a better understanding of the requirements for the loss of a category I will consider three phenomena in Alemannic (a German dialect): The loss of a category, the optional realization of a category and free variation.

Genitive marking has been lost in Alemannic and there are a number of alternative strategies to compensate for this development. Furthermore the function of the Genitive is rather restricted.

Attributive adjectives must inflect in Standard German but inflection is optional in Alemannic.

- (1) *mit dem nui(a) Waga*
with the.Dat. new(wk) car

I relate this optionality to the multifunctionality of the inflection, which does not exclusively combine with adjectives (cf. Leu 2009). The inflections must therefore remain available in the lexicon. At the same time the syntactic structure provides a slot in which inflection on adjectives can be merged, explaining its optional appearance. Relative clauses in Alemannic can be introduced with a d-pronoun (also functioning as definite determiner), a particle (related to the wh-pronoun *where*), or the combination of both. The three strategies are in free variation as Bräuning (2017) shows in an extensive empirical study.

- (2) *das Haus, das...das Haus, wo... das Haus, das wo...*
the house, that...the house, PRT the house, that PRT

The three discussed cases share, that there is more than one means for the realization of the (original) function/construction. In addition adjectival inflection and the relative clause introducers are (unlike Genitive) multifunctional which is why they cannot get lost.

References: • Bräuning, I. (2017). The Syntax of Alemannic Relative Clause Strategies. Paper presented at the Fachbereichskolloquium, Universität Konstanz • Leu, T. (2008). The Internal Syntax of Determiners. Dissertation, NYU.

“The next Morning I got a Warrant for the Man and his Wife, but he was fled”: Did sociolinguistic factors play a role in the loss of the *be*-perfect?

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 17.73

AG9

Like other languages – such as German and French – English used to have two perfect auxiliaries, namely *have* and *be*, their use depending on the transitivity of the verb. From the beginning of the Early Modern period, however, *have* starts encroaching on the verbs formerly used with *be* as perfect auxiliary (see e.g. Kytö 1997). Variability between the *be*- and *have*-perfect constructions then continues well into the nineteenth century with certain verbs, but in Present-Day English, it is limited to a few set phrases, such as *They are/have gone* or *The sun is/has set*, or formal registers, as in *Christ is risen* (see e.g. Rydén 1991 or Anderwald 2014).

Kytö (1997) looks into external and internal factors that played a role in the loss of the *be*-perfect since late Middle English, including text type/register and speaker/writer sex as variables. According to her evidence, women's usage is conservative in the period when *have* finally wins out as the dominant auxiliary.

The present study will add to previous research by looking at sociolinguistic factors in more detail: using speech-based evidence from the *Old Bailey Corpus* (Huber 2007), it will consider socio-biographic background data (gender, occupation, class) and socio-pragmatic information, i.e. speaker role in the courtroom, to trace the loss of the *be*-perfect in Late Modern British English.

References: • Anderwald, L. (2014). The decline of the *be*-perfect, linguistic relativity, and grammar writing in the nineteenth century. In: Hundt, M. (ed.), *Late Modern English Syntax*, 13–27. CUP. • Huber, M. (2007). The Old Bailey Proceedings, 1674–1834. In: Meurman-Solin, A., Nurmi, A. (eds.), *Annotating Variation and Change*. www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/01/introduction.html • Kytö, M. (1997). *Be/Have* + past participle. In: Rissanen, M., Kytö, M., Heikkonen, K. (eds.), *English in Transition*, 16–85. De Gruyter. • Rydén, M. (1991). The *be/have* variation in its crucial phases. In: Kastovsky, D. *Historical English Syntax*, 343–354. De Gruyter.

A constructional investigation into the loss of the adverse avertive in Mandarin Chinese

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

This paper considers loss quantitatively and qualitatively from the perspective of constructionalisation (Traugott & Trousdale 2013), using the adverse avertive construction in Chinese as a case study.

The construction is characterised formally by an expletive negator, and functionally by four features: imminence, pastness, counterfactuality (Kuteva 2001) and adversity (Heine & Miyashita 2008). It is formalised as: [[ADV EXP.NEG VP] <-> [almost did VP (VP = adverse), but did not]]. Neither the form nor the whole bundle of functional features has been preserved synchronically. The expletive negator *mei* has fused with the adverb *chayidian* and no adversity is inherent in *chayidianmei*.

The loss of the construction can be accounted for by (1) quantitatively, decreases in type and token frequencies, and (2) qualitatively, the change in the most frequent, thus prototypical, member of the construction. Following Goldberg (2006), the most frequent member of a construction supplies the construction with its constructional meaning (e.g., *give* in the case of the ditransitive). The adverse avertive ‘constructional meaning supplier’ at first was *wei*, and then *xian*, both lit. ‘danger; to threaten’, which established and maintained the adversity meaning through their links to ‘danger’. After *chayidian*, lit. ‘differ (by) a little’ became more frequent than *xian* and replaced it as the constructional meaning supplier, the link between ‘danger’ and the adverse avertive became opaque, thus prompting the loss of adversity and disrupting the crosslinguistic association between adversity and expletive negation (Ziegeler 2016).

References: • Goldberg, A. (2006). *Constructions at Work*. Oxford: OUP. • Heine, B. & Miyashita, H. (2008). Accounting for a functional category: German *drohen* ‘to threaten’. *Language Sciences* 30, 53–101. • Kuteva, T. (2001). *Auxiliation*. Oxford: OUP. • Traugott E. & Trousdale, G. (2013). *Constructionalization and Constructional Change*. OUP, Oxford. • Ziegeler, D. (2016). Intersubjectivity and the diachronic development of counterfactual *almost*. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 17(1), 1–25.

Wiewohl daß der Türck in Polen eingefallen. The loss of the German connector-dass-construction

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:15–11:45
 Raum: 17.73

AG9

Based on a study using 17th to 18th Century German corpora, the paper sketches the loss of the schematic construction [connector + *dass*] (or doubly-filled comp). It contains a variable slot filled with different types of connectors or interrogative pronouns and a fixed position containing the subjunctive *dass* 'that' (*ob dass* 'if that', *wie dass* 'how that'). While the construction was rather type frequent in the 17th Century, it has been restricted to a few lexicalized instances such as *anstatt dass* 'instead of'; today it is productive only in certain dialects (e.g. Bayer 1984).

The type frequency of the construction decreased until the end of the 18th Century. Strikingly, its token frequency developed inversely during the same period, which suggests that only single highly automatized instances remained by the end of the 18th Century (Bybee e.g. 2002).

The rise and loss of the connector-*dass*-construction took place in a period when the formal distinction between main and subordinate clause had not been fully established. For instance, the verb final position had not been entirely fixed by the beginning of the 18th Century (Schildt 1976). In this period, different means of marking subordinate clauses competed. Next to the connector-*dass*-construction, the *afinite* construction characterized by the drop of the finite verb (*als er geendet* 'when he had finished') was frequent. The paper examines the loss of the connector-*dass*-construction in the context of these competing constructions. Next to type and token frequency, the consideration of competing constructions in the linguistic network and stigmatization processes turn out to be crucial to describe the loss of a construction.

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 • Bybee, J. (2002). Cognitive processes in grammaticalization. In M. Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language*. Vol. 2. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc, 145–167.
 • Schildt, J. (1976). Zur Ausbildung des Satzrahmens. In G. Kettmann, J. Schildt (eds.), *Zur Ausbildung der Norm in der deutschen Literatursprache aus der syntaktischen Ebene (1470–1730)*, 235–284.

German *so*-relatives: Lost in grammatical, typological, and sociolinguistic change

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

This paper analyzes the loss of the German relativizer *so* (*Der Capitain/so ein wachsamer Mann* ‘the captain, who was a vigilant man’). Once fairly frequent, it fell out of use in Early Modern German. A number of papers address this construction (e.g. Ägel 2010), but no comprehensive empirical study of its decline has been carried out yet. The present study seeks to determine the rate and frequency of the decrease as well as the contributing factors. In a subcorpus of the GerManC (1650–1800) composed of six different genres, all relevant relative clauses are analyzed. The results reveal striking differences between genres: Legal texts display the highest rate of *so* while sermons tend to avoid it. Narrative prose texts show strong variation, depending on stylistic purposes: the construction is favored in highly elaborated texts and avoided in texts that aim for spoken-like style. All genres witness the loss of the construction around 1800.

The extinction can be ascribed to multiple factors: In its history, German has developed towards the “overt complexity” type (Bisang 2015). This development was reinforced by the increased use of written language, where concise and unequivocal constructions are favored. The relativizer *so* belonged to elaborate written style, but was less adapted to this “ecological niche” (Lindsay & Aronoff 2013) than its competitors: relative pronouns (e.g. *welche*- ‘which’) are more distinct, as they mark the referential identity by number and gender agreement and the syntactic function by case. The study shows that a theory of obsolescence needs to encompass grammatical, typological, and sociolinguistic factors.

References: • Ägel, V. (2010). +/- Wandel. Am Beispiel der Relativpartikeln *so* und *wo*. In: *Kodierungstechniken im Wandel*, 199–222. • Bisang, W. (2015). Hidden complexity – the neglected side of complexity and its implications. *Linguistics Vanguard* 1: 177–187. • Lindsay, M. & Aronoff, M. (2013). Natural selection in self-organizing morphological systems. In: *Morphology in Toulouse*, 133–153.

Grammatical obsolescence in the network of English purpose subordinators

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.73

AG9

The paper presents the findings of my PhD project, which is entirely focused on the under-researched (e.g. Hundt 2014) topic of grammatical obsolescence understood as a situation in which a previously popular and productive construction is, often gradually, losing its productivity and popularity over time until it disappears completely or there are only residues or fossilized forms left.

Methods: Investigation of language corpora supported by statistical testing in R and in Mathematica. The corpora explored in the first place are the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA).

The investigated variable: Subordination of purpose. As can be seen in Figure 1, the frequency of use of many of the English purpose subordinators has been visibly decreasing over the past two centuries. This development, along with some other symptoms, might, at least for some of the investigated cases, instantiate grammatical obsolescence. The paper focuses on the following variants: *in order to* (*in order not to*); *in order that*; *in order for * to*; *so as to* (*so as not to*) & *lest*.

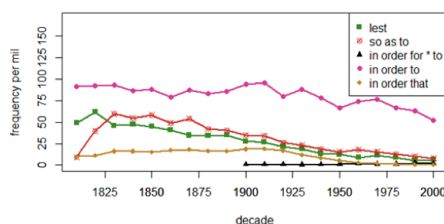


Figure 1: The diachronic frequency trends in the network of English purpose subordinators. (Data retrieved from COHA)

References: • Hundt, M. (2014). The demise of the *being to V* construction. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 112(2): 167–187.

Cweþan lost, say and tell gained: Changes in speaking verbs from Old to Modern English

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

The verbs *say* and *tell* are listed as high-frequency items of Present-Day English (Biber et al. 1999: 368, 373–374; OED s.vv. *say*, v.¹). In Old English, by contrast, attestations of *secgan* and *tellan* are substantially outnumbered by those of *cweþan* ‘to speak, to say,’ which is recorded roughly 6,000 times per one million words in the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC). Today, *cweþan* only survives as the fossilized and archaic *quoth* after having been replaced by *say* and *tell* in typical modern usage (OED s.vv. †*queath*, v. and *quoth*, v.). However, the exact causes, trajectories, and consequences of these changes as well as possible explanations remain largely unexplored.

In order to investigate the changes affecting English speaking verbs, I will first summarize the findings of two of my studies on the use and function of the speaking verbs *cweþan*, *secgan*, *sp(r)ecan*, and *tellan* in various Old English texts and on the development of these patterns across several English translations of the Gospel of Matthew. These tendencies are further explored using the *Helsinki Corpus* (HC) in order to trace the exact chronological progression of the changes in both the frequency and the syntactical complementation of English verbs of speaking. In addition, the possible influence of various variables, such as genre and dialect, among others, on the changes at hand is investigated. Moreover, several theories of language change are discussed in order to account for the developments involving speaking verbs.

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Causes and processes in the decline of causative *bring*

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.73

AG9

Mondorf and Schneider (2016) have shown that causative *bring* is a dying construction. We found that over time the construction honed in on modal negated reflexive uses, as in (2). Thus uses such as (1) were possible and common in the earliest period, but were completely lost by the 20th century.

- (1) [...] but as **he had** now **brought her to confess** a former love [...] (EEPF, 1671)
- (2) Nor could he bring himself to stand with his back to the fire escape. (BNC, 1985-1993)

In more general terms, the construction has gone from expressing prototypical causation to being far more restricted. The nature of this restriction can be best described as a reduction of semantic transitivity (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980). On its way out of the language, *bring* has retreated to a last narrow niche of low transitive uses.

I investigate possible motivations and causes for the demise of *bring* in general and for its pathway of decline in particular. I focus on competition from other multi-word causatives, such as *make*, *get*, *force* and *cause*, as a reason for the demise of *bring*.

Furthermore, Dixon (2000:61-2) argues that languages generally divide the territory of their causative constructions along the lines of semantic transitivity parameters so that each causative is prototypically used for a specific semantic configuration. Therefore I investigate whether this typological generalization also holds for English multi-word causatives. The use of diachronic corpora spanning some 500 years also permits me to track diachronic developments.

References: • Dixon, R. M.W. (2000). A Typology of Causatives: Form, Syntax and Meaning. In Dixon, Robert M.W. and Alexandra Aikhenvald (Eds.): *Changing Valency. Case Studies in Transitivity*. Cambridge: CUP. 30–83. • Hopper, P. J. & Thompson, S.A. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56 (2). 251–99. • Mondorf, B. & Schneider, U. (2016). De-transitivization as a Support Strategy for Causative *bring*. *English Language and Linguistics* 20 (3). 439–62.

Loss of object marking in verbal paradigms of Koic (Engl.: Sunuwar; Tibeto-Burman)

Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.73

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AG9

Koic is traditionally spoken in eastern Nepal and is with about 38 000 speakers one the bigger languages of the 123 languages of Nepal.

Koic once had a biactantial agreement system with transitive verbs agreeing with agents and patients. Verbal paradigms showing the biactantial agreement system have been collected in the 1980s by C. Genetti with the help of a speaker remembering his grandparents' language. Modern Koic, transitive verbs agree exclusively with the agent and follow different conjugation patterns, while the obsolete agreements markers were the same for all transitive verbs.

The biactantial agreement system disappeared without leaving data to trace the process of its disappearance or the ensuing changes of the language. A comparison of modern and obsolete Koic verbal paradigms shows, however, how forms and functions of old and new person and number markers are connected. The old and new system of Koic agreement markers and the connections between both systems will be presented, followed by a discussion of the hypothesis that the changes in the agreement system and in some other parts of the grammar of Koic might be due to the influence of the local *lingua franca* Nepali (Indo-Iranian).

References: • Borchers, D. (2008). *A Grammar of Sunwar. Descriptive grammar, paradigms, texts and glossary*. Leiden: Brill. • Central Bureau of Statistics (2012). *National Population and Housing Census 2011*; 01. Kathmandu: Government of Nepal. • Genetti, C. (1988). Notes on the structure of the Sunwari transitive verb. In: *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area* 11.2; 62–92.

Arbeitsgruppe 10

Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe in narrativen Strukturen

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Raum: 17.51

Arbeitsgruppenbeschreibung

Im Mittelpunkt der AG stehen direkte, indirekte, berichtete und erlebte Rede. Von besonderem Interesse ist, wie sich die jeweilige Rede- bzw. Gedankenwiedergabeart auf die Perspektivierung und damit auf die Interpretation kontextabhängiger Elemente – Pronomen, Lokal- und Temporaldeiktika, Expressiva – auswirkt. Im Zusammenhang damit ergeben sich Fragen zur Textkohärenz sowie zur Syntax und Lexik der Redeeinbettung. Die AG ist an synchron und diachron ausgerichteten Beiträgen aus der Linguistik und den Digital Humanities interessiert, die sich in theoretischer oder empirischer Weise mit Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe in narrativen Texten beschäftigen.

Selbstständige nicht-direkte (Rede-/Gedanken-)Wiedergabe: ein Thema mit Variationen

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–15:15
Raum: 17.51

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AG10

Syntaktisch selbstständige nicht-direkte (Rede-/Gedanken-)Wiedergabe begegnet (im Deutschen) vor allem in zwei Erscheinungsformen: (i) als sog. ‚berichtete Rede‘, die den reportiven Konjunktiv aufweist und im typischen Fall den Inhalt von sprachlichen Äußerungen eines Protagonisten wiedergibt; (ii) als sog. ‚erlebte Rede‘ (besser: ‚erlebtes Denken‘ (Zifonun et al. 1997), die im kanonischen Fall den Indikativ Präteritum(perfekt) in Kombination mit der *würde*-Konstruktion aufweist und nicht ausgesprochenen Gedanken oder Vorstellungen eines Protagonisten (re-)präsentiert (Eckardt 2015; Roncador 1988). Ich werde mich im Vortrag mit Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden zwischen diesen und anderen, weniger kanonischen Erscheinungsformen der selbstständigen nicht-direkten Wiedergabe (Fabricius-Hansen 2002) befassen und dabei auch der Frage nachgehen, in wie weit einschlägige theoretische Ansätze (s. u.a. Eckardt 2015; Fabricius-Hansen & Sæbø 2004) mit den sprachlichen Gegebenheiten zu Rande kommen.

Literatur: • Eckardt, R. (2015). *The semantics of free indirect discourse. How texts allow us to mind-read and eavesdrop*. Leiden: Brill. • Fabricius-Hansen, C. (2002). Nicht-direktes Referat im Deutschen – Typologie und Abgrenzungsprobleme. In: Fabricius-Hansen et al. (Hg.): *Modus, Modalverben, Modalpartikeln*, 7–28. Trier: WVT. • Fabricius-Hansen, C. & Sæbø, K. J. (2004). In a mediative mood: The semantics of German reportive subjunctive. *Natural Language Semantics* 12, 213–257. • Roncador, M. (1988). *Zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede. Nichtwörtliche direkte Rede, erlebte Rede, logophorische Konstruktionen und Verwandtes*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Zifonun, G., Hoffmann, L. & Stecker, B. (1997). *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Redewiedergabe – eine literatur – und sprachwissenschaftliche Korpusanalyse

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.51

AG10

Wir präsentieren ein laufendes DFG-Projekt, das gemeinsam mit Prof. Fotis Jannidis (Würzburg) sowie Prof. Stefan Engelberg und Tanja Tu (IDS Mannheim) durchgeführt wird und auf einer Vorstudie (Brunner 2015) aufbaut. Erstellt wird ein manuell annotiertes Korpus von mindestens 270.000 Tokens, welches sich aus Auszügen aus literarischen und nicht-literarischen Texten aus den Jahren 1840–1920 zusammensetzt. Unterschieden werden die Wiedergabetypen direkt (*Er sagte: „Ich bin hungrig.“*), indirekt (*Er sagte, er sei hungrig.*), erzählt (*Er sprach über das Mittagessen.*) und frei-indirekt (erlebte Rede) (*Wo sollte er jetzt Essen bekommen?*). Zudem markieren wir Rahmenformeln, den Sprecher und redeeinleitende Wörter.

Das reich annotierte Korpusmaterial wird dann herangezogen, um einen automatischen Erkenner für Redewiedergabeformen zu entwickeln, welcher zur Annotation von weiterem Textmaterial verwendet werden kann.

Neben einem Gesamtüberblick wird der Schwerpunkt des Vortrags auf Aspekten der manuellen Annotation liegen, wie dem Annotationswerkzeug (entwickelt in Zusammenarbeit im Markus Krug vom Projekt Kallimachos, www.kallimachos.de), Annotationsrichtlinien und Annotatorenvergleich.

Literatur: • Brunner, A. (2015). *Automatische Erkennung von Redewiedergabe. Ein Beitrag zur quantitativen Narratologie*. De Gruyter.

Erlebte Rede als ‚*oratio mixta*‘

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 17.51

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AG10

Äußerungen oder Gedanken können direkt bzw. zitierend dargestellt werden oder indirekt bzw. referierend. Das Entscheidende an Zitaten ist, dass Zitate auf der Basis der „originalen“ Äußerungssituation interpretiert werden, Referate auf der Basis der „Erzählsituation“.

In den letzten Jahren wurden intensiv „gemischte“ Darstellungsmöglichkeiten, sog. *mixed quotations*, diskutiert wie in *Er glaubt, dass Moritz „Deutschlands jüngster Klassiker“ ist.* (s. Cappelen & Lepore 2007, Dirscherl & Pafel 2015 u.v.a.). Es scheint gut begründet, ‚*oratio mixta*‘ als eine dritte Darstellungsart neben *oratio recta* und *oratio obliqua* anzunehmen.

Die *erlebte Rede* könnte sich parallel als gemischte Form der Gedankendarstellung analysieren lassen. Analog zu Rededarstellungen werden Zitate in Gedankendarstellungen auch vor dem Hintergrund der originalen „Äußerungssituation“ verstanden, d.i. die Situation, in der der Gedanke gehabt wird (detaillierter hierzu Dirscherl & Pafel 2015, S.24f.). Im Gegensatz zu anderen Konstruktionen ist allerdings stärker festgelegt, was als zitierend interpretiert werden kann: (beinahe) alles bis auf Pronomina und Temporal Konstruktionen. Darüber hinaus können Anführungszeichen oder analoge Markierungen nicht verwendet werden. Damit liegt es nahe, die semantische Analyse von gemischten Formen der Rededarstellung auf die erlebte Rede zu übertragen. Wir werden diese Position ausarbeiten und gegen Kritik (Eckardt 2015) verteidigen.

Literatur: • Cappelen, H. & Lepore, E. (2007). *Language turned on itself. The semantics and pragmatics of metalinguistic discourse.* Oxford University Press. • Dirscherl, F. & Pafel, J. (2015): Die vier Arten der Rede- und Gedankendarstellung. Zwischen Zitieren und Referieren. *Linguistische Berichte* 241, 3–47. • Eckardt, R. (2015). *The semantics of free indirect discourse: how texts allow us to mind-read and eavesdrop.* Brill.

Inwiefern kann man an der erlebten Rede eine innere Entmenschlichung der Figur Gregor Samsa erkennen?

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 17.51

AG10

Die Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe wird in fiktionalen Texten eingesetzt, um innere Entwicklungsprozesse von Figuren darzustellen. In Franz Kafkas Erzählung *Die Verwandlung* fällt in diesem Zusammenhang besonders die häufige Verwendung der erlebten Rede auf. Es stellt sich die Frage, wie Franz Kafka die erlebte Rede gebraucht und gestaltet, um eine Entmenschlichung der fiktionalen Figur Gregor Samsa anzuzeigen, der nach einer äußeren Metamorphose die Gestalt eines Käfers angenommen hat. Die *micro level indicators* – grammatikalisch-sprachliche Eigenschaften der erlebten Rede – und die *macro level indicators*, die inhaltliche und kontextuelle Elemente umfassen (vgl. Eckardt 2015), liefern dabei wichtige Erkenntnisse. In einer quantitativen Analyse der erlebten Rede werden daher folgende Kriterien untersucht:

- Häufigkeit und Länge erlebter Rede im Handlungsverlauf
- Auftreten von bestimmten Satzarten
- Auftreten von Modalpartikeln und bestimmten Satzadverbialia
- Auftreten von Passiv und einfachen syntaktischen Strukturen

Ergänzend zur quantitativen Analyse und deren Auswertung werden ausgewählte Beispiele betrachtet, die speziell grammatikalische und sprachliche Veränderungen der erlebten Rede im Handlungsverlauf darlegen.

Literatur: • Eckardt, R. (2015). *The semantics of free indirect discourse: how texts allow us to mind-read and eavesdrop*. Brill. • Kafka, F. (2016). *Die Verwandlung*. Erzählung. Hamburger Leesehefte Verlag. • Mironovich, M. (2003). Über das Wesen der erlebten Rede im Deutschen. In: *Berührungsbeziehungen zwischen Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft*. Peter Lang, 317–332.

Form und Funktion der Redewiedergabe in Herta Müllers Prosa

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 17.51

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Titzmann (2003: 3031) formuliert treffend: „Insofern nun der Text sprachlich ist, setzt die literaturwissenschaftliche Beschäftigung mit ihm die Linguistik voraus“. Wir zeigen, dass die linguistische Auseinandersetzung mit Prosatexten gewinnbringend wäre, komplexe Literatur adäquater zu interpretieren.

Exemplarisch legen wir dar, wie Herta Müller indirekte und direkte Figurenrede einsetzt, um Vagheit und Ambiguität zu inszenieren. In diesem Kontext werden die Problemfelder bei der Abgrenzung zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede sichtbar gemacht und diskutiert (Fabricius- Hansen 2002; Pérennec 2002). Müller nutzt die syntaktische Ambiguität zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede, um Raum für vielschichtige Bedeutungskonstruktionen zu ermöglichen. Damit zeigen wir, wie grammatische Ambiguität zur Textbedeutung beiträgt. Die grammatische Struktur wird so in Müllers Texten selbst zum Signifikat.

Anhand der Inszenierung von direkter und indirekter Figurenrede sowie der stilisierten Verwendung von Textstrukturen und lexikalischen Elementen veranschaulichen wir, wie grammatische und semantische Aspekte in Müllers Prosatexten bei der Bedeutungskonstituierung ineinandergreifen.

Literatur: • Fabricius-Hansen, C. (2002). Nicht-direktes Referat im Deutschen – Typologie und Abgrenzungsprobleme. In: Fabricius-Hansen, C. et al. (eds.): *Modus, Modalverben, Modalpartikeln*. Trier, 7–29. • Pérennec, M.-H. (2002). Redewiedergabe in fiktiven und nicht-fiktiven Texten. In: Baudot, D. (ed.): *Redewiedergabe, Redeerwähnung. Formen und Funktionen des Zitierens und Reformulierens im Text*. Tübingen, 41–55. • Titzmann, M. (2003). Semiotische Aspekte der Literaturwissenschaft: Literatursemiotik. In: Posner, R. et al. (eds.): *Semiotik. Ein Handbuch zu den zeichentheoretischen Grundlagen von Natur und Kultur*. Berlin, 3028–3103.

Openings and closings in narrative discourse

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–9:30
Raum: 17.51

AG10

The opening of a narrative consists of sentences that “introduce a ‘topic’, about which more is then to be said in subsequent sentences” (Kamp 2017). This idea naturally leads to the following questions: (i) Are there any constraints on where in the narrative further information on the topic must be provided and (ii) What counts as providing sufficient information? The second question leads to further questions: (iii) Are there any constraints on what counts as the closing of a narrative and (iv) What is the connection between an opening and a closing of a narrative? The goal of this talk is to explore these questions through the lens of SDRT, as it is applied to two short stories by Daniil Kharmis, an early Soviet-era absurdist writer. The conclusion of the exploration is a plea to better work out how the formal definitions of rhetorical relations are connected to topicality.

Literatur: • Altshuler, D. (2016). *Events, states and times. An essay on narrative discourse in English*. De Gruyter. • Asher, N. & Vieu, L. (2005). Subordinating and coordinating discourse relations. *Lingua* 115, 591–610. • Asher, N., Prevot, L. & Vieu, L. (2007). Setting the background in discourse. *Discours*, 1–30. • Fedele, E. & Kaiser, E. (2014). Looking Back and Looking Forward: Anaphora and Cataphora in Italian. *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics* 20. • Hunter, J. & Abrusán, M. (forthcoming). Rhetorical relations and QUDs. In: *New Frontiers in Artificial Intelligence*. Springer. • Kamp, H. (2017). Openers. Ms., University of Stuttgart and University of Texas, Austin. • Kazanina, N. & Phillips, C. (2010). Differential effects on constraints in the processing of Russian cataphora. *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology* 63, 371–400. • Trnavac, R. & Taboada, M. (2016). Cataphora, backgrounding and accessibility in discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 93, 68–84.

Erlebte Rede und Protagonistenprominenz

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 17.51

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AG10

Ich gehe in dem (auf gemeinsamer Arbeit mit Sara Meuser beruhenden) Vortrag der bisher noch wenig untersuchten Frage nach, welchen Prominenzstatus ein Diskursreferent in einem Text haben muss, damit ihm ein als *Erlebte Rede* (Banfield 1982, Schlenker 2004, Eckardt 2014) wiedergegebener Satz oder Textabschnitt als Gedanke zugeschrieben werden kann. Basierend auf den Ergebnissen einer empirischen Studie, bei der die Versuchspersonen die Akzeptabilität von Sätzen wie (1a) und (1b) im Kontext von Kurztexten wie (1) beurteilen sollten, werde ich dafür argumentieren, dass nur jeweils lokal oder global maximal prominente Diskursreferenten als „Anker“ für solche Sätze in Frage kommen.

- (1) Als die Hochzeit von Prinz William und Kate im Fernsehen übertragen wurde, konnte Robert seine eigene Hochzeit kaum erwarten. Auch er hatte seiner Freundin einen Antrag gemacht.
- a. Schon morgen würde er mit seiner Liebsten vor den Altar treten.
 - b. #Schon morgen würde sie mit ihrem Liebsten vor den Altar treten.

Literatur: • Banfield, A. (1982). *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction*. • Eckardt, R. (2014). *The Semantics of Free Indirect Discourse*. • Schlenker, P. (2004). *Context of Thought and Context of Utterance*. *Mind and Language* 19.

Perspektivierungstrigger: Vom Wort zum Diskurs (und zurück)

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Donnerstag,
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10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.51

Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe stellen ein paradigmatisches Beispiel für Perspektivierung dar: wiedergebender und wiedergegebener Sprecher/ Einstellungsträger fallen hier auseinander. In unserem Beitrag befassen wir uns mit Ausdrücken, die diese Konstellation markieren und die wir *Perspektivierungstrigger* nennen. Diese Ausdrücke unterscheiden sich hinsichtlich des Grades, mit der sie der Hörerin eine perspektivierte Interpretation induzieren: von Diskurspartikeln, die eine solche Interpretation allenfalls nahelegen, über Epitheta wie *der Idiot*, bis zu den sog. counteridenticals, die einen Perspektivenshift explizit enkodieren (z.B. *Wenn ich du wäre ...*). Psycholinguistische Studien aus den letzten Jahren (s. Harris 2012; Kaiser 2015) haben gezeigt, dass die Perspektivierungseffekte für diese Ausdrücke beträchtliche Varianz aufweisen. Geht man davon aus, dass all diese Ausdrücke einen gemeinsamen semantischen Kern haben (grob: eine sortal auf Einstellungsträger restringierte, kontextuell zu bindende Variable) erstaunt diese Varianz.

Die empirische Basis für Erklärungen dieses Phänomens beschränkt sich derzeit nahezu vollständig auf experimentelle Befunde. Ziel unseres Beitrages ist eine Erweiterung dieser Basis sowohl hinsichtlich der Klasse der Perspektivierungstrigger (in Richtung auf Wahrnehmungs- und Psychverben) als auch methodisch. Wir werden argumentieren, dass gerade das Zusammenspiel von lexikalischen und Diskursfaktoren, das Rede- und Gedankenwiedergabe kennzeichnet, eine kombinierte korpus- und psycholinguistische Herangehensweise erfordert.

Literatur: • Harris, Jesse A. (2012). *Processing Perspectives*. PhD thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. • Kaiser, E. (2015). *Perspective-shifting and free indirect discourse: Experimental investigations*. In: S. D'Antonio, M. Moroney & C. R. Little (Hrg.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory* 25, 346–372.

AG10

Wer spricht? Zur Interaktion grammatischer Perspektivierung und Redewiedergabe in narrativen Strukturen

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 17.51

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Auf der Basis einer Definition von Narrativität als hierarchisch strukturierter, polyperspektivischer Diskurskonstellation (Zeman, im Ersch.) arbeitet der Vortrag Faktoren für die Desambiguierung von perspektivischen Sprecher-, Erzähler- und Figuren-Standorten in narrativen vs. nicht-narrativen Kontexten heraus. Anhand zweier Beispiele der Interaktion von epistemischen und evidentialen Modalverblesarten und Redewiedergabe – i.e. dem ‚Schicksalsfutur‘ (*Jahre später sollte er sie wieder sehen.*) als Spiegelbild der Freien Indirekten Rede und der Restriktionen von Modalverben in Formen des literarischen wie nicht-literarischen Selbstgesprächs – wird gezeigt, dass (i) die Desambiguierung der Betrachterstandorte erst auf der Diskursebene erfolgt und (ii) die unterschiedlichen Betrachterstandorte nicht dichotomisch nebeneinander, sondern in einem hierarchischen Verhältnis zueinander stehen. Die Analyse führt damit zu einer Revision der klassischen narratologischen Differenzierung zwischen ‚Wer spricht?‘ vs. ‚Wer nimmt wahr?‘ (Genette 2010 [1994]), wie sie sich in den linguistischen Unterscheidungen zwischen ‚context of utterance‘ vs. ‚context of thought‘ (Schlenker 2004) bzw. zwischen ‚internem‘ und ‚externem‘ Kontext (Eckardt 2015) widerspiegelt.

Literatur: • Eckardt, R. (2015). *The semantics of free indirect discourse*. Leiden: Brill. • Genette, G. (2010). *Die Erzählung*. Paderborn: Fink. • Schlenker, P. (2004). Context of Thought and Context of Utterance. *Mind and Language* 19/3, 279–304. • Zeman, S. Im Ersch. What is a Narration – and why does it matter? In A. Hübl & M. Steinbach (eds.), *Linguistic Foundations of Narration in Spoken and Sign Language*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins. Preprint (21.09.2017): www.academia.edu/25132729/What_is_a_Narration_and_why_does_it_matter

Perspektivenwechsel in narrativen Texten: der Effekt von Figur und Person auf die neuronale Verarbeitung von Pronomen

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Donnerstag,
 08. 03. 2018
 11:45–12:15
 Raum: 17.51

AG10

Neuronale Korrelate narrativen Perspektivenwechsels sind weitgehend unerforscht. In der vorliegenden Studie haben wir ereigniskorrelierte Potentiale (EKPs) für Pronomen der 1., 2. (dialogisch) und 3. Person Singular (nicht-dialogisch) auf Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Figur (Protagonist: der kleine Prinz vs. nicht-Protagonist: Gesprächspartner) und der referentiellen Distanz (RD, Givón 1994) zur letzten Nennung des Referenten untersucht. Die Auswertung offenbarte Unterschiede im Effekt von referentieller Distanz als Funktion von Person (1., 2., 3.) und Figur (Prinz/ Gesprächspartner) im Zeitfenster der N400. Wir führen diesen auf den Perspektivwechsel (z.B. Protagonisten zu Gesprächspartner) zurück (vgl. Hartung et al. 2016). Ab einer RD>4 entspricht die N400-Abstufung über Figuren hinweg der Personenhierarchie (1. < 2. < 3.; vgl. Givón 1994, Bickel und Nichols 2007). Zusammenfassend betrachtet legen unsere Ergebnisse nahe, dass die Verarbeitung von Pronomen an dynamische Aspekte der Textstruktur (RD) und Erzählform (dialogisch – nicht-dialogisch) gebunden und letztlich auf die Fähigkeit des Menschen zur Perspektivübernahme zurückzuführen ist (Protagonist vs. nicht-Protagonist).

Literatur: • Bickel, B. & Nichols, J. (2007). Inflectional morphology. *Language typology and syntactic description*, 3 (2), 169–240. • Givón, T. (Ed.) (1994). *Voice and inversion* (Vol. 28). John Benjamins Publishing Company. • Hartung, F., Burke, M., Hagoort, P., & Willems, R.M. (2016). Taking perspective: Personal pronouns affect experiential aspects of literary reading. *PloS one*, 11(5), e0154732.

Indexikalische Ausdrücke in der Redewiedergabe altindogermanischer Sprachen

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.51

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AG10

Die Interdependenz von indexikalischen Ausdrücken ist in den altindogermanischen Sprachen unerforscht. Anhand von annotierten Textkorpora soll daher in einer korpuslinguistischen Untersuchung gezeigt werden, welche dieser Ausdrucksmittel, in welchen Kombinationen und in welchen Redeformen in den literarischen Quellen dieser Sprachen vorkommen. Ein Beispiel sind Modalpartikeln z.B. in der *oratio obliqua* (ACI), im Lateinischen. Anders als das Lateinische und Griechische verwenden das Altindische und Hethitische für die indirekte Rede die direkte Rede. Doch kann sich die Bedeutung von Partikeln in der als indirekten Rede gebrauchten direkte Rede ändern. Oder es entstehen Mischformen aus Konjunktionalsätzen und direkter Rede mit der Quotativpartikel *iti* wie im Altindischen. Auch gibt es Spuren von erlebter Rede, nämlich den Gebrauch des Temporaladverbs *nunc* in der *oratio obliqua* im Lateinischen. Solche Belege markieren den Übergang von der indirekten Rede in die erlebte Rede. Sie werden analysiert und sprachvergleichend ausgewertet.

Redeeinleiter

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 13:45–14:15
 Raum: 17.51

AG10

Redeeinleiter sind die sprachlichen Ausdrücke, die direkte oder indirekte Rede einbetten. Im Laufe der Geschichte des Deutschen hat sich das System der Redeeinleiter erheblich verändert. Auch synchron ist eine deutliche Varianz zu beobachten. So ist vereinzelt eine größere Bandbreite an Redeeinleitern in Unterhaltungs- versus Hochliteratur festgestellt worden, ebenso wie in der Boulevardpresse gegenüber anderen Zeitungen (Jäger 1968; Brüngel-Dittrich 2006; Hauser 2008). Die beobachtete Varianz ist zu einem großen Teil dadurch bedingt, welche Wortarten und Verbklassen als Redeeinleiter auftreten. Neben *verba dicendi* finden sich zeit-, stil- und testsortenabhängig auch andere Verbklassen, wie z. B. Psych-Verben (vgl. auch Stefanowitsch 2008; Vliegen 2010). Der Vortrag stellt eine Vorstudie aus einem laufenden Projekt vor, das korpusbasiert diachron und textsortenvergleichend die Dynamik im System der Redeeinleiter untersucht. Als Datengrundlage dient ein mit Redewiedergabeformen annotiertes Korpus, das aus literarischen und nicht-literarischen Texten besteht. Ziel der Untersuchung ist es zu verstehen, nach welchen Prinzipien und unter dem Einfluss welcher Faktoren sich das System der Redeeinleiter verändert.

Literatur: • Brüngel-Dittrich, M. (2006). *Speech Presentation in the British and German Press*. Peter Lang. • Hauser, S. (2008). Beobachtungen zur Redewiedergabe in der Tagespresse. Eine kontrastive Analyse. In: *Kontrastive Medienlinguistik*, 271–286. • Jäger, S. (1968). Die Einleitungen indirekter Reden in der Zeitungssprache und in anderen Texten der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. *Muttersprache* 78, 236–249. • Stefanowitsch, A. (2008). R-Relationen im Sprachvergleich: Die Direkte-Rede-Konstruktion im Englischen und Deutschen. In: *Konstruktionsgrammatik II. Von der Konstruktion zur Grammatik*, 247–261. • Vliegen, M.L.M. (2010). Verbbezogene Redewiedergabe: Subjektivität, Verknüpfung und Verbbedeutung. *Deutsche Sprache* 38(3), 210–233.

Parenthesen – Nischen, Skopus und Assoziation mit Fokus

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.51

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Parenthesen wie in (1) – reduzierte Parenthesen mit *verbum dicendi* oder *verbum sentiendi* – haben evidente pragmatische Funktionen als *mitigator*, *comment clause* pp.

AG10

- (1) Paul – sagt Anton – hat gestern einen über den Durst getrunken.

Während sowohl die strukturellen Eigenschaften wie auch die globale pragmatische Funktion dieses Parenthesetyps Gegenstand einer reich-haltigen Literatur bilden, fehlt es an einer Herleitung der Funktion aus den strukturellen Konstitutionsbedingungen.

In dem Vortrag wird gezeigt werden, daß die *Assoziation* – der Parenthese – mit *Fokus* – des Träger-/Matrix-Satzes – ein entscheidender, strukturell basierter Vermittlungsfaktor für die Etablierung der pragmatischen Funktionen ist. Fehlende Assoziation mit Fokus (2b) vs. (2a) mindert die Akzeptabilität:

- (2) a. GEstern – sagt Anton – hat der KLEmpner – sagt Fritz – die Heizung im Handumdrehen repariert.
b. #gestern – sagt Anton – hat der KLEMPner – sagt Fritz – die Heizung im Handumdrehen repariert.

Dem Parenthesesubjekt wird nicht lediglich eine dem Trägersatz entsprechende propositionale Einstellung/Äußerung zugeschrieben, sondern diese unter Festlegung der im Träger gegebenen Fokus-Hintergrundgliederung, wodurch das Sprecher-Commitment – wie z.B. in (1) – hinsichtlich des Fokus relativiert wird.

Formen und Funktionen von *so*-Quotativen bei Jugendlichen

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Freitag,
 09.03. 2018
 11:45–12:15
 Raum: 17.51

Die Forschung zum juvenilen Gebrauch von Redewiedergabe hat *so*-Quotative als ein Muster identifiziert, mittels dessen Jugendliche nicht nur Erzählungen situativ re-kontextualisieren, sondern simultan soziale Positionen relevant setzen (vgl. Mertzluft 2014), z.B.:

- 01 B ich so oKAY worum gehts hier eigentlich?
 02 irgendwas mit arisT0teles und !PLA!ton;
 03 [ich so ja,]
 04 S [<<p> das hab ich] (.) das hab ich AUCH durchgelesen,
 05 und ich dachte so HÄ?>

Anhand authentischer Face-to-Face Interaktion und mit Rückbindung auf konversationsanalytische Prämissen werde ich in meinem Vortrag zwei *so*-Quotativ-Formate voneinander abgrenzen, mittels derer Jugendliche Positionen lokal geltend machen. Während ersteres Format primär zur Animation vergangener Dialoge dient und damit eine Position indirekt angezeigt wird, schließt das zweite Format an eine Schilderung vergangener Erlebnisse an und dient primär als Relevantsetzung unmittelbar gleichlaufender Zweitbewertung.

Literatur: • Mertzluft, Christine (2014). Er so (.) nee ich hab keinen SCHISS. Quotativkonstruktionen mit 'so' in Mädchentelefonaten. In: Kotthoff, H./Mertzluft, C. (Hrsg.): *Jugendsprachen. Stilisierungen, Identitäten, mediale Ressourcen*. Frankfurt, 373–406.

AG10

Gefühlswiedergabe in Form einer neuen narrativen Struktur

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.51

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Der Ausdruck von Gefühlen erfüllt eine wichtige soziale Rolle und ist deshalb ein relevanter Bestandteil der öffentlichen Kommunikation in sozialen Medien und generell ein Aspekt von narrativen Texten. In diesem Vortrag wird eine Konstruktion der Gefühlswiedergabe untersucht, die insbesondere in sozialen Medien sehr frequent ist.

- (1) Der Moment, nachdem man eine Stunde lang singend durch die WG läuft und bemerkt, dass die Mitbewohnerin doch noch da ist.

Diese *expressive Nebensatzkonstruktion* besteht meist aus der DP *der Moment*, die um einen temporalen Attributsatz ergänzt wird.

Die Konstruktion hat zwei Hauptfunktionen: (i) Sie drückt ein Gefühl aus, indem sie (ii) die auslösende Situation erzählt. Besonders ist, dass beides expressiv kommuniziert wird, was sich in für Expressiva bekanntem Verhalten niederschlägt und die Konstruktion von herkömmlichen Gefühlswiedergabemitteln unterscheidet. Darüber hinaus teilt die Konstruktion elementare Eigenschaften eines narrativen Textes (Ereigniserzählung, emotionale Bewertung etc.) und kann somit als Minimalnarration betrachtet werden.



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AG11

Arbeitsgruppe 11

Specificity, definiteness and article systems across languages

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Raum: 17.52

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Workshop description

It has been observed that a multitude of the world's languages can do without formal marking of the concepts of definiteness and specificity through articles. Two of the main questions that motivate this workshop (1) how do languages with and without an article system go about referent coding and help the hearer recognize whether a given NP should be interpreted as definite, specific or non-specific, and (2) what are the grammatical consequences of not having articles?

Definiteness in diachrony: Romance vs Germanic

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:45–15:45
Raum: 17.52

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Definiteness and determiners lie at the intersection of three, all too often independent, research traditions: semantic, syntactic and diachronic. For the first two, the issues turn on the nature of the conceptual primitives and the kinds of structures they map onto, whereas for the last the key question is the way links between form and meaning shift over time and what historical trajectories are discernible (König, in press). The challenge then is to find ways of integrating the results which emerge from these different lines of inquiry, and it is this challenge which I will take up in my talk. The theoretical perspective builds on the approach set out in Börjars et al (2016) in which neither cartographic structure (as for example in Giusti 2015) nor a universal spine (Wiltschko 2014, especially ch. 6) is assumed to pre-exist the development of articles.

Placing Romance and Germanic developments within a broader typological picture (Dryer 2014), I will focus on three case studies: (a) the different diachronic trajectories and hence synchronic distributions of Romance articles deriving from Latin *ipse* and *ille* (see data and references in Vincent 2017); (b) the contrasting patterns of development and eventual status of end articles in North Germanic and Romanian; (c) the evolution of the indefinite article in Romance and Germanic and the place of plural indefinites such as Spanish *unos/-as*.

References: • Börjars, K., Harries, P., Vincent, N. (2016). Growing syntax: the development of a DP in North Germanic. *Language* 92, 1–37. • Dryer, M. (2014). Competing methods for uncovering linguistic diversity: the case of definite and indefinite articles. *Language* 90, 232–249. • Giusti, G. (2015). *Nominal Syntax at the Interfaces: A Comparative Study of Languages with Articles*. Cambridge Scholars Press. • König, E. (in press). Definite articles and their uses: diversity and patterns of variation. • Vincent, N. (2017). Determination and quantification. In: Dufter, A. & Stark, E. (eds) *Manual of Romance Morphosyntax and Syntax*. De Gruyter, 725–770. • Wiltschko, M. (2014). *The Universal Structure of Categories*. Cambridge UP.

Evolution of article systems. Indirect anaphora in North Germanic

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 17.52

AG11

In the present paper we would like to consider a system that is half-way between non-article and article language, namely Old and Middle Danish and Old and Middle Swedish (1200–1550 AD). Of particular interest is the indirect anaphora (also termed *bridging reference*, *associative anaphora*), a context in which a new discourse referent is introduced, grounded in the preceding discourse. The aim of the paper is to place the indirect anaphors in a diachronic context of article grammaticalization. We follow a typology of indirect anaphors presented in Schwarz (2000): meronyms (part-whole relations), thematic roles (e.g. patient, instrument etc.) and inferential types.

The corpus used in this study consists so far of 25 Danish and Swedish texts (legal, religious and profane prose, from which high-narrativity passages have been chosen); so far 5000 NPs (nominal) have been tagged and analyzed.

Preliminary results show expected processes – falling frequency of BNs in indirect anaphoric reference as well as rising frequency of –IN, the incipient definite article. However, they also show that possessives in bridging are on the rise as well as EN, the incipient indefinite article. Detailed analysis of examples brings at least one surprising result: in the material studied the type of bridging that is not expressed by –IN in Old Danish and Old Swedish are part-whole relations involving body parts and items of clothing (inalienables). They are instead expressed by either BNs or possessives.

With a yet more detailed analysis of indirect anaphors and a greater choice of examples, we hope to refine our understanding of the development of articles, a process set against the changes in other expressions of (in)definiteness.

References: • Heine, B. (2002). On the role of context in grammaticalization. *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, 83–101. • De Mulder, W. & Carlier, A. (2011). The grammaticalization of definite articles. *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, 522–534.

Case loss and the rise of articles: Evidence for a typological tendency

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 17.52

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In this paper, we focus on the second central question of the workshop, namely, the grammatical consequences of having or lacking an article system. We present typological evidence for a correlation between the loss of case marking and the rise of an article system (definite or indefinite). The claim that there was this kind of inverse correlation between case marking and article systems has been discussed for more than 100 years (see, e.g. Krámský 1972, 48–49) but it has never been subjected to rigorous testing.

The data for article systems comes from Matthew Dryer (Dryer 2013a,b) and the data for case marking from Oliver Iggesen (Iggesen 2013); altogether the sample contains data for 183 languages. We tested the hypothesis using generalized mixed effects modeling (GLMMs). In our models the variable article system was coded as the dependent variable with values “present” and “absent”. The variable number of cases was coded as the predictor with values ranging from zero cases to ten or more.

The results provide statistical evidence for an inverse relationship between the occurrence of article system and the number of cases in a language (estimate = -.17; df = 1; p = 0.0048). This result means that the smaller the number of cases is in a language, the more likely it has an article system, and vice versa. We further discuss what the causal connection between an article system and the number of cases might be. While agreeing in principle with Hewson and Bubenik (2006: 364) on the role of word order, we argue for the specific domain, sentence-level information structure, connecting the articles and grammatical case.

References: • Dryer, M.S. (2013a). Definite articles - Ch. 37. In Dryer and Haspelmath (eds.). • Dryer, M.S. (2013b). Indefinite articles - Ch. 38. In Dryer and Haspelmath (eds.). • Dryer, M.S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.) (2013). *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. • Hewson, J. & Bubenik, V. (2006). *From Case to Adposition: The Development of Configurational Syntax in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. • Iggesen, O.A. (2013). Number of cases - Ch. 49. In Dryer and Haspelmath (eds.). • Krámský, J. (1972). *The Article and the Concept of Definiteness in Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Is there semantic definiteness without articles?

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 17.52

AG11

A general question that arises with respect to article-less languages from a semantic perspective is whether nominal phrases in argument position are ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite interpretation or whether one of the interpretations is ‘basic’ and the other one is derived. In this talk, I will discuss three options: a *free type shift* (e.g., Chierchia 1998), a *definiteness* (Dayal 2004) and an *indefiniteness* hypothesis (Heim 2011). I argue that for Russian the indefiniteness hypothesis should be adopted. In particular, I show that the uniqueness effect in Russian do not come from ‘within’ the nominal phrase and cannot be associated with the *iota* type shift, which rules out any hypothesis that derives a definite interpretation by means of a *iota* shift. The crucial empirical evidence comes from the contrast between (1a) and (1b):

- (1) a. **The author** of this book gave an interview. #The other author / another author appeared in a TV show.
- b. *Avtor etoj knigi dal intervju Novoj gazete. Drugoj avtor vystupil v ėfire Ėxa Moskvj.*
author this.GEN book.GEN gave interview NG.GEN. Another author appeared in radio ‘EM’

The default interpretation of the first subject in both (1a) and (1b) involves uniqueness and the subject of the Russian (1b) should be interpreted as definite (‘the author’). However, this type of uniqueness is easily cancellable in Russian, given a possible continuation with ‘another author’ referring to another author of the same book. In English, however, the expression ‘another author’ can only be used as referring to another author of another book, so that the uniqueness of the subject of the first sentence cannot be cancelled.

References: • Chierchia, G. (1998). Reference to kinds across languages. *NLS* 6, 339–405. • Dayal, V. (2004). Number marking and (in)definiteness in kind terms. *Linguistics & Philosophy* 27, 393–450. • Heim, I. (2011). Definiteness and Indefiniteness. In: *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*.

Definiteness in languages with and without articles

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–9:30
Raum: 17.52

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This talk presents an empirical approach to compare the expressions for (in) definiteness in languages with and without articles based on parallel movie subtitles. In order to compare coding strategies for (in)definiteness in European languages, parallel subtitles from 5 movies have been used. From those subtitles, 500 referring expressions with sufficient similarity have been extracted for German, Spanish, Romanian, Hungarian (def. and indef. articles), Macedonian, Bulgarian (def. article), Russian, Czech, Estonian, Finnish (no articles). For the annotation, the following parameters have been considered: different types of definite and indefinite contexts; syntactic position, semantic features of the noun, other elements in the noun phrase, pronominal forms. Including uses of pronouns and pro drop allows us to look at a wider range of definiteness-sensitive contexts that are relevant to the cross-linguistic variation of definiteness coding strategies. As for the use of articles, restrictions show a high degree of variation across languages for both indefinite and definite articles, e.g. the occurrence of indefinite articles in predicate position, the use of definite articles vs. demonstratives in anaphoric and deictic contexts, with abstract nouns, or in generic contexts. In languages without indefinite articles, the use of the numeral one to mark non-identifiability can be tied to “pragmatically specific contexts”, i.e. newly introduced referents who are not accessible to the addressee yet, but which will stay relevant to the discourse (2). New referents with less discourse relevance are typically not marked. Random forest models show that languages without articles showed the most relevant factors to be the semantics of the noun, possessive marking, and other elements in the noun phrase, whereas the syntactic position played a less significant role. The variation of the coding strategies in the different languages can also be used to shed more light on the values of definiteness: based on their marking, all languages so far addressed suggest a major three-way distinction between anaphoric definites (pronouns and pro drop play a significant role here), non-anaphoric definites, and indefinites, rather than a binary split into definite vs. indefinite.

AG11

Classifiers and definiteness/indefiniteness in Vietnamese

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Donnerstag,

08.03.2018

9:30–10:00

Raum: 17.52

Some linguists claim that Vietnamese classifiers (CL) exclusively mark definiteness (T. C. Nguyen 1975, Le 2008, among others), others provide evidence that they express definiteness as well as indefiniteness (T. H. Nguyen 2004, Trinh 2011, Hanske 2013). The present paper is formed on the corpus of 30 written texts (15.838 words) and 30 oral texts (9.261 words) to show that Vietnamese classifiers are not obligatory and can have both definite and indefinite functions. Both types of texts are reports on a movie with various protagonists and objects involved. The texts were produced by 46 Vietnamese native speakers (25 female and 21 male, aged 20 to 40), 14 of them participated in both text-production experiments. It reports the analysis of the experiment test will be based on two questions: (i) what determines the presence and absence of a classifier and (ii) what determines its interpretation?

In our corpus, the presence of a classifier is significantly higher with [+protagonist, +animate] features and in the context of contrastive topics. As for interpretation, there is a general preference of using classifiers with definite nouns. If one combines the criterion of word order (preverb- al/subject vs. postverbal/object) with animacy, it turns out that the CL prototypically occurs with definite animate nouns in the subject position. These findings reflect the universal tendency of certain preverbal positions in SVO languages to be associated with definiteness (Keenan & Comrie 1977 and others). Rare functions like CL with indefinite subjects are due to specific contexts likethetic statements. More generally, it will be shown that the definiteness expressed by Vietnamese classifiers is based on identifiability for establishing common ground rather than on uniqueness. This is in line with the prominence-based criteria that determine classifier use and with the definite interpretation of preverbal [CL N] constructions if these positions are associated with topichood and the function of identifiability that goes with it (Lambrecht 1994).

AG11

Definiteness, Specificity and DP Shells in Central Kurdish

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.52

Rebwar Tahir
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This study proposes that the Central Kurdish nominal phrase contains two DP layers, with one containing — and the other being contained by — the projection of Number (NumP). It argues that two markers of definiteness are realized in the nominal phrase, *-eke* (1a) and *-e* (1b).

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|--|-----|---|
| (1) | a. | <i>esp-eke</i>
horse-DEF
'the horse' | (b) | <i>em esp-e</i>
this horse-DEF
'this horse' |
|-----|----|--|-----|---|

I argue that *-eke* realizes a different D, lower than the D spelled out by *-e*. The clearest syntactic evidence substantiating the two-DP-layer analysis is that the two Ds occur on different sides of Number.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|-----|--|
| (2) | a. | <i>ew esp-an-e</i>
that horse-PL-DEF
'those horses' | (b) | <i>esp-ek-an</i>
horse-DEF-PL
'the horses' |
|-----|----|---|-----|--|

Semantically, the featural make-up of the two D categories is different: *-e* is arguably the spell-out of a D that merely bears specificity, while *-eke* realizes a D carrying definiteness proper, comprising both specificity and uniqueness. Here, definiteness is defined as the grammaticalization of specificity and uniqueness (See Enç 1991, Lyons 1999). Adopting Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist bottom-up derivational theory, the nominal phrases in (2a and 2b) are assumed to derive as shown in (3a and 3b), respectively.

- | | | |
|-----|----|--|
| (3) | a. | [_{DP} [_{NumP} [_{NP} <i>ew esp</i>] <i>i -an ti</i>] <i>k -e tk</i>] |
| | b. | [_{NumP} [_{DP} <i>espi</i> [_{DP} <i>-eke ti</i>]] <i>k -an tk</i>] |

Accordingly, two structurally different DP projections occur in the Central Kurdish nominal phrase, with the projection of Number (NumP) intermediate between them.

References: • Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press. • Enç, M. (1991). The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22: 1–25. • Lyons, C. (1999). *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Properties of definite declension in Moksha

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 11:15–11:45
 Raum: 17.52

[Based on joint field research with Polina Pleshak, MSU;

This project is supported by the grant Russian Science Foundation 16-18-02081]

The Moksha language (Mordvin, Finno-Ugric) has the definite declension. However, the existence of definiteness as a grammatical category in this language is disputable. In my talk I examine the properties of phrases headed by definite declension markers.

Firstly, only nominals in argument positions can be marked with definite affixes, namely, arguments in nominative (subject), genitive (direct object, prenominal modifier or a complement in a postpositional phrase) and dative cases. Definite affixes are compatible with demonstratives and universal quantifiers but not with possessive modifiers. On the one hand, Moksha behaves mostly like an articleless language (with respect to Bošković's tests [Bošković 2008]): it allows adjunct extraction as well as bans negative raising and does not have superiority effects with multiple Wh-fronting. On the other hand, phrases headed by definite declension affixes have wide-scope reading and can block left branch extraction (in contrast to NPs without definite markers where the extraction is possible). Secondly, as for their semantics, definite affixes trigger familiarity presupposition. However, the nominal phrases with definite markers in Moksha can have non-exhaustive reading. They can denote a subset of entities from a certain set (see Enç, 1991 for the notion of partitive specificity). I claim that the definite declension in Moksha realizes a postpositional article with a split depending on DP/NP structural position in a clause, and with non-“exhaustive” partitive semantics. I also argue that these articles realize discourse linkage in argument positions only.

References: • Enç, M. (1991). The semantics of specificity. *Linguistic inquiry*, 1–25. • Bošković Ž. (2008). What will you have, DP or NP? Elfiner, E. & Walkow, M. (eds.). *Proceedings of the 37th Annual meeting of the North East linguistic Amherst GLSA*, 2008. 101–114.

AG11

Overt choice-functions: two Mayan languages

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.52

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This paper investigates the way two Mayan languages encode specificity and (in)definiteness. Based on original fieldwork in Chuj and Kaqchikel, I show that both languages possess morphemes that appear in definite, specific indefinite, and pronominal contexts. Namely, while Kaqchikel uses one morpheme, *ri*, Chuj makes use of one of its 16 noun classifiers. To illustrate, consider the following Chuj examples:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------------------------|----|---------------------------|----|-----------------|
| (1) a. | *(nok') tz'i' | b. | jun (nok') tz'i' | c. | nok' pro |
| | CLF dog | | INDF CLF dog | | CLF <i>pro</i> |
| | 'the dog' | | 'a dog' | | 'it (animal)' |

As shown above, the classifier for animals *nok'* surfaces in definite and indefinite constructions, and also appears in pronominal contexts. The same contexts allow for the presence of *ri* in Kaqchikel.

I suggest that *ri* (in Kaqchikel) and the classifiers (in Chuj) represent the overt representation of a choice-function. This analysis allows for a unified account of all contexts in which these morphemes arise. It also accounts for cases in which they are not allowed, which include with nominals that do not denote entities, with property-denoting nominals, with nominals whose descriptive content cannot be presupposed by the speaker, and with bound variables in pronominal contexts. Finally, this analysis supports work by von Heusinger (2004) and Chierchia (2005) which analyze both definites and indefinites with choice-functions.

I offer various tests that support the proposed analysis, including, for example, the fact that noun classifiers and *ri* express the distinction between wide-scope and narrow-scope indefinites.

References: • Chierchia, G. (2005). (In)definites, locality and intentional identity, in G.N Carlson and F.J. Pelletier, eds., *Reference and quantification: The Partee effect*. CSLI Publications
• Von Heusinger, K. (2004). Choice functions and the anaphoric semantics of definite NPs. *Research on Languages and Computation* 2.

Determination, Bare Arguments, and Discourse Salience in Mopan Maya

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 12:15–12:45
 Raum: 17.52

In the absence of a semantics of definiteness, the Mopan (Mayan) article *a* (ART) explicitly delineates its associated phrase as an entity:¹

- (1) *ki'-Ø u peek a pax*
 be.good-3B 3A noise ART play_music
 'The sound of **the/a music-playing** is good.'

ART alternates in distribution with a pair of gendered noun classifiers and a paradigm of person-markers that may specify Agentive (example 2) or Possessive (example 3) relationships with their associated lexemes:

- (2) *k'as-aj-oo' aj pax*
 be_bad-INCH-3.PL CLF.M play_music
 'Musicians (masculine) have become evil.'
- (3) *Tan-Ø u pax*
 be_continuing 3A music-playing
 'His/her music-playing continues.'

ART thus encodes both entity specification and explicit denomination of the relevant entity as Undergoer (not Actor or Possessor) of the lexical event. These encodings relate closely to specific typological properties of Mopan (Danziger 1996, 2008). Overall, the semantics of determination is not universal, but corresponds to language-particular motivations.

References: • Danziger, E. (2008). A person, a place or a thing? In M. Bowerman & P. Brown (eds.), *Crosslinguistic perspectives on argument structure*, 29–48. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Danziger, E. (1996). Split intransitivity and active-inactive patterning in Mopan Maya. *IJAL* 62(4): 379–414.

¹Glosses follow www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php. In addition, A = Actor/Possessor case-role marker; INCH=Inchoative.

Accent on nouns in Siwi (Afro-asiatic) and its reference coding

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.52

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The aim of this presentation is to investigate how the place of the accent on nouns in Siwi (Berber, Afro-Asiatic) can function as a reference-tracking device. The analysis will be based on original data recorded by me from 2011 to 2014 in Siwa (Egypt).

From a phonological point of view, in Siwi the accented syllable features higher pitch as its only consistent cue (Louali & Philippson, 2004). Berber languages lack (in)definite articles but in Siwi, the place of the accent can code (in)definiteness (Vycichl 2005): if on the last syllable, the noun is indefinite; if on the penultimate syllable, the noun is definite.

- (1) *marra di azidí / d tyátt // azídí kull yom*
once there.is jackal / and goat // jackal every day
'Once there was a jackal and a goat. The jackal every day (would go out).'
- (Schiattarella 2017)

Nevertheless, in a spontaneous discourse, the (in)definiteness coding on nouns is not the primary function of accent, but a consequence: accent is on the last syllable when a noun is introduced for the first time and is not referential or identifiable; accent is on the penultimate syllable, if the noun is referential or identifiable. In the latter case, it can also have an anaphoric function. The phonological nature of this marker makes it typologically interesting and raises questions on how the speakers manage this alternation with other tracking devices: the accent alternation alone is preferred when the same referent appears in close intonation units, while demonstratives and/or possessives follow the noun, when the referent reappears after several intonation units. The presentation will also deal with accent position in left/right detached constructions.

References: • Louali, N. & Philippson, G. (2004). L'accent en siwi (berbère d'Égypte), *proc. XXVe Journées d'Etudes sur la Parole*, Fès, 325–328. • Vycichl, W. (2005). A sketch of Siwi Berber (Egypt). *Berber studies* 10. Koppe, Köln. • Schiattarella, V. (2017). Berber texts from Siwa (Egypt). *Berber studies* 46. Koppe, Köln.

The interpretation of Russian bare plurals in object position

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.52

Russian is an article-less language, and so bare nominals are found in all syntactic positions, including the internal argument, and get different interpretations (cf. the English translation).

- (1) *Sobaki jedjat kosti.*
Dogs.NOM eat bones.ACC
'Dogs eat/are eating (the/some) bones. / Dogs are bone-eaters.'

The definite or existential reading of bare plural (BPL) objects depends on the discursive context and anaphoricity: a BPL expression gets interpreted definitely if it has been previously mentioned, and existentially otherwise. However, in characterizing sentences (Krifka et al. 1995), which describe an “essential” property of a subject entity, the object is pseudo-incorporated into the predicate. BPLs in question are characterized by narrow scope, number neutrality, discourse opacity, bad support for pronominal anaphora, restrictions on modification, establishedness effects (cf. (pseudo)-incorporation in Borik & Gehrke 2015).

Generic interpretation of BPLs in object position is only possible when they are selected by subject experiencer verbs, i.e. “love”, “hate”, “like” (cf. Glasbey 2006). In such cases they refer to a maximal sum of individuals having the property denoted by the noun (cf. “universal, inclusive interpretation” in Laca 1990). When this sum is intensionalised, it refers to a kind.

References: • Borik, O., Gehrke, B. (2015). The Syntax and Semantics of Pseudo-Incorporation. *Brill*, 1–43. • Glasbey, S. (2006). Bare plurals in object position. Which verbs fail to give existential readings, and why? In: *Linguistik Aktuell*, 95, 133–157. • Krifka, M. et al. (1995). Genericity. In: *The Generic Book*. Chicago University Press, 1–124. • Laca, B. (1990). Generic objects: some more pieces of the puzzle. *Lingua* 81, 25–46.

AG11

Specificity with Clitic Doubling and Differential Object Marking in Roman

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11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.52

[Based on joint work with Klaus von Heusinger, Universität zu Köln]

This paper focuses on the contribution of Clitic Doubling (CD) and Differential Object Marking (DOM) with Romanian indefinite direct objects (DOs). Its aim is to separate the semantic import of the clitic from that of DOM, given that both mechanisms have been argued to be responsible for a specific interpretation (Dobrovie-Sorin 1990). We propose that CD is the sole trigger for specificity, while DOM is compatible with a specific reading, even though it does not trigger such an interpretation. As DOM expresses the argument status of the noun, a specific reading is typically associated.

These claims are supported by the different behaviour of single DOMed DPs vs. CD+DOMed DPs within contexts forcing non-specificity (contexts with *cel mult* ‘at most’, *cel puțin* ‘at least’, the distributive *câte*, the free-choice indefinite *oarecare* ‘any’, a.o.):

- (1) a. *La alegeri orice alegător votează câte un candidat.*
At elections any voter votes câte a candidate
‘On the occasion of elections, any voter votes a candidate.’
- b. *La alegeri orice alegător votează **pe** câte un candidat.*
At elections any voter votes pe câte a candidate
- c. *La alegeri orice alegător (?il) votează **pe** câte un candidat.*
At elections any voter (?him.cl) votes pe câte a candidate

The single DOMed DP (1b) behaves on a par with the indefinite (1a) and are both felicitous in the non-specific context; their CD+DOMed counterpart (1c) is specific and thus incompatible in the non-specific contexts giving rise to the infelicity of (1c). We propose an account of clitics as specificity triggers and of DOM as signalling that the noun denotes an individual. CD always triggers DOM since specific indefinites are always individual, but not each individual argument needs to be specific.

References: • Dobrovie-Sorin, C. (1990). Clitic Doubling, Wh-Movement, and Quantification in Romanian. *LI* 21: 351–397.

The specificity marker *-e* in spoken Persian with indefinite noun phrases

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.52

[Based on joint work with Klaus von Heusinger, Universität zu Köln]

Persian has two indefinite markers, the prenominal *ye(k)* and the suffixed *-i*. Both forms express particular kinds of indefiniteness as does their combination: Indefinites with *-i* express a non-uniqueness or anti-definite implication and behave similar to English *any*. *Ye(k)*, on the other hand, expresses an at-issue existence implication and behaves similar to English *a(n)*. The combination *ye(k) NP-i* expresses an anti-singleton implication and behaves similar to English *some or other* (Jasbi 2016). The marker *-e* can be combined with *ye(k)*, as in (1), but not with (solitary) *-i*, as in (2). While the Differential Object Marker *-ra/ro* is also compatible with a non-specific reading, its combination with the marker *-e* allows only for a specific interpretation, as in (3).

- (1) *Ye(k) pesar-e-(i) inja kar mikone.*
A **boy-E-(i)** here work do.3SG.
'A/some (specific) boy works here.'
- (2) **Pesar-e-i inja kar mikone.*
boy-E-i here work do.3SG.
*'Any (specific) boy works here.'
- (3) *Man mikham shoro konam ye(k) ketab-e-i-ro bekhunam.*
I want.1SG begin do.1SG a **book-E-i-DOM** read.1SG
'I want to start reading a book.'

Based on these and further observations, we argue that *-e* is a specificity marker, while DOM in Persian has a different pragmatic function.

References: • Browne, W. (1970). More on Definiteness Markers: Interrogatives in Persian. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 3(1), 359–363. • Ghomeshi, J. (2003). -Plural Marking, Indefiniteness and the Noun Phrase. *Studia Linguistica*, 57(2), 47–74. • Jasbi, M. (2016). Three Types of Indefiniteness in Persian: Simple, Complex and Antidefinite. *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory*. 26, 244–263. Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications. • Karimi, S. (1999). Specificity Effect: Evidence from Persian. *Linguistic Review*, 125–141.

AG11

Deriving definiteness from specificity: The case of case marking in Persian

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 17.52

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In Farsi, determinerless and caseless NPs are interpreted as narrow scope indefinites (1), determinerless case-marked NPs are interpreted as definites (2), and case-marked indefinites are interpreted as specific indefinites (3). This paper proposes a compositional semantics for Persian transitive patients which explains how definiteness can be unambiguously signaled using a case marker that encodes partitive specificity (Farkas 1994, Karimi 2003). Under this paper's analysis, neither word order nor case marking in Persian directly encode for an NP's definiteness. Instead, they merely serve to indicate the underlying syntactic structure of the verb and its patient argument. Definiteness arises within the semantic composition via type-shifting (following Partee 1986). The array of type-shifting operators which are able to apply to a bare NP is crucially sensitive to the bare NP's syntactic surroundings, accounting for the interpretive effect of altering the NP's structural position.

- (1) *Ali ketāb xarid*
Ali book buy.PST.3SG
“Ali bought one or more books.”
- (2) *Ali ketāb-o xarid*
Ali book-ACC buy.PST.3SG
“Ali bought the book.”
- (3) *Ali ye ketāb-o xarid*
Ali Indef.D book-ACC buy.PST.3SG
“Ali bought one of the books.” (Partitive)
“Ali bought a certain book.” (Epistemic)

References: • Farkas, D. F. (1994). Specificity and scope. In: *Langues et Grammaire* 1. • Karimi, S. (2003). On object positions, specificity and scrambling in Persian. In: *Word Order and Scrambling* 91–124. • Partee, B. H. (1986). Noun phrase interpretation and type-shifting principles. In: *Studies in discourse representation theory and the theory of generalized quantifiers* 115–143.

Alternate speakers

Genericity in Greek: An experimental investigation

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Despite the abundance of semantic literature on genericity (Krifka et al. 1995), the cross-linguistic aspect of genericity has rarely been tackled systematically (see though Dahl, 1985; Behrens, 2000, Dayal, 2004). Moreover, there is very little experimental research on the topic in Greek. The aim of the present study is to collect native speakers' judgments against the claims in the theoretical literature by extending Ionin et al.'s (2011) experimental approach to Greek. We present results of an online study with 40 adult native Greek speakers, who participated in an Acceptability Judgment Task with contexts testing canonical definiteness, as well as two distinct sources of genericity: (a) NP-level genericity with kind-level predicates like *be extinct*, as in (1), and (b) sentence-level genericity, as in (2). Our results largely confirm the predictions and support Dayal's (2004) theoretical account of genericity: definite singulars were rated higher with NP-level genericity than with sentence-level genericity, definite plurals were rated equally high with both types of genericity, and indefinite singulars were rated higher with sentence-level than with NP-level genericity. The results will be further discussed in light of recent theories of genericity (Leslie 2008).

- (4) *Ta pulia dodo ehun pleon afanisti*
the birds dodo have already disappeared
'Dodo birds are extinct'
- (5) *I prasines lambes ine poli halarotikes*
the green lamps are very relaxing
'Green lamps are very relaxing'

References: • Dayal, V. (2004). Number marking and (in)definiteness in kind terms. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27, 393–450. • Ionin, T., Montrul, S., & Santos, H. (2011). An experimental investigation of the expression of genericity in English, Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 121, 963–985. • Leslie, S. J. (2008). Generics: Cognition and acquisition. *The Philosophical Review*, 117(1), 1–49.

Malayalam epistemic indefinites

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Malayalam has two classes of epistemic indefinites (EIs). One is formed with the particle **-ō**. These have both specific unknown (SU) and epistemic unknown (epiU) functions as defined by Aloni & Port (2015). The other class is formed using the particle **eñkilum**. These are non-specific indefinites that behave as EIs when under epistemic modals; i.e. they have an **epiU** function. **-ō**-indefinites are infelicitous when definite description is available, and context-dependent if only other methods of identification are available. Malayalam has no definite article, with definiteness arising “from the context” (Asher & Kumari, 1997, 253). **-eñkilum**-indefinites are mostly restricted to scenarios where no method of identification is available.

The felicity conditions of **-ō**-indefinites can be analysed as a conceptual cover shift under Aloni & Port (2015). However, **-eñkilum**-indefinites are more difficult. Tentatively, using Aloni & Port (2015), this could be a case of so-called Modal Variation under epistemic modals and Deontic Free Choice elsewhere, but this is problematic. Neither class seems to fit perfectly into the EI typology proposed by Slade (2015)

With respect to specificity, surprising readings can arise. The expected interpretation of (1) would be that there is a certain doctor, who either Manoj or the speaker is unable to identify, and Manoj does not believe that Sabina married him, with the general form $\exists x \dots B_m \dots$. But there is another reading: Manoj does not believe that Sabina has married a doctor and does not believe that any contextually relevant doctor exists. This would look like $\neg B_m \exists x \dots$, unexpected for a specific EI.

- (6) *sabīna ēt-ō dōkṭar-ine keṭṭi ennu mañōj viśvasikk-unn-illa.*
 Sabina which-**ō** doctor.ACC wed.PAST QP Manoj believe-PRES-NEG.
 ‘Manoj does not believe that Sabina married some doctor.’

References: • Aloni, M. & Port, A. (2015). Epistemic indefinites and methods of identification. In: L. Alonso-Ovalle and P. Menéndez-Benito, (ed.), *Epistemic Indefinites: Exploring Modality Beyond the Verbal Domain*. OUP. 117–140. • Asher & Kumari. (1997): *Malayalam*. Routledge • Slade, B. (2015) Sinhala epistemic indefinites with a certain je ne sais quoi. In: Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito. 82–99.

Arbeitsgruppe 12

Relating elliptical utterances to information in context

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Raum: 17.81

Workshop description

In this workshop, we would like to explicitly reconsider the way elliptical utterances of very different sorts relate to the information provided by the context of utterance (including visual and prosodic information, script knowledge etc.). In particular, we would like to ask the following two questions: Is it possible that there is one overarching principle or mechanism that relates the relevant information to the ellipsis site? And what are the core factors that are necessary to identify / predict the relevant information? (And the reverse question: what happens if redundancy formation fails and reduction still takes place?)

AG12

Syntactic cues license voice mismatch in VP ellipsis – An experimental study

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.81

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Verb phrase ellipsis (in what follows, VPE) in principle allows for a voice mismatch between both conjuncts (1-a), but this is not equally possible with all connectors (1-b) (Kehler 2002).

- (1) a. This problem was to have been looked into, but obviously
nobody did (look into this problem) (Kehler 2002:53)
- b. #This problem was looked into by John, and Bob did (look into this
problem), too. (Kehler 2000:551)

We pursue the hypothesis that this is due to processing constraints. Processing relies on predictions about upcoming words and the less likely a word is, the more processing effort it requires (Levy 2008). Thus, if a parallel continuation is more likely after *and* than after *but*, parsing the mismatch in (1-b) requires more effort, which causes degraded ratings. This predicts that (i) mismatches are better the weaker the parallelism bias of the connector is, and that (ii) other cues can further modulate this bias.

We investigated this with three acceptability rating studies on the effect of voice mismatches for the connectors *and*, *but* and *because*. Exp. 1 and 2 show that voice mismatches in items as (2) improve significantly with the subordinating *because* compared to *but*.

- (2) Joshua didn't give Sarah private lessons in Mandarin (and | but | be-
cause) Jacob (did | was).
(Active bias)

Exp. 3 shows that mismatches with *and* are further degraded if the parallelism bias is strengthened by the additional adverb *similarly* before *and*. This is predicted by our account, but does not directly follow from the categorical split predicted by Kehler's (2002) theory.

References: • Kehler, A. (2002). Coherence and the resolution of ellipsis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 23, 533–575. • Levy, R. (2008). Expectation-based syntactic comprehension. *Cognition* 106, 1126–1177.

Coping with Limited Training Data in Verb Phrase Ellipsis Detection using Active Learning Approach

Muhammad Ahmad, Ingo Reich & Dietrich Klakow

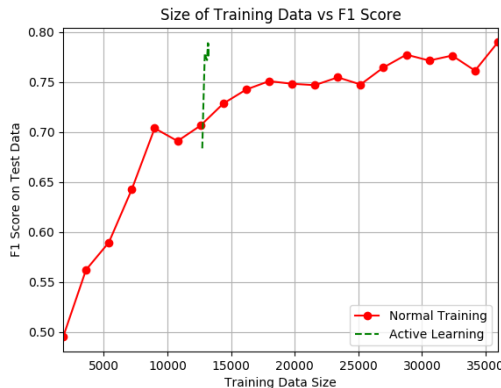
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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.81

Verb phrase ellipsis is a very sparse phenomenon which can be detected using machine learning based models but these models require a significant amount of annotated training data. It is costly to obtain annotated training data; to cope with this problem, we present an active learning based approach, using gradient boosting as classification based model, to detect the instances of VPE-indicators. We used British National Corpus to evaluate our approach and obtained 3.57% improvement in F1 score compared to state-of-the-art results while using only 36.74% of training data which in results saves 63.26% of annotation effort.



References: • Olsson, F. (2009). A literature survey of active machine learning in the context of natural language processing. *SICS Technical Report T2009:06*. • Liu, Z., Pellicer, E. G., & Gillick, D. (2016, June). Exploring the steps of Verb Phrase Ellipsis. In *CORBON@HLT-NAACL*, 32–40. • Kenyon-Dean, K., Cheung, J. C. K., & Precup, D. (2016). Verb Phrase Ellipsis Resolution Using Discriminative and Margin-Infused Algorithms. In *EMNLP*, 1734–1743.

AG12

Coordination Ellipsis and Verbal Morphology in Dagbani

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:45–15:15
Raum: 17.81

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Dagbani (Gur, SVO) verbs exhibit inflectional morphology traditionally referred to as the conjoint/disjoint distinction, prominently known from Bantu languages (Hyman & van der Wal 2017). Descriptively, the CJ form appears if the verb is followed by an argument or an adverbial. The DJ form appears if the verb is in final position. In the perfective aspect, DJ marking is blocked in *wh*-questions, constituent focus, negation, relative clauses and coordination ellipsis (Issah 2015). In these contexts, the perfective verb obligatorily appears in the CJ form.

The blocking effect shows a clear connection to focus: Questions and answers represent typical focus contexts; constituent negation closely interacts with focus. Restrictive relative clauses presuppose the existence of entities of which the description given in the relative clause is not true. Coordination ellipsis (VP-ellipsis, postverbal drop) shows the same morphological restriction strongly corroborating the close connection between focus and ellipsis (Winkler 2005) from a very different angle.

Accounting for the verbal morphology in Dagbani, I make the following proposal: (i) Aspect: The verb moves to AspP above *v*P. The aspectual head is realized as *r* (or one of its allophones *d*, *t*, *n*) if imperfective, and zero in the perfective. (ii) CJ/DJ: I take Monich's (2015) distributed morphology approach of the CJ/DJ distinction in Sotho as a starting point and analyze CJ/DJ in Dagbani as resulting from various post-syntactic rules which apply at different syntactic heads introducing the respective vowels. The DJ blocking effect in focus contexts is derived from a restriction built in the respective post-syntactic rule.

References: • Hyman, L. & J. van der Wal (eds.) (2017). *The Conjoint/Disjoint Alternation in Bantu*. De Gruyter. • Issah, S. (2015). Conjoint and disjoint verb alternations in Dagbani. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 4.2: 29–63. • Monich, I. (2015). Morphosyntax and Tonology of Sotho Languages. Ph.D. UConn. • Winkler, S. (2005). *Ellipsis and Focus in Generative Grammar*. Mouton De Gruyter.

IP vs VP Ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese: An experimental study

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15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.81

Ellipsis phenomena are usually understood as resulting from one of two conflicting hypotheses: the semantic hypothesis, which argues that ellipsis-antecedent identification is semantic in nature (Hardt & Romero 2004; Lobeck 1995); and the syntactic hypothesis, which argues for the existence of structural identification between the ellipsis and the antecedent (Tancredi 1992). A third hypothesis combines these two positions. According to Winkler (2005), the ellipsis is an interface phenomenon that results from complex interactions between core grammatical components and information structure.

Brazilian Portuguese (BP) seems to provide interesting data regarding the role of the information structure in ellipsis licensing. Unlike stripping, verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) in BP does not seem to involve a contrastive topic. This difference suggests that VPE and stripping involve different kinds of licensing; thus, this study was performed to determine the different kinds of ellipsis phenomena and information structure.

In the experiment, the participants had to describe 28 images containing two scenes that differed by one item (action, complement, or subject). The results showed an interesting pattern. In all cases, the participants produced stripping or gapping, but not VPE. The given information was generally de-accentuated, while the contrasted information (action, complement, or subject) was marked intonationally by High (H) or Low-High (LH) contour, even in non-elliptical sentences. The data also suggests that, unlike IP ellipsis, VPE in BP is not related to contrast or information structure, but instead to the morphosyntactic properties of the verbs in this language.

References: • Hardt, D. & Romero, M. (2004). Ellipsis and structure of discourse. *Journal of semantics*, 21, 375–414. • Lobeck, A. (1995). *Ellipsis: functional heads, licensing and identification*. OUP. • Tancredi, C. (1992). Deletion, deaccenting and presupposition. MIT. • Winkler, S. (2005). *Ellipsis and Focus in generative grammar*. de Gruyter.

AG12

A Minimalist approach to Reprise Fragments

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
16:30–17:00
Raum: 17.81

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Although *reprise fragments* (RFs) such as (1B') have received much attention in monostratal generative frameworks (e.g. Ginzburg & Cooper 2004), RFs remain unexamined from a Minimalist perspective.

- (1) A: Pass me the monkey-wrench.
B: Pass you {the MONKEY-WRENCH / the WHAT}?
B': {the MONKEY-WRENCH / the WHAT}?

Adopting the orthodox Minimalist assumption that all fragments are derived from full-fledged utterances via PF-deletion/ellipsis (cf. Merchant 2001 et seq.), which entails that the RF in (1B') is derived from the reprise question in (1B), **this paper will:**

- (i) describe the major characteristics of RFs in English (a *wh*-movement language) and Hungarian (a focus-movement language) and demonstrate that they pose problems for Merchant's (2004) 'Move & Delete' (M&D) analysis of fragmentary responses.
- (ii) offer a preliminary Minimalist analysis that treats both standard and reprise fragments as in-situ phrases in these languages.

Through investigating RFs in English and Hungarian, it will be shown that, although the M&D approach to clausal ellipsis is too restrictive for modelling English RFs, a naïve 'in-situ' approach (e.g. Abe 2016) is too lenient for modelling Hungarian RFs. We demonstrate that the correct balance is struck when the in-situ approach to deletion is coupled with a QUD-based licensing condition on clausal ellipsis which views all ellipsis-licensing QUDs as syntactically-derived, regardless of whether they are explicitly uttered or merely inferred (following a suggestion in Reich 2000).

References: • Abe, J. (2016). Make Short Answers Shorter. *Syntax* 19: 223–255. • Ginzburg, J. & Cooper, R. (2004). Clarification, ellipsis, and the nature of contextual updates in dialogue. *Ling. & Phil.* 27: 297–365. • Merchant, J. (2004). Fragments & ellipsis. *Ling. & Phil.* 27: 661–738. • Reich, I. (2002). Association with Focus, Islands & Choice Functions: A Binding Approach. *Proceedings of Choice Functions & Natural Language Semantics*, 167–188.

QUD-anaphoricity of Fragments and Constraints on Clausal Ellipsis

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Raum: 17.81

In this talk, we argue that a conception of fragments as anaphoric to *Questions under Discussion* is better-suited to capture constraints on clausal ellipsis than the widely-adopted movement-based approach.

On Merchant's (2004) move-and-delete analysis (MDA), short answers are derived by A'-movement of the focus and subsequent PF-deletion:

- (1) A: Who did John kiss? – B: [_{FP} Mary F [~~John~~ kissed ~~t~~]]

However, some immobile elements are licit fragments (Weir 2014), including German modal particles, which are neither mobile *nor* focusable (Ott & Struckmeier in press); conversely, some mobile and focusable categories *cannot* function as fragments (Krifka 2006). However, in some cases islands appear to constrain fragment formation:

- (2) Q: Would John hire somebody [_{CP} who fixes cars with A HAMMER]?
A: #No, A MONKEY WRENCH.

We argue that cases of this kind do not support the MDA. The polar question Q is resolved by “No” in A. Therefore, “a monkey wrench” must answer an accommodated QUD. However, *ex-situ* questions extracting the island-internal focus are impossible, while (possible) *in-situ* questions are contextually infelicitous. Island-internal material *can* be isolated by clausal ellipsis if *no* new QUD needs to be accommodated:

- (3) A': A hammer? Yes, he would! (repetition of QUD)
A'': A screw driver, you mean? Yup! (correction of QUD)

We present further examples to support an approach to locality effects in clausal ellipsis based on discourse coherence rather than movement.

References: • Krifka (2006). in Molnár & Winkler, *Architecture of focus*. • Merchant (2004). *Ling & Phil* 27. • Ott & Struckmeier (in press). *LI* 49. • Weir (2014). UMass-Amherst diss.

Peripheral Fragments in Discourse

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:30–18:00
Raum: 17.81

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A recent approach to the syntax of dislocation constructions (Ott 2014, 2016) analyzes dislocated constituents as elliptical root clauses, juxtaposed in discourse with their non-elliptical ‘host’ clause:

- (1) a. [dem PETER ~~vertraue~~-ich] [dem vertraue ich]
 b. [dem vertraue ich] [dem Peter ~~vertraue~~-ich]
 c. [ich vertraue nur einem] [dem PETER ~~vertraue~~-ich]

I argue that the ellipsis approach to dislocation paves the way for a principled explanation of the interpretation of dislocated elements in discourse. Left-dislocated XPs are interpreted as contrastive topics, whereas right-dislocated constituents are either discourse-old or focal. This generalization can be explained, I argue, by explicating the relation dislocated elements, *qua* ellipsis fragments, bear to explicit or implicit Questions Under Discussion (QUDs), in line with some recent work on fragments (Reich 2007, Weir 2014).

In focal right-dislocation (1c), the right-peripheral fragment responds to an accommodated QUD raised by the indefinite correlate (*Who do you trust?* in (1c)). Right-dislocated discourse-old material (1b) similarly responds to an implicit clarification question, however in this case one that is considered resolved by the speaker, leading to the suppression of a focal pitch accent. Finally, left-dislocation is argued to be a means of triggering accommodation of a *subquestion* of the QUD. For instance, (1a) could be uttered in the context of the QUD *Who do you trust?*; the left-juxtaposed fragment then indicates that the host clause is going to address the subquestion *Do you trust Peter?*. The approach derives the fact that only left-peripheral fragments can be contrastive, whereas only right-peripheral fragments can be focal.

References: • Ott, D. (2014). *LI* 45. • Ott, D. (2016). *Glossa* 1. • Reich (2007). In Schwabe & Winkler, *On information structure, meaning, and form*. • Weir, A. (2014). Fragments and clausal ellipsis. UMass dissertation.

Ellipsis in the context of linguistic memory access

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*Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:00–10:00
Raum: 17.81*

Ellipsis involves the formation of a link between an antecedent and an unexpressed constituent. Much recent work in language comprehension has examined linguistic dependency formation as a memory access problem, identifying the mechanisms, cues, timing, and vulnerability profiles associated with such dependences as anaphora, agreement, and *wh*-movement. A small-but-growing amount of research investigates the formation of linguistic dependencies in production. Less research has examined ellipsis in these terms. In this presentation I will discuss how to relate what is known from these other domains to the challenges posed by ellipsis, for speakers and for comprehenders.

AG12

Framing fragments: a cognitive approach to situational ellipsis

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
10:00–10:30
Raum: 17.81

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This paper suggests a usage-based Construction Grammar (CxG) analysis of situational ellipsis, such as (1)–(2), which needs to explicitly revert to the notion of frames or script-knowledge (e.g., Fillmore 1977).

- (1) “Mit Karte” (with credit card)
- (2) “To the airport”

Simply put, constructions (cxns) are form-function pairings learned through experiences of situated language use (cf., e.g., Bybee 2006). Frequent uses of (1) in a COMMERCE-PAY-script, or (2) in a TRAVEL-script lead to stronger entrenchment and ultimately to an addition to the stack of conventionalized utterances which are “on hold” in the respective script. Thus, certain situations (as real life instantiations of frames) trigger potential fragments which are readily produced or expected. Fragment-cxns are acquired throughout life (cf. Tomasello 2003). They are learned in a specific situation and esp. children may never hear a full sentential version of them (later, prescriptivist rules call for appropriate constituents as a post hoc addition). The degree of conventionalization varies, some fragments may never achieve cxn status. This is compatible with the suggested approach as cxns often start out as ‘online’ form-meaning pairs, i.e. constructs. Yet, the interpretation still depends on the respective context and script. Scripts form a network of conceptually related situations which may be activated in order to produce or understand novel, fragmented constructs.

References: • Bybee, J. (2006). From usage to grammar: the mind’s response to repetition. *Language* 82(4), 711–733. • Fillmore, C. (1977). Scenes-and-frames semantics. *Linguistic Structure and Processing*, 55–81. • Tomasello, M. (2003). *Constructing a language. A usage-based theory of language acquisition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

An experimental approach to embedded gapping in Romance

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–11:45
Raum: 17.81

It is usually assumed (Hankamer 1979 and the subsequent literature) – based especially on English data in (1) – that some elliptical constructions, such as gapping, cannot be embedded within the conjunct it belongs to. Therefore, according to Johnson (2009), there would be a strong syntactic constraint on gapping (and a diagnostic of this elliptical construction), i.e. ‘the no embedding constraint.’

- (1) *Alfonso stole the emeralds, and **I think** [**that** Mugsy the pearls].

We show, based on empirical evidence from two acceptability judgment tasks for Spanish and Romanian, that embedded gapping is acceptable in the same way as its embedded non-elliptical counterpart. Moreover, there is a sensitivity to the semantic type of the embedding predicate (cf. Fernández-Sánchez 2016): embedded clauses under a factive verb are less acceptable than embedded clauses under a non-factive verb; however, factive predicates don’t behave the same, confirming the dichotomy proposed by Hooper (1974) between semi-factive and true factive verbs: semi-factive verbs are much closer to non-factives than to true factive verbs. Crucially, all these effects are not correlated with ellipsis; therefore, what has been claimed to be specific to gapping is in fact more general. The fact that some predicates embed clauses better than others can be explained by the semantic principle postulated by Hooper & Thompson (1973): embedded assertions are more acceptable than embedded presupposed clauses.

References: • Fernández-Sánchez, J. (2016). Embedded gapping isn’t gapping and embedded stripping, stripping. Paper presented at the 2016 Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, Georgetown University. • Hankamer, J. (1979). *Deletion in coordinate structures*. New York: Garland Pub. • Hooper, J. (1974). On assertive predicates. In: *Syntax and Semantics* 4, 91-124. • Hooper, J. & S. Thompson (1973). On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(4), 465-497. • Johnson, K. (2009). Gapping is not (VP-) ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40, 289-328.

AG12

Closing the Gap: Syntactic Complexity does not disambiguate Gapping sentences

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.81

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Introduction: Gapping sentences in English such as:

- (1) the butler met the queen in the living room and the hostess in the dining room

are potentially ambiguous between a gapping reading (G) with an IP-coordinated-structure and a non-gapping reading (NG) with a lower conjunction structure. Evidence from recent experimental studies (Carlson 2001) has led to conclude that NG structures are highly preferred due to their simpler syntactic structure (see Frazier 1987), but context and discourse factors can bypass structural filters favouring the gapping reading. Crucially, D-factors have received little attention in the literature.

Experiment: Reading preferences in a questionnaire study were collected. Items comprising potentially ambiguous gapping sentences varied across 4 conditions, exhibiting increasing structural complexity via PP or CP attachment, but constant number of topics (2 for G, 1 for NG).

No main effect on structural complexity was found, as a strong preference for a NG-analysis was observed under any syntactic manipulation.

Conclusion: These findings call into question the assumed (Carlson 2001) prominent role of syntactic complexity in the processing of elliptical structures. The lack of a significant difference in the scores throughout the 4 conditions strongly suggests that discourse-based factors are able to disambiguate gapping sentences, corroborating previous similar studies on non-structural effects.

References: • Carlson, K. (2001). The Effects of Parallelism and Prosody in the Processing of Gapping Structures, *Language and Speech* 44(1), 1-26. • Frazier, L. (1987). Sentence processing: A tutorial review. In: M. Coltheart (Ed.), *Attention & Performance XII* (pp. 601-681). Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Gapping without surprise: Toward an ellipsis-agnostic model of context dependence

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.81

Ellipsis is commonly conceived as a surprising incident that we as a hearer or reader stumble across. Virtually all syntactic models on the market reflect this surprise by implementing special, dedicated rules (deletion, null anaphora, across-the-board movement etc.) to relate the “incomplete” utterance with the “complete” counterpart. Even those approaches that allow for “direct interpretation” in terms of incomplete, hence “defective”, structures (e.g., Chao 1987), need to explicitly stipulate them. In other words, ellipsis is generally modeled as something special, or even alien, as opposed to “regular” syntactic structures. The problem with this outsider status is that it does not quite match the experience of a language user: in general, elliptical utterances can be easily processed (in many cases more easily than the putatively complete counterparts, cf. Fodor et al. 1974); elliptical utterances are abundantly frequent in everyday conversation; and elliptical utterances are central in language acquisition, that is, rather learned before than after their complete counterparts.

In this contribution, I will therefore take a different perspective on ellipsis, namely that ellipsis is not surprising at all, but well anticipated based on the conditions of language use. The underlying hypothesis will be this: the ability to generate and parse elliptical utterances arises from a more general ability, namely to deal with fragments during incremental processing. However, the big question then is how to precisely model this? I will present a tentative proposal based on Synchronous Tree Unification Grammar (STUG, Lichte 2012; 2015) and confine myself to gapping.

References: • Chao, W. (1987). *On ellipsis*. Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts dissertation. • Fodor, J. A. et al. (1974). *The psychology of language: An introduction to psycholinguistics and Generative Grammar*. McGraw-Hill. • Lichte, T. (2012). Synchronous Tree Unification Grammar. In *Proceedings of TAG+11*, 46–54. Paris, France. • Lichte, T. (2015). *Syntax und Valenz: Zur Modellierung kohärenter und elliptischer Strukturen mit Baumadjunktionsgrammatiken*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

AG12

Discourse status of possessed nouns affects interpretation of VP ellipsis

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.81

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[Joint work with Elsi Kaiser]

The sentence, *Bill washed his car, and John did, too.*, has two possible interpretations if the overt *his* refers to Bill: (1) a coreferential (or “strict”) interpretation, in which John washed Bill’s car, or (2) a bound variable (or “sloppy”) interpretation, in which John washed his own car. What guides comprehenders’ selection of one over the other? Previous research has identified factors such as processing economy (e.g. Reuland 2001), verbal semantics (Ong & Brasoveanu 2014), and nominal semantics (Foley et al. 2003). Foley et al. found that inalienable possessions resulted in more sloppy interpretations than alienable possessions; however, this study was done with children and compared only inalienable vs. alienable possession relations. We hypothesize that the range of possession types found in language varies in the extent to which the possessum is processed as an independent discourse referent or as dependent on the discourse representation of its possessor. Moreover, we expect that such differences modulate the possessum’s availability for coreference and, therefore, affect strict/sloppy preference.

We conducted an experiment testing how four possession relations (inalienable, ownership, animate relational, and kinship) modulate adults’ strict/sloppy preference. Inalienable and ownership nouns favored sloppy interpretations more so than animate relational and kinship nouns. These results support the claim that the overt possession’s animacy and its resultant discourse status are important factors in the resolution of the elided possessive pronoun. We hypothesize that animate possessions are more likely to receive independent status in the discourse and consequently be available for coreference when the ellipsis is interpreted.

References: • Foley et al. (2003). Knowledge of Variable Binding in VP-Ellipsis... *Syntax*. • Ong & Brasoveanu (2014). Strict and sloppy reflexives in VP ellipsis. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics*. • Reuland (2001). Primitives of binding. *LI*.

Theta Role Identity as a Condition on Ellipsis

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.81

According to standard views (e.g. Bayer et al. 2001, Steinbach 2007, Haider 2010) topic drop can only affect structurally cased arguments:

- (1) A: Wo ist Max?
Where is Max?
B: _ Habe ich soeben zu dir geschickt.
[Acc] Have I just to you sent
B: * _ Habe ich soeben den Weg gezeigt.
[Dat] Have I just the way shown

(Haider 2010:269, fn 22)

However, Trutkowski (2016) shows that dative (and even genitive) marked arguments can be omitted when certain requirements at the syntax-semantics interface are met. Notably, for obliquely cased arguments to be dropped (micro) theta roles of antecedent and gap must be identical, cf. (i) A: *Ich schämte mich seiner Komplimente*. B: [GEN] *Konnte ich mich dennoch nicht erwehren*. (A: 'Due to his compliments I felt ashamed' B: 'Nonetheless, I could not rebuff [his compliments]'). Looking mainly at two-place predicates (and the case features of the direct object), I propose that predicates that assign structural case mostly denote a simplex event (with no subevent involved) whereas predicates assigning oblique case denote a complex event (involving a main event plus one subevent, see Blume 1998). In particular, I claim that oblique case must be spelled out at PF because it constitutes the (overt) marker of a complex event – however, as topic drop makes overt spell-out impossible, the meaningful content represented by oblique case must be ascertained via micro theta role identity. In my talk I will present independent evidence for this claim and show how this “double” theta role assignment to obliquely cased arguments might look in the syntax.

References: • Blume, K. (1998). A contrastive analysis of interaction verbs with dative complements, *Linguistics* 36, 253–280. • Haider, H. (2010). *The Syntax of German*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Trutkowski, E. (2016). *Topic Drop and Null Subjects in German*, Berlin: De Gruyter.

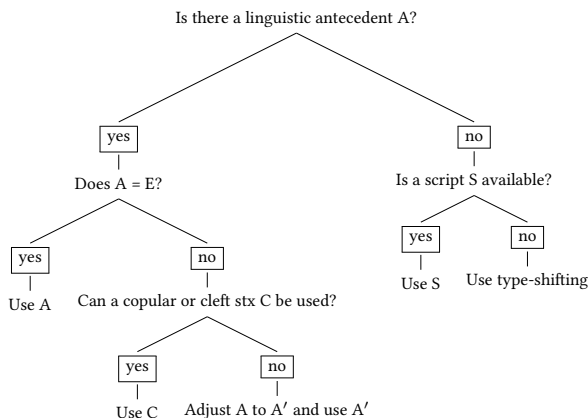
AG12

Stochastic resolution of ellipsis: Why the holy grail of a grand unified theory will never be found

Freitag,
09.03.2018
11:45–12:45
Raum: 17.81

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Many different beasts have been called elliptical: sluicing, VP-ellipsis, fragment answers, short directives, and even bare exophoric fragments, among others. I argue that while all of these can give rise to determinate propositional contents, these contents are not all generated by the same mechanisms. Instead, there is a stochastic ranked decision tree for resolving a putative ellipsis E:



I show that the left branches of this tree help model the behavior of traditional sluicing, as well as the disjunctive sluicing. I also show that accommodation (with parallelism) is necessary, but that recent versions fail to work exactly as needed. I further document and analyze a surprising novel pattern of strict identity: Warner ‘morphological’ identity effects are found in code-switching ellipsis.

- (1) *I Maria itan sto parti, and her sister will *(be), too.*
the Maria was at the party

Finally, I show that fragments from scripts differ from truly exophoric fragments; the latter can be accounted for with a single type-shifting rule.

Partial IP-ellipsis in German loose appositives

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Freitag,
 09.03. 2018
 12:45–13:15
 Raum: 17.81

Example (1) illustrates an **elliptical adverbial clause** (EAC), a phenomenon briefly discussed by Klein (1993).

- (1) **Obwohl selbst vom Lieferstreik betroffen**, kann sich [Kuster] ein Schmunzeln nicht verkneifen. (St. Galler TB, 07.04.2013)
 ‘Although himself affected by the strike, K. can’t forbear a smile.’

With respect to their intonation and interpretation, EACs resemble **loose appositives** (cf. Freienstein 2008); regarding their syntax, EACs parallel **peripheral adverbial clauses** (cf. Frey 2011). Seemingly syntactically incomplete, EACs can easily be reconstructed (cf. 2). Two elements in the IP of the clause are omitted: the subject in the SpecI-position and the verb in the I°-position. Embedded constituents remain, rendering EACs a case of **partial IP-ellipses**.

AG12

- (2) obwohl **Kuster** selbst vom Lieferstreik betroffen **ist**
 ‘although K. is himself affected by the strike’

In my talk, I will address two main questions: (i) How do EACs fit the a-ellipsis/s-ellipsis distinction (cf. Reich 2011)? and (ii) How can partial IP-ellipsis in EACs be modelled? Since the omitted subject has a linguistic antecedent (the appositive basis of the EAC) but the omitted verb does not, I will analyse EACs as a **mixed type of ellipses**. Movement and deletion approaches for modelling EACs are ruled out by the syntactic base position of EACs and the lack of a linguistic antecedent for the omitted verb. Hence, I will discuss **anaphora approaches** and **fragment approaches** as possible alternatives.

References: • Freienstein, J. C. (2008). *Das erweiterte Appositiv*. Narr. • Frey, W. (2011). Peripheral adverbial clauses, their licensing and the prefield in German. In: Breindl, E. et al. (eds.): *Satzverknüpfungen*. De Gruyter. 41–77. • Klein, W. (1993). Ellipse. In: Jacobs, J. et al. (eds.): *Syntax* (HSK 9.1). De Gruyter. 763–799. • Reich, I. (2011). Ellipsis. In: Maienborn, C. et al. (eds.): *Semantics* (HSK 33.2). De Gruyter. 1849–1874.

Multiple Sluicing in English

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 17.81

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Sluicing is linguistically uncontroversial to occur in many languages; in other words, it is “widespread cross-linguistically” Merchant (2003:1). However, it is not agreed upon how the sluice is formed or which are the processes happening inside the sluicing site (Lasnik 2014; Vicente to appear).

- (1) Someone talked about something; I can’t remember who about what.
(Lasnik 2014)

Sentence (1), originally marked by Lasnik (2014) with a question mark (?), was judged as 59% acceptable in our acceptability survey. Moreover, we tested sentence (2) with three *wh*-remnants and its counterpart (3) where NPs are following the *wh*-word.

- (2) One of the students spoke to one of the professors about something, but I don’t know which to which about what. (Lasnik 2014)
- (3) One of the students spoke to one of the professors about something, but I don’t know which student to which professor about what.

Interestingly, while the acceptability of (2) was barely 12,5%, the acceptance range of (3) increases drastically to a 69% because of the presence of the NPs. Our interpretation is that any *wh*-remnant after the first one improves in acceptability when it is a PP. Additionally, when the *wh*-word in the remnant is followed by an NP the sentence also improves its acceptance.

References: • Lasnik, H. (2014). Multiple Sluicing in English? *Syntax* 17:1-20. • Merchant, J. (2003). Sluicing. In *SynCom* Case 98. University of Chicago. • Vicente, L. (to appear). Sluicing and its subtypes. In T. Temmerman and J. van Craenenbroeck (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ellipsis*, 117-143. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The Prosody of Ambiguous Sluicing: A Production Experiment

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.81

I present the results of a language production experiment investigating the prosodic realizations of temporarily ambiguous sluicing structures like (1). The sentences were produced by native speakers of American English who either received prior training regarding the ambiguity of the target items and prosody as a disambiguating factor or not.

- (1) On Tuesday, some lawyer defended some dealers.
a. Do you know which one?
b. Do you know which ones?

Sluicing is a subtype of ellipsis where the major part of a *wh*-question has been elided, leaving only a *wh*-remnant behind, as illustrated in (2).

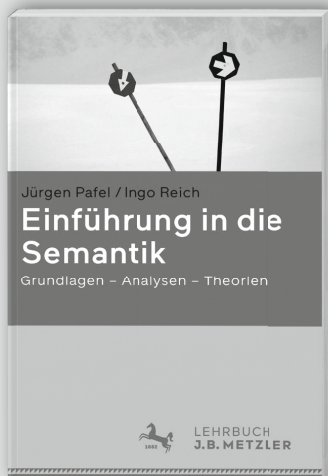
- (2) Somebody just left, guess who [_ just left]! (Ross 1969)

I conducted a perceptual and an acoustic analysis to interpret the results of the recordings. As predicted, both speaker groups used prosodic prominence on the antecedent NP to indicate contrastive focus and thus its status as the antecedent of the *wh*-remnant. Moreover, both speaker groups used more prosody to disambiguate a sentence-early NP than a sentence-final NP, which is related to the fact that a sentence-early NP is not affected by sentence final speech phenomena like *phrase final creak* (Keating, Garellek, & Kreiman 2015). Finally, trained speakers produced stronger prosodic cues than untrained speakers, emphasizing the importance of speaker training and experiment instructions.

References: • Keating, P., Garellek, M., & Kreiman, J. (2015). Acoustic properties of different kinds of creaky voice. *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*. • Ross, J. R. (1969). Guess who? In R. Binnick, A. Davison, G. Green, & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 252–286.

AG12

Einführung in die Semantik



Jürgen Pafel und Ingo Reich
Einführung in die Semantik
VIII, 304 Seiten, Softcover, 19,95 €
ISBN: 978-3-476-02455-8

Dieser Band informiert über alle Aspekte und Gebiete der Semantik, ohne einer bestimmten Theorie verpflichtet zu sein. Er erläutert zentrale Grundbegriffe wie Referenz, Prädikation, Bedeutung und Proposition. Umfangreiche Kapitel beschreiben die Semantik der Wortarten des Deutschen (Verben, Nomen, Adjektive, Präpositionen, Konjunktionen, Partikeln), von komplexen Wortgruppen und Satztypen. Das Schlusskapitel stellt theoretische Ansätze vor (von kognitiver Semantik bis hin zu modelltheoretischen Ansätzen) und führt in deren Methoden und Begriffe ein.

Aus dem Inhalt

Arten der Bedeutung • Grundlegende Phänomene • Elemente der semantischen Analyse • Verben und Verbalgruppen • Nomen und Nominalgruppen • Adjektive und Adjektivgruppen • Adverbien, Partikeln und Präpositionen • Satztypen • Komplexe Sätze • Logische Semantik • Kognitive Semantik • Formale Methoden



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Referenz in der ontogenetischen Schreibentwicklung

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Raum: 17.98

Arbeitsgruppenbeschreibung

In der AG diskutieren wir, wie und wann die Kompetenzen für referentielle Kohärenzherstellung in der Schriftsprache individuell erworben werden bzw. wie diese Kompetenzen schulisch vermittelt werden können. Mögliche Fragestellungen betreffen u.a. (i) den Zusammenhang zwischen Schreibentwicklung und Alter, (ii) den Einfluss des Unterrichts und Konsequenzen für didaktische Modellbildung, (iii) Kohärenzbezüge und Leseverstehen sowie (iv) referentielle Bezüge in der wissenschaftlichen Schreibentwicklung.

AG13

Sprachsensible Leseinstruktionen als Anknüpfungspunkt für die Lese- und Schreibdidaktik

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.98

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Die Fähigkeiten, Texte zu verstehen und eigene kohärente Texte zu produzieren, bereiten vielen Schüler/-innen Probleme. Mit der Kohäsion wird ein Konzept fokussiert, das die mentale Kohärenzbildung beim Lesen durch die Erzeugung des formalen Zusammenhangs auf der Textoberfläche unterstützen kann (Schmitz et al. 2017). Für didaktische Maßnahmen ist aufzuklären, wie die Nutzung von Referenzmitteln aktiv in den Leseprozess integriert werden kann. Die Verknüpfung von Kohäsionsmarkern mit einer sprachsensiblen Leseinstruktion kann die funktionale Wirkung sprachlicher Merkmale als Strukturierungshilfen begünstigen (Budde 2014). Der Beitrag stellt eine Studie vor, in der Schüler/-innen einen Text auf Grundlage sprachsensibler Lesehilfen lasen, um die Wahrnehmung der Kohäsionsmarker im Rezeptions- und Produktionsprozess zu schärfen. Das Textverständnis (Multiple Choice- und halboffene Fragen, Redaktion einer schriftlichen Zusammenfassung) und die Lesevoraussetzungen (Lesefähigkeit, allgemeine Sprachkompetenz, lesestrategisches Selbstkonzept) wurden im Anschluss erhoben. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Instruktion die Leseleistung in Abhängigkeit der Lesevoraussetzungen unterschiedlich stark beeinflusst: Schwächere Leser/-innen profitieren dann von dem Fokus auf Referenzmittel, wenn sie über ein geringes Lesestrategiewissen verfügen. Es lässt sich diskutieren, ob sprachensible Instruktionen die Bewusstmachung von textstrukturellen Merkmalen im Rahmen einer integrierten Lese- und Schreibdidaktik unterstützen können.

Literatur: • Budde, M. (2014). Sprachreflexion beim Textverstehen. In: U. Bredel & C. Schmelentin (Hrsg.): *Welche Grammatik braucht der Grammatikunterricht?* Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren, 69–86. • Schmitz, A., Gräsel, C., Rothstein, B. (2017). Students' genre expectations and the effects of text cohesion on reading comprehension. *Reading and Writing. An Interdisciplinary Journal* 30, 1115–1135.

Von *Definitheit* und *Indefinitheit* in narrativen Schülertexten – Über die Rolle des Konzepts von Definitheit/Indefinitheit für die Schreibentwicklung von Grundschulkindern

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Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:45–15:15
Raum: 17.98

Beim Verfassen von Erzählungen muss pragmatisch gesehen zu Beginn des Textes ein „fiktiver Vorstellungsraum“ (Rehbein 1980) etabliert werden, der als Erzählraum fungiert. Dieser beinhaltet eine „Rekonstruktion von Raum, Zeit, Personage und Tätigkeiten“ (Rehbein 1980: 77), die für die Erzählung relevant sind. Gelingt die Etablierung des Erzählraums, kann sich der Leser bzw. die Leserin in der sprachlich konstruierten Welt der Erzählung orientieren. Die sprachliche Etablierung eines Erzählraums setzt von den Schreibenden allerdings voraus, dass sie ein Konzept von *Definitheit* und *Indefinitheit* besitzen: So werden für den Rezipienten unbekannte Objekte zunächst *indefinit* in den Erzählraum eingeführt; wird dann auf bereits eingeführte Objekte rekurriert, geschieht dies mittels *definiter* Artikel.

In dem Vortrag soll anhand einer Analyse von Schülertexten (N=45) aus einem dritten Schuljahr aufgezeigt werden, welche Rolle das Konzept von *Definitheit* bzw. *Indefinitheit* für die Entwicklung von schriftlicher Narrationsfähigkeit spielt. Hierbei können interessante Befunde vorgestellt werden: So hängt beispielsweise die Fähigkeit eine Erzählung mittels narrativer Textmusterphasen zu strukturieren, damit zusammen, ob die Schreibenden zu Beginn der Erzählung *Definitheit* resp. *Indefinitheit* funktional angemessen ausdrücken können. Dies kann sowohl durch den Einsatz statistischer Methoden (Berechnung von Korrelationen) als auch qualitativ-hermeneutisch gezeigt werden.

Literatur: • Rehbein, J. (1980). Sequentielles Erzählen. Erzählstrukturen von Immigranten bei Sozialberatungen in England. In: Ehlich, K. (Hrsg.): *Erzählen im Alltag*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 64–108. • Uhl, B. (2015). *Tempus – Narration – Medialität. Eine Studie über die Entwicklung schriftlicher Erzählfähigkeit an der Schnittstelle zwischen Grammatik und Schreiben*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag.

AG13

Kohärenz und Komplexität und ihr Einfluss auf die Dynamik der Textproduktion von Grundschulkindern

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.98

Guido Nottbusch
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Anhand von 70 Texten von Zweit (15w/14m) und Viertklässlern (16w/ 25m) wird die Herstellung von Kohärenz durch den Einsatz von Kohäsionsmitteln wie z.B. Anaphern und Rekurrenz sowie durch verschiedene Typen von Junktionen in verschiedenen Altersstufen untersucht.

Die Textproduktion wurden mithilfe von Digitizern aufgezeichnet. Daher soll bei der Beschreibung der jeweils eingesetzten Mittel der zeitliche Verlauf der Entstehung der Texte ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit rücken. Ausgehend von der Hypothese, dass die schriftliche Produktion komplexerer sprachlicher Strukturen mehr kognitive Kapazität beansprucht und somit zu längeren (messbaren) Verzögerungen während der Schreibungen führt (Chanquoy, Foulin & Fayol 1995), wird die so genannte Burst-Länge (nach Alves & Limpo 2015: Anzahl der Wörter, die ohne relevante Verzögerung an einem Stück produziert wurde) mit der syntaktischen Komplexität und den eingesetzten Kohäsionsmitteln in Beziehung gesetzt.

Literatur: • Alves, R.A., & Limpo, T. (2015). Progress in Written Language Bursts, Pauses, Transcription, and Written Composition across Schooling. *Scientific Studies of Reading* 19, 374–391.
• Chanquoy, L., Foulin, J.-N., & Fayol, M. (1995). Writing in adults: A real-time approach. In G. Rijlaarsdam, H. van den Bergh, & M. Couzijn (Hrsg.): *Theories, models and methodology: Current trends in research on writing*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Uni Press, 36–44.

Referentielle Kohärenz im Schulalter

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 16:30–17:00
 Raum: 17.98

Obwohl viele Schüler und Schülerinnen Schwierigkeiten beim Herstellen anaphorischer Bezüge haben (u.a. Peschel 2006), bereitet der Unterricht weder am Ende der Grundschule noch in der Sekundarstufe I hinreichend auf das Gestalten referentieller Kohärenz vor (u.a. Musan & Noack 2014). Um entsprechende didaktische Programme zu konzipieren, braucht es allerdings noch mehr Grundlagenforschung dazu, wie sich die anaphorischen Fähigkeiten bei Kindern im Schulalter unter Berücksichtigung ihrer Erwerbssituation entwickeln. Diesem Desiderat begehend wurden im Rahmen von Forschungskolloquien mehrere behaviourale Pilotstudien zum Gebrauch und zur Interpretation verschiedener Anapherntypen in Abhängigkeit informationsstruktureller, semantischer und lokaler Faktoren durchgeführt, deren Ergebnisse im Beitrag auszugsweise präsentiert werden sollen. Eine Frage, der hierbei auch nachzugehen sein wird, ist, ob es Unterschiede in den Präferenzen referentieller Kohärenz bei Schülern und Schülerinnen mit Deutsch als Muttersprache und mit Deutsch als Zweitsprache zu beobachten gibt, um in den zu entwickelnden didaktischen Programmen auch den erwerbssituationsbedingten Unterschieden gerecht werden zu können.

AG13

Literatur: • Musan, R. & Noack, C. (2014). Pronominale Referenzmarkierungen in der Grundschule. In: M. Averintseva-Klisch & C. Peschel (Hrsg.): *Informationsstruktur in der Schule*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 110–128. • Peschel, C. (2006). Verweismittel – Anaphorik – thematische Fortführung: Ein Thema für den Grammatikunterricht? In: C. Spiegel & R. Vogt (Hrsg.), *Vom Nutzen der Textlinguistik für den Unterricht*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 171–186.

Schwierigkeiten bei der Kohärenzherstellung in Schülertexten – ein schul- und lehrwerkinduziertes Problem

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–17:30
Raum: 17.98

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Zwar betonen aktuelle Deutsch-Lehrpläne für den Mittleren Schulabschluss – wenn auch nur in allgemein gehaltenen Begrifflichkeiten – die Relevanz von Textkohärenz und -kohäsion, sie enthalten aber kaum Informationen, wie Schüler und Schülerinnen (SuS) an diesen hochkomplexen, der konzeptionellen Schriftlichkeit zuzuordnenden Phänomenbereich heranzuführen sind. Auch Lehrwerke bieten diesbezüglich kaum Unterstützung; dies gilt vor allem für die referentielle Kohärenz. Der oft zu lesende Hinweis „abwechslungsreich zu schreiben“ hilft den SuS nicht, sich das Repertoire sprachlicher Kohäsionsmittel und deren syntaktische und textfunktionale Besonderheiten zu erschließen, ebenso wenig wie kontextlose Austauschübungen von Pronomen oder Konnektoren.

Auf der Suche nach Ursachen für die Schwierigkeiten, die SuS beim Verfassen kohärenter Texte haben (u.a. Musan & Noack 2014; Peschel 2006), haben wir ein Projekt initiiert, das sich mit verschiedenen Dimensionen der Vermittlung referentieller Kohärenz befasst: mit Lehrplänen, Lehrwerken und auch mit der Perspektive der Lehrkräfte, ihrer Vorstellung von guten und kohärenten Texten sowie ihrem didaktischen Vorgehen. Im Vortrag werden wir die Ergebnisse der Lehrwerkanalysen präsentieren.

Literatur: • Musan, R. & Noack, C. (2014). Pronominale Referenzmarkierungen in der Grundschule. In: M. Averintseva-Klisch & C. Peschel (Hrsg.): *Informationsstruktur in der Schule*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 110–128. • Peschel, C. (2006). Verweismittel – Anaphorik – thematische Fortführung: Ein Thema für den Grammatikunterricht? In: C. Spiegel & R. Vogt (Hrsg.): *Vom Nutzen der Textlinguistik für den Unterricht*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 171–186.

Referenz in den schriftlichen Texten bilingualer Grundschul Kinder

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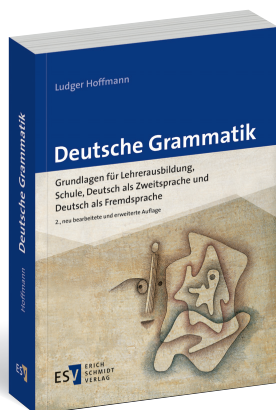
Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 17:30–18:00
 Raum: 17.98

Dieser Beitrag konzentriert sich auf referentielle Kohärenz in den ersten schriftlichen Texten bilingualer russisch- und türkischsprachiger Kinder. Untersucht wurde, wie Referenten in deutschsprachigen Bildbeschreibungen der Kinder eingeführt werden und welche Faktoren die Bezeichnung von Referenten bei deren Einführung beeinflussen. Neunzehn zweisprachige Zweitklässler (Herkunftssprachen: Russisch, N=12, und Türkisch, N=7) im Alter von 7;5 bis 8;5 Jahren nahmen an der Untersuchung teil. Die Kinder wurden im Rahmen des Berliner Interdisziplinären Verbundes für Mehrsprachigkeit (BIVEM) rekrutiert und erhielten vorschulische Sprachförderung. Für die Studie wurden die Kinder gebeten, basierend auf Bildmaterial des Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (Gagarina 2015), eine Bildergeschichte zu schreiben. Die Geschichten des Materials sind parallel aufgebaut und enthalten je fünf Referenten. Für die Analyse wurde nur die erste Erwähnung der Referenten als indefinite oder definite NP, als Pronomen, Eigennamen usw. berücksichtigt. Insgesamt wurden 83 Referenten benannt; russischsprachige Kinder benannten mehr Referenten als türkischsprachige Kinder. 39% der Einführungen von Referenten wurden durch indefinite, 51% durch definite NPs vorgenommen; dabei variiert dies je nach Protagonist. *Katze* und *Hund* wurden häufiger mit einer definiten NP eingeführt als *Junge*. Die Ergebnisse zeigen einen Einfluss der Definitheitssysteme der Herkunftssprachen auf die Referenzeinführung im Deutschen. Zusätzlich wurde ein möglicher Einfluss der vorschulischen Sprachfördermaßnahmen ersichtlich.

Literatur: • Gagarina et al. (2015). Assessment of Narrative Abilities in Bilingual Children. In: *Assessing Multilingual Children*, 243–269.

AG13

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Arbeitsgruppe 14

Variable perception and production correlates for word stress in first language acquisition and child second language learning

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Raum: 17.98

Workshop description

The workshop focuses on the role of word stress in monolingual and bilingual language acquisition and explores the roles of acoustic and articulatory cues of word stress for learning words, stress and sentence intonation in one or more languages during early childhood. It also considers the interaction of prosody with other linguistic domains during the language acquisition process.

AG14

We got the beat: The role of biases, abstractions, and experience in prosody acquisition

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:45–12:45
Raum: 17.98

Natalie Boll-Avetisyan
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Prosody has received much attention in language acquisition research because of its assumed key role in language development as a bootstrap to lexicon and syntax. However, two important questions have hardly been addressed: first, whether infants' speech processing is facilitated by innate prosodic biases and, second, whether they draw on abstract prosodic representations when perceiving acoustic correlates of stress.

In this talk, I will present a collection of our studies with mono- and bilinguals from infancy to adulthood that investigate these questions. We focus on two prosodically distinct languages, French (no lexical stress) and German (variable lexical stress). So far, our data points towards a role for biases in infancy, but later their effects are modulated by experience. Moreover, again dependent on experience, we find effects of abstract prosodic knowledge on speech processing. The talk will highlight the benefits of a comparative psycholinguistics approach to studying language acquisition.

Prosody outweighs statistics: evidence from German

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.98

It is well established that infants are able to segment fluent speech into words from about 7-8 months of age (Höhle & Weissenborn 2003; Jusczyk & Aslin 1995). Research suggests that they use at least two mechanisms: prosodic cues, especially the word stress pattern (Höhle et al. 2009), and statistical learning, i.e. transitional probabilities (Aslin, Saffran & Newport 1998).

Following the results from Thiessen & Saffran (2003), we tested 7- and 9-month-old German infants in the HPP procedure. They were familiarized with an artificial iambic language string created with natural language and tested with three conditions: prosodic words, statistical words and non-words. 7-month-old German infants looked longer to the statistical words ($p = .021$) and to the non-words ($p = .024$) compared to the prosodic word trials, suggesting that they rely more on the prosodic cues to extract words from the string already at 7 months of age. The 9-month-old group did not show any preference.

References: • Aslin, Saffran & Newport (1998). Computation of conditional probability statistics by 8-month-old infants. *Psychological Science*, 4, 321–324 • Höhle, Bijeljac-Babic, Herold, Weissenborn & Nazzi (2009). Language specific prosodic preferences during the first half year of life: Evidence from German and French infants. *Infant Behavior and Development*, 32(3), 262–274 • Höhle & Weissenborn (2003). German-learning infants' ability to detect unstressed closed-class elements in continuous speech. *Developmental Science* 6, 122–127. • Jusczyk & Aslin (1995). Infants' detection of the sound patterns of words in fluent speech. *Cognitive Psychology*, 28. • Thiessen & Saffran (2003). When cues collide: Use of stress and statistical cues to word boundaries by 7- to 9-month-old infants. *Developmental Psychology* 4, 706–716.

AG14

Early word segmentation in bilingual infants acquiring German and French

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.98

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Since speech is continuous and does not contain inter-word pauses, word segmentation is one of the most challenging tasks infants have to face when acquiring their native language. Research shows that prosody facilitates infants speech segmentation (Jusczyk et al. 1999), though the use of prosodic cues is language-specific (Polka & Sundara 2012). Infants growing up bilingually, especially with rhythmically different languages, face a distinct challenge to segment both languages efficiently as this involves a language-dependent adjustment of segmentation procedures (Polka et al., 2017).

In the current study, looking at German-French Bilinguals (9–12 months old), we address the question of whether infants acquiring two rhythmically different languages have different language-dependent segmentation procedures: syllable-based for French and stress-based for German. Segmentation of bi-syllabic words was tested with EEG and the head-turn procedure in a dual-language task (Polka et al. 2017), testing infants with both languages (German; French) within the same test session. Preliminary results will be presented.

References: • Jusczyk, P.W., Houston, D. M., & Newsome, M. (1999). The beginnings of word segmentation in English-learning infants. *Cognitive Psychology*, 39, 159–207. • Polka, L., & Sundara, M. (2012). Word segmentation in monolingual infants acquiring Canadian English and Canadian French: native language, cross-dialect, and cross-language comparisons. *Infancy*, 17 (2), 198–232. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7078.2011.00075.x • Polka, L., Orena, A. J., Sundara, M. & Worral, J. (2017). Segmenting words from fluent speech during infancy — challenges and opportunities in a bilingual context. *Dev Sci*, 20: n/a, e12419. doi:10.1111/desc.12419

Infants' perception of linguistic information in songs

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
11:45–12:15
Raum: 17.98

Various situations of infants' daily lives are accompanied by songs. So far, infant-directed singing is mainly seen as serving infant mood regulation (e.g. Trehub 2017). However, songs can also be considered a rich source of linguistic knowledge for preverbal infants. In this talk, we present a series of studies on infants' perception of phrase and rhyme structure in songs. First, evidence from a headturn preference and an eeg experiment are combined to provide evidence that infants between nine and eleven months old already are sensitive to the phrase-final rhyme in song. This result extends earlier studies which indicated that infants only recognize rhymes after extensive training (Jusczyk et al. 1999 & Hayes et al. 2000). Second, another headturn preference study will be presented, targeting at six-month-olds' recognition of sequences in speech and song. Infants recognized a well-formed sequence of song embedded within a larger passage, but failed to do so in speech. This result is surprising, given that a number of earlier studies prove infants' recognition of well-formed sequences in speech (e.g. Nazzi et al. 2000). Our results provide novel evidence for infants' domain general ability to segment acoustic information into smaller phrases, while we fail to replicate infants' ability to segment speech. Taken together, we illustrate that songs are an accessible source of linguistic information for young infants.

AG14

References: • Jusczyk, P. W., Goodman, M., & Baumann, A. (1999). Nine-month-olds' attention to sound similarities in syllables. *Journal of Memory and Language* 82, 62–82. • Hayes, R. A., Slater, A., & Brown, E. (2000). Infants' ability to categorise on the basis of rhyme. *Cognitive Development*, 15(2000), 405–419. • Nazzi, T., Nelson, D. G. K., Jusczyk, P. W., & Jusczyk, A. M. (2000). Six-month-olds' detection of clauses embedded in continuous speech: Effects of prosodic well-formedness. *Infancy* 1(1), 123–147. • Trehub S.E. (2017). The maternal voice as a special signal for infants. In: Filippa M., Kuhn P., Westrup B. (eds.) *Early Vocal Contact and Preterm Infant Brain Development*. Springer, Cham.

Psycho-typologizing word stress through prosody-music alignment in children's songs

Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.98

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Linguistic prosody is reflected in both instrumental music and textsetting, where prosodic features are aligned with musical levels. Due to differences in word prosodic systems, different degrees and types of prosody-music alignment are expected crosslinguistically. Alignment occurs between accented syllables and strong beats in English (lexical stress; Palmer & Kelly 1992), in French (fixed stress; Temperley & Temperley 2013), and in Japanese (pitch accent; Cho 2017). Here, we study Turkish (TK) and English (ENG). While ENG behaves as a lexical stress language, the TK word accentual system is more fixed (canonical word-final accent with cases of non-final word stress).

We coded TK (n=18) and ENG (n=18) children's songs for linguistic (+/- stress) and musical (metrical strength, melodic peak) variables and calculated mean metrical weight (MW) for stressed vs. unstressed syllables in TK, as well as a melodic peak score to determine the degree of stress-pitch alignment. Our results show a significant difference ($p=.006$) between MW in stressed vs. unstressed syllables in TK (no distinction between stressed syllables in +/-word-final position). This suggests that TK shows a degree of stress-meter alignment but the degree of alignment is gradient crosslinguistically. Strikingly, there is significant alignment of stress and musical pitch in TK ($p=.0002$), but not in ENG ($p=.04$). We will discuss the consequences of our findings for phonetic concomitants of word stress and previous accounts of Turkish stress and prosodic typology.

References: • Palmer, C., & Kelly, M. H. (1992). Linguistic prosody and musical meter in song. *J. of Memory and Language*, 31(4), 525–542. • Temperley, N. & Temperley, D. (2013). Stress-meter alignment in French vocal music. *J. Acoust. Soc. Am.* 134(1), 520–527. • Cho, S. (2017). Text alignment in Japanese children's songs. *UPenn Working Papers in Linguistics*, 23(1), 31–37.

Acoustic correlates of word stress in young Italian children's productions

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 17.98

We investigated five normally developing subjects, all from North-Eastern Italy (Trieste and Padova), from the age of 18 to 42 months. Each child was recorded while playing with a small set of objects which (s)he was asked to name and to talk about. Monosyllables and the last syllable of every utterance were excluded. For both stressed and unstressed vowels of each target word we calculated, by means of a Praat's script, duration, peak intensity, F1 and F2 at the vowel midpoint and spectral emphasis. As a control group we recorded and analyzed four adult subjects. Children have shown differences between stressed and unstressed vowels since their earlier age (18 months). The most statistically significant parameter was duration: for each child, since 18 months, stressed vowels had longer duration as compared to unstressed ones. We also found some less significant differences in the values of F1 (for [a]), F2 (for [i]), intensity and spectral emphasis. Each child has shown quantitative differences between stressed and unstressed vowel from his earlier age.

References: • Olivucci, F., Pasqualetto, F., Vayra, M., Zmarich, C. (2017). Lo sviluppo dell'accento lessicale nel bambino in età prescolare: una prospettiva fonetico-acustica. In: *Collana Studi AISV*, 2, Milano. • Zmarich C., Bonifacio S. (2005). Phonetic inventories in Italian children aged 18-27 months: a longitudinal study. In: *Proceedings of INTERSPEECH* (Lisboa, Portugal, September 4-8), 757–760.

AG14

Word stress and determiner omission in French-Spanish bilingual language acquisition

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:15–13:45
Raum: 17.98

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As has been demonstrated in monolingual and bilingual L1 acquisition research, children tend to omit determiners in early acquisitional phases, yielding ungrammatical bare noun structures. From a phonological perspective, weak syllables (typically associated with function words like determiners) are most prone to omission (Boyle & Gerken 1997) although children produce vocalic segments in determiner positions as placeholders (Demuth & Tremblay 2008, Lleó 1998) and are perceptually sensitive to determiners (Gerken & McIntosh 1993). The comparison of French and Spanish in one bilingual individual (age 2;2,0-3;1,24) offers an interesting testing ground for the syntax/prosody interface since the phonological systems of these two languages differ importantly with respect to word stress. Ungrammatical bare nouns are mostly found in Spanish (dropping from 24% to 10% to 2% over three recordings) and nearly inexistent in French during the observed period (0-3%). Co-occurring with lexico-syntactic factors (Müller 1994), the child generally omits determiners in sequences of adjacent unstressed syllables and after high boundary tones. Possible explanations for the unbalanced distribution of ungrammatical bare nouns may be related to words stress: Predictably final stress in French is more readily acquired than the variable position in Spanish. These first results hint at an 'invasive' impact of phonology on syntax in bilingual language acquisition.

References: • Boyle, M. & Gerken, L. (1997). The influence of lexical familiarity on children's function morpheme omissions. *Journal of Memory and Language* 36, 117–128. • Demuth, K. & Tremblay, A. (2008). Prosodically-conditioned variability in children's production of French determiners. *Journal of Child Language* 35, 99–127. • Gerken, L. & McIntosh, B. (1993). Interplay of function morphemes and prosody in early language. *Developmental Psychology* 29, 448–457. • Lleó, C. (1998). Proto-articles in the acquisition of Spanish. In: Fabri, R. et al. (eds): *Models of Inflection*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 175–195. • Müller, N. (1994). Gender and number agreement within DP. In: Meisel, J. (ed): *Bilingual First Language Acquisition*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 53–88.

The acquisition of stress in production: looking beyond cues and correlates

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Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.98

English and German use ‘stress accent’ as a prominence mechanism. In the past, many phoneticians characterised stressed syllables as the result of a speaker applying greater respiratory system effort (Jensen 2004:3–17). Research conducted within speech science (e.g. Hixon 1987) has supported these intuitions. Nevertheless, many contemporary researchers assume that a child acquires stress by first identifying various acoustic cues for stressed syllables and then learning to use these acoustic cues to mark stress in his own speech.

Taken collectively, the acoustic cues of stress accent signal greater effort being made by speakers. To create syllabic prominence, the child learner may—alternatively—simply retrieve this single percept from the speech he hears and reproduce such effort in his own production of stressed syllables.

This proposal is supported by consideration of stress production from first principles, taking account of (1) the physiological backdrop of respiratory system activity in child learners, and (2) the aerodynamics of child speech (Messum 2007).

I will elaborate on this mechanism for acquisition, discuss why it has been overlooked and explain how it accounts for some of the timing phenomena found in West Germanic languages.

References: • Hixon, T. J. (1987). *Respiratory function in speech and song*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown. • Jensen, C. (2004). *Stress and accent: prominence relations in southern standard British English*. (PhD) University of Copenhagen. • Messum, P. R. (2007). *The Role of Imitation in Learning to Pronounce*. (PhD) University College London.

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Arbeitsgruppe 15

Reference determination: Literal and non-literal uses of referring expressions

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Raum: 17.92

Workshop description

Natural language provides a wide range of expressions that allow us to refer to individuals, times, or places. The research on these expressions has focused mostly on their “literal use”, for which the semantic referent matches the speaker’s referent (Kripke 1977). However, most (all?) of these expressions also have “non-literal uses”, where “semantic reference” and “speaker’s reference” diverge. This AG aims to address – from a linguistic and philosophical perspective – how linguistic content and non-linguistic mechanisms interact to determine reference in the literal and non-literal case.

Conditionalizing referential uses of definite descriptions

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 1792

Eva Csipak
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Since at least Donnellan 1966 it is well-known that utterances containing definite descriptions can make true claims, even if the description itself fails to denote, as illustrated in (1). Two types of analyses have been proposed for this problem: those assuming systematically ambiguous DPs (including Donnellan), and those appealing to pragmatics. In this talk I provide novel empirical evidence for a Donnellan type approach. I show that *if*-clauses can originate inside DPs with a referential reading (but not with an attributive reading), often expressing epistemic uncertainty about the adequacy of the description. Consider the example in (2). I propose that the *if*-clause in such constructions restricts an epistemic necessity operator that is only present in referential uses of the definite description. For concreteness' sake, I will adapt a formalization that Heim 2011 gives of Stalnaker 1970's proposal for referential uses of definite descriptions, and propose the analysis in (3).

- (1) A (pointing to a man in the room): Alex's spouse is having a good time.
B: Yes, you are right, but they are not married.
- (2) Alex's spouse, if they (ever) got married, just walked into my store.
- (3) $\llbracket the_{ref}\alpha, if p \rrbracket = \iota x [\forall w' \in Best(\bigcap f(w) \cup \llbracket p \rrbracket): \alpha(x) \text{ in } w']$

(3) denotes a unique individual x , and it presupposes that in the best of the speaker's epistemically accessible worlds where p holds, x is one of the α s. This correctly predicts that only epistemic readings of the modal are possible, and that counterfactual uses are out.

References: • Donnellan, K. (1966). Reference and Definite Descriptions. *The Philosophical Review*. • Heim, I. (2011). Definiteness and Indefiniteness. In: Maienborn, von Heusinger and Portner: *HSK 33.2*. • Kripke, S. (1977). Speaker's reference and semantic reference. *Midwest Studies in Philosophy*. • Recanati, F. (2014). Reference through Mental Files: Indexicals and Definite Descriptions. In: Penco and Domaneschi: *What Is Said and What Is Not*. • Stalnaker, R. (1970). Pragmatics. *Synthese*.

***That damn idiot!* Expressives, definite descriptions, and reference**

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 14:45–15:15
 Raum: 17.92

The debate around the literal, attribute use of definite descriptions and their referential use focuses on what could be called *descriptive descriptions*, as the content of the description contains descriptive content.

(1) **The man with the Martini** is the murderer.

The well-known case of misdescriptions – when the content of the description does not match the intended referent but reference nevertheless succeeds – are all based on the idea that the content of the description may not be true for the intended referent.

In this context, it is interesting to have a look at what could be called *expressive descriptions*, which look like standard definite descriptions but whose content contains only expressive meaning in the sense of Kaplan (1999).

(2) **That damn idiot** is the murderer.

These are interesting for the debate regarding descriptions and reference for several reasons. First, “misdescriptions” in the sense that the (subjective) content of an expressive description may not be shared between speaker and hearer commonly occur with expressive descriptions. Second, since expressive content is use-conditional rather than truth-conditional and commonly assumed to reside in different meaning dimension (Potts 2007), the question of what happens to the truth of the asserted content – one of the main issues regarding the referential use of descriptions – does not raise in the first place.

The similarities and differences between descriptive and expressive descriptions will be used to provide additional arguments in favor of a unified analysis of both descriptive and expressive referential descriptions in a multidimensional framework along the lines of Gutzmann & McCready (2014).

References: • Gutzmann, D. & McCready, E. (2014). Using descriptions. Submitted to *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 10. 55–72. • Kaplan, D. (1999). The meaning of *ouch* and *oops*. Ms. University of California, Los Angeles. • Potts, C. (2007). The expressive dimension. *Theoretical Linguistics* 33(2). 165–197.

Donnellan, Nunberg and the distinction between literal and non-literal uses of referring expressions

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
15:15–15:45
Raum: 17.92

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In the first part, I will argue against Kripke's thesis that non-literal uses of definite descriptions *require* specific referential de re intentions that accompany the use of definite descriptions. I aim to show that we can distinguish at least three kinds of Donnellan cases: uses of definite descriptions that (a) are accompanied by a false de re belief of the form "S believes of o that it is the F" on the side of the speaker; (b) explicitly exploit a false de re belief of the mentioned form on the side of the hearer; (c) explicitly exploit a shared de re pretense of the form "We pretend of o that it is the F". In the second part, I will argue that Nunberg-cases concerning demonstratives are not a variety of non-literal referential uses and that we can capture Nunberg-cases as literal uses of demonstrative expressions on the basis of the correct conception of demonstrations.

References: • Donnellan, K. (1966). Reference and Definite Descriptions. *Philosophical Review*, 75, 281–304. • Kripke, S. A. (1979). Speaker's Reference and Semantic Reference, in: French, P. A., et al. (eds.) *Contemporary Perspectives in the Philosophy of Language*, 6–27. • Nunberg, G. (1979). The Uniqueness of Semantic Solutions: Polysemy. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 3, 143–184.

Partial meaning eliminativism and literalness

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Mittwoch,
 07.03.2018
 16:30–17:00
 Raum: 17.92

My contribution addresses the question of the literalness of referential uses. It does that via the question of meaning eliminativism and the distinctions its (partial) acknowledgment calls for. Meaning eliminativism denies that words have meanings in the traditional sense, whether abstract or knowledge-rich (Recanati 2004: 141): word meanings are elaborated contextually without the input of context-invariant meanings. Meaning eliminativism obviously undermines the distinction between a literal and a non-literal use of a given referential expression. Unqualified, such a view has little appeal. Nevertheless, I argue that *partial* meaning eliminativism is plausible, provided we split linguistic meaning in two and distinguish lexical meaning from conventional meaning. *Lexical meaning*, on the one hand, is the mentally encoded meaning and can be construed in a way compatible with eliminativism. *Conventional meaning*, on the other hand, is the objective meaning, out there in the world, and can be construed as partially independent from speakers' representations (and misrepresentations), along the lines of Millikan's biological model for language (1984; 2005). Conventional meaning resists eliminativism. I claim that this bipartite reconstruction of linguistic meaning allows us to distinguish between two senses in which a referential use of a given expression can be treated as being a literal use: a weak intersubjective sense and a strong objective sense.

References: • Millikan, R. G. (1984). *Language, thought, and other biological categories: new foundations for realism*. MIT Press. • Millikan, R. G. (2005). *Language: A Biological Model*. Clarendon Press. • Recanati, F. (2004). *Literal Meaning*. Cambridge University Press.

AG15

Direct Reference

Mittwoch,
07.03.2018
17:00–18:00
Raum: 17.92

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There are two competing notions of direct reference. According to the first, ‘Millian’ notion, a directly referential expression is like a tag which is directly assigned to a particular object without there being ‘a semantic mechanism to search for and determine the referent’ (Marti). Proper names are directly referential in that sense and they stand in contrast to definite descriptions, whose mode of reference determination is satisfactional. According to another, ‘Kaplanian’ notion of direct reference, what characterises direct reference is the fact that the propositional constituent corresponding to a directly referential expression is an object rather than an individual concept or ‘mode of presentation’. No less than proper names, indexicals are, and definite descriptions can be, directly referential in that weaker sense, despite carrying descriptive content. I will defend the Millian position and argue that the mental file framework enables us to make sense of it even with respect to indexicals or referentially used descriptions.

Two Pragmatic Notions of What Is Said

Gregory Bochner

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Donnerstag,

08.03.2018

9:00–9:30

Raum: 17.92

This talk has two parts. In the first part, I draw a contrast between two views of the contents of referential assertions that are both compatible with Stalnaker's (1999; 2016) pragmatic account of conversation: propositional referentialism (PR) and centred referentialism (CR). I argue that PR cannot, but CR can, predict the right truth-conditions for *some* assertions containing referential uses of descriptions. The reason is because PR involves a false claim about the way in which the referent of these assertions is determined. In the second part, I describe the pragmatic roles that CR ascribes to the linguistic content encoded by the description. This content is not part of the truth-conditions of the corresponding assertion, and it does not fix reference. Nevertheless, being presupposed *of* the referent, it is what shapes the *contextual effects* of the assertion by delimiting the possibilities that accepting its content rules out from the context.

References: • Donnellan, K. (1966). Reference and Definite Descriptions. *Philosophical Review* 75(3), 281–304. • Stalnaker, R. (1999). *Context and Content*. Oxford University Press. • Stalnaker, R. (2016). *Context*. Oxford University Press.

On Individuating Contexts

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
9:30–10:00
Raum: 17.92

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In a Kaplan-style context theory, contexts are understood as the source of semantic values (referents) of indexicals and demonstratives. This is reflected in formal definitions that identify contexts (for a language) with (tuples of possible) values of indexicals (of that language). Thus, languages with expressions comparable to (some uses of) English *actually*, *now*, *here*, *I*, *you*, and (deictically used) third person pronouns necessitate contexts that are, mathematically speaking, nothing but tuples of one world, a concrete time-span and spatial location, and at least two individuals (i.e., speaker and addressee). There are possibly more individual parameters, but since not all contexts are demonstrative contexts, contexts in which somebody somehow demonstrates something, this is the lowest bound. This general outline is compatible with a spectrum of different ways to flesh out the details. More interesting notions of context try to reduce the set of possible contexts by formulating certain *constraints on individuation*. E.g., Kaplan held that the speaker needs to occupy the spatiotemporal position in the world denoted by the first three parameters and thereby reduces the set of admissible combinations considerably. He judges (1-a) to be true at all contexts. However, he also mentions the now infamous example of an answering machine that plays a recording of (1) whenever the speaker is not at home. Intuitively, (1-b), but not (1-a), is true in such a scenario.

- (1) a. I am here now.
 b. I am not here now.

The talk explores more constraints on individuation proposed in the literature and challenges them with examples of the kind first discussed by Kratzer (1978). The general conclusion drawn from this discussion will be that less specific conditions on individuation are mandatory. Consequently, a very abstract yet flexible notion of context is gained.

References: • Kaplan, D. (1989). Demonstratives. In: J. Almong, J. Perry, and H. Wettstein (eds.), *Themes from Kaplan*. Oxford: OUP, 481–563. • Kratzer, A. (1978). *Semantik der Rede*. Königstein: Scriptor.

Deferred vs. descriptive. The case of proper names and indexicals

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Donnerstag,
 08.03.2018
 10:00–10:30
 Raum: 17.92

Indexicals and proper names are usually considered as devices of direct reference. However, from Nunberg (1993) on, the so-called descriptive uses of indexicals are generally acknowledged, whilst in their descriptive uses, indexicals contribute to the expression of general propositions. I suggest that we should distinguish between deferred and descriptive uses of singular expressions or between two cases of deferred reference as proposed by Nunberg. I will reserve the term “deferred reference” for the cases when the term’s propositional contribution is singular and call “descriptive” the cases of general propositional contribution of a term. I will present examples of both kind of uses for indexicals as well as for proper names and propose an extension of the original notion of deferred reference to the analysis of deferred uses of proper names. I will show, however, that contrary to prevailing assumption that the propositional contribution of all descriptively used singular terms is a singular concept, a comprehensive analysis of descriptive uses of singular terms requires non-singular contributions as well. I will propose a mechanism which I dubbed “descriptive anaphora” for the analysis of descriptive uses of both indexicals and proper names. This will allow for a uniform treatment of examples calling for singularity and those for which the assumption of singularity built into the interpretive concept itself does not give adequate interpretations. While (strictly) deferred uses of proper names are rare, I will suggest how most non-referential uses of proper names provided in the literature, i.e. Family, Costume, Resemblance, Artwork and Machiavelli Examples (Böer 1975; Jeshion 2015, Fara 2015) are analyzable by the proposed mechanism of descriptive anaphora. This will point to their systematic character.

References: • Böer S (1975). Proper Names as Predicates. *Philoso Stud* 27, 389–400. • Fara D (2015). Names are predicates, *Philos Rev* 124, 59–117. • Jeshion R (2015). Referentialism and Predicativism About Proper Names. *Erkenntnis* 80, 363–404. • Nunberg G (1993). Indexicality and deixis. *Linguist Philos* 16, 1–43.

AG15

Arbeitsgruppe 16

Applications of probability theory in linguistics

Hendrik Zeevat, Peter Sutton & Vasiliki Tsouni

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Raum: 17.92

Workshop description

Probability theory has been applied to model linguistic phenomena across a wide range of fields including: vagueness, pragmatic reasoning, and inferring phonetic information from phonological categories. The APT-Ling workshop seeks to bring together researchers across different linguistic fields to address whether there are common underpinnings for these different applications of probability theory in the formal study of the relations between noisy, blurred, or underspecified information and the formation of categorical judgements on the basis of this information.

Probability in phonotactic acquisition and loanword adaptation

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
11:15–12:15
Raum: 17.92

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Several models of speech perception employ probability theory directly in their calculation of phonological categories, see e.g. Gaussian mixture models (McMurray et al. 2009), which were successfully applied to account for sound change (Kirby 2014). In this talk I argue that the neural-network model of *Bidirectional Phonetics and Phonology* by Boersma, Benders & Seinhorst (2013) provides a more realistic model of speech perception and diachronic change because it continuously updates the connections between auditory input and abstract phonological layer with each incoming event (gradual learning) without storing probabilistic knowledge. I will illustrate the workings and advantages of this model with the acquisition of phonotactic restrictions, more specifically, with a case of diachronic change in loanword adaptation. In Hong Kong Cantonese, new loans violate the former restriction on plosive-liquid onset clusters and the requirement for minimally bisyllabic words, see the loan doublet from English in (1) (Hamann & Li 2016):

- (1) a. cream [kejli:m] ‘bakery cream’ borrowed before 1945
 b. cream [kwhi:m] ‘facial cream’ borrowed after 1985

Younger speakers adapt English [kɹ] differently (1b) from the older generation (1a) due to their greater exposure to English, which is reflected in their acquired grammar.

References: • Boersma, P., T. Benders & K. Seinhorst. (2012). Neural network models of the phonology-phonetics interface. Ms., University of Amsterdam. • Hamann, S. & D.W.L. Li. (2016). Adaptation of English onset clusters across time in Hong Kong Cantonese: the role of the perception grammar. *Linguistics in Amsterdam* 9, 56–76. • Kirby, J.P. (2014). Acquisition of covert contrasts: An unsupervised learning approach. *Proc. 35th Conf. of Cognitive Science Society*, 776–781. • McMurray, B., R.N. Aslin & J.C. Toscano (2009). Statistical learning of phonetic categories: insights from a computational approach. *Developmental Science* 12, 369–378.

Ambiguity in Russian Verbal Prefixation System: From Lexical Semantics to Probability Theory

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
12:15–12:45
Raum: 17.92

Traditionally, one of the usages of the prefix *po-* is associated with some characteristic of an event being lower than the expected value. However, numerous corpora examples do not support inclusion of this meaning component into the interpretation of the prefix, e.g. because *po*-prefixed verbs can be modified by adverbials denoting a high degree.

I propose to use underspecified semantics and probabilistic pragmatic modelling to explain intuitions about the delimitative nature of the prefix *po-* without introducing restrictions that are not supported by the corpora examples. The prefix *po-* is analysed as making the event denoted by the derivational base bounded without providing concrete values of these boundaries: the initial and the final stages of the event are mapped to some (not specified) degrees on the scale that is used to measure the event. At the same time, almost all other verbal prefixes are more restrictive with respect to the identification of the initial and final stages of the event. When several prefixes with overlapping semantic contributions can be attached to the same derivational base, the derived verbs compete with each other and the *po*-prefixed verb acquires the observed attenuative inference.

To make the analysis computational, I consider formal semantic representations (in Frame Semantics as formalized by Kallmeyer and Osswald 2013) of various prefixed verbs and then pass the relevant data to a three-layered Rational Speech Act model (RSA, Goodman and Frank 2016) using WebPPL. As a result, I obtain predictions that align with the traditional view, but are more flexible, as the literal semantics remains underspecified and inferences can be cancelled in particular contexts.

References: • Filip, H. (2000). The quantization puzzle. In *Events as Grammatical Objects*, pages 3–60. CSLI Press, Stanford. • Goodman, N. D. & Frank, M. C. (2016). Pragmatic language interpretation as probabilistic inference. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*. • Kagan, O. (2015). *Scalarity in the Verbal Domain: The Case of Verbal Prefixation in Russian*. Cambridge University Press. • Kallmeyer, L. & Osswald, R. (2013). Syntax-driven semantic frame composition in lexicalized tree adjoining grammars. *Journal of Language Modelling*, 1(2), 267–330.

Vagueness, Approximation and the Maxim of Quality

Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
13:45–14:15
Raum: 17.92

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Fraee and Beaver (2010) have proposed that vagueness is rational under uncertainty. We give further elaboration of that idea, drawing specific attention to the relation between vagueness and the Gricean maxim of quality (Egré & Icard 2017).

Consider a situation in which a speaker could not count exactly how many people attended a party. Then there is no number n such that the speaker can truthfully and justifiably assert “there were n persons at the party”. For every value of n , either the sentence is going to be false, or it will be true without warrant. The speaker may, however, abide by Grice’s quality maxim if the language permits the expression of precise comparison and intervals, as in: “there were more than n people”, or “there were between n and m people”. The problem then is that intervals for which the speaker might be 100% confident to include the true value may be too large to be informative, this time in violation of the maxim of quantity.

On the other hand, if the speaker S is starting from her best guess of the actual number of people, then semantic vagueness guarantees truthfulness. Suppose the actual number of attendees at the party was 33 but the speaker’s best estimate is 50. By saying “around fifty people”, S can speak truly and justifiably, supposing “around n ” to be true of k if there is an interval centered around n that includes k . Semantically, there is always such an interval. Yet the utterance is non-vacuous. In effect, the speaker has in mind a particular probability distribution of values around 50. The hearer does not have access to that probability distribution, but should be in a position to infer that the speaker holds 50 to be more likely than other values. One way to derive this is to assume that “around n ” denotes the set of all intervals $[n - k, n + k]$, with a probability distribution on them, such that the probability of n is at least as high as the probability of the other values within each interval.

References: • Fraee, J. & Beaver, D. (2010). Vagueness is rational under uncertainty. In: M. Aloni et al. (eds.) *Logic, Language and Meaning*. LNCS. • Egré P. and Icard B. (2017). Lying and vagueness. J. Meibauer (ed.). *Oxford Handbook of Lying*.

A probabilistic approach to the generation of conditional speech acts

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Donnerstag,
08.03.2018
14:15–14:45
Raum: 17.92

Conditional speech acts (CSAs) are conditionals where the *if*-clause expresses the circumstances under which the consequent is in some sense discourse-relevant, and not a condition for the truth of that main clause. In a question answering dialogue setting, CSAs can be used as positive (1) or negative (2) answers to a polar question:

- (1) Is there a restaurant nearby? – If you enjoy eating out, there is an Italian restaurant around the corner.
- (2) Is there a metro station nearby? – If you prefer public transport, there is a bus stop nearby.

The implicatures triggered by positive and negative CSAs are different. While the answer in (1) suggests that the speaker assumes the questioner's preference for eating out is a motivation for the question, the answer in (2) implicates not only a motivation for the question but also that there is no metro station nearby and an alternative solution for the supposed underlying decision problem is going by bus.

In this talk, we will present a probabilistic approach to content determination in a question-answer system for the generation of positive and negative CSAs. We assume that CSAs are means to solve a decision problem the respondent presumes to the questioner. The decision to use a CSA *if*(p, q) as answer is driven by probabilistic relevance (Krzyżanowska et al. 2017). We show that if the relevance value exceeds some threshold, it is beneficial to use a CSA instead of an alternative answer without the information expressed in the *if*-clause. Our computational approach results in a decision tree with internal nodes associated with tests on conditional probabilities and/or expected utilities.

References: • Krzyżanowska, K.; Collins, P.J. & Hahn, U. (2017). Between a conditional's antecedent and its consequent: Discourse coherence vs. probabilistic relevance. *Cognition*, 164; 199–205.

New short words and compounds in English: Probabilities matter

Freitag,
09.03. 2018
11:45–12:45
Raum: 17.92

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Little is known about how new lexical roots come about even if, across the world's languages, this is something that has happened millions of times. It is hypothesized here that such a process must involve speakers' perception of frequencies of form and meaning and their pairing. This talk looks at new lexemes in English, in addition to the graphic behavior of compounds.

Raw data come from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) supplemented by the Google N-Grams corpus. Derived data include word frequencies, distances in form measured as edit (Levenshtein) distances, and semantic distances measured through frequencies of words occurring in the context of the target word, specifically by a metric similar to Jensen-Shannon.

It is found that (1) there is a tendency for new short words of a given decade to be more similar to new short words of recent decades than to words from decades that are temporally more remote, suggesting that the formation of lexemes obey principles of fashion; (2) successful new words tend to have a better linear correlation between semantic and phonological distance to other words in the lexicon than unsuccessful words, suggesting that the relation between sound and meaning is subtly non-arbitrary (cf. also Blasi et al. 2016, Dautriche et al. 2016); (3) the process of compounds moving from being written as separate word to being hyphenated to being written as unhyphenated single words shows regularities relating to the timing of the three stages and to frequencies of the forms, indicating the importance of speakers' memories of frequencies in language change.

References: • Blasi, D.E. et al. (2016). Sound-meaning association biases evidenced across thousands of languages. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA* 113, 10818–10823. • Dautriche et al. (2016). Word-form similarity increases with semantic similarity: An analysis of 100 languages. *Cognitive Sci* 1–21.

Probabilistic priming for situated interaction

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Freitag,
09.03. 2018
12:45–13:15
Raum: 17.92

The rich type system of probabilistic Type Theory with Records (TTR) (Cooper et al. 2015)) provides a lot of flexibility in modelling natural language semantics. Types can form dependencies and are *intensional* which means that a situation may be assigned more than one type. However, this flexibility (which is required for computational modelling of human language and cognition) comes with a cost when considering the assignment of types to records of situations. Each type assignment involves a probabilistic classification (yes/no) which means that an agent with n types must make n judgements/classifications of each situation. Agents have limited processing and memory resources and therefore an optimisation mechanism is required that allows them to prioritise what classifications to try first. This problem has been investigated in psychology as *attention*. The Load Theory (LT) (Lavie et al. 2004) distinguishes between *perceptual selection* or bottom-up attention (no conscious control and task independent) and *cognitive control* or top-down attention (conscious control and primed). Attention is a shared resource bound by the available resources and attention policy. We propose a probabilistic model for attentional priming of types/classifiers within the TTR framework that consists of two parts: (i) creation of thematic relations between cognitive types (locations, objects, relations and actions perceived visually or linguistically) as their probabilistic associations with states; (ii) priming mechanism for cognitive types based on perceptual and linguistic contexts. Important features of states and types include: (a) an agent may be in several states at the same time (making tea and talking about music), and (b) a type may be associated with more than one state. While an agent is in a state or states performing any additional type judgements associated with one of the states incrementally reduces its ambiguity of being in several states.

References: • R. Cooper, S. Dobnik, S. Lappin, & S. Larsson (2015). Probabilistic type theory and natural language semantics. *Linguistic Issues in Language Technology – LiLT*, 10(4):1–43, November 2015. • N. Lavie, A. Hirst, J. W. de Fockert, & E. Viding (2004). Load theory of selective attention and cognitive control. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 133(3):339–354, 2004.

AG16

Inferring implicature from production: Interactive experiments and a model

Freitag,
09.03.2018
13:15–14:15
Raum: 17.92

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We discuss a series of experiments on scalar implicature of complex sentences and explain the findings on the basis of a production model. A frequently discussed example is the sentence (A-E) ‘*Each girl found some of her marbles*’, for which it has been claimed that it potentially gives rise to the inference that each girl found some but not all of her marbles (Chierchia et al., 2012). There exist a variety of theoretical accounts of implicature in complex sentences with conflicting predictions (e.g. Chierchia et al., 2012; Sauerland, 2004; Franke, 2009; Benz, 2012; Potts et al., 2016). In the standard neo-Gricean theory, conversational implicature are part of communicated meaning (Levinson, 1983, Ch. 3, p. 131). This means that they are communicated as reliably as semantic meaning. Such a strong claim did, until now, have no support in the experimental literature (e.g. Geurts and Pouscoulous, 2009; Chemla and Spector, 2011). We present experimental results showing that embedded implicature can be reliably communicated in situations in which they are made relevant by an action selection task. The experiments provide a corpus of production and interpretation data of utterances composed of sentences of the form (X–Y) ‘*X of the girls found Y of her marbles*’ with X and Y chosen from quantifier phrases ‘*none*’, ‘*some*’, ‘*any*’, ‘*some but not all*’, ‘*some and possibly all*’, and ‘*all/each*’. The theoretical issue is then to explain which of these utterances can reliably communicate the state of the world and which cannot do this. We provide a model that is inspired by computational (Reiter and Dale, 2000) and cognitive models (Levelt, 1989) of language generation. It consists of several coding strategies that lead from (abstract representations) of visual input via message selection to utterance generation. The coding strategies in their entirety produce all sentences produced by experimental subjects. A subset of these strategies is shown to produce exactly those utterances that reliably communicate the state of the world.

Teil V.

Sektionenprogramm

Postersession der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Die Postervorstellung findet im EG des K2 (Keplerstraße 17) statt. Sie besteht aus drei Teilen:

Teil 1: Mittwoch, 07.03.2018, 15:45–16:30

Teil 2: Donnerstag, 08.03.2018, 10:30–11:15

Teil 3: Donnerstag, 08.03.2018, 12:45–13:45

Die Abstracts jedes Teils sind alphabetisch sortiert. Die ständige Ausstellung der Poster befindet sich im 1. UG des K2.

Teil 1: Mittwoch, 07.03.2018, 15:45–16:30

Pattern-based extraction of taxonomic relations from German forum data

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Pattern-based extraction of hypernyms and hyponyms has been used since Hearst's (1992) seminal work in applications for relation extraction (cf. e.g. Snow et al. 2005) or ontology construction (cf. Maynard et al. 2009). For German, Granitzer et al. 2009 presented a similar system. More recently, Zouaq et al. (2012) used pos-tagged, lemmatized and dependency-parsed data along with the pattern-based approach.

We analyze the performance of a refined pos-shape-based version of four Hearst-style hyperonymy patterns on German data from online forum texts (27 million words, domain of do-it-yourself instructions). We compare the output with that of patterns based on predicate-argument structures of German verbs of class membership (*gehören zu*, *zählen zu*).

We evaluate the approaches intrinsically (do the patterns find correct hypernym/hyponym structures?) and wrt the relevance of the result data for an ontological modelling of the domain. As we do not have a gold standard for the targeted relation type yet, only precision can be measured: we get 76% good pairs and over 90% of these are domain-relevant.

In a practical application, we combine these data with hyperonymy relations extracted from compounds and multiword patterns.

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Improving SMT-based Synonym Extraction across Word Classes by Distributional Reranking of Synonyms and Hypernyms

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Finding synonyms is an important task in Natural Language Processing (NLP), e.g., for the creation of thesauri (Lin et al., 2003), and in performing and evaluating automatic machine translation (Lavie and Denkowski, 2009). Our work aims to extract synonyms by making use of statistical machine translation (SMT) methods relying on multilingual parallel corpora, as first described by Bannard and Callison-Burch (2005). In a first step, word alignments obtained from a parallel corpus are used in order to translate German words into English pivots, which are then re-translated into German. Using this method, a number of synonym candidates is created and ranked according to a combination of translation and re-translation probabilities.

In a second step two distributional semantic measures are introduced in order to re-rank the synonym candidates. The first measure based on feature overlap (Weeds and Weir, 2003) tries to identify hypernymy between the targets and the synonym candidates, and ranks hypernyms lower in the candidate list. The second measure relies on the distributional similarity between the targets and the candidates, ranking semantically highly similar candidates higher in the list, as done previously by Wittmann et al. (2014).

A gold standard across word classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives) is created using the online synonym section of the German dictionary *DUDEN*. While none of the re-ranking methods significantly outperforms the original approach, a number of interesting observations are found. For example, a manual evaluation suggested that approx. 20% of the invalid synonyms could be regarded as valid.

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VerbCompoCor: A German Corpus with Compositionality Judgments for Verb-Dependent Pairs

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VerbCompoCor is a German corpus where verb-dependent relations are manually annotated with compositionality judgments. It includes 7,500 sentences that are taken from the German part of the PARSEME shared task corpus (Savary et al. 2017). Prior to annotation, we parsed the corpus using the MATE parser (Bohnet 2010) and then extracted verb-dependent relations following Scheible et al. (2013). For the manual annotation, we use the WebANNO interface (Eckart de Castilho et al. 2016). The automatically extracted verb-dependent relations are highlighted in WebANNO in order to facilitate and speed up the annotation process. Our annotators have to decide whether a relation at hand is valid (i.e. not a preprocessing error) and if so, which compositionality score to assign to the relation. We use a 6-value scale to express compositionality from 0 (completely compositional) to 5 (completely non-compositional) and provide the annotators with annotation guidelines to ensure coherent annotations. The guidelines are to a large extent adapted from PARSEME and formulated as a decision tree with multiple tests in order to determine if the present verb-dependent relation is fully compositional or not. Contrary to the annotation found in the PARSEME shared task corpus, which uses a linguistic taxonomy of multi-word expressions (light-verb constructions, idioms, inherently reflexive verbs and particle verbs), VerbCompoCor follows an empirically more neutral approach. The annotated corpus may be used to develop tools for the prediction of compositionality for verb-dependent relations, which in turn then may improve the performance of larger applications.

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Criteria for the Construction of Historical Corpora

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Recently, computational linguistics has developed an increasing interest in historical linguistics (Gulordava and Baroni 2011; Hamilton et al. 2016; Frermann and Lapata 2016; Schlechtweg et al. 2017). Traditional historical linguistics mostly works with a restricted amount of data, while computational linguistic methods can be applied to a large amount of data. There is, however, still the need for a balanced benchmark corpus (Frermann and Lapata 2016, p. 33). The data used for corpus-based and historical computational linguistic research needs to fulfill certain criteria.

In this study, a corpus was built to investigate types of semantic change in diachrony. The construction of the corpus is based on the hypothesis that text genre strongly influences the semantics of individual items. Therefore, there needs to be an even distribution of texts and tokens for each text genre over the time period under investigation. The corpus must be able to handle the following problems: (i), variation in orthography; (ii), regional variation; (iii), distribution of texts and tokens over time; (iv), distribution of texts and tokens for each text genre over time (Eckmann 2017).

The presentation will give an example of how a corpus can be constructed that fulfills the aforementioned criteria. Using German as sample language and the DTA (Deutsches Textarchiv deutschestextarchiv.de) as database, a corpus with ~10 Mio tokens was constructed to investigate several types of semantic change. It covers the time period from 1600 to 1900, i.e., the development from late Early New High German to Modern New High German (Eckmann 2017).

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Ein Tool zur nutzerfreundlichen Anwendung automatischer Rechtschreibfehleranalyse in frei geschriebenen Kindertexten

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Wie eine Studie von Siekmann (2015) gezeigt hat, bietet die individuelle Analyse von Rechtschreibfehlern in frei geschriebenen Texten eine gute Basis für die Förderung der Rechtschreibleistung von Kindern im Grundschulalter. Eine detaillierte Analyse und Kategorisierung jeder einzelnen Falschschreibung ist jedoch zeitaufwendig und im Schulalltag von Lehrenden kaum zu leisten.

Im Rahmen einer Korpusstudie, in der wir die Rechtschreibfehler in 1845 frei geschriebenen Kindertexten untersuchen, haben wir ein automatisches Rechtschreibfehler-Analyseverfahren entwickelt. Dieses kategorisiert Rechtschreibfehler und stellt zusätzlich weitere Informationen zu einem Fehler bereit, wie z. B. ob der Fehler die Aussprache des Wortes beeinträchtigt (wie in *<renen> [ɾe:nən] für <rennen> [ɾenən]) oder die richtige Schreibung von einem verwandten Wort abgeleitet werden könnte (z. B. <Hund> [hʊnt] vom Plural [hʊndə]). Diese Informationen können für ein präzises Feedback zu einer Fehlschreibung an den Schüler genutzt werden.

Im vorgestellten Prototypen einer nutzerfreundlichen Anwendung werden alle Fehler sowie mögliche, aber nicht gemachte Fehler einer Kategorie direkt im Wort angezeigt. Dies setzt eine präzise Lokalisierung und Kategorisierung der Fehler voraus, die mithilfe einer Phonem-, Silben- und Morphemanalyse durch den Webservice G2P des Bayerischen Archivs für Sprachsignale und eigener Verfahren erreicht wird.

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A Contextual Analysis of Concrete and Abstract Words

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In the ongoing debate about meaning representation in the human mind, the precise description and comparison of concrete and abstract words plays a key role. Barsalou & Wiemer-Hastings (2005) provided experimental evidence that concrete words are grounded in the sensory-motor system, while the meaning of abstract words is derived from the activation of concrete words related to them. According to the Distributional Hypothesis (Firth, 1957), similar linguistic contexts tend to imply similar meanings of words. Thus, we suggest to use distributional semantics to perform a detailed analysis of the contextual cues of concrete and abstract words.

Based on previous psycholinguistic evidence, we hypothesise that: 1) the contexts of both concrete and abstract words are mainly composed of concrete words; 2) concrete words occur in a limited set of distinct contexts while abstract words appear in a broader range of different contexts; 3) concrete words are easier to predict than abstract words, due to the greater contextual variability of abstract words. We evaluate these assumptions within three context studies based on the ENCOW14A corpus (Schäfer & Bildhauer, 2012) and concreteness ratings from Brysbaert et al. (2014).

Our studies show consistent differences in the contexts of concrete and abstract words. Concrete words primarily co-occur with other concrete words, and their contexts can be predicted with greater certainty than the contexts of abstract words. However, abstract words mainly co-occur with other abstract words, which challenges the grounding theory of cognition and requires further investigation.

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A code-switching corpus for Indonesian-German based on the web forum *kaskus.co.id*

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Conversational code switching (CS) is defined as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz 1982, 59). Intrasentential CS is characterized by “elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause.” (Myers-Scotton 1997, 3.4). CS is also observed on the subword level. The use of CS has been linguistically analyzed for its grammatical structure (e.g. Muysken 2000) as well as for its sociolinguistic implications (e.g. Grosjean 1982). It poses great challenges for many natural language processing applications such as parsing, machine translation, speech recognition, and information extraction. CS annotated corpora exist, e.g., for the language pairs Hindi-English (Vyas et al. 2014) and Turkish-German (Çetinoğlu & Çöltekin 2016).

In this poster, we present the InDeu corpus, the first CS corpus for Indonesian-German. The corpus was sampled and annotated for performing linguistic analyses. In a secondary step, it was semi-automatically converted to the format of the shared task of language identification in CS data. It comprises 586 posts from the subforum *Germany* of the Indonesian webforum *Kaskus.co.id* and contains 1384 manually annotated switches. We extended Muysken (2000)’s subclasses by our own more fine-grained CS tagset for linguistic analyses. Analyzing parts of speech showed that nouns were inserted most frequently, which confirms findings in other languages. Furthermore, the user status and location had an influence on the CS types.

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Automatic annotation of tense, mood and voice for English, French and German

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We present a rule-based system for automatic annotation of syntactic tense, mood and voice (TMV) for English, French and German in arbitrary texts (Ramm et al., 2017). The annotation rules are applied on verbal complexes (VCs) which are automatically extracted from Mate dependency parse trees (code.google.com/archive/p/mate-tools/). We consider both finite (e.g. ‘is saying’), as well as non-finite VCs (e.g. ‘to say’). The annotation rules make use of different types of information, i.e., lexical, lemma, POS and morphological features of the verbs in a VC. For example, given the German VC ‘seien beantwortet worden’, the applicable rule is the following: ‘VAFIN[pres/ind] VVPP VVPP[worden]’ → *past/konjunktiv/passive*. The amount of the rules for each of the considered languages depends on the number of the different morpho-syntactic patterns of the VCs they include. For instance, German has about 170 different VC patterns. The rules in our tool capture all of them ensuring not only high annotation recall, but high annotation precision as well.

In a combination with the Mate trees, the overall annotation accuracy is between 75-76%. The accuracy increases to 78-88% when gold parse trees are used as the underlying representation of the sentences which are to be annotated. Most of the errors are due to inaccurate morphological analysis of the finite verbs and erroneous VCs. Additionally, there are ambiguous VC patterns, such as the stative passive which presents the same configuration like some active tenses, (e.g., (DE) ‘ist/is gegangen/went’ → *past/indicative/active* vs. ‘ist/is geschrieben/written’ → *present/indicative/passive*). To distinguish between such constructions, additional resources such as verb lists were added to the system.

The annotation tool is open source(github.com/aniramm/tmv-annotator), and has an online demo (clarin09.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/tmv/index.html; thanks to André Blessing).

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German in Flux: Detecting Metaphoric Change via Word Entropy

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Recently, computational linguistics has shown an increasing interest in language change. This interest is focused on making semantic change measurable. However, even though different types of semantic change are well-known in historical linguistics, little effort has been made to distinguish between them. A very basic distinction is the one between *innovative meaning change*—e.g., German *brüten* ‘breed’ > ‘breed, brood over sth.’—and *reductive meaning change*—e.g., German *schinden* ‘to skin, torture’ > ‘to torture’ (cf. Koch 2016, pp. 24–27). Metaphoric meaning change is an important sub-process of innovative meaning change. Hence, a computational model of semantic change should be able to distinguish metaphoric change from other types of change. Such a model would be beneficial for historical linguistics, cognitive science and natural language processing.

We build an unsupervised and language-independent computational model which is able to distinguish metaphoric change from semantic stability (Schlechtweg et al. 2017). We apply *entropy* (a measure of uncertainty inherited from information theory) to a *Distributional Semantic Model*. In particular, we exploit the idea of *semantic generality* applied in hypernym detection, to detect metaphoric change. German serves as a sample language, since there is a rich historical corpus available covering a large time period. Nevertheless, our model is applicable to other languages requiring only minor adjustments. With the model, we introduce the first resource for evaluation of models of metaphoric change and propose an annotation process that is generalizable to the creation of gold standards for other types of semantic change.

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Towards a VOCA with Expressive Synthesised Speech

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We often wish to transmit our feelings as well as our attitude towards the interlocutor. Customary Voice Output Communication Aids (VOCAs) do not provide users with the option to dynamically change the emotional content of speech (Higginbotham 2010). So, VOCA users do not have the possibility to express emotions, such as pleasure, distress or irritation, vocally. The importance of expressive speech has been recognized, the topic is hardly addressed in research on Alternative and Augmentative Communication, yet (Pullin & Hennig 2015). The aim of our work is enhancing a VOCA with techniques for synthesis mimicing the expressive power of human speech. The EmotionTalker (ET) provides users with a GUI that allows them to input utterances and choose an appropriate emotional tone (neutral, angry, sad or happy) via specific buttons. We use the synthesiser CereVoice by CereProc Ltd. It employs a set of sub corpora to convey particular emotional states rather by different qualities of voice than by modification of speech using signal processing techniques (Aylett & Pidcock 2007). We conducted a first study and demonstrated ET to five VOCA users (4 female, 1 male) with cerebral palsy. Our users came up with social situations in which emotional speech would be desirable, such as having dinner or playing board games. The approach to convey emotions via voice quality appeared to be more promising than the manipulation of the speech signal (e.g. to increase the pitch as an indicator of happiness) which often resulted in comic-like speech. Despite of being only able to convey emotions in a rather subtle manner by using CereVoice, our users saw a great need to make use of a vocal channel (in addition to gestures and facial expressions).

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Teil 2: Donnerstag, 08.03.2018, 10:30–11:15

The Impact of Attention Mechanism, Context and Genre Information when Classifying Semantic Clause Types with Recurrent Neural Networks: A Linguistic Analysis

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Semantic Clause Types (SCT) such as States, Events or Generic Sentences are linguistic characterizations of aspectual properties. They can be distinguished by syntactic-semantic and contextual features and by their function within a text. Recent work on classifying SCT relies on feature-based classifiers (Friedrich et al. 2016). In this work, we frame this task in a recurrent neural network architecture. Those networks are fed with word representations which capture lexical, syntactic and semantic features. Our model is enhanced with attention (Rocktäschel et al. 2016) which allows to focus on specific words and enables linguistic insights. Since it has been shown that n-grams cluster in texts and that SCT and their n-grams differ among genres (cf. Friedrich/Pinkal 2015), we incorporate previous clauses, labels of previous clauses, and information about textual genres. We present experiments for English and German. Compared to the strong baseline provided by Friedrich et al. (2016), we achieve competitive performance and find that attention as well as context and genre information improve our model. The focus of this work is then on the detailed linguistic analysis of the impact of attention mechanism, context information and genre characteristics. NOTE: some of the material presented in this paper overlaps with Becker et al. 2017.

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Representing Slavic Aktionsarten in DRT with Boxer

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The notion of telicity of the predicate in Slavic languages is the property of the verb and not of the verbal phrase as in Germanic languages (Filip and Rothstein, 2006). Thus, the Slavic aktionsarten can be determined on the basis of the morphological structure of the verb, mostly relying on prefix contributions that have recently received novel scalar semantic treatment (Kagan 2015; Zinova 2017). We propose to extend the lexicon of the semantic parsing system BOXER (Bos 2015) in order to enable the parser to provide semantic representations of the Slavic aktionsarten. BOXER is currently being used in a number of linguistic projects involving semantic parsing, knowledge extraction, and textual entailment (Bos, 2015). Adding the representation of the aspectual information in Slavic languages would pave the way towards comparable linguistic tools for this language group.

Semantic representations in BOXER are based on Discourse Representation Theory (DRT) (Kamp and Reyle 1993). In order to model the Slavic aktionsarten in BOXER, we represent them using the scalar approach to semantics of Russian affixes (Kagan 2015; Zinova, 2017) in combination with λ -DRSs as operators for tenses, aspects and aktionsarten. We follow the proposal by Zinova (2017), since it allows to combine the semantics of the base verb with the aspectual information coming from the affixation. The analysis relies on the idea of a *scale* being selected as the *measure dimension* of the eventualities in order to be able to refer to different stages of the represented events.

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Authorship Verification and Dating of Latin Sources

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For historians, information on authorship and time of creation is of equal importance to the analysis of a source text as its content. This information, however, is not always available but often has to be inferred from the text. In our work, we present a system for the automatic detection of author and creation year of unknown Latin texts using stylometric cues. We will evaluate our system on data from the Corpus Corporum, a large corpus of Latin texts created between 50 BC and 1800 AD from more than 1,000 distinct authors and from different domains.

We approach the authorship assessment task as an authorship verification problem: Given a text by a known author we try to assess the probability that a new document is written by the same author using a similarity- based approach. Distortion (Stamatatos 2017) and eliding techniques (Hitschler et al. 2017) are tested that replace content words with different placeholders. For calculating the similarity between two documents we compare a simple geometric measure with a measure of similarity based on the *Impostors Method* (see Koppel and Winter 2014).

The dating task is approached as a regression problem where different cues are used that indicate the language stage for a given document, from syntactic changes over changes of word usage to orthographic changes. We evaluate our system in a ranking task, i.e. if the system correctly sorts a list of random document samples by year.

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Parsing German with Verb Subcat Frames

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We present here our ongoing work on using verb subcategorisation frames to improve neural dependency parsing for German. Recent years have seen great advances in syntactic parsing, employing neural network techniques and automatically learned features via embeddings. Those systems can be trained to parse any language, and parsing accuracy for English is high (Dozat & Manning 2017). Results for parsing languages other than English, however, are often substantially lower since those universal parsing systems do not pay attention to the characteristics of each specific language. German, for instance, has a much richer morphology than English, combined with a semi-free word order and case syncretism. The combination of those characteristics makes parsing a challenging task and results in higher errors rates especially for core verbal arguments. In this work, we try to improve a neural parser by pruning possible analyses based on subcat frame information.

We use the Subcat Frame Database (Scheible et al. 2013) and subcat frames extracted from the Tüba-D/Z corpus (Hinrichs et al. 2004) to build a neural classifier that predicts the frame for each verb in the sentence. Our baseline parser is a reimplementation of the *parsing as head selection* system (Zhang et al. 2017), a two-stage parser that builds an unlabelled tree for each sentence by selecting the most probable head for each word, and then assigns the dependency labels. We will integrate the frame classifier into the parsing system via *joint learning* or *multi-task learning* and report on the success of this approach.

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Cutter – a Universal Multilingual Tokenizer

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We present Cutter, a rule-based tokenizer currently available for 17 languages. The rules, which are derived from annotation guidelines for human annotators, overlap to a great extent and are thus mainly language-independent. Both this property as well as the modular architecture of our rule system and our test-driven development approach render it possible to easily adapt the tokenizer to other languages and domains, genres or historical text variants, which do still not dispose of reasonable tokenization guidelines and/or tokenizing tools. Cutter can also be used as a web service and thus easily be integrated into any NLP pipeline.

Cutter consists of the two tools Cover and Knife, which are executed consecutively. Given at least one abbreviation list, Cover looks for potential abbreviations in the input text and subsequently looks them up in the abbreviation list. If the potential abbreviation is found in the list, it is isolated and exempted from further tokenization; abbreviations which can also be normal words are not being isolated and are thus subject to the applied rules. In a second step, Knife performs the actual tokenization by applying the rules in the order provided and thereby identifying tokens by patterns: Once a pattern matched a token, the whole input is split into token and non-token parts. Subsequently, the same patterns are applied to the non-token parts; when no further pattern is applicable, the leaves of the token tree correspond to the token sequence. The rules are organized in sets by 10 layers, from the most specific to the most general ones, thereby interweaving common with language-dependent rules.

A collection of unit tests covering most tokenization rules assures that new rules in form of token defining patterns do not conflict with existing ones, and thus guarantees consistency.

Rule-based machine-translation between Finnish and German

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With this poster I present a work-in-progress rule-based machine translation between German and Finnish based on the Apertium (wiki.apertium.org) machine translation system (Forcada et al. 2011). The system is composed of canonical NLP components for rule-based systems: morphological analysis, chunking, lexical selection, chunk re-ordering and structural translation and morphological generation. One of the points that I want to highlight in this poster is the workflow and the supporting infrastructure for it; unlike a typical coursework or research project, this machine translation has been modeled as a *lexicon and grammar engineering while language learning* type of project. On software engineering side I have developed tools to extend mono- and bilingual lexicons while learning the OOV words (notably, words that are OOV for RBMT are new words for the language learner) in texts, and I am in process to extend these tools for the grammar learning—structural transfer interaction. I have also modernised the build infrastructure from sf.net SVN to github with full support of continuous integration and automatic testing, providing an excellent platform for language learners to extend the lexicons and grammars without fear of breaking other existing systems that depend on these lexicons and grammars.

Apertium systems are modular pipelines combining basic NLP tools with machine translation specific modules. The three lexical modules that are the most important for the system development and language learning are the morphological analysers and the lexical translation, which correspond the vocabulary of the learner/MT system. The resources for Finnish and German morphological analysis were available at the start of the project, but to our knowledge, this is the first free and open source Finnish-German bilingual resource of its kind. For the other parts of the pipeline that are more specific to apertium, such as chunking (shallow syntax parsing), re-ordering and transfer rules.

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What Coreference Chains Tell about Experimental Groups in (Pre-)Clinical Trials

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NLP techniques are increasingly used for literature-based knowledge discovery from scientific publications in technical domains such as biomedicine (Henry & McInnes 2017). In the BMBF-funded project PSINK (www.psink.de), we aim at automatically processing publications reporting the outcomes of pre-clinical experiments in the spinal cord injury domain in order to extract key parameters that are mandatory for assessing the translation potential of pre-clinical trials into clinical therapy concepts. As the main outcomes of pre-clinical trials are often derived from comparisons of treatments or interventions in different experimental groups (Brazda et al. 2017), an important sub-problem concerns the recognition of the experimental groups involved. We argue that, in order to capture them both at mention and reference level, the task should be framed as a coreference resolution problem.

In this work, we evaluate the potential of using state-of-the-art coreference resolution (Clark & Manning 2015) off the shelf for experimental group detection. We analyze whether the coreference chains produced can be reliably linked to ground-truth experimental groups in an annotated clinical trials corpus (Summerscales et al. 2011). Our evaluation addresses aspects of correctness and completeness of predicted experimental groups at mention and reference level (the latter being largely neglected in related previous work (Ferracane et al. 2016)).

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Supporting the Cognitive Process in Annotation Tasks

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Annotation tools typically use the common text analysis pipeline where (i) tokenization takes place, (ii) End-of-Sentences are detected, (iii) Part-of-Speech (POS) tags are assigned, and (iv) syntactic annotations are applied. But this does not work for non-standard data where rules or pre-trained models are not yet available for all steps, and boundaries for syntactic constructions are fluid. When annotating historical corpora, the previously mentioned sequence of steps has to be done manually in this strict order.

Therefore, we present an annotation tool that is guided by the cognitive annotation process that steps back from this pipeline. The need for such a tool showed up in our project InterGramm where we investigate Middle Low German (MLG) on morphological and syntactic level. We started our annotation task by using CorA (Bollmann et al., 2014), an established tool for historical data. Unfortunately, it does not support syntactic annotations, which we need to trace changing grammar rules from the 13th to 17th century. So we extended CorA, capturing uncertainties and ambiguities as well (Seemann et al., 2017). Experience has shown that being bound to start on token level before aggregating token sequences and aligning POS as well as construction tags appears to be difficult for human annotators. Naturally, linguists start with identifying syntactic patterns, then assign POS tags according to the corresponding context and decide during this process how many tokens belong to one lexeme. Furthermore, they prefer annotating in the direction of reading because it is easier to spot compound lexemes or syntactic constructions. Thus, we developed a new annotation tool with pattern learning support providing the annotators with suggestions inferred from previously studied MLG texts.

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Neural Machine Translation for Literary Texts

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Rich vocabulary, variable domain (including direct speech) and a larger set of syntactic constructions are specific to literary text (van Cranenburgh & Bod 2017). These features should be preserved within translation as they form the reading experience. Statistical Machine Translation (SMT) approaches performed poorly on these specific features (e.g. Toral & Way 2015). On standard data, Neural Machine Translation (NMT) outperforms SMT systems in terms of fluency, syntax, word choice and the handling of rare words (e.g. Koehn & Knowles 2017). We present first experiments of NMT for literary texts comparing the performance of the Edinburgh NMT system (Sennrich et al. 2016) with the SMT system Moses (Koehn et al. 2007). The systems were trained with (i) in-domain data only, or (ii) in-domain data complemented with a larger set of out-of-domain data. For the SMT system we added monolingual data to generate the language model. We found that out-of-domain data did not bring any improvements and that the NMT system could not outperform the SMT system.

In contrast to results in related work, the sentence length did not affect the score of the NMT system. Our manual analysis also showed (based on Popović et al. 2013) that the NMT system could not produce a better word choice which results in a fluent but often meaningless output. Confirming previous results, the SMT system often produced a disfluent output—due to more morphological and syntactical errors, but it made better lexical choices. To improve the results, we need a larger parallel literary dataset.

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A Tool for Error Detection in Automatically Annotated Latin Text

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Many projects in the Digital Humanities rely on automatic NLP tools to annotate their data as a basis for further research. The quality of the automatic annotations, however, is not always good enough while human post-processing is often too costly and thus not available to most projects. What we need is a cheap and yet efficient way to detect errors in automatically annotated text so that they can be corrected by human annotators without proof-reading the whole corpus.

We present such a method and test it on the task of finding parts-of-speech errors in automatically annotated medieval Latin text. The data we use comes from the Corpus Thomisticum (Bamman et al. 2007) which contains texts by Thomas Aquinas and contemporary authors, manually tagged for POS. We first train 7 freely available POS taggers on the data to obtain the automatic predictions. The tagging accuracy of the individual taggers ranges between 92.4-96.8%, with an average accuracy of 94.8%. Then we use a Bayesian Inference model to compute the posterior entropies for the taggers' predictions, which can be interpreted as the confidence of the model in the predictions (Hovy et al. 2007). We use these scores to select instances in an active learning framework and collect human judgements for the selected instances. These judgements are then fed back to the model, and the parameters are updated (Rehbein and Ruppenhofer 2017).

We show that using feedback from active learning to guide the Bayesian Inference model results in high precision and recall for error detection in automatic annotations, thus reducing the time and effort needed for manual error correction, which makes the tool a valuable assistant for DH projects. Our approach is not restricted to POS annotations but can also be applied to other classification tasks, such as Named Entity Recognition.

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Datenmanagement – Gegenstand und Dienst der Computerlinguistik

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Datenmanagement wird durch die Forschungsförderungsorganisationen (etwa in Horizon 2020 der EU, die Allianz der deutschen Wissenschaftsorganisationen oder in DFG geförderten Projekten) mehr und mehr Teil der Forschungslandschaft. Für die Computerlinguistik ist das Forschungsdatenmanagement aber auch Teil des Forschungsgebietes: Datenmodellierung und Transformation für die nachhaltige Datenspeicherung gehören in den Bereich der Texttechnologie und Textlinguistik, ebenso die Modellierung der beschreibenden Daten zu Datensätzen.

Die Anreicherungen der Metadaten etwa durch die Erkennung der Sprache in einem Datensatz können als Gegenstand der automatischen Sprachverarbeitung gesehen werden, die Erstellung von beschreibenden Datenkategorien und deren Definition dagegen als angewandte Lexikographie. Gleichzeitig dienen die Forschungsdaten und Metadaten als Grundlage für Fragestellungen der semantischen Netze und damit dem Forschungsgebiet der Linked Data.

Die FAIR-Prinzipien als Grundphilosophie für das wissenschaftliche Datenmanagement setzen für sprachliche Inhalte voraus, dass Werkzeuge zur Suche und zur Weiterverarbeitung zur Verfügung stehen, durch die Forschungsdaten aufgefunden, zugänglich, interoperabel und nachnutzbar werden. Forschungsinfrastrukturen wie CLARIN-D (siehe Hinrichs & Trippel, 2017) haben daher neben einem Servicecharakter für die Linguistik einen starken Forschungsschwerpunkt in der Computerlinguistik. Auf dem Poster werden wir am Beispiel von CLARIN zentralen Werkzeugen und Diensten im Datenmanagement mit (computer-) linguistischen Methoden und Ansätzen darstellen.

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Storing and Visualizing Semantic Annotation for Treebank Applications

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Introduction: In this poster we present ongoing work on an application for storing and visualizing semantically annotated treebanks. In particular we focus on the ParGram treebanks available via the INESS infrastructure. These treebanks together form a parallel corpus that is parsed syntactically in terms of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). A part of these treebanks is additionally annotated with semantic information, however, there is no tool yet available to store and work with these semantically marked up sentences. To remedy this situation and make semantic annotation of treebanks more accessible, we provide an application that allows for: storage, visualization, comparison, search and modification of semantically annotated structures.

The system: The core functionality of the application is specifically tailored towards semantically annotated LFG treebanks. The underlying annotation scheme proposes a modular representation of syntax and semantics and provides mapping principles between the two modules. The application allows you to modify both the mapping principles and the semantic features. Thereby, it checks if the changes made in one part of the treebank are consistent with the annotation of the complete treebank, i.e. if the proposed mapping principles from syntax to semantics remain sound throughout the treebank. Thus, it is capable of testing whether automated annotation is viable based on the given mapping principles.

Applications: The system presented here may be used for research on semantic mark-up within a language and in different languages. The main functionality lies in storing and visualizing semantic information in combination with existing syntactic resources as well as the possibility to explore the syntax/semantics interface.

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Teil 3: Donnerstag, 08.03.2018, 12:45 – 13:45

A stand-off XML-TEI representation of reference annotation

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In this poster, we present an XML-TEI conformant stand-off representation of reference in discourse, building on the seminal work carried out in the MATE project (Poesio, Bruneseaux & Romary 1999) and the earlier proposal on a reference annotation framework in Salmon-Alt & Romary (2005).

We make a three-way distinction between markables (the referring expressions), discourse entities (referents in the textual or extra-textual world), and links (relations that hold between referents, e.g., part-whole). Our approach differs from previous suggestions in that (i) inherent properties of the referent itself (e.g., animacy) are disentangled from the expressions used to refer to that referent, (ii) existing annotations from other layers such as morphosyntax are cleanly separated from the annotation of reference, but can be combined in queries and (iii) our proposal is integrated into the larger structure of existing TEI-ISO standards, thereby allowing for compatibility with existing TEI-encoded corpora and data sustainability.

The workflow of adding reference annotations to an existing corpus will be demonstrated with concrete examples from ongoing work in the SFB1252 (subprojects C01 and INF), where this representation of reference is the backbone for the annotation of (sentence) topic chains in dialogue data and for queries of topics in various grammatical constructions.

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Depictives in English: An LTAG approach

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In this poster, we explore different ways to account for the peculiarities of depictive secondary predication in English, which we think can be characterized as long-distance modification. The term SECONDARY PREDICATE refers to a typically sentence final, adjectival element that predicates one of the (main) verbal predicate's arguments, which we will refer to as the TARGET (see, e.g., Winkler 1997; Pykkänen 2002; Müller 2002; Geuder 2004). A depictive and its target, typically the subject or direct object of a verbal phrase, do not form a contiguous constituent. Instead, the depictive attaches to the verbal domain that also embeds the target phrase. This sibling configuration, together with the constrained flexibility in choosing a target, obviously poses a challenge to the syntax-semantics interface. We tackle this challenge within the framework of Lexicalized Tree-Adjoining Grammar (LTAG, Joshi and Schabes 1997; Abeillé and Rambow 2000) employing the syntax-semantics interface of Kallmeyer and Osswald (2013) where syntactic nodes are enriched with interface features and the semantic representations consist of semantic frames. We compare three possible approaches and eventually favor a rather semantic approach that also allows for a more principled view in terms of the ACTOR-UNDERGOER distinction introduced in Van Valin (2005). Our analysis predicts that only the verbal arguments which are the respective lowest and highest entries in the ACTOR-UNDERGOER hierarchy can act as targets for a depictive.

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The Saar Web ANnotation (SWAN) System 2.0

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We present release 2.0 of SWAN, the Saar Web ANnotation system (Gühring et al., 2016), an easy-to use web-based system for manual annotation of text documents. SWAN is optimized for annotator usability and well-suited for various discourse annotation tasks.

We have developed an editor that is responsive even for arbitrarily large documents due to dynamic loading and rendering. SWAN provides for easy and quick selection of spans, as well as creating links between annotations. Easily changing the extent of a span annotation is a novel feature developed specifically for our discourse annotation use cases.

A graph-based visualization box supports the user by providing both an overview of the existing annotations and a navigation option through the text. The graph structure of the annotations is shown next to the text. When selecting an annotation either in the text or in the graph, annotations are highlighted correspondingly.

In addition, SWAN comes with a powerful admin and project management view, which provides for defining annotation schemes, managing users and tracking the progress of annotation projects. Release 2.0 includes several new features primarily improving the management of projects. Upload of exported projects is now possible. Creation of annotation schemes has been simplified by adding a wizard which guides the user through the necessary steps. Character-based tokenization for logographic scripts like Chinese has been implemented. Release 2.0 also includes performance improvements and several bugs fixes.

SWAN is based on JEE technology and compatible with several web browsers. A demo installation and the code are publicly available (swan.coli.uni-saarland.de; github.com/annefried/swan)

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Linguistik Portal and Linked Open Data: Ontological Modeling of Linguistic Terminology

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The Linguistik portal (www.linguistik.de) is a hub for linguistically relevant scientific information. Recently, a connection between the portal and the Linguistic Linked Open Data (LLOD) cloud has been established and a new LLOD-based search function has been developed (Chiarcos et al. 2016).

Linguistic terminology plays an important role for the implementation: The thesaurus of the Bibliography of Linguistic Literature (BLL Thesaurus) serves as a connecting point. Links between the BLL Thesaurus and terminological repositories in the cloud provide the basis of the LLOD search. Since valid links can be established only if specific formal and conceptual requirements are met, the BLL Thesaurus has to undergo an ontological re-modeling.

Based on an automated SKOS conversion, a full-fledged OWL model is being manually developed and annotated. The thesaurus branches Syntax and Morphology have already been modeled and linked to the Reference Model of the Ontologies of Linguistic Annotations OLia (Chiarcos & Sukhareva 2015). We are working currently on the ontological modeling of the language-related subject terms and their mapping to appropriate LLOD vocabularies.

We demonstrate how the resulting multiple layers of interlinked ontologies facilitate conceptual interoperability between otherwise heterogeneous language resources.

References: • Chiarcos, C., Fäth, C., Renner-Westermann, H., Abromeit, F., Dimitrova, V. (2016). Lin|gu|is|tik: Building the Linguist's Pathway to Bibliographies, Libraries, Language Resources and Lined Data. In: *Proceedings of LREC2016*, 4463–4471 • Chiarcos, C. & M. Sukhareva (2015). OLia – Ontologies of Linguistic Annotation. *Semantic Web Journal* 6(4), 379–386.

Das grammatische Informationssystem GRAMMIS als Web-Anwendung und App

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Seit Mitte der 1990er Jahre wird am Institut für deutsche Sprache (IDS) erforscht, wie der hochkomplexe Gegenstandsbereich „Grammatik“ unter Ausnutzung digitaler Sprachressourcen und hypertextueller Navigationsstrukturen gleichermaßen wissenschaftlich fundiert und anschaulich vermittelt werden kann. Das grammatische Online-Informationssystem GRAMMIS (Schneider/Schwinn 2014) wendet sich nicht allein an Forscher und die interessierte Öffentlichkeit in Deutschland, sondern an Germanisten und Deutschlernende in der ganzen Welt. Gegenstand ist die ausführliche wissenschaftliche Beschreibung der grammatischen Strukturen des Deutschen aus vielfältigen Perspektiven. Die funktionale Ausrichtung des Angebots, das sich an Zielgruppen mit zum Teil stark divergierenden Bedürfnissen wendet, ermöglicht differenzierte Zugriffs- und Nutzungsformen: (a) das gezielte Nachschlagen und Nachprüfen bestimmter Formen, Gebrauchsweisen oder Definitionen, (b) die Suche nach präzisen und eingehenden Kommentaren zu grammatischen und pragmatischen Funktionen, sowie (c) das Zusammenstellen einschlägiger Literatur.

Durch die extreme Diversifizierung der für den Online-Zugang nutzbaren Hardware ergeben sich mannigfaltige mediale Anforderungen. Um diesen Rechnung zu tragen, wurde der Internetauftritt konsequent überarbeitet und responsiv gestaltet. Eine zentrale Bedeutung kommt dabei der konsistenten, terminologieübergreifenden Vernetzung von inhaltlichen Modulen unter Nutzung einer onomasiologisch konzipierten Terminologiedatenbank zu.

References: • Schneider, R. & Schwinn, H. (2014). Hypertext, Wissensnetz und Datenbank: Die Web-Informationssysteme grammis und ProGr@mm. In: *Ansichten und Einsichten. 50 Jahre Institut für Deutsche Sprache*. IDS Mannheim, 337–346.

Information Sources in Automatic Meaning Assessment of Reading Comprehension Questions

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In CL, automatic meaning assessment of reading comprehension questions is an active field of research. One approach pursued are alignment-based systems, such as the CoMiC System (Meurers et al. 2011): linguistic units of an answer and its predefined target answer are aligned. The system then classifies answers as correct or incorrect based on number and type of alignments, using a supervised machine learning setup. As shown in Ziai et al. (2012), manually specified target answers support alignment-based evaluation of answers with high accuracy. We here explore whether it is possible to identify the information the question asks about directly in the reading text, and whether these information sources can be used in content assessment as a replacement for the teacher provided target answers.

We set up a crowd-sourcing study in which crowd workers, presented with a text and a reading comprehension question from the CREG corpus, marked up to five sentences as information sources. To test whether these information sources can replace the manually specified target answers, we compared the classification accuracy of the CoMiC system based on information sources with the accuracy based on target answers: the accuracy based on information sources is only slightly below the one based on target answers. Next, we identified those parts of the information sources that really contribute to answering the question. Based on Ziai & Meurers (2014), we performed manual focus annotation in the information sources. Content assessment of answers based only on the focused parts of the information sources significantly improved the classification accuracy which is now close to the classification accuracy reached with target answers.

References: • Meurers, D., R. Ziai, N. Ott & S. Bailey (2011): Integrating parallel analysis modules to evaluate the meaning of answers to reading comprehension questions. *IJCELL. Special Issue on Automatic Free-text Evaluation* 21(4). 355–369. • Ziai, R. & D. Meurers (2014): Focus annotation in reading comprehension data. In *Proceedings of LAW VIII*, 159–168. Dublin: ACL. • Ziai, R., N. Ott & D. Meurers (2012): Short answer assessment: Establishing links between research strands. In *Proceedings of BEA-7 at NAACL-HLT 2012*, 190–200. Montreal.

Statistical Methods for Identifying and Linking Linguistic Terminology

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Terminological vocabularies play a central role in the organization and retrieval of scientific texts. But their compilation is often rather cumbersome. This seems especially true for long-established scientific fields with various theoretical and historical branches, where the use of terminology within documents from different origins is sometimes far from being consistent.

A manual compilation and organization of key terms for a certain scientific domain is time consuming and bound to be subjective. That is why recent developments in the context of Natural Language Processing (NLP) and Digital Humanities (DH) automate the finding – and sometimes even the rough classification – through statistical and linguistic. Against this background, we present a novel approach for the computation of a terminological knowledge base. Our data basis is the grammatical online information system GRAMMIS (Schneider/Schwinn 2014): a highly popular specialist hypertext resource that brings together text-oriented, lexicographical, and bibliographic information about German grammar. We combine information from these semantic markups with linguistic and statistical methods to extract grammatical terminology (Suchowolec et al. 2017). We compare the precision and recall performance of an array of well-established statistical methods (i.a. Weirdness, PageRank and C-value) against a human annotated standard.

References: • Schneider, R./Schwinn, H. (2014). Hypertext, Wissensnetz und Datenbank: Die Web-Informationssysteme grammis und ProGr@mm. In: *Ansichten und Einsichten. 50 Jahre Institut für Deutsche Sprache*. IDS Mannheim, 337–346. • Suchowolec, K./Lang, C./ Schneider, R./ Schwinn, H. (2017). Shifting Complexity from Text to Data Model. Adding Machine-Oriented Features to a Human-Oriented Terminology Resource. In: *Language, Data, and Knowledge. Lecture Notes in Artificial Intelligence*. Springer International Publishing, 203–212

Hungarian determiners from a computational linguistic point of view

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In this paper, we attempt to describe an algorithm to handle determiners in Hungarian sentences within the framework of a psycholinguistically motivated parsing system (*AnaGrammar*, Prószékéy-Indig 2005).

We collected a list of determiners and the morphological annotation of these words from our corpus (Pázmány Corpus, Endrédy 2016). We distinguished two types of determiners: the ones already annotated as determiners (definite articles and three archaic words) and the ones tagged as pronouns (or numerals). In the current state of *AnaGrammar*, the feature DET is a supply, and every case ending releases a demand, looking for a DET. If there is not any, the demand is fulfilled with default mechanisms. This method works well with articles as they bear the feature DET in their annotation. However, it is not working with other determiners, as they are simply tagged as PRON (pronoun), NUM (numeral) etc. This is the problem needed to be solved: how can we manage this kind of determiners to make them able to be a supply demanded by case endings of noun phrases; and in the same time, keep their ability to be subjects, objects etc. of a verb (which is not a feature of the members of the other group of determiners). To resolve this contradiction, we suggest that these tokens should, later on, be annotated based on their original part-of-speech; nevertheless, to make them able to act as determiners, namely to provide a supply being able to fulfill a demand, an extra DET feature should be added to their annotation.

After implementing the algorithm and extending the annotation of the determiners, we shall be able to handle a great amount of noun phrases correctly, which may lead to a better performance of *AnaGrammar*.

References: • Prószékéy, G. and Indig, B. (2015). Magyar szövegek pszicholingvisztikai indítatású elemzése számítógéppel [Psycholinguistically motivated parsing of Hungarian texts]. *Alkalmazott nyelvtudomány* 15, 39–44 (Original document in Hungarian). • Endrédy, I. (2016). Nyelvtechnológiai algoritmusok korpuszok automatikus építéséhez és pontosabb feldolgozásukhoz [Language technology algorithms for automatic corpus building and more precise data processing]. PhD dissertation. PPKE-ITK (Original document in Hungarian).

Capabilities and Costs of Running NLP Pipelines on Big Data Resources in Service-Oriented Architectures

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Natural Language Processing (NLP) is tending to analyze and to rely on the massive information which can be extracted from increasing input data (Boyd, D). Also the usage of tool chains in Service Oriented Architectures (SOAs) is an ongoing topic which gains more and more interest by NLP researchers and developers.

The implicit assumption of lack of reliable information about technical costs of executing processes - the amount of resources that are required to complete a NLP task in an acceptable time span - causes that most of the available Web-based NLP tool chains are hardly able to process "Big Data". In this contribution, we describe how both topics can be merged to combine a user-friendly SOA processing pipeline in NLP and Big Data technology. The final aim is to support flexible pipeline configuration with the goal to provide realistic run time estimations.

As the first step a variety of typical NLP tasks, including sentence segmentation, pattern-based text cleaning, tokenizing and language identification were implemented using Apache Spark (Karau, H. et al.) in a distributed and scalable environment, Hadoop. Using this approach, we could decrease the run times in comparison with a non-distributed implementation with comparable hardware configuration. In the second step (currently in progress) this back-end will be connected with the NLP processing environment WebLicht (Hinrichs, E.W. et al.) to allow the users to access these new services. Based on the real-world data the existing run time profiles will be continuously improved to allow realistic estimations of run times based on a variety of possible resource configurations. This will provide the end users a more transparent view on SOA environments, a more realistic view on actual costs of used services and helps them to make convenient decisions considering research endeavors and temporal constraints.

References: • Boyd, D. et al. (2012). Critical Questions for Big Data. *Information, Communication & Society* 15, 662–679. • Hinrichs, E.W. et al. (2010). WebLicht: Web-Based LRT Services for German. *ACL 2010 System Demonstrations*, 25–29. • Karau, H. et al. (2014). *Learning Spark: Lightning Fast Big Data Analytics*. O'Reilly Media.

DepELL: A Dependency Parser for Hungarian Pronoun-ellipses

Noémi Vadász

Pázmány Péter Catholic University

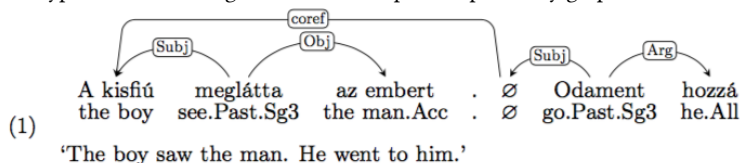
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This paper presents how DEPELL – a rule-based dependency parser – resolves the coreference relationship between an overt or covert **personal** or **possessive pronoun**, a **reflexive** or **reciprocal pronoun** and its antecedent.

The design of the parser is inspired by the *supply-and-demand* framework of ANAGRAMMA (Prósztékéky-Indig, 2005). The output of ANAGRAMMA is a *dependency graph with different types of edges* including coreference edge.

Since in Hungarian the person and number of the subject and the object are calculable from the inflection of the finite verb, and the person and number of the possessor are calculable from the inflection of the possessed, the personal and possessive pronouns can be dropped from the sentence. Pronominalization and the use of zero pronouns are run by an underlying rule-system which enables us to reveal the anaphora dependencies and referential identities.

The output of DEPELL is a dependency graph with two types of directed edges: (1) argument edge between the verbal element and its arguments – with *Subj* label for the subject, *Obj* label for the object and *Arg* label for other arguments – and (2) coreference edge with *coref* label between the pronoun and its antecedent. Example (1) shows the two types of directed edges which make up the dependency graph.



References: • Prósztékéky, G. and Indig, B. (2015). Magyar szövegek pszicholingvisztikai indítatású elemzése számítógéppel [Psycholinguistically motivated parsing of Hungarian texts]. *Alkalmazott nyelvtudomány* 15, 39–44 (Original document in Hungarian). • Zsibrita, J., Vincze, V. and Farkas, R. (2013). Magyarlan: A Toolkit for Morphological and Dependency Parsing of Hungarian *Proceedings of RANLP 2013*. 763–771.

Tutorium der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Visual Analytics for Linguistics

Lecturers: Miriam Butt, Menna El-Assady & Annette Hautli-Janisz

Universität Konstanz

miriam.butt@uni-konstanz.de

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018, 10:00–17:00, Raum: 11.42

The aim of this course is to provide an introduction to the emerging field of the visualization of linguistic information (LingVis). LingVis combines techniques developed in the fields of Information Visualization (InfoVis) and Visual Analytics with methodology and analyses from theoretical and computational linguistics. Besides standard visualization techniques such as bar charts, scatterplots or line charts, a large number of advanced novel methods have been developed. Prominent examples are treemaps, pixel displays, sunburst visualizations and glyphs of varying complexity. We present concrete use cases of LingVis for synchronic and diachronic linguistic questions, particularly showcasing our recent work on political argumentation within the VisArgue project (visargue.inf.uni-konstanz.de) and the new platform HistoBankVis (subva.dbvis.de/histobankvis-v1.0/#/) for working with diachronic treebanks. A part of the course will include a hands-on session in which students can experiment with pre-prepared data sets and freely accessible LingVis software in order to investigate how complex linguistic questions can profit from visual analysis.

The course will build on a similar course held in 2016 at the DGfS by Miriam Butt and Dominik Sacha, see <http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/home/butt/main/material/lingvis/>

Expected level and prerequisites

Introductory. Basic knowledge of linguistics is required. Elementary programming experience will be helpful but is not a priori required.

There will be no extra fee for participants of the 40th Annual Meeting of the DGfS. For organizational reasons, the number of participants is limited, and people interested in participating are asked to register for the course as part of the overall registration for the Annual Meeting.

Doktorandenforum

Standardsprache vs. Dialekte - Gesprochene Sprache als Untersuchungsgegenstand für die Linguistik

Dozentin: Alexandra Rehn

Universität Konstanz

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018, 13:00–17:00, Raum: 11.32

Sprachwissenschaftliche Arbeiten beruhen notwendigerweise auf Sprachdaten. In der philologisch-orientierten germanistischen Linguistik ist dies häufig beschränkt auf die Standardvarietät; einer normierten Varietät, die sich historisch aus unterschiedlichen Dialekten speist. Wir werden der Frage nachgehen, ob als Gegenstand der Linguistik – zumindest einer, die sich als Ziel setzt, die menschliche Sprachfähigkeit zu erklären – nicht eher die gewachsenen Dialekte bzw. die tatsächlich gebrauchte (Umgangs-)Sprache geeignet sind. Diese wiederum kontrastiv zum Standarddeutschen zu betrachten, kann wertvolle Hinweise auf die Einordnung des Standarddeutschen als deutsche Varietät liefern und die Sprachbeschreibung und Theoriebildung erheblich vorantreiben. Neben theoretischem Wissen um die Sprachvarietäten des Deutschen erfordert die empirische Arbeit mit gesprochener Sprache auch ganz praktische Kenntnisse. Im Methodenteil des Doktorandenforums wird den Doktoranden daher die Erhebung und der Umgang mit (auch großen) dialektalen Datenmengen näher gebracht.

ReferentInnen

Als ReferentInnen für kurze Fallbeispiele aus diesem Bereich werden:

- **Ellen Brandner** (Stuttgart) aus dem [Projekt SynAlm](#) berichten und
- **Alassane Kiemtoré** (Stuttgart) Erkenntnisse aus seiner Forschung zu einer bisher wenig beschriebenen und nicht standardisierten (verschriftlichen) Sprache vortragen

Organisation

Eva-Maria Uebel (Stuttgart): dgfs2018@ling.uni-stuttgart.de

Die Anmeldung erfolgt über bei der Registrierung zur Tagung.

Infotag der Lehramtsinitiative der DGfS

Was für eine Grammatik braucht die Schule?

Organisation: Jürgen Pafel, Jörg Förstner, Frank Janle, Tobias Krämer, Dominik Schlechtweg, Martina Widon

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018, 14:00–18:00, Raum: 17.02

Noch immer ist die Kluft zwischen dem, was in der Schule an Grammatik gelehrt wird, und dem, was Stand der Wissenschaft ist, groß. Und gering sind die grammatischen Kenntnisse, die Studienanfänger von der Schule mitbringen. Dies ist bekannt und zahlreiche sind die Bemühungen, diesen Missständen abzuhelpfen. Durchaus mit einigem Erfolg. So gehören im aktuell für Baden-Württemberg gültigen Bildungsplan für das Fach Deutsch erstmals mit Valenz und topologischem Satzmodell zwei Gebiete zur Obligatorik, die in der Linguistik allgemein als zentral angesehen werden für die Analyse von Sätzen. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt sich die diesjährige Lehramtsinitiative die Frage, wie eine zeitgemäße Grammatik für die Schule bzw. ein zeitgemäßer Grammatikunterricht für die Schule aussehen kann.

Programm

14:00 - 15:30	Plenarvortrag Matthias Granzow-Emden <i>„Na – wie nennen wir das Verb im Satz?“ Von zweifelhaften Benennungsprozeduren und einem verständigen Grammatikunterricht</i>	17.02
16:15 - 16:30	Tee- und Kaffeepause	vor 17.02

16:30 - 17:30 **Workshops**

- | | | |
|-------------|---|-------|
| WO 1 | Kerstin Alber
<i>Fußballgrammatik – Deutsche Grammatik spielerisch trainieren</i> | 17.92 |
| WO 2 | Anja Binanzer und Verena Wecker
<i>Die Nominalflexion im Deutschunterricht. Erwerbssequenzielle Überlegungen für den gemeinsamen Unterricht von L1- und L2-LernerInnen</i> | 17.73 |
| WO 3 | Katharina Böhnert und Matthias Hölzner
<i>Grammatikunterricht in inklusiven Lerngruppen</i> | 17.51 |
| WO 4 | Gesine Esslinger
<i>Wie Punkte und Kommas das Lesen steuern – sprachreflexive Zugänge zur Interpunktion</i> | 17.71 |
| WO 5 | Martin Evertz
<i>„wohlgeraten“ oder „wohl geraten“? Rechtschreibung als Anlass für Sprachreflexion</i> | 17.81 |
| WO 6 | Steffen Froemel und Yvonne Schlindwein
<i>Das topologische Satzmodell in der Sekundarstufe I und II</i> | 17.52 |
| WO 7 | Miriam Langlotz
<i>Junktoren als bildungssprachliches Mittel? Herausforderungen der Produktion, Rezeption und Analyse für Schülerinnen und Schüler</i> | 17.98 |
| WO 8 | Birgit Mesch
<i>Wissen-wie und Wissen-dass</i> | 17.91 |
| WO 9 | Thomas Schetter
<i>„Stolpern üben“: Paralleltextaufgaben und Stilanalyse im Literaturunterricht</i> | 17.99 |

WO 10	Alexandra Zepter, Judith Bündgens-Kosten und Manfred Sailer <i>Kreative Grammatikreflexion: Sprachen erfinden im Grammatikunterricht</i>	17.72
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Anmeldung

bitte bis zum 1.3.2018 formlos und mit Angabe von drei (nach Präferenz geordneten) Workshops per Mail an: joerg.foerstner@ling.uni-stuttgart.de

LAI

WO 1

Fußballgrammatik – Deutsche Grammatik spielerisch trainieren

Kerstin Alber
PH Ludwigsburg
Raum: 17.92

Deutsche Sätze auf einem Fußballfeld, Stammspieler und Ersatzspieler, Abseitsfalle und rote Karte - was hat Grammatik mit Fußball zu tun? Die Fußballgrammatik stellt die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Bereichen her, indem sie die Fußballanalogie nutzt, um Schülerinnen und Schülern die deutsche Grammatik in einer neuartigen Konzeption spielerisch näher zu bringen.

Die Fußballgrammatik integriert Bausteine aus verschiedenen Grammatiken (Stellungsfeldermodell, Valenztheorie, Phrasenstrukturgrammatik). Im Mittelpunkt steht das Verb, von welchem aus die deutsche Grammatik einfach und gut nachvollziehbar erklärt wird. Mit dem Fokus auf das Verb wird von Anfang an ein sinnvoller Grundstein für das Verständnis der deutschen Grammatik gelegt. Alle weiteren grammatischen Themen und sogar die orthografischen Bereiche der Groß- und Kleinschreibung und die Kommasetzung erschließen sich hieraus. Terminologisch orientiert sich die Fußballgrammatik an der neu konzipierten Liste zur grammatischen Terminologie der Kultusministerkonferenz.

Der Workshop stellt das Konzept der Fußballgrammatik (vgl. fussballgrammatik.de) vor und bietet die Gelegenheit, mit der Fußballgrammatik zu trainieren.

Zielpublikum: Lehrpersonen (Klasse 1 bis 6), Tagungsteilnehmende

WO 2

Die Nominalflexion im Deutschunterricht. Erwerbssequenzielle Überlegungen für den gemeinsamen Unterricht von L1- und L2-LernerInnen

Anja Binanzer & Verena Wecker

Universität Münster

Raum: 17.73

Gegenstand dieses Workshops ist, in welchen Schritten und mit welchen Aufgabenformaten bei L1- und L2-LernerInnen des Deutschen der Aufbau von implizitem und explizitem Wissen über zwei Kernbereiche der deutschen Grammatik, Genus und Plural, unterrichtlich gefördert werden kann.

In einem ersten Schritt erarbeiten wir gemeinsam mit den Workshop-TeilnehmerInnen die grammatischen Bereiche Genus und Plural. Entgegen der verbreiteten Annahme, dass die Genuszuweisung und Pluralbildung in höchstem Maße unsystematisch seien und im Erwerb lediglich auswendig gelernt würden, wird verdeutlicht, dass für beide Bereiche Regularitäten beschreibbar sind. In einem zweiten Schritt wenden wir uns dem Genus und dem Plural aus der Lernerperspektive zu und zeigen, dass und wie diese Regularitäten im ungesteuerten L1- und L2-Erwerb dieser Kategorien schrittweise aufgebaut werden (Binanzer 2017, Wecker 2016). Außerdem betrachten wir mit Karmiloff-Smith (1986) eine Studie, die sich mit dem Verhältnis/dem Aufbau von implizitem und explizitem grammatischen Wissen auseinandersetzt.

Mit diesem Wissen über natürliche Erwerbsverläufe im Bereich der Grammatik analysieren wir schließlich im dritten Teil des Workshops Unterrichtsmaterialien zur Vermittlung von Genus und Plural, um zu überprüfen, ob die natürlichen Erwerbssequenzen in der didaktischen Konzeption der Unterrichtsmaterialien berücksichtigt werden bzw. ob das bei den LernerInnen bereits vorhandene Wissen aus dem ungesteuerten Erwerb als Ressource genutzt wird.

Abschließend diskutieren wir, ob und wenn ja, wie die Unterrichtsmaterialien modifiziert oder ergänzt werden könnten/sollten.

Zielpublikum: Der Workshop richtet sich primär an Deutschlehrkräfte (insbesondere in sprachlich heterogenen Regelklassen) sowie an DaZ-Förderlehrkräfte im Primarbereich und im Übergang zur Sekundarstufe I.

Literatur • Binanzer, A. & Wecker, V. (i.V.). Erwerbsverläufe in L1 und L2 – gleiche Lernziele für alle? Ersch. in: Langlotz, M. (Hrsg.), *Grammatikdidaktik. Theoretische und empirische Zu-*

gänge zu sprachlicher Heterogenität (Arbeitstitel). • Binanzer, A. (2017). *Genus – Kongruenz und Klassifikation. Evidenzen aus dem Zweitspracherwerb des Deutschen*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1986). From meta-processes to conscious access: Evidence from children's metalinguistic and repair data. In *Cognition* 23 (2), 95–147. • Wecker, V. (2016). *Strategien bei der Pluralbildung. Eine Studie mit russisch- und türkischsprachigen Lernern*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

WO 3

Grammatikunterricht in inklusiven Lerngruppen

Katharina Böhnert¹ & Matthias Hölzner²

¹RWTH Aachen, ²Gymnasium Alfred-Krupp-Schule Essen

Raum: 17.51

Ein konstitutives Merkmal inklusiver Lerngruppen besteht darin, dass sie Schülerinnen und Schüler unterschiedlichster Lern- und Entwicklungsstände in sich vereinen. Demgegenüber fühlen sich die Lehrerinnen und Lehrer, eine der wesentlichen Gruppen von Akteurinnen und Akteuren im inklusiven Schulalltag, gerade mit der Aufgabe, gemeinsame Lernprozesse innerhalb der heterogenen Schülerschaft zu initiieren, von der Bildungspolitik wie auch der Wissenschaft alleingelassen (vgl. forsa 2015: 4f.). Infolgedessen mehrten sich Forderungen nach einer inklusiven Fachdidaktik, die wissenschaftliche Grundlagen für individualisiertes Lernen am gemeinsamen Lerngegenstand definiert und hieraus Handlungsanleitungen für die Unterrichtspraxis ableitet (vgl. Hennies/Ritter 2014). Mit Blick auf die einzelnen Kompetenzbereiche im Fach Deutsch fällt auf, dass inklusive Konzeptualisierungen und unterrichtspraktische Vorschläge mit Ausnahme von Hölzner (2014) bislang für den grammatischen Lernbereich fehlen. Eine Befragung von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern an inklusiv arbeitenden Gymnasien und Gesamtschulen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, die im Rahmen unseres Forschungsvorhabens durchgeführt wurde, ergab darüber hinaus, dass auch in der Unterrichtspraxis ein gemeinsames Lernen im Grammatikunterricht kaum stattfindet.

In unserem Workshop sollen Planungsschritte zur Konzeptionierung einer inklusiven Unterrichtssequenz in den Blick genommen und dabei auf der Grundlage der von Feuser (1995) vorgeschlagenen Analyseebenen (Tätigkeitsstrukturanalyse, Handlungsstrukturanalyse, Sachstrukturanalyse) die Arbeit an einem gemeinsamen Unterrichtsgegenstand aus dem Kompetenzbereich „Refle-

xion über Sprache“ für die Sekundarstufe I exemplarisch angebahnt werden. Unser Verständnis von ‚inklusive Lehr- Lern-Gruppen‘ orientiert sich hierbei an einem weiten Inklusionsbegriff. In der konkreten Lerngruppe, in der die entwickelten Unterrichtskonzepte erprobt wurden, lernen sechs Schülerinnen und Schüler mit verschiedenen sonderpädagogischen Förderschwerpunkten (‚Lernen‘, ‚Sprache‘, ‚emotional-soziale Entwicklung‘) gemeinsam mit rund zwanzig Schülerinnen und Schülern ohne Förderschwerpunkt. Spezifische Bedürfnisse einzelner Schüler/-innen, wie sie u.a. aus sonderpädagogischen Förderbedarfen resultieren können, sind zwar Thema des Workshops. Ziel ist es jedoch, eine differenzierte grammatische Förderung zu ermöglichen, durch die alle Lernenden ihren Fähig- und Fertigkeiten sowie ihren Neigungen und Interessen entsprechend gefördert werden können. Die Unterrichtsplanung ergänzend sollen im Workshop Videographien tatsächlich durchgeführter Unterrichtsstunden analysiert und so das Nachdenken über inklusiven Grammatikunterricht weiter vertieft werden.

Literatur • Feuser, Georg (1995). Behinderte Kinder und Jugendliche. Zwischen Integration und Aussonderung. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. • forsa-Umfrage vom 17.04.2015: Inklusion an Schulen aus Sicht der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer – Meinungen, Einstellungen und Erfahrungen. Ergebnisse einer repräsentativen Lehrerbefragung. Online verfügbar unter: www.vbe-nrw.de/downloads/PDF%20Dokumentation/Forsa_Inklusion_Ergebnisse.pdf (Letzter Zugriff: 29.12.2017). • Hennies, J./Ritter, M. (2014). Zur Einführung: Deutschunterricht in der Inklusion. In: dies. (Hrsg.): *Deutschunterricht in der Inklusion. Auf dem Weg zu einer inklusiven Deutschdidaktik*. Stuttgart: Klett Fillibach, 7–17. • Hölzner, M. (2014). Inklusive Deutschdidaktik in der Sekundarstufe I zwischen gemeinsamen Lernsituationen und einem gemeinsamen Lerngegenstand. In: Hennies J./Ritter M. (Hrsg.): *Deutschunterricht in der Inklusion. Auf dem Weg zu einer inklusiven Deutschdidaktik*. Stuttgart: Klett Fillibach, 47–57.

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WO 4

Wie Punkte und Kommas das Lesen steuern – sprachreflexive Zugänge zur Interpunktion

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Raum: 17.71

LAI

Punkte und Kommas sind keine intonatorischen, sondern grammatische Zeichen, die dem Leser anzeigen, welche Wörter zu welchen Verben gehören. Dies kann in manchen Fällen zu Bedeutungsunterschieden führen, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen:

<Der Tierarzt empfiehlt, meinem Hund einen Maulkorb zu kaufen.>

<Der Tierarzt empfiehlt meinem Hund, einen Maulkorb zu kaufen.>

<Wir essen jetzt, Oma.>

<Wir essen jetzt Oma.>

<Anna, vermutet ihre Mutter, ist in den netten Nachbarn verliebt.>

<Anna vermutet, ihre Mutter ist in den netten Nachbarn verliebt.>

<Der neue Lehrer kennt die Kinder der Klasse 4a nicht. Aber die Kinder der Klasse 4b.>

<Der neue Lehrer kennt die Kinder der Klasse 4a. Nicht aber die Kinder der Klasse 4b.>

Während erfolgreiche Leser/innen Punkte und Kommas automatisch für eine effektive Sinnkonstruktion nutzen, nehmen schwache Leser/innen Interpunktionszeichen oft gar nicht wahr, empfinden sie als überflüssig oder störend. Der Workshop stellt Aufgabenformate vor, anhand derer Schüler/innen ab der 4. Klassenstufe entdecken können, wie Punkte und Kommas das leise Lesen steuern. Im Rahmen von Lese-Experimenten und Interpunktionsgesprächen können sowohl DaM- als auch DaZ-Lernende den eigenen Leseprozess reflektieren und unterschiedliche Satzmuster des Deutschen erkunden. Grammatische Termini werden hierfür nicht benötigt – auf sie wird bewusst verzichtet. Insbesondere schwächere Leser/innen profitieren von einem solch sprachreflexiven und leserorientierten Zugang zur Interpunktion. Die Schüler/innen lernen, Punkte und Kommas zu verarbeiten und dabei auch Verben und Nominalgruppen bewusst zu erfassen. Auf diese Weise gelingt es ihnen, komplexe oder seltenere Satzstrukturen zu „knacken“. Aufbauend auf ihren eigenen Lese-Erfahrungen können Lernende in einem zweiten Schritt auch verstehen,

warum man beim Schreiben eigener Texte an bestimmten Stellen Interpunktionszeichen setzen sollte.

Zielpublikum: Lehrkräfte (Klassenstufe 4 bis 8) und alle, die sich für Interpunktionsdidaktik interessieren.

Literatur • Bredel, Ursula (2011). *Interpunktion* (Kurze Einführungen in die germanistische Linguistik - KEGLI 11). Heidelberg: Winter. • Esslinger, Gesine (2014). *Rezeptive Interpunktionskompetenz: Eine empirische Untersuchung zur Verarbeitung syntaktischer Interpunktionszeichen beim Lesen*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren. • Esslinger, Gesine (2016). „Das Komma zwischen Norm und System - zur Begründung und Konzeption einer leserorientierten Interpunktionsdidaktik“. In Birgit Mesch & Christina Noack (Hg.): *Orthographiedidaktik zwischen Norm und System. Drei Seiten einer Medaille?* (Thema Sprache - Wissenschaft für den Unterricht), 146–173: Schneider. • Esslinger, Gesine (2016). „Punkte und Kommas beim Lesen nutzen lernen - ein rezeptionsorientiertes Konzept (auch) für den Erwerb syntaktischer Muster des Deutschen“. In Österreichischer Dachverband für Deutsch als Fremd- und Zweitsprache (Hg.): *Lesen(d) lernen. ÖDaF-Mitteilungen* (32, Ausgabe 2), 31–43. Göttingen/Wien: V&R unipress.

WO 5

„wohlgeraten“ oder „wohl geraten“? Rechtschreibung als Anlass für Sprachreflexion

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Raum: 17.81

Obwohl es in der sprachdidaktischen Literatur unbestritten ist, dass Rechtschreibung und Sprachreflexion eng zusammenhängen (z.B. Huneke 2010), scheint immer noch eine Trennung zwischen Grammatikunterricht, Sprachreflexion und Rechtschreibunterricht in der schulischen Praxis zu bestehen (Bredel 2014).

Dabei bietet die Orthographie vielfachen Anlass über das grammatische System der Sprache zu reflektieren. Bredel (2014) nennt beispielsweise zwei große Reflexionsanlässe in der Orthographie, die Wortschreibung und die syntaktische Schreibung. Von der Wortschreibung ausgehend können Aspekte der Phonologie (phonographische und silbische bzw. fußbasierte Schreibung) und Morphologie (morphologische Schreibung, z.B. Stammkonstanz) in der Schrift

sichtbar gemacht und diskutiert werden. Auf der Ebene der syntaktischen Schreibung laden beispielsweise Getrennt- und Zusammenschreibung, Groß- und Kleinschreibung und Interpunktion zum forschenden Lernen ein.

Um zu diskutieren, wie Sprachreflexion und Rechtschreibung in der schulischen Praxis besser verzahnt werden können, soll dieser Workshop LehrerInnen, Studierenden und (Schrift-) LinguistInnen die Möglichkeit bieten, sich unter anderem über folgende Themen auszutauschen:

- Wie kann durch das forschende Lernen an der geschriebenen Sprache Grammatik (be)greifbar gemacht werden?
- Welche sprachlichen Ebenen und Einheiten können bei der Beschäftigung mit der geschriebenen Sprache erfasst werden und welche nicht?
- Wie kann Rechtschreibung als Anlass für Sprachreflexion in der Grundschule, in der ersten und der zweiten Sekundarstufe genutzt werden?
- Wie ist das Verhältnis von normnaher und normferner Schreibung? Und welche Potenziale bietet die Untersuchung von normferner Schreibung?
- Welche Anschlussmöglichkeiten gibt es zur Literaturdidaktik?
- Wie kann Sprachreflexion durch die Beschäftigung mit Orthographie im DaZ-Kontext nutzbar gemacht werden?
- Welchen Einfluss kann ein reflektierter Umgang mit Orthographie auf den Schriftspracherwerb haben?

Literatur • Bredel, Ursula. (2014). Sprachreflexion und Orthographie. In Gornik, Hildegard (Hrsg.): *Sprachreflexion und Grammatikunterricht*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren, 266–281. • Huneke, Hans-Werner. (2010). Schriffterwerb und Rechtschreibunterricht. In Frederick, V., Huneke, H.-W., Krommer, A., Meier, C. (Hrsg.): *Taschenbuch des Deutschunterrichts. Bd. 1: Sprach- und Mediendidaktik*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren, 304–322.

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WO 6

Das topologische Satzmodell in der Sekundarstufe I und II

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Raum: 17.52

Das topologische Feldermodell gehört seit dem Bildungsplan 2016 für Baden-Württemberg zu den verbindlichen inhaltsbezogenen Kompetenzen und weist damit eine unmittelbare unterrichtliche Relevanz auf.

In didaktischer Perspektive ermöglicht das Feldermodell, grundlegende syntaktische Konzepte niederschwellig zu vermitteln, die Bedeutung des Verbs zu verdeutlichen sowie zentrale Satzmuster des Deutschen zu erkennen. Darüber hinaus können auf der Grundlage des topologischen Feldermodells sowohl Form-Funktions-Bezüge als auch stilistische Fragestellungen oder Regeln der Interpunktion thematisiert werden.

Die Zielsetzung des Workshops besteht darin, die skizzierten Anwendungsbe-reiche des topologischen Feldermodells anhand exemplarischer Unterrichts- und Aufgabenkonzeptionen für die Sekundarstufen I und II zu bearbeiten. Dabei soll den Teilnehmern die Möglichkeit gegeben werden, zu erproben, wie sich anhand des Feldermodells grammatische Einsichten gewinnen lassen. Zudem wird der Frage nachgegangen, inwiefern sich das Feldermodell zur Sicherung des Textverständnisses oder als Interpretationshilfe einsetzen lässt.

Zielpublikum: Der Workshop richtet sich an Studierende des Lehramts, Referendar/innen sowie an Lehrer/innen, die didaktisch-methodische Konzepte zum topologischen Feldermodell kennenlernen wollen und sich mit konkreten Anwendungsmöglichkeiten in der Sekundarstufe I und II praxisorientiert auseinandersetzen möchten.

WO 7

Junktoren als bildungssprachliches Mittel?

Herausforderungen der Produktion, Rezeption und Analyse für Schülerinnen und Schüler

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Raum: 17.98

LAI

Junktoren als Mittel der Satzverknüpfung gelten aus unterschiedlichen Gründen als bildungssprachliche Herausforderung für Schülerinnen und Schüler, so werden z.B. Satzgefüge im Allgemeinen als bildungssprachliches Merkmal eingestuft (vgl. z.B. Gogolin/Lange 2011, vgl. dazu auch Heller/Morek 2012, 73). Auch gelten bestimmten semantische Relationen wie die Konzessivität als besonders schwierig (vgl. z.B. Dragon et al. 2015 – rezeptiv, Rezat 2011 – produktiv). Ziel des Workshops ist zunächst, Junktoren systematisch einzuordnen und ihren Status als bildungssprachliches Mittel aus funktionaler Perspektive zu diskutieren.

Im ersten Teil des Workshops werden Junktoren als grammatisches Mittel im Kontext von syntaktischer Struktur, semantischer Relation und Junktionsausdruck eingeführt und dabei ein weiter Junktionsbegriff nach Ägel (2010) einem klassischen Wortart-Modell wie den „Junktionen“ nach Nübling (2016) gegenübergestellt, um auch den Status von Junktoren als Wortart zu besprechen. Wir werden verschiedene Ansätze vergleichen, ihre Nutzbarkeit für den Unterricht diskutieren und hierbei die schulgrammatische Betrachtung der Wortart „Konjunktionen“ problematisieren.

Im zweiten Teil des Workshops soll es um die Frage gehen, inwiefern Junktoren als besondere bildungssprachliche Herausforderung zu betrachten sind. Dazu werden wir aktuelle empirische Erkenntnisse vergleichen in Bezug auf die Frage, aus welcher Perspektive auf Bildungssprache und auf welcher Kompetenzebene Junktoren als besondere Herausforderung gelten können. Im Vordergrund steht der Vergleich von Studien zu Erwerb und Entwicklung von Junktoren im Kontext von (Text-)Produktion u.a. als Indikator für Schreibentwicklung und (Text-)Rezeption u.a. in Bezug auf das Textverstehen (vgl. Rezat 2011, Langlotz 2016, Dragon et al. 2015, Schmitz et al. 2016). Abschließend sollen die Konsequenzen für die Gestaltung von Unterrichtsmaterial und die Beurteilung von Schreibentwicklung diskutiert werden.

Zielpublikum: Der Workshop richtet sich an Deutschlehrkräfte der Sekundarstufe I – natürlich sind auch interessierte Lehrkräfte aus dem Primarbereich und der Sekundarstufe II willkommen.

Literatur • Ägel, Vilmos (2010). Explizite Junktion. Theorie und Operationalisierung. In: Ziegler, Arne; Braun, Christian (Hrsg.): *Historische Textgrammatik und Historische Syntax des Deutschen. Traditionen, Innovationen, Perspektiven*. Bd. 2: Frühneuhochdeutsch, Neuhochdeutsch. Berlin: de Gruyter, 897–936. • Dragon, Nina; Berendes, Karin; Weinert, Sabine; Heppt, Birgit; Stanat, Petra (2015). Ignorieren Grundschulkinder Konnektoren? Untersuchung einer bildungssprachlichen Komponente. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* (18), S. 803–825. • Heller, Vivien; Morek, Miriam (2012). Bildungssprache - Kommunikative, epistemische, soziale und interaktive Aspekte ihres Gebrauchs. *Zeitschrift für angewandte Linguistik* (51/1), S. 67–101. • Gogolin, Ingrid & Lange, Imke (2011). Bildungssprache und Durchgängige Sprachbildung. In: Fürstenau, Sara & Gomolla, Mechtild (Hrsg.): *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit*. Wiesbaden: VS, 107–127. • Langlotz, Miriam (2016). Themenentfaltungsmuster und spezifische Ausdrucksformen - Junktionsausdrucksprofile von Erzählung und Argumentation im Vergleich. In: Behrens, Ulrike; Gätje, Olaf (Hrsg.): *Mündliches und schriftliches Handeln im Deutschunterricht. Wie Themen entfaltet werden*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Edition (Positionen der Deutschdidaktik, Band 3), S. 169–191. • Nübling, Damaris (2016). Die nicht flektierbaren Wortarten. In: *Duden. Die Grammatik. Unentbehrlich für richtiges Deutsch*. [9., vollständig überarbeitete und aktualisierte Aufl.] Mannheim: Duden, 631–643. • Rezat, Sara (2011). Schriftliches Argumentieren. Zur Ontogenese konzessiver Argumentationskompetenz. In: *Didaktik Deutsch* (31), S. 50–67. • Schmitz, Anke; Schuttkowski, Caroline; Rothstein, Björn; Gräsel, Cornelia (2016). Textkohäsion und deren Bedeutung für das Textverständnis: Wie reagieren Lernende auf temporale Kohäsion am Beispiel eines Sachtextes? In: *leseforum.ch* (2), S. 1–11.

WO 8

Wissen-wie und Wissen-dass

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Raum: 17.91

Der Workshop steht quer zu den sonstigen Workshop-Themen: Es soll hier um die Art und Bestelltheit grammatischen Wissens gehen und in zweiter Linie um den grammatischen Gegenstand des Lernens selbst. Die Frage danach, was

für eine Grammatik die Schule braucht, wird somit gekoppelt an die Frage, welche Wissensarten für Aneignungsprozesse relevant gesetzt werden.

Der Workshop gibt einführend einen kurzen Überblick über unterschiedliche Systematisierungsvorschläge von Wissensdimensionen und deren Ausdifferenzierung in verschiedene Wissensqualitäten (vgl. Mandl et al. 1986, Anderson/Krathwohl 2001, Funke 2005, Bredel 2013 etc.).

Daran an schließen exemplarische Analysen von Unterrichtseinheiten in Sprachbüchern zu ausgewählten grammatischen Feldern der Primar- wie Sekundarstufe wie beispielsweise zum Verb, zur (Nominal)Phrase und zur Feldgliederung. Näher in den Blick genommen werden nicht nur die Aufgabenstellungen selbst, sondern vor allem auch deren Zusammenstellung in Aufgabensequenzen.

Untersuchungsschwerpunkte bilden die Berücksichtigung der Art und Anzahl diverser Wissenszugänge sowie deren Implementierung in mehr oder weniger einsehbare, aufeinander aufbauende Abfolgen im Sinne einer adaptiven Lernprogression. Ergebnis der Analyse wird sein, dass die meisten Sprachbuchheiten systematisch vor allem die Anbahnung problemlösender Strategien sowie Impulsgebungen zur Anbahnung metakognitiver Wissensbestände in ihren Arrangements ausblenden und zudem deduktive und deklarative Vorgehensweisen dominant setzen.

Ausgehend von diesem Befund werden Möglichkeiten aufgezeigt und erarbeitet, wie herkömmliche didaktische Pfade verlassen und Wissensanbahnung über das Anknüpfen an vorhandene implizite Wissens- und prozedurale Könnensbestände der Lerner/innen erfolgen kann. Zu diesen sprachbewusstheitsfördernden Interventionen zählen die Überführung impliziten Wissens in explizites via Übungen, die vornehmlich auf musteraktivierende und musterselektierende kognitive Erschließungsmethoden zielen (vgl. Funke 2005). Der Vorteil dieses Vorgehens liegt darin, dass es in heterogenen Lernklassen einerseits dem strukturellen sprachlichen Musteraufbau dienlich ist, andererseits bestehende Musterkompetenzen in höhere Bewusstseinsdimensionen überführen hilft.

Die Teilnehmer/innen des Workshops bearbeiten einzelne grammatische Aufgabenfelder und beurteilen und entwickeln Vorschläge für entsprechende Aufgabentypen (vgl. Isaac/Hochweber 2011).

Literatur • Anderson, Lorin W./Krathwohl, David R. (Hrsg.) (2001). *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing. A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. New York:

Longman. • Bredel, Ursula (2012). *Sprachbetrachtung und Grammatikunterricht*. 2., durchges. Aufl. Paderborn, München u.a.: Schöningh. • Funke, Reinold (2005). *Sprachliches im Blickfeld des Wissens. Grammatische Kenntnisse von Schülerinnen und Schülern*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Mandl, Heinz/Friedrich, Helmut Felix/Hron, Aemilian (1986). Psychologie des Wissenserwerbs. In: Weidenmann, Bernd/Krapp, Andreas u.a. (Hrsg.): *Pädagogische Psychologie*. München, Weinheim: Urban und Schwarzenberg. 143–218. • Isaac, Kevin/Hochweber, Jan (2011). Modellierung von Kompetenzen im Bereich ‚Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen‘ mit schwierigkeitsbestimmenden Aufgabenmerkmalen. *Zeitschrift für Entwicklungspsychologie und Pädagogische Psychologie*, 43(4), 186–199.

WO 9

Stolpern üben: Paralleltextaufgaben und Stilanalyse im Literaturunterricht

Thomas Schetter

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Raum: 17.99

Dieser Workshop zur Stilanalyse literarischer Texte lehnt sich aufgabengestalterisch an Spinner (2015: 86ff.) an. Die Idee besteht darin, sprachliche Gestaltungsmittel literarischer Texte für Lernende mithilfe bestimmter Aufgaben erfahrbar zu machen. Lernende werden mit einem sprachlich markanten literarischen Text sowie einem unmarkierteren Paralleltext konfrontiert, der als Vergleichsfolie für das Auffinden literarischer Besonderheiten dient. Ziel des Workshops ist es, im Anschluss daran ein Vorgehen aufzuzeigen, mit dessen Hilfe Lernende sprachliche Besonderheiten in literarischen Texten bemerken und diskutieren können. In fremdsprachendidaktischen Termini könnte man ein solches ‚Stolpern‘ über sprachliche Besonderheiten mit dem Begriff *noticing* (Schifko 2011) beschreiben. Dem Workshop geht es jedoch nicht in erster Linie um sprachliches, sondern um literarisches Lernen: Jenes Stolpern wird also als produktive Irritation und Differenzerleben angesehen, das für literarisch-ästhetisches Verstehen konstitutiv ist (Lessing-Satari & Wieser 2016).

Zum Ablauf: In einem theoretischen Input, wird das Ziel erläutert, dass Lernen über die sprachlich-stilistische Untersuchungen einen Zugang zu literarischen Texten finden. Anschließend bekommen die Workshopteilnehmer_innen

gruppenweise sprachlich markante Texte/Textauszüge und erhalten die Aufgabe, nach der Formulierung eines ersten Textverständnisses und möglichen Deutungsansätzen zentrale sprachliche Gestaltungsmittel herauszuarbeiten („Welche sprachlichen Gestaltungsmittel sind für das Textverständnis zentral?“). Nach einer kurzen Sicherung des Stil- und Textverständnisses im Plenum formulieren die Teilnehmer_innen dann (wieder in Gruppen und ggf. in Anlehnung an Spinners Vorschlag) eine oder mehrere Aufgaben, die Lernenden helfen sollen, Rolle und Funktion des Sprachstils in den entsprechenden Texten zu verstehen. Anschließend werden Aufgaben und Texte weitergereicht und andere Teilnehmer_innen versuchen sich an der Lösung der Aufgaben, um am Ende Feedback und mögliche Verbesserungsvorschläge einbringen zu können.

Literatur • Lessing-Satari, Marie & Wieser, Dorothee. (2016). Von der Schwierigkeit, sich irritieren zu lassen. Eine literaturdidaktische Herausforderung. In: *Literatur im Unterricht* (2), 127–142. • Schifko, Manfred. (2011). „Formfokussierung“ als fremdsprachendidaktisches Konzept. Psycholinguistische Modellierung und Taxonomie von Unterrichtstechniken. Zugl.: Graz, Univ., Diss., 2007. Hamburg 2011. Verfügbar unter: <http://www.verlagdrkovac.de/978-3-8300-5489-4.htm>. • Spinner, Kaspar H. (2015). Lesen - mit Texten umgehen. In v. J. Baurmann, T. v. Brand et al. Seelze, (Hrsg.): *Methoden im Deutschunterricht. Exemplarische Lernwege für die Sekundarstufe I und II*. 55–106.

WO 10

Kreative Grammatikreflexion: Sprachen erfinden im Grammatikunterricht

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Raum: 17.72

Linguist/innen begreifen Grammatik nicht als ein starres, tradiertes Regelwerk, sondern als ein faszinierendes, aus Sprachgebrauch und Sprachkompetenz explorativ zu erschließendes System. Ziel des Workshops ist es, Schüler/innen diese Sichtweise nahezubringen und sie so offener und informiert kritisch für Grammatik zu machen. Hierzu wenden wir einen kreativen Ansatz an: Die Schüler/innen entwickeln eigene Fantasiessprachen oder verändern bestehende Sprachen nach ihren eigenen Vorstellungen.

Gobbo 2013, Stirnemann 2014, Zepter 2015 und andere konnten zeigen, dass Spracherfindungsprojekte direkt zu einer bewussten und systematischen Auseinandersetzung mit der/n eigenen Sprache/n und deren Struktur führen. Damit ermöglicht diese Aufgabenstellung es den Schüler/innen, genau die entdeckende und reflektierende Sichtweise auf Sprachbeschreibung einzunehmen, die die Grundlage einer eigenständigen Grammatikkompetenz ist. Durch die Prominenz von erfundenen Sprachen im Fantasy- und Science Fiction-Bereich haben gerade etwas ältere Schüler/innen bereits einen außerschulischen Zugang zu diesem Thema, an den leicht angeknüpft werden kann, aber auch für jüngere Jahrgangsstufen bieten sich durch den kreativen Charakter der Aufgabe viele Einsatzmöglichkeiten.

In diesem Workshop stellen wir zunächst das Konzept des Sprachenerfindens im Schulunterricht allgemein vor und wenden uns dann in Gruppen drei Aspekten der bewussten Grammatikreflexion zu: Systemhaftigkeit von Sprache, Language Awareness und Komplexität von Grammatiksystemen. Zu jedem Bereich wird anhand von konkreten Beispielen gezeigt, wie Spracherfindung für verschieden Altersstufen, Unterrichtsformate und Phänomene im Grammatikunterricht bzw. im Kompetenzbereich „Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen“ fruchtbar eingesetzt werden kann.

Die Ergebnisse der einzelnen Gruppen werden im Plenum zusammengetragen und wir diskutieren Fragen der Evaluierbarkeit, der Effizienz gegenüber anderen Formen des Grammatikunterrichts, und der praktischen Integrierbarkeit in den Unterrichtsalltag.

Wir bieten an, die Materialien inklusive der Gruppenergebnisse im Nachgang an Interessierte zu verteilen.

Zielpublikum: Sprachlehrer/innen ab Klasse 5, Sprachdidaktiker/innen Deutsch und Fremdsprache, Lehrende in Lehramtsstudiengängen.

Literatur • Gobbo, F. (2013). Learning Linguistics by Doing: The Secret Virtues of a Language Constructed in the Classroom. *Journal of Universal Language*, 14(2). 113–135. • Stirnemann, K. (2014). Linguistik als Schulfach? 14-Jährige erforschen Sprache(n) – Ein Bericht aus der Praxis. In: U. Bredel & C. Schmellentin (Hrg.): *Welche Grammatik braucht der Grammatikunterricht?* Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren, 195–214. • Zepter, A. (2015). Systemorientierter Grammatikunterricht. *LB* 244, 383–406.

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Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP e.V.)

Pragmatik und (Sprach-)Didaktik

Organisation: Bettina Bock¹, Konstanze Marx², Simon Meier³ & Robert Mroczynski⁴

¹Leipzig, ²Mannheim, ³Berlin, ⁴Düsseldorf

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018, 9:00–18:00, Raum: 11.82

ALP

Die Tagung thematisiert Schnittstellen von linguistischer Pragmatik und Sprachdidaktik in zwei Perspektiven: Zum einen wird gefragt, inwiefern und in welcher Weise pragmatische Themen Gegenstände schulischen Unterrichts sind. Inwiefern finden sich klassische pragmatische Inhalte in Lehrplänen wieder und was wird überhaupt als ‚pragmatischer Inhalt‘ akzentuiert? Zum anderen soll gefragt werden, welche didaktische Relevanz pragmatische Fragestellungen und Analysen haben, wenn es um die Unterrichtspraxis und insbesondere um die Lehrerbildung geht. Implizit ist Pragmatik in dieser Perspektive „überall“, denn Unterricht besteht aus mündlichem und schriftlichem Sprachhandeln sowohl aufseiten der Lehrkräfte als auch aufseiten der Schüler(innen). Es stellt sich also die Frage, welche pragmatischen Perspektiven und entsprechenden Analysekompetenzen für die Unterrichtspraxis überhaupt von Bedeutung sind und somit auch Bestandteil der Lehrerbildung sein sollten. Ein grundsätzliches Spannungsverhältnis ergibt sich zwischen linguistischer Pragmatik und (Sprach-)Didaktik daraus, dass in didaktischen Kontexten die implizite oder explizite Bewertung von Sprachhandeln im Vordergrund steht, während die Pragmatik vorrangig deskriptiv arbeitet und grundsätzlich eine große Bandbreite an Realisierungsformen von Sprachverhalten als funktional annimmt. Dies schließt allerdings nicht aus, dass eine deskriptive pragmatische Analyse nicht als fundierte Basis für die Bewertung, Einschätzung oder auch Diagnose der sprachlich-kommunikativen Kompetenzen von Lernenden dienen kann.

Inwiefern können also Ansätze der Pragmatik für didaktische Zusammenhänge fruchtbar gemacht werden – sei es als Lehrinhalte zum Kompetenzausbau der Lernenden oder als Analyse- und didaktische Kompetenz seitens der Lehrkräfte? Theoretische wie methodenbezogene Beiträge sowie exemplarische Analysen aus dem Bereich der Sprachwissenschaften, der Sprachdidaktik und Fremdsprachendidaktik werden sich diesen Fragen nähern.

Anmeldung und weitere Information

Anmeldungen zur Tagung werden unter kontakt@alp-verein.de entgegengenommen. Weitere Informationen zur Tagung und zur ALP e. V. finden sich auf <http://www.alp-verein.de>.

Keynote

Juliane Stude (Münster):

„Schnittstellen von Pragmatik, Spracherwerbsforschung und Sprachdidaktik“

Linguistik und Wikimedia

Begleitveranstaltung zur DGfS-Jahrestagung 2018

Wilhelm Geuder

HHU Düsseldorf

geuder@phil.uni-duesseldorf.de

Dienstag, 06. 03. 2018, 14:30–18:00, Raum: 17.74

Gäste: Christopher Schwarzkopf, *Wikimedia Deutschland e.V., Berlin*
— weitere Namen standen bei Redaktionsschluss noch nicht fest.

LuW

Wikipedia ist das meistgenutzte Nachschlagewerk der Welt auch für sprachwissenschaftliche Themen. Insofern prägt sie wesentlich das Bild mit, das die Öffentlichkeit von Sprache und der Sprachwissenschaft hat. Ein Ziel dieser Veranstaltung ist es deshalb, konkrete Initiativen zu besprechen, wie die DGfS als Fachgesellschaft, und ihre Mitglieder als Fachleute, die Abbildung des Themas Sprache in der Wikipedia unterstützen können. Dabei kommt unweigerlich auch der Aspekt in den Blick, was Wikipedia alles *nicht* ist, und für welche Aktivitäten aus der Wissenschaft sie sich nicht eignet. Tatsächlich gibt es aber auch noch Schwesterprojekte der Wikipedia und weitere Wikimedia-Initiativen, die für die Kommunikation einer Fachwissenschaft nach außen interessant sein können, aber vielleicht weniger bekannt sind. Die Veranstaltung soll daher auch insgesamt die Aktivitäten der Wikimedia e.V. und der DGfS in den Bereichen Freies Wissen und Offene Wissenschaft ansprechen, und dem gegenseitigen Kennenlernen dienen, um gemeinsame Interessen und mögliche Kooperationen zu sondieren. Zusammen mit Aktiven aus verschiedenen Bereichen des „Wikiversums“, wollen wir uns vor allem zwei Themenblöcken widmen: einem allgemeinen Teil und einem konkreten Teil, der auch zum Ziel hat, ein sprachwissenschaftliches Wikiprojekt auf den Weg zu bringen.

- Die Sprachwissenschaft im Wikiversum
 - Welche Arten von Kooperation und Berührungspunkten gibt es schon zwischen Wikimedia und Fachwissenschaft?
 - Welche Rolle kann Wikipedia als öffentliches Schaufenster von Wissenschaft spielen?
 - Welche anderen Aktivitäten der Wikimedia in den Bereichen Offene Wissenschaft und Freie Bildung sind für Sprachwissenschaftler interessant, welche Kooperationen wären denkbar?
- Sprachwissenschaft als WikiProjekt
 - Wie sind sprachwissenschaftliche Themen gegenwärtig in der Wikipedia repräsentiert? Wie sollten sie repräsentiert sein?
 - Wikipedia in der universitären Lehre, oder lieber nicht? Welche Erfahrungen gibt es mit Wikiversity?
 - Welche Möglichkeiten gibt es zur Qualitätssicherung für sprachwissenschaftliche Inhalte in der Wikipedia (und was ist nicht vorgesehen)? Welche Ressourcen stellt Wikipedia für gemeinsame Arbeit hieran zur Verfügung? Wie funktionieren Projekte, Redaktionen und Portale, und die Wikipedia-Qualitätssicherung?
 - Initiative zur Gründung bzw. Wiederbelebung einer Fachredaktion Sprachwissenschaft in der Wikipedia: Weiterentwicklung des verwaisten Wikipedia-Portals zur Sprachwissenschaft (de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portal:Sprache) oder andere Pläne — gemeinsames Editieren am Ende nicht ausgeschlossen.

Anhang

Gesamtübersicht der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

Gesamtübersicht der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

Mittwoch, 07.03.2018

AG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13/14	15/16
K1														
	11:32	11:42	11:62	11:71	11:82	11:91	12:01	12:12	12:23	12:31	12:52	13:01	13:14	13:26
13:45-14:15	Arnold-Lappe et al. Intro	Baumann	Bianchi & Gross Intro	Spencer	Bonch	Georgi et al. Intro	Hautli-Janusz et al. Intro	Konietzko & Hohns Intro	Kranichke & Brecham	Averintseva, Klich et al. Intro	Van Valin, Jr. Intro	Lemke et al.	Grimm et al. Intro	Rani & Zobel Intro
14:45-14:45	Peperlamp	Arnold	Bedram	*	*	Hornstein	Ginzburg	Benzen	Sims-Williams	Fabricius-Hansen	*	Almund, Rach & Krikow	Schutkow-ski	Czapik
14:45-15:15	*	*	*	Bermann	Antonyuk & Halman	*	*	*	Elsweller & Huber	*	Vincent	Hartmann	Uhl	Gutzmann
15:15-15:45	Schuster & Lahiri	Greif & Skopceus	Benigni & Frascarelli	Herec	Dalini	Cecchetti & Donati	Lupkowski et al.	LaCura	Werner & Portanova	Brunner & Weiner	*	Teixeira de Sousa	Northusch	Rani
KARTEPPAUSE														
16:30-17:00	Beil et al.	Meyer-Sickendiek & Hussein	Reiz-Gabriel	Byrdick et al.	Creissels	Lee	De Kuthy et al.	Hedliger	Eckmann & Schlechteweg	Drecherl	Skrzypak	Griffiths et al.	Bryant	Thuns
17:30-17:30	Pessara	Rietter et al.	Fishman	Wei Thum	Khvan & Karick	Schmidt	*	Hartik	Trifly	Schuler	Simeonaki & Wahlström	Ott & Struckmeier	Pechel	Recanat
17:30-18:00	Plag et al.	*	Kaiser et al.	Dux	Mitkowska	Berger	*	Cernik	Bülow & Kriegel-Holz	Borik	Ott	Guggen	*	

Gesamtübersicht der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

Donnerstag, 08.03.2018

AG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13/14	15/16
K1					K2									
	11:32	11:42	11:62	11:71	11:82	11:91	17:71	17:72	17:73	17:51	17:52	17:81	17:98	17:92
9:00–9:30	Morrison	Cole	Altenga	Zeijlstra	Myler	Sheehan et al.	Lauer & Jeong	Jedrze-jowski	Rehn	Altkshuler	Becker	Phillips		Bochner
9:30–10:00	Storne	*	Chen	*	Elag	*	*	*	Hundt	Hinter-wimmer & Meuser	Bsang & Ngoc Quang	*		Köpping
10:00–10:30	Bergmann	Götzer & Spalek	Jäger	Rizza	Höge	Mensching et al.	Mahamad & Scheff-ler	Kemtoré & Hole	Kuo	Holler & Weskott	Tahir	Peritred		Klanja-Placek
10:30–11:15	KAFFEEPAUSE													
11:15–11:45	Droste	Zappoli et al.	Muñoz	Alcina & Vigo	Karvo-skaya	Douglas	Shimada & Nigano	Cheung	Gillmann	Zeman	Toldova	Billie	Grizzen-hout et al. Intro	Hamann
11:45–12:15	Wang & Gassen-hoven	O'Grady	Beck	Driendl & Stoj-ković	Kollmann	Fausdow & Traoré	Trkija	Gehrke	Kempf	Brlmayer	Royer	Armenante	Boll-Avetisyan	*
12:15–12:45	Henecke	Belz	Zeman	Pozniak et al.	Rooryck	Anaschi & Georgi	*	*	Rudnicka	Lühr	Danziger & Conti-Morava	Lichte	*	Zinova
12:45–13:45	MITTAGSPAUSE													
13:45–14:15	Tomaschek et al.	Schlecht-weg & Härtl	Benamara	Findlay	Eguren	Happel-math	Zynla	Morzycki	Hauf	Engelberg & Tu	Schiatta-rella	Storbeck	Marimon & Hähle	Egré & Verhe-yen
14:15–14:45	Andi-Lappe & Sanz Alvarez	Kentner & Wagner	*	Bergmann & Richter	Hahn	Weisser	Pilas et al.	*	Schneider	Fortmann	Seres	Trukowski	Unger & Hähle	Moha-mmadi & Klu-bunde

Freitag, 09.03.2018

AG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13/14	15/16
	K1													
	11.32	11.42	11.62	11.71	11.82	11.91	17.71	17.72	17.73	17.51	17.52	17.81	17.98	17.92
11:45-12:15	Seyfarth et al.	De Beer et al.	Giorgi et al.	Bonani & Weinbrenn	Palmer	Efremine et al.	Kaiser & Kaiser	Unbach	Boethers	Wessels & Ganthner	Tigau	Merchant	Hahn et al.	Weinmann
12:15-12:45	*	Tonnis	Okano	Taghipour	Muschenbled	Bayer & Salzmann	*	Penka	Final Discussion	Turgay	Sadeghpour	*	Kalak & Domene Moreno	*
12:45-13:15	Nieder & Vijver	Peskov & Follmann	Fraser	Gajić	Pleshak	Panbau	Jaben & Butt	Soderföht		Endris-Kusson	Joshi & Collins	Müller	Oliverci et al.	Dobnik & Keliher
13:15-13:45	Final Discussion	Torre-grossa & Andreu	Beltrami et al.	Pfau & Mahlinz	Protowska	Sahel		Hobaus & Kometzko			Final discussion	Cortés Rodríguez	Shinke	Benz
13:45-14:15		Mast & Lottitz	*	Schler & Richter	Batany et al.	Park & Yoo						Remmele	Messum	*

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