Universität Hamburg
DER FORSCHUNG | DER LEHRE | DER BILDUNG

dgfs Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

#DGFS2020

42. JAHRESTAGUNG DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY: THEORIES, METHODS, RESOURCES

SPRACHLICHE DIVERSITÄT: THEORIEN, METHODEN, RESSOURCEN

Plenarvorträge / Invited Speakers:
Yaron Matras (Manchester)
Carol Padden (San Diego)
Elke Teich (Saarbrücken)
Jürgen Meisel (Calgary & Hamburg)

4.–6. März 2020
Universität Hamburg

dgfs 2020

42. Jahrestagung der
Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

Sprachliche Diversität: Theorien, Methoden, Ressourcen

04.-06. März 2020
Universität Hamburg

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Allende-Platz 1
20146 Hamburg

Organisation

Federführend/Wissenschaftliche Leitung
Prof. Dr. Heike Zinsmeister, FB SLM I, Institut für Germanistik

Organisatorische Leitung
Sabine Lambert, M.A., Fachbereiche SLM I & II

Tagungsband
Anna Wamprechtshammer, M.A., FB SLM II, Institut für Finnougristik/Uralistik
Sabine Lambert, M.A., Fachbereiche SLM I & II

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Dr. Marc-Olivier Hinzelin (Programmdurchführung)
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Studentisches Tagungsteam

Leonora Albrecht, Anne Bartezsky, Vlada Boico, Julie Buchholz, Karin Felter, Jowita Grala, Eva Hartmann, Hannes Klitzing, Alena Kulikova, Julia Lohse, Anna Losch, Johanna Mehner, Isabelle Moe, Sophie Muehlenberg, Anait Muradyan, Chiara Nicolaisen, Catharina Nintzel, Emily Rose, Lea Röseler, Lisa Sanginov, Valeria Schick, Lisa Seidel , Hannah Marie Simon, Carla Sökefeld, Robin Thomas, Nikolai Timofeev, Hadewych Versteegh, Jana Volpers, Sarah-Lisa Winter.

Studentische Öffentlichkeitsarbeit

(in Ergänzung zum Seminar „Praxisnahe Grundlagen der Presse- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit am Beispiel einer Tagung“ geleitet von Dr. Britta Moldenhauer)
Sarah Asbai, Keunho Jeon, Manuel Bolz, Felix Braun, Freya Carius, Johanna Eickholt, Jennifer Johannsen, Pernille Klingenberg, Lissa Kühner, Stefanie Müller, Lisa Neumann, Luisa Schmidt, Merle Steimke, Lina Weber, Miriam Wollenweber.

Weitere Mitarbeit

Maren Albrecht und Katharina Schulze

Danksagungen

Die Organisator*innen bedanken sich herzlich bei Herrn Senator Ties Rabe für das Grußwort beim Empfang im Haus der Patriotischen Gesellschaft und bei Vizepräsident Prof. Dr. Jan Louis für das Grußwort der Universität bei der Tagungseröffnung.

Für die Unterstützung bei der Finanzierung der Tagung danken die Organisator*innen vielmals

- der Universität Hamburg
- der Fakultät für Geisteswissenschaften der Universität Hamburg
- der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

Als Hauptsponsor danken die Organisator*innen ganz herzlich

- LangSci Press gUG

und ebenso danken sie herzlich den weiteren Sponsoren (in alphabetischer Reihenfolge):

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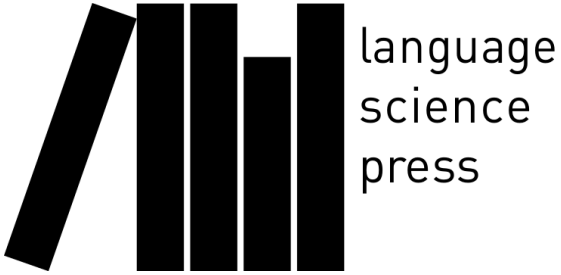

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Teil I

Informationen

Informationen zur Tagung

Veranstalter
Universität Hamburg, Zentrum für Sprachwissenschaft
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft

Wissenschaftliche Leitung
Prof. Dr. Heike Zinsmeister, Fachbereich SLM I, Institut für Germanistik

Homepage
www.zfs.uni-hamburg.de/dgfs2020

Soziale Netzwerke
Verweisen Sie bitte mit folgendem Hashtag auf die Tagung:
#dgfs2020

Tagungsort
Universität Hamburg
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1
20146 Hamburg

Tagungsbüro
Das Tagungsbüro (ESA1 W 120) ist ab Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 08:00 Uhr geöffnet. Ihre Tagungsunterlagen erhalten Sie ab Mittwoch, 04.03.2020, 8:00–14:00 Uhr in Raum ESA1 W 121, danach im Tagungsbüro. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, die Teilnahmegebühr (sofern nicht bereits online geschehen) zu den angegebenen Registrierungszeiten in bar oder per EC-/Kreditkarte zu entrichten. Teilnehmer*innen, die nach dem 15.01.2020 online den Tagungsband als Printversion bestellt haben, können ihr Exemplar im Tagungsbüro abholen. Der Band kann auch gegen eine Schutzgebühr von 5 € vor Ort erworben werden.

Öffnungszeiten des Tagungsbüros
Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 08:00–18:30 Uhr
Mittwoch, 04.03.2020, 08.00–18:30 Uhr
Donnerstag, 05.03.2020, 08:30–19:00 Uhr
Freitag, 06.03.2020, 08:00–15:00 Uhr

Anmeldung / Registrierung
Während der Tagung können Sie sich (sofern nicht bereits online geschehen) im Tagungsbüro zu folgenden Zeiten für die Tagung anmelden:

Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 14:00–18:00 Uhr
Mittwoch, 04.03.2020, 08:00–18:30 Uhr
Donnerstag, 05.03.2020, 08:30-18:00 Uhr

Telefon
In dringenden Fällen können Sie das Tagungsbüro während der oben genannten Zeiten unter folgender Telefonnummer erreichen:
+49 40 42838-6367

Internetnutzung – W-LAN
Für Hochschulangehörige besteht grundsätzlich der Internetzugang über Eduroam (www.eduroam.org). Sollten Sie keinen Zugriff auf Eduroam haben, können Sie im Tagungsbüro einen Gastzugang zum Netz der Universität Hamburg erhalten.

Kopieren und drucken
Das ADUPUC Print- und Copyhaus liegt ca. 5 Gehminuten von ESA 1 entfernt. Dort können Sie auch kurzfristig drucken (bis DIN A0) oder kopieren.

ADUPUC Print und Copyhaus GmbH
Grindelallee 32, 20146 Hamburg
040 45 61 93 // info@adupuc.de
http://www.adupuc.de/

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

Kinderbetreuung
Während der Tagung kann eine Kinderbetreuung für die unten angegebenen Zeiten organisiert werden. Bitte nehmen Sie hierfür frühestmöglich per E-Mail Kontakt zu uns auf: dgfs2020.zfs@uni-hamburg.de.
Bitte beachten Sie: Die Kinderbetreuung kann nur von angemeldeten Tagungsteilnehmer*innen und nach gesonderter Anmeldung bei uns in den unten aufgeführten Zeiten in Anspruch genommen werden. Für Zeiten, in denen Eltern sich nicht auf dem Haupt-Campus der UHH aufhalten, können wir leider keine Kinderbetreuung anbieten. Wir bitten die Eltern, selber für die Verköstigung der Kinder während der Betreuungszeiten vorzusorgen.

Kinderbetreuungzeiten
Mi, 04.03., 08:30–16:00 Uhr
Do, 05.03., 08:30–15:00 Uhr
Fr, 06.03., 08:30–14:30 Uhr

Barrierefreiheit
Für alle Plenarvorträge sowie für AG2: Linguistic Diversity and Linguistic Modalities werden durchgängig Gebärdensprachdolmetscher*innen zur Verfügung stehen. Die Tagungsräume sind barrierefrei zugänglich; für einige der AG-Räume im alten Hauptgebäude der Universität Hamburg gilt dies aufgrund der baulichen Gegebenheiten jedoch leider nur eingeschränkt. Während der Tagung werden dort Lotsen zur Verfügung stehen. Bei spezifischem Bedarf setzen Sie sich bitte frühzeitig unter dgfs2020.zfs@uni-hamburg.de mit uns in Verbindung.

Aktuelle Informationen finden Sie vor und während der Tagung unter: https://www.zfs.uni-hamburg.de/dgfs2020/tagungsort/barrierefreiheit.html.

Tagungsgebühren
Der Frühbucherrabatt ist bei Registrierung bis zum 15.01.2020 möglich. Bei Registrierung nach dem 15.01.2020 erhöht sich die Konferenzgebühr um 5,00€. Die Konferenzgebühr hängt darüber hinaus von der Mitgliedschaft in der DGfS und der Verfügbarkeit von Einkommen ab. Für Kurzentschlossene ist auch noch eine Anmeldung vor Ort auf der Tagung selbst möglich.

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

Geldautomaten
Mensa Von-Melle-Park 5, Eingang Nord-West: Hamburger Sparkasse (HASPA)
Grindelallee 100: Sparda Bank
Bahnhof Dammtor, beide Hauptausgänge: ReiseBank
Grindelallee 1: Postbank

Taxi
Hansa-Taxi: 040 211 211
Taxi Hamburg: 040 66 66 66
MOIA Ridesharing App: https://www.moia.io/de-DE/app

Verlagsausstellung
Während der Tagung präsentieren zahlreiche Verlage ihr Programm in den Gebäuden Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 (ESA1) Flügel West, Raum 221 und Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 (ESA1) Flügel Ost, Raum 221.

Digitaler Tagungsfolder
Die Mitgliederversammlung der DGfS von 2019 hat beschlossen, das Zukunftsprinzip der Nachhaltigkeit nach Möglichkeit auch auf die Organisation und Gestaltung der Jahrestagungen anzuwenden. Dieser Beschluss umfasst unter anderem die Empfehlung, die Erzeugung papierbasierter Medien zu reduzieren. Die Hamburger Tagungsorganisator*innen haben sich daher entschieden, den traditionellen „analogen“ Tagungsfolder durch eine elektronische Variante auf USB-Stick zu ersetzen.

Sie finden auf dem Stick die Verlags- und Unternehmensinformationen unserer Anzeigenkunden, auf die wir Sie hiermit sehr gerne hinweisen möchten. Der USB-Stick hat uns darüber hinaus die Möglichkeit eröffnet, eine Anfrage von Language Science Press umzusetzen und damit ein innovatives Open Access-Projekt zu unterstützen: Mit dem Stick erhalten Sie das Open Access-Buchprogramm von Language Science Press in elektronischer Form.

Anreise

Der Tagungsort auf dem Haupt-Campus der Universität Hamburg liegt direkt gegenüber vom S- und InterCity-Bahnhof „Hamburg Dammtor“, rd. 2,2 km vom Hauptbahnhof und rd. 9,8 km vom Flughafen entfernt; er ist von dort mit dem ÖPNV per S-Bahn sehr gut zu erreichen.

Mit der Bahn
Die Universität Hamburg ist direkt vom InterCity Bahnhof „Hamburg Dammtor“ mit dem Fernverkehr der Deutschen Bahn erreichbar. Vom Hauptbahnhof ist es nur eine Station bis zum Bahnhof Dammtor. Nehmen Sie die S-Bahn Linie S21 „Elbgaustraße“ oder S31 Richtung „Altona“. Sie erreichen das Tagungsgelände vom Bahnhof Dammtor aus in ca. 5 Gehminuten.

Deutsche Bahn: https://www.deutschebahn.com/de
Öffentlicher Nahverkehr: www.hvv.de

Mit dem ÖPNV
Die Universität ist sehr gut an das Bus- und Bahnnetz der Stadt Hamburg angebunden. Haltestellen in Laufdistanz zur DGfS-Tagung sind: Dammtor, Stephansplatz, Gänsemarkt, Hallerstraße, Grindelhof, Universität Staatsbibliothek.
Zur Orientierung im Hamburger ÖPNV empfiehlt sich die Benutzung von www.hvv.de oder der dazugehörigen App.

Mit dem PKW
Wenn Sie mit dem Auto anreisen, folgen Sie den Beschilderungen für die Autobahnabfahrten „Hamburg Zentrum“ und folgen dann der Beschilderung Richtung „Messe / CHH“. Diese führt Sie nach Hamburg Dammtor, dem Bahnhof gleich neben der Universität. Es empfiehlt sich dringend mit dem ÖPNV anzureisen, da es kaum frei verfügbare Parkplätze in der Umgebung des Haupt-Campus gibt.

Mit dem Flugzeug
Der Flughafen Hamburg befindet sich in HH-Fuhlsbüttel. Der Flughafen ist mittels S-Bahn an die Innenstadt angebunden. Sie erreichen den Hauptbahnhof mit der S1 Richtung Wedel / Blankenese oder per Taxi. Steigen Sie am Hauptbahnhof um, wie beschrieben unter „Mit der Bahn“. Die Bahnfahrt vom Flughafen bis zur Universität dauert etwa 30 Minuten.

Adresse
Universität Hamburg
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1
20146 Hamburg

Essen und Trinken auf dem Campus

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

Café dell‘ Arte
Öffnungszeiten
Mo–Fr 7.30–18.00 Uhr
Mittagessen 11.00–17.00 Uhr
Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, West-Flügel
Vegetarische und vegane Angebote
Mittagstisch, belegte Brötchen, Kaffee- und Teespezialitäten

CampusCafé
Öffnungszeiten
Mo–Fr 8.00–17.00 Uhr Von-Melle-Park 5
600m zum ESA 1
Snacks, Kaffeespezialitäten

Mensa Campus
Öffnungszeiten
Mo–Fr 8.00–15.00 Uhr
Frühstück 8.00–10.30 Uhr
Mittagessen 11.15–14.30 Uhr
Von-Melle-Park 5
600 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische und vegane Angebote
Frühstück, Mittagstisch

Mensa Studierendenhaus
Öffnungszeiten
Mo–Fr 11.00–19.00 Uhr
Mittagessen 11.00–17.00 Uhr
Von-Melle-Park 2
600 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische und vegane Angebote
Mittagstisch

Sie können als Tagungsteilnehmer alle Mensa-Betriebe gegen Barzahlung mit dem Preis-Status: Gast benutzen. Das Tagesangebot können Sie einsehen unter https://www.studierendenwerk-hamburg.de/studierendenwerk/de/essen/speiseplaene/ und den Wochenplan ebenfalls unter diesem Link und einem Klick auf den Anbieter.

MOHO'S – Home of Barista (Frühstücksrestaurant)
08:00–18:00 Uhr
Schlüterstraße 12
500 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische und vegane Angebote
Frühstück

Nikkei Nine (japanisch-peruanische Gerichte)
12:00–14:30 Uhr, 18:00–02:00 Uhr
Neuer Jungfernstieg 9
1 km zum ESA 1
Gehobene Mittags- und Abendküche

Pinakas Restaurant (griechisches Restaurant)
17:00–00:00 Uhr
Grindelhof 64
1,2 km zum ESA 1
Abendessen

Restaurant Békaa (libanesische Spezialitäten)
18:00–23:00 Uhr
Rentzelstraße 50
850 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Abendessen

Restaurant Brodersen Hamburg (hamburger Spezialitäten)
12:00–23:00 Uhr
Rothenbaumchaussee 46
650 m zum ESA 1
Mittagstisch und Abendessen

Ristorante Portonovo (Spezialitäten aus der italienischen Adria)
12:00–15:00 Uhr 18:00–23:00 Uhr
Alsterufer 2
700 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Gehobene Mittags- und Abendküche

Schlüters – Pizza & More (Pizzeria)
11:00–19:45 Uhr
Von-Melle-Park 2
600 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Mittagstisch

Shalimar (Currys und nordindische Küche)
12:00–15:00 Uhr, 17:00 Uhr–00:00 Uhr
ABC-Straße 46-47
1,2 km zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Mittagstisch und Abendessen

Spiesserei (Tapasbar)
11:30–22:00 Uhr
Grindelallee 32
600 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Mittagstisch, abends

Sushi Lô (Sushi-Restaurant)
12:00–00:00 Uhr
Rothenbaumchaussee 105
1,2 km zum ESA 1
Abendessen

Xeom Viatnamese (traditionelle vietnamesische Gerichte)
12:00–22:00 Uhr
Karolinenstraße 25
1,3 km zum ESA 1
Abendessen

französisch-internationale Küche
Abaton Bistro
09:00-00:00 Uhr
Grindelhof 14A
750 m zum ESA 1
Vegetarische Angebote
Mittagstisch, abends

israelisch-internationale Küche
Café Leonar
9:00-22:30 Uhr
Grindelhof 59
1 Km zum ESA 1
Vegetarisch und vegane Angebote

italienische Küche
Restaurant Gran Sasso
11:30 -23:00 Uhr
Schlüterstraße 12
200 m zum ESA 1
Mittagstisch bis 16 Uhr

Sehenswertes in Hamburg
Die Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg ist mit ca. 1,8 Millionen Einwohnern die zweitgrößte Stadt Deutschlands, nach Berlin.
Das Stadtgebiet ist in sieben Bezirke und 104 Stadtteile gegliedert, darunter mit dem Stadtteil Neuwerk auch eine in der Nordsee gelegene Inselgruppe.

Hamburger Hafen
Der Hamburger Hafen ist der größte Seehafen in Deutschland und einer der größten Umschlaghäfen weltweit. Er wartet zudem mit vielen Sehenswürdigkeiten auf, wie den St. Pauli Landungsbrücken und dem Fischmarkt. Besucher der Musicals in den Musical-Theatern an der Elbe setzen mit der Hafenfähre auf das andere Elbufer über. Mit der Elbphilharmonie in der HafenCity wurde Anfang 2017 Hamburgs neues modernes Konzerthaus eröffnet.

Speicherstadt
An die HafenCity grenzt die historische Speicherstadt. Sie ist das größte Lagerhausensemble der Welt und erstreckt sich auf rund 26 Hektar zwischen Baumwall und Oberhafen. Seit Juli 2015 ist die Speicherstadt zusammen mit dem Kontorhausviertel inklusive Chilehaus Deutschlands 40. UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe.

Michel
Das Wahrzeichen der Hansestadt ist die evangelische Hauptkirche St. Michaelis, der „Michel". Besonders beeindruckend sind das Kirchenschiff samt der fünf Orgeln, der Gewölbekeller und die fabelhafte Aussicht vom Kirchturm. Der 132 Meter hohe Turm der Kirche überragt die meisten Gebäude der Innenstadt und ist aus vielen Blickwinkeln zu sehen.

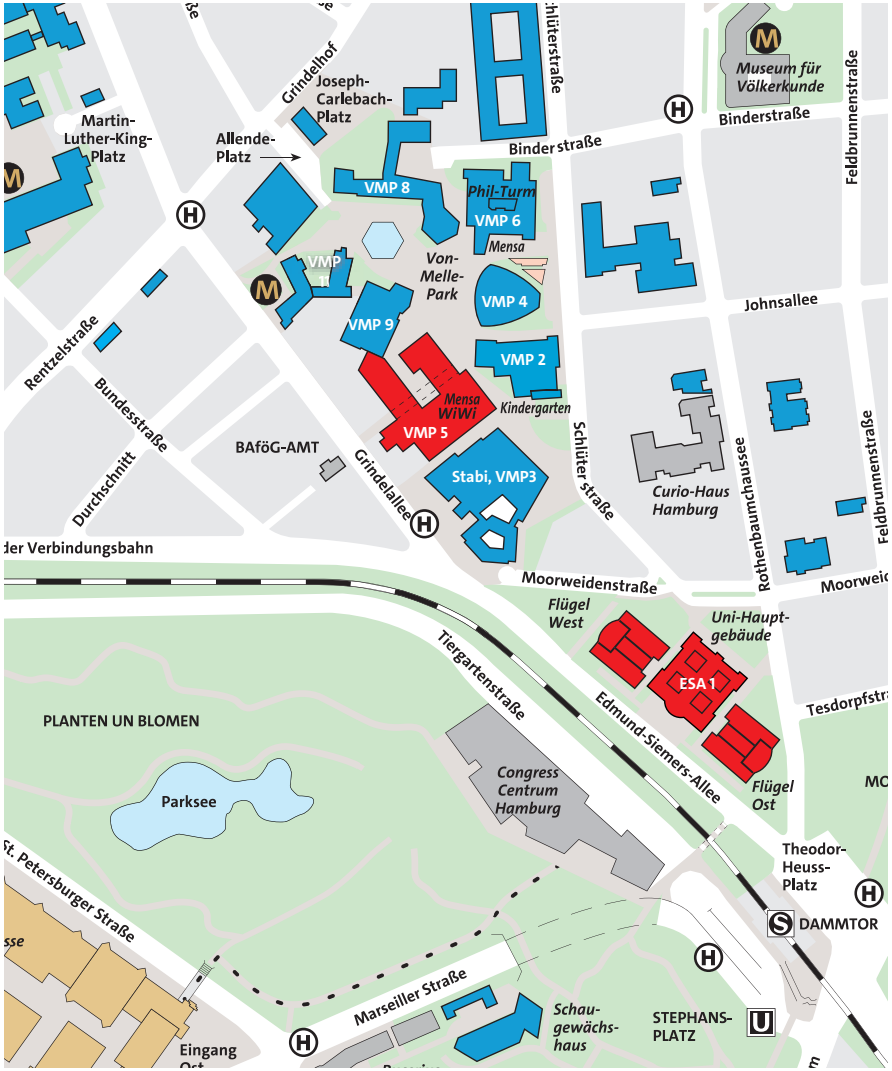
Alster
Das neben der Elbe prägendste Gewässer Hamburgs ist die Alster. Rundfahrten auf der Binnen- und Außenalster sowie Spaziergänge um das Gewässer sind bei Einheimischen und Touristen sehr beliebt.

Jungfernstieg
Am südlichen Ufer der Hamburger Alster erstreckt sich der Jungfernstieg. Die historische Flaniermeile ist Dreh- und Angelpunkt im Zentrum der Hansestadt. Ihr Name geht auf einen sonntäglichen Ritus wohlhabender Hamburger Familien in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts zurück. Einheimische und Besucher gleichermaßen genießen bei gutem Wetter das Panorama.

Planten un Blomen
Der Park Planten un Blomen ist nur einen kurzen Spaziergang von der Binnenalster entfernt. Er ist auf einem Teilgebiet der ehemaligen Hamburger Wallanlagen entstanden und für jeden Naturliebhaber ein Muss. Als eine der grünsten Attraktionen der Hansestadt lädt die Parkanlage zum Sonnenbaden und Entspannen ein.

Stadtpark
Der Stadtpark in Winterhude ist mit knapp 150 Hektar die drittgrößte Grünfläche der Hansestadt. Er dient der Erholung, Freizeitgestaltung und wartet mit Kunstobjekten auf. Im nordwestlichen Bereich des Parks befindet sich das Planetarium, das von 1912 bis 1916 zunächst als Wasserturm erbaut wurde. Es ist eines der dienstältesten Sternentheater der Welt und nach einer rund zweijährigen Umbauphase auch eines der modernsten weltweit.

Lageplan



Legende:

ESA 1	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 (Hauptgebäude – HG)
Flügel Ost	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 Flügel Ost (ESA1 O)
Flügel West	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1 Flügel West (ESA1 W)
VMP4	Von-Melle-Park 4 (Audimax)
VMP5	Von-Melle-Park 5

Raumübersicht

Anmeldung / Ausgabe der Tagungsunterlagen

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020, 8:00–14:00	ESA1 W 121
danach im Tagungsbüro	ESA1 W 120
Neu-Registrierung im Tagungsbüro	ESA1 W 120
Tagungsbüro	ESA1 W 120
Garderobe	ESA1 W 120
Gepäckaufbewahrung (wird nur auf Anfrage im Tagungsbüro geöffnet)	ESA1 W 222
Lounge ab 04.03. (hier auch Ladestation für Notebooks & Handys)	ESA1 W 121
drop in-Besprechungsräume (nur nach Buchung im Tagungsbüro)	ESA1 HG 118
	ESA1 HG 136
	ESA1 HG AS-Saal
Kinderbetreuung (nur nach vorheriger Anmeldung)	ESA1 W 223
Verlagsausstellung	ESA1 W 221
	ESA1 O 221
Kaffeepausen	ESA1 W 221
	ESA1 O 221
	VMP5 2085
Mensa	VMP5 EG
Dienstag, 03.03.2020	
Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)	ESA1 W 221
Doktorandenforum	ESA1 W 121
Computerlinguistik-Tutorium	ESA1 O 123
Lehramtsinitiative/Lehrerinformationstag	ESA1 O 221, 120, 121, 122
Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 bis Freitag 06.03.2020	HS = Hörsaal
Plenarvorträge	**Audimax** VMP4
AG1: Variation in heritage languages: Language contact vs. internal developments	ESA1 HG HS J
AG2: Linguistic diversity and linguistic modalities: New perspectives on bimodal (sign language/oral language) bilingualism	ESA1 HG HS B
AG3: Syntactic representations in the multilingual mind: Methodological approaches	VMP5 2091/2201
AG4: Empirical consequences of universal claims in grammatical theorizing	ESA1 HG HS M
AG5: The evolution of writing systems: Empirical and cross-linguistic approaches	VMP5 2098/2194
AG6: Theoretical approaches to grammatical (non-)identity in synchrony and diachrony	VMP5 2067/2071
AG7: Approaching linguistic diversity from an evolutionary perspective: Towards a typology of future tenses	ESA1 O 122

AG8: Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie: Interpendenzen von System, Erwerb und Gebrauch	ESA1 HG HS C
AG9: 30 Jahre Linguistic Diversity: Forschung – Alltag – Ressourcen	ESA1 HG HS C
AG10: Corpus-based typology: Spoken language from a cross-linguistic perspective	VMP5 2101/2105
AG11: Dictionary articles and corpora – A research laboratory for linguistic diversity	VMP5 2101/2105
AG12: Expressing the use-mention dinstinction: An empirical perspective	ESA1 HG HS H
AG13: Diversity in pragmatic inferences: Experimental data, computational models, and the semantics/pragmatics interface	ESA1 HG HS H
AG14: Empirical Studies of Word Sense Divergence across Language Varities	ESA1 HG HS K
AG15: Modelling gradient variability in grammar	ESA1 HG HS K
AG16: Diversität und Prädikation in der Sprachverarbeitung: Welchen Einfluss haben Sprecher, Text und Methode?	ESA1 O 121
AG17: Variation in the lexical semantics of adjectives and their crosslinguistic kin	ESA1 O 121

Posterausstellung Computerlinguistik	ESA1 W Foyer (EG)
Preisverleihung Wilhelm von Humboldt-Preis	Audimax
Computerlinguistik-Mitgliederversammlung	ESA1 HG 118
DFG-Infoveranstaltung	ESA1 HG HS J
DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung	ESA1 HG HS B

Raumübersicht – Adressen

HS = Hörsaal

Audimax	Von-Melle-Park 4, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG 118	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG 136	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS B	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS C	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS H	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS J	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS K	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 HG HS M	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Hauptgebäude, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 O 122	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel Ost, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 O 123	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel Ost, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 O 221	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel Ost, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 W Foyer	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, EG, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 W 120	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 W 121	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 W 221	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, 20146 Hamburg
ESA1 W 223	Edmund-Siemers-Allee 1, Flügel West, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5 2067/2071	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5 2085	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5 2091/2201	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5 2098/2194	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg
VMP5 2101/2105	Von-Melle-Park 5, 20146 Hamburg

Teil II

Programmübersicht und AG-Programme

Programmübersicht

Dienstag, 03.03.2020

14:00–18:00	Anmeldung/Registrierung	Tagungsbüro
09:00–18:00	Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP) „Digitale Pragmatik“	ESA1 W 221
09:00–16:00	Doktorandenforum	ESA1 W 121
11:00–18:00	Tutorium der Sektion Computerlinguistik	ESA1 O 123
15:00–19:45	Lehramtsinitiative/Lehrerinformationstag	ESA1 O 120, 121, 122, 221
19:00– ca. 22:00	Warming Up im Hofbräu Wirtshaus Speersort	

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

08:00–18:30	Anmeldung/Registrierung	Tagungsbüro
08:00–14:00	Ausgabe der Tagungsunterlagen	ESA1 W 121
14:00–18:30		Tagungsbüro
09:00–09:30	Begrüßung Grußwort des Vizepräsidenten der Universität Hamburg Jan Louis	Audimax
09:30–10:30	Plenarvortrag Yaron Matras (University of Manchester)	Audimax
10:30–11:00	Kaffeepause	Audimax Foyer
11:00–11:30	Verleihung des Wilhelm-von-Humboldt-Preises	Audimax
11:30–12:30	Plenarvortrag Carol Padden (University of California, San Diego)	Audimax
12:30–13:45	Mittagspause	
12:30–13:45	Mitgliederversammlung der Sektion Computerlinguistik	ESA1 HG 118
13:45–15:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
15:45–16:30	Kaffeepause	ESA1 W 221 ESA1 O 221 VMP5 2085
15:45–16:30	Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 1)	ESA1 W Foyer (EG)
16:30–18:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
19:30–21:00	Empfang im Saal der Patriotischen Gesellschaft von 1765	Trostbrücke 6, 20457 Hamburg

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

08:30–18:00	Anmeldung/Registrierung	Tagungsbüro
09:00–10:30	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
10:30–11:15	Kaffeepause	ESA1 W 221 ESA1 O 221 VMP5 2085

PRO

10:30–11:15	Postersession Computerlinguistik (Teil 2)	ESA1 W Foyer (EG)
11:15–12:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
12:45–13:45	Mittagspause	
12:45–13:45	DFG-Informationsveranstaltung (Helga Weyerts-Schweda)	ESA1 HG HS J
13:45–14:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
15:00–18:30	DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung	ESA1 HG HS B
19:30–23:30	Geselliger Abend im Besenbinderhof	Besenbinderhof 57a, 20097 Hamburg

Freitag, 06.03.2020

09:00–10:00	Plenarvortrag Elke Teich (Universität des Saarlandes)	Audimax
10:00–11:00	Plenarvortrag Jürgen Meisel (University of Calgary & Universität Hamburg)	Audimax
11:00–11:45	Kaffeepause	ESA1 W 221 ESA1 O 221 VMP5 2085
11:45–14:15	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen	ESA1 HG/-O,/-W, VMP5
14:15	Ende der Tagung	

PRO

AG Programme

AG 1

Variation in heritage languages: Language contact vs internal developments

Maria Martynova, Vicky Rizou, Tatiana Pashkova & Yulia Zuban

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) J

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Janne Bondi Johannessen (Keynote speaker)
Investigating moribund Scandinavian heritage languages: Methods, challenges and pleasures

14:45–15:15 Laia Arnaus, Johanna Stahnke & Natascha Müller
Position and spell-out of subjects in French as a heritage language: a cross-sectional study of early bi-, tri- and multilingualism in Spain and Germany

15:15–15:45 Hjalmar Páll Petersen
Internal and external factors in Faroese syntactic variation and change

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Brechje van Osch, Aafke Hulk, Petra Sleeman & Suzanne Aalberse
Interface Vulnerability and Cross-linguistic Influence in Heritage Speakers of Spanish

17:00–17:30 Yulia Zuban, Tamara Rathcke & Sabine Zerbian
Intonation of yes-no questions by heritage speakers of Russian

17:30–18:00 Laia Arnaus, Eva Juarros Daussà, Renée Pera Ros & Amelia Jiménez-Gaspar
Untangling the factors towards language proficiency in Catalan as a heritage language in Germany: A cross-sectional study on language exposure, language proficiency, parental linguistic attitudes and parents' wellbeing

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Dalit Assouline
Noun phrase word order variation in heritage Hasidic Yiddish in Israel

09:30–10:00 Karoline Kühl
Constructional change in Heritage Danish: Towards more schematicity

10:00–10:30 Nora Vosburg
Variation of periphrastic ‚do' in Kansas Plautdietsch

10:30–11:15 **Kaffeepause**

11:15–12:15 Silvina Montrul (Keynote speaker)
Convergence and Divergence in Heritage Languages: Considering the Dominant Language and the Sociopolitical Context

PRO

12:15–12:45 Gülsen Yılmaz & Onur Özsoy
Causes of disfluencies in the heritage language: Cognitive, semantic or both

12:45–13:45 **Mittagspause**

13:45–14:15 Robert Klosinski
Maintenance and change of Bernese in Ohio and Misiones (Argentina)

14:15–14:45 Miriam Geiss, Sonja Gumbsheimer, Anika Kate Lloyd-Smith, Svenja Schmid & Tanja Kupisch
VOT in German-dominant HSs of Italian

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Margaret Blevins & Roslyn Burns
Lexical Borrowings in Texas German

12:15–12:45 Christian Zimmer
The role of contact-induced change in informal Namibian German (Namdeutsch)

12:45–13:15 Tatiana Pashkova, Abigail Hodge & Shanley Allen
Explicitness in heritage speakers' majority English productions

13:15–13:45 Wintai Tsehaye, Oliver Bunk & Kateryna Iefremenko
Language contact versus internal dynamics in heritage speakers' use of discourse markers

13:45–14:15 Maria Martynova & Uliana Yazhinova
Negative concord in heritage Russian in Germany

AG 2

Linguistic diversity and linguistic modalities: New perspectives on bimodal (sign language/oral language) bilingualism

Barbara Hänel-Faulhaber, Carolina Plaza-Pust & Cornelia Loos

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) B

PRO

Mittwoch, 04.03.2010

13:45–14:45 Diane Lillo-Martin (Keynote)
Heritage Language Characteristics of Bimodal Bilinguals

14:45–15:15 Anderson Almeida da Silva
Strong and weak definiteness among monolingual and bilingual signers of Brazilian Sign Language (Libras)

15:15–15:45 Pasquale Rinaldi, Cristiana Sanalitro & Maria Cristina Caselli
Signed and spoken language skills in a bimodal bilingual child who uses a cochlear implant

15:45–16:30 **Kaffeepause**

16:30–17:00 Oya Tanyeri & Okan Kubus
An analysis of early signs in Turkish Sign Language and/or early words in Turkish: A case study of one hearing child of deaf parents

17:00–17:30 Helen Koulidobrova & Nedelina Ivanova
Bimodal bilinguals behave almost like unimodal bilinguals: Phonology of Icelandic Sign Language

17:30–18:00 Marina Milković, Tomislav Radošević & Iva Hrastinski
How to assess language when there is none: A case of bimodal semi-bilingual deaf child

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Anastasia Bauer
The role of mouthing and fingerspelling and their (similar) functions in the Russian Sign Language Corpus

09:30–10:00 Cornelia Loos, Markus Steinbach & Sophie Repp
Bimodal particles – the impact of German on response particles in DGS

10:00–10:30 Rain Bosworth & Jill P. Morford
Effects of language modality and script similarity on bilingual Stroop performance

10:30–11:15 **Kaffeepause**

11:15–11:45 Moa Gärdenfors
Writing development in signing and non-signing deaf children using cochlea implants or hearing aids

11:45–12:15 Agnes Villwock, Erin Wilkinson & Jill P. Morford
Co-activation of languages across modalities: Deaf bilinguals activate signs when reading print

12:15–12:45 Anna-Lena Stroh, Frank Rösler, José Ossandón, Davide Bottari, Bruno Rossion & Brigitte Röder
Sign language acquisition changes the temporal processing characteristics of the visual system: Evidence from deaf and hearing native signers

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:45 Bencie Woll (Keynote)
Multilingualism in the Deaf Community: Learning and using more than one sign language

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Christian Rathmann & Thomas Geißler
Modality Effects in phonological, lexical and spatial development in L2/M2 learners of German Sign Language in the first semester: A corpus-based Investigation

12:15–12:45 Russell S. Rosen
Second language acquisition of American Sign Language verb subject and object phi-features

12:45–13:15 Aline Meili
From signing to writing

13:15–13:45 Justyna Kotowicz, Bencie Woll & Gary Morgan
Bimodal bilingualism and executive function in hearing children, native signers

13:45–14:15 Claudia Becker, Katerina Antonopoulou, Mireille Audeoud & Kika Hadjikakou
Promotion of social-cognitive competences through bimodal-bilingual education

AG 3

Syntactic representations in the multilingual mind: methodological approaches

Jana Gamper & Kathrin Weber

Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2091/2201

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:15 Jana Gamper & Kathrin Weber
Introduction to the workshop

14:15–15:15 Denisa Bordag, Andreas Opitz, Max Polter & Michael Meng
L2 readers retain more verbatim information than native readers

15:15–15:45 Oliver Bunk & Jana Gamper
Between V2 and V3: Processing non-canonical sentence structures in L2 German

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:30 Valentina Cristante & Sarah Schimke
Syntactic representations in the multilingual mind – Evidence from an Eye-Tracking study on the comprehension of passive sentences

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:30–10:30 Gerrit Kentner & Isabelle Franz
Prosodic effects on syntactic choice in L2 English? The case of the optional complementiser

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–12:15 Annette Fahrner
What counts for SLA learners? A frequency-based approach to the acquisition of German "es" constructions by Spanish-speaking learners

12:15–12:45 Kathrin Weber
From Corpus-to-Cognition: German perfect tense constructions and inner multilingualism

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:45 Tetyana Vasylyeva
From sentence to discourse: Event representations by monolingual and bilingual children

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:45 Sandra Pappert & Michael Baumann
Implicit learning of verb argument constructions in German as a second language

12:45–13:45 Christin Schellhardt
Register Specific Structures in Multilingual Language Acquisition

13:45–14:15 Discussion

PRO

AG 4

Empirical consequences of universal claims in grammatical theorizing

Martin Haspelmath

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) M

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:15 Martin Haspelmath
Testable universals, the natural-kinds programme, and presupposed universals in grammatical theorizing

14:15–14:45 Katharina Hartmann (Invited speaker)
Peripheral prominence

14:45–15:15 Stefan Müller (Invited speaker)
Searching for universals: Deriving generalizations from data

15:15–15:45 Sterre Leufkens
Is redundancy as universal as linguists say it is?

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Thomas Stolz
Hypotheses meet their worst enemy – empiricism

17:00–17:30 Jane Middleton
*An investigation of *ABA patterns of syncretism in the pronominal domain*

17:30–18:00 Aleksandrs Berdicevskis
Do morphological oppositions obey Zipf's law of abbreviation? Quantitative evidence from 54 languages

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Annemarie Verkerk, Hannah Haynie, Russell Gray, Simon Greenhill, Olena Shcherbakova & Hedvig Skirgård
Testing Greenberg's universals on a global scale

09:30–10:00 Steve Pepper
A new perspective on compounding as a universal

10:00–10:30 Jingting Ye
Differential coding in property words: A typological study

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Daniel Hole
Languages turn out more similar if one looks out for similarities

11:45–12:15 Natalia Levshina
Corpora and language universals: Opportunities and challenges

12:15–12:45 Hisao Tokizaki & Yasutomo Kuwana
Greenberg's Universal 25 and its exception

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Olga Zamaraeva, Kristen Howell, Emily M. Bender & Chris Curtis
Integrated testing of typological hypotheses at scale

14:15–14:45 Thomas McFadden, Sandhya Sundaresan & Hedde Zeijlstra
Adjunct islands and the interplay of theoretical and empirical factors in refining universal claims

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Sandra McGury
The Poverty of the Stimulus: Evidence from word order in second language acquisition of German

12:15–12:45 Ilja I. Seržant
Typology meets efficiency research: Evolution of bound person-number indexes

12:45–13:15 Susanne Maria Michaelis
Creole data support universal coding asymmetries

PRO

AG 5

The Evolution of Writing Systems: Empirical and Cross-linguistic Approaches

Jessica Nowak, Lisa Dücker, Stefan Hartmann & Renata Szczepaniak

Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2098/2194

PRO

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:15 Jessica Nowak, Lisa Dücker, Stefan Hartmann & Renata Szczepaniak
Introduction

14:15–14:45 Anja Voeste (Keynote)
A matter of aesthetics? On the interrelation between spelling variation and page layout

14:45–15:15 Marko Neumann
Punctuation and text segmentation in 15th-century pamphlets

15:15–15:45 Stefanie Dipper, Ilka Lemke & Sandra Waldenberger
Towards a broad-coverage graphematic analysis of large historical corpora

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Hanna Lüschow
Quantifying graphematic variation via large text corpora

17:00–17:30 Sven Leuckert
Waistcoats in Cirencester: A Corpus-Driven Investigation of Spelling Pronunciations in the History of English

17:30–18:00 Kristian Berg
Self-organization and utilization in spelling

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Paul Rössler (Keynote)
Punctuation and typographic variation in 18th century printings: On the vanishing of the virgule

09:30–10:00 Caroline Postler
A cross-linguistic comparison of functions and usage of word marks

10:00–10:30 Javier Caro Reina & Işık Akar
The diachronic use of the apostrophe with proper names in Turkish

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Marco Condorelli
Standardisation as an evolving or an involving process? Evidence from sixteenth and seventeenth-century English spelling

11:45–12:15 Peeter Tinits
The mechanisms of spelling standardization for written Estonian 1880-1920

12:15–12:45 Chris De Wulf
DoDO – Development of Dutch Orthography 1250-1400

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Kyra van der Moezel
Graphemic change in Ancient Egypt: Hieratic writing of the New Kingdom

14:15–14:45 Corinna Salomon
On the non-representation of nasals before homorganic obstruents in alphabetic scripts

PRO

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Terry Joyce & Dimitrios Meletis
The 'evolution' of writing systems in terms of typological and other criteria: Cross-linguistic observations from the German and Japanese writing systems

12:15–12:45 Lieke Verheijen
Orthographic Principles in Written Computer-Mediated Communication: The SUPER-functions of Textisms in Informal Online Writing and Their Interaction with Age and Medium

12:45–13:15 Florian Busch
Digitalization of punctuation: The ‚interactional principle' in digitally mediated writing

13:15–14:15 Final discussion

Alternates

Dörte Borchers
The role of linguistic, cultural and political factors for choosing a writing system for a newly written language

Heinz Miklas
What the Slavonic Scripts and Writing Systems Can Teach Us

AG 6

Theoretical approaches to grammatical (non-)identity in synchrony and diachrony

Leah Bauke & Dennis Wegner

Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2067/2071

PRO

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:15 Leah Bauke & Dennis Wegner
Introduction

14:15–14:45 Sigríður Sigurðardóttir & Þórhallur Eyþórsso
The Anti-Occam's Razor: The distinction between pronouns and expletives in Icelandic

14:45–15:15 Peter Herbeck
On contextually defined 'overt categories' in Spanish

15:15–15:45 Jong-Bok Kim & Stefan Müller
Grammatical Interfaces in Transparent Free Relatives

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Jakob Maché
Grammaticalisation in the lexicon – accounting for the distribution of negative polar uses of need verbs in Germanic languages

17:00–18:00 Dagmar Haumann & Kristin Killie
The diachrony of grammatical non-identity: Manner and speaker-oriented adverbs

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Peter Öhl
Identity, Persistence and Differentiation in Periphrastic Verbal Forms

09:30–10:00 Joanna Wall
The German Zustandspassiv: The ellipsis hypothesis reconceived

10:00–10:30 Laura Grestenberger
Grammatical (non-)identity in Greek participles

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–11:45 Tillmann Pross & Antje Roßdeutscher
A bottom-up approach to the (non-)identity of German participle forms

11:45–12:15 Hagen Hirschmann
The uni- or polyfunctionality of 'so' in German

12:15–12:45 Nicholas Catasso
How to do (different) things with (the same) words: Grammaticalization, multifunctionality, and the diachrony of German 'so'

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:45 Liliane Haegeman
A reassessment of the typology of adverbial clauses

PRO

Freitag, 06.03.2020

12:15–12:45 Dominik Besier
Between a lexical and a functional category – How many entries in the lexicon do we need for Indonesian ini?

12:45–13:15 Nina Adam
Clitic and non-clitic forms of 'to be' in Czech

13:15–14:15 Tom Roeper
Optionality on the Acquisition Path

AG 7

Approaching linguistic diversity from an evolutionary perspective: Towards a typology of future tenses

Elżbieta Adamczyk, Martin Becker, Eugen Hill & Björn Wiemer

Raum: ESA1 (Ost) O 122

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Joanna Błaszczak
Crosslinguistic patterns of interaction between modal and aspectual properties in futures

14:45–15:15 Daniel Bunčić
Early modal meanings of future grams in the history of Russian

15:15–15:45 Daria Kosheleva
Competing future constructions in Russian and their non-future uses

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Yana Penkova
Layering in the system of Middle Russian periphrastic future constructions through a corpus perspective

17:00–17:30 Walter Breu
Futures in language contact: The case of Molise Slavic

17:30–18:00 Malinka Pila
Futures in language contact: The case of Resian

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Björn Wiemer & Anna Socka
Doing without the progressive present: How present tense hypoanalyzed via pluractionality and modality

09:30–10:00 Agnes Jäger
The origin of German 'werden' + infinitive future – an alternative scenario

10:00–10:30 Svetlana Petrova
Encoding Future in the Past in Old and Middle High German

10:30–11:15 Kaffeepause

11:15–12:15 Uta Reinöhl
Finding a home for movement futures between modality and aspect

12:15–12:45 Christian Gewering & Ann Marynissen
The development of future 'gaan' in Dutch

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Víctor Lara Bermejo & Victoria Escandell-Vidal
From time to source of information: The evolution of the Ibero-Romance future tense

14:15–14.45 Raphael Salkie
Futures and intentions

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Jakob Halfmann
An unusual grammaticalization path of future tenses in Vedic Sanskrit and some modern Hindu Kush languages

12:15–12:45 Akua Campbell
Tracing the history of the Gã future morphemes: Tense, modality and the principle of layering

12:45–13:15 Linda Konnerth
Polarity as a factor in the evolution of future tense constructions

13:15–13:45 Stefan Savić
Future tenses in Xhosa

13:45–14:15 Neele Harlos
Future time reference in South American indigenous languages

AG 8

Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie: Interdependenzen von System, Erwerb und Gebrauch

Katharina Nimz & Karsten Schmidt

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) C

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Constanze Weth (invited speaker)
Was wird transferiert? Über die Komplexität des Einflusses von Mehrsprachigkeit auf den Schrifterwerb

14:45–15:15 Nanna Fuhrhop
Vergleichende Graphematik als Ressource für den mehrsprachigen Schrifterwerb

15:15–15:45 Katharina Turgay
Zum Einfluss des Sprachwissens auf die Orthographiekompetenz in mehrsprachigen Kontexten

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Irina Usanova, Christoph Gabriel, Ingrid Gogolin, Thorsten Klinger, Anja Müller & Birger Schnoor
The role of spelling in (assessing) multilingual students' writing skills: Insights from a pilot study with German-Russian and German-Turkish adolescents

17:00–17:30 Anja Steinlen & Thorsten Piske
Englische und deutsche Rechtschreibfähigkeiten von deutschen und türkischen Grundschulkindern in zwei Fremdsprachenprogrammen

17:30–18:00 Hans–Georg Müller & Christoph Schroeder
Zum Einfluss der Erstsprache auf die orthographischen Teilkompetenzen. Orthographieerwerb deutsch-, türkisch- und russischsprachiger Schülerinnen und Schüler im Vergleich

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Amrei Walkenhorst
Der Erwerb der graphischen Kennzeichnung der Vokallaute bei mehrsprachigen Kindern: Verschriftungsstrategien statt phonologischer Interferenz?

09:30–10:00 Miriam Langlotz
Interpunktion im bilingualen Schriftspracherwerb deutsch-italienisch – eine Analyse narrativer Schülertexte der Sekundarstufe I

10:00–10:30 Katharina Nimz & Karsten Schmidt
Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie – Resümee und Ausblick

Alternates

Irene Corvacho del Toro & Ulrich Mehlem
Rechtschreibförderung bei mehr- und einsprachigen Kindern in der Grundschule

PRO

AG 9

30 Jahre Linguistic Diversity: Forschung – Alltag – Ressourcen

Kristin Bührig, Julia Sitzmann & Patrick Grommes

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) C

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

11:15–11:45 Kristin Bührig, Julia Sitzmann, Patrick Grommes
30 Jahre Linguistic Diversity: Desiderata und Denkanstöße

11:45–12:15 Gabriel Leopoldino dos Santos
An analytical reflection on the Brazilian linguistic production on Language Policy

12:15–12:45 Maria Stopfner
How to relate quantitative research data on plurilingual development with individuals' changing communicative needs

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Anne Schwarz
Mehrsprachigkeit in der DaZ-Alphabetisierung

14:15–14:45 Vít Dovalil
Management of multilingualism in institutional settings: the recruitment of staff for EU institutions

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Ulla Kleinberger
Pflege fremdsprachiger PatientInnen – sprachlich-kommunikative Praktiken des Adressatenzuschnitts

12:15–12:45 Claudio Scarvaglieri
Praxen institutioneller Mehrsprachigkeit: Beobachtung und Konzeptualisierung

12:45–13:15 Angelika Redder
Mehrsprachiges Handeln – Konzept und Praxis

13:15–14:15 Panel:
Mehrsprachige Kommunikation in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis

Alternates

Julia Sitzmann
Migration am Arbeitsmarkt: (sprachliche) Diversität als Ressource

Ludwig Paul
Das Persische als ‚lingua franca'

PRO

AG 10

Corpus-based typology: spoken language from a cross-linguistic perspective

Geoffrey Haig & Stefan Schnell

Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2101/2105

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Nicholas Evans & Danielle Barth (Keynote)
Measuring the unsaid: the SCOPIC project as a parallax cross-linguistic corpus

14:45:15:15 Birgit Hellwig
Child language documentation: The sketch acquisition project

15:15–15:45 Pavel Ozerov
Discourse contribution of naming a referent: a projection-based account of lone NPs in two typologically different languages

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Amina Mettouchi & Martine Vanhove
Prosodic segmentation and grammatical analysis in cross-linguistic corpora

17:00–17:30 Dejan Matić
A typological paradox: Information structure and linguistic corpora

17:30–18:00 Geoffrey Haig & Stefan Schnell
On potential statistical universals of grammar in discourse: evidence from Multi-CAST

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–10:00 Frank Seifart (Keynote)
Corpus-based cross-linguistic research on the temporal dynamics of speech

10:00–10:30 Closing discussion

AG 11

Dictionary Articles and Corpora – a Research Laboratory for Linguistic Diversity

Sabine Wahl & Philipp Stöckle

Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2101/2105

PRO

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

11:15–11:45 Stefan Engelberg (Invited speaker)
Exploring, Analyzing, and Describing Variation: From the Dictionary to the Lexicological Research Platform

11:45–12:15 Petra Storjohann
Linguistic Diversity in a Dictionary of German Confusables

12:15–12:45 Roland Mittmann & Ralf Plate
Dictionaries, Text Corpora and Lexicographical Evidence Collections on Older German: on their Consolidation and Combined Application

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Magdalena Derwojedowa
Field Labels as Markers of Language Change

14:15–14:45 Karlheinz Mörth
Modelling Diatopic Variation in TEI: the Case of the VICAV Dictionaries

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Sarah Oglivie (Invited speaker)
Digital Tools and Dictionaries

12:15–12:45 Andreas Nolda, Adrien Barbaresi & Alexander Geyken
Towards a Regionally Balanced Corpus of Standard German

12:45–13:15 Mara Leonardi
A Corpus-Based Study on the Variation of German Adverbs in South Tyrol

13:15–13:45 Yunlu Wan
Loan Words in Chinese and Linguistic Diversity in the Dicionário Protuguês-Chinês (1583-1588)

13:45–14:15 Volker Harm
The 'Deutsches Wörterbuch' as a Resource for the Investigation of Loan Vocabulary

Alternates

Philipp Stöckle & Sabine Wahl
The Dictionary of Bavarian Dialects in Austria (WBÖ) – A Research Laboratory for Linguistic Diversity

AG 12

Expressing the use-mention-distinction: An empirical perspective

Holden Härtl & Marcel Schlechtweg

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) H

PRO

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Philippe De Brabanter
Marks of quotation must be optional

14:45–15:15 Jan Wislicki
Scare quotes as deontic modals: Evidence from limits on scare quoting

15:15–15:45 Katsumasa Ito
Interactions of ironical scare quotations and discourse particles in Japanese

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Rita Finkbeiner
Proper name constructions, quotation marks and the use-mention distinction

17:00–18:00 Emar Maier
Picturing words: The semantics of speech balloons

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–10:00 Markus Steinbach (Invited talk)
Expressing the use-mention distinction at the gesture-sign interface

10:00–10:30 James Griffiths, Güliz Güneş & Anikó Lipták
Focus and quotation in English echo questions

Alternates

Andreas Musolff
"If you know what I mean": The use of mentions in wartime reporting – W. L. Shirer's dispatches from wartime Germany 1939-40

AG 13

Diversity in pragmatic inferences: experimental data, computional models, and the semantics/pragmatics interface

Nicole Gotzner, Anton Benz, Napoleon Katsos & Bob van Tiel

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) H

PRO

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

11:15–11:45 Introduction by the organizers

11:45–12:45 Laurence R. Horn (Keynote)
Implicature: A golden anniversary tour

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Yan Huang
I like you may actually implicate 'I love you': A reconsideration of some scalar implicatures

14:15–14:45 Richard Breheny, Chao Sun, Nicole Gotzner & Anton Benz
Diverse mechanisms explain Scalar Diversity

18:30 Workshop Dinner

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Yechezkel Shabanov & Einat Shetreet
The scalar interpretation of double negation

12:15–12:45 Elena Albu
Remarks on the interpretation of negated absolute adjectives

12:45–13:15 John Michael Tomlinson & Ina Baier
Be timely: How turn-taking gaps influence implicatures

13:15–14.15 Postersession

Postersession and Alternates

Lea Fricke, Dominique Blok & Malte Zimmermann
The pragmatic status of strong exhaustive readings of embedded questions (alternate talk)

Roxanne Casiez & Marina Terkourafi
The interplay between scalar inference and emotional valence: an interactional alternative (alternate talk)

Stefanie Jannedy, Felicitas Kleber & Melanie Weirich
Language external factors as predictors in language processing

Verene Keite, Ralf Klabunde & Eva Belke
Reassessing the distinction between ad-hoc and scalar implicatures

Margarita Ryzhova & Vera Demberg
Does cognitive capacity modulate pragmatic inferences triggered by informational redundancy?

Tal Tehan & Einat Shetreet
Scalar diversity of two weak quantifiers in Hebrew

PRO

AG 14

Empirical Studies of Word Sense Divergences across Language Varieties

Dominik Schlechtweg & Sabine Schulte im Walde

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) K

13:45–14:15 Heike Wiese & Oliver Bunk
Meaning in discourse: Word sense divergences and registers

14:15–14:45 Maike Park
The shifting shapes of meaning - A study on morphosyntactic changes of neosememes in German

14:45–15:15 Fabian Ehrmantraut
When the meaning of free morphemes diverges from the meaning of their bound counterparts: The case of 'bio' and its relatives

15:15–15:45 Andreas Baumann, Klaus Hofmann, Anna Marakasova, Julia Neidhardt & Tanja Wissik
Semantic shifts in the Austrian public discourse: A lexical networks approach

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Barbara McGillivray (Invited talk)
Quantifying lexical semantic change across centuries: What can we still learn from Ancient Greek and Latin?

17:00–18:00 Postersession

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Karlien Franco & Dirk Geeraerts
Concept characteristics and lexical variation in dialectological data

09:30–10:00 Stefano De Pascale, Weiwei Zhang & Kris Heylen
Scaling-up lexical variationist research in pluricentric languages with type- and token-level vector semantics

10:00–10:30 John Nerbonne (Invited talk)
Advice on comparing languages and varieties

Postersession

Syrielle Montariol & Alexandre Allauzen
A case study of diachrony across two languages

Lauren Fonteyn
If you're about distributional semantics, you'll be into this talk: Semantic change in the recent history of 'into' and 'about'

Merijn Beeksma
What is 'normal'? Exploring semantic shifts in the medical domain

Reem Alatrash & Diego Frassinelli
Computational analysis of the syntactic and semantic variation Kiezdeutsch

Filip Miletic, Anne Przewozny-Desriaux & Ludovic Tanguy
Methodological issues in using word embeddings in a sociolinguistic perspective: The case of contact-induced semantic variation across Canadian twitter corpora

Krzysztof Nowak
Metaphorical mapping across text genres. Domain-specific variation in the conceptualization of TIME in Medieval Latin

AG 15 Modelling gradient variability in grammar

Sina Bosch, Ilaria De Cesare, Anna Jessen & Serkan Uygun

Raum: ESA1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) K

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

11:15–11:45 Introduction by the organizers

11:45–12:45 Lara Schwarz (Invited talk)
Accepting our mistakes: How variation completes the linguistic puzzle

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Eleonore Schmitt
Gradient variability in morphological classes. Examining frequency effects in language processing and production

14:15–14:45 Roland Schäfer
Assessing compatibility and stability of individual grammars through multiple replication

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Anke Himmelreich & Ahmet Bilal Özdemir
Variable Affix Order on the Surface: The Case of Turkish

12:15–12:45 Gereon Müller
Variation in Idiom Part Movement: A Gradient Harmonic Grammar Approach

12:45–13:15 Ingo Feldhausen
On the integration of gradient inter- and intra-speaker variation in linguistic data into formal grammatical theory: A look at prosodic phrasing in Spanish

13:15–14:15 João Veríssimo (Invited talk)
Structure and gradience in morphological processing

AG 16 Diversity and Prediction in Language Processing: Influences of Speaker, Register, and Experimental Method

Franziska Kretzschmar, Ingmar Brilmayer & Phillip M. Alday

Raum: ESA1 Ost (O) 121

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020

13:45–14:45 Roel Willems (Invited talk)
Combining computational language models and neuroimaging to understand prediction during language comprehension

14:45–15:15 Alexandra Engel & Adriana Hanulíkova
Processing of morphosyntactic variants: The role of speaking style and genre

15:15–15:45 Elma Kerz, Daniel Wiechmann & Stella Neumann
Effects of word predictability are mediated by language register and inter-individual variation in working memory capacity

15:45–16:30 Kaffeepause

16:30–17:00 Kyla McConnell & Alice Blumenthal-Dramé
Predicting collocates: Task effects, chunk frequency, and association measures

17:00–17:30 Leigh Fernandez, Paul Engelhardt, Angela G. Patarroyo & Shanley Allen
The impact of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements in L1 aging and in L2 speakers

17:30–18:00 Kate Stone & Sol Lago
Individual variability in the timecourse of predictions

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

09:00–09:30 Karen Henrich, Matthias Scharinger & Winfried Menninghaus
Predictive processing in poetic language: ERP data on rhythmic omissions in metered speech

09:30–10:00 Priscila López-Beltran & Paola Dussias
Anticipating a subjunctive clause in Spanish: A pupillometry study

10:00–10:30 Anna Laurinavichyute, Anastasiya Lopukhina & Svetlana Malyutina
Good-enough processing and how it depends on environmental noise — from adolescence into older age

Alternates

Jakob Egetenmeyer
Genre and the licensing of non-standard TAM marking. Evidence from football reports

Julian Jarosch, Stephan Füssel, Matthias Schlesewsky & Franziska Kretzschmar
Unusual letter widths, eye guidance and word processing: Monospaced fonts show adaptations in reading strategy

Ane Theiman, Pernille Hansen & Ekaterina Kuzmina
Verb-mediated prediction in young bilingual children

AG 17 Variation in the lexical semantics of adjectives and their crosslinguistic kin

Ryan Bochnak, Margit Bowler, Emily Hanink & Andrew Koontz-Garboden

Raum: ESA1 Ost (O) 121

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020

11:15–12:15 Tom Grano (Invited talk)
Meaning and derivational morphology in the grammar of property concepts

12:15–12:45 Ivan Kapitonov
Towards a measurement-theoretic typology of adjectives

12:45–13:45 Mittagspause

13:45–14:15 Patrick Muñoz
Overt positive degree morphology in Tibetic

14:15–14:45 Merle Weicker
What children's interpretation of gradable adjectives can tell us about language variation

Freitag, 06.03.2020

11:45–12:15 Eri Tanaka, Kenta Mizutani & Stephanie Solt
On two polarity-sensitive equative constructions

12:15–12:45 Silvia Gumiel-Molina, Norberto Moreno-Quibén & Isabel Pérez-Jiménez
Variation in the lexical semantics of dimensional adjectives in Spanish

12:45–13:15 Charlotte Sant
Indo-European microvariation in scalar expressions

13:15–13:45 Roumyana Pancheva (Invited talk)
Historical change in scalar meanings

Alternates

Vadim Dyachkov
Adjectives denoting lack of property lack degree semantics

Teil III

Plenarvorträge

Contact linguistics and the evolution of the language faculty

Yaron Matras
University of Manchester

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
09:30–10:30
Audimax

PLE

Connections between language contact and language evolution have been discussed so far primarily in the context of the development of particular languages in their own language ecology settings (Mufwene 2001, 2013; Ansaldo 2009). In this presentation I address 'language evolution' as the emergence of the human capacity to use language. Views on language evolution in this sense have been split, broadly speaking, between two camps: The Chomskyan tradition of generative grammar regards the emergence of human language capacity as an instantaneous event, attributed to a singular genetic mutation that made syntax possible (Berwick & Chomsky 2015; Berwick et al. 2013). The alternative view, widely held among behavioural scientists, anthropologists and evolutionary biologists (Dunbar 1996; Tomasello 1999, 2008; Burling 2005; Lieberman 2006; Fitch 2010) is that human language is the product of a gradual evolution from a form of primitive communication that exists at least in some rudimentary form in other animals, particularly primates.

Drawing on data from language contact, both synchronic and diachronic, I connect to the latter tradition. The hypothesis that I adopt is that the gradual evolution process of human language manifests itself in the layered structure of human communication functions (see Matras 2020). The more archaic or primitive layers accommodate functions that are more instinctive and less analytical. These tend to be more susceptible to lapses in control over the selection and inhibition mechanism on which multilingual speakers rely to manage their choice of forms from the repertoire of linguistic structures, i.e. their choice among 'languages'. They are therefore more prone to contact-induced change. The more analytical functions, by contrast, are processed differently and are subjected to stricter control for selection and inhibition.

The hypothesis thus stands for two statements: First, that at least some language contact phenomena (those that are not performative or deliberate, nor set to accommodate to cultural innovations by enhancing expressive devices) are triggered by cognitive pressures that relate to the processing of language, and are in that way conditioned by the evolutionary architecture of the human language faculty. And second, that the synchronic and diachronic manifestations of language contact can therefore help us shed light on that very architecture and its evolution.

References: Ansaldo, U. (2009). Contact languages. Ecology and evolution in Asia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Berwick R.C. & Chomsky, N. (2015). Why only us: language and evolution. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Berwick, R. C., Friederici, A. D., Chomsky, N. & Bolhuis, J. J. (2013). Evolution, brain, and the nature of language. Trends in Cognitive Scienes 17, 89–98. Burling, R. (2005). The talking ape. How language evolved. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Dunbar, R. (1996). Grooming, gossip and the evolution of language. London: faber and faber. Fitch, W. T. (2010). The evolution of language. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Lieberman, P. (2006). Toward an evolutionary biology of language. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Matras, Y. (2020). Language contact (second edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Mufwene, S. S. (2001). The ecology of language evolution. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Mufwene, S. S. (2013). The origins and the evolution of language. In Allan, K. (ed.), The Oxford handbook of the history of linguistics. Oxford University Press, 13–52. Tomasello, M. (1999). The cultural origins of human cognition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Tomasello, M. (2008). Origins of human communication. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

The multimodal basis of human language

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
11:30–12:30
Audimax

PLE

Carol Padden
University of California, San Diego

One of the signature achievements of the field of linguistics in the last 50 years has been its inclusion of sign languages into the family of human languages. Both ethnologue.com and glottolog.org list sign languages in their databases and they continue to add each year newly described sign languages. At this time, ethnologue.com reports altogether 144 sign languages and glottology.org 134 sign languages. Most of the earliest work on sign languages during this 50-year period was focused on established sign languages in North America and Europe with some limited description of sign languages elsewhere in the world. What we know now about sign languages compared to half a century ago is no less than astonishing. We have described many more sign languages in Europe, Africa, South America and Asia. We have discovered small sign languages on almost all continents of the world in places as far apart as Madagascar and Papua New Guinea. We have been able to observe the emergence of a sign language in the span of a single generation, or over more than one generation of signers.

The challenge now is to use this large body of work to understand the vast human capacity for language. To this goal, I discuss some recent work, including with my colleagues in a community of Bedouins in Israel where there are hearing signers who live alongside deaf people. I compare gesture in non-signing Bedouins with emergent signing in a nearby signing community, showing how the seeds of language creation are always present in any community. What this work and other related work show is that hearing people play a larger role in the creation and propagation of sign languages than has been described previously. The new work calls for a view of human language where humans have the capacity to learn and use language in a range of modalities, even if in most cases, they end up using only a part of this capacity.

Language Variation and Change: A communicative perspective

Freitag,
06.03.2020
09:00–10:00
Audimax

PLE

Elke Teich
Universität des Saarlandes

It is widely acknowledged that language use and language structure are closely interlinked, linguistic structure emerging from language use (Bybee & Hopper 2001). Language use, in turn, is characterized by variation; in fact, speakers' ability to adapt to changing contexts is a prerequisite for language to be functional (Weinreich et al. 1968).

Taking the perspective of rational communication, in my talk I will revisit some core questions of diachronic linguistic change: Why does a change happen? Which features are involved in change? How does change proceed? What are the effects of change? Recent work on online human language use reveals that speakers try to optimize their linguistic productions by encoding their messages with uniform information density (see Crocker et al. 2016 for an overview). Here, a major determinant in linguistic choice is predictability in context. Predictability in context is commonly represented by information content measured in bits (Shannon information): The more predictable a linguistic unit (e.g. word) is in a given context, the fewer bits are needed for encoding and the shorter its linguistic encoding may be (and vice versa, the more "surprising" a unit is in a given context, the more bits are needed for encoding and the more explicit its encoding tends to be). In this view, one major function of linguistic variation is to modulate information content so as to optimize message transmission.

In my talk, I apply this perspective to diachronic linguistic change. I show that speakers' continuous adaptation to changing contextual conditions pushes towards linguistic innovation and results in temporary, high levels of expressivity, but the concern for maintaining communicative function pulls towards convergence and results in conventionalization. The diachronic scenario I discuss is mid-term change (200–250 years) in English in the late Modern period, focusing on the discourse domain of science (Degaetano-Ortlieb & Teich 2019). In terms of methods, I use computational language models to estimate predictability in context; and to assess diachronic change, I apply selected measures of information content, including entropy and surprisal.

References: Bybee J. L. & P. J. Hopper (eds.) (2001). Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Crocker M., V. Demberg & E. Teich (2016). Information Density and Linguistic Encoding (IDeaL). KI – Künstliche Intelligenz, 30(1), 77–81. Degaetano-Ortlieb S. & E. Teich (2019). Towards an optimal code for communication: the case of scientific English. Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory (open access), DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/cllt-2018-0088. Weinreich U., W. Labov & M. I. Herzog (1968). Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W.P. Lehmann & Y. Malkiel (eds.), Directions for Historical Linguistics. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 95–195.

Bilingual acquisition – diversity or divergence?

Freitag,
06.03.2020
10:00–11:00
Audimax

PLE

Jürgen Meisel
University of Calgary & Universität Hamburg

Bilingual settings are perceived as exemplary cases of linguistic diversity, it seems, if only because more than one language is used. This is correct, trivially so because it does not in itself represent an insight worth pursuing. Rather, what apparently makes it a research topic of special interest is that language contact is frequently assumed to trigger cross-linguistic interaction, resulting in further diversity within and across linguistic varieties. Increased variability in language use, system-internal restructuring, and transfer of grammatical properties from the other language are the most frequently predicted effects generating diversity. The rationale underlying these assumptions seems to be the belief that when more than one language is processed in one brain, this will inevitably affect the way in which linguistic knowledge is acquired, stored and used, ultimately altering the nature of the system itself. Yet this assumption stands in conflict with results obtained by studies of bilingual development investigating the simultaneous acquisition of two (or more) languages. A large body of research carried out over the past 40 years has demonstrated that bilingual children are able to differentiate their linguistic knowledge from very early on and to develop competences qualitatively the same as those of monolinguals. These studies thus provide little empirical evidence supporting the idea that child bilingualism leads to divergent developments of the predicted sort.

The challenge then is to reconcile hypotheses put forth by descriptive and theoretical linguistics with insights gained by psycholinguistic and acquisition research. Ideally, joint efforts of these distinct lines of theorising about language could be envisaged. The issue that I will pursue in this presentation concerns the conditions under which bilingual acquisition is likely to lead to alterations of speakers' competences not encountered in grammars of corresponding monolinguals. Cases where this has been argued to occur are child and adult second language learners and heritage language speakers. They differ from monolingual and bilingual first language learners in that onset of acquisition happens later and the amount of exposure to the target languages is significantly reduced. Both onset and input (quantity and quality) thus qualify as causal factors favouring grammatical change. Moreover, since it has been known for a long time that not all properties of grammars are equally likely to be affected, the grammatical nature of particular constructions must also be taken into account. Crucially, bilingualism is on its own not a sufficient condition for divergence.

In sum, alleged effects of language contact must be compatible with empirical facts and theoretical insights gained by bilingual acquisition research. Ultimately, all developments happen in the mental grammars of bilingual individuals. Yet many such claims are not actually based on analyses of ongoing processes, e.g. in research on diachronic change or in the large majority of studies dealing with heritage language speakers. Their plausibility therefore depends on whether hypothesized grammatical changes can be shown to occur under comparable conditions in ongoing developmental processes. I consider this to be an opportunity where we may study 'the use of present to explain the past' (Labov 1975).

Teil IV

Arbeitsgruppen und Abstracts

Variation in heritage languages: Language contact vs internal developments

Maria Martynova[1], Vicki Rizou[1], Tatiana Pashkova[2], Yulia Zuban[3]

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) J

Workshop description

A fascinating area for research on bilingualism is offered by heritage speakers (HSs). The constant contact of the heritage language and the majority language creates a contact-linguistic setting that is particularly open to linguistic variation (cf. Montrul 2016). Previous studies on heritage languages have shown that HSs are close to monolingual speakers in some language areas, e.g., they often develop monolingual-like competence in sound production. In other domains, however, HSs tend to show noncanonical patterns, e.g., they prefer overt structures in both syntax and morphology over those that are covert (cf. Polinsky 2018).

In the past, noncanonical structures have often been viewed as attrition or incomplete acquisition, as critically discussed by Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014). However, these structures can also be seen as indicators of new grammatical options in bilingual systems. The goal of this workshop is to discuss the status and source of such structures: (1) noncanonical phenomena as development of new dialects vs. incomplete acquisition or erosion, (2) the distinction of contact-induced change vs. language-internal developments and variation, and (3) the relevance of internal vs. external grammatical interfaces.

This workshop invites speakers to present their research on both heritage and majority languages from different language domains: phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, semantics and pragmatics. We welcome presentations ranging from theoretical grammatical analysis to corpus linguistics, and covering a variety of language pairs, settings, and age groups. The desired result is to gain new insights into the dynamics of language variation in contact situations and the modelling of noncanonical structures in the grammatical system.

References: Montrul, Silvina (2016). The acquisition of heritage languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Polinsky, Maria (2018). Heritage languages and their speakers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Rothman, Jason & Jeanine Treffers-Daller (2014). A prolegomenon to the construct of the native speaker: Heritage speaker bilinguals are natives too! Applied Linguistics 35(1), 93–98.

Investigating moribund Scandinavian heritage languages: Methods, challenges and pleasures

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 HG HS J

Janne Bondi Johan-nessen (Keynote speaker)
University of Oslo
j.b.johannessen@iln.uio.no

AG 1

In this paper I will talk about my experiences doing research in the American Midwest, and about my research into some aspects of heritage Scandinavian, especially Norwegian, but also Swedish (collaboration with Ida Larsson).

Heritage Norwegian is a moribund language with very few speakers left, and they are old. This means that for most of them it is many years since they spoke Norwegian regularly, and Norwegian to them is a language that is a link to their past, their childhood and a time that no longer exists. Doing fieldwork with these people is moving, and I will tell some short anecdotes to share this with the audience.

Since the speakers are so old, it is central to keep access to their language in the future, so that we can continue to study the ways a language can vary and change in a new surrounding in which it is a minority language next to a big majority language. For me and my colleagues it has therefore been essential to record conversations with as many as possible, not least conversations between speakers, not just between us and them. Later these recordings have been transcribed in put into a corpus (Corpus of American Nordic Speech, CANS, Johannessen 2015) that is fully searchable along many linguistic dimensions (both at lexical and grammatical levels, and across gender, age, place etc.). This web-based corpus has been used for research by many scholars in recent years, and has proved to be a great resource for many linguists. I will demonstrate the corpus and how it can be used, alone and with other corpora, and with reference to syntactic (Larsson and Johannessen 2015a, b) as well as lexical investigations (Hjelde & Johannessen 2017, Johannessen & Laake 2017).

Since the speakers are old, and mostly illiterate, experimental tasks might seem to be impossible, but I will also mention some experiments that have been successful with this population.

References: Hjelde, Arnstein & Janne Bondi Johannessen (2017). Amerikanorsk: Orda vitner om kontakt mellom folk. In Terje Mikael Hasle Joranger (ed.): Norwegian-American Essays 2017. Oslo: Novus Forlag, 257–282. Johannessen, Janne Bondi (2015). The Corpus of American Norwegian Speech (CANS). In Béata Megyesi (ed.): Proceedings of the 20th Nordic Conference of Computational Linguistics, NODALIDA 2015, May 11–13, 2015, Vilnius, Lithuania. NEALT Proceedings Series 23. Johannessen, Janne Bondi & Signe Laake. 2017. Norwegian in the American Midwest: A Common Dialect? In Journal of Language Contact 10:1. Larsson, Ida & Janne Bondi Johannessen. 2015. Embedded word order in Heritage Scandinavian. In Hilpert, Martin, Jan-Ola Östman, Christine Mertzlufft, Michael Riessler & Janet Duke (eds.) New trends in Nordic and General Linguistics. Berlin: De Gruyter, 239–266. Larsson, Ida & Janne Bondi Johannessen (2015). Incomplete Acquisition and Verb Placement in Heritage Scandinavian. In Page, Richard S; Putnam, Michael T. (eds.): Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 153–189.

Position and spell-out of subjects in French as a heritage language: a cross-sectional study of early bi-, tri- and multilingualism in Spain and Germany

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS J

Laia Arnaus[1], Johanna Stahnke[2], Natascha Müller[2]
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laia.arnaus@uni-hamburg.de, stahnke@uni-wuppertal.de, nmueller@uni-wuppertal.de

AG 1

Several studies on the acquisition of the position of French subjects show that monolingual children exhibit a stage of ungrammatical postverbal subject placement whereas bilingual children skip this stage (Déprez & Pierce 1993, Jansen 2015, Arnaus Gil & Müller 2018). These results are independent of French being a heritage language (HL) and are unexpected if the HL is considered the target of cross-linguistic influence since it is used to a lesser extent and sometimes mastered at a lower proficiency level.

The present study tested the position and spell-out of French subjects in 63 bi-, tri- and multilingual children (>3 languages) raised in Spain or Germany (mean age 4;8). 23 children are simultaneous and 34 are successive bilinguals (with French in the institution only, yet from early on) or child L2 learners (Schulz & Grimm 2019). In addition to an elicitation task, the vocabulary competence in French and language (un)balance was measured by the *Peabody Task* (PPVT, Dunn et al. 1993). All children performed at ceiling (Arnaus Gil & Müller 2018) with preverbal subjects, independently of age of onset, number of L1s (70% had > 2L1s), language proficiency (41% low PPVT results), language balance (46% unbalanced) and language combination (46% had also a null-subject-language). These results stand in sharp contrast to those obtained for spell-out. The task required an indefinite subject. The children using the expected constructions differed significantly from those with target-deviant spell-outs: The former were bilingual (n=33, 54.1%), older (age 5 and above) and acquired only non-null-subject languages (n=48, 47.5%). Within the group producing target-deviant spell-outs, French age of onset is the predictor variable. The children exposed to French from birth show a strong preference for one type of spell-out, whereas those first exposed to French in the institution display individual variation. Our results show that the SVO property of French is acquired successfully early on. However, spell-out of French subjects vary according to age of onset which exhibits a significant cut-off between simultaneous and successive acquirers. Two levels can thus be distinguished in subject acquisition in French as a HL (position, spell-out). Extra-linguistic factors like age of exposure, number of languages and language combination may account for the attested variation.

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Internal and external factors in Faroese syntactic variation and change

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Focus in this talk is on the influence from Danish, DA, on (1) the Faroese, FA, tense system, in particular the perfect and pluperfect; (2) case assignment and finally (3) the increasing role of English in Faroese language change.

In FA and DA the perfect and pluperfect can be expressed with the auxiliary BE + an un-accusative verb. The use of BE in this context is a clear example of language contact.

The dative case is slowly disappearing from Faroese, for both internal (verb-semantics) and external reasons (language contact). Regarding the lexical semantics, prototypical dative verbs like *at hjálp*a 'to help' still govern the dative, while non-prototypical dative verbs like the motion verb *at lyfta* 'to lift' now govern the accusative. Relevant external factors include loan verbs, for example *at dirigera* 'to direct' that is synonymous with a native verb *at stjórna* 'to direct'.

Language contact between English, EN, and FA is currently increasing; this is seen in the use of the non-canonical imperative *ikki kom* lit.: not come-IMP. (or *ikki koma* not come-INF.), which is a calque of English *don't come*.

Data from both grammaticality judgment tests and corpus searches are presented.

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Interface vulnerability and cross-linguistic influence in heritage speakers of Spanish

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

This paper presents data from two studies on heritage speakers (HSs) of Spanish to answer the following questions: 1) Which elements of language are particularly vulnerable in language contact situations? 2) How much of the divergence is due to cross-linguistic influence?

Question 1 is approached from the perspective of the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace 2005), which predicts increased vulnerability for phenomena at the interface between two domains of language, especially the external interfaces connecting syntax to discourse/ pragmatics (Sorace & Serratrice 2009). Unlike most previous studies, which have tested the IH by comparing two completely different phenomena (e.g. Montrul 2008), this paper compares interfaces *within* phenomena, namely 1) the subjunctive and 2) subject position.

For the first study, 17 HSs of Spanish in the Netherlands and 18 Spanish-dominant controls were tested on their knowledge of the subjunctive in three different contexts, using an acceptability judgment task and an elicited production task. The results show that the HSs diverged most from monolingual controls in sentences in which the choice of mood depends on the pragmatic context. The divergence was smaller sentences in which mood is semantically determined, and smallest in a purely syntactic context. These results are in line with the IH.

To address question 2, HSs in two different countries (the Netherlands and the US) were compared in order to differentiate between transfer and language-internal change. 27 American HS of Spanish, 19 Dutch HS of Spanish and 20 Spanish-dominant controls were tested on their knowledge of three constraints determining word order in Spanish: one syntax-semantics interface factor – verb type – and two syntax-pragmatics/discourse factors – focus and definiteness. The results showed that the Dutch group was sensitive to verb type and definiteness, but not to focus, and the American group was sensitive only to verb type. The relative robustness of verb type and the vulnerability of focus are in line with the IH. The difference between the two groups with respect to definiteness is explained by influence from their respective majority languages: while Dutch exhibits a relation between definiteness and word order similar to Spanish, this effect is less pervasive in English.

Together, these two studies offer support for increased vulnerability at the external interface, while at the same time showing that the particular language combination matters, suggesting contact-induced change.

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Intonation of yes-no questions by heritage speakers of Russian

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 17:00–17:30 ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Heritage speakers' (HSs) grammars are known to differ in systematic ways from the grammars of monolingual speakers (Polinsky 2018). The present study focuses on the properties of the to-date poorly understood variability in intonational phonology of heritage speakers. This study investigates the intonation patterns of yes-no questions (YNQs) produced by twelve Russian HSs residing in the USA and Germany and compares them to productions by six monolingual Russian speakers. Specifically, the study focuses on pitch accent placement, type, and final boundary tone since YNQs in Russian show particularly insightful phonological differences compared to English and German with this respect (Rathcke 2006, Igarashi 2008).

The data for this study were elicited in a production task where the participants were asked to produce ten YNQs with different syntactic structures (subject-verb and subject-verb-object). A combined phonetic and auditory approach to labelling the heritage and monolingual intonation was implemented, i.e., the presence of pitch accent was detected auditorily and further examined with respect to local F0 trajectories and changes.

The results of the study reveal significant differences between the three speaker groups. In contrast to monolinguals, HSs generally produced more pitch accents on different syntactic constituents and showed a strong preference for an upstepped nuclear pitch accent that was infrequent in the monolingual data. Moreover, we observed differences between the two groups of HSs. Similar to monolinguals, HSs from Germany did not show a clear preference for either high or low final boundary tone in utterances with Subject-Verb structure compared to the US group that showed a tendency to place the low boundary tone.

One possible reason for the high number of pitch accents could be that HSs might distribute pitch accents following both the rules of English or German (according to which the nuclear pitch accent falls on the object) and Russian (according to which the nuclear pitch accent falls on the verb). This mixed pattern is in line with some previous findings on segmental phonetics of early bilinguals (Piccinini, Aravanti 2015). Further results of the study will be discussed with the reference to the previous findings.

All in all, HSs of both groups differed from the monolinguals with respect to the overall intonation contour. On the one hand, HSs show the intonation pattern of YNQs that is close to the monolinguals (e.g., L% in subject-verb-object utterances, rising bitonal nuclear pitch accent). On the other hand, it seems that HSs differ from the monolingual speakers in terms of some phonetic features (i.e., upstep).

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Untangling the factors towards language proficiency in Catalan as a heritage language in Germany: A cross-sectional study on language exposure, language proficiency, parental linguistic attitudes and parents' wellbeing

Mittwoch, 04.02.2020 17:30–18:00 ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Research on early bi- and trilingualism has observed that a variety of internal and external factors can determine language proficiency in the heritage language (HL) early on (cf. De Houwer 2009; Chevalier 2015; Arnaus Gil, Müller, Sette & Hüppop 2019). Only in the recent literature, the effect of (a) HL language maintenance or loss and (b) the different proficiency levels attained by the children on their subjective wellbeing has looked at (Lanz, Daussà & Pera-Ros 2019).

Our study contributes to a better understanding of the factors that foster proficiency in the HL. We conducted a pilot study with 17 Catalan-German simultaneous bi- and trilinguals from 2;6 to 13;0 (mean age 5;7) living in the German city of Hamburg. All families had a middle/high SES and used the OPOL strategy, with all children hearing Catalan from a native parent. 13 children were also exposed to German at home, and four received German input only at school. We also administered two questionnaires to the parents. The first one dealt with children's current and cumulative exposure to their L1s (Torregrossa & Bongartz 2018). The second aimed at (a) examining parental linguistic attitudes, values and desires (Casesnoves-Ferrer & Juarros-Daussà 2015) and (b) analyzing the effects of parental choices and of children's proficiency on the family's quality of life and wellbeing (OECD 2013).

Results are preliminary and based on a limited pilot, while the study is progressing. In a nutshell, we expect to observe: (a) different proficiency patterns in the L1s related to family language policy and language constellation; (b) language proficiency in the HL tightly related to cumulative language exposure; (c) wellbeing effects correlated with HL maintenance, in the form of life satisfaction and feelings of community acceptance and integration.

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Noun phrase word order variation in heritage Hasidic Yiddish in Israel

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Yiddish, the traditional Germanic language of Ashkenazi Jews, is maintained today as a minority language only in some Hasidic communities in the US, Israel and Europe. Yiddish enjoys great prestige in these communities, where it functions as a powerful symbol of a distinct ethnic and religious identity, and speakers deliberately pass it on to their children. However, the level of Yiddish command and use varies between different Hasidic sects: In some sects, Yiddish remains the dominant language also in adulthood, whereas in other sects speakers gradually switch to the majority language (Assouline 2017: 30-34). In the communities where the majority language is dominant among adult speakers, Yiddish can be defined as a heritage language (following Polinsky 2018: 9).

The present talk focuses on Hasidic Yiddish heritage speakers in Israel. In order to study the distinct traits of their language, I compared two very similar corpora (recorded in Israel):

1. **"Heritage Yiddish speakers"** – A recording of a Hasidic "education conference" that took place in 2005 (12 hours, 8 speakers, all male educators in their 40s, 50s and 60s). Speakers come from Hebrew-dominant sects, but the conference was conducted in Yiddish.
2. **"Yiddish-dominant speakers"** – A recording of a Hasidic "education conference" that took place in 2008 (8 hours, 6 speakers, all male educators in their 40s, 50s and 60s). Speakers come from Yiddish-dominant extremist secluded groups, ideologically opposed to the use of Israeli Hebrew (Assouline 2017: 6).

A comparison of noun phrases in both corpora reveals one salient difference. Yiddish-dominant speakers always maintain the Germanic word order [modifier+noun], as in (1):

(1) *klayne kinder* 'small children'

Heritage speakers usually maintain this word order as well, but also use the [noun+modifier] order common in Hebrew in about 10% of all NPs, as in (2):

(2) *kinder shvakhe* 'poor students' (lit. 'children weak')

Analysis of NPs with [noun+modifier] word order in the heritage Yiddish corpus suggests that one possible factor behind this change is low lexical proficiency (Montrul 2016: 48). When speakers want to use abstract or technical terms that are not easily retrievable in their Yiddish, they use Hebrew nouns and noun phrases (with [noun+modifier] order). The free use of Hebrew NPs helps speakers to compensate for their lack of lexical knowledge and enables them to deliver a professional lecture in Yiddish. This common [noun+modifier] order may be maintained even when speakers use lexical Yiddish elements. This process supports the gradual entrenchment of the [noun+modifier] order in the Yiddish of heritage speakers.

References: Assouline, D. (2017). Contact and ideology in a multilingual community: Yiddish and Hebrew among the ultra-Orthodox. Berlin: de Gruyter. Montrul, S. (2016). The acquisition of heritage languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Polinsky, M. (2018). Heritage languages and their speakers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Constructional change in Heritage Danish: Towards more schematicity

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

In forming the periphrastic passive of transition verbs, heritage and emigrant speakers of the North American Danish languages show a general preference for the auxiliary *være* 'to be' at the expense of *blive* 'to become' (the same pattern is observed in the other Mainland Scandinavian languages in North America, cf. e.g. Hasselmo 2005). European Danish distinguishes between stative passives and transitional passives by auxiliary choice: The use of *blive* 'become' denotes transition, the use of *være* 'be' denotes a state: E.g. *Soldaten blev skudt* 'the soldier became shot' denotes the transition from not being shot to being shot. In contrast, *Soldaten var skudt* 'the soldier was shot' indicates that the soldier has reached the state of shotness (presumably, he is dead) as a result of the transition of being shot (Nielsen 2015).

I present a study of three North American Heritage Danish transition verbs (*født* 'born', *konfirmeret* 'confirmed' and *gift* 'married') with regard to the formation of periphrastic passives, confirming the tendency of preferring *var* 'was' instead of *blev* 'became' and exploring the reasons for this language change. The study is based on a sample of approx. 146 speakers from the Corpus of North American Danish.

Taking a Construction Grammar approach, analyses show that the changes in the passive system (a) only concerns a specific form-function pair [*var* 'was'+participle], (b) that it is a gradient change in small steps, (c) that the change concerns both frequency, (d) the textual environment in which the construction appears (the co-text, Berg & Diewald 2009: 1-14) and (e) the prototype. *var* 'was' has become the default choice for the Heritage Danish periphrastic passive.

The change in preference towards [*var*+participle] may be explained as the result of cross-linguistic analogy building based on similarity with English [*was*+participle], leading to constructional change in form and function as well as in frequency and prototype (cf. Hilpert 2013, 2011), but not to an overall change in the passive system. Thus, the cross-linguistic analogy building between Heritage Danish and English leads to more schematicity (Ziegeler 2015) which in turn would seem to ease the cognitive load of processing two languages at the same time.

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Variation of periphrastic *do* in Kansas Plautdietsch

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Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 10:00–10:30 ESA1HG HS J

AG 1

Many West-Germanic (WG) varieties have a form of periphrastic *do*, i.e. auxiliary *do* + infinite lexical verb. With the exception of standard English, they display an optionality of *do* in that the periphrasis alternates with its finite lexical verb variant (examples 1a–b, Plautdietsch).

(1a)	See	doonen	enne	Menus	kjikjen.	(*do*-periphrasis)
	they	do	in-the	menus	look	
(1b)	See	kjikjen	enne	Menus.		(lexical variant)
	they	look	in-the	menus		

'They are looking at the menus.'

While most studies have focused on language-internal descriptions of the structure, to date, it remains unclear what (extra-)linguistic factors influence the use of the periphrasis over its counterpart in a situation of language contact. This paper presents corpus data of spoken Kansas Plautdietsch from a bilingual community that is analyzed for structural, semantic, and sociolinguistic factors that (dis)favor the use of periphrastic *do*.

Plautdietsch is a diasporic, oral variety spoken mainly by Mennonites (Kaufmann under review). The present corpus consists of conversational data from 22 speakers from Kansas who emigrated from Mexico and Canada in the 1990s. The vast majority of speakers is bilingual in English and Plautdietsch, with the younger generation being immersed in the US public school system and becoming dominant in English.

The variation analysis shows a low, but robust frequency of the periphrasis (12.5%). Parallel to Altai-Plautdiitsch (Nieuweboer 1999), loan verbs from English favor the use of *do* in Plautdietsch. Periphrastic *do* is not limited to clause type, and in contrast to other Plautdietsch varieties, it is only used for indicative. A multivariate analysis of intra-linguistic features revealed that lexical aspect, verb class, verb morphology, and tense were significant factors for predicting the occurrence of *do*. On the extra-linguistic level, language use with children was significant in that the use both languages predicted a higher frequency of *do* in Plautdietsch.

These findings challenge previous accounts that have been put forward for other WG varieties, which argue for a more direct connection between periphrastic *do* and its syntactic distribution (Weber 2015) and the general reduction of syntactic complexity in multilingual speakers (Blom & de Korte 2011), and call for a more nuanced analysis on the functions of *do* in Plautdietsch that include semantic, pragmatic, syntactic, and social factors.

References: Blom, E. & de Korte, S. (2011). Dummy auxiliaries in child and adult second language acquisition of Dutch. Lingua 121(5), 906–919. Kaufmann, G. (under review). The world beyond verb clusters. Aspects of the syntax of Mennonite Low German (Unpublished habilitation). Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg im Breisgau. Nieuweboer, R. (1999). The Altai dialect of Plautdiitsch. West-Siberian Menonite Low German. München: LINCOM EUROPA. Weber, T. (2015). Zur *tun*-Periphrase in niederdeutschen Dialekten. Deutsche Dialekte. Konzepte, Probleme, Handlungsfelder. Akten des 4. Kongresses der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Dialektologie des Deutschen (IGDD), 227–245.

Convergence and divergence in heritage languages: considering the dominant language and the sociopolitical context

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Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 11:15–12:15 ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

Heritage speakers grow up in a bilingual environment and as adults vary widely in their proficiency in the heritage language, ranging from receptive, low to highly fluent and native-like. Many of them, but not all, display "errors" typical of first and second language development, especially in aspects of grammar. Their grammatical knowledge diverges in several ways from the knowledge of their parents, the input providers.

Up until now, the vast majority of formal linguistic-oriented studies finding divergent outcomes have been conducted in the United States, a country that does not promote active and long-lasting bilingualism in immigrant families. While several factors determine the path and outcome of heritage language acquisition, research has mostly focused on the roles of the immediate input, language use, and language dominance. Less is known about how the larger sociopolitical context contributes to variation in heritage language development, heritage language maintenance and transmission in society more generally. Within this context, the role of the dominant language, largely ignored so far in heritage language studies, can also be examined.

In this talk, I discuss examples of convergent outcomes of heritage speakers with their input providers, and most of these studies have been conducted in parts of the world where bilingualism and multilingualism seem to have higher status than in the US. Convergent outcomes support the assertion that while heritage speakers are born with the cognitive capacity to learn their languages fully, the extent of heritage language acquisition is highly determined by the context.

I will then make a case for transnational studies of the same heritage language (Korean in the USA and in China, Spanish in USA and in Sweden; Russian in the USA, in Germany and in Israel), where both the role of majority language transfer and the larger sociopolitical context can be examined as sources of language variation. I argue that the language of heritage speakers looks the way it does, not because of deficiencies within the individual or their families, but because the educational practices, social attitudes and the broader political atmosphere deprive are not supportive of heritage language development. Understanding the external forces beyond the family that shape heritage language development and contribute to convergent and divergent outcomes is critical to understand their linguistic development and support the survival of heritage languages for several generations.

Causes of disfluencies in the heritage language: Cognitive, semantic or both

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Previous studies have shown that heritage speakers (HSs) usually attain monolingual-like knowledge in their heritage language (HL) except for occasional non-canonical phenomena in some domains including morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics, phonetics and phonology and interfaces. However, much less is known about the extent to which the mechanisms underlying their spoken production are affected by bilingualism. In order to explore whether they use the same mechanism in speech planning and execution as the monolingual speakers, we investigate disfluencies in their spontaneous speech. As discontinuities may affect up to ten percent of all words and one third of all utterances in natural speech (Shriberg 2001: 153), they provide a window to understanding the underlying mechanisms of speech (Dell 1986; Levelt 1989). Our informants, HSs of Turkish living in Berlin (n= 35) and monolingual speakers in Istanbul (n=30) were shown a 13-minute excerpt from a silent movie (Modern Times) and asked to retell the sequence. At the current stage of our investigation, all speech samples are transcribed according to CHAT conventions (see http://childes.psy.cmu.edu) and hesitation phenomena are classified into five types: silent pauses, filled pauses, retractions, repetitions of discourse and false starts. For each speech sample, individual categories of hesitation phenomena will be counted and subsequently recalculated per 1,000 words so as to be analysed and compared with data from the monolingual speakers. Filled pauses are pauses that are predominantly related to the semantic function of discourse markers (i.e., discourse organization and information structure), whereas other hesitation markers — silent pauses, retractions, repetitions and false starts — are associated with cognitive issues such as lexical retrieval or information recall. In view of previous findings from bilinguals (Schmid & Fägersten 2010), we predict that our participants will overuse hesitation markers associated with cognitive processing as they have to manage two linguistic systems at the same time. In particular, increased disfluency for longer and more complex sentences and before lexical items (i.e., nouns and verbs) would be very likely. We also expect more disfluencies that have semantic functions when compared with monolinguals as well as a different distributional pattern in terms of their location (i.e., mostly in clause-internal contexts as opposed to clause boundaries) due to interlanguage effects. In order to explore the impact of background variables (i.e., language use, proficiency, age of L2 onset and attitudes), on the incidence and distribution of hesitation markers, a separate set of analyses will be carried out. We hope that our analyses will reveal intriguing findings about speech planning, production and monitoring of the HSs, and help us understand the role of language internal versus interlanguage effects in HL variation.

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Maintenance and change of Bernese in Ohio and Misiones (Argentina)

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

Overview. Misionero Swiss German (hereafter: MSG) and Ohio Swiss German (hereafter: OSG) are two moribund heritage Swiss German varieties spoken in the Misiones Province of North-eastern Argentina and in Ohio, USA respectively. While OSG has been subject to limited investigations, MSG has not been the subject to any known linguistic investigations. For the sake of this presentation, I focus on three MSG and seven OSG speakers of Bernese descent. The current study investigates three phonological features, namely (i) l-vocalization, (ii) velarization of -nd to [ŋ], and (iii) singleton-geminate distinction as well as the lexicon to shed light at potential transfer or the lack thereof from the surrounding languages, i.e. English and Spanish. A previous study by Hoffman and Klosinski (2018) identified that the singleton-geminate distinction common in various Swiss dialects is maintained in OSG while contact with English has triggered a phonetic change. Importantly, Polinsky (2018) argues, that transfer by itself "cannot fully account for all the changes in the weaker language", i.e. the heritage language (here: Bernese).
Research questions. i) Is there change in the speech of heritage Bernese in comparison with the continental variety and with respect to each other? ii) if a change in heritage Bernese is found, can this be attributed to transfer or to other internal developments?
Method. Three MSG-Spanish as well as seven OSG-English bilinguals were recruited in their home area and a picture-naming as well as semi-structured elicitation tasks were conducted.
Results. The preliminary results suggest that there is transfer but also other contributing factors independent of the dominant language. Additionally, influence not only from the surrounding dominant languages but also from other German dialects, as it is the case in Misiones, can be seen. More specifically, MSG speakers are in contact with Hunsrik and Palatinate speakers which could be a contributing factor to the preliminary results. At this point, the generalizations attained from this study are the following:

Velarization of -nd to [ŋ] occurs in OSG, but not in the youngest generation of MSG. l-vocalization, which is part of the continental variety of Bernese is maintained in both varieties. Impressionistically, the distinction between singleton and geminates is preserved in MSG and OSG. Further analyses are needed to ascertain the degree of singleton-geminate contrast found in the dialect.

References: Hoffman, A. & Klosinski, R. (2018). Resisting Contact-Induced Sound Change in Heritage Swiss German. Paper presented at the The Eight Annual Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA 8), Copenhagen, Denmark. Polinsky, M. (2018). Heritage Languages and their Speakers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

VOT in German-dominant HSs of Italian

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Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 14:15–14:45 ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

In the context of grammatical variation in HSs, the domain of phonology has only recently be-come the focus of investigation. While some suggest that phonology constitutes a robust domain of HL competence (e.g., Polinsky & Scontras 2019), others argue that HSs' sound systems are subject to similar mechanisms as other language areas (Kupisch 2019). The production of certain segmental phenomena have been shown to be within the monolingual range in the HL (e.g., Au et al. 2002; Einfeldt et al., forthcoming; Oh et al. 2003), although the global accent of HL speakers has often been perceived as non-native (e.g., Lloyd-Smith et al. 2019). This study examines CLI in Italian HL speakers in Germany, comparing them to Italian and German L1 speakers who grew up as monolinguals. We measure the production of voiced (/b, g/) and voiceless (/p, k/) stops to assess how each individual speaker's profile (general phonological proficiency, dominance, and language use across the lifespan) potentially interacts in the production of this phenomenon. The RQs are the following:

RQ1 Do HS differentiate between the majority and minority language with regard to VOT values?
RQ2 Is VOT produced in a native-like manner in both early-acquired languages?
RQ3 If the HL diverges from the monolingual norm, to what extent is this related to CLI (i.e., contact-induced variation), and to what extent is this CLI driven by degree of Italian use?

We collected semi-spontaneous speech data from 21 Italian-German HSs and from monolingual controls, using a picture sequence. VOT was measured controlling for place of articulation, vowel context and speech rate. Other variables include Italian phonological proficiency, lexical proficiency, and use across the lifespan.

The results of mixed effects regression models showed that the HS differentiate between their two languages for voiced and voiceless stops (RQ1). Compared to monolinguals, the HSs' production of German stops did not differ for both types of stops (RQ2). However, in Italian HS differ from the VOT production of monolinguals only for voiceless stops. In this case, we find a significant effect of Italian use on the length of VOT (RQ3).

Overall, the HS show evidence for two separate VOT systems in their two languages. CLI was restricted to Italian voiceless stops. The amount of Italian used was a significant predictor of accuracy in the production of voiceless stops in Italian, with a higher Italian use producing shorter and more target-like stops.

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Lexical borrowings in Texas German

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Freitag, 06.03.2020 11:45–12:15 ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

This paper analyzes English nominal loans in Texas German with respect to the community's shift to English. According to Gilbert (1965: 107), classification of English loans can potentially be a good measure of external and internal pressures in the speech community. Through this investigation of loan words in Texas German, our goal is to better understand external and internal factors of language change and to describe the gradual, multigenerational shifts in Texas German. We find that although English has an impact on the structure of the Texas German lexicon, certain lexical items indicate that Texas German experienced a gradual shift from dialectal German to English rather than a rapid shift.

Previous research on English loans in Texas German focuses on loanword phonology, their morphological structure, and the semantic fields of loans (cf. Gilbert 1965, Meister 1969, Wilson 1977, Jordan 1977, and Boas & Pierce 2011). These works have primarily focused on the influence of English on Texas German and have found that although heavy contact with English has led to a variety of phonological and lexical innovations, the grammatical structures of loanwords have remained mostly stable over time.

This paper adds to the previous research by analyzing lexical and phonological properties of some loans that have been overlooked in previous research and others which come from novel data. Our novel data comes from translations produced by Texas German speakers from Gillespie County, Texas (source Texas German Dialect Project, Boas et al. 2010). Loans in our corpus can be classified as one of three types based on the typology presented in Haugen (1950): (1) loan translations, e.g., *Feuerplatz* 'fireplace' (standard German *Kamin*), (2) loan blends, e.g., *Küchesink* 'kitchen sink' (standard German *Küchenspüle/Spülbecken*), and (3) loan words, e.g., *Jerky* 'jerky' (standard German *Trockenfleisch*).

Phonologically, Type (3) exists along a cline ranging from unadapted loans (e.g., [dʒə-ki] *Jerky* ‚jerky'), moderately adapted (e.g., [ɹantʃ] *Ranch* ‚ranch'), and heavily adapted (e.g., [bʊŋgɪs] *Bungis* ‚pumpkin') (cf. Gilbert 1965: 110). Morphologically complex English loans which are treated as morphologically simple in Texas German have some of the highest degrees of phonological adaptation such as *Bungis* 'pumpkin' < English *pumpkin+s* and *Locks* 'log' < English *log+s*. The structure of these words suggests that phonological properties of English were ignored in early Texas German and the loans were adapted to the structure of the donor dialects. Failure to replace morphological missegmentation and phonological adaptation with faithful English forms suggests a gradual shift toward English proficiency. In a rapid shift, the younger generation would most likely correct the structures of the earlier generations.

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The role of contact-induced change in informal Namibian German (Namdeutsch)

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Today, there is a German-speaking minority in Namibia, which comprises approximately 20,000 speakers. Almost all of them are also fluent in English (the official language of Namibia) and Afrikaans (which has/had the function of a lingua franca in certain domains). Additionally, some members of the German-speaking community also use Bantu- and/or Khoisan languages on a regular basis (cf., e.g., Shah & Zappen-Thomson 2018, Zimmer 2019). In this multilingual setting a variety of German has evolved that is characterised by several grammatical innovations (i.e. *Namdeutsch*). For example, the *um-zu* infinitive can be used if no purpose is expressed, which is not possible in most other German varieties including Standard German (cf. (1)).

(1) *dadurch* *is* *es* *schwierig* ***um zu*** *sagn* [...] (NAM164W2)
thus is it hard to tell [...]
'thus it's hard to tell [...]'

Such properties of Namdeutsch have usually been explained by contact induced change (cf., e.g., Shah 2007, Riehl ^{3}2014, Zimmer 2019). Given the high number of parallel constructions in the main contact languages English and Afrikaans, such explanations do suggest themselves. For example, the Afrikaans *om te* construction closely resembles the Namdeutsch *um zu* (cf., e.g., Shah 2007: 25, Zimmer 2019). However, there is evidence that grammatical transference is at least not the only explanation for such innovations. For example, constructions like in (1) can also be found in German contact varieties that are neither in contact with Afrikaans nor with any other language with comparable features, e.g. in South Tyrol (cf. Riehl 32014: 107).

In my presentation I will scrutinise the role of contact-induced change in the formation of Namdeutsch. For this purpose, I will analyse selected grammatical features of Namdeutsch. My analysis will be based on data taken from a systematically compiled corpus (cf. Zimmer et al., submitted) and acceptability judgements of 211 speakers. The characteristics of Namdeutsch will be compared with properties of German varieties in different contact settings and with parallel constructions in the main contact languages of German in Namibia. By doing so, I hope to draw a more complete picture of the developments in Namibian German and I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the interaction of contact-induced and language internal change in general.

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Explicitness in heritage speakers' majority English productions

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

One aspect often overlooked in adult heritage language research is heritage speakers' (HSs) ability in their majority language, i.e. the dominant language of the society they live in (Rothman 2009). This could be due to the fact that many adult HSs are majority language dominant and indistinguishable from monolingual speakers (MSs) in everyday interactions. However, experimental evidence shows that HSs differ from MSs in some aspects of majority English, e.g., phonology (Polinsky 2018) and scope assignment (Scontras et al. 2017).

Our talk focuses on another potential difference between HSs and MSs - the possibility that HSs are more explicit in their English productions. For example, Polinsky (2018) shows that HSs differ from MSs in pronouncing words more clearly and using fewer contractions. We extend this work by focusing on explicitness in referent introductions in the majority English of HSs. Referent introduction is a phenomenon dynamic for change because it is located at the external interface of syntax and discourse (Sorace 2011).

Our dataset includes elicited narratives produced by 5 speaker groups (20 speakers in each): Greek, Russian, German, and Turkish HSs, and English MSs. The speakers saw a video of a car accident and described it in two settings (formal/informal) and two modes (spoken/written). For our analysis, we compiled a list of 19 referents in the video (e.g. *car 1* and *car 2*), and investigated how, if at all, they were introduced in the narratives.

Preliminary results based on a sample of 15 Greek and Russian HSs and 12 English MSs reveal that HSs are indeed more explicit than MSs in their referent introductions. First, HSs introduced more referents than MSs: on average, HSs introduced 47% of the possible 19 referents, while MSs introduced only 40% ($p<0.01$). Second, HSs tended to provide explicit explanations for conjoined referents, e.g. *I see this little family* (conjoined), *a mom, a dad and a little baby* (explanation). HSs explained 14 new conjoined referents, whereas MSs explained only 2, although the difference was only marginally significant ($p=0.09$).

The results can be interpreted in two ways. First, following Polinsky (2018), we can suggest that HSs adapt their narrative style to their family members who are nonnative English speakers and might benefit from clear detailed stories. Alternatively, HSs might be explicit for internal reasons: perhaps overtly mentioning more referents helps them better keep track of the storyline (cf. Arnold & Griffin 2007). In our talk, we explore how these interpretations relate to the results of our full dataset analysis.

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Language contact versus internal dynamics in heritage speakers' use of discourse markers

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–13:45
ESA1 HG HS J

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AG 1

Discourse markers (DM) constitute an open class of elements that is syntactically only loosely integrated and does not affect the truth value of propositions. This makes them particularly flexible and thus interesting for investigations of contact-linguistics vs. internal dynamics. In language contact situations, DM might be borrowed according to their "pragmatic detachability" (Matras 1998). In addition, they might undergo changes in function, and due to their multifunctionality, DM are also particularly useful fillers in online production.

The language use of heritage language speakers (HS) can differ from those of monolingual speakers in interesting ways. Heritage language use typically shows considerable inter-individual variation among HS of the same language (Montrul 2015, Rothman 2007). Also, HS might be more open to linguistic variation in their use of the majority language. It is an open question, though, whether these differences and the spectrum of variation are tied to specific registers, result from overall grammatical changes due to language-contact, or are a consequence of internal dynamics driving language change.

We present a cross-linguistic, comparative study of what happens to DM systems in different acquisition and contact scenarios. Our empirical basis is a subset of the RUEG corpus (Wiese et al. 2019). We investigate DM in bilingual speakers' language use for 16 German HS in the US, 16 bilingual speakers with German as a majority language in Germany, and 16 Turkish HS in Germany and compare the results to 16 monolingual speakers of German and Turkish. The data consists of two age groups: adults (22–35 years old) and adolescents (14–18 years old). Both different sociolinguistic settings and typological relations between the languages involved make the study particularly interesting. We cover different registers, taking into account that DM are typically distributed differentially across registers (Biber 2006).

Based on a comparative corpus study, we discuss the frequency of occurrence, the distribution of DM, and new structural and functional properties of various DM. The results from this analysis help to determine which patterns are due to language-internal tendencies of variation and change and which are due to contact-linguistic dynamics.

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Negative concord in heritage Russian in Germany

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:45–14:14
ESA1 HG HS J

AG 1

Negative Concord (NC; Labov 1972) is common in Slavic languages, including Russian (cf. Haspelmath 2005). It is used to coordinate negative indefinites such as *nikto* 'nobody' with the negation particle *ne* 'not' attached to the predicate. In this manner, sentences with two and even more negation elements are grammatically correct in NC-languages as Russian, as opposed to non-NC language as German (cf. Penka & Zeijlstra 2010). However, the use of NC is not always mandatory. Predicates expressing negation only by means of the negation particle *ne* (and e.g. accompanied with personal pronoun) are fully grammatical. In contrast, the use of negative indefinites without the negation particle on the predicate is not grammatical in monolingual Russian (cf. Padučeva 2007). This restriction seems to be optional in heritage Russian in Germany, as results of our experimental study suggest.

In this study we committed an audio-visual experiment on 24 young adult heritage speakers of Russian in Germany and 24 age-matched monolingual speakers of Russian. The participants of the study were exposed to audio stimuli related to a short story they have watched on the screen of a laptop several minutes before that. Participants were asked to negate the stimulus phrases, in order to correct them according to the original story, using a token that was shown on the screen immediately after each audio stimulus. Half of the tokens shown on the screen were negative indefinites. In monolingual Russian, the expectation for a grammatically correct utterance would be that participants used the negation particle *ne* attached to the predicate. The other half of the tokens were fillers. All tokens were additionally subdivided into two equal groups according to their syntactic role of either subject or object. The following example illustrates a stimulus phrase, a token in the subject role and the expected response of the participant, respectively:

Stimuli phrase:	*Mal'čik exal na velosipede*	'The boy was riding a bike'
Token:	*nikto*$_{subject}$	'nobody'
Expected response:	*Nikto*$_{subject}$ *ne*$_{neg.particle}$ *exal na velosipede*	'Nobody was riding a bike'

In this talk we will discuss the results of the study from the perspective of contact linguistic and multilingual language acquisition phenomena such as transfer effects from majority language, attrition and incomplete acquisition in opposition to reorganization of grammatical patterns and the emergence of new varieties. Statistical modelling should help to adequately describe the data and to reveal the interplay of multiple factors in order to measure the effect of one variable on other variables.

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Linguistic diversity and linguistic modalities: New perspectives on bimodal (sign language/oral language) bilingualism

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) B

Workshop description

Studies on bimodal-bilingualism contribute significantly to a better understanding of linguistic diversity and its consequences for linguistic theory. Questions that have been addressed pertain to similarities and differences in the acquisition, processing and mental representation of languages that use different modalities, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to the nature and role of cross-modal language contact phenomena in different social settings. More recently, additional questions have been raised against the backdrop of the increasing heterogeneity of the linguistic profiles of bilingual signers, i.e. early or late learners of one or more sign languages with varying degrees of access to the surrounding spoken language(s). Diversity along these dimensions not only raises the question about the competences attained by the individual signers, but also about the impact on the evolution of the languages involved, be they emergent or institutionalized sign languages.

The broad objective of this workshop is to explore linguistic diversity involving spoken and sign languages by bringing together experts and younger researchers working in the field of bimodal bilingualism.

Topics that will be addressed include but are not limited to linguistic diversity as it relates to

- language development in bilingual signers
- intra-modal and cross-modal language contact phenomena
- neurobiological aspects of bimodal bilingualism
- methodological aspects of bimodal bilingualism research
- consequences for linguistic theories
- language evolution in bimodal contexts
- didactics of bimodal bilingualism

Invited workshop keynotes:
Diane Lillo-Martin (University of Connecticut)
Bencie Woll (UCL/DCAL)

Heritage Language Characteristics of Bimodal Bilinguals

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 HG HS B

Diane Lillo-Martin (Keynote)
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AG 2

When hearing children of Deaf, signing parents (Codas) are raised with a natural sign language such as American Sign Language (ASL) at home, these children may be considered *heritage language users*. Sociolinguistically, they satisfy the pattern of home language different from broader community language, with formal schooling in the community (spoken) language (see Chen Pichler, Lillo-Martin & Palmer 2018 and papers in that volume for discussion).

Codas also show similarities to heritage language users in that they vary notably in fluency with their sign language, which may lose dominance to the majority spoken language, especially once they enter school. As adults, although many embrace their identity as Codas, and some continue to use their sign language regularly in the Deaf community, others find their signing has greatly diminished and is used only rarely with their parents and limited others.

Codas, like other heritage language users, are then predicted to potentially display particular linguistic properties in the heritage sign language, including slower production rate, reduced number of complex structures, lower vocabulary diversity, and decreased Mean Length of Utterance. We assessed these predictions in a study of heritage signers in the US (ASL/English) and Brazil (Libras/Brazilian Portuguese). We found high variability across the participants in these features (replicating preliminary data from Brazil reported in Quadros & Lillo-Martin 2018).

Like other bilinguals, Codas may also engage in bilingual language phenomena such as code-switching. However, unlike unimodal bilinguals using two spoken languages, bimodal bilinguals using a sign language and a spoken language can also engage in code-blending, which functions similarly to code-switching but includes simultaneous production of signed and spoken linguistic elements (Emmorey et al. 2008). Code-blending is linguistically constrained, like code-switching is. Using both elicited production and grammaticality judgment tasks in the two groups of Codas, we observed constraints on code-blending by which limited structural conflicts between the languages can be permitted (Lillo-Martin et al. 2020). The asymmetry in such constraints indicates that heritage language effects are also at play here.

This presentation is based on work conducted in collaboration with many others, particularly Ronice Müller de Quadros, lead investigator of the Brazilian component.

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Strong and weak definiteness among monolingual and bilingual signers of Brazilian Sign Language (Libras)

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

In this study, I collected spontaneous and elicited data in order to find out how the two kind of definiteness (Schwarz 2013) are encoded in Libras. Spontaneous data collected from 10 videos from signing blogs brought us evidences to conclude that DPs in Libras are not always realized in the bare form. We find four main types of realization of DPs in the language: bare nouns, dislocated bare nouns, nouns preceded by IX and nouns succeeded by IX. I hypothesized that the two latter realization of DPs accompanied by IX signs could be a consequence of the Portuguese influence, as they are often translated by meaning '*The* N' or '*That* N'. Thus, I expected that only those deaf who regard themselves as bilinguals would exhibit such pattern, with the overt realization of determiners.

In order to elicit data, 20 bilinguals (Portuguese and Libras frequent users, Undergraduation students) and 20 monolinguals (libras frequent users, varied educational levels) participated of one production task and two comprehension tasks. The tests proposed by Gillon (2015) were adapted to Libras in order to confirm the existence of article-like items in the language. The production task consisted of telling a story based on a non-verbal stimulus, presented with specific methodological cares, and aimed to capture how the contrast between novel and familiar referents is realized. The comprehension tasks consisted of two acceptability tests. The first set of sentences with anchored and non-anchored verbs were used to find out whether the bare, the pre-IX or the post-IX DPs would be compatible with definite article functions and retrieve the anaphoric referents. The second set of sentences aimed to verify whether IX signs were acceptable in non-anaphoric contexts.

The results show that the bilingual grammar is on the way to a language of generalized determiners (Jenks 2018), that can be used in both anaphoric (strong) and non-anaphoric (weak) contexts. Yet the monolinguals behave like Fering or Mandarin languages, in which that are exclusive marking for anaphoric (strong) contexts, but there are no evidences for an explicit D.

References: Gillon, Carrie (2015). Investigating D in languages with and without articles. Methodology in Semantic Fieldwork, 175–205. Jenks, Peter (2018). Articulated definiteness without articles. Linguistic Inquiry 49(3), 501–536. Schwarz, Florian (2013). Two kinds of definiteness cross-linguistically. Language and Linguistics Compass 7(10), 534–559.

Signed and spoken language skills in a bimodal bilingual child who uses a cochlear implant

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

In Italy, as in others countries, parents of deaf children are often warned to avoid exposing the child to sign language, considered as a factor negatively affecting spoken language mastering. However, up to now, no clear evidence is available about the role of sign language in promoting or impairing spoken and written linguistic skills of children with cochlear implants -CI (Fitzpatrick et al. 2016). In the present study, we report new longitudinal data on a deaf child with hearing parents exposed to Italian Sign Language (LIS) from 5 months of age, in educational contexts (kindergarten/school) where bimodal bilingual education programs were implemented. The child received a CI at 24 months. Structured tests have been used to assess child language development in spoken Italian and LIS. Results from 4 to 7 years of age showed that the child achieved lexical and grammar skills in Italian not different from those of hearing peers and, in some cases, higher than those of children with CIs exposed only to spoken language. Also in LIS, the child showed a high proficiency in both comprehension and production tests, also mastering aspects considered very complex in LIS (e.g., non-manual components) (Rinaldi, Caselli, Lucioli, Lamano & Volterra 2018). After an initial dominance of LIS, the child differentiated more effectively between the two languages and their contexts of use. Code-blend productions continued to be used when the difficulty of the test used increased. Our findings provide evidence that early exposure to sign language could promote the construction of conceptual representations and linguistic and communicative skills (Davidson, Lillo-Martin & Chen Pichler 2014; Rinaldi & Caselli 2014).

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An analysis of early signs in Turkish Sign Language and/or early words in Turkish: A case study with one hearing child of deaf parents

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

The use of simultaneous production of sign and speech is frequently observed in bimodal bilingual adults in contrast to unimodal bilinguals (e.g. Emmorey et al. 2008). This phenomenon called code-blending can even be found in bimodal bilingual children (e.g. van den Bogaerde & Baker 2008). This paper aims to investigate the use of (simultaneous) speech and sign in a bilingual bimodal hearing child living in Turkey. The questions which are researched in this longitudinal case study are how this individual koda (kid of deaf adults) develops speech and sign at the same time and what the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of their simultaneous production of speech and sign are.

We started to film the koda at the age of ten months every two weeks and so far we have collected data up to the age of 26 months. For this study we use data gained from the time between 10 months and 15 months. The koda lives with their deaf parents and their hearing paternal grandparents, uncle, aunt and elder cousins. The raw video material up to the age of 15 months is in total 3 hours 23 min 51 sec, thereof 2 hours 10 min including language interactions. We analyzed the following categories separately: the combination of pointing and speech, combination of sign and speech as well as only TID and only Turkish (see Lillo-Martin et al. 2016).

In every month the production of sign vocabulary is more dominant compared to the production of spoken word vocabulary and increases dramatically the last month. While the categories simultaneous sign and speech and only sign show similar figures at the beginning, only signs and the use of pointing increase drastically at 15 months. We found sign and speech produced simultaneously, but conveying different information, e.g.:

(a) BABAANNE ‘GRANDMA’ (TID)
be-be ‘baby’ (Turkish) (1;01)

(b) GEL ‘COME’ (TID)
kedi ’cat’ (Turkish) (1;03)

The data demonstrates that in this case study simultaneous occurrences in sign and speech can be observed in a quite early stage (see Petitto et al. 2001, van den Bogaerde & Baker 2008 and among others). Our analysis will shed light on the development of utterances with visual and gestural components as well as on the progress with auditory vocal components in Turkish as an agglutinative language.

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Bimodal bilinguals behave almost like unimodal bilinguals: Phonology of Icelandic Sign Language

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00-17:30
ESA1 HG HS B

Helen Koulidobrova[1] , Nedelina Ivanova[2]

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AG 2

We administered a Non-Word-Repetition Task (NWR), adapted from Mann et al. (2008), to 17 users of Icelandic Sign Language (ITM): age 3;07-14;09. Among the participants, 59% were bimodal bilingual (BiBi) (2 hard-of-hearing(HH), 9 cochlear-implanted(CI)); 65% exposed to ITM before 3y.o. (AoE); 29.5% are sign bilingual in ITM and Polish- or Lithuanian Sign Language. A subset of participants underwent the task twice (1 year apart). The NWR probes the children's development of various aspects/parameters of ITM phonology.

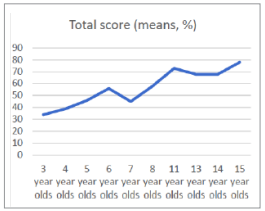
We show that while scores increase with age, no difference in performance between unimodal and bimodal children was obtained (p=.689).

Test items were further analyzed for handshape(HS), path-movement (PM), hand-internal movement (HIM). One-way ANOVA confirmed that in terms of scores (both total and on item types), the participants' status as *CI* correlated with the status as *BiBi* (which included HH). Neither *DoD* nor *AoE* accounted for the variance. Per Brentari (1993), and many others, HS predicted performance movement items across groups (r2=.739, p.032, R2=.89, p.00001).

A number of errors discovered across groups were due to mirror rotation – not reported in Mann et al. (2008). CI participants performed differently than the rest on movement categories (p<.05).

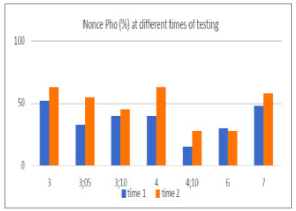
The data show that while NWR is usable to test ITM phonology in BiBi and SignL2 contexts, even early exposed BiBi children may behave differently than unimodal children on some aspects of SL phonology. In testing phonological knowledge, mirror-rotation should be taken into account.

Fig.1. Total scores in NWR



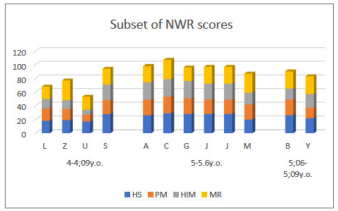
A. Total

Fig. 2 Scores at time 1 and time 2



B. Subset: time 1 and time 2

Fig.3 Item analysis



References: Hildebrandt U. & D. Corina (2002). Phonological similarity in American Sign Language. Lang. Cogn. Processes 17(6), 593–612. Mann, W., Marshall, C., Mason, K. & G. Morgan (2010). The acquisition of sign language: The interplay between phonology and phonetics. Language Learning and Development. Brentari, D. (1993). Establishing a sonority hierarchy in American Sign Language: The use of simultaneous structure in phonology. Phonology 10, 281–306. Holt, L. & A. Lotto (2006). Cue weighting in auditory categorization: Implications for first and second language acquisition. Journal of Acoustical Society of America 119, 3059–3071. Mayberry R.I. & E. Lock (2003). Age constraints on first versus second language acquisition: Evidence for linguistic plasticity and epigenesis. Brain Lang. 87(3), 369–384.

How to assess language when there is none: A case of a bimodal semi-bilingual deaf child

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
ESA1 HG HS B

Marina Milković, Tomislav Radošević, Iva Hrastinski

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AG 2

Different types of bilingualism are commonly described in terms of a continuum ranging from balanced bilingualism to partial or semi-bilingualism (Plaza-Pust, 2016). The latter is defined as as not having adequate language proficiency in either of the languages used.

The aim of this paper is to present a case of semi-bilingual deaf child's language skills, age 6;3, as well as methodological issues of his language assessment.

The child's parents are both deaf and in everyday communication the family uses Signed Croatian. At the age of four, the boy was enrolled in a mainstream kindergarten with a sign language interpreter who also uses Signed Croatian. Hence, child has not been exposed to a full Croatian Sign Language (HZJ). Also, neither spoken language, nor speech are not developed, despite continuously wearing bilateral hearing aids. Spoken language skills are starting to emerge through written language.

The issue of the boy's language assessment is complex. Firstly, his spoken language skills are inadequate to be evaluated using existing measures of receptive Croatian vocabulary (PPVT-III-HR, Dunn et al. 2009) or grammar (TROG-2:HR, Bishop et al. 2014). Secondly, using any norm referenced test would not yield valid results, as those are standardized on a sample of hearing children. Furthermore, assessing the child's signing skills is challenging due to the limited exposure to sign language and the lack of HZJ assessment tools.

Finally, informal assessment together with selected items of the Assessment of pre-reading and pre-writing skills (predČiP, Kuvač Kraljević & Lenček 2012) and adapted version of the BSL Receptive Skills Test (Herman, Holmes & Woll 1998) were chosen. Challenges in administration and interpretation of results are discussed in the paper.

References: Bishop, D. M. V., Kuvač Kraljević, J., Hržica, G., Kovačević, M. & L. Kologranić Belić (2014). Test razumijevanja gramatike: Test for reception of grammar TROG-2:HR. Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap. Dunn, L. M., Dunn, L. M., Kovačević, M., Padovan, N., Hržica, G., Kuvač Kraljević, J., Mustapić, M., Dobravac, G. & M. Palmović (2009). Peabody slikovni test rječnika – III, hrvatsko izdanje – PPVT-III-HR. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test – III, Croatian Edition. Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap. Herman, R., Holmes, S. & B. Woll (1999). Assessing BSL development – Receptive skills test. Coleford, UK: The Forest Bookshop. Kuvač Kraljević, J. & M. Lenček (2012). Test za procjenjivanje predvještina čitanja i pisanja (predČiP test): Assessment of pre-reading and pre-writing skills. Jastrebarsko: Naklada Slap. Plaza-Pust, C. (2016). Bilingualism and deafness: On language contact in the bilingual acquisition of sign language and written language. De Gruyter Mouton.

The role of mouthing and fingerspelling and their (similar) functions in the Russian Sign Language Corpus

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

Fingerspelling (FS) is a linguistic feature of sign languages in which letters from spoken language alphabets are represented by conventionalized handshapes (Sandler & Lillo-Martin 2006). Mouthings (M) are mouth movements that resemble the articulation of spoken words during signing (Boyes-Braem & Sutton-Spence 2001).

FS and M are often described as outcomes of cross-modal language contact without parallels in spoken language situations and are unique to sign-spoken/written language contact (Valli & Lucas 1992). Although FS and M are diverse in their nature and have their origin in contact between three modalities (FS is located at the interface between orthography & sign; M is located at the interface between speech & sign), their functions appear to be very similar (Sandler & Lillo-Martin 2006). Following the same pattern, FS and M are used as means of representing spoken/written vocabulary in sign languages (Padden & Gunsauls 2003). Apart from this often cited function of filling in the lexical gaps or disambiguating the manual signs, we find the use of "redundant" M and FS. Redundant FS is used when there is already a lexical sign; redundant M corresponds exactly with the manual sign in terms of semantic congruency without the necessity for disambiguation. Interestingly, fingerspelled signs are reported to be accompanied by mouthings during signing (Johnston et al 2016). The complex nature of the FS and M interrelationship is intriguing and has not yet been explored systematically in any sign language.

This study adds novel data by looking at M and FS in Russian sign language (RSL) Corpus (Burkova 2012–2015). We investigate what drives the use of redundant fingerspelling and mouthing in RSL. We use corpus data to give a more objective impression of the frequency and variation in the use of these two phenomena.

In this presentation, we discuss that such redundant FS and M have a similar function: they make a word or specific meaning more prominent within an utterance, generally in focus con-structions (information and contrastive focus). Fingespelled items or the manual signs co-occuring with mouthings in the RSL corpus are singled out from a set of elements of equal type and structure to put themselves in the current state of attention.

Using RSL corpus data our analysis revealed that (i) 95% of all fingerspelled RSL items co-occur with mouthings, (2) 17% of all fingerspelled RSL items are used to put emphasis of a particular word and (3) the focused constituents are accompanied by mouthings more frequently than the non-focused ones. The study thus affirms previous descriptions of emphatic FS in ASL (Montermurro & Brentari 2018) and focused constituents accompanied by M in NGT (Crasborn & van der Kooij 2013).

References: Boyes-Braem P. & R. Sutton-Spence (eds.) (2001). The hands are the head of the mouth: The mouth as articulator in sign languages. Hamburg: Signum, 99–132. Burkova, S. (2012–2015). Russian Sign Language Corpus. http://rsl.nstu.ru/ (30 July 2018). Crasborn, O. & E. van der Kooij (2013). The phonology of focus in Sign Language of the Netherlands. Journal of Linguistics 3, 1–51. Montemurro, K. & D. Brentari (2018). Emphatic fingerspelling as code-mixing in American Sign Language. Proc Ling Soc Amer 3, 1–13. Sandler, W. & D. Lillo-Martin (2006). Sign language and linguistic universals. Cambridge: CUP. Valli, C. & C. Lucas (1992). Linguistics of American Sign Language: A resource text for ASL users. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Bimodal particles – the impact of German on response particles in DGS

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
ESA1 HG HS B

AG 2

Response particle systems vary cross-linguistically regarding the number and discourse functions of the response elements. Some languages have two particles (English *yes*, *no*), others have three (German *ja*, *nein, doch*). Traditional accounts of response systems distinguish truth-based and polarity-based systems (Pope 1976, Jones 1999). In truth-based systems, *yes*-type answers confirm the truth of the antecedent proposition (1bi, 2bii); *no*-type answers reject it (1bii, 2bi). In polarity-based systems, response particles signal the polarity of the response clause: positive (*yes*-type 1bi, 2bi) or negative (*no*-type, 1bii, 2bii). Languages may also employ both systems and use *no* to reject the truth of a proposition (1aii) or signal the negative polarity of the response (2bii). Languages with a three-particle system often have a dedicated response particle for rejecting negative propositions (scenario 2bi), although other dedicated particles exist, too (Roelofsen & Farkas 2015).

Concerning the visual-gestural modality, very little is known about the inventory of (non) manual response elements (but see Gonzalez et al. on ASL), including their role in signaling truth vs. polarity. Sign languages are of particular interest here since they have multiple articulatory channels, which may simultaneously encode truth and polarity. The present study provides data from a production experiment with 24 native signers of DGS investigating responses to positive and negative assertions. It shows that DGS favors a truth-based over a polarity-based strategy, as does German, but it also exhibits modality-specific response strategies that combine truth and polarity. Additionally, DGS integrates non-manual gestural components and exhibits interesting bimodal combinations of signs and (German) mouthings.

(1) a. Anna smokes.
b. i. Yes (= She does).
ii. No (= She doesn't)

(2) a. Anna doesn't smoke.
b. i. Yes/[?]No (= She does).
ii. [??]Yes/No (= She doesn't)

References: Claus, Meijer, Repp & Krifka (2017). Puzzling response particles: An experimental study on the German answering system. Semantics & Pragmatics 10(19). González-Fuente, Tubau, Espinal & Prieto (2015). Is there a universal answering strategy for rejecting negative propositions? Typological evidence on the use of prosody and gesture. Frontiers in Psychology 6(899). Gonzalez, Henninger & Davidson (2018). Answering negative questions in American Sign Language. NELS 49 abstract. Goodhue & Wagner (2018). Intonation, yes and no. Glossa. Jones (1999). The Welsh answering system. Berlin: de Gruyter. Krifka (2013). Response particles as propositional anaphors. In Proceedings of the 23rd Semantics and Linguistic Theory Conference. Pfau (2008). The grammar of headshake. Linguistics in Amsterdam 1, 37–74. Pope (1976). Questions and answers in English. The Hague: Mouton. Roelofsen & Farkas (2015). Polarity particle responses as a window onto the interpretation of questions and assertions. Language 91, 359¬–414.

Effects of language modality and script similarity on bilingual Stroop performance

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

The Stroop Task has been widely used with monolinguals to investigate automatic processing by comparing performance on an automated task (visual word recognition) to a novel task (color naming). Recently, the Stroop task has been used to study L1 and L2 processing in spoken bilinguals (Coderre & van Heuven 2014). To date, no studies have attempted to assess Stroop effects in Deaf bilinguals, while controlling for language proficiency and including bilingual control groups varying in cross-language similarity. In the current study, we select bilinguals whose languages differed in cross-script similarity: ASL-English bilinguals (single script), English-Chinese bilinguals (low script similarity), English-Korean bilinguals (moderate script similarity), English-Spanish bilinguals (high script similarity). Comparison across these four groups allowed us to ask whether language modality and cross-language script similarity impacted the Stroop interference effect. Results support the following conclusions: Stroop interference effects are independent of language modality but are dependent on language proficiency. Second, contrary to some claims in the literature, deaf signers, who do not use speech, show highly automated access of printed words as well as signed words. Third, cross-language script similarity is a critical factor in shaping bilinguals' experience of Stroop interference in their two languages. Deaf ASL-English bilinguals show the greatest cognitive control at no cost to accuracy among the four bilingual groups.

References: Coderre, E.L. & W.J.B. van Heuven (2014). The effect of script similarity on executive control in bilinguals. Frontiers in Psychology 5, 1070. Dupuis, A. & I. Berent (2015). Lexical access to signs is automatic. Language, Cognition and Neuroscience, 11, 1–6. Marschark, M. & E. H. Shroyer (1993). Hearing status and language fluency as predictors of automatic word and sign recognition. American annals of the deaf, 138(4), 370–375. Stroop, J. R. (1935). Studies of interference in serial verbal reaction. Journal of Experimental Psychology 18(6), 643–662.

Writing development in signing and non-signing deaf children using cochlea implants or hearing aids

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–11:45
ESA1 HG HS B

AG 2

How do writing features look in the new generation of CI-implanted deaf children and children using hearing aids, over time and from a sign language perspective? Little is known about how this group's varying knowledge of sign language might relate to their literacy. Many studies do not include signing knowledge as a variable, or lump together alternative communication tools with sign language. The outcomes have been shown to be mixed – some studies have reported that those children without sign language knowledge perform better on some tests of literacy compared to their peers with sign language knowledge (i.e. Geers et al. 2017), while other studies have shown the vice versa (i.e Hassanzadeh 2012; Amraei et al. 2017; Gärdenfors et al. 2019).

To examine the importance for sign language on writing proficiency, seventeen participants between the age of 8.7 and 18.7 were recruited to this study. Nine of the participants master Swedish sign language (STS) and spoken Swedish, and eight participants have no, or limited knowledge in STS, using spoken Swedish only. To examine sign language proficiency, the participants took a sign language test (Schönström & Holmström 2017).

In the writing task, the participants were asked to re-tell a cartoon. Thanks to a keystroke logging tool, the participants' writing process could be analyzed. The results were examined with the following independent variables: sign language knowledge, hearing technology (CI/hearing aid) and age. Not surprisingly, an age effect was found in almost every writing result. Additionally, the result indicates that there was no evidence of any delays in the signing group. In contrast, they showed several advantages over their age-matched peers without signing knowledge in almost every writing feature. The signing children, on average, expressed more words, made fewer spelling errors, showed greater lexical diversity and showed significantly greater adjective density and more adjective attributes. From a cross-modal, crosslinguistic perspective, this is interesting because adjectives and adverbs are often morphologically integrated in depicting signs in the form of oral adverbs in sign languages (Bergman 1982).

The study indicates that sign language knowledge may facilitate literacy, and this finding does not indicate that knowledge in sign language in addition to spoken language is harmful for the children. It may in fact be advantageous for them, not only in terms of literacy, but also socially.

References: Amraei, K., Amirsalari, S. & M. Ajalloueyan (2017). Comparison of intelligence quotients of first- and second-generation deaf children with cochlear implants. Int. J. Pediatr. Otorhinolaryngol. 92, 167–170. Bergman, B. (1982). Några Satstyper I Det Svenska Teckenspråket. Forskning Om Teckenspråk X. Stockholm: Stockholm University. Gärdenfors M., Johansson V. & K. Schönström (2019). Spelling in deaf, hard of hearing and hearing children with sign language knowledge. Front. Psychol. 10, 2463. Geers A. E., Mitchell C. M., Warner-Czyz, A., Wang, N.-H., & L. S. Eisenberg (2017). Early sign language exposure and cochlear implantation benefits. Pediatrics 140(1):e20163489. Hassanzadeh, S. (2012). Outcomes of cochlear implantation in deaf children of deaf parents: A comparative study. J. Laryngol. Otol. 126, 989–994. Schönström, K. & I. Holmström (2017). Elicited imitation tasks (EITs) as a tool for measuring sign language proficiency in L1 and L2 signers. Proceedings of the Paper presentations at ALTE 6th Conference, Learning and Assessment: Making the Connections, Bologna.

Co-activation of languages across modalities: Deaf bilinguals activate signs when reading print

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 11:45–12:15 ESA1 HG HS B

Agnes Villwock[1], Erin Wilkinson[2], and Jill P. Morford[2]

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AG 2

Studies on hearing bilinguals have shown that during lexical processing, non-target languages and target languages are activated simultaneously (e.g. Dijkstra & Van Heuven 2002). Moreover, previous studies have demonstrated that cross-language activation can be observed even if the languages do not share the same modality. Both deaf and hearing bilingual adults seem to activate signs when reading printed words – this finding has been replicated for several languages (Kubus et al. 2015; Morford et al. 2011; Pan et al. 2015). In the present study, we investigated cross-language activation during development. To this end, we tested deaf American Sign Language (ASL)-English bilingual middle school students (n = 39; age range = 11–15 years), as well as a hearing control group (n = 26; age range = 11–14 years) in a monolingual English semantic judgment task. The experimental task followed the implicit priming paradigm by Morford et al. (2011; adapted from Thierry & Wu 2007). Half of the English word pairs had phonologically related translation equivalents in ASL, whereas half of the translation equivalents were unrelated. Phonologically related translation equivalents shared two of three phonological parameters (handshape, location and/or movement). Results revealed that the deaf children, but not hearing controls, displayed an effect of cross-language activation in their response time data. Therefore, our findings indicate that crossmodal co-activation of the target and non-target language can be observed not only in adulthood, that is, after a long time of experience, but already during development.

References: Dijkstra, A., & W. J. B. Van Heuven (2002). The architecture of the bilingual word recognition system: From identification to decision. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 5, 175–197. Kubuş, O., Villwock, A., Morford, J. P. & C. Rathmann (2015). Word recognition in deaf readers: Cross-language activation of German Sign Language and German. Applied Psycholinguistics 36, 831–854. Morford, J. P., Wilkinson, E., Villwock, A., Piñar, P. & J. F. Kroll (2011). When deaf signers read English: Do written words activate their sign translations? Cognition 118, 286–292. Pan, J., Shu, H., Wang, Y. & M. Yan (2015). Parafoveal activation of sign translation previews among deaf readers during the reading of Chinese sentences. Memory & Cognition 43, 964–972. Thierry, G. & Y. J. Wu (2007). Brain potentials reveal unconscious translation during foreign language comprehension. Proceeding of National Academy of Sciences 104, 12530–12535.

Sign language acquisition changes the temporal processing characteristics of the visual system: Evidence from deaf and hearing native signers

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 12:15–12:45 ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

To date, it is still a matter of debate to what extent early experience shapes the functional characteristics of the sensory systems. In the present study, we tested whether congenital deafness and/ or the acquisition of a signed language alter the temporal processing characteristics of the visual system. Moreover, we investigated whether, assuming crossmodal plasticity in the deaf, the temporal processing characteristics of reorganized (auditory) areas resemble those of the visual cortex. Steady-state visual evoked potentials were recorded in congenitally deaf native signers (n = 26), hearing native signers (n = 17), and matched controls (n = 34). The luminance of the visual stimuli was periodically modulated at 12, 21 and 40 Hz. For the groups of hearing nonsigners, the optimal driving rate was 12 Hz. In contrast, for the groups of deaf and hearing signers the optimal driving rate was 21 Hz, suggesting that signers have higher preferred frequencies than nonsigners. In addition, we observed that the group of deaf signers compared to the groups of hearing nonsigners and hearing signers showed a larger response over right occipital electrodes when stimulated at 12 Hz in the peripheral visual field. We did not observe evidence for cross-modal recruitment of auditory cortex in the group of deaf signers. Taken together, these data suggest a higher preferred neural processing rate as a consequence of the acquisition of a signed language and an enhanced response to peripheral stimuli as a consequence of deafness. Both effects suggest intramodal plasticity of the visual system.

Multilingualism in the Deaf Community: Learning and using more than one sign language

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 HG HS B

Bencie Woll (Keynote)
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Most research addressing multilingualism in the deaf community is concerned with bilingualism in one signed (SL) and one spoken (SpL) language. However, signers often know and use more than one SL. In all bilinguals, there is evidence of code mixing and switching, but research on SL bilingualism illuminates issues of relevance both to theory within the SL field and to theories of bilingualism more generally. This presentation explores SL multilingualism, starting with studies of children brought up bilingual in two SLs, then discussing the early stages of acquisition of a second SL by deaf adults, followed by a description of code- and language switching in fluent bilinguals.

There have been a small number of studies of children acquiring more than one SL, for example, Pruss-Romagosa's work on two hearing children of deaf parents of different nationalities (mother Spanish, father German), exposed to LSE and DGS.

Data on adult learners of a second SL is drawn from the study *Bilingualism in Deaf and Hearing People: Learning and neuroplastic processes*. The topic discussed here is the relationship between mouthings and the SLs with which they are associated, as this has been the subject of considerable debate. The continuum of opinions ranges from seeing mouthings as always representing instances of online code-blending, where signers freely and simultaneously combine elements from an SpL and SL, to regarding mouthings as part of a sign's phonological description.

In the present study, 17 Deaf native or near-native signers of RSL underwent a 12 week course in BSL. Learners exhibited varying degrees of code-mixing between RSL and BSL. Additionally, all students used mouthings: these included both Russian and English mouthings co-occurring with RSL and BSL signs respectively; rarely, Russian mouthings co-occurred with BSL signs. Analyses suggest that during initial stages of learning a second SL, mouthing is processed as part of a sign's phonology, but that learners also build lexical representations through mouthing, independent of their knowledge of the associated SpL.

Research on code mixing by fluent bilinguals is taken from Adam's 2016 study of elderly signers fluent in AISL and Auslan, two historically unrelated SLs. As well as differences between the SLs, the manual alphabets differ: the Irish manual alphabet is a 1-handed alphabet, while the Auslan manual alphabet is 2-handed. Various types of switching and mixing involving fingerspelling and signs occur. Manual alphabet switching is of particular interest; as switching in this case does not involve a language switch, since in both languages fingerspelling is used to represent English.

The presentation concludes with a discussion of the findings in relation to understanding the differences and similarities between code blending, code switching and language switching, and the implications for sociolinguistic theory.

Modality effects in phonological, lexical and spatial development in L2/M2 learners of German Sign Language in the first semester: A corpus-based investigation

Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS B

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As Woll (2013), Chen Pichler & Koulidobrova (2015), Fenlon (2019) among others pointed out, the research on acquisition of signed languages as L2 has been emerging in the past ten years. The L2 research covers various linguistic domains including phonetic-phonological studies (see e.g. McIntire & Reilly 1988, Mirus et al 2001, Rosen 2004, Bochner et al. 2011, Hilger 2015 or Williams & Newman 2016), lexical/iconicity studies (see e.g. Ortega 2017), morphosyntactic studies (see e.g. Kubus and Rathmann 2013) and discourse studies. In line with Schönström 2014, there, however, is an urgent need for corpus-based longitudinal studies which document patterns of L2 sign language learning in various stages. This allows a systematic study of how a learner acquires the new language at various linguistic domains and how it is influenced by her or his native language in either same or other modality (M1/M2). This in turn will lead to a better understanding of L2/M2 acquisition and application to teaching/learning strategies (see e.g. McKee et al. 2014, Rosen 2019) and L2 assessment. This talk has two primary goals. First, it investigates potential issues in the design of L2 sign language learner corpora (data collection and stimuli). Such corpora play a role in L2 research and in the application to teaching/learning and assessment. Second, it discusses preliminary and first insights on modality and language experience of L2 learners of German Sign Language (DGS) in the first semester in phonological, lexical and spatial development.

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Second Language Acquisition of American Sign Language Verb Subject and Object Phi-Features

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS B

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AG 2

American Sign Language (ASL) contains two sets of verbs with person phi-features that mark for both subjects and objects by signing them at and across their real or anaphoric spatial loci. AgrSOP verbs mark for subjects and objects and include information about subjects doing something with objects, and AgrIOP verbs mark for subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects and include information about subjects doing something with direct objects to indirect objects [1]. Successful production of verbs with dual person phi-features in spatial topology would require (a) linguistic knowledge and (b) spatial cognitive ability. No second language (L2) acquisition study exists in these ASL verbs. This study looks at L2 production of AgrSOP and AgrIOP verbs by n = 64 beginning, intermediate, and advanced hearing college-level ASL learners whose L1 is English, age range 19-52. Their L2 productions were assessed to determine whether they are associated with their (a) class level, (b) linguistic knowledge of ASL grammar, and/or (c) spatial cognition abilities. Two experiments were conducted, one with AgrSOP verbs, and the other with AgrIOP verbs. The study participants first took PTSOT [2], a 12-item nonlinguistic spatial cognitive skills test. They next described 16 pictures and took 16-item Grammatical Judgment Test (GJT) in each experiment. Signed descriptions were transcribed. Using correlation statistics, results show significant correlations between (a) AgrSOP production and GJT, but not with PTSOT or class level, and (b) AgrIOP and PTSOT, but not with GJT or class level. Findings suggest that the successful production of different linguistic structures of verbs with the dual person phi-features are associated with different sources, ASL grammatical knowledge for AgrSOP, and spatial cognitive ability for AgrIOP.

References: [1]: Hegarty, M., Kozhevnikov, M., & D. Waller (2008). The Perspective-Taking/Spatial Orientation Test (PTSOT) University of California, Santa Barbara. Retrieved on November 18, 2018 from https://docplayer.net/21820641-Perspective-taking-spatial-orientation-test-developed-by-mary-hegarty-maria-kozhevnikov-david-waller.html. [2]: Rathmann, C. & G. Mathur (2002). Is verb agreement the same cross-modally? In R. Meier, K. Cormier, & D. Quinto-Pozos (eds.) Modality and Structure in Signed and Spoken Languages, 370–404. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

From Signing to Writing

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 HG HS B

AG 2

This empirical study focuses on the written expression of deaf signers. It is designed as a qualitative, corpus-based study with the object languages German and Swiss German Sign Language (DSGS). The main aim is to describe grammatical and lexical phenomena found in written texts produced by deaf signers and to discuss the distinctive linguistic features against the background of modality interferences with signing.

Data – The data set contains school essays and is organized in three cohorts: The first cohort consists of students from secondary school, the second cohort of students from vocational school for deaf apprentices, and the third cohort of adult deaf sign language teachers. The data set includes written as well as corresponding signed texts in DSGS. The signed texts were then transcribed with ELAN in order to detect and analyze the bimodal interferences in the written texts accordingly. Based on a pre-study on everyday written communication of deaf signers (cf. Meili, 2016), such interferences are to be expected in the areas of syntax (e. g. ellipsis, doubling), lexicon (e. g. auxiliaries), or discourse organization (e. g. rhetorical questions).

Theoretical Framework – Hitherto, grapholinguistics and multimodality research has primarily focused on modality shifts within the framework of spoken language systems (cf. Klug & Stöckl, 2016). To account for the specific properties of writing in bimodal bilingual contexts (i. e. when sign language meets writing), the terminology currently used by the respective disciplines will be discussed and re-considered in order to achieve clear conceptual distinction and consistency with and within sign language linguistics.

References: Klug, N.-M. & H. Stöckl (2016). Handbuch Sprache im multimodalen Kontext. Berlin: de Gruyter. Meili, A. (2016). Schriftliche Alltagskommunikation gehörloser Personen in der Deutschschweiz. Eine qualitative Korpusanalyse von WhatsApp-Nachrichten. https://doi.org/10.15488/2966.

Bimodal bilingualism and executive function in hearing children, native signers

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–13:45
ESA1 HG HS B

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According to the hypothesis of an EF bilingual advantage, bilinguals need to control language processing to a greater extent than monolinguals and this is thought to bring greater experience in managing high-level demands, resulting in general EF benefits in non-linguistic tasks (Bialystok 2017). Bimodal bilingualism – in a sign language an spoken language – provides a unique opportunity to examine the cognitive effect of using two highly different languages with two distinct perceptual and motor systems (Emmorey, Luk, Pyers & Bialystok 2008).
This study is the first looking specifically on EF in bimodal bilingual hearing children - BSL native signers who are growing up in deaf families in the UK. The EF level of bimodal bilingual children was compared to unimodal bilinguals and monolinguals. In the present study three groups of children (bimodal bilinguals, unimodal bilinguals and monolinguals) did not differ significantly on WM skills and cognitive flexibility. Bimodal bilinguals outperformed monolinguals on overall accuracy in the Simon task (conflict resolution). However, the effect size was small, suggesting only a potential effect of bimodal bilingualism on conflict resolution capacity. From the perspective of bilingualism, executive function skills in both groups of bimodal children may be connected with language switching opportunities and language processing demands (Green & Abutalebi 2013). From the perspective of modality, the advantage in the Simon task may reflect experience of visual-spatial language (Giezen, Blumenfeld, Shook, Marian & Emmorey 2015).

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Promotion of social-cognitive competences through bimodal-bilingual education

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS B

AG 2

The development of social-cognitive competences like Theory of Mind (ToM) and Emotion Understanding (EU) interacts with language acquisition. Knowledge of lexemes for mental states and syntax like complement structure and the ability to take part in various interactions are an important precondition for ToM and EU (e.g. Schick et al. 2007).

International and own studies have revealed that deaf children are particularly at risk of lagging behind in the development of these skills as the access to both languages – spoken language and sign language – is limited due to hearing impairment or the communication skills of parents (e.g. Becker et al. 2018, Maridaki-Kassotaki & Antonopoulou 2010). For these reasons bimodal bilingual education has to take into account that children need not only support to acquire both languages, but also in the areas of development of ToM/EU that are closely linked to language acquisition.

The European partnership ProToM combines 4 research institutes and 7 schools. The goal is to develop a multilingual evidence-based training program to promote ToM and EU as well as the associated bimodal-bilingual skills in deaf children. The program is strictly theory-based and follows the different stages of development of ToM and EU (Peterson et al 2005, Pons et al. 2004). It has a modular design that provides different approaches to accommodate diversity among the pupils in bimodal bilingual education.

To test the effectiveness of the program, two interventions are carried out at primary schools and the extent of the change in competencies is measured by a pre-post-test design. Teachers and children are asked to evaluate the modules. The program and the results of the first intervention will be presented.

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Syntactic representations in the multilingual mind: Methodological approaches

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Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2091/2201

Workshop description

Within the framework of usage-based cognitive approaches, representations of language are seen as the result of internal and external speaker variables like age, educational background and most of all language input. The interdependency of such factors determines how language in general and syntactic constructions in particular emerge and are stored in the multilingual* mind.

Methodologically, there are different ways to reconstruct the development and interaction of syntactic constructions in multilingual speakers. While psycholinguistic methods try to assess the representation of syntax based on processing principles (e.g., Ellis et al. 2016), corpus-driven analyses often focus on the corpus-to-cognition-principle (cf. Schmid 2010). A combination of both methodologies is less common. Despite this variety of methodological approaches, little is known about 1) how specific methods shape our understanding of syntactic representations within the multilingual mind and 2) how this understanding can contribute towards validating theoretical usage-based assumptions. The latter question is particularly challenging since the methodologies mentioned are also employed to support opposing theories.

The aim of the workshop is to disclose the possibilities and limitations of different methodological approaches and thus to contribute to the further development of central theoretical assumptions within the framework of usage-based models. Contributions approaching the question of syntactic representation within multilingual speakers from an experimental perspective are as welcome as corpus-based work and studies linking the two methodologies. Our aim is to contribute to a better understanding of how theoretical assumptions about multilingualism and different methodologies are mutually dependent.

* *Multilingualism* here refers to both genetically different languages as well as varieties within one standard language.

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L2 readers retain more verbatim information than native readers

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:15–15:15
VMP5 2091/2201

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This paper presents data from two studies on heritage speakers (HSs) of Spanish to answer the following questions: 1) Which elements of language are particularly vulnerable in language contact situations? 2) How much of the divergence is due to cross-linguistic influence?

Question 1 is approached from the perspective of the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace 2005), which predicts increased vulnerability for phenomena at the interface between two domains of language, especially the external interfaces connecting syntax to discourse/ pragmatics (Sorace & Serratrice 2009). Unlike most previous studies, which have tested the IH by comparing two completely different phenomena (e.g. Montrul 2008), this paper compares interfaces within phenomena, namely 1) the subjunctive and 2) subject position.

For the first study, 17 HSs of Spanish in the Netherlands and 18 Spanish-dominant controls were tested on their knowledge of the subjunctive in three different contexts, using an acceptability judgment task and an elicited production task. The results show that the HSs diverged most from monolingual controls in sentences in which the choice of mood depends on the pragmatic context. The divergence was smaller sentences in which mood is semantically determined, and smallest in a purely syntactic context. These results are in line with the IH.

To address question 2, HSs in two different countries (the Netherlands and the US) were compared in order to differentiate between transfer and language-internal change. 27 American HS of Spanish, 19 Dutch HS of Spanish and 20 Spanish-dominant controls were tested on their knowledge of three constraints determining word order in Spanish: one syntax-semantics interface factor – verb type – and two syntax-pragmatics/discourse factors – focus and definiteness. The results showed that the Dutch group was sensitive to verb type and definiteness, but not to focus, and the American group was sensitive only to verb type. The relative robustness of verb type and the vulnerability of focus are in line with the IH. The difference between the two groups with respect to definiteness is explained by influence from their respective majority languages: while Dutch exhibits a relation between definiteness and word order similar to Spanish, this effect is less pervasive in English.

Together, these two studies offer support for increased vulnerability at the external interface, while at the same time showing that the particular language combination matters, suggesting contact-induced change.

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Between V2 and V3: Processing non-canonical sentence structures in L2 German

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
VMP5 2091/2201

AG 3

Although the finite verb in German can be implemented at different positions in the sentence, German is often classified as a V2-language. V2 placement is found both in canonical SVAdv-sentences as well as with sentence-initial adverbs (AdvVS) or objects (OVS). Given this V2-rule, non-canonical verb-third-sentences (V3) of the type AdvSVfin (see 1) are usually classified as ungrammatical and attributed to learning errors in L2 acquisition.

(1) und dann die Studierenden bilden sechs Gruppen
'and then the students form six groups' (Wiese & Müller 2018)

However, V3-sentences are not only typical for L2-learners' grammars, but also fufill specific information-structural functions in (oral) mono- and multilingual language settings (Freywald et al. 2015, Wiese & Müller 2018). Also, self-paced-reading experiments show that monolingual German speakers do not show any processing differences between (contextually embedded) V2- and V3-sentences (Bunk 2016). Given this functional perspective, the question arises whether V3-sentences also have an information-structural component in L2 grammar.

Advanced L2-learners of German (50 at B1- and 44 at B2-level) were subjected to an elicitation test and a self-paced-reading experiment based on Bunk (2016). To determine whether participants produce V3-sentences under specific conditions, elicitation included the task of completing sentences varying according to sentence initial constituents. The self-paced reading experiment examined processing differences between different V2- and V3-sentences. The test sentences were presented embedded in contexts. In both tests, the semantic class of the adverbs was controlled (temporal vs. local).

Initial analyses show that V3-sentences hardly occur in production in B1-participants and almost disappear with increasing proficiency level. At the same time, only B1-participants show marginally higher reading time differences in V3-conditions. Thus, V3 structures barely occur in (written) production and do hardly deviate from canonical V2-sentences in processing.

These preliminary results pose challenges on both theoretical approaches and acquisition-related models. If V3-sentences were merely ungrammatical structures in learners' grammars, this should be reflected in longer reading times. Since this is not the case, it could be argued that V3-sentences fulfil information-structural purposes. However, their occurrence in use is so low that it is unclear whether L2-learners can actually derive the discourse functions of V3-sentences from the input.

References: Bunk, O. (2016). Adv-S-Vfin-Sätze als Form der mehrfachen Vorfeldbesetzung im Deutschen. Syntaktische Struktur und Verarbeitung. Universität Potsdam: Master Thesis. Freywald, U., L. Cornips, N. Ganuza, I. Nistov & T. Opsahl (2015). Beyond verb second – a matter of novel information-structural effects? Evidence from Norwegian, Swedish, German and Dutch. In Nortier, J. & B. A. Svendsen (eds.): Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century. Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces. Cambridge: Cambrigde University Press, 73–92. Wiese, H. & H. G. Müller (2018). The hidden life of V3: An overlooked word order variant on verb-second. In Antomo, M. & S. Müller (eds.), Non-Canonical Verb Positioning in Main Clauses. Hamburg: Buske, 201–224.

Syntactic representations in the multilingual mind – Evidence from an eye-tracking study on the comprehension of passive sentences

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:30
VMP5 2091/2201

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AG 3

The aim of our presentation is to show how the combination of an offline and online method allows for a better understanding of monolingual and multilingual syntactic representations. To this end, we investigated monolingual children and adults and early second language learners' interpretation of passive sentences. This structure has been investigated in preschool children (compare Aschermann et al. 2004; Dittmar et al. 2014; Grimm et al. 1975) and has been considered to pose an important difficulty for school-aged children (Ehlich et al. 2008; Gogolin & Lange 2011) even if this has not been tested empirically so far. We present data of two studies in which we compared the comprehension of passive sentences in monolingual (L1) children at age seven and ten (n = 24, 25) with age-matched early second language (L2) learners (AoO = three/four year; n = 17, 24) and L1 adults (n = 27). We monitored their eye movements while they were listening to reversible active and passive sentences and asked them to choose which of two pictures corresponded to the sentences by pressing a button. We discuss the findings suggesting that even if the L2 seven-year-olds' off-line performance was high and not significantly different from that of the L1 age-matched children, their on-line use of the cues was still not native-like, in contrast to the older L2 ten-year-olds compared to their L1 peers. We interpret these results as a consequence of the shorter cumulative exposure time of the L2 seven-year-olds to German, which at age 7 was around 3–4 years. We argue that the L2 seven-year-olds are still learning how to weight cues in a native-like fashion and the time they had at their disposal to extract information from the input was too short to lead to a pattern that would be identical to native speaker children. The fact that we found that the L2 ten-year-olds did not differ from their L1 peers supports the usage-based assumption that the longer the exposure to the L2, the more native-like the children's processing becomes. In sum, our study shows that a comparative analysis of off-line and on-line data is theoretically informative and contributes to a better understanding of multilingual learners' syntactic representations.

References: Aschermann, E.; Gülzow, I. & Wendt, D. (2004). Differences in the Comprehension of Passive Voice in German- and English-Speaking Children. Swiss Journal of Psychology 63(4), 235–245. Dittmar, M.; Abbot-Smith, K.; Lieven, E. & Tomasello, M. (2014). Familiar Verbs Are Not Always Easier Than Novel Verbs: How German Pre-School Children Comprehend Active and Passive Sentences. Cognitive Science 38(1), 128–151. Ehlich, K.; Bredel, U. & Reich, H.H. (2008). Referenzrahmen zur altersspezifischen Sprachaneignung – Forschungsgrundlagen. Bonn, Berlin: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF). Gogolin, I. & Lange, I. (2011). Bildungssprache und Durchgängige Sprachbildung. In S. Fürstenau & M. Gomolla (Hg.) Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 107–127. Grimm, H.; Scholer. H. & Wintermantel, M. (Hg.) (1975). Zur Entwicklung sprachlicher Strukturformen bei Kindern. Weinheim: J. Beltz (Beltz Monographien).

Prosodic effects on syntactic choice in L2 English? The case of the optional complementiser

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:30
VMP5 2091/2201

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AG 3

This paper is concerned with the syntactic representation of the optional complementiser *that* in German speakers' L2 English. We are interested in whether the use of the complementiser is co-determined by the immediate phonological environment (as has been reported for English), or immune to phonological influences (as has been reported for cognate *dass* in German).

Finite complement clauses (CC) in German and English come in two varieties, viz. i) those that are introduced by a complementiser and ii) unintroduced CCs. In German, introduced CCs display verb-final syntax. In unintroduced CCs, the tensed verb is in second position (V2). English CCs display SVO order irrespective of the presence of the complementiser (1).

(1) Martha thinks (that) Lúcy/Louíse called the ambulance.

In English, complementiser use is, among other things, conditioned by the phonological environment: Lee & Gibbons (2007, LG07) suggest that speakers omit the unstressed complementiser to optimise the rhythmic structure, i.e. when the word at the top of the CC starts in an unstressed syllable (e.g. Louíse) (avoidance of stress lapse). As opposed to English, German speakers' choice between introduced and unintroduced complement clauses has been shown to remain unaffected by stress or linguistic rhythm (Kentner & Franz 2019, KF19). KF19 argue that the structure of the CC (V-final with *dass* or V2 without) is determined in the grammatical encoding stage and hence immune to phonological tampering. The English complementiser, in contrast, may be subject to phonological ellipsis, as its presence or absence is not bound to a specific word order.

There is thus a fundamental difference between the English complementiser *that* and its German counterpart *dass* concerning the susceptibility to phonological influences. This difference raises the question as to the syntactic representation of the complementiser *that* in German speakers' L2 English. Rhythmic-phonological influences on the use of the complementiser in German speakers' L2 English would suggest that the representation of *that* is essentially native-like. Conversely, immunity to phonological influences would suggest that German speakers' L2 *that* is not represented like L1 that but possibly like German *dass*.

We will report on a replication of LG07's sentence recall experiment using their English stimulus material and their experimental setup. 32 participants (German speakers with L2 English) read and, after a distractor task, recall 32 sentences like (1). In these sentences, the structure of the CC (with or without that) and the stress pattern of the name at the top of the CC (trochaic vs iambic) are systematically varied. We evaluate the influence of the stress pattern on the presence or absence of the complementiser, considering the L2 competence of the speakers. The results will shed light on the syntactic representation of the complementiser that in German speakers' L2 English.

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What counts for SLA learners? A frequency-based approach to the acquisition of German "es" constructions by Spanish-speaking learners

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–12:15
VMP5 2091/2201

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AG 3

A key assumption in usage-based linguistic research is that input plays a crucial role; and, to be more specific, that frequency distributions in the input matter (cf. Blumenthal-Dramé 2012). In the field of second language acquisition (SLA), which my contribution will deal with, it is commonly acknowledged that high-frequency elements of a foreign language are more readily acquired than low-frequency ones. In fact, this claim starts from the idea that some elements are more and others are less frequent in *the learners' input*. How, then, can a project in SLA research take a certain input – and frequency distributions within – as given? It is clear that the exact input learners have cannot be *known*. Thus, the relevant input has to be modeled.

When it comes to modeling learners' input, the use of corpora is a tried and tested method. Nonetheless, this method does pose several problems: First, the language and the frequency distri-butions in the corpora may not reflect the learners' actual input. Second, even if the corpora and the frequency distributions appropriately represent the input, it is not trivial to reflect about what this means. Usage-based theories would not claim that "language learning is [...] a mere tabulation of frequency of patterns" (Divjak 2012: 3). However, the crucial question is: How do frequency distribu-tions shape the learners' mental representations, that is: How does the learners' brain deal with the frequency patterns it is confronted with?

Both issues raised can be addressed by combining quantitative and qualitative analyses. In my study, I focus on the acquisition of the German pronoun "es" (Engl. "it") by Spanish-speaking learners of German as a foreign language. These learners have difficulty using the German pronoun "es" correctly, due to differences in both language systems. My study suggests that regarding the acquisition, frequency distributions in the learners' input play a role. I would like to argue that high-frequency constructions with the German pronoun "es" (e.g. "es ist schön, dass du kommst", Engl.: "it is lovely that you are coming") are more readily acquired than low-frequency ones. First, I identified German "es"-constructions (according to Goldberg 2006) and their frequencies in natural German, using corpora of spoken and written German. As a second step, I did a corpus study and a psycholinguistic experiment with advanced Spanish-speaking learners of German and analyzed their use of German "es"-constructions.

In my talk, I will present the learner data in detail, focusing on a qualitative analysis. I will show usage patterns which suggest that learners are sensitive to frequency distributions in the input. By doing so, I will treat the issue of corpus-derived frequencies, arguing that a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses can make them more meaningful and valuable.

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From Corpus-to-Cognition: German perfect tense constructions and inner multilingualism

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
VMP5 2091/2201

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Usage-based approaches claim that syntactic representations in the competence (i.e., language knowledge) are shaped by the use of language and thus by performance. Based on this theoretical framework, Schmid (2000) developed the idea of a *corpus-to-cognition-principle* where constructions in corpus data are treated as instantiations of cognitive representations. Different studies extended this principle methodologically by combining usage data and psycholinguistic methods in order to access the use and cognitive processing of constructions (Blumenthal-Dramé 2012). Following this approach, we tested by means of a combined corpus analysis and an Eye Tracking study if there is a connection between the active use of regional perfect tense constructions and their cognitive processing by bilingual Low- and High German speakers. In particular, the phenomenon we investigate is the auxiliary variation in perfect constructions in the Westphalian Low-German area in which especially telic verbs such as *anfangen* ('to begin') show variation with the auxiliaries *sein* ('to be') and *haben* ('to have'). As part of the corpus analysis, we first analyzed both spoken data from bilingual dialect speakers of the Westphalian area (200 hours of interviews and everyday talk) and regional written data (Westphalian newspaper). The corpus analysis of the spoken data revealed that there are regions in which speakers use (a) only the *sein* 'be'-variant, (b) only the *haben* 'have'-variant or (c) show variation between both auxiliaries. Facing the question if these differences in usage have an impact on language processing, we conducted a reading experiment using Eye Tracking methods. The experiment comprised 30 people from three regional areas: (1) Westphalian speakers only using the *sein* 'be'-perfect with *angefangen* ('to begin'); (2) South-Westphalian speakers only using the *haben* 'have'-perfect; and (3) South-German dialect speakers as a comparison group. The test design included 64 test items with varying auxiliaries based on the usage-data from the newspaper corpus. Statistically, the processing times were analyzed with *linear mixed effects models* (Bates et al. 2015). The results of the Eye Tracking experiment showed that the regional background of the reader has a significant effect on processing times of the different perfect auxiliary variants. In contrast to South-Westphalian and South-German readers, dialect speakers form the 'be'-area read *angefangen* 'to begin' perfect constructions with the auxiliary 'be' faster relative to the constructions with the auxiliary 'have'. Moreover, readers from the 'be'-area showed an overall greater telic effect in that also perfect constructions with *begonnen* 'to start' and *aufgehört* 'to stop' were processed relatively faster with the auxiliary *sein* 'be'. Based on these findings, the talk will discuss benefits and shortcomings of methods measuring usage and processing with regard to the reconstruction of syntactic constructions in the mind.

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From sentence to discourse: Event representations by monolingual and bilingual children

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:45
VMP5 2091/2201

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The present contribution investigates the selection and organization of information in discourse by child and adolescent monolingual and bilingual speakers within the "thinking for speaking" framework (Slobin 1996). Crosslinguistic studies show that speakers of languages with grammaticalized aspect reveal different preferences than those of speakers of languages without overt aspect marking on the sentence level, which leads to different patterns of discourse organization (von Stutterheim & Nüse 2003). Speakers of aspect languages like Russian tend to select phases of events (e.g. russ. *on pobežal k vode*, engl. 'he (has/had) started to run towards the water') for verbalization while speakers of non-aspect languages like German choose to describe events as a whole (e.g. germ. *Er läuft zum Wasser*, engl. 'he runs towards the water'). In this contribution, I will report the results of a study of 80 oral re-narrations of a silent film by monolingual and bilingual speakers of Russian and German aged 7 to 14. Monolingual children of all age groups have acquired morphologic tense and aspect markings of their L1 and chose the respective L1-perspective for verbalization of events. At the age of 11-12 they start using L1-principles for text construction, which could be seen in re-narrations of adults. While the L1 German speakers produce longer texts choosing all scenes of the film for verbalization from the perspective of a protagonist, the speakers of L1 Russian mostly elaborate on a few key scenes and may choose a narrator- and listener-oriented perspective. All bilingual children acquired the L1-markings at the same age as well, and they tend to choose the same perspective on single events in German but describe the events as a whole (L1 German perspective) in L1 Russian. Also, a smaller variation of aspect uses on the sentence level (e.g. perfective in resultative meaning) could be found in Russian bilingual L1 data compared to monolingual data. Finally, the texts of bilinguals are not constructed by the principles of their respective L1's but in an additive fashion. A possible explanation within the Cognitive Grammar framework is that some discourse properties depend on different degrees of entrenchment of particular time schemas in relation to a particular type of event (Bylund & Jarvis 2011). In this contribution I will argue, that the representations of certain discourse-shaping categories such as aspect should be investigated also within the discourse.

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Implicit learning of verb argument constructions in German as a second language

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Freitag,
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AG 3

The repeated exposure to verb argument constructions (VACs) and their use in responses is suggested to result in implicit learning (Chang et al. 2000). The structural priming paradigm allows us to manipulate the input systematically. Previous evidence shows that structural priming is boosted by verb repetition (Pickering & Branigan 1998). In a series of experiments, we investigated whether learners of German as a second language (L2) are more sensitive to both structural and lexical input than native speakers of German (L1) are.

There were 48 university student participants per experiment. L2 learners formed a heterogeneous group with various first languages. They were rather proficient in German (at least B2 according to CEFR). Transitive and passive primes were presented auditorily and targets for sentence generation were displayed as word lists. Prime structure and verb repetition between primes (translation equivalents of, e.g., *The shower refreshes/cleans the building worker*) and targets (translation equivalents of, e.g., *to refresh drink sportsman*) were varied within items, whereas language (L1 vs L2) and the verb position in the word list (VNN vs NNV) were varied across experiments. Responses were coded as transitive VACs with the main verb in second position, passive VACs with the main verb in final position, or other.

L2 learners were predicted to produce fewer passive responses than L1 speakers (*complexity hypothesis*). There should be no differences in susceptibility to priming (Kantola & van Gompel 2011; Schoonbaert, Hartsuiker & Pickering 2007). However, effects of verb repetition and of verb position should be stronger than in L1 speakers (*lexicalist learning* and *lexical availability hypotheses*).

Linear mixed models revealed significant effects of structural priming and a lexical boost in all experiments. Across experiments, the overall rate of passive responses as well as the strength of the attested effects did not differ between L2 and L1 speakers. Thus, there was no difference in sensitivity to structural priming or to the lexical boost. However, there were significant interactions of priming with verb position, and groups differed in the direction of the interactions, evidencing that L1 responses tended to align with the verb position in targets (more passive VAC priming with NNV than with VNN targets) whereas L2 speakers relied on lexical availability (more passive VAC priming with VNN than with NNV targets). We conclude that L2 but not L1 speakers' implicit learning of VACs hinges on verb-specific information.

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Register Specific Structures in Multilingual Language Acquisition

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Researching the written-language abilities, meaning structures required by the formal register of multilingual children and adolescents in Germany a corpus containing 480 spoken and written texts from 120 pupils of 5th, 7th, 10th and 12th grade is used (collected in the DFG-funded project MULTILIT) (Schellhardt & Schroeder 2015). The presentation focuses on the challenges working with multilingual corpus data and shows which aspects have to be considered when interpreting the data and – from there – drawing conclusions to the representation of syntax:

Specific social contexts (determined by the participants involved, their relation to each other and the situation) require specific linguistic structures. Thus communication settings can be graded in registers by using the criteria how public or intimate and how formal or informal situations are (Maas 2008, 2015). Written-language structures used in formal situations are characterized by increasing information density and increasing decontextualization of the specific context. The noun phrase is the syntactic structure which is effected by these two parameters particularly. Analyzing the elaboration of noun phrases of pupils texts can reveal the register-orientation of the text producer and the view on different age groups enables to get an idea of the development from informal to written-language structures. Some of the expressions occur rather in oral language use than in written and vice versa (Schellhardt 2015). For example relative clauses are more common in oral texts than participial constructions (1) which are more often used in formal registers.

(1) (grade 12, written)

Die	im	Film	gezeigte	Szene
the.NOM	in.ART.DAT	film.DAT	PTCP-show-PTCP	scene

'the scene shown in the film'

Both types of noun phrases represent alternative forms oft he same meaning. What does the appearance of one of these structues in a pupils text mean for the classification of the different forms of elaboration of the noun phrase in a orate-literate scale? To get an insight on the representation of language in the learners mind the quantitative data will be enriched with descriptions of individual cases.

References: Montrul, S. (2008b). Incomplete acquisition in Spanish heritage speakers: Chronological age or interfaces vulnerability? In H. Chan, H. Jacob & E. Kapia (Eds.), BUCLD 32: Proceedings of the 32nd annual BUCLD. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 299–310. Sorace, A. (2005). Selective optionality in language development. In: Cornips, L., Corrigan, K. P. (Eds.), Syntax and variation: Reconciling the biological and the social. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 55–80. Sorace, A. & Serratrice, L. (2009). Internal and external interfaces in bilingual language development: Beyond structural overlap. International Journal of Bilingualism, 13(2), 195–210.

Empirical consequences of universal claims in grammatical theorizing

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Workshop description

Universals of grammar have played a prominent role in general linguistics since the 1960s, but the connection between universal claims and empirical testing has often been tenuous. The great majority of linguists have always been working on a single language, but many of them now strive to contribute to a larger enterprise. Thus, general claims have often been based initially on a few languages, or even just on one. As a result, the literature is full of proposals that have broad implications while we do not know to what extent they are true.

This workshop is intended to complement the conference theme of "linguistic diversity" by focusing on empirical evidence for linguistic uniformity, but from a variety of different perspectives. Evidence for universal claims can come from a wide range of sources, e.g.

- large-scale worldwide grammar-mining (along the lines of Greenberg's seminal work)
- large text collections, either parallel (Cysouw & Wälchli 2007), or annotated in a parallel way (Universal Dependencies, Nivre et al. 2016)
- artificial language learning experiments, because these remove the conventionality that is associated with all naturally developed languages (e.g. Culbertson 2012)
- the absence of a credible way of learning the relevant pattern (poverty of the stimulus, Lasnik & Lidz 2016)
- the absence of published counterevidence to well-known claims

This workshop brings together general linguists with diverse theoretical outlooks, so in addition to papers that discuss actual evidence for actual universal claims, it is also open to well-argued contributions questioning the idea that special evidence is needed for universal claims, and/or that justify the widespread practice of basing general claims on few languages.

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Testable universals, the natural-kinds programme, and presupposed universals in grammatical theorizing

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS M

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This talk will focus on the problems of **presupposed universals** and of **empirical testing of universals** in general-theoretical linguistics. Paradoxically, universals of grammar have been very prestigious and prominent in linguistics since Greenberg (1963) and Chomsky (1965), but what exactly is universal in grammars is still largely unknown. Many linguists presuppose universals of various kinds (architectural universals like the syntax-morphology division, or substantive universals like phonological distinctive features or syntactic categories), but the universality of all these is very uncertain (see, e.g., Mielke 2008 on distinctive features, Haspelmath 2011 on the syntax-morphology division). The mere fact that established concepts can be applied to new data is not sufficient to corroborate the reality of these concepts if there is no clear sense of what observations would be inconsistent with them.

To make true progress in general-theoretical linguistics, I argue that two kinds of steps need to be taken: First, if one is interested in **readily testable, observable universals** of the Greenbergian kind, one should test those that have been proposed. Linguists need to establish a culture of hypothesis-testing, in addition to their existing culture of generating new hypotheses. As psychologists have found out, there is no guarantee that proposed generalizations will hold up after more testing. Such hypothesis-testing will have to rely on rigorously defined comparative concepts as uniform yardsticks for objective masurement (cf. Haspelmath 2020).

Second, if one is interested in **innate architectural or substantive universals** of the Chomskyan kind, which are not so readily testable (because of their sometimes very indirect effects), one should try to find ways of comparing competing proposals at least in special subdomains. Some of the 20th century Chomskyan proposals (which I call "natural-kinds programme", following Baker's 2001 comparisons with chemistry) are often presupposed as true (and even taught in introductory classes), but in reality, linguists do not know which of these proposals correspond to the true innate categories of the human mind. Thus, we need to construct compelling cases at least for some subdomains where alternative explanations (e.g. in terms of historical accident, or in terms of convergent cultural evolution) cannot work.

Or alternatively, in order to demonstrate an innate grammar toolbox, one needs to establish **correspondences between stimulus poverty and universals observed in languages**. Arguments from the poverty of the stimulus are often invoked in general terms (e.g. Lasnik & Lidz 2016), but it is rarely clear what exactly is predicted and explained by such considerations.

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Peripheral prominence

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS M

The universal claim I will be concerned with in this talk is known as iconicity of complexity (e.g. Haiman 1980; 2000), which states that more complex meanings are expressed by more complex forms. In this talk, I investigate iconicity of complexity wrt focus interpretation. It has been argued that focus may be interpreted as either filling in some informational gap (new information focus, NIF) or expressing a contrast to a previously mentioned or contextually implied alternative (contrastive focus, CF, e.g. Krifka 2008). CF is informationally more complex than NIF and typically requires more complex structures. This provides a nice example of the iconic relation between the complexity of meaning and form.

In this talk, I discuss the formal expression of these two focus types in tone and intonation languages. Starting with the latter, it is well known that intonation languages use prosodic cues to express focus in general, typically in form of pitch accents on the focused constituent. With CF it has been argued that the increase of the fundamental frequency is stronger than in NIF. However, given the gradient nature of pitch, an unmistakable CF interpretation may be achieved only by syntactic fronting of the CF to the clausal left periphery as can be observed in many intonation languages. In tone languages, on the other hand, the modulation of tonal pitch for information-structural purposes is naturally reduced. Instead, tone languages to a greater extent use syntactic strategies to express CF. Thus, many languages exhibit an asymmetry between formally unmarked in situ focus expressing NIF, and marked word orders expressing CF. I will discuss evidence from various West African languages that exhibit this dichotomy. In many of these languages, the syntactic distribution of in situ NIF and ex situ CF can be considered a strong tendency, but not a strict correlation in that CF may also be realized in situ. This finding represents a challenge to the iconicity claim. I will also present hitherto unknown data from Eton, a Bantu language from Cameroon that exhibits an unexpectedly clearcut distinction between wh-phrases and NIF, which must be always realized in situ, and CF, which may appear sentence initially. Thus, even in a language with very few fronting options, the clausal left periphery represents a preferred position for prominent constituents.

Searching for universals: Deriving generalizations from data

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS M

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This talk deals with the methodology for finding universals that is used in the CoreGram project. We develop grammars based on language internal facts. This means that we do not use data from Basque or Japanese to motivate constituent structures in German, that we do not assume empty antipassive heads in a German grammar on the basis of the existence of antipassive in other languages. Cinque/Rizzi-style grammars, in which functional heads are present in all languages provided they exist in any of the languages spoken world-wide, are impossible in this setting. We believe that this is the only legitimate way if one follows Hauser, Chomsky, Fitch in assuming that there is no innate language specific knowledge or very abstract language specific knowledge like Merge. I discuss objections by Croft and Haspelmath against the generative methodology of examining one language at a time and show that non-formal typological research also relies on grammars and categorizations and hence would suffer from the same alleged problems if one accepted them as problems.

The CoreGram project develops constraint-based grammars of several languages. The constraints that hold for more than one language are collected in sets. The higher the number of languages for which a constraint holds, the more general it is. If a constraint holds for all examined languages, it is a candidate for a universal. If this process is continued long enough, a set with few, very general constraints results. Given what we know so far about languages, a likely result is that the only property that all languages share is that we combine words and phrases into larger units. This constraint is trivial. It is also known under the name Merge.

Is redundancy as universal as linguists say it is?

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS M

Syntagmatic redundancy, the repetition of information in a sentence, clause, or phrase (Trudgill 2011: 22), has been claimed to be a universal property of human language. In this talk, I will argue that syntagmatic redundancy is indeed universal, but some types are more universal than others. If we want to understand typological variation in redundancy, we need to look into different types of repetition, and the multiple functions that repetitive marking can fulfill.

Claims about the universality of redundancy usually combine selected examples with an explanation in terms of a supposed advantage of information repetition. For example, Dahl (2004: 9) argues that "by increasing redundancy [...] the sender can reduce the risk of faulty delivery". The inherently functionalist idea behind such claims is that doubling phenomena are universal because doubling has universal functions such as increasing the chance of successful communication, facilitating processing, or enhancing learnability.

However, neither the universality of syntagmatic redundancy, nor its communicative and cognitive advantages are backed up by typological or psycholinguistic evidence. The 22 languages studied in Leufkens (2015) all exhibit syntagmatic redundancy in some form, but there is large variation in type and extent to which they do so. Regarding processability and learnability, there is evidence for a facilitatory effect of frequency of linguistic items, but there is no comparable evidence for similar advantages effected by intra-clausal repetition.

To investigate how universal redundancy really is I have conducted a typological study of concord, defined as cases of meaning overlap between lexical and functional elements. Examples are given in (1)-(4); repeated information is indicated in a separate column and underlined in the examples.

(1) argument concord	3sg	She speaks.
(2) negative concord	neg	No vino nadie. 'Nobody came' (Spanish, Zeijlstra 2004: 130)
(3) plural concord	pl	five elephants
(4) temporal concord	pst	Yesterday, I arrived at the hotel.

Grammar-mining of a 50-language variety sample shows that argument and temporal concord are (near-)universal, but negative and plural concord are not, undermining claims that redundancy is universal. Moreover, reference grammars indicate that there is large variation as to the functions that the different types of concord may fulfill, which may provide an explanation for the attested differences in cross-linguistic distribution.

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Hypotheses meet their worst enemy – empiricism

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 HG HS M

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AG 4

Given that linguistics rightfully claims the status of a proper science, it must aim at making testable i.e. falsifiable generalizations about its own research object (Lazard 2006). In connection with this task, linguists have to face the still widely understudied structural diversity of human languages (Haspelmath 2019). Our limited knowledge as to the range of the extant (and extinct) live forms of human language constitutes a risk factor for any hypothesis – be it about human language in general ("universals") or about cross-linguistic distributions ("areal/ typological preferences," etc.). However, in the spirit of Levinson (1991), it can be assumed that every hypothesis that fails is interesting linguistically.

In this talk, four generalizations or hypotheses are discussed to show what we can learn from their failure. On closer inspection, each of the hypotheses can be disproved empirically, i.e. there are numerous languages which, contrary to expectation, behave differently from what the generalizations would predict. The four cases to be scrutinized are

(a) the well-known Companion Metaphor as put forward by Lakoff & Johnson (1980) and critically assessed by Stolz, Stroh & Urdze (2006),
(b) the supposed absence of the Alienability Correlation from the languages of Europe as assumed by Nichols (1992) – an assumption with which Stolz et al. (2008) have taken issue,
(c) the supposed absence of (Total) Reduplication from the languages of Europe as pro-pagated by Rubino (2005a;b) and shown to rest on shaky foundation by Stolz, Stroh & Urdze (2011),
(d) the supposed dominance of certain types of Comparative Constructions throughout Europe as argued by Stassen (1985; 2005) and Heine (1997) but rejected by Stolz (2013).

The talk aims at identifying those factors shared by all four of the rebutted generalizations which have contributed to their being incompatible with the empirical facts. The counter-evidence is numerous so that it cannot be discarded sweepingly as isolated exceptions. Nevertheless, it is argued that the above generalizations have not been put forward in vain. They have stimulated others to check their validity and come up with counter-claims. Put differently, jumping to conclusions is not such a bad thing provided someone (else) goes to the pains to test them.

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An investigation of *ABA patterns of syncretism in the pronominal domain

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–17:30
ESA1 HG HS M

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1. Introduction. This presentation will investigate *ABA syncretism patterns in pronominal forms, drawing its conclusions from a database of 80 languages. I present morphological evidence that anaphors, diaphors and pronouns are semantically related to each other in a theoretically significant way, such that they share an underlying structure complete with syntactically operative features. For present purposes, an **anaphor** is a variable that takes a local c-commanding antecedent; a **diaphor** is a variable that takes a non-local antecedent, in whose scope it sits; and a **pronoun** is free to take any antecedent it likes.

2. Patterns of syncretism. Consider the sentence in (1), and its possible Logical Functions.

(1) Only Piglet thinks that Tigger loves α. x.
a. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves y)) ANAPHOR
b. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves x)) DIAPHOR
c. Only Piglet λx (x thinks that Tigger λy (y loves z)) PRONOUN

In English, the first LF corresponds to the PF pronunciation in which the anaphor himself replaces α in (1), while the latter two LFs are derived when α is replaced by *him*. I assume that the syncretism of two items indicates that they share an underlying feature, and therefore place anaphors at the top of the list of pronominals. English thus represents an AAB syncretism pattern (read from the bottom up). I presently have data from 80 languages (representing 14 language families) which support two further syncretism patterns: AAA (e.g. Georgian, Tongan), and ABC (e.g. Basque, Yoruba). Given three LFs, 5 syncretism patterns are logically possible. The four attested share one significant property: the syncretisms are all adjacent.

3. Transparent morphology. I analyse this data in the Distributed Morphology and Minimalist frameworks. The syncretism patterns demonstrate that one feature underlies all pronominals (accounting for AAA). Anaphors and diaphors also form a natural class, as do diaphors and pronouns. There are four permutations of features that could capture these divisions and which exclude the ABA pattern. Only one additionally explains the transparent morphology of the 87 sampled languages.

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Do morphological oppositions obey Zipf's law of abbreviation? Quantitative evidence from 54 languages

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
ESA1 HG HS M

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Zipf's law of abbreviation (frequent forms are likely to be shorter) is one of the consequences of the principle of least effort (Zipf 1936:30). It is assumed to manifest itself at various language levels (Greenberg 1966; DuBois 1985: 363). It has, for instance, been claimed that more frequent members of morphological oppositions are on average shorter (Haspelmath 2008; Hawkins 2010), e.g. singular forms are usually shorter than plural forms. In this talk, I present the first (to my knowledge) large-scale test of this assumption. Using the Universal Dependencies (v. 2.3) corpora, I test whether the assumption holds across 54 languages and 34 morphological features.

The dataset contains 1110 datapoints (a datapoint in this case is a language-specific feature, e.g. number in Basque, case in German, case in Russian etc.). For every datapoint, I test whether inflectional affixes in the forms that have the most frequent value of the respective feature (e.g. nominative for Russian case) will on average be shorter than those in the forms that have the least frequent value (e.g. dative).

In 64% of datapoints, there is a significant negative correlation between frequency and length, as predicted by the abbreviation law. In 19%, there is a significant positive correlation, in the remaining 17% the correlation is not significant.

Features comply to the abbreviation law to various degree. Aspect, voice, number and degree (of comparison) are most compliant (83–85%), while mood is least compliant (25%, while 30% of datapoints show a significant positive correlation). A closer inspection reveals that one of the most prominent exceptions is the opposition of indicative and imperative: the latter often is shorter, even though it is less frequent than the former.

The Universal Dependencies collection contains several large corpora of ancient Indo-European languages (Latin, Ancient Greek, Old Church Slavonic and Gothic), which enables some (limited) diachronic comparisons. When compared to the modern languages of the respective group (Romance, Greek, Slavic and Germanic), the ancient languages in this particular dataset always show a noticeably smaller compliance to the abbreviation law.

In the talk I also highlight some potential limitations of this corpus-based approach (the Universal Dependencies sample is strongly skewed towards certain groups of Indo-European languages; the corpus annotation is not entirely harmonized across all languages etc.) and discuss how it can be complemented by other approaches (Kanwal et al. 2017).

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Testing Greenberg's universals on a global scale

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 HG HS M

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In recent years, Greenberg's word order universals have been claimed to be lineage-specific (Dunn et al. 2011) or alternatively, to be divided between lineage-specific patterns and true universals (Jäger 2018a). Other universals have not yet been investigated using quantitative methods that control for language history. In this paper we investigate a large set of universals (100+) with a new large morphosyntactic dataset using phylogenetic comparative methods and a global tree. The typological data are taken from Grambank (Skirgård et al. 2020), a new database containing more than 1400 languages. The universals are gathered from Greenberg (1963) and Plank and Filimonova's (2006) collection. We select universals that dictate the presence or absence of two specific features (such as gender and number; or tensedness and nouny adjectives) and investigate whether these features are likely to co-evolve or not. Rather than investigating individual families, we make use of global language trees (Jäger 2018b, other global trees are in preparation). This allow us to incorporate small families and isolates, as well as quantitatively appreciate the fact that many separate families specific to a certain area probably share a past.

Results indicate that universality is a matter of degree. Some of Greenberg's well-known universals, such as no. 43, "If a language has gender categories in the noun, it has gender categories in the pronoun", are close to the absolute universal end of the spectrum. Others, however, are not universal (for example, no. 27, "If a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional; if it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional"). In some cases, these negative findings are due to a mismatch between the terms used in the original formulation of the universal and the Grambank questionnaire. In other cases, our findings support earlier falsifications of universals, for instance Greenberg's universals regarding Object-Verb and Adjective-Noun order (no. 5 and no. 17), which have been shown to be wrong by Dryer (1988). Other universals are falsified. These may have held up in their original samples, but are not found to be universal in the current analyses. Viewing universality as a matter of degree has implications for the debate regarding culture and cognition: we put forward a more sophisticated view where both cultural evolution and cognitive factors play a part in investigating correlations between typological features.

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A new perspective on compounding as a universal

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
ESA1 HG HS M

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The focus of this talk is the question of whether compounding is a universal of language. However, the goal is not so much to provide a definitive answer to this question as to raise some principled issues related to the nature of language universals and their role in grammatical theorizing. Noun-noun compounding is used as a proxy for compounding-in-general, both because this is the focus of my research, and because I want to approach the question from a new perspective. Limiting the question in this way can be justified by the fact that NN compounds appear to be by far the largest subclass of compounds.

While no-one has proposed compounding as an absolute universal, it is often suggested that it is a 'near-universal' or that it is 'a common word formation process in all languages' (implying that it is, in fact, universal). However, the evidence for such claims is slight, to put it mildly, and none of the cross-linguistic studies performed to date provide grounds for drawing any firm conclusions. As Bauer (2017) points out, the problem is compounded (!) by the fact that there is no overall agreement on the definition of a compound. Another critical issue is how prevalent compounding has to be in a given language in order to count as evidence for the ubiquity of compounding; i.e. should a language such as West Greenlandic, with just one attested compound, count as evidence?

Rather than starting from information provided by grammars, the present study – based on a varied sample of 100 languages – takes an empirically-based, onomasiological approach within a framework informed by Haspelmath's (2010) notion of comparative concepts. The function of NN compounding is taken to be the formation of new lexical items by means of nominal modification (Croft 2021). From this perspective, compounding (e.g. deu *eisen-bahn* [iron-way] 'railway') is simply one of several different strategies, alongside the adpositional (fra *chemin de fer* [way PREP iron]), adjectival (rus *želez-naja doroga* [iron.ADJZ road]), genitival (kap *kil.o.s hino* [iron.OBL.GEN way]), and others. These four examples represent four types of a cross-linguistic construction called 'binominal lexeme'.

In this talk I present a typology of binominal lexemes and characterise each of the binominal types in terms of the form of the nominal constituents and the form, locus and number of markers. I then discuss the frequencies of each type, their areal distribution, and the degree to which they compete within individual languages. I will show that noun-noun compounding is *not* a universal and that, based on the present sample, other binominal word-formation strategies are preferred in about half of the world's languages. This prompts some reflections about what it actually means to be a 'universal', and the suggestion that the question of whether a p-language 'has X' is more usefully answered in terms of a tendency, or preference, rather than as an absolute, binary 'yes' or 'no'.

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Differential coding in property words: A typological study

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 HG HS M

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This paper provides a systematic large-scale typological study on differential coding in property words, which is also known as "split adjectives" (Wetzer 1992, 1996, Stassen 1997) or "adjective classes" (Dixon 2004). Differential coding in property words is shown by either structural coding (e.g. relativizer, copula) or inflectional potential (e.g. gender, case). For example, in Cavineña, adjectives are divided into two subclasses: attributive adjectives and predicative adjectives, as illustrated in (1).

(1) Cavineña (Pano-Tacanan, South America)
   a. *badi* *nana*
      moon young
      'new moon' (Guillaume 2008: 469)
   b. *wika* *arida=ke*
      hook big=REL
      'the big hook' (Guillaume 2008: 360)

In particular, I have chosen 28 property concepts as semantic targets and investigated their morpho-syntactic behaviour in both the attributive and predicative position by consulting grammatical descriptions and dictionaries. The sample consists of 50 geographically and genealogically diverse languages from all six macro-areas of the world. In total, I have collected data consisting of 232 constructions and 6496 data points.

Aiming at finding universal tendencies, I have built a semantic map for property concepts based on linguistic forms with the Multidimensional Scaling Model (Croft & Poole 2008; Wälchli 2010). In general, the euclidean distance between property concepts in the semantic map represents the formal similarities of property words in languages. The closer two property concepts are represented in the semantic map, the more likely they are coded in similar constructions in my database. The clustering displayed in the semantic map correlates with their coding preferences. By and large, in the semantic map, property concepts on the left tend to display nominal inflection and/or predicative structural coding, while property concepts on the right tend to show verbal inflection and/or attributive structural coding. Theoretically, the semantic map represents the universal conceptual space of property concepts, in which a cut-off line can be drawn for each language.

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Languages turn out more similar if one looks out for similarities

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–11:45
ESA1 HG HS M

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In this talk, I want to reflect, on the basis of three case studies relating to my own work, on how deductive universalist reasoning in linguistics helps to speed up in-depth research. Often this comes out as generalizing to the worst case across languages. This research heuristics is similar to that of fine-grained semantic maps. As a general background, I assume a far-reaching similarity across languages, leaving open for the moment the exact nature of this similarity.

1. Sentential proforms: This case study concerns sentential proforms in German and Jula. Jula is an understudied Manding koiné of West Africa. Studies on better-studied languages like German have caused a disagreement among researchers about the uniformity of the sentential proform es as in (1) and (2) (Pütz 1986; Müller 1995; Sudhoff 2003).

(1) *Lea bereut es, abgereist zu sein.* (2) *Abgereist zu sein, Lea bereut es.*

Translational equivalents in Jula lead to a clearer picture. Jula proforms as in (1) come out as a, the non-stressable third person pronoun, whereas proforms as in (2) are rendered by the propositional anaphoric proform o (Hole & Kiemtoré 2018). The dividing line between the distributions of a and o in sentential proform constructions coincides with the dividing line between es as in (1) as opposed to es as in (2) that is known from the literature. This result may now be used to inform the case of German. Hole and Kiemtoré conclude that es in (1) and (2) is a grammatically polysemous item whose two sub-entries can fruitfully be studied separately.

2. Focus particles: The second case study concerns the focus particle systems of German on the one hand, and Chinese and Vietnamese, on the other. A lavilishly rich lexically and syntactically diverse system in the Asian languages (Hole 2004; 2013) contrasts with a seemingly much simpler system in German (Büring & Hartmann 2000). Upon closer inspection it turns out, though, that German is syntactically and lexically much more similar to Chinese and Vietnamese than it first seemed to be the case (Hole 2015; 2017). Quite similar to the previous case, German resorts to polysemy and zero expressions where Chinese and Vietnamese feature clearer syntactic and lexical contrasts. As a consequence of the in-depth comparison, the structures in German appear in a much clearer light and may largely be assimilated to the rich Asian systems.

Corpora and language universals: Opportunities and challenges

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS M

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This paper discusses the role of corpus data in testing and explaining language universals. First of all, corpora can fill in existing gaps in grammatical descriptions and provide missing information. For example, Stolz et al. (2017) extract interrogative spatial pronouns from numerous translations of Le Petit Prince. Second, by using corpus data, one can avoid the existing bias towards a restricted set of linguistic patterns, which display cross-linguistic bimodal distributions with low language-internal variability (Wälchli 2009), and investigate universal patterns in a broad range of constructions. Third, corpora can be used to fine-tune existing universals and reformulate them with greater precision. Here, we will demonstrate how Greenberg's (1963) Universal 25 can be reformulated at the finer-grained level of intralinguistic probabilities instead of the coarse-grained categorical variables. Fourth, corpora are indispensable for providing functional explanations of language universals, which emerge due to various communicative and cognitive pressures, such as the formal asymmetries in marking of causal and non-causal events (Haspelmath et al. 2014) or the cross-linguistic preferences for particular ordering of syntactic constituents (Hawkins 1994). Fifth, some important universals are inherently usage-based, since they are formulated at the level of usage events and describe probabilistic tendencies within a language, e.g. Zipf's law of abbreviation (Zipf 1935; Bentz & Ferrer-i-Cancho 2015), or the correlation between average surprisal and word length (Piantadosi et al. 2011). Finally, one needs corpora in order to establish universals related to human interaction in contex (e.g. Dingemanse et al. 2013).

At the same time, the use of corpus data is accompanied by several challenges, such as the Indo-European bias, difficulties in extraction of semantic and pragmatic information, lack of stylistic and pragmatic diversity in most multilingual corpora, and low frequencies of some linguistic phenomena.

References: Bentz, Ch. & R. Ferrer-i-Cancho (2015). Zipf's law of abbreviation as a language universal. Capturing Phylogen etic Algorithms for Linguistics. Lorentz Center Workshop, Leiden, October 2015. Dingemanse M., F. Torreira, N.J. Enfield (2013). Is ''Huh?'' a Universal Word? Conversational Infrastructure and the Convergent Evolution of Linguistic Items. PLoS ONE 8(11): e78273. Greenberg, J. (1963). Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Greenberg, J (ed.), Universals of Human Language. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 73–113. Haspelmath, M., A. Calude, M. Spagnol, H. Narrog, E. Bamyacı (2014). Coding causal-noncausal verb alternations: A form-frequency correspondence explanation. Journal of Linguistics 50(3), 587–625. Hawkins, J. A. (1994). A Performance Theory of Order and Constituency. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 73.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Piantadosi, Steven, H. Tily & E. Gibson (2011). Word lengths are optimized for efficient communication, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences 108(9), 3526. Stolz, Th. et al. (2017). Spatial Interrogatives in Europe and Beyond: Where, Whither, Whence. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. Wälchli, B. (2009). Data reduction typology and the bimodal distribution bias. Linguistic Typology 13, 77–94. Zipf, G. (1935). The Psychobiology of Language: An Introduction to Dynamic Philology. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.

Greenberg's Universal 25 and its exception

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS M

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When we talk about language universals, we need to consider how to deal with the (seeming) counterexamples. In this paper, we would like to discuss Greenberg's (1963) Universal 25 and its alleged exception. Greenberg's (1963) Universal 25 states that if the pronominal object follows the verb, so does the nominal object. Although this statement holds almost universally, Næss (2010) reports that Äiwoo (Austronesian, Oceanic) has this order: nominal objects precede the verb as in (1a) while pronominal objects are postverbal as in (1b).

(1) *John i-togulo-mu*
John pfv-hit-2min.a (pfv=perfective, min=minimal number, a=augmented)
'You hit John.'

(2) *i-togulo-mu* *iu*
pfv-hit-2min.a 1min
'You hit me.'

John precedes the verb in (1) while *iu* follows the verb in (2), which is an exception to Universal 25.

However, we should note that Äiwoo has two types of verbs: A-verbs (e.g. *togo* 'hit') and O-verbs (e.g. *togulo* 'hit' in (1) and (2)). According to Næss (2017), A-verbs appear in SVO order while O-verbs appear in OVS order. Importantly, focus is on the action in clauses with A-verb while focus is on object in clauses with O-verb. Then, we can argue that in (2) the object pronoun *iu*, which does not have much information, is dislocated from the preverbal (clause-initial) position, which is the focus position in sentences with O-verb. Then, we can attribute this counterexample to the marked information structure of sentences with O-verbs in Äiwoo. It is often the case that focus changes the basic word order of a language. Thus, we can still keep Universal 25 as a true universal of languages.

This study shows that it is important to reexamine the alleged counterexamples to a universal by careful investigation of the whole system of language(s). It also shows the importance of reconsidering the nature of the proposed universals.

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Integrated testing of typological hypotheses at scale

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS M

The Grammar Matrix (Bender et al. 2002; 2010) is a system which creates grammars grounded in HPSG (Pollard & Sag 1994) based on users' specifications input via a web questionnaire. The questionnaire is based on the typological literature and covers a variety of phenomena, including word order, case system, information structure, tense, aspect, mood, clausal modifiers, and clausal complements. The Grammar Matrix thus provides a unique platform for testing linguistic hypotheses both at scale, by creating starter grammars for many languages, and in interaction with each other, ensuring that, e.g., the analysis of information structure will be tested along with that of constituent questions even if it is only the latter that the linguist is thinking about.

We present insights which arise from a review of (i) the error analyses performed by the Grammar Matrix developers over the years on genealogically and geographically diverse languages that were not specifically described in the source typological survey or considered during development; and (ii) the Grammar Matrix's validation system. The error analyses include identifying which languages the Grammar Matrix cannot create grammars for. To the extent that the Grammar Matrix libraries faithfully capture the results of typological studies, the error analyses can point to lacunae in the typological literature. Conversely, the Grammar Matrix's success in producing grammars for over 150 diverse languages indicates that the remaining parts of the literature are making robust claims. The validation system checks grammar specifications for consistency before customization. It has been developed both on the grounds of what the typological literature contends is impossible and on the grounds of certain combinations of choices seeming difficult or indeed impossible to implement.

The Grammar Matrix has been developed with the intention of combining the breadth of typological research with the depth of formal syntax. The system is now large enough and has been tested against enough languages – 56 in the regression testing system plus over 100 in a classroom context – that this strategy allows us to discover both specific cases where languages contradict proposed generalizations and specific cases where analyses make predictions in combination that are not apparent when phenomena are considered in isolation.

References: Bender, E.M. & D. Flickinger & S. Oepen (2002). The Grammar Matrix: An open-source starter-kit for the rapid development of cross-linguistically consistent broad-coverage precision grammars. Proceedings of the Workshop on Grammar Engineering and Evaluation, CCL, 8–14. Bender, E.M. & S. Drellishak & A. Fokkens & L. Poulson & S. Saleem (2010). Grammar Customization. Research on Language and Computation 8(1), 23–72. Pollard, Carl & I. Sag (1994). Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar.

Adjunct islands and the interplay of theoretical and empirical factors in refining universal claims

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS M

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AG 4

A common occurrence in earlier work in broadly generative approaches was to make strong universal proposals on the basis of a very small number of languages, often accompanied by poverty-of-the-stimulus argumentation. Not surprisingly, many such proposals have fared poorly in the face of subsequent investigation on a wider sample of languages. Nonetheless, as strong, testable hypotheses they have served an important purpose in the development of the field, by providing the impetus for careful comparative and typological work (e.g. in the form of grammar-mining, careful literature surveys or coordinated original research on a series of languages). In many cases this has led to new generalizations with a more secure empirical footing, and in a few instances the original claims have withstood scrutiny, typically in more nuanced, sharpened form. This procedure has arguably led to the most insightful developments when the comparative/typological work was accompanied by theoretical endeavors to understand what might underlie hypothesized generalizations, which generate useful predictions that can drive further empirical work. A good example of this way of getting at universals comes from work on syntactic islands.

While agreement is possible under certain circumstances where the target is in a host clause and the controller is in an embedded complement clause (Hindi-Urdu (1)), we are aware of no language that allows the analogous pattern where the controller would be in an adjunct clause:

(1) Vivek-ne [kitaab parh-nii] chaah-ii.
Vivek-ERG book.F read-INF.F want-PFV.FSG

One might then imagine that adjuncts are universally opaque for syntactic dependencies, but this is not the case. As discussed in Landau (2000; 2015), McFadden & Sundaresan (2018), a.o., obligatory control – which in contrast with non-obligatory control shows hallmarks of being (based on) a syntactic dependency – is possible into adjunct clauses, as in (2).

(2) Mary$_I$ went to the store [PRO$_I$ to buy potatoes].

Building on work by Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019) and McFadden & Sundaresan (2018), we argue that such patterns of selective opacity of adjunct islands can be understood if grammatical dependencies are built on a scaffolding set up by selection, with the basic idea being that the target of a dependency must be contained in a unit that selects the unit containing its controller. If adjuncts, unlike complements, select their host asymmetrically, the facts in (1)–(2) can be made to follow under parallel analyses of agreement and control dependencies. This demonstrates how an alleged abstract generalization can be modified by providing a theoretical explanation for it that actually predicts apparent counterexamples.

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The Poverty of the Stimulus: Evidence from word order in second language acquisition of German

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS M

AG 4

Following Rankin & Unsworth's (2016) suggestion to include more empirical evidence in generative first and second language acquisition, this paper supports the Argument of the Poverty of the Stimulus by examining word order in second language acquisition of German of three different groups of L2ers, particularly, with respect to OV utterances.

The three groups in this study can be described as follows. One group consists of eight children (ages 3 to 5) in a German preschool, another group consists of ten adults (ages 18 to 30) at a German university, and the third group consists of twelve adults (ages 18 to 24) at a US American university. The participants' first languages differ and include Turkish, Russian, Arabic, and English.

(1) *Mein Tier kann schwimmen und *quak quak* sagt
my animal can swim and *quack quack* says
'my animal can swim and says *quack yack*'

(2) ..., dass ich Milch trinke oder Käse und Rindfleisch esse
that I milk drink or cheese and beef eat
'that I drink milk or eat beef'

(3) ..., hatte ich Milch getrunken
had I milk drunk
'I had drunk milk'

Examples (1) through (3) are data from the preschoolers, the Germany based adults, and the US based adults respectively.

The collected data show that all L2 learners produce OV utterances despite the fact that they are not necessarily available in their L1s, and/or that they have only been received as input to a limited extent. The findings can be taken as arguments against the idea that L1 plays a prominent role in L2 acquisition (Hartsuiker & Bernolet 2017; MacWhinney 2012) as well as evidence for the poverty of the stimulus argument (in line with Tubau 2012).

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Typology meets efficiency research: Evolution of bound person-number indexes

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS M

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AG 4

Intro: It is crucial that communication be not only successful but also efficient, i.e. with minimal effort for both parts and obeying high transmission accuracy (Gibson et al. 2019). The information-theoretic approach to efficiency primarily relies on the ***length*** of the message and thus on the articulatory effort: the shorter the message the less resources are required for both coding and decoding. Human languages optimize the length of the signal that is frequent, predictable (Zipf 1935; Kanwal et al. 2017) or less informative (Piantadosi et al. 2011). In addition, ***processing*** limitations counteract and produce cues that are not articulatory efficient. The reason is that in order to minimize the articulatory effort, the speaker has to evaluate each item online and, accordingly, larger chunks must first be pre-planned before a cue goes into production (Bornkessel-Schlesewsky & Schlesewsky 2014: 107; Jaeger & Tily 2011: 325). This is problematic for the incremental processing of speech. Languages respond to this by developing systems of context-independent cues to resolve potential and not actual ambiguity (e.g. Seržant 2019), which leads to mismatches between the length of a cue and its predictability in a particular context (e.g. Sóskuthy & Hay 2017). One way to approach this complex mechanism is establishing what is a universally efficient cue in absolute terms (in terms of length).
Data: This study relies on the database of the six person-number indexes – first singular (1SG), second singular (2SG), 3SG 1PL, 2PL, 3PL – from 375 languages from 53 families, covering all six macro-areas of the world.
Results: I argue that (i) there are universally preferred absolute lengths for the bound verbal person-number indexes ***(attractor state)***. And, (ii) languages tend to develop towards these lengths if they happen to deviate from them at an earlier historical stage or keep them if they already have them. Moreover, these absolute lengths (iii) are structured in such a way that: singular is coded with shorter forms than plural and the third person is coded with a shorter form than other persons. This asymmetries correlate with frequency asymmetries obtained from spoken corpora and reflect asymmetric predictabilities of each of the indexes (cf. Haspelmath 2008; Siewierska 2010).

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Creole data support universal coding asymmetries

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–13:15
ESA1 HG HS M

AG 4

In this talk, I will investigate three coding asymmetries in creoles languages (Michaelis 2019, Michaelis et al. 2013):

1. motion-to vs. motion-from: *to* vs. *from*
2. dependent vs. independent possessive person-forms: *my* vs. *mine*
3. zero-marked stative verbs vs. zero-marked dynamic verbs:
   Jan ø sick 'John is sick' vs. *Jan ø daans* 'John danced' (Jamaican, Farquharson 2013)

These coding asymmetries are universally detectable in the languages of the world (Haspelmath 2020a, b). They reflect functional adaptedness in that speakers strive to be most efficient in expressing a given grammatical meaning while spending as least energy as necessary. As more frequent meanings (the first member of the meaning pair, e.g. motion-to, dependent possessive person-forms etc.) are more predictable, speakers can afford to code them with less segments. Vice-versa: less predictable meanings (the second member of the meaning pair, e.g. motion-from, independent possessive person-forms etc.) have to be marked with more segments so that the chances are high for the hearer/interlocutor to retrieve the intended meaning.

Universal coding asymmetries are the outcome of hundreds, sometimes thousands of years of language change processes In this talk, I will present evidence that creole languages support the universal coding asymmetries, even though they are young languages born out of extremely accelerated and partially abrupt change processes in the context of the European colonial expansion (16th to 20th centuries). As creole languages have evolved their complex grammatical structures within only a few hundred years, they are a good test case for functional-adaptive change processes because they demonstrate in a kind of fast motion what happens to grammatical structures under functional pressures.

References: Farquharson, Joseph (2013). Jamaican structure dataset. In Susanne Maria Michaelis, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.), Atlas of pidgin and creole language structures online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Haspelmath, Martin (2020a). Explaining grammatical coding asymmetries: Form-frequency correspondences and predictability, to appear. Haspelmath, Martin (2020b). Role-reference associations and the explanation of argument coding splits. Linguistics. Michaelis, Susanne Maria (2019). Support from creole languages for functional adaptation in grammar: Dependent and independent possessive person-forms. In Schmidtke-Bode, Karsten Natalia Levshina, Susanne Maria Michaelis & Ilja A. Seržant (eds.), Typology, functional motivations and diachrony. Berlin: Language Science Presss, 179–201. Michaelis, Susanne Maria, Philippe Maurer, Martin Haspelmath & Magnus Huber (eds.) (2013). The atlas of pidgin and creole language structures. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The evolution of writing systems: Empirical and cross-linguistic approach

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Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2098/2194

Workshop description

Recent years have seen an increased interest in the investigation of graphemic systems both from a linguistic point of view and in a decidedly interdisciplinary perspective. In particular, various projects have set out to investigate how graphic codes emerge, how they change over time, and to what degree the diachronic development of writing systems can give clues to the cognitive principles underlying language. This workshop aims at bringing together researchers who investigate the emergence and diachronic change of graphemic systems using corpus-based and/or experimental approaches. Apart from empirical studies investigating the writing system of one specific language, we particularly welcome contributions taking a cross-linguistic perspective by comparing the dynamics of spelling principles and the evolution of graphemic codes in different languages and/or across different scripts. Questions to be discussed include – but are not limited to – the following:

- (How) does the emergence and/or standardization of written language influence the development of natural language?
- Can we detect cross-linguistically widespread principles of graphemic change?
- How do different (partly conflicting) spelling principles interact in writing systems, and how does the division of labor between these principles change over time?
- Which factors (e.g. grammatical, cultural, socio-pragmatic) influence the development of writing systems?

A matter of aesthetics? On the interrelation between spelling variation and page layout

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:15–14:45
VMP5 2098/2194

Anja Voeste (Keynote)
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The early book printing of incunabula bears a challenge for historical linguistics. At a time when codification via dictionaries and grammars could not yet take effect, different spelling variants and different punctuation methods coexisted. The efforts of the compositors provide valuable information about the principles according to which these craftsmen carried out the coding and recoding of text passages; it may also shed some light on the motives behind the modification of written word forms and of line justification. In my talk I will argue for a stronger consideration of questions of visual arrangement and even page size in the explanation process, since the text layout and the format could affect the orthography and punctuation of the incunabula.

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Punctuation and text segmentation in 15th-century pamphlets

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
VMP5 2098/2194

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Looking at German incunabula from an inter-textual or an intra-textual perspective, one can easily detect irregular usages of punctuation marks. The inventory and the frequency of characters are variable, the usages do not follow distinct linguistic principles, and the punctuation patterns in templates differ significantly from their respective target texts (cf. Voeste 2018, Neumann & Voeste forthcom.). The idiosyncratic handling of punctuation of the time suggests that it did not fully function as a graphematic subsystem yet. Rather, we can observe clear correlations with other features, such as capital letters, width of spaces, pilcrows, indentations and line or paragraph breaks. This leads to the assumption that punctuation is one of several interacting means of text segmentation and should therefore be primarily considered to be part of the layout.

The aim of my presentation is to identify different types of text segmentation and their specific use of punctuation marks. My investigation is based on a corpus of so-called practicas, a popular and wide-spread genre in German-speaking territories, containing astrological predictions for the following year. They were written by the Bohemian astrologer Wenzel Faber von Budweis (1455–1518) and printed annually since 1481 in different printing shops in both German and Latin. As Wenzel Faber was one of the most widely printed authors of his time, these pamphlets allow us to investigate and to compare the actual, expedient practices of early typographic systems. In this way, we may be able to retrace the emergence of a consolidated, relatively consistent practice of text segmentation, which is an essential prerequisite for the implementation of a syntactic punctuation system. The relevance of different factors (printer-specific practices, orientation on Latin templates) will also be discussed.

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AG 5

Towards a broad-coverage graphematic analysis of large historical corpora

Mittwoch,
04.03.2010
15:15–15:45
VMP5 2098/2194

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AG 5

This contribution presents a set of methods we develop to explore graphemic and graphematic variation in large historical corpora of German, starting with the *Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch*. We apply methods from computational linguistics to pave the way for a broad-coverage graphematic analysis. In essence, we use the normalization level provided by the annotations in said corpus, first, to automatically identify 'equivalent' word forms in two texts from different language areas or time periods (e.g. *czeit* and *zeit* 'time'), and, secondly, to derive replacement rules and mappings from these word forms (cf. Dipper/Waldenberger 2017). Some example rules derived this way from the *Anselm Corpus* (cf. Dipper & Schultz-Balluff 2013) are shown in the following figure from Dipper/Waldenberger (2017: 40). The rule notation uses 'E' to represent the empty string and '#' for the word boundary. For instance, the first rule 'c → E | # _ z' effectively deletes a word-initial 'c' in front of a 'z'.

Rule	Analysis
c → E | # _ z	Graphemic variation: <cz> or <z> representing /ts/ in initial position
E → e | r _ n	Syncope (loss) of <e> representing /ə/ before final <n>
n → E | a _ n	<n> or <nn> representing /n/
j → i | # _ o j → i | # _ u	Graphemic variation: <j> or <i> in initial position

The replacement rules derived by our scripts are then analysed using expertise in historical German linguistics (see column 'Analysis' in the figure). This approach offers decisive advantages compared to existing approaches which either rely on a predefined set of characteristics (as summarized in Elmentaler 2018: 328–336) or have had to restrict themselves to a relatively small and limited corpus (cf. e.g. Moser 1977; Glaser 1985; Rieke 1998; Elmentaler 2003). Basically, we offer an approach that answers Elmentaler's (2018: 335) call for a (semi-)automatic analysis of graphemic variables.

References: Anselm-Corpus: https://www.linguistics.rub.de/comphist/projects/anselm/; Dipper, S. & S. Schultz-Balluff (2013). The Anselm Corpus: Methods and Perspectives of a Parallel Aligned Corpus. In Proceedings of the NODALIDA Workshop on Computational Historical Linguistics (NEALT Proceedings Series; 18). Oslo, Norway, 27–42. Dipper, S. & S. Waldenberger (2017). Investigating Diatopic Variation in a Historical Corpus. In Proceedings of the EACL-Workshop on NLP for Similar Languages, Varieties and Dialects (VarDial), 36–45. Valencia, Spain: Association for Computational Linguistics. Elmentaler, M. (2003). Struktur und Wandel vormoderner Schreibsprachen. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter. Elmentaler, M. (2018). Historische Graphematik des Deutschen. Eine Einführung. Tübingen: Narr. Glaser, E. (1985). Graphische Studien zum Schreibsprachwandel vom 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert. Vergleich verschiedener Handschriften des Augsburger Stadtbuchs. Heidelberg: Winter. Moser, H. (1977). Die Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I. Graphematik eines Schreibusus. Innsbruck. Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch [reference corpus Middle High German]: T. Klein, K.-P. Wegera, S. Dipper, & C. Wich-Reif (2016); Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch (1050–1350), Version 1.0. https://www.linguistics.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/rem/. ISLRN 332-536-136-099-5. Rieke, U. (1998). Studien zur Herausbildung der neuhochdeutschen Orthographie. Die Markierung der Vokalquantitäten in deutschsprachigen Bibeldrucken des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg: Winter.

Quantifying graphematic variation via large text corpora

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
VMP5 2098/2194

AG 5

This talk discusses the use of some basic computer science concepts for expanding the possibilities of (manual) diachronic graphematic text corpus analysis.

With these it can be shown that graphematic variation decreases constantly in printed German texts from 1600 to 1900. While the variability is continuously lesser on a text-internal level, it decreases faster for the whole known writing system of individual decades.

But which changes took place exactly? Which types of variation went away more quickly, which ones persisted? How do we deal with large amounts of data which cannot be processed manually? Which aspects are of special importance/go missing when working with a large textual base?

The use of a measure called entropy (Shannon 1948) quantifies the variability of the spellings of a given wordform, lemma, text or subcorpus, with few restrictions but also less details in the results. The difference between two spellings can be measured via Damerau-Levenshtein distance (Damerau 1964, Levenshtein 1966). To a certain degree, automated data handling can also determine the exact differences at hand. Afterwards, these differences can be counted and ranked.

As data source the German Text Archive of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities is used. It offers for example orthographic normalization (which proved to be very useful), preprocessing of parts of speech and lemmatization.

These methodological findings could subsequently be used for improving research methods in other graphematic fields of interest, for cross-linguistic as well as for non-diachronic data. For a comparison to other languages, we 'only' need large amounts of data with similar preprocessing; the methodological approaches should remain rather consistent. The same holds for analyzing computer-mediated communication (or anything else with at least a little variation).

Natural Language Processing (NLP)-tools for analyses below word-level aren't really widespread. At a later point, more advanced techniques from the realm of natural language processing and/or machine learning could be used or even newly developed. Therefore, this approach also strongly advocates for interdisciplinarity.

References: Damerau, F. J. (1964). A technique for computer detection and correction of spelling errors. Communications of the ACM 7(3), 171–176. Levenshtein, V. I. (1966). Binary codes capable of correcting deletions, insertions, and reversals. Soviet Physics Doklady 10(8), 707–710. Shannon, C. E. (1948). A mathematical theory of communication. Bell System Technical Journal 27(3), 379–423.

Waistcoats in Cirencester: A Corpus-Driven Investigation of Spelling Pronunciations in the History of English

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–17:30
VMP5 2098/2194

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AG 5

A common assumption in modern linguistics is based on the Saussurean notion of the 'primacy of the spoken word': As Coulmas points out, writing is generally considered to be a secondary instance of speech by linguists, while laypeople tend to believe the opposite (2003: 12). Spelling pronunciations, that is, words that come to be pronounced to match what their spelling suggests (Deterding & Mohamad 2016), are an interesting phenomenon in this regard. The pronunciation of these words is directly affected by their written representation, which means that a core level of human language changes based on what is frequently considered a 'mere technology' (Coulmas 2003: 10).

One key hypothesis with regard to spelling pronunciations is that infrequent words are more likely to be affected (Fromkin et al. 2007: 561). Since their pronunciation may not be well-known (and English spelling is considered by many laypeople to be erratic), people use their conscious and subconscious knowledge of grapheme-phoneme correspondence to guess the likeliest pronunciation. This paper presents the first results of a corpus-driven study investigating the claim that a lower frequency means a higher chance of spelling pronunciations to occur. The etymological development of the pronunciation of selected words that are particularly infrequent in historical corpora such as ARCHER and the Helsinki corpus and more recent corpora such as the BNC1994 is traced by considering their entries in the OED and the Webster Dictionary. It is shown that, indeed, infrequent words tend to be affected, but they are typically also morphologically and/or phonologically complex. Examples include words such as *waistcoat*, which changed from [/ˈwɛskət/] to [/ˈweɪstkəʊt/], and the city of Cirencester, which is now commonly pronounced [ˈsaɪrənsɛstər] rather than [ˈsɪsɪstər].

Other factors apart from frequency, such as prescriptive commentary on how to pronounce words, are also taken into consideration. Overall, it is shown that complex writing systems of languages such as English can indeed influence pronunciation if certain criteria are met. English is shown as a special case in this regard, since the lack of a spelling reform has had a significant impact on the pronunciation of many words.

References: Coulmas, F. (2003). Writing systems. An introduction to their linguistic analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Deterding, D. & N. R. Mohamad (2016). Spelling pronunciation in English. ELT Journal 71(1), 87–91. Fromkin, V., R. Rodman & N. Hyams (2007). An introduction to language. Ninth Edition. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.

Self-organization and utilization in spelling

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
VMP5 2098/2194

AG 5

How did we arrive at the complex writing systems English and German have today? What forces shaped them? How ‚natural' is graphemic change? In the proposed talk, I will explore these and related questions on the basis of two phenomena, graphemic uniformity and minimal weight constraints.

Graphemic uniformity (cf. Berg 2019) refers to the fact that in practically all European writing systems, there is one and only one graphemic form for each grammatical word form. Variation on the level of word spelling exists, but it is comparatively rare and socially stigmatized. Of course, it has not always been this way: In English and German printed texts until well into the 17th century, variation in word spelling was ubiquitous. How did this change come about, and why?

Lexical words in English and German need to fulfill certain *minimal weight constraints* (Evertz 2018, Berg 2019). For example, graphemically monosyllabic words have to be at least three letters long, even when it would be phonographically possible to spell them with just two letters (cf. e.g. English *foe*/**fo*, *die*/**di*; German *Aal*/**Al* ‚eel', *Ohr*/**Or* ‚ear'). These constraints do not hold for ‚function words' (pronouns, articles, prepositions etc.) like English *a*, *I*, *me*, *he*, *we*, *us*, *in*, *on* or German *du*, *er*, *es*, *an*, *in*, *um* etc. As with graphemic uniformity, this state of affairs has not always been like this, and the question is, how did it come about, and why?

To tackle these questions, I use the large diachronic corpora ‚Early English Books Online' (~500 million words) and ‚Eighteenth Century Collections Online (~75 million words) for English, and the corpus ‚Deutsches Textarchiv' (~250 million words) for German. Both phenomena are investigated from a birds-eye view and with an exemplary focus on specific word forms.

Preliminary results show that both changes happened gradually over long periods of time. This suggests that they were ungoverned – instances of the self-organization of the writing system, and as such comparable to language change in other linguistic domains (e.g., they exhibit the characteristic S-shaped curves first noted in syntactic change, cf. Ellegard 1953).

This only addresses the question of how these changes came about, not why. I do not want to imply that the processes were teleologically directed. Instead, I will use the last section to speculate how these specific patterns are utilized by today's readers and writers. In short, uniformity may increase the lexical quality of a word's mental representation (in the sense of Perfetti 2007), and minimal weight constraints may help readers distinguish lexical from non-lexical words and thus facilitate parsing.

References: Berg, K. (2019). Die Graphematik der Morpheme im Deutschen und Englischen. Berlin u.a.: De Gruyter. Ellegard, A. (1953). The auxiliary do: the establishment and regulation of its use in English. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. Evertz, M. (2018). Visual Prosody. Berlin u.a.: De Gruyter. Perfetti, C. (2007). Reading Ability: Lexical Quality to Comprehension. Scientific Studies of Reading 11, 357–383.

Punctuation and typographic variation in 18th century printings: on the vanishing of the virgule

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
VMP5 2098/2194

Paul Rössler (Keynote)
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AG 5

In German printings of the early 18th century, the shift from the hitherto dominant sentence-dividing punctuation mark, the virgule, to the comma, takes place astonishingly rapidly. It is also astonishing that until recently, research has barely devoted itself to this phenomenon, even though it is at least a turning point in the history of the highest-frequency punctuation mark in German writing (pleasing exceptions cf. references).

On the basis of different types of text and usage domains, the talk examines to what extent the transition from the use of the virgule to the comma is carried out in a phase-specific manner. Previous samples have indicated the influence of the font choice on the choice of punctuation: Printers or typesetters in the early 18th century set the comma especially in the environment of the Antiqua script, which is used to graphically label non-native words or syntagms. Is this a kind of „gateway“ to the comma?

By means of a corpus analysis in micro-diachronic sections, the status of the virgule / comma variation will be associated with the typographic variation in terms of the use of Latin Antiqua type and the German type.

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A cross-linguistic comparison of functions and usage of word marks

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
VMP5 2098/2194

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Word marks like the hyphen or the apostrophe can share the same functions in different languages. To give an example: as a graphematic reading aid, the apostrophe can mark morpheme boundaries, as in the genitive case in English ‹dog‘s› or in the diminutive ‹baby‘tje› in Dutch. But besides that, both the theoretical functions and the actual usage of the word marks can differ strongly in different languages. Which different or common principles underlie the usage of word marks in German, English, Dutch and French? Both the hyphen and the apostrophe will be discussed. By defining comparative cross-lingual parameters, the functions and usage of these word marks will be systematically and empirically compared. This presentation does not address the evolution of writing systems but takes a synchronic cross-linguistic approach to shared properties and differing functions of word marks, empirically underpinned by a corpus study.

The hyphen is generally regarded as a reading aid. It marks morphological boundaries and thus facilitates segmentation, while preserving a word as a graphematic unit (Bredel 2008; Nerius 2007; Bernabei 2003; Gallmann 1985). Comparing the function of the hyphen in the four languages, hyphenation can be mandatory (e.g. *auto-ongeval*, nl. “car accident”) or optional (e.g. *Schnee-Engel*, de. “snow angel”) and can either serve as a graphical separation (e.g. *drip-proof*) or as a graphical link between units (e.g. *dis-moi*, fr. “tell me”). French offers a special case: a hyphenated graphematic word can consist of several syntactic words.

The apostrophe can be used, among other functions, to separate the stem from a suffix (e.g. *baby‘tje*, nl. “baby”, diminutive), to replace a suffix (e.g. *Max‘ Hund*, de. “Max‘s dog”, genitive), or to graphically indicate a phonetic abbreviation (*l‘arbre*, fr. “the tree”). Depending on the language, the apostrophe can be mandatory or optional in these cases and mark different types of boundaries. It can mark morphological or syntactical boundaries, or it can be placed where there is no boundary at all (*pin‘s*, fr. “lapel pin”). The corpus study will determine which function and which type of boundary marking is most common in which language.

Based on grammars and linguistic descriptions of the word marks in the respective languages, cross-lingual parameters are developed which allow the systematic comparison of the word marks’ usage in the four languages. The empirical corpus analysis thus identifies the main functions of the hyphen and the apostrophe both cross-linguistically and language-dependent.

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The diachronic use of the apostrophe with proper names in Turkish

Donnerstag,
05.03.2010
10:00–10:30
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Modern Turkish exhibits graphematic dissociations – that is, formal differences between proper names and common nouns. These include capitalization and the use of the apostrophe. Capitalization applies to proper names (*Emir, İzmir*), but not to common nouns (*amir* 'man', *şehir* 'city'). Similarly, the apostrophe (*kesme işareti*) is employed for separating inflectional endings from proper names (*Emir'-in* 'Emir-GEN', *İzmir'-in* 'İzmir-GEN'), but not from common nouns (*amir-in* 'man-GEN', *şehir-in* 'city-GEN'). According to the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*), the apostrophe is employed with all proper name classes, which include personal names (*Atatürk'ün* 'Atatürk-GEN'), place names (*İstanbul-un* 'İstanbul-GEN'), and object names (*Türk Dil Kurumu-'nun* 'Turkish Language Association-GEN').

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In contrast, after the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928 graphematic dissociations were restricted to capitalization. With regard to the apostrophe, we can distinguish between two stages. In a first stage, the apostrophe occurs with Arabic loan words where it transliterates the Arabic letters <ء> (*hamza*) and <ع> (*ayin*), which represent the sounds [ʔ] and [ʕ], respectively. Nowadays, these loan words have been either replaced or are written without apostrophe (e.g. *sür'at* > *sürat* 'speed'). As a result, the phonetic value of the apostrophe no longer exists. In a second stage, the apostrophe is refunctionalized as a strategy for the preservation of the proper name body (*Ankarada* > *Ankara'da* 'Ankara-DAT'). The use of the apostrophe with inflected proper names evolved and developed in the mid twentieth century (Steuerwald 1964: 22–23, 68–69). However, little is known of the patterns of this graphematic change.

In this paper, we will provide the results of a corpus analysis that will enable us to detect the factors conditioning the occurrence of the apostrophe with proper names and, further, to document the loss of its phonetic value with common nouns. The sources are comprised of two different text types: the transcripts of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (*Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*) and the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. The occurrence of the apostrophe was coded according to the following variables: noun class (common noun vs. proper name), morphological boundary (presence vs. absence), and proper name class (personal name, place name, etc.).

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Standardisation as an evolving or an involving process? Evidence from sixteenth and seventeenth-century English spelling

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–11:45
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Within the context of an insightful discussion about the nature and development of a linguistic standard, Hope (2000: 53) affirmed that standardisation often results in an unconscious trend towards more complex structures, because of the sense of prestige linked with the differences between standardised conventions and non-standard ones. My paper departs from Hope's statement and aims to test the extent to which developments in the graphemic system of historical English provide evidence for an increasingly more complex spelling structure, as a paradigm for understanding spelling 'evolution'. In order to discuss my point of view, I will draw on the distribution of word-medial <y> and <i>, one which promises to provide a challenging test case. In the early sixteenth century, the grapheme <y> was mostly used in lexical words and <i> was generally found in function words, which means that word-medial <y> and <i> were distributed contrastively, rather than being used in free variation. The contrastive distribution of word-medial <y> and <i>, however, disappeared when <i> almost completely replaced <y> between the second half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century (cf. Rutkowska 2013: 121–130). My investigation of the distribution spelled out above will be based on a corpus created from *Early English Books Online*, *Text Creation Partnership* (*EEBO TCP 2015*–ongoing). My discussion argues for the influence of Latin conventions in the shift between the early standard and the new standard, and questions whether we can always understand spelling 'evolution' as a forward-facing process.

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The mechanisms of spelling standardization for written Estonian 1880–1920

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:45–12:15
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From the middle ages onward, most European languages transitioned from highly variable spelling systems to rather standardized ones, levelling both dialectally induced and other spelling variants into supralocal and quite stable writing systems. This process took place over a few centuries and has been associated with various demographic, institutional, technological and pragmatic factors (ranging from migration in urbanization, through access to education, to emerging standard language ideologies). Considering, which particular factors were responsible for particular waves of standardization in different languages, would give cross-linguistic insight to the mechanisms that shaped modern languages in these transitions.

In this talk, I will present a case study that combines several custom datasets and a text corpus to study the standardization of a selected spelling features for written Estonian around 1880–1920, keeping in mind the multiple candidate mechanisms responsible. Integrating demographic data, publication records, the spread of education, prescriptive language publications, and individual writer biographies, the study estimates the role of these complementary features in determining the distribution of the spelling variants between print publications and over time.

Considering these features together, we find that population changes in the use of spelling features are highly influenced by prescriptive publications, and that these intended changes were led by younger writers and large cities. The influence of spoken language contacts and the birth dialects of the writers were marginal, indicating a certain independence of the written medium, akin to an emerging standard language ideology. Still, for a few of the trends, also the demographics and education of the population of writers mattered.

The study describes the mechanisms of spelling standardization for a community in transition from an oral to a literate one. There, for an emerging language in turn-of-the-century Europe, intentional intervention played a big role in language standardization, visibly shaping the linguistic outcome. Combining different data sources, and competing and complementary explanations allows us to investigate the mechanisms responsible in particular historical cases. Sufficient detail in single-language case studies also allows us to build up a cross-linguistic understanding of the typical mechanisms influencing spelling practices across different societies and eras.

DoDO – Development of Dutch Orthography 1250–1400

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
VMP5 2098/2194

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The general scope of my research is the description of unguided (not-steered) development of writing systems for West Germanic dialects based on the Latin alphabet. It will render this from diatopic and diachronic grapheme research on Middle Dutch local charters. I will, in other words, focus on the period before Early Modern Dutch and the standardisation processes, contrary to other current research which focuses on (the beginnings of) standardisation (Gijsbert, Vosters & Vandenbussche 2014, a.o.), and ask the question: "How do scribes cope in writing with the Latin alphabet in their dialects when there is no prescribed standard?" To answer this, the writings of scribes who operate in local writing systems, i.e. written dialect, need to be considered, and this should be done with manuscripts, e.g. handwritten administrative texts of local importance only, such as local charters.

Preliminary research suggests that in case of vowel grapheme systems, the aptness of singular graphemes is gradable and can be described in terms of the phonological distinctive features they may convey accurately (De Wulf 2019). This stems from the fact that some graphemes are used to convey many more historical phonemes (i.e. West Germanic allophones) than others, and which graphemes these are also varies from dialect to dialect.

There is a clear indication that vowel grapheme systems in the Eastern dialects contain less accurate graphemes, since more of the historical vowel phonemes have in fact evolved into separate phonemes.

My working hypothesis is that an implicational scale of phonological features can be established (per dialect or maybe more generally, dialect region), which means that certain features are to be prioritised in writing systems. This should be investigated for vowel as well as consonant graphemes in administrative texts from the 1250–1400 period.

The method I use consists of mapping grapheme-phoneme relationships as one would do in a dialect atlas. The main outcome of the project in which this research features will therefore be a historical grapheme atlas. These grapheme-phoneme relationships are gathered from excerpts of tokens representing different historical vowels and consonants (*Lautposition*, cf. Elmentaler 2003, Larsen 2001) from each locality.

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Graphemic change in Ancient Egypt: Hieratic writing of the New Kingdom

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
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Hieratic handwriting was ubiquitous in Ancient Egypt. It was written with reed brushes and ink on i.a. papyrus, wood, clay, or it was carved into stone. It was in use for over 3000 years and played an essential role among officials, priests and scribes in daily communication and administration, but also in literary, religious and scientific texts. Nonetheless, hieratic has not yet been fully inventoried. Palaeographic lists have been published, but the most elaborate work is 100 years old and contains only 33 sources, whereas thousands of hieratic documents are now known. It is estimated that hieratic script contains ca. 600 graphemes (phonograms and ideographic signs), but how many of these are actually graphemes and how many rather allographs is not yet fully known.

The project *Altägyptische Kursivschriften* (Akademie Mainz) works on a digital palaeography that will contain the complete hieratic sign repertoire including elaborate metadata of the signs and their sources. It will allow its users to systematically explore questions concerning the emergence and development of hieratic script; its relation to hieroglyphic script; its adaptation to specific needs and contexts; the use of abbreviations; the choice for layout; or the assignment of manuscripts to scribal hands, schools or periods.

The presentation discusses changes in hieratic writing of the New Kingdom (ca. 1500–1750 BCE). On the one hand, we see different sorts of graphemic change, e.g. sign redundancy, increase in allographs, hypercharacterization against the background of phonetic loss and limitation of classifiers. On the other hand, some graphemic changes seem to have taken place under influence of a non-linguistic marking system. These changes were temporary and local and concentrated in a village called Deir el-Medina near the Valley of the Kings. The two systems (linguistic hieratic writing and non-linguistic marks) interacted, which is seen in 'ultra abbreviations' and new pictograms used by scribes in their administration of the area.

After having set the stage by discussing the general developments, research questions concerning the local effects on hieratic writing are:

(1) How did the marking system and hieratic writing interact?
(2) How did this interaction influence the administrative hieratic writing system?

It will become clear that the use of linguistic and non-linguistic systems is not per definition linked to (semi-)literate and non-literate communities. Deir el-Medina shows that both systems were creatively merged in order to maximally use the advantages of both.

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On the Non-Representation of Nasals before Homorganic Obstruents in Alphabetic Scripts

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
VMP5 2098/2194

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The talk discusses the omission of nasals before homorganic obstruents in writing on the basis of three case studies from among the alphabets of Greece, Italy, and the European continent, trying to outline methods and approaches which may allow us to answer the question whether this feature is a) independently phonetically based in all the scripts in which it appears, b) part of a continuous orthographic tradition which masks the phonetic realities of the underlying languages, or c) typologically widespread due to conditions which are yet to be determined.

The more or less systematic omission of characters for nasals in certain position occurs quite frequently in scripts for IE languages, including syllabic scripts like Hittite cuneiform as well as alphabetic ones, such as the Greek, Latin, Oscan, Umbrian and Lepontic alphabets, and the Runic script. It would seem obvious to assume phonetic reasons – for nasals before homorganic obstruents specifically the nasalisation of the preceding vowel and subsequent loss of the nasal segment. Yet there are scholars who argue that the non-representation of nasals cannot always be shown to be founded in phonetics, and that, in some scripts at least, it may be a purely orthographic convention. Thus, for Runic, this position is held by the proponents of the Mediterranean theory (e.g., Morris 1988), who claim that the Runic omission of nasals has no basis in Germanic phonetics, and who explain it as a spelling convention imported from archaic Greek. Yet the Greek evidence is not itself so easy to interpret – the very sporadic Attic evidence has been interpreted both as phonetically conditioned, and as an orthographic phenomenon (Méndez Dosuna 2007). In both Oscan and Umbrian writing, nasals are omitted before homorganic obstruents only in very specific circumstances, which are completely different in the two systems; it is hard to argue phonetic reasons for these data (Buck 1904).

While it is reasonable to suggest that an orthographic rule in the source alphabet would find its way into the new script even when it has no phonetic basis there, it is not evident how a spelling convention like this could have developed from a phonetic basis in the first place – at which point and by what mechanisms could the non-representation of nasals which are weakened to such an extent that they lose their status as segments be turned into a rule for the non-spelling of non-weakened segments? May conventions in syllabic scripts have influenced alphabetic ones, as proposed for Cypriote and alphabetic Greek writing by Woodard (1997), and then been faithfully passed on to various alphabets without a linguistic rationale? Or would we do better to take our epigraphic evidence at face value and try to explain the absence of nasals before homorganic obstruents as phonetically conditioned in all instances?

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The 'evolution' of writing systems in terms of typological and other criteria: Cross-linguistic observations from the German and Japanese writing systems

Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
VMP5 2098/2194

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Well-known typologies of writing systems (Gelb 1952; Daniels 2018; Sampson 2015) are primarily synchronic in nature, but that basic approach is not, however, without inherent quagmires (Joyce 2016). Principally, they include fallacious assumptions about teleological transitions (Gelb 1952) and base their classifications on the dominant level of graphematic representation (i.e., morphemic, syllabic, or phonemic). However, as those levels and their associated spelling principles (representational mappings) combine in complex ways, in reality, most writing systems are, to varying degrees, mixed in nature, rather than being either purely phono- or morphographic. In order to move beyond dominant (synchronic) spelling principles, writing system typologies need to adopt a more diverse set of criteria (Share & Daniels 2016), which can be organized beneficially under three categories: (a) *linguistic fit* (match between writing system and language), (b) *processing fit* (both physiological and cognitive) and (c) *sociocultural fit* (communicative and social functions) (Meletis 2018). Naturally, such diverse categories interact dynamically and are often in conflict, but, crucially, they can afford valuable insights into the diachronic 'evolution' of writing systems.

Our paper elucidates these criteria with observations from both the German and Japanese writing systems. Japanese is a complicated mixture, consisting of morphographic kanji, syllabographic kana, and alphabetic Roman script, and although generally classified as an alphabet, German is also more accurately analyzed as a mixed system, due to its pervasive morphography (Schmidt 2018; Berg 2019). Moreover, their respective grapheme inventories are highly contrastive, and a number of inventory-related criteria have direct implications at various levels of graphematic representation. These, in turn, are of particular significance for many processing factors, such as syllabification and the saliency of syllables (cf. the emergence of the graphematic syllable in German; Fuhrhop & Schmidt 2014). Of profound relevance to writing systems typology, the diverse criteria explored in this paper are particularly promising for cross-linguistic investigations of writing systems and for illuminating their diachronic changes.

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Orthographic Principles in Written CMC: The SUPER-functions of Textisms in Informal Online Writing and Their Interaction with Age and Medium

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
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Online messages often diverge from the standard language orthography: so-called textisms have become an indispensable part of youths' written computer-mediated communication (CMC). It is often believed that youths' spelling in computer-mediated messages is chaotic and messy. To determine whether there is any truth in this, an in-depth corpus study was conducted of about 400,000 tokens of digital texts produced by Dutch youths of two age groups – adolescents (12–17 years old) and young adults (18–23 years old), in four social media – SMS text messages, MSN chats, tweets, and WhatsApp messages.

It is demonstrated that Dutch informal written CMC, as in other languages, is implicitly governed by orthographic principles. Relative frequencies of textism types in the corpus show how textisms are effectively used by Dutch youths. Textism types are classified here in terms of forms (letters, diacritics, punctuation, spacing, capitalisation), operations (omission, substitution, addition), and, crucially, functions – the 'SUPER-functions': textisms can make orthography more Speechlike, Understandable, Playful, Expressive, or Reduced. Since three of these functions have also been recognized in research on non-Dutch CMC, by Thurlow and Brown (2003, 'sociolinguistic maxims' of SMS texting), Androutsopoulos (2011, 'themes' of digital writing), Thurlow and Poff (2013, 'maxims' of text message style), and De Decker (2015, 'principles' of chatspeak), similar orthographic principles appear to be cross-linguistically widespread in informal written computer-mediated communication.

Moreover, the present study proves that variability in the use of textism types in (Dutch) youths' online writing greatly depends on the variables of age group and medium. New media have their own combination of characteristics and constraints, while adolescents and young adults appear to have different perceptions on language use and spelling. While MSN is a near-synchronous, private, one-to-one or some-to-some, computer-based medium, Twitter is a public, one-to-many, asynchronous medium. Adolescents are quite creative and non-conformist in their language use in CMC, whereas young adults write somewhat more conventional in comparison. The analysis of textisms in this new media corpus thus makes clear that the orthographic deviations in Dutch youths' CMC, similar to those in CMC in other languages, are principled rather than random 'violations' of the standard orthography.

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Digitalization of punctuation: The ‚interactional principle' in digitally mediated writing

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
VMP5 2098/2194

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The paper discusses how punctuation is deployed by writers in digitally mediated, interaction-oriented written communication. In early research on computer-mediated communication (CMC) in the 1990s, the repetition and omission of certain punctuation signs is already reported as a salient feature of digital language use (Bieswanger 2013). However, this research was mostly limited to charting punctuation in terms of deviation from orthographic norms and/or as an emulation of spoken-language features. Furthermore, early CMC studies on punctuation remained detached from the more grammatically oriented research on graphemic systems and the systemic research on the historical evolution of punctuation.

Against this backdrop, the paper focuses on how syntactic and communicative tasks of punctuation shift and evolve under the conditions of interactional writing in digitally mediated contexts. To this effect, the paper proposes to investigate digital punctuation with regard to its emergent 'interactional principle': Whereas the rhetorical principle (i.e. marking intonational structures) and the grammatical principle (i.e. marking syntactical structures) of punctuation are well-known and broadly discussed in the history of writing, digital punctuation operates in a new functional realm of writing, being deployed by co-constructing writers to organize their mediated interactional order.

By drawing on a sample of 48 German messenger-chatlogs by 23 adolescent writers (301.987 tokens), the paper aims to illustrate the interactional principle of digital punctuation and examines the full stop <.>, the question mark <?> and the ellipsis <…> in particular. By in-depth sequential analysis the codified functions of these punctuation marks are contrasted with their innovative functionalization in digitally mediated, informal writing. The findings suggest that even though the codification of these signs in descriptive and prescriptive grammars is based on syntactic criteria, they are actually deployed by writers to achieve interactional management and socio-pragmatic contextualization.

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Theoretical Approaches to Grammatical (Non-)Identity in Synchrony and Diachrony

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Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2067/2071

Workshop description

The issue of whether two grammatical or lexical items that shallowly resemble one another in terms of their externalisation are identical or distinct with respect to the grammatical properties associated with them is often one that cannot be settled in any straightforward manner. From a diachronic perspective, it is typically far from clear whether a lexical item undergoing grammaticalisation (i) forces the formation of a dedicated entry in the lexicon that retains only some of the properties associated with its source, or (ii) just develops the ability to (optionally) be base-generated higher in a given functional domain (see Roberts & Roussou 2003).

These considerations, of course, bear direct consequences for the synchronic properties of the items in question: does HAVE, for instance, give rise to two dedicated entries (main verb ‚I have a car' vs. auxiliary ‚I have bought a car') in line with (i) or is there just one item that may be inserted in different syntactic positions thus taking distinct (nominal vs. verbal) complements as suggested by (ii) (see Cowper 1989, Ackema & Marelj 2012)? Particularly pressing with respect to grammatical (non-)identity are cases which potentially qualify for a large degree of underspecification and allow for an explanation of both (or several) grammatical variants on the basis of a single set of features.

Apart from the aforementioned case of HAVE (and similar questions arising for other auxiliaries), some further examples of relevant empirical domains are the following: the identity of embedded clauses and free relatives introduced by ‚what' (see Cecchetto & Donati 2015), the non-identity of central and peripheral adverbial clauses e.g. introduced by ‚while' (see Haegeman 2012; Endo & Haegeman 2019), the identity of passive and perfect(ive) participles (see Wegner 2019), and the case of ‚for' as a preposition and a complementiser (see Jarad 1997, Fischer et al. 2000). In addition to the empirical question of whether the configurations are (non-)identical, the issue arises of how to delineate the two poles. One way to do so is Haegeman's (2003) distinction of internal and external syntax: whenever there are distinctions in internal syntax, the configurations in question are non-identical, yet if the distinctions may be reduced to the ‚external' functional surrounding, identity ensues.

This workshop aims at theoretically spelling out approaches to the synchronic as well as diachronic (non-)identity of homophonous grammatical or lexical items. These promise to grant important insights into the characteristics of central concepts like reanalysis, bleaching and underspecification, but potentially also bear theoretical consequences for the bigger picture, e.g. with respect to the delineation of lexicalist as opposed to antilexicalist approaches.

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The Anti-Occam's Razor: The distinction between pronouns and expletives in Icelandic

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Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 14:15–14:45 VMP5 2067/2071

1. Introduction The expletive element *það* in Icelandic developed from a homophonous pronoun, i.e. the third person neuter singular *það* 'it'. The question dealt with in this paper is whether these are two distinct elements in the lexicon or if we can assume one element and derive the difference in function and distribution from where the element is initially merged in the structure. Adopting a traditional generative approach with the lexicon separate from the syntax, we show that assuming these elements involve a single lexical entry in Modern Icelandic leads to empirical and theoretical complications, whereas an account assuming two separate lexical entries is more feasible in this respect.

2. Against a single lexical entry Assuming a single lexical entry for Modern Icelandic *það* is problematic since one needs to stipulate that the difference between the expletive and the pronoun is the result of the elements being merged in different positions in the structure. This forces us to assume that the lexical entry is either referential or non-referential before it enters the syntactic structure and can either gain referentiality (i) or lose it (ii), depending on our assumption about the element. (i) **Gaining referentiality?** In this case the referential properties originate within the syntactic structure and are not directly linked to a specific lexical element. This is, in our view, unfeasible as we would either expect this to apply to all lexical elements or that there is something very special about *það*. (ii) **Losing referentiality?** Suppose that the single item has referential properties in the lexicon and loses them when merged in e.g. Spec-TP or Spec-CP. On this account we should expect other elements/pronouns to be able to show dual nature like *það* and lose referential abilities when merged directly in Spec-TP or Spec-CP. This is, however, not the case.

3. Conclusion Making use of two lexical elements allows us to account for the difference in referentiality which is then associated with the lexical element under question and not derived from the syntactic structure. Our approach keeps a distinction between lexical entries, i.e. phonological elements associated with certain semantic properties, and syntactic structure. We acknowledge that other approaches to syntax may give different results. For instance, while Distributed Morphology (DM) partially separates vocabulary items (VIs) from syntax and semantics, allowing for underspecification of VIs (e.g. Harley & Noyer 1999, Harley 2019), Construction Grammar (CxG) gets rid of the lexicon by assuming that everything in the grammar belongs to a single "construct-i-con" (e.g. Goldberg 2003, Hilpert 2014). Needless to say, these approaches are fundamentally different from the one we adopt here.

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On contextually defined 'overt categories' in Spanish

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04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
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Null subjects have traditionally been argued to have different underlying internal structures despite their equal morpho-phonological externalization. Thus, in (1) – (3), even though we are uniformly dealing with a null subject , we have three different underlying elements either according to their morpho-syntactic properties or their derivational history: *pro*, PRO and NP-*trace*. In Romance pro-drop languages, also the corresponding overt pronominal subjects have the same morpho-phonological externalization but they have distinct syntactic properties

(1)	Julia	dice	que	{Ø / ella (misma)}	hará	el trabajo.
	Julia	says	that	{(she / (herself)}	will-do	the work.
(2)	Julia	promete	hacer	{Ø / ella (misma)}		el trabajo.
	Julia	promises	to-do	{Ø / she (self)}		the work
(3)	Julia	hizo		{Ø / ella (misma)}		el trabajo.
	Julia	did		{Ø / she (self)}		the work

AG 6

In (1)–(3), the overt correlate of Ø is morphologically an emphatic pronoun, even though its (logical) syntactic properties differ and mirror those of different types of *empty categories*.

Building on the assumption that PRO can be 'overt' (see e.g. Alonso-Ovalle & D'Introno 2001, Livitz 2011, Sundaresan 2010, Herbeck 2015, 2018) we argue for a more general theory of *overt categories* which assumes that all instances of 'pronouns' in (1) – (3) are post-syntactic spell-out of a nominal $D_{[\phi]}$ category, i.e. they all reflect input to the same Vocabulary Item in morphology (adopting DM, Halle & Marantz 1993). However, $D_{[\phi]}$ is the result of different syntactic derivations (local *Agree* with AGR, mediated Agree via Fin, and movement):

(4) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ Julia dice $[_{CP}$ que $[_{AgrP}$ **D**$_{[\phi:\_]}$ AGR-hará … el trabajo]]]]

(5) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{TP}$ Julia promete $[_{FinP}$ Fin$_{[self]}$ $[_{AgrP}$ **D**$_{[\phi:\_]}$ AGR$_{[self]}$-hacer … el trabajo]]]]

(6) $[_{CP}$ C $[_{AgrP}$ Julia AGR-hace $[_{vP}$ **t**$_{=D[\phi]}$ … el trabajo]]]

Adopting the assumption that 'traces' are just morpho-syntactic feature bundles left behind by movement (cf. Chomsky 1981), an NP-*trace* is basically D and phi lacking a Root, which can receive an overt realization in post-syntactic morphology. What determines the option between null and overt spell-out post-syntactically is governed by information structure rather than Case, adopting a model in which features relating to topic/focus are assigned at the phase edge before morpho-phonological insertion applies (cf. López 2009). This way, the emphatic pronoun in (3) is basically the result of a DP which moves to topic position (see Barbosa 2009) whose *trace* (and not full copy) receives focus marking in Spec,*v*P, forming a topic-focus chain.

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Grammatical Interfaces in Transparent Free Relatives

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
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The so-called 'transparent' free relatives (TFR, e.g., *I bought [what seemed to be a guitar]*) display quite striking properties in that its content nucleus a guitar is within the bracketed clause, as if the underlined expressions are transparent. The transparent properties can be attested from corpus data (COCA: Corpus of Contemporary American English) like [*What appears to be a* ***pale blue painting****] turns/*turn into something else entirely*. The number value of SFRs (standard free relative) is singular or determined by the *wh*-phrase, but that of TFRs is dependent upon the boldfaced nucleus. There have been three main approaches to the TFRs: parenthetical placement with backward deletion (Wilder 1999), shared structures (Van Riemsdijk 2001, 2006), and configurational structures with movement operations (Grosu 2003). Authentic data obtained from our corpus search, however, show that none of these previous analyses are satisfactory enough to account for various uses of the construction. This paper suggests that the most viable way to account for such vibrant properties of the TFRs as attested by corpus search is to allow tight interactions between the lexicon and constructional constraints. The key property starts from the fact that *what* is 'lexically' underspecified for categorical and semantic information. In terms of constructional constraints, we assume that there is a TFR construction as a primitive grammatical element. This construction is a special type of filler-gap unbounded construction with its own constructional properties. Its constructional peculiarities have to do with the simple fact that the head of the construction is what, whose category value is determined by the semantic nucleus. An additional lexical property of the construction is that it is only raising verbs (e.g., *call, consider, take, assume, describe, seem, appear*) that can introduce an TFR. This means that raising verbs can change their predicative argument into any nonverbal argument (NP, PP, Adv, AP) whose categorical information (including POS and number values) is shared with that of the head *what*. These lexical specifications can immediately explain two important constraints in the TFR: *what* is the only possible element in the TFR and its possibility of referring to a human being (as in *He met what he thought is an underage girl*), and only raising verbs can introduce the TFR. There are other positive consequences of the present analysis. For example, since the predicative expression eventually determines the syntactic category of the whole clause, we can explain why the distributional possibilities of TFRs are determined by the predicative expression. It further accounts for the preposition restriction (*He speaks in/*at what linguists call a Northern dialect* COCA 2001 ACAD) as well as coordination facts. This is possible since the property of the whole TFR in question is determined by the nucleus expression whose syntactic and semantic features are identified with the expression *what* functioning as the head of the clause.

AG 6

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Grammaticalisation in the lexicon – accounting for the distribution of negative polar uses of need verbs in Germanic languages

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04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
VMP5 2067/2071

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The present study focuses on the development of different modal interpretation of need verbs in Germanic. Protogermanic had the need verb **þurăan*, which was either lost or re-interpreted in most Germanic languages except for Islandic. In all the remaining languages, it was replaced by new lexical items which gradually developped modal semantics.

This talk presents synchronic and diachronic corpus data from various Germanic languages (*Deutsches Textarchiv, Nordic Dialect Corpus and Syntax Database*) including Gothic (*Wulfila Project*), illustrating that need verbs in Germanic languages behave differently with respect to negative polarity: at the one end of the scale, there are verbs such as Dutch *hoeven* which are NPIs in any use, at the other end there verbs such as English *need + to*-infinitives which have no negative polar uses at all (cf. Duffley 1994, van der Wouden 2001). In between, there are verbs such as German *brauchen*, whose transitive and impersonal uses are no NPIs but whose uses with clausal complements are or Swedish *behöve*, which only behaves as NPI when used as an epistemic modal, as shown by Teleman, Hellberg, and Andersson (1999: 290–291). The data suggest that if use of a need verb is an NPI, all other uses which grammaticalised out of this use have to be NPIs too.

The data here illustrates that grammaticalisation does not necessarily replace a more lexical use by a more functional one but that a lexeme may have different uses from different stages of grammaticalisation at the same time.

In split category analyses, each single use would be considered as a distinct lexicon entry. In doing so, they fail to explain the distribution of the NPI feature across uses of need verbs. The data presented here suggest that the uses can subsumed into different subgroups which are ordered in type hierarchies with feature inheritance as known from HPSG. Apart from that, these type hierarchies reflect the diachronic development of the lexical item in question. Grammaticalisation can be considered as a process of *Type Differentiation* in the lexicon as suggested by Green (2011). At the initial stage a need verb comes with a feature MODAL BASE specified for circumstantial modality. As soon as it is reanalysed as an epistemic modal by some new language learner, the feature MODAL BASE loses its initial specification allowing for both values circumstantial and epistemic. At the same moment, the original type acquires two daughters: one where the feature MODAL BASE is specified for the value circumstantial and another where it is specified for epistemic. Thus, in HPSG, grammaticalisation can be modelled as a process that takes place in the lexicon, which is more in line with current theories of acquisition of semantic structures and thereby serving a more sound foundation to adopt Kratzer's view that different modal interpretations are derived from the same semantic core.

The diachrony of grammatical non-identity: manner and speaker-oriented adverbs in English

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
VMP5 2067/2071

The synchronic English lexicon is rich in non-accidentally homophonous manner adverbs (1)–(4) and speaker-oriented adverbs (5)–(8) (data from BNC):

(1) His eyes challenged her to answer *honestly*. (HA9)
(2) The girl shook her head and smiled *sadly*. (FRK)
(3) They all heard *clearly* what he said, difficult though they found it to believe. (EFW)
(4) And her mother nodded *wisely*. (GW8)
(5) *Honestly*, some people have no pride. (CAE)
(6) But, *sadly*, he's ill at the moment. (FRU)
(7) *Clearly*, we have plenty of powder and it's dry. (HYE)
(8) He *wisely* kept the two women apart as much as possible. (B34)

While there is tacit agreement among researchers from various theoretical backgrounds that speaker-oriented adverbs develop from manner adverbs, the conditions for and the mechanisms behind the reanalysis of manner adverbs as speaker-oriented adverbs remain elusive (see e.g. Swan 1988, 1997; Tabor & Traugott 1998; Fischer 2007; van Gelderen 2011).

The aim of this paper is threefold: first, based on a historical corpus study of selected adverbs, it isolates the structural factors that feed into the delimitation of bridging contexts (Heine 2002) for the reanalysis of manner adverbs (1)-(4) as illocutionary (5), evaluative (6), evidential (7) and subject-oriented adverbs (8). It is shown that only clauses that license speaker-oriented adverbs, notably clauses with root properties (Haegeman 2012, Endo & Haegeman 2019), constitute potential syntactic contexts for reanalysis (cf. Haumann & Killie forthc.). Second, is argued that the reanalysis of manner adverbs as speaker-oriented adverbs does not involve "adverb preposing" from the lexical layer to the left periphery (Swan 1988; van Gelderen 2011), but the merging and licensing of adverbs homophonous with manner adverbs in higher functional domains. Third, the paper addresses potential lexical and syntactic changes that initially warranted and ultimately forced the merging of the elements under consideration outside the lexical layer of the clause.

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Identity, Persistence and Differentiation in Periphrastic Verbal Forms

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
VMP5 2067/2071

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Many periphrastic constructions are conventionalised without being fully grammaticalised. Their purpose is the filling of gaps in inflectional paradigms, where there may be a lack of rule based forms to represent specific inflectional features. Even though they may constitute schemata, they are neither paradigmatic nor productive in the sense of inflectional forms. As a representative example from German, one may consider the progressive periphrasis formed by the preposition *am* ‚at' + infinitive (or also *beim* + infinitive), which can in fact be used in order to translate English or French progressive forms. As soon as one tries to add an object, this results in ungrammaticality at least in Standard German, and it becomes evident that this periphrastic surrogate form does not belong to a fully productive paradigm: *(Er ist) *am/*beim ein Buch lesen/ein Buch am Lesen*. The surrogate also resists to the application of grammatical operations like the passivisation, which moreover shows that the restriction in (1a) is more profound than a simple adjacency constraint on the preposition and the infinitive. Thus, Standard German does not have a regular progressive form. However, suitable linguistic means at the speakers' disposal according to the rules of grammar may be used in order to express progressivity in a periphrastic way, making use of the lexical prepositions (which indeed have been grammaticalised to inflectional particles in Dutch and German varieties, cf. Pottelberge 2005).

A comparable Modern German example may be the periphrasis with the full verb *kommen*, as opposed to the apparently parallel paradigmatic close future form in English: since only English has in fact an auxiliary grammaticalised from the full verb, two occurrences of *come* can be combined only there. Similarly, Old High German had neither regular future tense nor fully developed paradigms of perfect tense or passive voice. In Modern Standard German, those analytic forms are not only fully productive; it is also true that the periphrastic forms that were the source of their grammaticalisation are still quite transparent (cf. Öhl 2015).

What all these combinatory forms have in common is that they make use of lexical items in order to express grammatical features associated with inflection. The central claim of this paper is that as long as periphrases are not fully grammaticalised to analytic inflectional paradigms, the utilised lexical items are identical to those in autonomous use, even though possibly semantically bleached with only some abstract properties persisting (like *haben* in German functional verb constructions, e.g. *zur Verfügung haben*; cf. Businger 2011). Differentiation comes about as a result of the loss of the categorial lexical features, which completes the grammaticalisation process. This I suggest to analyse as recategorisation as functional heads.

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The German Zustandspassiv: The ellipsis hypothesis reconceived

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
VMP5 2067/2071

German formally distinguishes two passives: the *Zustandspassiv* (ZP) 'state passive', with *be* (*sein*) + pp, and the *Vorgangspassiv* (VP) 'process passive', with *become* (*werden*) + pp; e.g (1a).

(1) a. Die Post ist / wird geöffnet. b. Die Post ist geöffnet worden.
The post is becomes opened.PTCP The post is opened.PTCP became.PTCP

Following older grammars, Lenz (1993) advocates the ellipsis hypothesis, proposing that some ZPs have the underlying structure of a so-called *VP Perfekt* (VPP), like (1b), and that the participial *become* is subsequently elided. This accounts for certain parallels between the two constructions, whilst also explaining their distinct surface forms. This ellipsis hypothesis has been rejected by numerous subsequent accounts (e.g. Rapp 1998, Alexiadou et al. 2014, a. o.), based on the significant deviant properties between ZPs and VP(P)s. Firstly, unlike VP(P)s, ZPs have restricted event-related modification: they disallow manner adverbs and instrumentals, unless relevant for the state expressed, and spatial modifiers: (2) and (3).

(2) Der Brief ist *langsam/ mit roter Tinte geschrieben. (Rapp 1998: 257)
The letter is slowly with red ink written.PTCP

(3) ???Die Reifen sind in der Garage aufgepumpt. (Gehrke et al. 2011: 246)
the tyres are in the garage inflated.PTCP

Secondly, ZPs, but not VP(P)s, display a number of external argument-related restrictions. For example, whilst ZPs can contain *by*-phrases, the nominals in these must be weakly or non-referential, (4) (repeated from Gehrke et al. 2014: 192).

(4) Die Zeichnung ist von [einem Kind]$_i$ angefertigt. * Es$_i$ hat rote Haare.
the drawing is by a child produced.PTCP it has red hairs

Likewise, ZPs differ from VP(P)s in having a reflexive reading and in generally disallowing purpose clauses. Thirdly, and finally, unlike VPPs, ZPs disallow deictic past tense adverbs like a *year ago*, (5) (repeated from Rapp 1998: 236).

(5) weil der König vor einem Jahr besiegt * (worden) ist
because the king before a year defeated.PTCP became.PTCP is

In light of these contrasts, the above accounts reject the claim that the ZP is a perfect, instead proposing that it is a copular construction. In this talk, I propose a middle ground between the two stances. Firstly, I claim that a certain ZP and VPPs are distinct types of perfect passives. More specifically, I argue that Kratzer's (2000) resultant state passives are perfects-of-result based on their parallels in (2) to (5) with (English) active perfects-of-result, whilst I propose that VPPs are ambiguous between experiential and simple-past like perfects. Secondly, I propose that the different characteristics of ZPs and VP(P)s result from different lexicalisations based on a Nanosyntatic approach, and that these different lexicalisations involve lexically distinct [+/-perfective] *bes*/*becomes*.

Selected References: Alexiadou, A., B. Gehrke & F. Schäfer (2014). The argument structure of adjectival participles revisited. Lingua 149, 118–138. Gehrke, B. & C. Marco (2014). Different by-phrases with adjectival and verbal passives. Lingua 149, 188–214. Kratzer, A. 2000. Building statives. Annual Meeting of the BLS 26(1). Lenz, B. (1993). Probleme der Kategorisierung deutscher Partizipien. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 12(1), 39–76.

Grammatical (non-)identity in Greek participles

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
VMP5 2067/2071

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This paper discusses the diachrony of the Greek passive participial suffix *-menos* and argues that non-identity arises when the morphosyntactic feature content of functional heads changes. The Modern Greek (MG) suffix *-men(os)* forms perfective passive participles and is used in periphrastic passive constructions. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, etc., have argued that MG *-men-* realizes stative Asp, couched in a DM analysis in which participial suffixes are not categorial, but spell out verbal functional heads—in this case, when no head movement to T has taken place (cf. Embick 2000). Moreover, MG *-men-* has two different underlying structures: target state *-men-* expresses reversible states and selects *v*, (1a); resultant state *-men-* expresses irreversible states and selects Voice, (1b).

(1) a. $[_{AspP}$ *-men-*$_{TARG}$ $[_{vP}$ *v* $[_{RootP}$ Root DP_{THEME} $]]]$

b. $[_{AspP}$ *-men-*$_{RES}$ $[_{VoiceP}$ Voice $[vP$ *v* $[_{RootP}$ Root DP_{THEME} $]]]]$

By contrast, Ancient Greek (AG) *-men-* was a „middle" participial suffix that could occur in a wide range of syntactic contexts *including* passive, but also in transitive constructions. Furthermore, AG *-men-* could be used with pres., aor., and perf. stems, while MG *-men-* is restricted to the perfective passive. Greek *-men-* therefore displays non-identity *synchronically* (between target and resultant state readings) and *diachronically* (from middle to strictly passive syntax). According to Alexiadou et al. 2015, Schäfer 2017 (among others), the functional head that triggers nonactive („middle") and active morphology in Greek is Voice[-ext.arg.], so the fact that AG *-men-* is compatible with „middle" contexts suggests that it was able to select this Voice head. On the way to MG, a reanalysis took place in which Voice failed to be acquired in certain contexts. This resulted in a structure that includes only the internal argument of the verb, and thus a passive reading for transitive verbs. The context for this reanalysis was the passive use of *-men-* in the perfect middle of transitive verbs in periphrastic constructions.

I propose that participial Asp was originally spelled out as follows in AG:

(2) **a.** Asp ⟷ *men-*/ _ Voice[-ext.arg.] **b.** Asp ⟷ *-nt-*: elsewhere

This changed as *-men-* was increasingly used in resultative/perfective contexts, leading to a reanalysis by which only Asp[pfv] was realized as *-men-*. The context in (2a) also changed: from Voice[-ext.arg.] to „thematic passive Voice" (Schäfer 2017), with the features indicated in (3). This led to a restriction of *-men-* to the perfective stem of transitive, agentive verbs.

(3) Asp[PFV] ⟷ *-men-*/ _ Voice[agent,-D]

On the way to MG, the Voice head was lost in contexts where acquirers had inadequate evidence for positing agentive semantics, resulting in a „split" of Asp[PFV] into a target and a resultant state participle. The development of -men- is thus the result of a diachronic reanalysis of the feature content of a lexical item.

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A bottom-up approach to the (non-)identity of German participle forms

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05.03.2020
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We argue that the lowest common semantic denominator of German participle forms is the derivation of a property by the participle morpheme *-t* and derive aspectual and argument-structural properties of participle forms in different uses from this common core.

(1) Sie hat die Wand bemalt. „She has painted the wall."

(2) Die Wand wurde bemalt. „The wall was painted."

(3) Die Wand ist bemalt. „The wall is painted."

Previous work has argued for the formal identity of participle forms in perfect (1) and passive (2) constructions and correlated this identity with aspectual and argument-structural identities (most recently: Wegner 2019). We investigate whether and how the identity of German participle forms can be extended to predicative constructions with the copula *sein* „be" (3) in which the same participle form as in perfect and passive constructions appears. Predicative participles constitute a challenge to the aspectual and argument-structural identity criteria of German participle forms. Concerning aspectual properties of predicative participles, Kratzer (2000) distinguishes two types of predicative participles by their compatibility with the modifier *immer noch* „still". Kratzer proposes that predicative participles that allow for modification with *immer noch* denote alterable „target states" and that those that don't denote non-alterable „resultant states". Since only resultant state predicatives but not target state predicatives have a perfective semantics, the aspectual identity of German participle forms in perfect and predicative constructions is only partial. Concerning argument-structural properties of predicative participles, the argument-structural identity of participle forms in passive and predicative constructions is partial because modification with von „by"-phrases is heavily restricted in predicative participle constructions (most recently: Gehrke 2015). In conclusion, neither argument-structural nor aspectual properties can be the locus of the identity of German participle forms.

In this talk, we extend the analyses of Pross (2019) and Pross & Rossdeutscher (2019) and argue that the participle morpheme *-t* has the same semantic function of deriving a property in passives, perfects and predicatives and can thus serve as a suitable identity criterion for German participle forms. We propose that the kind of state that is derived from a given participial property depends on (i) the construction to which the participle morpheme *-t* is applied (ii) the prefix of the participle construction (iii) the auxiliary with which the participle is combined.

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The uni- or polyfunctionality of *so* in German

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In this talk, the syntactic and semantic features of the German lexical form *so* in different syntactic positions will be discussed in order to analyze obvious or subtle differences and similarities between the different occurrences. More precisely, I will focus on the prenominal position of *so* (as in ***so** ein Tier*-'such an animal' and ***so** Menschen*-'such humans', cf. (1) and (2)), comparing it with the occurrences of *so* that are described more detailed in the research literature.

The German form *so* belongs to the most heterogeneously distributed forms in the German language. In the literature, the following parts of speech are discussed most commonly: adverb, intensifying particle, sentence adverb, subjunction, discourse particle, focus marker. An essential aim of the paper is to analyze in how far these syntactic functions are compatible with the same lexical meaning.

An often neglected function of the form *so* is its occurrence in the determining position:

(1) ***So*** *ein Tier habe ich noch nie gesehen.*
Such an animal have I yet never seen
(*I have never seen such an animal yet.*)

(2) ***So*** *Menschen kann ich nicht leiden.*
Such people can I not stand
(*I cannot stand such people.*)

Due to the fact that these occurrences are analyzed relatively rarely, the talk will focus on the grammatical description of *so* in (1) and (2). Particularly, the following questions are discussed:

- Have occurrences of so like in (1) and (2) to be analyzed as variants of German solch 'such' or as "original" cases of *so* as an adverb, particle, etc.?
- Should *so* in (1) and (2) be considered the same part of speech category?
- Which category is it?

I will provide linguistic evidence that *so* in (1) and (2) can equally be described as a predeterminer that is not only restricted to contexts of oral speech. I will also argue that the occurrences of *so* in (1)–(2) are semantically and from a usage-based perspective equivalent to occurrences of *so* in particular other syntactic contexts named above.

Methodologically, this talk combines self-conducted corpus analyses with semantic analyses of *so* by Hole & Klumpp (2000), Umbach & Ebert (2009), Umbach & Gust (2014), and more general classifications of *so* in German grammar books such as Zifonun et al. (1997).

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How to do (different) things with (the same) words. Grammaticalization, multifunctionality, and the diachrony of German *so*

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The originally adverbial element *so* performs a number of different functions in present-day German. As a lexical item, for instance, it has a (deictic-)modal meaning expressing the contextually defined way in which a situation or a state is to be interpreted (1). It may also surface in correlative constructions in which it resumes some types of preposed adverbial clauses (2), or function as what looks like a prefield expletive without yielding any semantic / deictic content (3). In other cases, it introduces a main clause, conveying e.g. a sense of completion resulting from some previous situation or utterance that licenses the spell-out of the following sentence:

(1) Ich hoffe, dass es nicht **so** ist. **(*so*$_1$)**
'I hope it is not so.'

(2) Wenn das wirklich stimmt, **so** müsste die CD doch den besseren Klang haben. **(*so*$_2$)**
'If that were the case, then this CD should sound better (than the other one).'

(3) Verwundert dürften sich vor allem die Chefs der Rentenversicherung die Bezüge ihrer Kollegen aus der Abteilung Gesundheit angesehen haben. **So** erhält der Präsident der Bundesversicherungsanstalt 7815 Euro im Monat. **(*so*$_3$)**
'The leaders of the Pension Fund must have been astonished learning how much their co leagues from the Health division earn. The president of the Federal Insurance Institute r ceives a salary of 7815 euros every month.'

(4) **So**, jetzt können wir das Fahrzeug anlassen. **(*so*$_4$)**
'Now we can start the car.'

In this paper, I will propose that the occurrences of *so* illustrated above, although being formally identical, are to be categorized as different lexical entries on the basis of their function, which in turn intimately correlates with their level of semantic bleaching and has consequences for the syntactic behavior of this element. To account for this lexico-grammatical categorization and assuming an articulate C-domain à la Rizzi (1997), I will contend that each of these items is the result of a different syntactic derivation resulting from distinct degrees of semantic/referential content and syntactic integration.

Expectedly, a diachronic investigation of these elements reveals that they have not emerged simultaneously in the lexicon of German: on the basis of diachronic data spanning from $_{so1}$ Old High German (750–1050) to Early New High German (1350–1650), I will show that while has been part of the German lexicon since the earlies stages of the language, *so*$_2$ is grammaticalized in Middle High German (1050–1350) and functions as a generalized resumptive until the Early New High German period, when it begins to specialize onto certain types of adverbial clause. Expletive *so*$_3$ seems to originate between Middle and Early New High German, where it is only sporadically attested, but it is in the modern stage that its use flourishes in the written prose. For *so*$_4$, whose scope is limited to colloquial spoken German, it can be speculated – in the absence of substantial written evidence – that it represents the most recent unit to have emerged in the system.

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A reassessment of the typology of adverbial clauses

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Overview The presentation reassesses (i) Haegeman's original (1984, 1991) binary classification of adverbial clauses in terms of central vs. peripheral adverbial clauses and (ii) the syntactic analyses proposed. Among adverbial clauses introduced by the conjunction *while*, for instance, three readings can be readily distinguished, exemplified in (1): the *while* clause in (1) is a **temporal** modifier of the event (i.e. the announcement of the resignation) expressed in the host clause; the **concessive** *while* clause in (2) provides **background assumption** for the proposition encoded in the host clause; the *while* clause in (3) is a temporal modifier of speech act itself, providing a motivation for the utterance 'her proposals are very innovative'.

(1) While we were talking about Theresa May, the BBC announced her resignation.
(2) While the Prime Minister may be a conservative, her proposals are very innovative
(3) While we are talking about Theresa May, her proposals are very innovative.

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Similar multiple readings also obtain for clauses introduced by the conjunctions *since* (tempo-aspectual vs rationale), *as* (a.o. tempo-aspectual vs rationale), *if* (event conditional vs conditional assertion). The phenomenon is of comparative interest as multivalent conjunctions are found cross-linguistically (e.g. Dutch *terwijl*, French *tandis que*, Italian *mentre*).

The presentation focusses on the impact of the distinct readings (if any) on the external syntax of adverbial clauses, that is the degree of integration with the host clause. Empirical evidence will be drawn from English supplemented with comparative evidence, including some drawn from the Germanic V2 languages (Dutch and Flemish).

Goals A reassessment (i) of the binary classification of adverbial clauses like those in (1–3) in terms of central (1) vs peripheral clauses (2+3), (ii) of two analyses for peripheral adverbial clauses: (iia) the non-integration or orphan analysis, (iib) the high adjunction analysis (to CP).

Following Frey (2016), I adopt the ternary classification in terms of (i) central adverbial clauses (CAC) (1), (ii) peripheral adverbial clauses (PAC) (2) and (iii) non-integrated adverbial clauses (1c) (NonIC) and I will further explore Frey's classification. A range of data discussed will corroborate Frey's intuition that peripheral adverbial clauses are associated with a high modal domain (Krifka's JudgeP). Time permitting I will also show that Frey's characterization of NonIC does not quite cover the properties of non-integrated clauses like those in (3).

Between a lexical and a functional category – How many entries in the lexicon do we need for Indonesian *ini*?

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Normally *ini* is treated as demonstrative/determiner (a functional category) (1). However, there are cases where it occurs in a root position, either modified by verbal morphology (2) ornominalized with *yang* (3). In these positions we would normally expect lexical categories.

(1) *Rumah ini sangat bagus.*
House ini very good.
'This house is very good.'

(2) *Ini harus di-ini-in.*
This must PASS.VIOCE-ini-TRANS
'This has to be treated like this.'

(3) *Udin mem-beli yang ini.*
Udin CAUS.VOICE-buy NOM ini
'Udin bought this one.'

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Therefore (4) could be structural either noun+demonstrative or noun+modifier like in (5). Despite this structural ambiguity there is no real difference in interpretation.

(4) *mobil ini*
car ini
'this car'

(5) *mobil biru*
car blue
'blue car'

On the other hand, *ini* also has functions which do not necessarily have a demonstrative reading anymore. It can be used either for emphasis (6) or topic marking (7).

(6) *Aku ini sangat lapar.*
1SG ini very hungry.
'I am very hungry.'

(7) *Jokowi Widodo ini presiden Indonesia.*
Jokowi Widodo ini president Indonesia.
'Jokowi Widodo is the president of Indonesia.'

These findings lead to the question of representation in the lexicon. How many entries do we need for *ini*? Two, one functional and one lexical, more than that, or is it even sufficient to have just one entry uniting the functional and the lexical form?

Economy governed change: A view from Basque auxiliaries

Freitag,
06.03.2020
entfällt

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All Basque dialects of the Archaic Period (XV-XVIth century) seem to have shared a number of properties regarding the form and distribution of auxiliaries which are kept (in a somehat reduced way) in eastern dialects today. These properties can be summarized as follows: (i) Optional object and dative agreement; (ii) main predicate status for *be* and *have*; (iii) independent lexical forms for those same auxiliaries; (iv) sequences of the type *wh-phrase/focus Aux*; (v) *be* auxiliaries with transitive predicates; and (vi) sequences in which the aspectual complement and the auxiliary in Basque periphrases are separated by something else, either negation or an additive marker of the *also/even* sort. Those properties can be captured in a unified way on the basis of a single morphosyntactic parameter, consisting in the fact that Archaic Basque copulas were "synthetic verbs" (De Rijk 2008), not auxiliaries (understood as the mere lexicalization of T/Agr, as in Arregi and Nevins 2012). Synthetic verbs are finite verbs which, unlike auxiliaries, possess a lexical root. In the period known as Archaic Basque it can be shown that this class included the transitive and intransitive auxiliary forms. Basque auxiliaries have followed a general grammaticalization process in the context of verbal periphrases, from full verbal elements to exponents of T/Mood, a process that is more advanced in western and central dialects than in eastern ones. Interestingly, the grammaticalization process did not affect in the same way the finite copulas merged in the context of non-verbal predication, a relatively rich class in Basque that includes equivalents of stative verbs in other languages. In those contexts, finite *be* and *hav*e continue to show properties of lexical verbs. The paper explores the grammaticalization process in the three dialectal areas mentioned and provides an explanation for the asymmetry between verbal and non-verbal predication by invoking principles of representational economy grounded in the acquisition device (such as Roussou and Robert's Representational Economy 2003 or Van Gelderen's Late Merge, 2011).

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Clitic and non-clitic forms of 'to be' in Czech

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Czech has a wide range of second-position (2P) clitics, including the past tense auxiliary, which derives from the present tense forms of the verb *být*, 'to be'. However, these forms are also used for other purposes, namely as copula and for the formation of the passive. In these contexts, they do not behave like clitics, i.e. they are not restricted to 2P (cf. Fried 1994):

(1) Pozval **jsem** Petra na pondělí. (2) ***Jsem** pozval Petra na pondělí.
invite.PTCP PASTAUX.1SG Petr.ACC to Monday
'I invited Petr for Monday.'

(3) Jsem doma. (4) Jsem pozván na pondělí.
COP.1SG at.home PASSAUX.1SG invite.PTCP to Monday
'I am at home.' 'I am invited for Monday.'

In addition to this positional restriction, Czech 2P clitics have the following properties (cf. Toman 1980), some of which directly derive from their clitic status, whilst others seem more idiosyncratic: They cannot host other clitics such as *-li* 'if' or *ne-* 'not', and cannot appear in isolation or bear contrastive stress. They also display a paradigmatic gap in the third person, and can optionally be omitted in the first person when the subject is present.

The question arises whether the clitic and non-clitic variants of *být* are distinct lexical items, or the results of a (de-)cliticisation process. More specifically, are clitic auxiliaries verbal heads, or do they belong to a different category? Also, an explanation is required as to why the passive auxiliary patterns with the copula, and not with the past auxiliary. I will try to answer these questions from the starting point of modelling clitic positioning: What assumptions do we need to make about 2P clitics in order to capture their behaviour?

In the literature, the differences between clitic and non-clitic forms of *být* are captured in different ways: Fried (1994) classifies them as one lexical item with clitic and non-clitic uses. Franks and King (2000) elaborate on this: Clitics are created from non-clitics through the deletion of prosodic word structure. In contrast, Avgustinova and Oliva (1995) see them as distinct lexical items, an assumption which is pursued more radically by Anderson (2005): in his view, clitics are phrasal morphology, thus not syntactic entities at all, in contrast to non-clitics.

I will show how the views of Anderson (2005) are supported by Czech synchronic clitic placement data; only if clitic and non-clitic forms of *být* are assumed to be fundamentally different, can we explain the peculiar behaviour of Czech 2P clitics. Concerning the distinction between past and passive participles, I argue that the past participle is in fact a finite verb, and that consequently the clitic past auxiliary is not.

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Optionality on the Acquisition Path

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Acquisition should allow us to see grammaticalization in action. In principle, the acquisition path could mirror historical development in miniature. We argue that almost „free" attachment at the bottom (lexical items) or top (root node) precede two UG-mandated acquisition capacities: 1) add or subtract Features, and 2) generate syntactic licensing environments in terms of Heads of Phrases that restrict scope. Every shift involves a period in which both forms occur, hence apparent „optionality". It remains to be argued in detail whether stages in acquisition resemble historical shifts? We argue that evidence suggests a number of kinds of shift in keeping with Lebeaux's proposal (2000) that new elements are attached at the root as adjuncts (Adjoin-alpha), therefore without systematic licensing. We argue for bottom to top for *-er*, *-'s*, *-ed*, *-ness*. Then we turn to how Free Relatives are acquired which also privileges high attachment (following Clauss (2016), Chechetto and Donati (2015). Finally we look at stages of acquisition for Reference. Consider the acquistion of *-er*. Early examples suggest simple attachment to anything with Agent meaning „you be the storier". This is *dropped* when, seeking a licenser, the child fixes on the VP allowing a (too) high attachment „there's a bike-rider with no hands" understood as [ride -bike with no hands-er]. Randall (1982) shows that children do this more than adults: *a writer with a candybar* is seen as instrumental (write with a candybar) by children but not adults in careful experimentation (children 5-8yr range). Similarly English allows 's on phrases: *the man on the left's hat*, disallowed in German. 5–6yr old English children understand these correctly, even without an overt possessive marker in AAE: „the boy in the back bible". Or with one on a relative: „the man that I saw's hat". When children seek a licenser they will then choose: N's [German] or DP's [English]. The latter automatically introduces recursion which 4yr-olds understand.For children *-ed* seems to be first an adjective without Agent and with a telic interpretation (see DELV test (the cat was being hidden = the cat was hidden) (see Wegner (2019). At a later point *-ed* attaches to VP and allows passive meaning, which is consistent with two stages Lexical item *+ed*, then syntactic maximal projection. Interestingly forms like: *the lecture's preparedness (by John)* contrasts with **John's preparedness of the lecture* showing that further affixation keeps the „dethematized" subject in nominalizations allowing only an object (lecture). The UG assumption must be that all levels of syntax are open to morphological additions, although ultimately UG may promote changes that keep morphology as lexical only. Children of 5-6 yrs generate forms with Root-attached relative clauses „this costs ten cents which I knew". This fits evidence from Tavakolian (1978) that children allow root-attached relatives to modify either subject or object, although adults prefer local attachment (even anti-pragmatically: *a woman saw a man that wore (lipstick)*. The categorical notion of licensing should diminish these forms after the initial unlicensed root attachment. Clauss (2015), studying free relatives, also found that children will allow both a Free Relative and Indirect Question reading. "[we compare] interpretations of globally ambiguous sentences with Wh expressions (Ben saw what Molly brought) to those where the rule barring Wh-NP blocks the FR reading (Ben saw what gift Molly brought), finding that adults but not children use this syntactic alternation to choose between the two readings".

Approaching linguistic diversity from an evolutionary perspective: Towards a typology of future tenses

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Workshop description

Unlike present and past tenses, future tenses exhibit a typologically robust tendency towards encoding modality. Accordingly, in the typological literature the future has been described both in temporal and modal terms (e.g. Comrie 1985, Dahl 1985, 2000b, Palmer 2001, among others). This might be ultimately rooted in the fact that the notion of future time is inherently linked to uncertainty given the fact that the current reality may develop in several ways. In a similar vein, future time reference is known to frequently interact with aspect and with aspectual properties of verbs and constructions (cf. Dickey 2000 for different Slavic languages). Accordingly, for instance Copley (2009) describes the encoding of future in terms of a hierarchical interplay between two operators, a modal and an aspectual one.

However, these features inherent to future time reference from a most general point of view do not by themselves explain the considerable variation we observe regarding modality and aspectuality in future grams (henceforth "futures") of different languages. We assume that this variation can be better understood from a data-oriented semasiological perspective, which implies taking into account the diachronic dimension of futures. This amounts to finding answers to the following questions: Which diachronic factors may be responsible for the observed variation in modal and aspectual values of futures? How to disentangle or isolate such factors in a particular case?

(a) Which correlations are possible between these factors and the different kinds of modal and aspectual meanings in futures?
(b) Which patterns of interaction between the different factors are actually attested in natural languages? How to search for and/or establish typologically recurrent patterns of interaction?
(c) What are the possible trajectories of modality and aspectuality in the development of futures? How to search for and/or establish typologically recurrent trajectories?

At present, three different factors potentially relevant to modality and aspectuality in futures may count as securely established. The first factor is the different sources of future grams. Numerous languages possess futures known to have only recently evolved out of forms or constructions with non-future semantics (cf. Ultan 1978, Bybee & Pagliuca 1987, Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991, Dahl 2000a, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Wiemer & Hansen 2012). The most prominent sources, recurrently documented as generating futures in languages of different genetic and areal affiliations, are (a) tense-aspect forms (cf. the perfective future in North Slavic), (b) deontic (incl. volitional) modal expressions (cf. the *shall*- and *will*-futures in English, Balkan languages), (c) constructions with verbs of movement (cf. the komma-future in Swedish and the *aller*-future in French), (d) constructions with inchoative copula verbs (cf. the *werden*-future in German or the imperfective future in North Slavic). Less robustly attested are futures succeeding constructions with verbs such as *say* (in central eastern Bantu, cf. Botne 1998) or *take*

(in Ukrainian, cf. Wiemer 2011), futures evolved out of temporal adverbs (in Lingala, cf. Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991) or, finally, futures reflecting an agent noun with copula verb (in Sanskrit, cf. Tichy 1992, Lowe 2017).

Differences in the semantics of the source constructions may be relevant in two similar but distinct ways, both of which are commonly subsumed under the notion of "source determination" (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Hilpert 2008, Reinöhl & Himmelmann 2017: 391–399). First, in futures evolved out of a modal source remnants of modal use may always be expected. Accordingly, futures with similar modal sources are likely to exhibit similar inherited modal readings (such as volition in *want*-futures) while futures resulting from a different source construction are less so. Second, futures with a similar source may be expected to develop similarly. For instance, futures evolved out of modals encoding obligation display a tendency towards developing epistemic semantic extensions whereas encoding epistemic modality is not typically associated with *come*- or *go*-futures (cf. Hilpert 2008).

The second factor may be the different mechanisms of future tense development. Here we may distinguish two mechanisms. The first mechanism is the grammaticalisation of an inherited content word, which might be a verb (turned into an auxiliary or semantically weak component of a serial verb construction) or an adverb with temporal semantics (cf. Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2002). The second possible mechanism of future evolvement is the more direct functional shift, i.e. "hypoanalysis" from a non-future to a future (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Haspelmath 1998, Reinöhl & Himmelmann 2016).

It is known that futures which emerged by hypoanalysis often allow for gnomic and habitual readings, although in purely semantic terms these two meanings are difficult to link to future time reference (cf. Haspelmath 1998). A functional shift from a present tense or a subjunctive mood to a future is usually triggered by the development of a new present tense or a new subjunctive mood, which restricts the domain of the inherited formations to formerly marginal uses such as prediction, generalised truths, and habitual actions. By contrast, gnomic or habitual readings are not attested for many subtypes of grammaticalisation futures, such as *come*-, *go*- or *take*-futures, although their sources are equally capable of expressing generalised truths or repeated actions.

Finally, the third factor potentially responsible for modal and aspectual readings in futures is the different behaviour of future tenses in the relevant language systems. It is known that the same language system may accommodate several functionally distinct futures, which may have emerged at different times and due to different mechanisms. In such a situation, it is natural to expect complex patterns of interaction between different future tenses which, in theory, might be responsible for different modal and aspectual flavours in futures (cf. Hedin 2000, Markopoulos 2009, Markopoulos et al. 2017 on Greek).

The workshop invites papers aimed at

(a) identifying new factors potentially relevant to the emergence and subsequent development of modal and aspectual properties in futures,
(b) describing patterns of interaction between these factors,
(c) identifying recurrent patterns of interaction and establishing correlations with different kinds of modality and aspectuality in order to account for the typological variation.

Crosslinguistic patterns of interaction between modal and aspectual properties in futures

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 O 122

There is good crosslinguistic evidence for assuming that future markers consist of two meaning components: modality and prospective time shifting. The goal of the talk is to identify recurrent patterns of interaction between these two factors and to establish correlations with different kinds of modality and aspectuality in order to account for the typological variation. It will be shown that languages differ considerably along the following dimensions: **(i) the type of lexicalization/ morphological realization of these two meaning components of future markers, (ii) the kind of modality involved, and (iii) the obligatoriness of prospective time shifting.**
Ad. (i) Four different cases can be distinguished: 1) modality and prospective time shifting are conjointly encoded in one morpheme (e.g., in St'át'imcets; Matthewson 2006); 2) modality and prospective time shifting are expressed by two separate, overtly realized morphemes (e.g., in Hausa; Mucha & Zimmermann 2016); 3) one meaning (modality) is realized overtly, the other meaning component (prospective time shifting) is covert (e.g., in Medumba; Mucha 2015); 4) one meaning (prospective time shifting) is realized overtly, the other meaning component (modality) is covert (e.g., in Gitksan; Matthewson 2013). **Ad. (ii)** The observed differences between languages concern the modal base and ordering source, on the one hand, and the quantificational force, on the other. For instance, while the future markers in Greek, Italian, Hausa, Medumba, and Guaraní involve universal quantification over possible worlds, the St'át'imcets future marker *kelh* is taken to be a circumstantial modal which is compatible with both universal and existential quantificational force. Variable quantificational force in the sense of gradable modality (degree modals) has been assumed for Slovenian and Bulgarian (Rivero & Milojević Sheppard 2016). **Ad. (ii)** The following cases can be distinguished: (1) Prospective time shifting is obligatory. – In this case future markers obligatorily convey future time reference and do not allow for present- (or past-) oriented epistemic readings (e.g., the St'át'imcets future marker *kelh*); (2) Prospective time shifting is not obligatory. Two options can be distinguished here: (2-a) No future shifter is present. As a consequence, no future-oriented readings are possible, only present- or past-oriented epistemic readings (cf. the Greek future marker *tha*); (2-b) A future shifter (prospective aspect) is present but it can co-occur with imperfective aspect. In this case both ordinary future readings and present-oriented epistemic readings are available (e.g., the Medumba future marker *á*'); the prerequisite for the latter option is that aspect stacking is allowed in a given language (Mucha 2015).

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Early modal meanings of future grams in the history of Russian

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 O 122

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Modern Russian has three future grams, all of which can be classified as aspectual: *budu* 'become' as the future of *byti* 'be', *budu* 'become' + infinitive for imperfective verbs, and the original present form of perfective verbs. These forms can have several modal readings in Modern Russian, of which it is commonly assumed that they develop only after these grams have turned into real future tenses. I will show that despite their 'aspectual' origin modal elements were part of the meaning of Old East Slavic and Old Russian future grams from the very beginning.

The earliest modal uses include possibility and volition, whereas epistemic uses in the classical sense turn up only later. However, for a complete picture, syntactic modalities have to be taken into account as well, since the vast majority of early attestations of future grams in Old East Slavic and Old Russian futures occur both in the protasis and in the apodosis of conditional sentences as well as in purposive clauses. This provides the basis for a new look at the connection between future and modality.

Competing future constructions in Russian and their non-future uses

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 O 122

Russian has two standard ways of expressing future. According to Russian National Corpus (RNC), the non-past conjugated verbform of a perfective verb is attested at least 10 times more than the periphrastic future consisting of the auxiliary verb byt′ 'be' and an imperfective infinitive. Already in the pre-corpus era, the number of non-future uses was estimated at about one-third of perfective future verbforms (Forsyth 1970: 120). A corpus-based grammar of Russian (rusgram.ru) provides a detailed description of different categories (order, prohibition, instruction, opportunity, habitual etc.) of non-future use of future illustrated by analysis of 100 examples from the corpus (Stojnova 2017).

My study is based on 2 datasets of 1000 examples from RNC each. It shows that Russian perfective future does not mean future or only future in roughly half of the cases. These non-future meanings could be viewed as "gnomic" constructions, "general personal (as opposed to impersonal) expressions" (Example 1), "performatives", "directives", and "conditionals" (a future form is used instead of the standard grammatical forms for both these categories) etc.

(1) Nektar iz nee ***ne voz'meš***,— prodolžala staraja Pčela. '"You **can't take** nectar from it," continued the old Bee.' [Viktor Kologriv. Medovyj lug // «Murzilka», 2002]

(2) — A kak vy pitaetes′? — Sobaka ne ***budet est***′ togo, čem ja pitajus′. Platjat suščie groši. Deneg počti net. "And what do you eat? — The dog **will not eat** what I eat. They pay pennies. Almost no money." [Sergej Dovlatov. Inaja žizn′ (1984)]

Non-future uses of imperfective future verbforms received less attention. However, it seems that the categories of meanings overlap for perfective and imperfective verbs. Example 2 shows a gnomic use of future imperfective.

In this talk, we draw attention to the contexts that make the non-future construals of both perfective and imperfective forms possible in Russian. The provided data contribute to the discussion on whether aspect or tense motivates the extension of Russian future into non-future.

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Layering in the system of Middle Russian periphrastic future constructions through a corpus perspective

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 O 122

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According to the well-known cross-linguistic studies conducted by Joan Bybee and Östen Dahl (Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1991, Dahl 2000), there are multiple sources for the development of future tense marking. It can lead to the emergence of new layers (Hopper 1991), that is a coexistence of different „futures" in a language and competition between them. Middle Russian represents a remarkably rich system of different periphrastic futures, and within this system, there was a notably rich subsystem of periphrastic futures with auxiliaries from inchoative verbs, viz. imu 'take>begin', počnu 'begin1', načnu 'begin2', učnu 'begin3', stanu 'rise>become'. These periphrases were claiming the role of imperfective future form since they could co-occur only with infinitives of the imperfective aspect. Alongside with „inchoative futures", the constructions with the auxiliaries *xoču* 'want', *imam* 'have' and *budu* '*be.FUT*' also existed in the Middle Russian writing. The former two – aspectually indifferent – were attested already in the most archaic texts, and were still active until the end of the Middle Russian period occupying a special aspectual and modal place within a system. "budu + INF" was purely imperfective and gained in frequency only at the end of the Middle Russian times.

The emergence of inchoative futures in Middle Russian and their distribution create a problem for the claim introduced by Ö. Dahl (2000) that „some contexts are typically quite late in being reached by an expanding future gram", namely temporal and conditional clauses, what is explained by their non-assertiveness. That is not the case for some Middle Russian periphrastic futures with inchoative auxiliaries, which emerge in *conditional clauses*:

(1) **Ašče** [COND] kto **imet** [take-AUX.PRS.3SG] dvě ženy **voditi** [have-INF], mitropolitu 20 griven.

(2) **Ašče** [COND] li otydemŭ ot velikogo kn'az'a v Litvu ili v nemcy ili o sebě **učnemŭ** [begin-AUX.PRS.1PL] **žiti** [live-INF] bez gosudar'a, ino na nas gněvŭ božij.

The paper examines the interaction and competition between different Middle Russian periphrastic futures with particular focus on inchoative ones using the data from Russian National Corpus, namely Middle Russian subcorpus. It allows outlining the place and function of each construction in the network, distinguishing between futures with the higher and lower assertion and contributing to our understanding of diachronic development of such systems.

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Futures in language contact: the case of Molise Slavic

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–17:30
ESA1 O 122

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Molise Slavic is a South-Slavic micro-language with three different dialects, spoken in southern Italy in a situation of total language contact with Italian varieties. It has two modally differentiated simple futures and three futures in the past. One of the two futures, which Molise Slavic has in common with Croatian, its "genetically" nearest standard language, is formed with the help of the clitic present of the auxiliary *tit* 'to want, will' + infinitive. Unlike the second type, using the auxiliary *jimat* 'to have, must', it existed already at the time of immigration from the Balkans 500 years ago. The *jimat* construction is most probably the result of language contact with local Italian varieties and their de-obligative future.

From a diachronic perspective, the *tit* future originally was more or less neutral with respect to modality, but in opposition to the *jimat* future, mainly expressing planned or necessary events, it acquired its modal connotation of probability. There is, however, some dialectal variation (Marra 2005). The futures in the past developed under the influence of the Romance concord of tenses. Two of them show a similar modal differentiation as the simple futures. Their formation required newly built imperfects of *tit* and *jimat* as auxiliaries. But there is also a third, modally neutral future in the past, based on the Italian model of using the conditional in this function (Breu 2011: 157–158). Things become still more complicated by the additional possibility of using the imperfect of the main verb as a future in the past, as in this case counterfactuality also plays a role.

Apart from the interaction between the future tense(s) and modality, the role of verbal aspect and epistemic functions will be discussed. An important point will, however, come from the comparison with another Slavic micro-language, Resian in north-eastern Italy, whose futures show some similarities but also important differences with respect to Molise Slavic, due to the differences in their traditional systems and despite a somewhat parallel Romance influence (Breu & Pila 2018). This part will be dealt with by referring to M. Pila's findings in her talk on Resian. Another case to be addressed briefly is the comparison with Molise Albanian, influenced by a contact situation similar to that of Molise Slavic but with different results (Breu 2018: 220–222), among other things, without a future of probability and with a strong tendency towards using the present tense for the expression of future states of affairs

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Futures in language contact: The case of Resian

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
ESA1 O 122

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Resian is a Slavic micro-language in north-eastern Italy. It has three modally differentiated simple futures and three futures in the past. One of the three Resian simple futures finds also in Slovene, its genetically nearest standard language. It is formed by means of the future of the auxiliary *bet* 'to be' + *l*-participle of the main verb and existed probably already at the time of immigration about 1000 years ago. The two other simple futures could be the result of language contact with local Italian and Friulian varieties. Due to problems with their models in the dominant languages, internal development is not completely excluded, at least for the construction with *tët* 'to want, will', existing also in some Slovene varieties (Ramovš 1935), which, however, in their turn could have been influenced by Italian or Croatian. For the third simple future, formed with the help of *mët* 'to have, must', both an internal development and a Church Slavonic tradition seem unlikely. As for their functions, the *tët* construction is a de-obligative future, while the *bet* future has a connotation of probability. The rather rare *mët* future expresses prediction ('should be, is expected'). Some hypotheses about the development of these connotations will be discussed.

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The three futures in the past developed under the influence of the Romance concord of tenses. They have been built in analogy to the simple futures, by using the imperfect of the three auxiliaries. There are also other futures in Resian, to be discussed shortly, all of them most probably going back to foreign models, too, e.g. a future perfect and an epistemic future.

As the contact situation of Molise Slavic in southern Italy is parallel to Resian, the formal and functional similarities and differences between these two micro-languages will be discussed in connection with W. Breu's talk on the futures in Molise Slavic.

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Doing without the progressive present: How present tense hypoanalyzed via pluractionality and modality

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 O 122

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In North (= West+East) Slavic languages, the present-tense stem of perfective (pfv.) verbs has, by default, acquired future meaning (= reference to episodic eventualities posterior to speech time), but it still widely occurs in contexts which can be dubbed 'inactual present', namely: (i) habitual, (ii) conditional, (iii) dispositional or circumstantial modal meanings. Most of these uses were discussed by Haspelmath (1998), who argued – on a variety of unrelated languages – that they represent residual functions of earlier present tenses. The ousting of present-tense forms from the domain of present is seen as a push-out effect caused by new forms able to denote ongoing eventualities (progressive presents). Croft (2000: 126–130) qualified such instances as hypoanalysis. Concomitantly, Haspelmath rejected alternative attempts at explaining the polysemy (or overlap) of habitual and future functions of pfv. presents which tried to connect them as instantiations of some more general "irrealis" meaning, which "is neither semantically coherent nor cross-linguistically consistent" (1998: 48).

However, Haspelmath's reasoning leaves empirical and conceptual problems particularly with respect to (North) Slavic. First, the move of pfv. present tense forms out of the present domain was probably itself a trigger for the spread of imperfective (ipfv.) stems (marked by suffixes) able to denote ongoing eventualities; this amounts to a pull-in effect with an inverse cause-effect relationship (Wiemer & Seržant 2017: 270¬272). Second, for newer ipfv. stems progressive meanings were probably acquired later than pluractional meanings. Third, habitual and conditional meanings show an intrinsic relation to dispositional-circumstantial readings, which often cannot be disentangled in discourse tokens, but which allow for extensions into epistemic readings (Sonnenhauser 2009). Fourth, these observations perfectly fit with observations made by Šluinskij (2005: 153–177) on a wider range of languages, so that Haspelmath's qualification cited above loses ground.

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We show how diachronic data from Slavic justify a developmental path from futurate presents into the future proper, which is alternative to the path proposed by Haspelmath (1998). Moreover, we demonstrate how pfv. present-tense forms create a coherent semantic network which encompasses the usage types under (i–iii) as well as epistemic and future meanings, but does without an intermediate link of the progressive present. Contemporary Polish will be used to illustrate how a corresponding semantic map works not only for diachronic data, but also for contemporary stages of Slavic languages.

References: Croft, W. (2000). Explaining Language Change: An Evolutionary Approach. Harlow: Longman. Haspelmath, M. (1998). The semantic development of old presents (New futures and subjunctives without grammaticalization). Diachronica 15(1), 29–62. Sonnenhauser, B. (2008). The ‚Potential Reading' in Russian. Russian Linguistics 32(3), 185–201. Šluinskij, A. B. (2005). Tipologija predikatnoj množestvennosti: količestvennye aspektual'nye značenija [Typology of pluractionality: quantificational aspectual meanings]. Moscow (unpubl. PHD thesis). Wiemer, B. & I. A. Seržant (2017). Diachrony and typology of Slavic aspect: What does morphology tell us? In: Bisang, W. & A. Malchukov (eds.): Unity and diversity in grammaticalization scenarios. Berlin: Language Science Press, 230–307.

The origin of German *werden* + infinitive future – an alternative scenario

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
ESA1 O 122

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Besides the use of futurate present, German has in the course of its history developed periphrastic future forms with auxiliaries based on modals (notably *sollen* 'have to/shall' and *wollen* 'want to') and on the inchoative/ingressive copula *werden* 'to become', the latter ousting modal-based futures since the 16th century starting from East Central and/or Upper German. While this diachronic development has been well-described (Bogner 1994 among others), the origin of the future periphrasis *werden* + infinitive is still under debate. This specifically concerns the question of how the infinitive came to be used with *werden*. Previous hypotheses include phonetic reduction (loss of final -d(e) of the present participle), syntactic analogy (based on *beginnen* 'to begin' + infinitive or on modal-based futures) and syntactic borrowing (calque of Slavic *budu*-future), for an overview see Westvik (2000), Harm (2001), and Fleischer & Schallert (2011). However, none of these hypotheses is fully uncontroversial so that the issue remains largely unresolved.

In this talk, an alternative scenario of the origin of *werden* + infinitive is explored that is based on reanalysis. It links the development crucially to specific syntactic (notably argument-structural), morpho-phonological and aspectual properties of the respective main verb forms that allowed for the relevant type of reanalysis. This alternative scenario thus makes specific predictions regarding the kind of verbs that occured in this construction first, which are discussed against the background of historical German corpus data. Furthermore, it is argued that the suggested link to aspectual marking of the main verb offers a potential explanation both of the timeline of the development as well as of its areal spread.

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Encoding Future in the Past in Old and Middle High German

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 O 122

This is a pilot corpus investigation studying the inventory and distribution of forms used to express future in the past (FiP) in Old and Middle High German (OHG, c. 800–1050, MHG, c. 1050–1350). In modern German, FiP is associated with the construction *würde* + infinitive, which is regarded ambiguous between an indicative tense form encoding FiP, and a subjunctive form encoding conditional and other modal meanings (see Thieroff 1992, among others). The diachronic investigation of the expression of FiP is confined to the grammaticalization of this construction from the late MHG period onwards (Smirnova 2006), while less attention was paid to the expression of FiP prior to the emergence of *werden* + infinitive. In some reference grammars, we find indications on this phenomenon, viz. Paul (2007: 291), who mentions a special function of the past subjunctive expressing preterital future ('präteritale Zukunft') in MHG. Crucially, none of the constructions used to encode future meanings during OHG and MHG, such as *soln/wellen* + infinitive, *beginnen* + infinitive or *werden* + present participle, are mentioned as being used in domains pertaining to FiP. To fill this gap, the present study investigates the inventory and distribution of forms occurring in prototypical FiP-contexts in OHG and MHG. The available electronic corpora of OHG and MHG were queried for complement clauses subcategorized by selected prototypical FiP-triggering matrix expressions used in the past, while the embedded clause encodes an event that is interpreted as posterior relative to the matrix event. The types of constructions found in the respective complements clauses are: i. the past subjunctive, ii. a modal verb (*wellen, sculan/soln*) + infinitive, and iii. the *to*-infinitive. A single occurrence of the construction *würde* + infinitive was found as well. This result shows that there is formal variation in the expression of FiP that is comparable to the one known for futures in Germanic in general. It also provides the basis for investigating the factors ruling this variation, incl. the raise and the consolidation of the modern German form. In the pilot sample, we witness the decline of the past subjunctive and the increase of modal-based substitutes. In addition, it can be shown that *wellen* + infinitive is the major form competing with the past subjunctive in expressing FiP before 1350.

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Finding a home for movement futures between modality and aspect

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–12:15
ESA1 O 122

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Movement futures are typically listed as a separate, major type of future constructions besides ones arising from modal sources or from aspectual ones (typically, "old presents"). For instance, *go*-futures are considered a type deserving its own analysis in the well-known study of Fleischman (1982) or in the work by Joan Bybee and her colleagues (e.g., Bybee & Pagliuca 1987, Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1991, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). In this talk, I argue that at least some movement futures can be classified with futures arising from either modal or aspectual sources, and that they need not form a category of their own.

In this talk, I present detailed analyses of two *go*-future constructions, one of them I argue should be classified with modal futures, and the other with aspectual futures. The former is the intensively studied future *be going to* in English, while the latter is the lesser studied synthetic future of Hindi/Urdu. It seems clear that constructions involving a lexeme *go* are particularly prone to grammaticalizing into futures. However, the crucial semantic components that form the stepping stones for the grammaticalization processes in these two cases are, on the one hand, a modal component, and an aspectual component, on the other hand. For this reason, a more economic and elegant analysis of the future domain assigns *go*-futures to either of those semantic realms, rather than setting up a third category.

This analysis lends support to the view that – in assessing grammaticalization pathways – it is essential to take the meaning of the constructional whole into account following, e.g., Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) and Eckardt (2006). Analyses that narrowly focus on the grammaticalizing morpheme ("gram") only fall short of yielding satisfactory insights into motivations for the pathways of change that are observable. Even though this constructional view has for some time been widely adopted by grammaticalization researchers, it survives in the tradition of considering *go*-futures a group of their own, simply because they all involve a gram of that meaning. I argue in this talk that not all *go*-futures are equal as they grammaticalize in semantically distinct constructional frames, which determine different pathways of change. In my analysis, I will build in particular on the detailed analysis of the grammaticalization of *be going to* as presented in Eckardt (2006), while offering a slightly modified analysis, as well as on historical evidence of the Hindi/Urdu future.

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The development of future *gaan* in Dutch

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
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Contemporary Standard Dutch offers several possibilities to express future meaning. Apart from the frequently used futural present, it has two periphrastic future constructions: *zullen* + infinitive, with a modal source, and *gaan* + infinitive, where the auxiliary verb has evolved from a movement verb. Together they constitute a complex system of functionally distinct futures. In present-day Dutch *zullen* + infinitive can have a merely temporal meaning, expressing the intention of the agens, but it can also have deontic and epistemic functions, whereas *gaan* + infinitive has a future meaning in combination with verbs expressing an action or a kind of change in the near future. Future *gaan* occurs more frequently in spoken than in written language and its emergence and spread seems to be a fairly recent development (Haeseryn 1997: 976–978).

In our contribution to the conference we want to empirically investigate when future *gaan* emerged and which mechanisms of language change can account for the development of *gaan* + infinitive into a new future marker next to the already existing *zullen* + infinitive. Which language-internal and/or language-external factors influenced this evolution? Was its emergence boosted by the influence of fully grammaticalized French *aller* + infinitive, since future *gaan* + infinitive has a stronger position in Flanders than in the Netherlands (De Rooij 1985)? Or did future *gaan* result from an on-going process of grammaticalization that was bound to paradigmatic constraints? More specifically, we want to explore whether our preliminary results can confirm or disprove the evolutionary stages of future *gaan* + infinitive proposed by Decroos (2000: 113): motional main verb *gaan* > spatial auxiliary verb *gaan* > inchoative auxiliary verb *gaan* > future auxiliary verb *gaan*.

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From time to source of information: the evolution of the Ibero-Romance future

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 O 122

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Though the future tenses in Ibero-Romance languages all develop from a common Latin source, the present-day languages show a larger array of uses, ranging from temporal and modal readings to evidential interpretations. However, not all Ibero-Romance varieties exhibit the same behaviour and each language shows strong preferences for some uses over others. Accord-ing to the literature, in Spanish and Portuguese the expression of conjecture and other modal readings is by far the most frequent use of the future tense (Sedano 2006; Escandell-Vidal 2014, for Spanish; Oliveira 1985; Cunha & Cintra 1992, for Portuguese), while temporal readings are hardly found (except perhaps in formal registers). Catalan, in contrast, seems to have specialised the future tense for temporal readings, to the extent that other non-temporal interpretations are disallowed (Badia i Margarit 1962; Wheeler et al. 1999). The data on which this picture is based come from either the scholars' own knowledge of the language or written/literary sources.

This situation raises two main issues:

- From a descriptive perspective, is the description accurate and valid for spoken language and more informal registers?
- From a theoretically oriented perspective, is there a common pattern of development for all Ibero-Romance languages? In other words, do they illustrate different stages of a single evolutionary path, or rather have they evolved independently?

To address these questions, we have carried out a quantitative analysis by comparing the picture obtained from the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* (1920–1950) to current oral and spontaneous dialectal speech of all the Ibero-Romance varieties, which has been taken from a series of dialect corpora that reflect the current state of European Portuguese, Peninsular Spanish, Galician and Catalan. Our results show that all Ibero-Romance varieties have undergone deep changes, since Portuguese, Galician and Spanish have specialised the future tense as a marker of conjecture, virtually ousting the temporal nuance, while Catalan prefers it for temporal references though it is developing conjectural readings as well.

Our results suggest that the directionality of change goes systematically from temporal to evidential interpretations, though at different paces in different languages, thus confirming the ideas put forward by Squartini (2001) and Escandell-Vidal (2014) about the emergence of evidentiality in Romance languages.

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Futures and Intentions

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Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 256) stated that 'the intention stage [is] essential to the understanding of the development of the prediction function' in future grams which derive diachronically from morphemes expressing desire and willingness. Heine (1995: 125) widened this claim to all future grams.

There are good reasons to doubt this. Linguistic issues include these: Firstly, Bybee et al. only give one example of a language where 'intention' is a possible sense of the future marker: Nimburan (Papuan, Indonesia) (1994: 254). Even for this language they include the term as part of a list that also includes 'desire, present inceptive, and polite imperative', which is hardly definitive; and descriptions of Nimburan such as Anceaux (1965) do not analyse its future forms in this way. Secondly, there is no other instance in the literature, to my knowledge, where an expression meaning 'X intends to V' is presented as a clear source for a future gram. If Heine was correct, we would expect many. Thirdly, there is no reason to accept the common assumption in the literature that intending is a modal notion. Fourthly, Wekker (1976) found very few first person instances of English *will* in his corpus which express intention – again, not what we would expect if intention was a crucial stage in the history of future grams.

Some of the issues are conceptual: Firstly, volition ('wanting' to do something) and desire are not the same as 'intending' to do something. Advocates of the 'intention stage' need to explain how one develops into the other. Secondly, there is a large literature in the Philosophy of Action about intention, showing that it is a complex and controversial notion with several different subtypes, only some of them future-oriented (cf. Setiya 2018 for a good summary).

In this paper I revisit the history of English *will* and German *werden*, and argue that the notion of intention has no role to play in either case.

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An unusual grammaticalization path of future tenses in Vedic Sanskrit and some modern Hindu Kush languages

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11:45–12:15
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Vedic Sanskrit (more specifically the language of late Vedic prose texts) has developed a future tense from a periphrastic construction consisting of an agent noun in *-tár-* and an inflected form of the copula (cf. Tichy 1992, Lowe 2017). This construction exhibits grammaticalization effects in showing verbal agreement and a wider range of possible lexical inputs than the agent noun by itself (cf. Tichy 1992: 335–336).

A development of future tense from agent nouns has so far not been taken into account in typological studies on source constructions of future tenses. It is, for example, entirely absent from the possible „pathways to future" presented by Bybee et al. (1994: 251–254), though attention was drawn to the Vedic construction in a recent workshop presentation by Keydana (2018).

In an independent grammaticalization process, some languages of the Nuristani group of Indo-Iranian (spoken in the Hindu Kush mountains of Eastern Afghanistan and Pakistan) have also developed future tenses from an agent noun in *-ala* (m.) / *-ali* (f.) (cf. Degener 1998: 63; Tāza 2017: 37, 44; Grjunberg 1980: 210, 234–235; Morgenstierne 1929: 214, 217). On the grounds of historical phonology, this formation was likely borrowed from neighboring Indo-Aryan (Dardic) languages and in turn probably derived from an extension of the same Old Indo-Aryan agent noun in *-tár-* (viz. *-tr-aka-*) that was grammaticalized in Vedic.

<Agent noun + copula> thus is a recurring pattern of future grammaticalization and should be taken into account in a general theory of grammaticalization of future tenses.

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Tracing the history of the Gã future morphemes: Tense, modality, and the principle of layering

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This paper explores the origin and functions of the Gã (Niger-Congo, Kwa) future prefixes *bàá-* and *àá-*. *bàá-* is the most pervasive marker of future time synchronically (1). It has marginal epistemic modal and habitual aspectual functions. *àá-* is the archaic future morpheme currently restricted to subordinate constructions, where it indexes epistemic modality. It may also be used in main clauses in very formal registers.

1) è=bàá-!mɛ̋
   3SG=FUT-wait
   "She will wait." (Campbell 2017: 215)

2)

nĩ̀	è=kɛ̀ɛ́	gbèé=!ɛ́	á!kɛ́	gbèé=!ɛ́	á-!fɛ́ɛ́	díóó	á!kɛ́
and	3SG=tell	dog=DEF	NMLZ	dog=DEF	SBJV-do	quiet	NMLZ
àléénɔ̃̀	kɔ̀kɔ̀dé!né=è	àá-!hĩ̀		jɛ̋mɛ̃̋	ló		
perhaps	frog=DEF	FUT-be.located		there	QP		

"And he told the dog that the dog should be quiet, that perhaps the frog would be there."

bàá- is hypothesized to have grammaticalized from the verb, *ba* 'come' (Rask 1828, Hansen 1853, Zimmerman 1858, Dakubu 2008), an uncontroversial position, except for the need to account for the addition of phonetic material rather than the reduction expected of the grammaticalization process. One hypothesis put forward by Dakubu (2008) is that *bàá-* is a result of the fusion of the ventive auxiliary *ba* and the older future marker, *àá-*. A similar trajectory is suggested for the prospective future prefix, *yàá-*, said to be a fusion of *ya* 'go' and *àá-*. This suggests that *àá-* preceded *bàá-* diachronically. However, I will show that (variants of) the two forms have co-existed for as long as the oldest records show and that they shared the future temporal function for centuries until *àá-* was recently specialized for subordinate and epistemic modal uses. A third related form, *á-* is the present-day subjunctive – marking weak obligation in main clauses and occurring in some complement constructions and on V2 verbs in serial verb constructions whose V1 is marked for future. Its semantic and formal relation to the future forms is apparent but its historical developmental path is less certain. This work attempts a historical analysis of future markers in a lesser-known language and in so-doing contributes to the literatures on typological variation and grammaticalization.

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Polarity as a factor in the evolution of future tense constructions

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12:45–13:15
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This study explores the cross-linguistic interaction between future and modality with respect to polarity differences. That is, affirmative future constructions may be fundamentally different from negative future constructions. This can be clearly observed in languages of the Northwestern South-Central ("Kuki-Chin") subbranch of Trans-Himalayan. While negative future is expressed through a minimally varying, easily reconstructable negator+copula construction, when it comes to expressing affirmative future we find five different constructions. A particularly common construction is one that can be reconstructed to reported speech, a grammaticalization pathway also attested in Central Eastern Bantu (Botne 1998) and Benue Congo (Aaron 1996). Among Trans-Himalayan, this grammaticalization path has apparently not been previously attested. In addition to the reported speech source, other future constructions include a recurrent immediate future constructions involving the element *ra(ŋ)*; constructions based on a marker *ŋai* or a marker *si(k)*; as well an apparent analogue to the negative future construction, which similarly also includes a copula as well as an element bo, which takes the slot of the negator. What is of further interest is the distribution of the five affirmative constructions across the Northwestern South-Central subgroup. On the one hand, several languages show person splits, such that the construction depends on the person of the subject. For example, in Saihriem, 1st and 3rd person occur in the construction that originates in reported speech, while 2nd person occurs in the *ŋai* construction (Haokip 2018). On the other hand, languages typically have different affirmative future constructions at their disposal to express degrees of (un)certainty. In Ranglong, for example, the immediate future constructions with *ra(ŋ)* expresses the highest degree of certainty that the future event will take place, while the construction originating in reported speech indicates less certainty, and the *bo* + copula construction indicates the least certainty (Haokip 2018).

References: Aaron, Uche E. (1996). Grammaticization of the Verb 'say' to Future Tense in Obolo. Journal of West African Languages 26(2), 87–93. Botne, Robert (1998). The Evolution of Future Tenses from Serial 'Say' Constructions in Central Eastern Bantu. Diachronica 15(2), 207–230. Haokip, Pauthang. (2018). Agreement in Kuki-Chin Languages of Barak Valley. Journal of South Asian Languages and Linguistics 5.

Future Tenses in Xhosa

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Freitag,
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ESA1 O 122

Xhosa has two Future tenses which are marked by infixing *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-* between the Subject Marker and the Verb root. The fact that the two markers have a ventive and itive origin is evident; The infixed markers consist of *-za* (‚come') or *-ya* (‚go') in combination with the Infinitive prefix *ku-*. In the traditional literature (Bennie 1939, McLaren 1936, etc.) the semantic difference *between* the two tenses is defined as one of remoteness: *-za ku-* being the Immediate, and *-ya ku-* being the Remote Future tense. However, a more recent, influential account by Botne & Kershner (2000) argues that *-za ku-* is part of the here-and-now reality (P-domain), whereas *-ya ku-* marks that the event is dissociated from the present reality (D-domain). The present study uses corpora to analyse and review the exact semantics of the two tenses.

The Future forms have been collected from corpora. Each selected form was replaced by its *-za ku-* or *-ya ku-* counterpart, and native speakers of Xhosa were asked to assess whether and how the meaning changed in the form's original context. The results show that a majority of the analysed Remote Future forms denote readings with gnomic (and/or habitual) readings in which no specific entities and no specific event is being referred to, e.g. in (1). Replacement of *-ya ku-* with *-za ku* renders the meaning of (1) as referring to a concrete future event. The other attested meaning differences concern the possibility of the (concrete) event to actualise itself at present. No ventive or itive readings have been attested in the sample.

The study confirms and further defines Botne & Kershner's (2000) view: the two markers have developed a modal meaning that regards conditionality. At the same time, it shows that their originally ventive and itive readings have been lost.

(1)	U-gqirha	wa-kho	**u-ya=ku-bhal-a**	i-ngxelo
	AUG-1a.doctor	POSS.1-2SG	SM.1-REMFUT-write-FV	AUG-9.report
	ye-zonyango	ng-oko	ku-khubazek-a.	
	POSS.9-9.treatment	INSTR-DEM.15.PROX	15-be=disabled-FV	
	Your doctor **will write** a medical report about your disability.			

References: Bennie, W.G. (1953). A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking. Lovedale: Lovedale Press. Botne, R. & T.L. Kershner (2000). Time, Tense, and the Perfect in Zulu. Afrika und Übersee 83, 161–181. McLaren, J. (1936). A Xhosa Grammar. London: Longmans.

Future time reference in South American indigenous languages

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ESA1 O 122

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The aim of this typological study is to infer interrelationships of certain TAME categories in a broad sample of South American indigenous languages (SAILS). The difficulty of teasing TAME categories apart has often resulted in studies that do not attempt to separate the categories but treat them as subsystems operating on several levels of meaning and grammar (e.g. Dahl 1985 for tense and aspect, Bybee & Fleischman 1995 for modality). This study approaches the topic of the workshop under the same assumption and specifically addresses the question of interaction patterns attested in natural languages from a bottom-up approach.

The sample presents a broad geographical and genealogical diversity of South American indigenous languages. It includes 80+ languages from 27 families and 13 unclassified ones/isolates on the South American continent (see map), including the SAILS TAME sample (Müller 2016). These languages are analyzed according to 35 overtly coded morpho-syntactic TAME features (for details see Mueller 2013) in the verbal domain, allowing for cross comparison non-related languages. The sample includes references to homonyms, e.g. features that are expressed by one form that probably developed additional meanings according to, possibly universal, grammaticalization paths (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994).

The sample has already pointed to the development of DESIDERATIVE in certain SAILS (Mueller 2014). The SAILS in the sample show a wide variety of futures with aspectual, modal and evidential readings, e.g. Embera has different suffixes for FUTURE POSSIBILITY and FUTURE CERTAINTY, the Cubeo REMOTE FUTURE marker also encodes DUBITATIVE, and Tiriyo distinguishes between FUTURE IMPERFECTIVE and FUTURE PERFECTIVE. Based on the markendness/non-markedness of TAME in this sample, qualitative (with regard to interrelationship of TAME within one language) as well as quantitative (with regard to distribution patterns of TAME marking in all languages) research questions are addressed in this talk.

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Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie: Interdependenzen von System, Erwerb und Gebrauch

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Workshop description

An der Schnittstelle zwischen Mehrsprachigkeits- und Orthographieforschung sind aktuell noch viele Fragen offen. So ist beispielsweise wenig geklärt, wie Orthographieerwerb unter mehrsprachigen (im Vergleich zu monolingualen) Bedingungen verläuft, ob etwa sprachspezifische Interferenzen feststellbar sind und wie sich diese im weiteren Erwerbsprozess auswirken; es ist aber auch denkbar, dass die L1 keine Rolle für den Erwerb einer zweiten Orthographie spielt, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass sie als autonomes System regelhaft lernbar ist. Allerdings haben frühere Studien wiederholt gezeigt, dass Kinder Ressourcen aus der zuerst gelernten Schriftsprache kreativ in der L2 einsetzen (vgl. Maas & Mehlem 2003; Noack & Weth 2012).

Gleichzeitig stellt sich die Frage, wo und wie genau mehrsprachiger Orthographieerwerb mit anderen Ebenen sprachlicher Diversität interagiert, etwa mit Interferenzen im Lexikon, der Phonologie oder der Syntax, aber auch im Sinne einer durch den sozioökonomischen Status bedingten Diversität der Schriftspracherwerbschancen (vgl. Peterson 2015: 78–89).

In der AG werden zu diesen und weiteren Fragen bestehende Theorie-, Methoden- und Ressourcendesiderate diskutiert. Sie richtet sich dabei ausdrücklich an VertreterInnen unterschiedlicher Disziplinen wie u. a. Spracherwerbsforschung, Schriftlinguistik und Bildungsforschung.

References: Maas, U. & U. Mehlem (2003). Schriftkulturelle Ressourcen und Barrieren bei marokkanischen Kindern in Deutschland. Osnabrück: IMIS Universität Osnabrück. Noack, C. & C. Weth (2012). Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb in mehreren Sprachen – Ein Forschungsüberblick. In W. Grießhaber & Z. Kalkavan (eds.), Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern,.Freiburg: Filibach, 15–34. Peterson, J. (2015). Sprache und Migration. Heidelberg: Winter.

Was wird transferiert? Über die Komplexität des Einflusses von Mehrsprachigkeit auf den Schrifterwerb

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 HG HS C

Constanze Weth (Invited speaker)
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Zwar ist gesichert, dass Mehrsprachigkeit einen Einfluss auf den Schrifterwerb hat. Worin dieser Einfluss jedoch besteht, ist umstritten. In Schriftproduktionen ist dieser Einfluss beobachtbar, wenn sie orthographisch nicht normgerecht vorliegen. Die abweichenden Grapheme sind dann in Bezug auf die sprachlichen und schriftsprachlichen Ressourcen der Lernenden interpretierbar, wie bspw. „Sprossvokale" (Bredel 2012) oder Wortgrenzen (Schroeder & Şimşek 2010). In der Rezeption ist der Einfluss von Mehrsprachigkeit in Studien zur Worterkennung (Deacon et al. 2013) sowie zur Aussprache nachgewiesen (Nimz & Khattab 2019).

Der Einfluss von Mehrsprachigkeit wird als Transfer von einem Sprach- und/oder Schriftsystem gesehen und ist auf Wortebene und unterhalb der Wortebene beobachtbar (Commissaire et al. 2011). Einige Arbeiten mahnen allerdings zur Vorsicht vor einer zu schnellen Interpretation von Transfer. Sie zeigen, dass auch Texte von monolingualen Lernenden orthographisch nicht konforme Schreibungen aufweisen, die in Texten von mehrsprachigen Lernenden als „Transfer" interpretiert wurden (Bahr et al. 2015). Darüber hinaus zeigt sich Transfer nicht unbedingt in Graphemen, die in Bezug auf die Kontaktsprache offensichtlich erscheinen (Weth & Wollschläger 2019).

Der Vortrag stellt aktuelle Positionen aus der internationalen Forschung zu mehrsprachigem Schrifterwerb vor und zeigt Unterschiede auf, die sich ergeben, wenn der Blick nicht nur auf die Erst- und Zweitsprache gelegt wird, sondern ebenfalls auf die zuerst oder anschließend erworbene Schriftsprache.

AG 8

References: Bahr, R. H., Silliman, E. R., Danzak, R. L. & L. C. Wilkinson (2015). Bilingual spelling patterns in middle school: it is more than transfer. International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 18(1), 73–91. Bredel, U. (2012). Über Analphabetismus. Schriftenreihe Fachdidaktische Forschung 7, 2–19. Commissaire, E., Duncan, L. G. & S. Casalis (2014). Grapheme coding in L2: How do L2 learners process new graphemes? Journal of Cognitive Psychology 26(7), 725–739. Deacon, S. H., Commissaire, E., Chen, X. & A. Pasquarella (2013). Learning about print: the development of orthographic processing and its relationship to word reading in first grade children in French immersion. Reading and Writing 26(7), 1087–1109. Nimz, K., & G. Khattab (2019). On the role of orthography in L2 vowel production: The case of Polish learners of German. Second Language Research, 1–30. Schroeder, C. & Y. Şimşek (2010). Die Entwicklung der Kategorie Wort im Türkisch-Deutsch bilingualen Schrifterwerb in Deutschland. IMIS Beiträge 37, 55–79. Weth, C. & R. Wollschläger 2019, accepted. Spelling patterns of German 4th graders in French vowels: insights into spelling solutions within and across two alphabetic writing systems. Writing Systems Research.

Vergleichende Graphematik als Ressource für den mehrsprachigen Schrifterwerb

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS C

Nanna Fuhrhop
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Jedes Schriftsystem hat seine Spezialitäten, die häufig erst im Schriftsystemvergleich deutlich werden. Dass die satzinterne Großschreibung eine Spezialität des Deutschen ist, muss nicht extra betont werden, aber die Details der Doppelkonsonantenschreibung sind verzwickter: So korrespondieren sie sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Englischen und Niederländischen mit einem ambisyllabischen Konsonanten (dt. *küssen*, ndl. *kussen*, engl. *kissing*), aber die Übertragung auf den verwandten Einsilber unterscheidet sich: im Deutschen wird immer übertragen (*küsst*), im Niederländischen gar nicht (*kus*), im Englischen manchmal (*to kiss*) und manchmal nicht (*to run*). Die Doppelkonsonantenschreibung kann aber auch gänzlich anders ‚genutzt' werden; so zeigt sie im Französischen die Betonung der Silbe und scheint hier die gleiche Funktion wie der Accent grave zu haben (*j'appelle – j'achète*).

Auch etwas so vermeintlich Eindeutiges wie die Eigennamengroßschreibung unterscheidet sich in den (Standard-)Verschriftungen, so wird im Ndl. die Krankheit alzheimer kleingeschrieben, in den meisten anderen Sprachen hingegen groß. Im Englischen werden die Wochentage als Eigennamen großgeschrieben, in vielen anderen Sprachen werden sie nicht als Eigennamen klassifiziert.

In dem Vortrag wird anhand ausgewählter Beispiele programmatisch eine vergleichende Graphematik entwickelt und es wird überlegt, wie sie in der Schule genutzt werden könnte (im Sinne des ‚Mehrsprachigen Klassenzimmers').

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Zum Einfluss des Sprachwissens auf die Orthographiekompetenz in mehrsprachigen Kontexten

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15.15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS C

Katharina Turgay
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Dass sich die Grammatik der deutschen Sprache auch auf ihre Rechtschreibung auswirkt (vgl. z.B. Bredel 2014; Küttel 2006), zeigt beispielsweise das grammatische Prinzip, das aufgrund der Wortartzugehörigkeit die Großschreibung von Substantiven beeinflusst (vgl. Hübl & Steinbach 2011). Der Einfluss von explizit linguistischem Wissen auf das Orthographieverständnis ist längst bekannt (Menzel 1978), es wird von „grammatischen Rechtschreibkenntnissen" gesprochen (Küttel 2006), in einigen rechtschreibdidaktischen Ansätzen wird für eine Berücksichtigung der Grammatik plädiert. Dabei handelt es sich aber um didaktische Vorschläge für Schüler*innen mit deutscher L1, die folglich über ein implizites Grammatikwissen verfügen. In meinem Vortrag möchte ich jedoch der Frage nachgehen, wie es um die Rechtschreibkenntnisse von Schüler*innen mit deutscher L2 steht. Sie können bei der deutschen Rechtschreibung zwar nicht auf das implizite Grammatikwissen ihrer L1 zurückgreifen, jedoch werden im expliziten Grammatikunterricht in der Schule linguistische Kenntnisse vermittelt, die Einfluss auf die Rechtschreibkenntnisse nehmen. So attestierte bereits die DESI-Studie, dass „für das Rechtschreiben nicht mehr von einem Leistungsrückstand der Jugendlichen mit nicht-deutscher Erstsprache gesprochen werden [kann]; die mehrsprachig aufgewachsenen sind sogar für orthographische Phänomene besonders sensibilisiert" (Klieme 2006). Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass sich linguistische Kenntnisse auf die Orthographiekenntnisse auswirken, möchte ich in meinem Vortrag eine empirische Untersuchung vorstellen, in der ich Texte von Schüler*innen mit nicht-deutscher und deutscher L1 hinsichtlich der Substantivgroßschreibung miteinander vergleiche. Die Substantivgroßschreibung ist ein Phänomen, das dem Deutschen vorbehalten ist. Aus diesem Grund verfügen beide Probandengruppen zwar über unterschiedliches implizites Grammatikwissen, erhielten jedoch dasselbe explizite Wissen, was sie für die Substantivgroßschreibung nutzen können. Ich nehme an, dass L2-Schüler*innen der Primarstufe, die bisher keinen expliziten Grammatikunterricht erhielten, mehr Schwierigkeiten bei der Substantivgroßschreibung aufweisen als ihre Mitschüler*innen mit impliziten Kenntnissen der deutschen L1. L2-Schüler*innen der Sekundarstufe hingegen können auf das explizite Grammatikwissen des mehrjährigen Grammatikunterrichts zurückgreifen und sollten somit aufgrund derselben Voraussetzungen wie ihre L1-Mitschüler*innen keine Unterschiede bei der Großschreibung aufweisen.

References: Bredel, U. (2014). Sprachreflexion und Orthographie. Gornik, H. (Hg.). Sprachreflexion und Grammatikunterricht. Schneider Hohengehren, 266–281. Hübl, A. & M. Steinbach (2011). Wie viel Syntax steckt in der satzinternen Großschreibung. Linguistische Berichte 227, 254–295. Klieme, E. (2006). Zusammenfassung zentraler Ergebnisse der DESI-Studie. Küttel, H. (2006). Entwicklung der grammatischen Rechtschreibkenntnisse. Bredel, U. et al. (Hgg.). Didaktik der deutschen Sprache. Schöningh, 380–391. Menzel, W. (1978). Zur Didaktik der Orthographie. Praxis Deutsch 69, 14–24.

The role of spelling in (assessing) multilingual students' writing skills: Insights from a pilot study with German-Russian and German-Turkish adolescents

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 HG HS C

Irina Usanova[1], Christoph Gabriel[2], Ingrid Gogolin[1], Thorsten Klinger[1], Anja Müller[2] & Birger Schnoor[1]
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According to existing writing models, both spelling competencies and handwriting represent fundamental skills within the process of transcription (Puranik et al. 2012). Researchers have further revealed that the automaticity of transcription skills fosters the development of text generation (Alamargot & Fayol 2009) and that both transcription and text generation need to be considered while investigating students' writing skills (Arfé et al. 2016). However, recent studies have considered the relationship between transcription and text generation only in monolingual students. In multilinguals, due to the heterogeneity of writing skills in different languages and the potentially available multiple linguistic resources, the relationship between spelling and text generation may deviate from those found in monolinguals.

Our study aims to explore the relationship between students' spelling skills and their ability to compose texts in multiple languages: (1) the surrounding language German, (2) the heritage languages Russian or Turkish, and (3) the foreign languages learned at school, English and French. We analyze data collected within the scope of the BMBF-funded panel study "Multilingual Development: A Longitudinal Perspective (MEZ)." MEZ is a longitudinal cohort-sequence study with two starting cohorts (7th- and 9th-grade students) and with four waves. The panel comprises more than 2000 participants and encompasses, in addition to German monolingual subjects, students who speak Russian or Turkish as heritage languages along with German. We selected the written production data in German, Russian, Turkish, English, and French of the second wave of data collection to analyze students' spellings skills (n=150). In a first step, we aim to develop a score for the assessment of the participants' spelling skills in different languages. In doing so, we will classify spelling errors to track different patterns within and between the different languages of our sample. In a second step, we aim to analyze the relationship between spelling and other indicators of text quality applied in the MEZ project. Finally, we will make a record of all spelling errors that mirror the interrelation of specific spelling and pronunciation skills. Our results will provide the first insights into the complex relationship between spelling, text generation, and pronunciation skills in multilingual students.

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Englische und deutsche Rechtschreibfähigkeiten von deutschen und türkischen Grundschulkindern in zwei Fremdsprachenprogrammen

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 17:00–17:30 ESA1 HG HS C

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Nur eine relativ kleine Zahl an Studien hat in Deutschland bisher die schriftsprachliche Entwicklung in Grundschulklassen mit verschiedenen Fremdsprachenprogrammen verglichen, in denen Englisch entweder als Fach unterrichtet (oft mit ein bis zwei Stunden pro Woche ab Klasse 1 oder 3) bzw. als Unterrichtssprache für Fächer wie Mathematik und/oder Sachkunde als bilinguales Programm angeboten wird (z.B. Steinlen & Piske 2018). In unserem Beitrag präsentieren wir die Daten von 40 türkischen und 40 deutschen Kindern, die entweder ein bilinguales Programm oder ein reguläres Fremdsprachenprogramm einer Grundschule besucht haben. Als Testinstrument wurde der *Primary School Assessment Kit* (Little, Simpson & Čatibusič 2003) verwendet, der u.a. die englische Schreibfertigkeit evaluiert. Zum einen zeigt dieser Beitrag auf, welches Niveau Schüler*innen am Ende ihrer Grundschulzeit (d.h. am Ende der 4. Klasse) in diesem Bereich erreichen können. Zum anderen werden die deutschen und türkischen Kinder in den beiden Programmen in Bezug auf ihre Rechtschreibfehler verglichen. Hier liegt der Schwerpunkt auf der Frage, ob die Herkunftssprache (als Erstsprache, z.B. Hermas 2010) oder die deutsche Sprache (als Zweitsprache, z.B. Bardel & Falk 2012) die Quelle für Interferenzfehler darstellt. Die Ergebnisse unserer Studie zeigen, dass sich weder die Qualität noch die Quantität der Rechtschreibfehler bei ein- und mehrsprachigen Schüler*innen voneinander unterscheiden. Der Vortrag schließt mit einer Diskussion der Ergebnisse im Lichte des kognitiven und sozio-ökonomischen Hintergrunds der Gruppen sowie Transfermodellen aus dem L3-Erwerbsbereich.

AG 8

References: Bardel C. & Y. Falk (2012). Behind the L2 status factor: A neurolinguistic framework for L3 research. In J. Cabrelli Amaro, S. Flynn & J. Rothman (ed.) Third language acquisition in adulthood. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 61–78. Hermas, A. (2010). Language acquisition as computational resetting: Verb movement in L3 initial state. International Journal of Multilingualism, 7(4), 343–362. Little, D., Simpson, B.L. & Čatibusič, B.F. (2003). PSAK: Primary School Assessment Kit. Dublin: Integrate Ireland Language and Training (IILT). Steinlen, A. K. & T. Piske (2018). Deutsch- und Englischleistungen von Kindern mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund im bilingualen Unterricht und im Fremdsprachenunterricht: Ein Vergleich. In Ballis, A. & N. Hodaie (ed.). Perspektiven auf Mehrsprachigkeit – Individuum, Bildung, Gesellschaft. Mouton De Gruyter, 85–98.

Zum Einfluss der Erstsprache auf die orthografischen Teilkompetenzen. Orthografieerwerb deutsch-, türkisch- und russischsprachiger Schülerinnen und Schüler im Vergleich

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 17:30–18:00 ESA1 HG HS C

Hans-Georg Müller, Christoph Schroeder
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Die Auswirkungen der Erstsprache auf den Zweitspracherwerb sind nach wie vor ein kontrovers diskutiertes und empirisch noch unzureichend fundiertes Sachgebiet. Ziel unseres Beitrages ist es, empirische Ergebnisse einer Studie zum Orthografieerwerb ein- und mehrsprachig aufgewachsener Schülerinnen und Schüler vorzustellen. Besonderes Augenmerk gilt dabei der Frage, inwieweit sich phonologische Eigenschaften der Erstsprache auf die orthografischen Kompetenzen der Versuchspersonen auswirken. Zu diesem Zweck wird ein Korpus mit den Kompetenzdaten von ca. 800 Probanden mit den Erstsprachen Deutsch, Türkisch und Russisch verglichen. Dabei zeigt sich ein hochsignifikanter Einfluss der Erstsprache auf die Fähigkeiten zur normgerechten Markierung gespannter und ungespannter Vokale (Doppelkonsonanten- und Doppelvokalschreibung, Dehnungs-h etc.), die insofern den Erwartungen entspricht, als weder das Türkische noch das Russische systematisch Unterschiede in der Vokalqualität zur Bedeutungsunterscheidung nutzen. In anderen orthografischen Teilbereichen ist ein Zusammenhang mit der Erstsprache nicht oder nicht in derselben Höhe messbar.

Der Beitrag stellt zunächst die phonologischen Eigenschaften der untersuchten Sprachen vor. Anschließend werden das Korpus, die Skalierungsmethode und das verwendete statistische Modell kurz vorgestellt, bevor die Auswirkungen der Erstsprache auf die vier untersuchten orthografischen Teilkompetenzen „Laut-Buchstaben-Zuordnung“ (mit bzw. ohne Notwendigkeit zur Berücksichtigung der Vokalqualität), „Groß- und Kleinschreibung“ sowie „Getrennt- und Zusammenschreibung“ analysiert, verglichen und in Bezug auf ihre Unterschiede interpretiert werden. Dabei wird deutlich, dass sich die Daten am besten unter Annahme einer Überlagerung mehrerer Einflussfaktoren erklären lassen, unter welchen die Eigenschaften der Erstsprache eine maßgebliche, wenngleich nicht die einzige Bedeutung haben.

AG 8

References: Bahr, R. H., E. R. Silliman, R. L. Danzak & L. C. Wilkinson (2015). Bilingual spelling patterns in middle school: it is more than transfer. International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 18(1), 73–91. Becker, T. (2011). Schriftspracherwerb in der Zweitsprache. Eine qualitative Längsschnittstudie. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Hohengehren. Højen, A. & J. E. Flege (2006). Early learners‘ discrimination of second-language vowels. The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America 119(5), 3072–3084. Kerschhofer-Puhalo, N. (2014). Similarity, cross-linguistic influence and preferences in non-native vowel perception. An experimental cross-language comparison of German vowel identification by non-native listeners. Dissertation, Universität Wien. Nimz, K. (2015). The Perception of vowel quality and quantity by Turkish learners of German as a Foreign Language. In E. Raimy & C. Cairns (ed.). The Segment in Phonetics and Phonology. Hoboken: John Wiley, 253–266.

Der Erwerb der graphischen Kennzeichnung der Vokallaute bei mehrsprachigen Kindern: Verschriftungsstrategien statt phonologischer Interferenz?

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 HG HS C

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Das Deutsche verfügt über 15 Vokalphoneme, die in betonbaren Silben auftreten können. Diese treten phonologisch in Paaren von gespanntem und ungespanntem Vokal auf (Hall 2011, Eisenberg 1998). Im Grapheminventar steht pro Vokalpaar nur ein Graphem zur Verfügung (mit Ausnahme von <i> und <ie>). Durch Gestaltung der Schreibsilbe wird markiert, ob das Vokalgraphem die gespannte (offene Schreibsilbe wie in <Hü.te>) oder ungespannte Variante repräsentiert (geschlossene Schreibsilbe wie in <Hüf.te> und <Hüt.te>). Im Vortrag werden die Ergebnisse eines Forschungsprojektes vorgestellt, in dem der weiterhin virulenten Frage der Rolle der Unterscheidungsfähigkeit hinsichtlich der Vokalgespanntheit beim Erwerb der graphischen Kennzeichnung der Vokale nachgegangen wird.

Dazu wurde eine phonetische Perzeptionsstudie zur Diskrimination hinsichtlich der Vokalgespanntheit im Deutschen bei deutsch-einsprachigen und deutsch-russisch- sowie deutsch-türkisch-zweisprachigen ErstklässlerInnen durchgeführt (n = 75, Alter 6–7). Bei wenigen Vokalkontrasten konnten signifikante, aber geringe Gruppenunterschiede beobachtet werden. Daher können die Ergebnisse etwaige Schwierigkeiten von mehrsprachigen Kindern beim Erwerb der graphischen Kennzeichnung der Vokallaute nicht erklären.

In einer Longitudinalstudie mit ein- und zweisprachigen Kindern (n = 12) wurden frühe Schrifterwerbsprozesse in einem vorrangig qualitativen Forschungsdesign mit unterschiedlichen Datensets aus den ersten zwei Schuljahren untersucht (auditive Diskrimination der Vokalgespanntheit, audio- und videographierte Interaktionen zu phonologischen und graphischen Formen, Schriftproben). Darin zeigt sich, dass die graphische Kennzeichnung der Vokallaute weniger von der auditiven Diskriminationsleistung als vielmehr davon, woran sich die Kinder beim Schreiben orientieren: So kennzeichnen Kinder, die beim Schreiben eine genaue phonetische Analyse vornehmen, die Vokalgespanntheit allein durch die Wahl des (teilweise inadäquaten) Vokalgraphems. Dagegen nutzen Kinder, die beim Schreiben graphische Formen vergleichen, früher adäquate Vokalgrapheme und die Doppelkonsonantenschreibung.

In der Studie zeigt sich kein Zusammenhang zwischen dem sprachlichen Hintergrund und den Verschriftungsstrategien. Daraus wird geschlossen, dass Mehrsprachigkeit weniger Einfluss auf den Schrifterwerb hat als das individuelle Vorgehen beim Schreiben.

References: Eisenberg, P. (1998). Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler. Hall, T. A. (2011). Phonologie: Eine Einführung. 2., überarb. Aufl. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Interpunktion im bilingualen Schriftspracherwerb deutsch-italienisch – eine Analyse narrativer Schülertexte der Sekundarstufe I

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30-10:00
ESA1 HG HS C

Interpunktionserwerb ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Schriftspracherwerbs und setzt den Zugang zur literaten Kategorie „Satz“ voraus (vgl. Maas 2010: 39), die als Texteinheit durch Interpunktionszeichen entsprechend einzelsprachlich geltender Normen gekennzeichnet wird. Der Fähigkeit, Interpunktionszeichen entsprechend kodifizierter Normen nutzen zu können, geht die Fähigkeit voraus, Interpunktion als graphisches Mittel zur Textgliederung zu verstehen und zu nutzen. In der Orthographieforschung ist jedoch bisher nur wenig darüber bekannt, wie sich diese Fähigkeit im mehrsprachigem Kontext entwickelt und welche Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeit innerhalb des bilingualen Schriftspracherwerbs zwischen den beiden erworbenen Sprachen bestehen. Zum bilingualen Schriftspracherwerb liegen insgesamt bisher nur wenige Studien vor – eine Ausnahme stellt die Studie von Maas & Mehlem (2003) mit marokkanischen Kindern und Hocharabisch als Kontrastsprache dar. Sie gehen unter anderem dem Erwerb der literaten Fähigkeit der Nutzung von Interpunktionszeichen nach und stellen teilweise eine Übertragung der Zeichensetzung ausgehend von der Zweitsprache Deutsch auf die Herkunftssprache Hocharabisch fest. Die Interpunktionssysteme des Deutschen und des Hocharabischen unterscheiden sich jedoch sehr stark. Der geplante Vortrag vergleicht in einer explorativen Pilotstudie die Zeichensetzungsfähigkeit von Schülerinnen und Schülern im Deutschen und Italienischen, deren Interpunktionssysteme sich relativ ähnlich sind und nur wenige Unterschiede im Bereich der satzinternen Gliederung aufweisen.

Anhand eines Korpus narrativer Texte von Schülerinnen und Schüler einer bilingualen deutsch-italienischen Schule werden im Rahmen des Vortrags die Interpunktionsfähigkeit der Schüler im Deutschen und im Italienischen ausgewertet. Das Korpus besteht aus je einem deutschen und je einem italienischen Text von 26 Schülerinnen und Schülern einer 5. Klasse. Anhand der Auswertung der verwendeten Interpunktionszeichen soll einerseits der Frage nachgegangen werden, welche grundsätzlichen Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten der Fähigkeit zur interpunktorischen Textgliederung, insbesondere der Satzsegmentierung, sich in beiden Sprachen nachweisen lassen – und ob wechselseitige Einflüsse festgestellt werden können. Andererseits soll mit Blick auf die unterschiedlichen orthographischen Normen geprüft werden, ob eine normgerechte satzinterne Gliederung umgesetzt wird oder ob hier wechselseitige Einflüsse der unterschiedlichen geltenden orthographischen Normen festgestellt werden können. Anhand dieser ersten Ergebnisse zu Interpunktion im bilingualen Schriftspracherwerb kann diskutiert werden, inwiefern die Fähigkeit zur Zeichensetzung als von einer auf eine andere Sprache übertragbar betrachtet werden kann und welche didaktischen Konsequenzen für den bilingualen Orthographieunterricht gezogen werden können.

References: Maas, U. (2010). Literat und orat. Grundbegriffe der Analyse geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache. Grazer Linguistische Studien 73, 21–150.

Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie – Resümee und Ausblick

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 HG HS C

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Die Schnittstelle zwischen Mehrsprachigkeits- und Orthographieforschung stellt ein Forschungsdesiderat dar, das sowohl Sprachwissenschaft als auch Sprachdidaktik und Bildungsforschung betrifft. Wir möchten den letzten Vortrag der AG nutzen, um zentrale Ergebnisse der vorherigen Beiträge aus unterschiedlichen Disziplinen zusammenzufassen und um weitere wichtige Perspektiven zu ergänzen.

Gemeinsam mit dem Plenum möchten wir diskutieren, welche Rolle Migration und Mehrsprachigkeit für den Erwerb der (deutschen) Orthographie spielen, etwa in Form von sprachspezifischen Interferenzen, aber es wird auch verstärkt zu fragen sein, wo und wie genau Mehrsprachigkeit mit anderen Ebenen sprachlicher Diversität, insbesondere bedingt durch die soziale Herkunft, interagiert (Peterson 2015; Steinig 2013). Abschließend wollen wir konkrete Theorien-, Methoden- und Ressourcendesiderate aufzeigen und zu weiterer Forschung an der Schnittstelle „Mehrsprachigkeit und Orthographie“ anregen.

References: Peterson, J. (2015). Sprache und Migration. Heidelberg: Winter. Steinig, W. (2013). Rechtschreibung: Schicht, nicht Mehrsprachigkeit macht den Unterschied. Zeitschrift des Zentrums für Mehrsprachigkeit und Integration Köln, 6–10.

30 Jahre Linguistic Diversity: Forschung – Alltag – Ressourcen

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) C

Workshop description

Seit den 1990er Jahren entstehen in der Forschung zu individueller und gesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeit immer wieder neue Begriffe und analytische Zugriffe auf Phänomene, die Fragen des bilingualen bzw. mehrsprachigen Spracherwerbs, der Sprachpolitik und der Sprachplanung sowie die Beschreibung und Handhabung mehrsprachiger Kommunikation in Institutionen betreffen.

Der Entdeckung einzelner Facetten von „Mehrsprachigkeit" und sprachlicher Vielfalt eindeutig nachgeordnet ist eine systematisierende Diskussion, in der die einzelnen theoretischen und methodischen Ansätze in den Blick genommen und reflektiert werden (vgl. z.B. Redder 2017, Androutsopoulos et al. 2013). Auch die Beziehung zwischen Forschung und Praxis erscheint bspw. angesichts der Forderung nach „schnellen Lösungen" klärungsbedürftig. Zudem ist unklar, wie Forschungsbefunde in der Praxis wahrgenommen und für Akteure im mehrsprachigen Alltag relevant werden.

Die Arbeitsgruppe verfolgt das Ziel, unterschiedliche Stränge der Beschäftigung mit Fragen der Mehrsprachigkeit in eine Diskussion zu bringen, um eine reflektierende Einschätzung bereits vorliegender Befunde anzuregen. In den Vorträgen werden empirische Analysen von Phänomenen der Mehrsprachigkeit im Mittelpunkt stehen.

References: J. Androutsopoulos, I. Breckner, B. Brehmer, K. Bührig, R. Kießling, J. Pauli & A. Redder (2013). Facetten gesellschaftlicher Mehrsprachigkeit in der Stadt – kurze Einleitung. In A. Redder, J. Pauli, R. Kießling, K. Bührig, B. Brehmer, I. Breckner & J. Androutsopoulos (eds.). Mehrsprachige Kommunikation in der Stadt – das Beispiel Hamburg. Münster: Waxmann, 13–28. A. Redder (2017). Mehrsprachigkeitstheorien – oder überhaupt Sprachtheorien? In Jahrbuch DaF 41, 13–36.

An analytical reflection on the Brazilian linguistic production on Language Policy

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS C

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As it is widely known, Brazil is a country with continental dimensions that shelters a diversity of languages. Some are spoken concomitantly to Portuguese; others, through Portuguese. In addition to Portuguese, which functions as both the national language of State and the mother tongue of most Brazilian speakers (this distinction between national and mother tongue interests us), it is estimated that more than 180 indigenous languages are practiced throughout the territory, not to mention the language of European, African, Asian immigrants who came to inhabit the country for different reasons.

This profusion of languages and speakers has always demanded the attention of linguists, especially those interested in understanding the specific configuration of the language policy in this complex space of enunciation. Among the several theoretical-epistemological positions that supported studies and researches on Language Policy in Brazil, there is the materialist one, which can be observed, above all, in the works carried out in the area of Discourse Analysis, History of Linguistical Ideas and Semantics of Enunciation. In the field of Brazilian science, these three linguistic disciplines interact intimately with one another, since they mobilize more or less common concepts and authors, such as „discourse", „discursive formation", „event", „enunciation", „history", „political", as they were conceived by Michel Pêcheux and his team, in France, and Eni Orlandi and Eduardo Guimarães and their team, in Brazil.

The present work aims to analyze the main theoritical advances of Brazilian linguistic science regarding the issue of language policy. More specifically, we will analyze the theoretical advances arising from the mobilization of the materialist position in language studies. To cite some of these advances, we can mention the formulation of the concepts „Brazilian language", „imaginary/fluid language", „space of enunciation" and „speaker".

Our methodology will consist in observing social-historical conditions of production of this conceptual domain, putting in relation the institutions, the theories and the questions in debate at a certain moment of the Brazilian scientific production on Language Policy.

We hope, therefore, to make a significant contribution to the purposes of the DGfS Workshop, which is to discuss different theoretical and methodological approaches to deal critically with the issues concerning language and politics.

References: Guimarães, E. (2018). Semântica: enunciação e sentido. Campinas: Pontes. Orlandi, E. (Org.). Política Linguística no Brasil. (2007). Campinas: Pontes. Orlandi, E. (2009). Língua Brasileira e outras histórias. Campinas: Editora RG. Pêcheux, M. (1975). Les vérités de la Palice. Linguistique, sémantique, philosophie. Paris: Maspero. Pêcheux, M. (2011). Análise de discurso: Michel Pêcheux. Campinas: Pontes Editores.

How to relate quantitative research data on plurilingual development with individuals' changing communicative needs

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS C

Situated at the gateway of some of the most important trading routes across the Alps, the Autonomous Province of South Tyrol (Italy) has always been a multicultural and multilingual region. Today, multilingualism in South Tyrol neither only refers to the three officially recognised languages, i.e. German, Italian and Ladin, nor is it limited to formally taught foreign languages such as English and French, but also comprises the languages of origin of those who have (more or less) recently settled in the region. In order to investigate how children acquire, use and maintain their linguistic repertoire in a multilingual setting such as South Tyrol, a longitudinal study within the project "One School, Many Languages" accompanied 170 students from eight middle schools over a period of three years (2015–2018), from their first (year 6) to their final year of middle school (year 8). Within these three years, a broad range of quantitative as well as qualitative data was collected based on a variety of instruments within different communicative settings (written/oral language assessment, in-class observation, questionnaires etc.). Yet, in order to describe the development of purilingual competence, one first needs to be clear as to how and to which extent the child has already acquired the languages of schooling. These linguistic prerequisites are traditionally accounted for in categorizing the child's languages as first, second or third language(s). However, the results of the study indicate that categorizing middle-school children in South Tyrol as mono-, bi- or plurilingual might be an overgeneralization of a much more diverse reality. In my presentation, I will compare different approaches to speaker categorization (Herdina & Jessner 2002, Francescini 2011, Aronin & Singleton 2012) in relation to research data on language development and their ability to transcend theory and practice.

References: Aronin, L. & D. Singleton (2012). Multilingualism. Amsterdam: John Benjamis. Francescini (2011). Multilingualism and multicompetence. The Modern Language Journal 95, 344-355. Herdina, P. & U. Jessner (2002). A dynamic model of multilingualism. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. Vetter, E. & U. Jessner (2019). International Research on Multilingualism: Breaking with the Monolingual Perspective. Berlin: Springer Nature.

Mehrsprachigkeit in der DaZ-Alphabetisierung

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS C

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Unter den Teilnehmenden von Alphabetisierungskursen (inkl. Zweitschriftkursen) in der Zielsprache Deutsch dominieren seit mehreren Jahren einige Migrationssprachen besonders stark. Diese Tatsache macht sich ein mehrjähriges Modellprojekt zunutze, das drei dieser Sprachen (Türkisch, Arabisch und Persisch) als herkunftsprachliche Ressourcen im Unterricht einsetzt, um Sprecher*innen dieser Sprachen die Alphabetisierung in Deutsch als Zweitsprache zu erleichtern. Dabei werden auch neu entwickelte Lehrmaterialien mit mehrsprachigen Lehrkräften in der Praxis erprobt. Die Kurse sind bzgl. der Herkunftsprachen homogen organisiert, so dass in jedem der aktuell 43 Kurse auf eine bestimmte Sprache im Vergleich mit der Zielsprache Deutsch fokussiert werden kann. Ziel der Präsentation ist es, die verschiedenen mehrsprachigen Praktiken und die Konstellationen solcher Sprachpraktiken (Scarvaglieri et al. 2013) im Rahmen dieser Kurse zu dokumentieren und vor dem Hintergrund bestehender Begrifflichkeiten insbesondere in der zweitsprachlichen Alphabetisierungsliteratur und Alphabetisierungspraxis zu analysieren und diskutieren.

Basierend auf einer einjährigen ethnographischen Studie (regelmäßige Beobachtung sowie Audio/Video-Aufnahmen und Befragungsresultate) in den erwähnten Alphabetisierungskursen wird dargestellt, wie die jeweilige Herkunftssprache (HL) im Kursraum von den Akteur*innen eingesetzt wird. Analysiert werden mündliche und schriftliche Praktiken in Produktion und Rezeption sowohl der Lehrkraft als auch der Teilnehmenden. Dabei kann unterschieden werden zwischen (a) dem gezielt linguistisch- und metasprachlich-orientierten Einsatz der HL zum Zweck des Sprach- und Schriftvergleichs (kontrastive Verfahren, Förderung eines mehrsprachig basierten metasprachlichen Bewusstseins) und (b) dem Einsatz der HL in verschiedenen anderen kommunikativen Funktionen (verschiedene translanguaging-Aktivitäten einschließend (García 2009; García & Li Wei 2014), Förderung mehrsprachiger Praktiken). Thematisiert werden die von den Akteuren im Kursraum bezüglich dieser Praktiken erkennbaren Einstellungen und verwendeten Begrifflichkeiten. Dabei interessiert auch, welchen Stellenwert ggfs. weitere Erst-, Zweit- oder Fremdsprachen der Teilnehmenden sowie Standardvarietäten und Dialekte im Kurskontext haben und ob bzw. wie sie diese einbringen.

References: García, O. (2009). Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. García, O. & Wei, L. (2014). Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. Scarvaglieri, C., Redder, A., Pappenhagen, R., & Brehmer, B. (2013). Capturing diversity: Linguistic land- and soundscaping. Linguistic Superdiversity in Urban Areas: Research Approaches, 2 (December 2013), 43–74.

Management of multilingualism in institutional settings: the recruitment of staff for EU institutions

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS C

This paper is based on the Language Management Theory (Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda 2018), according to which language management is defined as various agents' behavior toward language as it appears in discourse. Status and power of the crucial agents (EU institutions, Member States, CJEU) are determined by legal regulations, but their interests often diverge.

The recruitment of staff for European institutions is organized by an agency which is established specifically for this purpose – European Personnel Selection Office (EPSO). Since persons applying for jobs come from all member states and speak many languages, various problems arise. Therefore, EPSO tries to look for solutions to these problems by managing the multilingual practices in a way which has to comply with EU language law. This paper analyzes legal aspects of the management of multilingualism of the recent decade, during which some member states contested EPSO's tendencies to reduce the multilingualism. The analysis draws upon several cases which have been decided by the Court of Justice of the EU (CJEU). It concentrates on the problems of languages in which EPSO is supposed to announce jobs, and on the extent to which this office is allowed to lay down the (number of) languages in which candidates are expected to communicate with this office. The third area is related to the entitlement of EPSO to limit the choice of the second language to English, German, and French. It is revealed that notices of open competitions, which come out in the Official Journal of the EU, have to be published in all official languages. On the other hand, there exists some legal space for restriction of choices of the second language.

Due to its metalinguistic focus, the concept of language management appears very adequate and promising. Its scope is broad enough to encompass very heterogenous ways of behavior toward language.

References: Fairbrother, L., J. Nekvapil & M. Sloboda (Eds.) (2018). The Language Management Approach. A Focus on Research Methodology. Berlin: Peter Lang.

Pflege fremdsprachiger PatientInnen – Sprachlich-kommunikative Praktiken des Adressatenzuschnitts

Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS C

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Die Pflege fremdsprachiger PatientInnen stellt Pflegefachkräfte vor besondere sprachliche Herausforderungen. Davon ausgehend, dass GesprächspartnerInnen ihre Beiträge aufeinander ausrichten und kontinuierlich dem Gesprächsverlauf anpassen, sich Interaktion demnach als ein wechselseitiger Aushandlungsprozess zeigt, kann Mehrsprachigkeit als Hürde oder als Ressource dienen. SprecherInnen unterstellen AdressatInnen dabei allenfalls gewisse Eigenschaften, wodurch diese im Gespräch als interaktive Konstruktionen von Äusserungen erscheinen, welche einerseits auf gegenseitigen Annahmen beruhen und sich anderseits durch eine optimale Passung an die interaktiven Ziele der SprecherInnen auszeichnen (Deppermann & Blühdorn 2013; Hitzler 2013).

Dieser Adressatenzuschnitt in Form von sprachlich-interaktiven Praktiken hat auch für die Gestaltung mehrsprachiger Pflegesettings eine grosse Relevanz. Im interdisziplinären Forschungsprojekt OLBiHN (Overcoming Language Barriers in Home Care Nursing) – unterstützt vom Schweizerischen Nationalfonds und der Ebnet-Stiftung – wurden Interaktionen zwischen (schweizer-)deutschsprachigen Pflegefachpersonen und fremdsprachigen Patientinnen und Patienten im Rahmen der häuslichen Pflege („Spitex") untersucht. Die Pflegefachperson als Vertreterin einer Institution übt ihre Tätigkeit im privaten Bereich der PatientInnen aus. Die Pflegeperson hat in ihrer institutionellen Rolle einen klar definierten Auftrag, den sie unter zeit- und ressourcenbedingten Einschränkungen ausführen muss (Roser et al. 2013). Zu diesen komplexen kommunikativen Aufgaben (Brünner 2005) gehört u.a. das Sicherstellen der Verständigung, das für den unmittelbaren Pflegeprozess sowie für die weitere Zusammenarbeit ein zentrales Anliegen darstellt. Es stellt sich deshalb die Frage, wie Pflegefachpersonen fremdsprachige PatientInnen adressieren (Sachweh 2000), damit die pragmatischen Implikaturen aus der aktuellen Situation ersichtlich werden. Anhand des Projektkorpus werden verschiedene Aspekte hinsichtlich Funktion, Anrede, Relevantsetzung für Folgehandlungen etc. exemplarisch vorgestellt und diskutiert.

References: Brünner, G. (2005). Gespräche zwischen Pflegenden und PatientInnen aus linguistischer Sicht. In A. Abt-Zegelin, & M.W. Schnell (Eds.). Sprache und Pflege. Bern: Huber, 61–66. Deppermann, A. & H. Blühdorn (2013). Negation als Verfahren des Adressatenzuschnitts: Verstehenssteuerung durch Interpretationsrestriktionen. Deutsche Sprache 41(1), 6–30. Hitzler, S. (2013). Recipient Design in institutioneller Mehrparteieninteraktion. Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion (14), 110–132. Roser, M., H. Petry, U. Kleinberger & L. Imhof (2013). Sprachbarrieren in der Spitex: Für alle frustrierend. Krankenpflege 1, 13–15. Sachweh, S. (2000). «Schätzle hinsitze!» Kommunikation in der Altenpflege. Frankfurt a.M.: Lang (Europäische Hochschulschriften 217).

Praxen institutioneller Mehrsprachigkeit: Beobachtung und Konzeptualisierung

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS C

Claudio Scarvaglieri
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Der Beitrag strebt eine vergleichende Diskussion jüngerer Zugänge zu Mehrsprachigkeit auf empirischer Basis an. Dazu werden Praxen des institutionellen Umgangs mit Mehrsprachigkeit in der Schweiz präsentiert und die in Frage stehenden konzeptuellen Zugänge auf ihre Erklärungsfähigkeit bezüglich der beschriebenen Phänomene befragt.

Die präsentierten Daten stammen aus der Geburtshilfe für Migrantinnen in einem Schweizer Krankenhaus sowie aus dem Deutschunterricht für geflüchtete Personen in verschiedenen deutschschweizer Kantonen und wurden vorwiegend in ethnographischer Arbeit erhoben (mittels teilnehmender Beobachtung, Interviews und Fragebögen). Die Analysen dieser Daten weisen auf eine Reihe teils eklatanter Mängel im institutionellen Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit und Interkulturalität hin, welche nicht etwa im Einzelfall oder in persönlichem Fehlverhalten begründet sind, sondern auf institutionelle und gesellschaftliche Rahmenbedingungen zurückgeführt werden können.

Der Versuch, diese Beobachtungen mit den vorliegenden Zugängen zu erklären, zeigt, dass die meisten jüngeren Ansätze und Konzepte – diskutiert etwa bei Redder (2017) – wenig mehr leisten als eine phänographische Erfassung und Benennung von Elementen, die unmittelbar an der sprachlichen Oberfläche sichtbar werden. Konkret wird schlicht die Tatsache, dass (vermehrt – „Super-Diversity") Elemente aus verschiedenen Sprachen kombiniert werden, thematisiert. In dem Beitrag wird hingegen argumentiert, dass die Setzung der Rahmenbedingungen, die den Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit steuern, ökonomischen und psychosozialen Kriterien folgt. Sprachunterricht wie Geburtshilfe erfolgen, so ist darzulegen, innerhalb eines sozialen Ordnungsgefüges, das auf Wettbewerb um knappe Ressourcen gründet und in dem der In- und Output staatlicher Institutionen gemessen und bewertet werden. Die Versorgung einer Institution mit Ressourcen für den Umgang mit kommunikativen Anforderungen ist in diesem System letztlich eine Frage der gesellschaftlichen Prioritätensetzung und damit nicht etwa nur ökonomisch, sondern auch sozial-psychologisch bestimmt. Der Beitrag stellt daher Zugänge zur Diskussion, die es ermöglichen können, gesellschaftliche, ökonomische und psychosoziale Gegebenheiten, die den institutionellen und institutionalisierten Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit prägen, zu reflektieren (vgl. Blommaert 2006, Ibarraran et al. 2008, Heller 2011) und denen damit ein Erklärungspotenzial zukommt, das die rein phänographische Beschreibung von diversifiziertem Sprachgebrauch überschreitet.

References: Blommaert, Jan (2006). Language ideology. In Keith Brown (ed.) Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics. Volume 6: Sociolinguistics. Oxford: Elsevier, 510–522. Heller, Monica (2011). Paths to post-nationalism. New York: OUP. Ibarraran, Amaia; Lasagabaster, David & Sierra, Juan Manuel (2008). Multilingualism and Language Attitudes: Local Versus Immigrant Students' Perceptions. Language Awareness 17(4), 326–341. Redder, Angelika (2017). Mehrsprachigkeitstheorien – oder überhaupt Sprachtheorien? Jahrbuch DaF 41, 13–36.

Mehrsprachiges Handeln – Konzept und Praxis

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 HG HS C

Angelika Redder
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'Mehrsprachigkeit' ist in einem postnationalen Europa programmatisch in aller Munde, hat insofern gesellschaftlich Konjunktur und fordert also die Linguistik – und zwar die sog. Angewandte ebenso wie die Theoretische Linguistik – zu professioneller Einmischung heraus.

Wie steht es aber mit einem wissenschaftlichen Konzept von 'Mehrsprachigkeit'? Wie verhält sich die handlungsanalytische Kategorie 'mehrsprachiges Handeln' zu 'tranlanguaging' und 'codeswitching' – und des weiteren zur gesellschaftlichen Praxis sprachlichen Handelns, etwa in Bildungsinstitutionen?

Vor dem Hintergrund der langjährigen Theorieentwicklung (vgl. Redder 2017 zu einem Überblick) und der aktuellen Umsetzung in linguistisch verantwortliche Orientierung für Eltern (Meisel 2019) sowie auf der Basis empirischer Forschungen (Redder, Çelikkol, Wagner & Rehbein 2018; Krause et al. in press) werden einige kategoriale Aspekte diskutiert und praktische Lösungen fallanalytisch rekonstruiert. Dabei geht es besonders um die Auslotung der Reichweite und Begrenzung mehrsprachigen Handelns für die schulische Prozessierung von Wissen und Verstehen unter den Bedingungen höchst heterogener sprachlicher Konstellationen im Regelunterricht.

References: Krause, A., Wagner, J., Redder, A., Prediger, S. (in press). New migrants, new challenges? In Levine, G.S. & Mallows, D. (eds.). Language Learning of Migrants in Europe. Springer. Meisel, J.M. (2019). Bilingual Children: A Parents' Guide. Cambridge: UP. Redder, A. (2017). Mehrsprachigkeitstheorien – oder überhaupt Sprachtheorien? Jahrbuch DaF 41, 13–36. Redder, A., Çelikkol, M., Wagner, J. & Rehbein, J. (2018). Mehrsprachiges Handeln im Mathematikunterricht. Münster: Waxmann.

Panel: Mehrsprachige Kommunikation in der gesellschaftlichen Praxis

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 HG HS C

Moderation: Kristin Bührig
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Das Anliegen der AG ist es, die wissenschaftliche Diskussion über Fragen der Mehrsprachigkeit mit Blick auf deren Relevanz in der konkreten gesellschaftlichen Praxis zu reflektieren.

Deshalb möchten wir im Anschluss an die Vorträge im Rahmen einer Diskussion Erfahrungen mit mehrsprachiger Kommunikation von Seiten eingeladener Vertreter und Vertreterinnen der gesellschaftlichen Praxis einen Raum geben, vor allem mit Blick auf Verfahren im Umgang mit mehrsprachiger Kommunikation, die sich bewährt haben. Auch evtl. noch offene Fragen und ggf. aktuelle Herausforderungen sollen diskutiert sowie Reflexionen angeregt werden, wie diese u. U. durch weitere Forschung oder andere Maßnahmen zu meistern wären, sodass Forschung und Praxis im Rahmen dieser Diskussion hoffentlich in einen fruchtbaren Dialog treten.

Geladene Gäste:
Michael Gwosdz, Diakonie Hamburg; Cemile Niron, Lehrerin für Deutsch, Englisch, Türkisch sowie Interkulturelle Koordinatorin am Gymnasium Hamburg Finkenwerder, Fachreferentin Türkisch und Herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht BSB; angefragt: Mike Mösko, Universitätskrankenhaus Eppendorf; Cristina Torres Mendes, basis&woge, Hamburg.

Corpus-based typology: spoken language from a cross-linguistic perspective

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Workshop description

Linguistic typology has traditionally taken the „language" as a unit of comparison, and compared these units on the basis of features extracted from grammatical descriptions. A complementary approach is corpus-based or token-based typology, an emergent field of comparative linguistics that involves harnessing recent developments in corpus linguistics and variationist sociolinguistics to cross-linguistic data and that deals with probabilistic generalizations drawn from observed language usage, as recorded in corpora. Its object of study is a population of utterances, rather than languages as holistic artefacts (cf. Wälchli 2009). This approach to language typology is currently undergoing a major upsurge, fueled by the growing availability of digital corpora from typologically diverse languages, and increasingly sophisticated statistical modelling (see among many others Wälchli 2009, Haig & Schnell 2016, Dingemanse et al 2015, Levshina 2019). While a growing body of research drawing on written corpus data has become increasingly influential in linguistic typology (Haspelmath et al. 2014, see esp. the cross-linguistic Universal Treebank initiative, http://universaldependencies.org/, and Levshina 2019 for recent application to classic issues in language typology), in this workshop we are interested in specific properties of spoken language as the ontologically primary type of linguistic performance, under consideration of a maximally diverse sample of languages. Topics covered include prosodic structuring and partitioning, speech rate, interactivity and intersubjectivity, universals of discourse, and corpus-based approaches process to first-language acquisition. We will also attend to methodological challenges, in particular issues of annotation and data formats.

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Measuring the unsaid: the SCOPIC project as a parallax cross-linguistic corpus

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
VMP5 2101/2105

Nicholas Evans, Danielle Barth (Keynote)
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In his foundational work, *Miseria y Esplendor de la Traducción*, Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset pointed out that 'Each people leaves some things unsaid in order to be able to say others. Because everything would be unsayable.' In other words, every formulation by a speaker, as they produce a text, is not just a choice to say something but also not to say something. Choices about what to say and what not to say **reflect** many forces – context, common ground, narrative progression, individual differences, but also asymmetries at the level of language and culture, as transmitted both through learned preferences about what to talk about, and grammatical and lexical affordances in terms of what is obligatory, compact or cumbersome in a particular language.

In corpus linguistics, measuring what is said is easy – since it is there! – while measuring what is not said is much harder, since there is in principle no limit to what could have been said. Simply comparing corpora across languages does not solve the problem either, unless there is complete matching both of genres and of topics. Nor do parallel corpora, in the strict sense of being translation equivalents, solve the problem, since there will always be a 'source language founder bias', where categories in the source language show frequencies more representatively than in the target languages.

In this talk we propose and illustrate a way around this problem, by using a 'parallax corpus', namely the SCOPIC corpus (Barth & Evans 2017) based on the 'Family Problems Picture Task' (San Roque et al. 2012). This includes over 369,000 words from 27 languages spanning every continent (and including one sign language). Crucially, it is a problem-solving task which (in contradistinction to the Pear Stories, for example) puts the speaker(s) in charge of the narrative, and allows speakers to choose what to express in their shaping of the story. At the same time, the connections of what is said to the picture stimuli allows the denoted scenes to be compared across languages, speakers, and subtasks (e.g. picture description vs first-person narrative). This allows sophisticated multidimensional comparisons of what speakers choose to say, and not to say, in a way that responds to topic, referent configuration, speaker, discourse type, and language (among others).

In this talk we first outline the logic and design of the task and the SCOPIC corpus, then demonstrate how it can be used to investigate cross-linguistic differences in formulation with regard to person reference, stance, and the depiction of attributed speech and thought.

References: Barth, D. & N. Evans. Language Documentation and Conservation Special Publication No. 12 Social Cognition Parallax Corpus (SCOPIC). http:/hdl.handle.net/10125/24742, 1–21. Ortega y Gasset (1937), Miseria y esplendor de la traducción. La Nación (Buenos Aires) May–June 1937. San Roque, L., A. Rumsey, L. Gawne, S. Spronck, D. Hoenigman, A. Carroll, Ju. Miller & N. Evans (2012). Getting the story straight: language fieldwork using a narrative problem-solving task. Language Documentation and Conservation 6, 134–173.

Child language documentation: The sketch acquisition project

Birgit Hellwig
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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
VMP5 2101/2105

Language documentation is concerned with "the observable linguistic behavior, manifest in everyday interaction between members of the speech community" (Himmelmann 1998: 166) – with a clear focus on the linguistic behavior of adults. The last two decades have seen the construction of numerous adult corpora, enabling and stimulating cross-corpus typological research. But the "observable linguistic behavior" also includes the language used by and with children, and there is a growing interest within language documentation in constructing corpora of child language and child-directed language and utilizing them in cross-linguistic research (e.g., Kelly et al. 2015; Moran et al. 2016). This interest is set against the background of a severe bias within language acquisition research: much more so than in typological research, theories of linguistic and cognitive development are grounded in empirical data that is strongly biased towards the major European languages, with acquisition data being available for only 1–2% of the world's languages (Lieven & Stoll 2010: 144).

Cross-linguistic research on language acquisition made major progress in the 1980s/ 1990s, largely thanks to a number of large-scale initiatives such as Dan Slobin's (1985–1997) "cross-linguistic study of language acquisition." But despite this early promise, 20 years on we are not markedly further. Very likely, the reasons are to be found in the forbidding methodological challenges of constructing child language corpora under fieldwork conditions with their strict requirements on participant selection, sampling intervals and amounts of data (e.g., Behrens 2008; Parisse 2019; Tomasello & Stahl 2004).

Building up on Dan Slobin's original idea, this talk reports on an ongoing joint project (Defina et al., in prep.) that combines the construction of manageable corpora of natural interaction with children (of 5 hours of analyzed data) with a sketch description of the corpus data – resulting in a database of comparable corpora and sketches across languages, which can form a basis for cross-linguistic comparisons.

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AG 10

Discourse contribution of naming a referent: a projection-based account of lone NPs in two typologically different languages

Mittwoch
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
VMP5 2101/2105

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Stating a referent and then saying something about it is considered in the field of Information Structure (IS) to represent a classic case of topic-expression. Cross-linguistically, structures of this type include Left Detached (LD) constructions, dedicated particles and/or prosodic marking. This study aims at the re-analysis of some "topical" phenomena from the online-syntax perspective, aiming at the identification of the direct functions of the markers in question. It examines "lone NPs" – namely, NPs (potentially accompanied by pragmatic markers), which occupy their own Intonation Unit and are not projected (in the sense of Auer 2005) by the preceding material. The analysis compares the findings from a previous study on Israeli Hebrew with the preliminary results for Anal Naga (Manipur (India), Tibeto-Burman).

Israeli Hebrew is a verb-medial language with nominative-accusative alignment; post-verbal NPs typically convey the primary information. The study of lone NPs in 2.5 hours of spontaneous everyday conversation in Hebrew reveals two primary phenomena misconceived as "topicalising" in the static, IS-oriented analysis: (i) turn-initiating attempts departing with a lone, often recycled NP. These account for 2/3 of the apparent LD in the data. (ii) The second primary part of examples, which account for 1/5 of the data, consists of referent introductions, aimed at local attention-alignment of the interlocutors as well as the negotiated identification of the referent. Only a handful of examples are accompanied by explicit markers that indicate the local discourse-structuring role of the referent.

Anal Naga is a verb-final language with pragmatically driven differential ergative-absolutive alignment. Moreover, co-subordination allows to resolve the marked argument role in a distant clause. There is also a large set of pragmatic markers, such as *=te* indicating a discourse shift, *=tũ* indicating turn-keeping non-finality and others. This system allows for the incremental construal of an utterance, where NPs are introduced with the indication of their local discourse contribution, before the overall syntactic structure is resolved by the final verb. This results in common introduction of a new referent combined with an identification request and an immediate construal of the utterance as "about it", at times occurring where English requires a thetic statement.

In sum, a comparative analysis of lone NPs reveals different structurally and culturally motivated strategies of information management, which have been misleadingly conflated under the label of "topical markers" in a universalistic, static IS-driven analysis.

References: Auer, Peter (2005). Projection in Interaction and Projection in Grammar. Text 25(1), 7–36.

AG 10

Prosodic segmentation and grammatical analysis in cross-linguistic corpora

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
VMP5 2105

Amina Mettouchi[1,2], Martine Vanhove[2]
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The development of documentary linguistics and its toolkit of transcription and annotation software has paved the way for the use, in typological research, of spoken corpora from a variety of lesser-described indigenous languages.

The main prerequisite when one compiles such sound-aligned annotated corpora, is to decide how to segment the data, so as to do justice to its spoken nature. Prosodic segmentation (Himmelmann 2006), in prosodic units of variable types (intonation unit, paratone, breath groups etc.) reflects that nature far better than segmentation into clauses for instance, which, on top of raising the non-trivial question of the delimitation of clauses (how to identify their initial and final boundaries), creates a residue (speech chunks of various types, cf Chafe 1994).

Prosodic segmentation is not only relevant because of the spoken nature of the data, but also because prosodic groups are essential processing units for speech (Kibrik & Podlesskaya 2006); this is true not only for discourse or information structure, but also for core grammatical functions. The proposed presentation will provide evidence for that claim, using corpora whose prosodic segmentation is detailed in (Izre'el & Mettouchi 2015): CorpAfroAs (http://corpafroas.huma-num.fr, 2007–2012) and CorTypo (http://cortypo.huma-num.fr, 2013–2018).

The presentation will focus on grammatical relations, showing how their encoding involves not only morphological marking and word order, but also, and crucially, prosodic segmentation. Production phenomena in particular (e.g. prosodic lengthening and disfluencies around boundaries) will be used as evidence for the coding role of prosodic boundaries. Ultimately, the presentation's aim is to foster fruitful discussions on the nature and level of interaction between prosody and core grammar, and on the consequences of such interaction on corpus transcription, segmentation and annotation choices.

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A typological paradox: Information structure and linguistic corpora

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–17:30
VMP5 2101/2105

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Research on information structure (IS) displays an interesting discrepancy between its proclaimed aims and the methods it applies. While the basic idea is to capture how interactional aspects of communication are linguistically encoded, IS is nevertheless investigated with the help of introspection and a couple of constructed sentences, to the full exclusion of the actual language use. IS categories are routinely identified through a limited number of litmus contexts, such as question-answer pairs, which have been taken as a basis for higher-level theorising on the nature of IS, in the form of Alternative Semantics, QUD, or similar (e.g., Rooth 1992, Roberts 2012). It has been argued that the results of this kind of approach are flawed, as they suppress linguistic variation and impose preconceived ideas of how interactive communication works on how speakers actually communicate and how this is reflected in the language (e.g., Matić & Wedgwood 2013, Ozerov 2018).

The use of spoken language corpora to better understand IS is doubtless a huge step forward. However, I am going to argue that it would be naïve to believe that simply switching from introspection to corpus is going to produce more satisfying descriptions and typologies of IS. The reason for this is that the notional apparatus of IS is based on language- and discourse-independent categories (Aristotelian theory of judgment, Gestalt psychology, Hamblin semantics of questions, etc.) rather than on empirical investigation. Searching for 'topic', 'focus', or some similar category from the IS repertoire in corpora is bound to result in finding the same kinds of structures that the introspective IS research has found, as the categories themselves pose a limit to the possible outcomes of the investigation, not unlike glasses that allow a person to see only in one resolution, as it were.

I assume – and there are good reasons to do so – that the structuring of linguistic information does not pertain to sentences but is rather a matter of the way utterances are incorporated in discourse. I also assume that there is not only one possible way to organise larger stretches of discourse but rather a potentially infinite number of ways, with different categories and different kinds of relevant factors. On these assumptions, the only way to investigate IS is to perform a qualitative analysis of individual corpora with as few research presuppositions as possible and try to find the relevant interpersonal, epistemic, processing, etc. factors to which the structures and utterances in the given corpus are sensitive. Only after this kind of analysis has been performed can we try and compare corpora in order to see to what extent the factors found in one are relevant in the other, and vice versa. The final result of this endeavour may turn out to be a tentative typology of IS systems. The proposed methodology of investigating IS in language corpora will be illustrated with case studies from two languages of Siberia, Even (North Tungusic) and Yukaghir (isolate). Certain aspects of the intricate IS systems of Even and Yukaghir will be compared to corpora from better known European languages.

References: Matić, D. & D. Wedgwood (2013). The meanings of focus: The significance of an interpretation based category in crosslinguistic analysis. Journal of Linguistics 49, 127–163. Ozerov, P. (2018). Tracing the sources of Information Structure: Towards the study of interactional management of information. Journal of Pragmatics 138, 77–97. Roberts, C. (2012). Information Structure: Towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. Semantics & Pragmatics 5.

AG 10

On potential statistical universals of grammar in discourse: evidence from Multi-CAST

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
VMP5 2101/2105

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In contributing to the current upsurge in corpus (or token) based typology (cf. Wälchli 2009, Levshina 2019), this presentation summarizes a set of cross-linguistically robust regularities in the grammar of discourse, drawing on natural (non-scripted, non-elicited) spoken language corpora from 12 languages (Haig & Schnell 2019). We focus on two domains: (1) Preferred Argument Structure and Referent Introduction (Du Bois 1987, Newmeyer 2003: 686). While our findings largely confirm the overall dispreference for transitive subject to be filled by lexical NP's (Haig & Schnell 2016) with new referents, we relate these findings to more general principles following from a convergence of humanness and topicality leading to low rates of new, lexical human subjects (Haig & Schnell 2016: 612–613) whether transitive or intransitive. Moreover, Referent Introduction does not pose specific challenges to discourse processing and hence do not map isomorphically onto morphosyntax, which actually appears to be solely determined by content. (2) The factors determining referential choice in discourse (cf. Ariel 1990, Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2019). Here we find that different referential expressions (zero, pronoun, NP) do not in fact line up along a continuum of decreasing accessibility (Ariel 1990): the choice between zero and pronoun, on the one hand, displays language-specific idiosyncrasies that cannot be satisfactorily accounted for in terms of accessibility or processing costs. In regards to the deployment of lexical NPs, however, we find less evidence for the claim that languages vary fundamentally in the density of information carried by discourse (e.g. Huang 2000: 262, Bickel 2003: 710); in fact we observe surprisingly little variability in the overall rate of lexical NP's across our sample (Vollmer 2019), suggesting that the undeniable differences in the rates of pronoun versus zero expression is balanced by a relatively constant rate of lexical NP's in connected discourse, providing a bedrock of referential information around which typological variation plays out.

References: Ariel, Mira. ([2]2014). Accessing noun-phrase antecedents. London, New York: Routledge. Bickel, Balthasar (2003). Referential Density in Discourse and Syntactic Typology. Language 79(4), 708–736. Du Bois, John (1987). The discourse basis of ergativity. Language 63, 805–855. Haig, Geoffrey & Stefan Schnell (2016). The discourse basis of ergativity revisited. Language 92(3), 591–618. Haig, G. & Stefan Schnell (eds.) (2019). Multi-CAST: Multilingual corpus of annotated spoken texts. (Online resource available at: multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/) (accessed 15.11.2019). Levshina, Natalia (2019). Token-based typology and word order entropy: A study based on Universal Dependencies. Linguistic Typology, 23(1), 533–572. Newmeyer, Frederick (2003). Grammar Is Grammar and Usage Is Usage. Language 79(4), 682–707. Vollmer, Maria (2019). How radical is pro-drop in Mandarin? A quantitative corpus study on referential choice in Mandarin Chinese. MA-thesis, University of Bamberg. Wälchli, Bernhard (2009). Data reduction typology and the bimodal distribution bias. Linguistic Typology, 13(1), 77–94. Huang, Yan (2000). Anaphora. Cambridge: CUP. Torres Cacoullos & Travis (2019). Variationist typology: shared probabilistic constraints across (non-)null subject languages. Linguistics 57(3), 653–692.

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Corpus-based cross-linguistic research on the temporal dynamics of speech

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–10:00
VMP5 2101/2105

Frank Seifart (Keynote)
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Local speech rate variation and pauses provide us with a window into the cognitive-neural and physiological-articulatory bases of the human language production system (e.g., Jaeger & Buz 2017), but cross-linguistic variation in this domain remains understudied (Norcliffe et al. 2015). However, over the past 20 years, efforts to document endangered languages have produced vast amounts of annotated spoken language data from a wide variety of languages, which are time-aligned with audio.

In the first part of this talk, I will present an effort to tap into these resources by creating a multilingual reference corpus (DoReCo) from language documentation collections that are archived at repositories such as The Language Archive (TLA), especially from the DOBES collection. DoReCo extracts from such collections narrative texts that are already transcribed, translated into a major language, and time-aligned with audio files at the level of discourse units. Within the DoReCo project, these data are being converted to a common file format and time-aligned at the phoneme level using the MAUS software (Strunk et al. 2014). Corpora from at least 50 languages will be included, a subset of at least 30 of which are fully annotated for morpheme breaks and morpheme glosses. A minimum of 10,000 words per language words is set as a realistic corpus size for the short- or mid-term fieldwork-based projects from which most DoReCo corpus donations stem.

In the second part of this talk, I will present preliminary results of analyses of this corpus. One set of studies investigates cross-linguistic vs. language-specific patterns in utterance-final lengthening as indicative of prosodic boundaries – reflecting potentially species-wide articulatory constraints and cognitive constraints on planning, as well as potentially culture-specific discourse-unit signaling functions. Another set of studies investigates cross-linguistic vs. language-specific patterns in the temporal distribution of morphemes regarding information rate in terms of morphemes per second (following Pellegrino et al. 2011) and in the number of morphemes in inter-pausal units – both reflecting cognitive constraints on language production. I also address methodological challenges arising from the relatively small size of individual corpora in DoReCo, given the large number of varied factors that are known influence speech rate and pauses, including individual speaker variation and word token frequencies (Liberman 2019).

References: Jaeger, T. F. & E. Buz (2017). Signal Reduction and Linguistic Encoding. In E. M. Fernández & H. Smith Cairns (eds.), The Handbook of Psycholinguistics. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 38–81. Liberman, M. Y. (2019). Corpus Phonetics. Annual Review of Linguistics 5(1), 91–107. Norcliffe, E., A. C. Harris & T. F. Jaeger (2015). Cross-linguistic psycholinguistics and its critical role in theory development: early beginnings and recent advances. Language, Cognition and Neuroscience 30(9), 1009–1032. Pellegrino, F., C. Coupé & E. Marsico (2011). A Cross-Language Perspective on Speech Information Rate. Language 87(3), 539–558. Strunk, J., F. Schiel & F. Seifart (2014). Untrained Forced Alignment of Transcriptions and Audio for Language Documentation Corpora using WebMAUS. In N. Calzolari et al. (eds.), LREC 2014. Reykjavik: ELRA, 3940–3947.

AG 10

Dictionary Articles and Corpora – a Research Laboratory for Linguistic Diversity

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Raum: Von-Melle-Park 5 (VMP5) 2101/2105

Workshop description

Under the concept of linguistic diversity, various forms of linguistic variation are explored. These include socio-cultural, ethnic, cognitive or media-specific variation as well as individual and societal multilingualism in the past and present. In order to study linguistic diversity, pre-existing (primarily) written sources are consulted or new data is collected using different methods (e.g. oral or written questionnaires, interviews, experimental tasks etc.). However, the availability of appropriate data continues to be one of the greatest challenges to empirical research.

Despite the fact that lexicography is one of the oldest linguistic sub-disciplines and began to compile extensive corpora early on as the basis for dictionary work, dictionary articles and the corpora underlying these have been used much less frequently for the study of linguistic diversity. This is surprising given that most dictionaries do not only contain simple information about word meanings and grammar, but also deal with variation and diversity in many ways, such as: regional distribution, style level, language contact (e.g. borrowing), language change or pragmatics.

This section explores the potential utility of lexicographical data in the study of linguistic diversity. We therefore invite contributions with a lexicographical/practical or a meta-lexicographical/theoretical focus that deal with different dictionary types for different target groups (e.g. dialect dictionaries, historical dictionaries, contemporary dictionaries, prescriptive and descriptive dictionaries) as well as dictionary corpora as a resource for research. Possible research questions are:

- How is linguistic diversity treated in lexicography?
- How is linguistic diversity represented in dictionaries or in different dictionary types?
- Which levels of a language system (in addition to lexis and semantics) can be studied by using lexicographical data?
- Which methods can be used to access lexicographical material beyond the dictionaries?
- Which tools are available?

Exploring, Analyzing, and Describing Variation: From the Dictionary to the Lexicological Research Platform

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–11:45
VMP5 2101/2105

Stefan Engelberg (Invited speaker)
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Dictionaries contain a huge amount of information about variation within or across linguistic varieties. However, by looking up single entries in print dictionaries, this wealth cannot easily be explored. Online dictionaries offer many more options, if they can be accessed by means of detailed search functions. But even online dictionaries are mostly static representations of a particular set of lexicographic descriptions. The next generation of online lexicography will interweave lexicological data analysis, lexicographic description, and lexicographic searches, and thereby turn the dictionary into a lexicological research platform, in which researcher, lexicographer, and dictionary user are not necessarily different agents anymore. Online lexicological research platforms will be characterized by the following features:

- integration of dictionary and corpus (and possibly other types of empirical data); the user can verify and enhance lexicographic information using corpus analysis tools that are integrated into the dictionary
- dynamic publishing and dynamic structuring: articles are published on the fly and the dictionary can be altered by adding new levels of information
- opening-up of the dictionary to the research community by collaborative information gathering on the basis of digital rights management
- multi-faceted searches that allow to widen and narrow down searches using all possible kinds of feature combinations
- integration of dictionaries into dictionary nets and lexicological portals that combine numerous interrelated resources

These conceptual changes will be illustrated by several lexicographic products that are currently under development at the Department of Lexicological Studies at the Institute for German Language in Mannheim: a portal for lexicological exploration of corpora, a portal for loanword lexicography, a dictionary of spoken German, and a portal for lexicological analysis and lexicographic representation of contact varieties of German.

Linguistic Diversity in a Dictionary of German Confusables

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:45–12:15
VMP5 2101/2105

German has pairs of competing words which are easily confused among native speakers and language learners alike. These words often share a root, are similar in form and their designated concept. They also show semantic or discursive differences, such as *effektiv/effizient*, *praktisch/praktikabel/praktizierbar*. Variation and resulting uncertainties arise from lexical similarities including phonemic, morphological and semantic features. Confusables are more freely exposed to semantic variation and negotiation, as their meanings are partially conceptually associated. Such variation occurs in general and in technical contexts, e.g. when *Methodologie* or *Methodik* are being used instead of *Methode* to create a specific stylistic register and causing lexical rivalry. Consequently, language forums are full of questions such as: Is there a difference between German *effektiv* and *effizient* or are they used synonymously? Why are *Parodontose* and *Parodontitis* used similar in public discourse but differently as technical terms in dentistry?

The new corpus-guided dictionary *Paronyme – Dynamisch im Kontrast* is descriptive in nature, documenting conventionalised patterns and use. It provides information on preferences and tendencies as observed in authentic communication. Corpus-assisted descriptions of confusables allow for empirical studies of meaning within different discourses or domains and registers on the one hand and diachronically on the other hand. Both have revealed new insights into the dynamics of contextual use and meaning change. Semantic diversity and differences in meaning with regard to context or discourse is fully explored and unfolded in the new online reference guide. Lexicographic information on domains and reference reflect meaning in variable public discourses, sections on technical language use open up discrepancies to everyday public communication and to speakers' intuitions. In *Paronyme – Dynamisch im Kontrast* a broader picture of commonly confused terms is being sketched. This helps users to distinguish meaning according to conceptual-referential aspects and to discursive criteria and it enables them to allocate meaning to use, lexical patterns to topics, varieties or registers.

In this talk, I will explore the rivalry between easily confused words, stylistic variation in corpora and cognitive-oriented lexicographic solutions to help users to understand typical and authentic usage in different situations. I will introduce the new dictionary that covers confusables from a usage-based perspective where linguistic details as linked with nonlinguistic information. At the same time, change in meaning between rival terms is sketched, and differences in usage between linguistic varieties are documented. I will also show how linguistic diversity is the impetus of language change and how this is recorded in the new resource. Adaptive access and variable search options allow different foci and perspectives on paronymy. All these will be explained with the help of examples.

Dictionaries, Text Corpora and Lexicographical Evidence Collections on Older German: on their Consolidation and Combined Application

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
VMP5 2101/2105

Roland Mittmann[1], **Ralf Plate**[2]
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By now, nearly all historical dictionaries on older German offer online services: this holds true for the *Old High German Dictionary (Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, AWB), the *Middle High German Dictionary (Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, MWB), the *Early New High German Dictionary (Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch*, FWB), the *German Dictionary of the Brothers Grimm (Deutsches Wörterbuch der Brüder Grimm*, DWB; unfortunately not yet for the revised edition of the letters *A* to *F*, 2DWB), the *Swiss Idiotikon (Schweizerisches Idiotikon)* and the *Dictionary on the German Legal Language (Wörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtssprache*, DRW).

In the case of the MWB, as the youngest of these dictionaries already born digital, a large part of its sources and its digital evidence collection are part of its online services. In the case of the AWB, the textual basis has been completely digitised and published online within the framework of the "Reference Corpus" initiative on the epochs and varieties of older German, specifically, of the *Old German Reference Corpus (Referenzkorpus Altdeutsch*, ReA, = Old High German and Old Saxon). The sources of the MWB show a large overlap with those of the FWB, and the Old High German and Middle High German source texts of the AWB and the MWB are also extensively quoted within the dictionaries referring to the entire period of (older) German (DWB and DRW).

The talk presents initiatives that are targeted at the joint utilisation of the digital dictionaries and their resources that have already been partly realised within the framework of the project on the preparation of an eHumanties Centre for Historical Lexicography (eHumanities-Zentrum für historische Lexikographie, ZHistLex, 2016–2019). Special interest focuses on establishing web services for the bi-directional linking of dictionaries and source texts and for querying the lists of references of the dictionaries, not least in relation to the mark-up concerning their local, temporal and genre characteristics.

AG 11

Field Labels as Markers of Language Change

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
VMP5 2101/2105

For a long time, dictionaries make use of labeling entries with social, stylistic, dialect, and chronological markers. Labels outline domains of vocabulary — how detailed are the domains depends on factors such as the dictionary's vocabulary volume, presence of the specialized, dialectal, colloquial or slang vocabulary, the overall concept of information on usage, etc. However, field marks can be a resource of valid data to trace language change.

In this paper, we present a simple experiment in which we compared chronological and dialect labels in two large monolingual general dictionaries of Polish. First dates from 1900–1927 (further on Older Dictionary, OD), the second is fifty years newer (1958–1969; further on Newer Dictionary, ND). The data come from a tergo indexes which are lists of headwords with basic markers and some additional information, e.g., the numbering of homonyms. The compilers of the ND index did not label a headword if at least one of its senses was in common usage at the time of publishing of ND.

At the start of the experiment, we extracted entries labeled dialectal or Old Polish in OD and obsolete or old-fashioned in ND. The OD index consists of 287,000 entries, almost 49,000 are marked as dialect variants and nearly 30,000 as Old Polish. In ND, there are over 127,000 entries, of which more than 11,000 are marked obsolete, and over 5,000 old-fashioned, but just under 900 dialectal. In the next step, we compared the headwords of both dictionaries. 2700 Old-Polish entries from OD are labeled old (obsolete) in ND, and less than 700 old-fashioned. As we see, slightly over 10% of Old-Polish in OD is still among entries of ND, the remaining part has since vanished. Almost 80% of dialect-labeled headwords in ND also reside in OD. It can indicate commonly known words of dialectal origin. We also compared label-based lists from OD with the complete list of ND headwords. While none of the OD Old-Polish words was present outside the chronologically labeled set, over 2800 dialect words from OD were marked old-fashioned or obsolete in ND. A query in the dictionary proves that they are marked outdated, but they are still preserved in dialects. The presented method is slightly rough for detailed research but can be useful for the preselection of vocabulary that vanished over a specified time.

References: Doroszewski, W. (ed.) (1958–1969). Słownik języka polskiego (Dictionary of Polish Language). Vol. I–XI. Warszawa. Karłowicz, J., A. Kryński & W. Niedźwiedzki (eds.) (1900–1927). Słownik języka polskiego (Dictionary of Polish Language). Warszawa. Grzegorczykowa, R., Puzynina, J. & Doroszewski, W. (1973). Indeks a tergo do Słownika języka polskiego pod redakcją Witolda Doroszewskiego (A tergo Index of Dictionary of Polish Language by W. Doroszewski). Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. Wołosz, R. (2017). Indeks haseł Słownika języka polskiego pod red. J. Karłowicza, A.A. Kryńskiego i W. Niedźwiedzkiego (Index of headwords for Dictionary of Polish Language by J. Karłowicz, A.A. Kryński and W. Niedźwiedzki). http://www.f19.uw.edu.pl/2017/01/lista-haselslownika-warszawskiego/. Acces 10.08.2019.

AG 11

Modelling Diatopic Variation in TEI: the Case of the VICAV Dictionaries

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 14:15–14:45 VMP5 2101/2105

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The *Vienna Corpus of Arabic Varieties* is a web-based project allowing researchers in the field of spoken Arabic varieties to collect and make available digital material concerning their field of interest, including both linguistically relevant data as well as methodological information with regard to data and tools potential be applied in digitally enabled dialectology. Irrespective of its name, VICAV has been working on a number of quite divergent types of digital language resources such as language profiles, linguistic feature lists, sample texts, bibliographies, dictionaries and documentation of digital tools and workflows. Being situated at the crossroads between diatopic linguistic approaches and research-driven text technology, the project has been serving quite diverse aims over time: teaching spoken varieties of modern Arabic, teaching comparatistic Arabic linguistics, teaching text encoding by means of the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) as well as experimenting with new technologies.

The VICAV infrastructure has been used for different research projects so far, the two most important ones being TUNICO (*Linguistic dynamics in the Greater Tunis Area: a corpus-based approach*; FWF P-25706; 2013 – 2016) and TUNOCENT (*The linguistic terra incognita of Tunesia*; FWF P-31647; 2019 – 2023), both projects being focussed on contemporary spoken Tunisian Arabic. As part of the TUNICO project a digital corpus and a digital dictionary were created. The recently started TUNOCENT project will also create lexical data which is integrated into the existing TUNICO dictionary. While the TUNICO dictionary represented data encompassing diachronically distributed data, the new material contains data gleaned in several field campaigns from a large number of different locations. All VICAV digital language resources are encoded in TEI (P5). The presentation will give an outline of involved standards and discuss possibilities to model diatopic variation by means of the TEI's dictionary module.

AG 11

Digital Tools and Dictionaries

Freitag, 06.03.2020 11:45–12:15 VMP5 2101/2105

Sarah Ogilvie (Invited speaker)
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The past decade has seen a rise in popularity of 'digital humanities', i.e. a field of academic research in which computational tools and methods are applied to subject areas that have not traditionally engaged with them (e.g. history, anthropology, classics). Lexicography and digital humanities are not new bed-fellows. This paper traces the history of lexicography and digital humanities, showing that lexicography was one of the first fields to engage in digital research. Using case studies from the Dictionary Lab at the University of Oxford, I will explore various digital tools and methods such as network analysis, graph theory, text analysis, machine learning, data visualization and design, deep learning, sentiment analysis, topic modelling, and geo-rectification and mapping, and will investigate whether or not they are well-suited to the analysis of dictionaries and language.

AG 11

Towards a Regionally Balanced Corpus of Standard German

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
VMP5 2101/2105

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In this talk we present the design of a regionally balanced corpus of present-day written Standard German. It will be compiled from local news sections of recent issues of German, Austrian, and Swiss newspapers. The journals are classified with respect to a set of 8 regions (diatopic areas), also used in the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (VWB²; Ammon *et al.* 2016) and the *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen* (VG; http://mediawiki.idsmannheim.de/VarGra/). We aim at a total of 40 journals, i.e. 5 journals per area. Corpus queries can refer to this areal metadata in a faceted search; in addition, linguistic annotation layers for lemmatization and part-of-speech tagging are provided. The user interface will present the query results in various forms, including, *inter alia*, tabular and cartographic representations of the regional distribution in terms of absolute or relative frequen-cies. The corpus will be made publicly accessible for registered users studying regional variation. A major target group are lexicographers interested in improving the empirical accurateness of diatopic information in German dictionaries.

A corpus of this kind has been described as a desideratum by Bickel, Hofer, and Suter (2015: 544) in an article on the design of the VWB². For lack of such a corpus, the VWB² project used the commercial "wiso" newspaper database by GBI-Genios Deutsche Wirtschaftsdatenbank GmbH, which, however, is missing linguistic annotations. The VG project, in turn, compiled a web corpus of local news sections of newspapers (Datenerhebung 2018); this corpus, albeit regional balanced and linguistically annotated, has not been made available to the general linguistic community due to licensing issues.

References: Ammon, Ulrich et al. (2016). Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen: Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz und Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen. 2nd ed. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. Bickel, Hans, Lorenz Hofer & Sandra Suter (2015). Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen (VWB) – NEU: Dynamik der deutschen Standardvariation aus lexikografischer Sicht. In Regionale Variation des Deutschen: Projekte und Perspektiven, ed. by Roland Kehrein, Alfred Lameli, & Stefan Rabanus. Berlin: de Gruyter, 541–562. Datenerhebung (2018). In Variantengrammatik des Standard-deutschen: Ein Online-Nachschlagewerk. http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/VarGra/index.php/Datenerhebung [26 July 2019].

A Corpus-Based Study on the Variation of German Adverbs in South Tyrol

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
VMP5 2101/2105

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Based on the research project *Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen* (cf. Dürscheid & Elspaß 2015), which has already identified lexical and grammatical variation in the German standard language in South Tyrol (as well as in other German-speaking countries), the present paper compares the language data from the *Variantengrammatik* corpus with data from the KOMMA corpus (cf. Glück & Leonardi 2019). Focusing on German adverbs, the aim of this paper is to investigate empirically the variability as well as the number of frequency of German adverbs with and without suffixes in written and spoken South Tyrolean Standard German.

The purpose of this study is to examine the variation of specially selected adverbs in South Tyrol, Northern Italy. In the *Variantengrammatik* corpus, the following adverbs are listed with and without suffix: *durchweg/durchwegs* ('consistently'), *nochmal/nochmals* ('again'), *öfter/öfters* ('more often/frequently') and *weiter/weiters* ('further'). Even though in German they can be used side by side without any differences in meaning, there is geographical variation in their usage: variants without suffix are mainly used in the northern German-speaking area, whereas those with *-s* are more common in the southern German-speaking area. According to the *Variantengrammatik* corpus, the following relative frequencies can be observed in South Tyrol: 86% with suffix and 14% without suffix (http://mediawiki.ids-mannheim.de/ VarGra/index.php/Adverbien_mit_-s_/_ohne_Suffix).

After having investigated whether this geographical diversity is also mentioned in other dictionaries, such as the National Austrian Dictionary (Österreichisches Wörterbuch), the German *Duden* dictionary or the *Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen* (Ammon et al. 2004; Ammon, Bickel & Lenz 2016), frequencies as well as regional distribution within the written and oral data sets of the KOMMA corpus will be examined. The KOMMA corpus contains 430 authentic written text productions, which were produced in a school context at different German-language high schools in South Tyrol, as well as 43 hours of audio recordings (431,963 tokens), which were specifically elicited for the KOMMA project.

References: Ammon et al. (2004). Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz und Deutschland sowie in Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. Ammon, U.; Bickel, H. & Lenz, A.N. (2016). Variantenwörterbuch des Deutschen. Die Standardsprache in Österreich, der Schweiz, Deutschland, Liechtenstein, Luxemburg, Ostbelgien und Südtirol sowie Rumänien, Namibia und Mennonitensiedlungen. (2nd Edition). Berlin, New York: de Gruyter. Dürscheid, C. & Elspaß, S. (2015). Variantengrammatik des Standarddeutschen. In R. Kehrein; A. Lameli & S. Rabanus (eds.), Regionale Variation des Deutschen. Projekte und Perspektiven. Berlin, Boston: de Gruyter, 563–584. Glück, A., Leonardi, M.M.V. (2019). Zur Verwendung von Präpositionen in Texten und Diskursen von Südtiroler Maturanten. In. S. Kürschner, M. Habermann & P.O. Müller (eds.), Methodik moderner Dialektforschung. Erhebung, Aufbereitung und Auswertung von Daten am Beispiel des Oberdeutschen. (Germanistische Linguistik, 241–243/2019). Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms, 445–470.

Loan Words in Chinese and Linguistic Diversity in the Dicionário Português-Chinês (1583–1588)

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–13:45
VMP5 2101/2105

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When reviewing the history of cultural communication between Europe and China, it can be generally said that European missionaries served as cultural and linguistic ambassadors in China since the 15th century. During their evangelical mission they had to master the Chinese in a short time in the face of many difficulties, during which cultural and linguistic gaps between languages could not be ignored. In order to connect the languages, they developed some effective methodologies applying them to bi-lingual dictionaries editing. These practices have partially influenced each other in ways of word-building and lexical categories. The *Dictionary Portuguese-Chinese* edited from 1583–1588 by Italian missionaries Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci is the object of my research, which aims to investigate how new-word-building methods (especially loan words in Chinese) were applied and how Chinese diversity represented in this bi-lingual dictionary. In my presentation, all examples are analyzed as an integrated system in perspective of lexicography, since dictionaries could be utilized as data carriers but also information transmitters. Other methodologies such as comparative linguistics (feature-by-feature comparison) are used as well, and the comparison is restricted to the lexicon.

Referring to the study of the *Dictionary Portuguese-Chinese*, there have already been published papers and articles focusing on phonology, orthography and lexicology. However, only a few of them put emphasis on its lexicographical value. A few of them just mentioned some fragmented concepts related to Chinese diversity (oral or written language, Mandarin or dialects, etc) but lack in theoretical integration. Therefore, the structure of this presentation will be organized as follows: clarifying lexical selection criteria while editing, analyzing some specific loan words in Chinese of the *Dictionary Portuguese-Chinese* and then illustrating their later development. It is expected that this paper can offer more textual data and inspire further research in the field of bi-lingual lexicography.

References: Dicionário Português-Chinês = Pu Han ci dian = Portuguese-Chinese dictionary. (2001). Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci & John W. Witek, S.J. (eds.). Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional Portugal, Instituto Português do Oriente.

The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* as a Resource for the Investigation of Loan Vocabulary

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:45–14:15
VMP5 2101/2105

Historical dictionaries are traditionally used for looking up singular word senses or word histories. As more and more historical dictionaries are either digitized or designed as online dictionaries from the scratch, more encompassing and systematic ways of using dictionaries and retrieving dictionary information have become possible. Against the background of this development this paper tries to demonstrate the potential of historical dictionaries for the investigation of linguistic diversity. In a case study, one of the most important historical dictionaries of German will be tested as to its usefulness for the investigation of loan vocabulary: the *Neubearbeitung des Deutschen Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm (²DWB)* which is a fully revised version of the letter section *A* to *F* of the original *Deutsches Wörterbuch* founded in 1838. As the *²DWB* covers the German language from its earliest days up to the present and as it includes detailed information about loan words, it is a good basis for answering questions like: How did loan activity develop over centuries? Which donor languages (e.g. Latin, French, English) were predominant at which time? The results of this investigation will be compared with the data provided by the *Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch* (*²DFWb*) which represent an important source for the loan word chapters in P. von Polenz' authoritative *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*. In order to evaluate the findings the different ways in which *²DWB* and *DFWb* define and describe loan vocabulary has to be taken into account, too.

References: ²DFWb = Deutsches Fremdwörterbuch. Begonnen von Hans Schulz, fortgeführt von Otto Basler. 2. Aufl. völlig neubearbeitet im Institut für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim. Bd. 1ff., Berlin, New York 1995ff. ²DWB = Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm. Neubearbeitung. Hg. von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (vormals Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR) und der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Bd. 1ff. Leipzig 1983ff. von Polenz, Peter (1994–2000): Deutsche Sprachgeschichte vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. 1–3. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Expressing the use-mention distinction: An empirical perspective

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) H

Workshop description

In a quotation like in *"Berlin" has two syllables*, a linguistic shape is mentioned in a rule-like fashion, in this case the shape of the name of Germany's capital. While studying the distinction between the standard denotational use of an expression and mentioning it has a long tradition, the mechanisms of how mentioning is explicated in an utterance are not fully understood yet. Our workshop examines the linguistic inventory language users rely on to signal mentioning in an utterance with a focus on areas relating to the interface between semantics and pragmatics and the pairing between form and function, sign language and gesture as well as information structure. Empirically working researchers from various fields investigate phenomena related to different types of quotation ranging from pure and scare quotation to direct and mixed quotation with the aim to contribute to the debate about the nature of the use-mention demarcation.

Marks of quotation must be optional

Mittwoch
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 HG HS H

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Theories of quotation can be classified in terms of the role they ascribe to marks of quotation, understood as dedicated morphemes. 'Type-1' theories, which dominate the field, take marks to be necessary for the generation of quotation. Such theories are endorsed explicitly in Davidson (1979) or Cappelen & Lepore (1997, 2005), but also implicitly adopted by Maier (2014). 'Type-2' theories do grant a specific semantics to marks of quotation, but take them to be mere 'disambiguators' (Clark & Gerrig 1990, Recanati 2001, De Brabanter 2017).

Adopting a type-1 theory has implications that are sometimes overlooked. One of them can be formulated as a disjunction: either (i) written and spoken quotation lend themselves to distinct accounts, or (ii) there must be a spoken correlate of quotation marks, one that is equally necessary to their generation. Since I take an adequate theory of quotation to be valid across mediums (written, spoken, signed), (i) should be rejected. How about (ii)?

Real-life examples abound of pure quotation and direct discourse that is unmarked in writing. There is also a good case that Recanati's 'hybrid' cases can also occur unmarked. With respect to spoken contexts, the few relevant studies have concluded against prosodic markers being equivalent to quotation marks (Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen 1999: 473). This doesn't mean that prosody is never used to signal a quotation. But (i) diverse prosodic cues are used, (ii) not systematically, and (iii) they fulfil several functions (Günthner 1999: 691).

The evidence just alluded to has two possible consequences: either type-1 theories are false, or quotation marks must at least exist as null elements in syntax, not being realised 'at the surface'. I know of no attempt to formulate such an account.

One variant of type-2 theories, which takes quotation to be a 'demonstration' (Clark & Gerrig 1990; Recanati 2001; De Brabanter 2017), fits the empirical bill, while displaying a range of additional advantages. First, it regards quotation as an iconic communicative act (as opposed to ordinary conventional linguistic acts), which explains why quotations can be produced in the absence of dedicated morphemes. Second, it does justice to the 'pictoriality' of quotation, widely acknowledged but still largely disregarded in theory-building. Third, it treats quotation as pertaining to a wider phenomenon that interacts with language use: demonstrations. Like all demonstrations, quotations are nonserious and selective (Clark & Gerrig 1990). I will show that this is true even in the least favourable case of pure quotations.

References: Cappelen, H. & E. Lepore (1997). Varieties of quotation. Mind 106, 429–450. Cappelen, H. & E. Lepore (2005). Varieties of quotation revisited. Belgian Journal of Linguistics 17, 51–75. Clark, H. & R. J. Gerrig (1990). Quotations as demonstrations. Language 66, 764–805. Davidson, D. (1979). Quotation. Theory and Decision 11, 27–40. De Brabanter, P. (2017). Why quotation is not a semantic phenomenon, and why it calls for a pragmatic theory. In I. Depraetere & R. Salkie (eds.), Semantics and Pragmatics: Drawing a Line. Springer, 227–254. Günthner, S. (1999). Polyphony and the „layering of voices" in reported dialogues: An analysis of the use of prosodic devices in everyday reported speech. Journal of Pragmatics 31, 685–708. Klewitz, G. & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1999). Quote-Unquote. The role of prosody in the contextualization of reported speech sequences. Pragmatics 9, 459-485. Maier, E. (2014). Mixed quotation: The grammar of apparently transparent opacity. Semantics & Pragmatics 7, Article 7: 1–67. Recanati, F. (2001). Open quotation. Mind 110, 637–687.

Scare quotes as deontic modals: Evidence from limits on scare quoting

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS H

Despite a growing literature, no well-specified formal semantics of scare quotes (SQs) has been proposed. What has been proved so far is that SQs contribute an additional content informally described as inappropriateness of expression, hostility towards the use of expression (Predelli 2003a), irony (Predelli 2003b), distancing oneself from/rejecting the use of expression (McCullagh 2017) or the lack of commitment to a part of content (Hess 2018).

These informal descriptions allow interesting observations when compared with some constraints imposed on SQ-nominals (# marks the lack of SQ-reading):

(1) a. I talked with doctor Smith.
b. This 'doctor'/#This 'Smith' failed five exams during his graduate studies.
(2) a. The doctor$_i$/He$_i$ told me to give up smoking
b. 'The doctor'/#'He' can be hardly seen without a cigarette in his mouth.
(3) a. There was his signature /There was 'Johnson' added at the bottom of the paper.
b. This 'signature'/# 'Johnson' ' was in fact a daub left by his one-year-old child.

First, while the SQ-reading is perfectly fine for common nouns like *doctor*, it is blocked for proper names like *Smith* in (1b). Second, it is equally blocked by pronouns coreferential with common nouns occupying the same structural positions, as in (2b). Finally, though it is an unresolved problem whether pure quotes instantiate a kind of proper names, here they show exactly the same behaviour as in (1b) blocking the SQ-reading. I propose to take these limitations as following from treating SQs as covert deontic modals. Letting quotes be modal operators, I assume contextually salient norms. Then (1b) is roughly interpreted as follows:

1. NORM: Doctors do not fail medical exams
2. I talked with doctor Smith.
3. *x* such that *x* failed five exams during his graduate studies, was called *doctor* & given the norm in 1. he should not be called *doctor*
4. *x* such that *x* failed five exams during his graduate studies, was called *Smith* & there is no norm saying that *x* should not be called *Smith*

Just as in 4., there are no limitations on forming quotational names, hence the effect in (3b). The lack of SQ-reading in (2b) follows from standard semantics of pronouns whose referents are determined by the assignment function from indexes to individuals. Again, no norms for deontic modality can be reasonably defined for such functions.

References: Hess, L. (2018). Perspectival expressives. Journal of Pragmatics 129, 13–33. McCullagh, M. (2017). Scare-Quoting and Incorporation. In Saka, P. & Johnson, M. (eds.) The Semantics and Pragmatics of Quotation, 3–34. Predelli, S. (2003a). Scare quotes and Their Relation to Other Semantic Issues. Linguistics & Philosophy 26(1), 1–28. Predelli, S. (2003b). 'Sublminable' messages, scare quotes, and the use hypothesis. Belgian Journal of Linguistics 17(1), 153–166.

Interactions of Ironical Scare Quotations and Discourse Particles in Japanese

Mittwoch,
05.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS H

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This talk investigates the interaction of ironical scare quotations and discourse particles in Japanese. The Japanese particle *ne* is compatible with an ironical scare quotation as shown in (1a), while another particle *yo* sounds very odd as shown in (1b). When there is no discourse particle as in (1c), the acceptability of the ironical scare quotation is a little degraded.

(1) [Peter was tailing Tom for two hours and Tom noticed that at the very beginning of Peter's tailing. When Tom entered a cafe, Peter spoke to Tom, saying, 'Hi, Tom, it's really a coincidence!' Tom replies ironically:]

a. Honto 'guuzen' da ne!
really 'coincidence' is NE
'It's really a "coincidence"!'

b. *Honto 'guuzen' da yo!
really 'coincidence' is YO

c. ?Honto 'guuzen' da!
really 'coincidence' is

When there is no quotation marker and the speaker is really surprised that she/he met the hearer, all of three variants are felicitous as in (2).

(2) [Peter spoke to Tom, saying, 'Tom! It's really a coincidence!' Tom is surprised and says:]
Honto guuzen da {ne/yo/φ}!
really coincidence is NE YO

The goal of this talk is to explain why the acceptability of ironical scare quotations differ depending on discourse particles as in (1). It is also investigated how the ironical interpretation of the scare quotation in (1) come about.

As a framework I adopt the judge parameter proposed by Lasersohn (2005) and propose that quotation markers in ironical scare quotations can be treated as judge-shifting operators. After presenting empirical advantages of this treatment of quotation markers, it is shown that the ironical meaning of quotations is conversational implicature as suggested by Gutzmann & Stei (2011). As for semantics of Japanese discourse particles, I develop a theory based on Davis (2009) and McCready (2009). Under these assumptions, the data in (1) and (2) are analyzed and it is shown that the proposed theory correctly predicts the behavior of ironical scare quotations and discourse particles in Japanese.

References: Davis, C. (2009). Decisions, dynamics and the Japanese particle yo. Journal of semantics 26(4), 329–366. Gutzmann, D. & Stei, E. (2011). Quotation marks and kinds of meaning. Arguments in favor of a pragmatic account. In E. Brendel, J. Meibauer & M. Steinbach, Understanding Quotation. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 161–193. Lasersohn, P. (2005). Context dependence, disagreement, and predicates of personal taste. Linguistics and Philosophy, 28(6), 643–686. McCready, E. (2009). Particles: Dynamics vs. utility. Proceedings of Japanese/Korean Linguistics 16, 466–480.

Proper name constructions, quotation marks, and the use-mention distinction

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 HG HS H

The use/mention distinction is a key issue in philosophical and linguistic approaches to quotation (Davidson 1979, Recanati 2001, Cappelen & Lepore 2007), with quotation marks being the most prominent linguistic means to mark this distinction. While it has been pointed out early that there are other linguistic means beyond quotes (Klockow 1980), the complex mechanisms of, e.g., phonetic, graphematic, or gestural means in signaling quotation are not fully understood yet. What is more, it is only recently that the role of special lexical and phrasal constructions and their interaction with quotation marks have come into focus (Finkbeiner 2015, Härtl 2018). In this talk, I will be concerned with the proper name construction as illustrated by (1)–(3).

(1) Maria „Floh" Lindermaier-Färbinger (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 21/22 Apr 2018)
(2) Johanna „Hanni" Steinbrenner (Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 Feb 2017)
(3) Ralf „Möfpf" Meyer (Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 Feb 2017)

In examples (1)–(3), taken from death notices in German newspapers, a linguistic expression – a common noun, a proper noun, or even a non-word – is inserted into a proper noun construction and enclosed within quotation marks, typically receiving the interpretation of an additional, inofficial name of the person referred to by the proper name construction. There is also a variant of the construction in which the additional name is enclosed within round brackets, cf. (4).

(4) Peter (Colt) de Kort (Frankfurter Rundschau, 21/22 Jan 2017)

In my analysis, I will start from the hypothesis that in examples such as (1)–(4), the quotation marks (the brackets) interact with the proper name construction, together signaling a special kind of quotational interpretation. This raises a number of questions, including (i) What type of quotation (pure, scare, mixed, ...) are we dealing with?; (ii) What is the semantic content and the pragmatic function of the quotation marks?; (iii) What semantic or pragmatic differences are there between quotation marks and brackets?; (iv) What are the linguistic characteristics of the proper name construction, and what is its role in the quotational interpretation?; (v) How is the interaction between quotation marks (brackets) and the proper name construction to be characterized? The aim of the talk is to discuss these questions in the light of recent theorizing on the role of constructions at the semantics/pragmatics interface.

References: Cappelen, H. & E. Lepore (2007). Language Turned on Itself: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Metalinguistic Discourse. Oxford. Davidson, D. (1979). Quotation. Theory and Decision 11(1), 27–40. Finkbeiner, R. (2015). "Ich kenne da so einen Jungen... kennen ist gut, wir waren halt mal zusammen weg." On the Pragmatics and Metapragmatics of X ist gut in German. In J. Arendholz et al. (Eds.), The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then. Berlin, 147–176. Härtl, H. (2018). Name-informing and distancing 'sogenannt' ('so-called'): Name-mentioning and the lexicon-pragmatics interface. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 37(2), 139–169. Klockow, R. (1978). Linguistik der Gänsefüßchen. Untersuchungen zum Gebrauch der Anführungszeichen im gegenwärtigen Deutsch. Frankfurt. Recanati, F. (2001). Open quotation. Mind 110(439), 637–387.

Picturing words: the semantics of speech balloons

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
ESA1 HG HS H

Emar Maier
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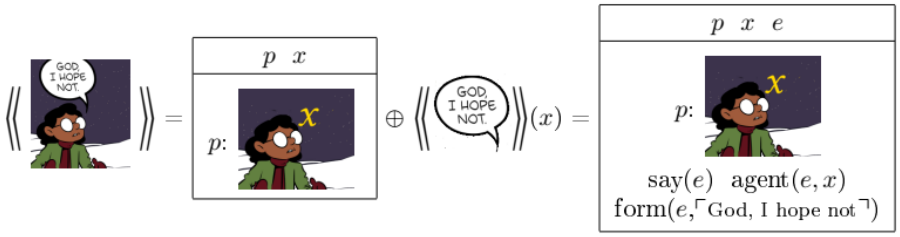
Utterances and pictures both express propositions and hence can be used to tell stories. The key differences between pictorial and linguistic meaning are in how they express propositions. Linguistic meaning is mostly symbolic and compositional, while pictorial meaning is iconic and holistic. On closer inspection, of course, many aspects of language turn out to be more or less iconic, while some aspects of picture interpretation are more symbolic and/or compositional. Interestingly, quotation really straddles the divide. On the one hand, spoken language quotation is often analyzed as iconic: in quoting, a reporter 'demonstrates' a previous speech act by producing something similar (Clark & Gerrig1990). On the other hand, speech balloons, the conventional device for quoting speech and thought in pictorial narratives, are highly symbolic and compositional. The goal of this talk is to give a compositional semantics of speech and thought balloons, integrated into a projection-based dynamic semantic account for pictorial narratives. To this end I extend Maier & Bimpikou's (2019) PicDRT framework for interpreting wordless comics (in turn based on Abusch 2012), with some Davidsonian event semantics, and then apply the powerful event-modification semantics of quotation (Davidson 2015). In a nutstell, the minimal information that the salient individuals depicted in a panel participate in some event(s) is encoded semantically: each new individual dref (associated with a region of interest in the picture) comes with an event dref. Bubbles of various shapes contribute different types of speech and thought events, whose agents are specified by the discourse referents corresponding to the regions these bubbles point to. I conclude thaI conclude that quotation is the key phenomenon to study for linguists interested in multimodal communication and the relationships between linguistic and pictorial meaning.



References: Abusch, D. (2012). Applying Discourse Semantics and Pragmatics to Co-reference in Picture Sequences. Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 17. Clark, H. & R. Gerrig. (1990). Quotations as demonstrations. Language 66(4). Davidson, K. (2015). Quotation, demonstration, and iconicity. Linguistics and Philosophy 38(6), 477–520. Maier, E. & S. Bimpikou. (2019). Shifting perspectives in pictorial narratives. Sinn und Bedeutung 23 (2).

AG 12

Expressing the use-mention distinction at the gesture-sign interface

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–10:00
ESA1 HG HS H

Markus Steinbach (Invited talk)
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In their seminal paper, Clark and Gerrig (1990) highlighted the importance of gestural demonstration for a comprehensive theory of spoken language quotation. Still, most formal semantic and pragmatic theories of quotation mainly focused on the analysis of the formal orthographic devise of quotation marks used in the written modality of language. Only with the advent of formal semantic and pragmatic analysis of quotation in sign languages as well as an increasing interest in gestural demonstrations used in quotations in both modalities, the idea of "quotation as demonstrations" is back on the table (see, e.g. Goldin-Meadow & Brentari 2017; Schlenker 2018). Especially Kate Davidson's (2015) unified analysis of English "be-like" constructions and role shift in American Sign Language (ASL) does not only offer a smart extension of Donald Davidson's (1984) traditional analysis of written language quotations as semantic demonstrations and Clark and Gerrig's analysis of spoken language quotations as gestural demonstrations but also paved the way for a new formal account of quotation across modalities at the interface between semantics and pragmatics. In this paper, I'll first outline the complexity of multi-modal quotations in all three modalities with a focus on gestural demonstrations in spoken and sign languages. In the second part, I'll propose an extended version of a theory of quotation as (linguistic and gestural) demonstrations to make another step towards a unified and cross-modal theory of quotation beyond (but not excluding) the meaning of quotation marks.

References: Clark, H.H. & R.J. Gerrig (1990). Quotations as demonstrations. Language 66, 764–805. Davidson, D. (1984). Quotation. In Donald Davidson, Inquiries into truth and interpretation. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 79–92. Davidson, K. (2015). Quotation, demonstration, and iconicity. Linguistics & Philosophy 38, 477–520. Goldin-Meadow, S. & D. Brentari (2017). Gesture, sign and language: The coming of age of sign language and gesture studies. Brain and Behavioral Sciences 39, 1–17. Schlenker, P. (2018). Visible meaning: Sign language and the foundations of semantics. Theoretical Linguistics 44(3–4), 123–208.

AG 12

Focus and quotation in English echo questions

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 HG HS H

James Griffiths[1] , **Güliz Güneş**[1, 2], **Anikó Lipták**[2]
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In this talk, we examine the extent to which English *echo questions* (EQs) are quotative and explore how focus in EQs interacts with quotation. Delimiting an EQ as a constituent or polar question that necessarily relates to an *echoed utterance* (an EU) and which displays a specific prosodic signature (namely, a rising pitch accent H*L on the focus item and a high-rising bounding tone HH%), **we claim that:** [C1] EQs are not inherently quotative (i.e. they need not contain any items quoted from the EU) and [C2] the unique prosodic tune associated with EQs does not introduce quotation by convention, but often introduces quotation indirectly via pragmatic inference. **The result is** a pragmatic and procedural approach to licensing quotation by echo focus that aligns with the pragmatic approach to licensing quotation in written language encapsulated in Gutzmann & Stei (2011).

The prior literature contains three main claims about the alleged inherent quotativity of EQs: that the echo-focused item can correspond to a syntactic non-constituent (and therefore echo focus operates over phonological strings) (1) (Bolinger 1978, Janda 1985, and Sudo 2010), that the EQ must quote the clause-typing portion its EU (2) (Escandell-Videl 2002, Sobin 2010) and that a quotative mechanism is involved in allowing wh-phrases in EQs to occupy irregular category slots (such as NP) (see 1 & 2) (Beck & Reis 2018). **To motivate [C1]**, we marshall extant and novel evidence against each of these claims.

(1) A: The dog wanted to eat the cat. B: The what? (adapted from Bolinger 1987 : 263)
(2) A: Pass me the jackhammer. B: Pass you the what?

Elaborating on [C2]: We argue that the H*L pitch accent borne by the focused item F in an EQ functions to restrict the set of contextually-determined alternatives of F to a singleton set that includes the echoed item in the antecedent utterance (Sudo 2010, Beck & Reis 2018). We also assume that linguistic expressions are, by default, interpreted as used rather than mentioned (Gutzmann & Stei 2011). From a default denotational perspective, the restriction of the echoed item's alternatives to a singleton set will result in an EQ being an uninquisitive question whenever the denotation of the correlate is known to all participants. This failure of EQs to be inquisitive triggers a pragmatic inference that the EQ is either asking an information-seeking question about a non-truth-conditional aspect of the EU, or is performing a clarificatory function (Ginzburg 2012). Either way, this failure serves as a cue to interpret focus as targeting implicatures or presuppositions triggered by the focused item, or as targeting the use or form of the expression. The latter two uses are uncontestably quotative.

References: Arstein, R. (2002). A focus semantics for echo questions. In Workshop on Information Structure in Context. Beck, S. & M. Reis. (2018). On the form and interpretation of echo questions. Journal of Semantics 35, 369–408. Gutzmann, D. & E. Stei (2011). How quotation marks what people do with words. Journal of Pragmatics 43.

Diversity in pragmatic inferences: experimental data, computational models, and the semantics/pragmatics interface

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) H

Workshop description

The discussion on the distinction between Semantics and Pragmatics has a long tradition, and recent developments such as the Experimental Turn in Pragmatics and the implementation of computational models shed new light on our understanding of the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface. The goal of our workshop is to explore theoretical implications of recent experimental findings, and to broaden the discussion by taking into account a diverse set of pragmatic inferences. Research on conversational implicatures has largely focused on scalar implicatures, and, within the class of scalar implicatures, most research has been confined to a handful of Horn scales, including <some, all> and <or, and>. The focus on this narrow sample of conversational implicatures may be understood in terms of an implicit uniformity assumption assuming that all Horn scales behave alike. However, experimental research has shown substantial variability within the class of scalar inferences (Doran et al. 2009; van Tiel et al. 2016) and this variability has been found to interact with the degree semantics of different scales (Gotzner et al. 2018; Leffel et al. 2019). In addition, there is a broad class of other types of implicature such as R/I and Manner implicatures, that stand in competition with each other (Horn 1989; 2017; Levinson 2000), which up to now have received relatively little attention in the (experimental) literature. For example, the sentence *John is intelligent* may trigger the scalar implicature that *he is not brilliant*; however, *intelligent* may also be strengthened to *brilliant* (as a form of understatement). When a scalar term occurs under negation, as in *John is not brilliant*, two competing interpretation arise such that *not brilliant* may be understood as rather dumb (negative strengthening) or as *intelligent but not brilliant* (scale reversal). Research in this domain highlights the role of semantic factors in the computation of implicature and its interplay with politeness and other cognitive factors. However, not only the recent widening of the perspective to diverse types of scales and pragmatic inferences contributes to our growing understanding of the semantics and pragmatics of scales, there is also continuing progress in research on the prototypical <some, all> scale. In this workshop, there will be, for example, contributions considering the time course of scalar inferences and their interaction with specific aspects of discourse organisation such as turn taking.

Overall, this workshop will provide a forum for theoretical and experimental research on scalar diversity and the relevance of non-scalar implicatures to our understanding of the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface. A central aim is to gather researchers working in different theoretical frameworks, and to revive the *border wars* debate (Horn 2006), in light of new experimental evidence. Our keynote speaker is Laurence Horn who will speak about 'Implicature: A golden anniversary tour'.

References: Doran, R., Baker, R. E., McNabb, Y., Larson, M. & Ward, G. (2009). On the non-unified nature of scalar implicature: an empirical investigation. International Review of Pragmatics, 1, 1–38. Franke, M. & Degen, J. (2016). Reasoning in reference games: individual vs. population-level probabilistic modeling. PLoS One, 11 (5). Gotzner, N., Solt, S. & Benz, A. (2018). Scalar diversity, negative strengthening, and adjectival semantics. Frontiers in Psychology. Horn, Laurence R. (2006). The border wars. In Klaus von Heusinger & Ken P. Turner (eds.), Where Semantics Meets Pragmatics. Oxford: Elsevier. Levinson, S. (2000). Presumptive meanings. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. van Tiel, B., van Miltenburg, E., Zevakhina, N. & Geurts, B. (2016). Scalar diversity. Journal of Semantics, 33(1), 107–135.

Implicature: A golden anniversary tour

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:45–12:45
ESA1 HG HS H

Laurence Horn (Keynote)
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Although Grice rolled out his program for conversational and conventional implicature in his 1967 William James lectures, after first defining (but not labeling) those relations in his "Causal Theory of Perception" (Grice 1961: §3), it was not until the 1970s that linguists began to invoke the role of implicature to provide a fuller picture of the landscape of meaning beyond entailment and presupposition and to account for the distribution of lexical items and meaning change. By the late 1960s, linguists had discovered presupposition (cf. McCawley 1968, Fillmore 1969, Horn 1969, Lakoff 1969, Morgan 1969, Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970). But "presupposition" has been employed within both linguistic semantics and the philosophy of language to cover a multitude of *Sinns*; as has been periodically pointed out (e.g. Karttunen & Peters 1979, Simons 2001, Karttunen 2016), so-called "presuppositional phenomena" in fact form a disparate and heterogeneous class, many (but not all!) of whose members can be located in the workings of conversational and conventional implicature, as described by Grice (1967) and presaged in earlier work by Mill (1865) and Frege (1918). In particular, the notion of scalar implicature arose from the recognition (Horn 1970, 1972; Chomsky 1970) that presuppositional treatments of the relevant phenomena, including the relation of (1a) to (1b) and the upper-bounded understanding of (2), would be empirically unsatisfactory.

(1) a. Few arrows hit the target.
    b. Some arrows hit the target.
(2) a. Two of my five children are in elementary school.
    b. No more than two of my children are in elementary school.

On hearing (2), "one is entitled to assume that three of my children are not in elementary school, perhaps by virtue of general conditions on discourse of a sort that have been discussed by Paul Grice in his work on 'conversational implicature'" (Chomsky 1970: §7.1.3). Chomsky goes on to suggest, with some hesitation, that the "presupposition" in (1) should be incorporated in a theory of grammar, while that in (2)—involving "quite another sense" of presupposition, should not be. In any case, he adds, "It would be of some interest to develop sharper analytic criteria in this area." As I shall try to show, much of the history of theoretical and experimental pragmatics in the 50 years since these words were written can be seen as an attempt to address this challenge.

Selected references: Chomsky, N. (1970). Some empirical issues in the theory of transformational grammar. Distrib. by Indiana U. Linguistics Club. Frege, G. (1918) Thought. In M. Beaney (ed.), The Frege Reader, 325–345. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997. Grice, H.P. (1961). The causal theory of perception. Proc. Arist. Soc. 35: 121–152. Grice, H.P. (1967). The William James lectures, published in Studies in the Way of Words, Harvard U. Press, 1989. Horn, L.R. (1969). A presuppositional analysis of only and even. CLS 5, 98-107. Horn, L. (1972) On the semantic properties of logical operators in English. UCLA dissertation. Karttunen, L. (2016). Presupposition: What went wrong. SALT 26, 705–731. Kiparsky, P. & C. Kiparsky (1970). Fact. In M. Bierwisch & K. Heidolph (eds.), Progress in Linguistics, 143–173. Mouton. Morgan, J.L. (1969). On the treatment of presupposition in transformational grammar. CLS 5, 167–177. Mill, J.S. (1865). An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, 2d ed. Longmans.

AG 13

I like you may actually implicate 'I love you': A reconsideration of some scalar implicatures

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS H

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A scalar implicature is a conversational implicature that is derived from a set of salient contrastive alternatives usually linearly ordered in semantic or informational strength such as a Horn scale. It is dependent on the non-use of the semantically or informationally stronger alternatives that could have been used in the same set. A typical example is that the use of the existential quantifier *some* implicates 'not all'.

But this is not always the case. In this article, I discuss three 'marked' or 'non-canonical' cases of scalar implicatures in three different languages: (i) the use of 'I like you' to implicate 'I love you' in Chinese, (ii) the use of a general noun 'person' to refer to the speaker's husband or her boy's father in Malagasy, and (iii) the use of a weaker scalar expression to imply the meaning of its stronger alternative in English. I argue that contrary to a popular but erroneous view, this type of 'marked' or 'non-canonical' use is actually implicated in a classical way, with maximum theoretical parsimony, from Grice's co-operative principle and its component maxims of conversation. I then provide a novel analysis within the same neo-Gricean pragmatic framework, combining both the Q- and I/R-principles. In this account, two aspects of scalar implicature are distinguished: epistemic and non-epistemic. For generating the non-epistemic aspect of scalar implicatures 'from weak to not stronger', Horn scales and the Q-principle are retained; for engendering the epistemic aspect of scalar implicature, a set such as <like, love> is treated as forming an Atlas-Levinson rather than a Horn scale and the computation of it is subject to the I/R-principle.

References: Bonnefon, J-F. et al. (2009). When some is actual all: scalar inferences in face-threatening context. Cognition 112, 249–258. Horn, Laurence R. (2010). From if to iff: conditional perfection as pragmatic strengthening. Journal of Pragmatics 32, 289–326. Huang, Y. (2014). Pragmatics. (2nd edition). Oxford University Press. Huang, Y (2017). Implicature. In Huang, Y. (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of Pragmatics. Oxford University Press, 155–179. Huang, Y. (in prep.). Conversational Implicature. Contracted to be published by Oxford: Oxford University Press. Levinson, Stephen C. (2000). Presumptive Meanings: The Theory of Generalized Scalar Implicature. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

AG 13

Diverse mechanisms explain Scalar Diversity

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS H

Richard Breheny[1], Chao Sun[2], Nicole Gotzner[3], Anton Benz[3]
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Scalar Diversity (SD) Effect: When research on scalar inference has looked at scalar expressions beyond the usual quantifiers like 'some' and connectives like 'or', a consistent finding has been that participants seem more liable to derive a scalar inference in some cases than others (Doran et al. 2009; van Tiel et al. 2016). The main focus of research on SD has been to consider ways in which relations between the scalar term and its Alternative, or sentences containing them, might impact on participants responses. Viewing SD through the prism of exhaustification wrt alternatives explains only a limited amount of variance. In this paper, we will explain how other well-studied pragmatic mechanisms could be involved in explaining SD. In particular, we will look at ways in which apparent scalar inference is derived without exhaustification wrt alternatives. The starting point will be to consider noun phrases containing numerals ('two children'), which can be understood in a lower-bounded, 'at least' mode as well as a doubly-bounded, 'exactly' mode (Horn 1992; Geurts 2006 a.o.). While the ambiguity can be understood in terms of scalar implicature/exhaustification, there is reason to question this approach (Horn 1992; Breheny 2008). Recent work (Kennedy 2015; Buccola & Spector 2016) treats numerical expressions like 'two' as picking out a degree on a scale of cardinality and derives the 'exactly' reading in terms of a Maximality operation. We show that a similar explanation of apparent scalar inference can be applied to most scalar expressions used in van Tiel et al.'s study. We propose that, conceptually, language users may derive apparent scalar inference either through negating a salient alternative (exhaustification) or by relating a scalar term to an underlying degree scale and applying some kind of maximality operation. Our proposal is that expressions used to demonstrate the SD effect differ in the extent to which they are biased to be strengthened via Maximality. We have devised experimental measures which are able to probe this bias and a second strengthening bias pushing up the standard up the scale. In our studies, measures which probe relations of Association and Distinctness between scalar terms and their alternatives, devised by van Tiel et al., can explain around 40% of variance. The addition of our two further measures bring to above 70% the variance explained. In sum, measures motivated by the standard approach (negating Alternatives) and measures related to these other operations not involving exhaustification all significantly explain variance. We conclude from this that there are multiple mechanisms involved in the SD effect and that apparent scalar implicature may be arrived at by more than one route.

References: Horn, L. (1992). The said and the Unsaid. (SALT II Proceedings), 163–192. Breheny, R. (2008). J. of Semantics. 25(2), 93–139. Buccola, B. & Spector, B. (2016). Linguistics & Philosophy. 39, 151–199. Doran et al. (2009). International Review of Pragmatics, 1, 211–248. Geurts, B. (2006). Take "five": the meaning and use of a number word', Non-Definiteness and Plurality. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 311–329. Kennedy, C. (2015). Semantics and Pragmatics, 8(10), 1–44. Van Tiel, B., Van Miltenburg, E., Zevakhina, N. & Geurts, B. (2016). Scalar diversity. Journal of Semantics, 33(1), 137–175.

The scalar interpretation of double negation

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS H

Sentences may contain two consecutive negatives in languages without negative concord. This is despite the fact that, logically, the doubly-negated element (sans negations) should suffice to convey the same meaning [1]. Nonetheless, doubly-negated expressions seem to convey a meaning different from the affirmative element: "not unhappy" does not mean "happy" [1,2]. It has been suggested that adding a second negator to an already negated adjective makes a weaker statement than the (logically) equivalent affirmative, by compelling an unexcluded middle [3]. The main aim of this study is to provide empirical evidence for the scalar interpretation of doubly-negated expressions. We specifically considered the notion that double negation might not be dissimilar from the category of approximators which adapt an expression to a non-prototypical situation [4], and thus included those in our experiment for comparison. A second aim was to examine the differences between two kinds of double negation constructions. In Hebrew, unincorporated double negations (*lo lo*, similar to *not not*) are highly productive (and can be used with nouns and verbs). A second type of negation, *bilti*, functions similarly to *un-* in creating contrariety. It appears less often, only with adjectives, and can also be used in double negation construction (*lo bilti*). In our experiment, participants were asked to determine the range of simple expressions on a given adjective scale. For example, they had to mark with parentheses the range that the expression *not interesting* occupied on a scale with *interesting* on one side and boring on the other. We examine several adjectives, in their bare form, or modified by a single negation in two constructions (*not interesting* using both the equivalent of "not" and "bilti"), by double negation (*not not/not bilti interesting*) or by hedges (*kind of/ a bit interesting*). Adjectives of the same scales (interesting and boring), as well as the combinations with the modifiers, were counterbalanced across participants, such that each participant saw each scale only once. For analysis, we extracted three parameters from the responses – (i) the range's size, (ii) the central point of the range, and (iii) whether it included the relevant edge (i.e. 'interesting' for *interesting* and *not not interesting*, and 'boring' for *not interesting*). Initial results from 30 participants show that both kinds of double negation in Hebrew differ significantly from the bare adjectives on all 3 parameters, such that the ranges for bare adjectives are smaller, located closer to the logically-relevant edge and include the edge more often than the doubly-negated expressions. This result confirms the suggestion that double negation allows for a weaker interpretation of the (supposedly) equivalent affirmative, while retaining the possibility of being interpreted logically. Additionally, both kinds of double negation differ significantly from the hedges: they were bigger than 'a bit' (but did not differ on the central point), and their center was closer to the edge than the center of 'kind of' (and only *not bilti* also differed on size). This result suggests that double negations afford a wider range of interpretation, likely determined by context. Finally, *not not* and *not bilti* were similar on size and center, but differ significantly on edge inclusion. This result shows that the two kinds of double negation differ only in respect to the possibility for a logical reading: while a logical interpretation is generally avoided in both, *not not* allows for it more often than *not bilti*.

References: [1] Horn, L. (2010). The expression of negation. [2] Jespersen, O. (1924). The philosophy of grammar. [3] Horn, L. (2017). Formal Models in the Study of Language. [4] Prince et al. (1982). Linguistics and the Professions.

Remarks on the interpretation of negated absolute adjectives

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS H

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Absolute adjectives (*open/closed*), in contrast with relative adjectives (*tall/short*), are said to behave symmetrically, the negation of one form entailing the assertion of the other (Kennedy and McNally 2005, Kennedy 2007). However, Paradis and Willners (2006) showed that the entailments do not always hold, four asymmetric patterns being identified in Swedish. The asymmetries are attributed to the scaling potential the absolute adjectives acquire contextually.

This paper aims at investigating the profiles of negated absolute adjectives in Romanian. Based on the assumption that the weaker sentential negation *nu A* 'not A' may be used as a substitute for a stronger option, a judgement test was designed, in which the interpretation of *nu A* 'not A' (*not healthy*) is tested against the affixal negation *neA* 'unA' (*unhealthy*), *non-A* (*non-healthy*) and the antonym *B (ill)*. This may prove useful as the negative affixes and polar antonyms have different encodings, pointing to different places on the scale. While *nu* 'not' usually denotes the entire negative part of the scale, the antonym *B* denotes the absolute end of the scale and *ne-* 'un-' usually gives rise to scalar negative compounds, denoting an intermediate position on the scale. The lexicalization of the antonym *B* was a prerequisite for this study, while this was not necessary for the negative compounds. Supported by preliminary testing, our hypothesis is that when the polar opposite *B* of an absolute adjective is lexicalised, the negative compound *neA* 'unA' is not strengthened to the meaning of the antonym. We predict that if the participants choose the *neA* compound as the intended interpretation for *nu A* 'not A', regardless whether the negative compound is lexicalised or not, then the adjectives have no longer equivalent meanings, but they display some relative-like features.

The results confirm the asymmetric behaviour, the profiles of the adjectives showing different degrees of scalarity, displayed on a continuum ranging from having no scaling potential to having a strong or weak relative-like interpretation. Accordingly, three main categories of adjectives have emerged: absolute, relative-like and adjectives that can be either absolute or relative. In sum, the results show variation among the absolute adjectives as a class but also inside the mentioned subclasses. Furthermore, the adjectives do not seem to cluster in pairs but rather independently. Although only a few negative compounds are lexicalized, the participants have supplied the non-lexicalised compounds in order to fill in the gap between *nu A* 'not A' and the polar opposite *B*.

References: Kennedy, Christopher & Louise McNally (2005). Scale structure and the semantic typology of gradable predicates. Language 81(2), 345–381. Kennedy, Christopher (2007). Vagueness and grammar: the semantics of relative and absolute gradable adjectives. Linguistics and Philosophy 30, 1–45. Paradis, Carita & Caroline Willners (2006). Antonymy and negation — The boundedness hypothesis. Journal of Pragmatics 38, 1051–1080.

Be timely: How turn-taking gaps influence implicatures

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 HG HS H

Most studies of implicatures focus on how lexical items, and to a lesser extent intonation, trigger implicatures. Less work has examined how implicatures arise from speaker delivery and conversational interaction with their interlocutor. Consider the following examples:

(1) a. Sam: Hey, can you come to my party tonight?
b. Ben: **No I can't #** vs. ...No, I'cant
(2) a. Sam: Hey, do you think that it is about time to shave my head?
b. Ben: No, you have plenty of hair. vs. ...**No, you have plenty of hair. #**

In (1), a "no" response with a short gap is generally received as less polite than one followed by a longer gap (see Bögels et al. 2015). This supports the *maximize agreement hypothesis* (Pomerantz & Heritage 2012), questions are tailored towards agreement and predicts a bias for affirmations and short pauses and one for disaffirmations and longer pauses. Example (2), does not seem to be driven by question bias and invites additional implicatures: the longer pause makes the statement less sincere. This has been found to suppress scalar implicature rates (Bonnefon et al. 2015), but like maximize agreement, this is driven by politeness considerations. Our investigation examines whether implicatures from pause meaning are determined by question bias or whether pauses take on meaning independent of question bias.

We conducted two *Wizard of Oz* experiments, in which one author acted as a live confederate in an interactive picture matching task. Unbeknownst to the interlocutor, the confederate's answers to critical items were pre-recorded to insure control over the timing of the answer and the participant's response. All experimental items had three different pause types (short pause, long unfilled pause, long filled pause. In Experiment 1, some trials had affirmative questions (3a), whereas *no* trials had negated questions (4a), but no trials received both question types in Experiment 2:

(3) a. Participant: Waren Tomaten hinüber? *(Were tomatoes broken?)*
b. Confederate: Einige *(some)* waren hinüber (SP)(....LP) (..ehh...FP)
(4) a. Participant: Waren Tomaten nicht hinüber? *(Were tomatoes not broken?)*
b. Confederate: Nein *(no)* (SP)(....LP) (..ehh...FP)

In Experiment 1, implicature rates and processing times for *some* trials did not differ between long unfilled and filled pauses. This was not the case for *no* trials: listeners choose affirmative interpretations for *no* under negated questions for in the no-pause and filled pause conditions, but were more likely and quicker to choose the disaffirmative interpretation in the unfilled pause condition. This suggests that question bias only extends to polar answers, but pause length can alter polarity in ambitious answers.

References: Bögels, Kendrick & Levinson (2015). Never say no... How the brain interprets the pregnant pause in conversation, PLOSone. Bonnefon, Dahl & Holtgraves (2015). Some but not all preferred turn markers help to interpret scalar terms in polite contexts. Thinking & Reasoning.

The pragmatic status of strong exhaustive readings of embedded questions (Poster)

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

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We provide support for the view that the strong exhaustive (SE) reading of embedded questions under *know* has the status of a pragmatic inference (Uegaki 2015), similar to a scalar implicature (SI) (cf. Spector 2006). Hereto, we present experimental data and show that both SE inferences and SIs can be blocked by the German discourse particle *schon*. **Background**: Originally, it was assumed that the SE reading is the semantic and only interpretation of such questions (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984). However, Cremers & Chemla (2016) present experimental evidence for the acceptance of weaker intermediate exhaustive (IE) readings, that are entailed by the SE interpretation, and Cremers et al. (2017) relate exhaustivity inferences to SIs. Along the same lines, Uegaki (2015) analyses the SE reading as a pragmatic inference that can be suspended. **Experimental data**: We will report on experiments that also attested IE readings for questions embedded under *know* in German but found that these are less preferred than SE readings: The majority of participants (72%) judged sentences like (1) as contradictory, i.e. they drew the SE inference and did not access or accept an IE interpretation.

(1) Jan knows who of the flatmates ate pasta, but he does not know that Beth and Chloe didn't.

Thus, the pragmatically strengthened reading constitutes the preferred interpretation. This is a parallel to SIs. **The particle *schon***: Zimmermann (2018) analyses *schon* ('alright') as a not-at issue root modal operator indicating that the factual evidence in favour of *p* outweighs evidence for *not-p*. Stressed *SCHON* can block PCIs, SIs as well as SE inferences (2a), thereby making the continuation in (2b) fully acceptable.

(2) a. Anna weiß (SCHON) wer auf der Party getanzt hat.
Anna knows PRT who at the party danced has
without PRT ⟶ Anna knows who didn't (SE)
with PRT ⇸ Anna knows who didn't
b. … but she does not know that these are all dancers. *(?? without SCHON)*

Upcoming experiments: Ex. 1 tests the hypothesis that *schon* supports the blocking of the SE inference. We compare sentences as in (1) with and without the particle *schon* and expect that with the particle they will be judged as less contradictory than without it. **Ex. 2** investigates the hypothesis that the acceptability of sentence pairs like (3) increases when *schon* is added.

(3) Anna ate (SCHON) some gummi bears. She namely ate all.

References: Cremers, A. & E. Chemla (2016). A psycholinguistic study of the exhaustive readings of embedded questions. Journal of Semantics 33(1), 49–85. Cremers et al. (2017). Children's exhaustive readings of questions. Language Acquisition 24(4), 343–360. Groenendijk, J. & M. Stokhof (1984). Studies on the semantics of questions and the pragmatics of answers, PhD thesis, University of Amsterdam. Heim, I. (1994). Interrogative semantics and Karttunen' semantics for know. In. Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference and the Workshop on Discourse of the Israel Association for Theoretical Linguistics, 128–144. Jerusalem: Academon. Spector, B. (2006). Aspects de la pragmatique des opérateurs logiques. Doctoral Dissertation, Université Paris 7. Uegaki, W. (2015). Interpreting questions under attitudes . Cambridge, MA: MIT dissertation. Zimmerman, M. (2018). Wird schon stimmen! A degree operator analysis of schon. Journal of Semantics 35(4), 687–739.

The interplay between scalar inference & emotional valence: an interactional alternative (Poster)

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

Most of the experimental paradigms in previous scalar implicature (SI) studies made use of single utterance stimuli to test scalar inference. While some studies exploring SI in relation to politeness used contextually richer stimuli they often fail to capture the interactional and emergent nature of assessments of im/politeness (Terkourafi et al. 2020). To this end, we propose an experimental paradigm which systematically manipulates the emotional valence of dyadic interactional contexts as a way of empirically implementing face-threat (FT)* vs. -boost (FB)** and documents its effects on SI derivation.

Sun et al. (2018) propose that scalar terms can be underspecified to different extents. This leaves open the question whether the same scalar term might have a systematic preference for either a pragmatic (two-sided) or a semantic (one-sided) interpretation in FB versus FT contexts and how the term's lexical semantics (positive vs. negative) might play into this preference. We hypothesize that scalars with positively valenced semantics are more sensitive to the emotional valence of the context than scalars with negatively valenced semantics. This hypothesis is tested through a three-step experimental protocol administered to speakers of American English through M-Turk. First, positively and negatively valenced scalar sets were elicited by means of an online survey. To check that the scalar sets obtained are comparable with respect to scale distance (Simons & Warren 2018), we next elicited measures of the relative distance between scalar alternates in the elicited sets. Lastly, we presented participants with utterances containing scalar terms embedded in either the FB or the FT version of a range of vignettes, as assessed by them, and asked them to rate the likelihood that the speaker who used the weaker term in a scalar set meant the stronger term. This experiment also measured the perceived consequences of the use of the scalar- containing utterance on the relationship between speaker and hearer. Preliminary results show that while positively valenced scalar terms might receive a different interpretation in FB vs. FT contexts, negatively valenced terms seem to override context considerations such that the lexical semantics of the negatively valenced scalar term singlehandedly changes the valence of an otherwise FB context to an FT one. These results help us begin to unravel some of the parameters of UBELE (upper-bound excluded local enrichment), that Sun et al. (2018) put forward as an important factor determining SI derivation. We additionally discuss the merits of this three-step protocol in terms of ecological validity (Kendrick 2017) and as an interactionally oriented alternative to more semantically oriented investigations of the interface of politeness with scalar implicatures.

* Situations in which the speaker is expressing disaffiliation, antagonism, disapproval or, contempt
** Situations in which the speaker is actively expressing affiliation, solidarity, approval or, admiration for the hearer

References: Kendrick, K.H. (2017). Using Conversation Analysis in the Lab, Research on Language and Social Interaction, 50(1), 1–11. Simons, A. & Warren, T. (2018). A closer look at strengthened readings of scalars. Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology 71, 272–279. Sun, C., Tian, Y. & Breheny, R. (2018). A Link Between Local Enrichment and Scalar Diversity. Frontiers in Psychology, 9 (NOV), 1–12. Terkourafi, M., Weissman, B. & Roy, J. (2020). Different scalar terms are affected by face differently. International Review of Pragmatics 12.1.

Language External Factors as Predictors in Language Processing (Poster)

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

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It is assumed that prediction based on probabilistic inferences is a characteristic feature of language processing. Yet, audio-visual integration work shows that language processing can be manipulated and altered through real but also suggestive evidence like the presence of an experimenter speaking a different dialect than the tested person (Brunelle & Jannedy 2013) and co-occurring visually presented information (Hay & Drager 2010) evoking concepts or prejudices. Thus, information present in the ambient environment influences sound processing and contributes to the probabilistic inferences drawn. Moreover, there are individual differences in the probabilistic inferences drawn based on personal experiences, cultural differences and social factors. In our work, we have investigated the influence of language external factors such as shared social knowledge about gender, regional and social variation on language processing.

Jannedy & Weirich (2014) showed that co-presented names of Berlin neighborhoods (multi- vs. monoethnic) caused differential perception of the fricative /ç/ revealing the relevance of exploring intra-individual differences and stylistic diversity. Inter-listener variation was found between age groups: the perception of /ç/ as /ʃ/ in the context of a visually presented name of a multi-ethnic district was more prevalent in older listeners. Thus, dependent on their prior language experience and the information in the ambient environment, listeners attach different probabilities to each variant and make different predictions. Kleber at al. (2018) tested a morphed vowel continuum from *Wicht* to *wischt* in German with a fricative intermediate between /ç/ and /ʃ/. They tested the predictions listeners derived from visual stimuli typical for the Northern German dialect where both /ç/ and /ʃ/ are distinctive phonemes and the Hessian dialect where /ç/ and /ʃ/ have merged to /ʃ/. With Hessian primes, there were more /ʃ/ responses and perception was less categorical and showed greater confusion. Results indicate that respondents integrated their world knowledge when categorizing these two words. Moreover, Weirich & Simpson (2018) detected inter-individual differences in gender specific phonetic variation and showed that self-ascribed masculinity ratings contribute to the variability found within the same gender.

Our work shows that language processing has to take into account language external factors as predictors, such as shared cultural believes including those mediated by age, gender, regional and social differentiation like accent or sociolects or stereotypes of speakers and listeners and the specific situational contexts.

AG 13

Selected references: Jannedy, S. & M. Weirich (2014). Sound change in an urban setting: Category instability of the palatal fricative in Berlin. Laboratory Phonology 5.1, 91–122. Kleber, F., Lowery, M. & Stegmaier, R. (2018) The production and perception of the German /s, c, ʃ/ contrast. Proc. of P & P. Berlin. Weirich M. & Simpson, A. (2018). Gender identity is indexed and perceived in speech. PLoS ONE 13(12):e0209226. DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0209226

Reassessing the distinction between ad-hoc and scalar implicatures (Poster)

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

Being instances of quantity implicatures, ad-hoc and scalar implicatures suggest a hearer to infer more informative utterances the speaker could have uttered, but did not. They inherently differ, however, in the way these implicatures are justified. Scalar implicatures depend on lexicalized Horn-scales, whereas ad-hoc implicatures demand salient, contextually relevant alter- native utterances. This difference has led to theoretical frameworks that emphasize a fundamental distinction between ad-hoc and scalar implicatures: Scalar implicatures can be computed virtually independent from the context (e.g. Levinson 2000), whereas ad-hoc implicatures cannot. However, other accounts suppose a common origin for both implicature types (e.g., Hirschberg 1985). When taking implicature *processing* into account, computing the more informative utterances is arguably associated with a processing cost. For ad-hoc implicatures, inferring alternative utterances presupposes thorough processing of the context, most likely inducing a cost that does not appear for scalar implicatures (but see van Tiel & Schaeken 2017) for a different approach).

We carried out a series of experiments in the Visual World Paradigm that allows us to compare within participants the incremental processing of ad-hoc and scalar implicatures (see Grodner et al. (2010) for a similar design): Do ad-hoc and scalar implicatures differ in terms of processing costs when measured online? In the experiment, participants heard an utterance like *Orok has some of the coins with an impressed heart*, referring to a picture of an orc with said coins. Until participants heard the symbol *heart*, the utterance was compatible with an orc that had some of the coins with a heart but not all of them (scalar implicature-target) and another orc that had all coins with a different symbol. For the ad-hoc implicature, the target- orc had some coins with a heart and nothing else. Analogously, there was another orc with some coins with a different symbol and some books that was compatible with the utterance until the symbol disambiguated the pictures. In both cases, Participants could identify the target-picture before they heard the symbol, if they drew the respective implicature.

Eye-tracking data points to the speed of the implicature generation process: A delay in fixations of the target indicates an additional cognitive effort. Target-fixations for the ad-hoc implicature were significantly delayed whereas fixations of the target for scalar implicatures were only tentatively slightly delayed, which points to an additional processing cost of context information for ad-hoc implicatures.

AG 13

References: Hirschberg, J. L. B. (1985). A theory of scalar implicature. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania. Grodner, D. J., Klein, N. M., Carbary, K. M., & Tanenhaus, M. K. (2010). “Some,” and possibly all, scalar inferences are not delayed: Evidence for immediate pragmatic enrichment. Cognition, 116(1), 42–55. Levinson, S. C. (2000). Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature. MIT press. Van Tiel, B. & Schaeken, W. (2017). Processing conversational implicatures: alternatives and counterfactual reasoning. Cognitive science, 41, 1119–1154.

Does cognitive capacity modulate pragmatic inferences triggered by informational redundancy? (Poster)

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

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Many studies on pragmatic inferences report individual variation in whether pragmatic inferences are drawn [1, 2]. In the literature, one can find a range of hypotheses that try to explain this variation through an interplay of different factors, depending on the type of pragmatic phenomenon. Among studies on scalar implicatures, individual variation among healthy adults is typically attributed to the participants' cognitive resources [2, 3] or participants' personality traits [4]. Considering figurative speech, namely metaphors, one can report importance of executive function [6, in schizophrenia], language ability in general and semantic skills specifically, as well as first-order theory of mind [7, in ASD].

The core idea of our experimental study is to test whether a limitation in cognitive resources leads to a lower rate of pragmatic inferences triggered by informationally redundant (IR) utterances. In order to modulate cognitive capacity of participants, we introduce a dual task design, and adopt the stimuli set from [5]. In the high load condition, participants perform a mouse tracking task while listening to a story. In the low load condition, they perform only listening. Stories establish a particular topic, thus making some topic-related activities a priory highly predictable. For example, given "*going to the swimming pool*" scenario, the "*bringing a swimsuit*" activity is anticipated from world knowledge and is hence informationally redundant. We manipulate the presence or absence of the IR utterance which describes topic-related activity ("*Lisa brought her swimsuit!*"). A pragmatic atypicality inference would involve participants inferring that Lisa often forgets her swimsuit and that it is worthwhile mentioning that she brought it. The presence of the inference is assessed by asking participants to rate how strongly they would assume that Lisa usually performs the IR activity.

Data analysis of ninety-eight German-native speakers showed a main effect of activity habituality (β=-21.97, t=-6.14, p<.001). Habituality estimates are significantly lower in the with-IR condition, showing that participants did draw the inference based on the IR utterance. This finding replicates results of a single task English study by [5]. Contrary to expectations, the inference is however **stronger** under high load than low load (β=-8.07, t=-2.08, p<0.05).

Thus, the first pilot experiment has not shown the expected effect that pragmatic inferences get weaker when there is more load on cognitive resources, which might imply that dual tasking capacity in terms of cognitive control might not be a major factor in determining whether people draw pragmatic inferences or not.

References: [1] Antoniou, K., Cummins, C. & Katsos, N. (2016). Why only some adults reject under-informative utterances. Journal of Pragmatics, 99, 78–95. [2] Bott, L. & Noveck, I. A. (2004). Some utterances are underinformative: The onset and time course of scalar inferences. Journal of memory and language, 51(3), 437–457. [3] De Neys, W. & Schaeken, W. (2007). When people are more logical under cognitive load: Dual task impact on scalar implicature. Experimental psychology, 54(2), 128–133. [4] Katsos, N. & Bishop, D. V. (2011). Pragmatic tolerance: Implications for the acquisition of informativeness and implicature. Cognition, 120(1), 67–81. [5] Kravtchenko, E. & Demberg, V. (2015). Semantically underinformative utterances trigger pragmatic inferences. In CogSci. [6] Langdon, R., Coltheart, M., Ward, P. B. & Catts, S. V. (2002). Disturbed communication in schizophrenia: the role of poor pragmatics and poor mind-reading. Psychological medicine, 32(7), 1273–1284. [7] Norbury, C. F. (2005). The relationship between theory of mind and metaphor: Evidence from children with language impairment and autistic spectrum disorder. British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 23(3), 383–399.

Scalar diversity of two weak quantifiers in Hebrew (Poster)

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 W Foyer

The quantifier *some* can be interpreted logically (to mean 'some and possibly all') or pragmatically (to mean 'some but not all') through the calculation of a scalar implicature (SI). Several studies showed that speakers tend to judge sentences such as 'Some elephants have trunks' as false (using the pragmatic interpretation), although some speakers accept them as true (using the logical interpretation, e.g. Noveck 2001). Like French, Italian and Spanish, Hebrew has two quantifiers equivalent to the English *some*: *xelek* which is necessarily partitive, and *kama*, both have not been tested before. In a series of experiments, we examined the rates of SI calculation with the two quantifiers, comparing them across different experimental manipulations and structures.

Experiment 1 used a between-subjects verification task, where participants had to judge, in the critical trials, whether sentences with one of the 'some-equivalent' quantifiers (*xelek* or *kama*) match pictures where all the items possessed the feature described in the sentence. We compared the rates of rejections (pragmatic responses) for the two quantifiers and showed that participants gave significantly more pragmatic responses for *xelek* (70%) than for *kama* (35%; p<0.001). **Experiment 2** used a between-subjects picture-selection task (similar to Horowitz & Frank, 2015). In critical trials, participants heard sentences with one of the two quantifiers, and had to select one of three pictures (presented simultaneously), in which all, some or none of the objects possessed the trait described in the sentence. We compared the rates of some-picture selection (pragmatic responses) across quantifiers and tasks, and showed that the rate of pragmatic responses was significantly higher in Exp2 compared with Exp1 (*xelek*: 99%, *kama*: 83%), with more pragmatic responses for *xelek* in both experiments (ps<0.001). **Experiment 3** used a verification task similar to Exp1, but added a background manipulation, asking participants to correct a language-learning character by providing a better description to the picture. Here, participants gave significantly more pragmatic responses compared to Exp1 (*xelek*: 100%, *kama*: 99%), and there was a significant quantifier*manipulation interaction (ps<0.008), resulting from the higher improvement in pragmatic responses for *kama*. In **Experiment 4**, we embedded the quantifier *kama* in the partitive construction (which is optional for *kama*, but obligatory for *xelek*). We used the same verification task as in Exp1, and found no effect of the construction, showing similar rates of pragmatic responses for kama in the two experiments (35% and 32%).

Our results confirm scalar diversity, by showing different rates of pragmatic responses for two similar quantifiers, regardless of the construction they appear in. Specifically, *kama*, which does not require partitivity, triggers less such responses. However, certain experimental manipulations (as in Exp 2&3) do increase the rate of pragmatic responses. Thus, it is possible that the alternatives for *kama* are not as salient as for *xelek* and therefore SI calculation is scarce. SI calculation for this quantifier is facilitated when the alternatives are prompted by the experimental context.

References: Noveck, I. A. (2001). When children are more logical than adults: Experimental investigations of scalar implicature. Cognition, 78(2), 165–188. Horowitz, A. C. & Frank, M. C. (2015). Young children's developing sensitivity to discourse continuity as a cue for inferring reference. Journal of experimental child psychology, 129, 84–97.

Empirical Studies of Word Sense Divergences across Language Varieties

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Workshop description

Words change their senses not only over time but also across communities, domains, dialects, registers, and other language varieties (Wieling & Nerbonne 2015; Wiese & Pohle 2016; Del Tredici & Fernandez 2017; Ferrari et al. 2017; Hovy & Purschke 2018; Schlechtweg et al. 2019; i.a.).

An example for a diachronic sense divergence is the German noun *Vorwort*, which was mainly used in the meaning of „preposition" before ca. 1800 (Schlechtweg et al. 2018). Then it rapidly acquired a new meaning „preface", which after 1850 has nearly exclusively been used. An example for a synchronic domain-specific sense divergence is the German noun *Schnee* (Hätty et al. 2019). In general-language use, *Schnee* predominantly refers to „snow", while in the cooking domain the predominant meaning is the domain-specific „beaten egg whites". The German verb *heben* is an example for a **dialectal** lexical variation (Boberg et al. 2018), as it is used in the meaning „to lift" in standard German, while in the Southern-German dialect Swabian it is used in the meaning „to hold".

The above examples exhibit different predominant word senses with regard to specific language varieties. While each research field on language variety has its own tradition to explore word sense divergences, both from a theoretical and from an empirical perspective, this workshop aims to bring together interdisciplinary studies on lexical semantic divergences across time, domains, registers, and further language varieties.

This workshop presents research contributions across languages and across research disciplines to provide and compare resources, corpus-based empirical evidence and computational models for divergences in word meanings across language varieties. Relevant aspects include

- investigations on word sense definition and discrimination;
- corpus-based examples and discussions of lexical sense divergences;
- frequency distributions of word senses across corpora for language varieties;
- computational models to determine and measure lexical semantic change and divergence;
- relevance of word sense divergences for theories and applications in different fields.

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Meaning in discourse: Word sense divergences and registers

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:15
ESA1 HG HS K

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Particles are a lexical domain which is particularly open to patterns of language variation and change that support divergences in word sense, and such developments can be linked to register differences in interesting ways. In our talk, we discuss examples for German, a language that is known for its rich use of particles. We present findings on two ways in which word sense divergences in the domain of particles can interact with registers, cf.:

(1) dann hab ich einfach so ein bammmm gehört (RUEG corpus, WhatsApp)
then have I PTCL *such a whammmm heard*
'Then I suddenly heard a "whammmm".'

(2) (a) wallah isch liebe sie überTRIEben (KiDKo, MuH19WT/SPK1)
PTCL *I love her exaggeratedly*
'Really, I love her so/too much.'

(b) ischwöre dümmer geht's nisch (KiDKo, MuH19WT)
PTCL *dumber goes.it not*
'Really, it couldn't be more stupid.'

In one pattern, word sense divergences occur when certain registers support the development of new particles from lexical words through semantic bleaching. This leads to two diverging variants: one with a pragmatic/discourse function, and one with the original, full lexical semantics. While the first is associated with specific registers, the second can remain register neutral. E.g., in (1) *einfach* developed from an adjective meaning 'simply' into a particle associated with informal registers, where it can be used to mark a central, surprising incident in a narrative. Another example is the development of *und zwar* from a (fixed) phrase meaning 'namely' / 'and specifically', which specifies previous content, into a particle that introduces a narrative and takes on a pragmatic meaning associated with politeness in formal registers.

In the second pattern, register interacts with word sense divergences when particles spread to new linguistic varieties, where they can take on specific register associations and related social and pragmatic meanings. Examples for this are the spread of *wallah* as a confirmative particle from Arabic and Turkish to German (cf. 2), and the development of a related expression *ich schwöre / (i)schwör(e)* (based on German 'I swear'), leading to associations with informal registers that signal multiethnic urban youth identities. Another example is the spread of *halt* as a modal particle from the South to Northern Germany, where it is associated with formal, rather than informal spoken registers.

We present qualitative and quantitative analyses for such word sense divergences and show how patterns outside standard language can throw a light on general linguistic tendencies, with younger speakers and multilingual communities often at the forefront.

The shifting shapes of meaning – A study of morpho-syntactic changes of neosememes in German

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS K

Although most of nowadays neologism research explores corpus linguistic methods to detect new words, the number of automatically detected new word senses still tends to be small when compared to the number of entries in the dictionary (Klosa & Lüngen 2018). Due to their rather opaque definition, with word sense divergences ranging from subsenses to entirely new meanings of a formative (a.o. Schippan 1992, Kinne 1996, al-Wadi 2005), the computational detection of new word senses proves to be a tricky task.

Grammatical features of neosememes (neologisms considered to be new meaning attached to a formative) are rarely explored regarding their statistical significance, even though a considerable amount of German neosememes can be distinguished from other word senses by morphosyntactic changes. The already polysemous *abhängen*, for instance, – coined as a neosememe in youth language with the meaning ‚to hang out, do idle things' – does not only frequently cooccur in prepositional phrases with *mit* (‚with X'), but emerged as an intransitive form that calls for an animate subject: „*Ich häng' da gern ab*" (‚I like to hang out there'), separating the neosememe from other senses of the formative (e.g. a. ‚the process of meat aging', b. ‚to depend on something', c. ‚to take something down', d. ‚to leave someone behind').

The goal of this research is to investigate whether the emergence of new word senses in German involves statistically relevant changes of morphosyntactic features and whether some of those surface features might count for additional measures for corpus-based semi-automatic detection methods.

For the present study, lists of neologisms classified as neosememes were compiled from the NWB (Neologismenwörterbuch) and analysed in detail in order to evaluate the degree of semantic overlap between new word senses and their formative's root sense. A distinction was made between neosememes that originated from German (*texten*, 'to text (messages)') and foreign-based neosememes (*das Date* with the competing senses 'romantic meeting' and 'romantic interest'), ensuring the consideration of differences in the lexicalization process that might interfere with the classification of new word senses (e.g. Schippan 1992, Steffens 2017). In a second step, the neosememes were classified according to changes of their formative's morphosyntactic features and are currently being analysed regarding overall frequencies in the corpus.

References: Schippan, T. (1992). Lexikologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Kinne, M. (1996). Neologismus und Neologismenlexikographie. Deutsche Sprache 24(4), 327–358. al-Wadi, D. (2005). Neuer Wortschatz. Neologismen im Deutschen seit den 90er Jahren. Das Deutsche als Forschungsobjekt und Studienfach, ed. by Michail L. Kotin et al., 157–172. Steffens, D. (2017). Von Pseudoanglizismen und Kurzzeitwörtern. Sprachwissenschaft 42(3), 275–304. Klosa, A. & Lüngen, H. (2018). New German Words: Detection and Description. Proceedings of the XVIII EURALEX International Congress, ed. by Čibej, J. et al., 559–569.

When the meaning of free morphemes diverges from the meaning of their bound counterparts: The case of *bio* and its relatives

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 HG HS K

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Bio, *super* and *mega* are just some examples for words that have undergone the morphologic development from a bound morpheme to a free lexeme in German (Scheller-Boltz 2008, Gehlen 2016). I will present corpus linguistic as well as experimental data that strongly suggests that the morphological change in question goes hand in hand with a semantic change, more concretely, semantic narrowing.

An exemplary corpus-based study (Deutsches Referenzkorpus, IDS Mannheim. Samples of the archive: *Der Spiegel*) for the element *bio* was conducted to determine the grammatical differences between bound and free occurrences. The study showed that the basic difference is of a semantic kind: whereas bound occurrences of *bio* are found in three different contexts – concerning either A: life in general (595 instances, e.g. *Biophysik*), B: living organisms (48 instances, e.g. *Biowaffe*), or C: ethical/environmental aspects (305 instances, e.g. *Biobanane*) – the use of the free morpheme is, with few exceptions (4 instances), restricted to contexts of type C (1) and not possible in contexts of type A (2) or B (3):

(1) Die Banane ist bio. (2) *Die Physik ist bio. (3) *Die Waffe ist bio.

This observation suggests that the morphologic change of *bio* goes hand in hand with semantic narrowing. To confirm this hypothesis systematically, a rating study was carried out.

The study crossed the factors boundedness (bound vs. free) and context (A/B-contexts vs. C-contexts) in a 2x2 design. The data was analyzed by calculating a linear mixed effects model using *lme4 for R* (Bates et al. 2015). Significant fixed effects of boundedness and context show that *bio* is overall more acceptable as a bound morpheme than as a free morpheme ($\chi2(2) = 446{,}21$, $p < 0{,}0001$) and more acceptable in C-contexts than A/B-contexts ($\chi2(2) = 181{,}69$, $p < 0{,}0001$). Furthermore, the interaction between both factors ($\chi2(1) = 161{,}34$, $p < 0{,}0001$) shows that free lexemes are in comparison to the bound counterparts significantly less acceptable in A/B-contexts than in C-contexts. The results reflect the data of the previous corpus study and confirm the hypothesis that *bio* went through a process of semantic narrowing. Introspective data like (4) suggests that the observations made for *bio* can be generalized for other elements with similar developments. Corpus-based and experimental studies for these elements are currently in progress and will be ready to be presented in the talk.

(4) Superstau / #Der Stau ist super. / Megakatastrophe / #Die Katastrophe ist mega.

AG 14

References: Bates, Douglas et al. (2015). Fitting Linear Mixed Effects Models Using lme4. Journal of Statistical Software 61. Gehlen, Jakob (2016). Vom Konfix zum Wort. Graduate Thesis Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. IDS Mannheim: Das Deutsche Referenzkorpus DeReKo. Scheller-Boltz, Dennis (2018). »Bio, Burger oder Genfood – Streit ums Essen« bio(-) jetzt als selbstständiges Wort? Muttersprache 118.

Semantic shifts in Austrian public discourse: A lexical networks approach

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 HG HS K

Recent years have seen a marked increase in the application of computational methods for the detection of semantic change (Tahmasebi et al. 2018). In order to add to this evolving field, we present ongoing research from the project *Diachronic Dynamics of Lexical Networks* (Baumann et al. 2019). The two main goals of the project are investigating (1) network-based methods for semantic shift detection, and (2) factors that bring about semantic change.

In terms of its scope, our research is concerned with the integration and analysis of two diachronic corpora: the Austrian Media Corpus, which contains more than 30 years of the journalistic prose published in Austria (Ransmayr et al. 2017), and the ParlAT corpus, which covers 20 years of Austrian parliamentary records (Wissik & Pirker 2018). The use of two parallel corpora allows us to explore (1) to what extent diachronic dynamics of semantic change are sensitive to the language domain, and (2) to what extent lexico-semantic change is driven by individuals (in our case, politicians). The choice of the data is motivated by our (variationist) interest in Austrian German and its public discourse(s). The data is closely tied to the events that have been prominent in Austrian social and political life. As we consider a relatively short time span (20 years), our approach aims to detect subtle shifts in the usage of words. We take this to primarily reflect changes in discourse, which may potentially lead to semantic change in the narrow sense. For example, before 2015 the word *Balkanroute* 'Balkan route' mainly occurred in the context of drug trafficking. Since then, it has become one of the most politically charged words in Austria, denoting a major migration route into Central Europe.

Many of the current methods for the automatic detection of semantic change make use of word embedding algorithms (Tahmasebi et al. 2018). These methods come along with their own challenges: they are unstable and sensitive to word frequency and corpus size. Instead, we opt for a network-based approach (Barabási 2016), which allows us to define the exact type of change and to deal with the aforementioned issues since frequency counts are used separately for each network of the target word. For the selected target words we build ego-networks (one for each time slice), cluster them in order to obtain meaningful representations of the words' usage in a certain time period, and, finally, we use statistical measures to track to what extent words within the clusters change over time. We will discuss our approach in more detail along with some open research questions.

AG 14

References: Barabási, A.-L. (2016). Network Science. Cambridge University Press. Baumann, A., Neidhardt, J. & Wissik, T. (2019). DYLEN: Diachronic Dynamics of Lexical Networks. In Proceedings of the LDK-PS. Ransmayr, J., Mörth, K. & Ďurčo, M. (2017). AMC (Austrian Media Corpus) – Korpusbasierte Forschungen zum Österreichischen Deutsch. Verlag der ÖAW, 27–38. Tahmasebi, N., Borin, L., Jatowt, A. (2018). A Survey of Computational Approaches to Lexical Semantic Change. Wissik, T. & Pirker, H. (2018). ParlAT Beta Corpus of Austrian Parliamentary Records. In Proceedings of the LREC 2018 Workshop ParlaCLARIN. European Language Resources Association.

Quantifying lexical semantic change across centuries: what can we still learn from Ancient Greek and Latin?

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 16:30–17:00 ESA1 HG HS K

Barbara McGillivray (Invited Talk)
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The phenomenon of semantic change, and its relation with polysemy, is of great relevance to a range of humanistic disciplines. Scholars working on historical texts benefit from analyses of words' meaning in their historical context, as these allow them to search and find documents relevant to the topics of interest. A long and rich scholarly tradition has provided us with valuable insights into the mechanisms of semantic change for historical languages (cf. e.g. Leiwo 2012). On the other hand, semantic change can be successfully studied using probabilistic models, following the general paradigm put forward by Jenset and McGillivray (2017), and qualitative analyses can be leveraged to support and complement computational modelling. Recent research in Natural Language Processing has provided great advances in automatic methods for semantic change detection (cf. e.g. Tahmasebi et al. 2018), but its focus has been on modern languages and relatively recent corpus data.

Ancient Greek and Latin enjoy a fortunate status among the historical languages. The availability of large high-quality text corpora with basic annotation such as Diorisis for Ancient Greek (Vatri & McGillivray 2018) and LatinISE for Latin (McGillivray & Kilgarriff 2013), make them an ideal testing ground for analysing linguistic phenomena diachronically and at scale. On the other hand, the long diachronic span of the texts, coupled with uneven distributions and complex interactions, make these particularly challenging datasets, which cannot be adequately analysed within the scope of one single discipline.

In this talk I will report on two interdisciplinary projects exploring the challenges of quantitatively modelling semantic change and polysemy in Ancient Greek and Latin (McGillivray et al. 2019; Perrone et al. 2019). I will focus on some important methodological challenges, such as the presence of gaps and the lack of balance in the corpora, and how they can be addressed computationally. Finally, I will present some quantitative analyses based on a diachronic lexical semantic annotation of Ancient Greek and Latin corpora, highlighting semantic change and semantic variation effects.

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Concept characteristics and lexical variation in dialectological data

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 09:00–09:30 ESA1 HG HS K

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Lexical divergence can be examined from different perspectives. Most studies take a semasiological perspective, studying the evolution of the central and less central senses of a particular word and the features that may influence their lectal or diachronic distribution. In this paper, however, we showcase the importance of taking an onomasiological perspective to lexical variation, i.e. starting from particular senses or concepts and determining to which extent characteristics of these senses interact with the distribution of lexical items.

We focus on the spatial distribution of lexical items in dialects of a single language variety. In practice, we rely on large-scale systematic lexical dictionary data collected between 1960 and 1990 for the Dictionaries of the Brabantic and Limburgish dialects of Dutch. Our analysis focuses on the effect of three concept characteristics, related to prototype-theoretical approaches to lexicology (e.g. Berlin et al. 1973, Rosch 1978, Geeraerts et al. 1994). First, we take into account concept salience, the degree to which a concept is familiar for a language user. For example, a concept like 'spoon' is more salient than a concept like 'weighbeam', e.g. because present-day humans use (and talk about) spoons more than weighbeams. Second, we examine the effect of vagueness, i.e. the degree to which a concept is characterized by fuzziness at its boundaries. Concepts with a high degree of vagueness in our dialect data include 'to cry', 'to weep' and 'to whine', as their conceptual boundaries are ambiguous and context- and speaker-dependent. Finally, we also include concept affect, which concerns the fact that many concepts in everyday life have a positive (e.g. 'to caress') or negative connotation (e.g. 'to brag'), whereas others are generally neutral (e.g. 'to miaow'). Previous work has shown that negative concepts have a tendency to be replaced by novel variants more quickly (e.g. Allan & Burridge 1988). To operationalize the three features in a systematic way for all the concepts in the database (N=3136), we rely on a mixture of sources, including psychometric data and a forced-choice task, but also information available in the dictionaries themselves.

Our linear regression model reveals clear evidence for the importance of concept salience, vagueness and affect on the spatial distribution of the dialectal lexical items. Concepts with a low degree of salience show significantly more variation than their more salient counterparts. Concepts with a high degree of vagueness or affect show more lexical diversity than less vague and more neutral meanings. Thus, using quantitative techniques to study lexical variation in historical dialect data, we contribute to linguistic theory by exemplifying the importance of the interaction between onomasiological differences and semasiological variation.

References: Allan, K. & K. Burridge (1988). Euphemism, dysphemism, and cross-varietal synonymy. La Trobe WPiL 1, 1–16. Berlin. B., D. E. Breedlove & P. H. Raven (1973). General principles of classification and nomenclature in folk biology. American Anthropologist 75(1), 214–242. Geeraerts, D., S. Grondelaers & P. Bakem (1994). The structure of lexical variation: Meaning, naming, and context. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. Rosch, E. (1978). Principles of categorization. In E. Rosch & B. B. Lloyd (eds.), Cognition and categorization. New York: Wiley, 27–48..

Scaling-up lexical variationist research in pluricentric languages with type- and token-level vector semantics

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:30–10:00
ESA1 HG HS K

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In the field of lexical lectometry, i.e. the aggregate-level analysis of lexical variation, solid empirical evidence has been provided about the status of varieties in pluricentric languages such as Dutch (Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999) and English (Ruette, Ehret & Szmrecsanyi 2016). The focus of these studies is to measure the distances between national varieties by looking at how they use near-synonyms differently for expressing a given concept. However, at present we lack the same quantitative coverage on how not words, but senses might be sociolinguistically distributed as well. Importantly, in order to establish the interchangeability of near-synonyms in a lexical sociolinguistic variable, one has to control precisely for these variety-specific senses. Moreover, the aggregate perspective inherent in a corpus-based lectometric inquiry urges us to explore computational-semantic techniques in order to deal with corpora whose size hinders manual sense disambiguation.

Type-based distributional semantics as embodied in vector space models (VSMs) has proven to be a successful method for the retrieval of near-synonyms in large corpora. In addition, Peirsman, Geeraerts & Speelman (2010) showed that constructing type-based vectors on different regiolectal corpora turned out to be very useful for estimating the degree of regional polysemy between Belgian-Dutch and Netherlandic-Dutch. However, such a type-based solution is far from ideal: since all senses of a word are lumped together into one vector representation, we have no direct access to the contextual subtleties that cause the regiolectal polysemy. In addition, operating at the word level, these type-based models are not helpful for removing the tokens that express the variety-specific senses, an important requirement for our lectometric calculations.

Our paper reports on methodological research aiming at better semantic control in the lectometric use of VSMs. We therefore introduce token-based VSMs to disambiguate senses of lexical variants (Heylen, Speelman & Geeraerts 2012). This type of VSMs identifies different usage tokens of a word in a corpus, with token clusters revealing the senses of the word. By superimposing the token clouds of the lexical variants in a variable, one can distinguish which meanings are shared by near-synonyms and determine the 'semantic envelope of variation'.

By making use of two regiolectally-balanced corpora of Dutch and Chinese, we aim to show, with a sample of synsets taken from the WordNets of the two languages, the importance of semantic control on the composition of lexical variables. In general, the comparison and fine-tuning of these procedures are meant to contribute to the scaling up of lexical lectometric analyses.

References: Geeraerts, D., Grondelaers, S. & Speelman, D. (1999). Convergentie en divergentie in de Nederlandse woordenschat. Amsterdam: P.J. Meertens-Instituut. Heylen, K., Speelman, D. & Geeraerts, D. (2012). Looking at word meaning. An interactive visualization of Semantic Vector Spaces for Dutch synsets. In M. Butt, S. Carpendale, G. Penn, J. Prokic & M. Cysouw (Eds.), Proceedings of the EACL-2012 joint workshop of LINGVIS & UNCLH. Avignon, France: ACL, 16–24. Peirsman, Y., Geeraerts, D. & Speelman, D. (2010). The automatic identification of lexical variation between language varieties. Natural Language Engineering, 16(4), 469–491. Ruette, T., Ehret, K. & Szmrecsanyi, B. (2016). A lectometric analysis of aggregated lexical variation in written Standard English with Semantic Vector Space models. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 21(1), 48–79.

Advice on comparing languages and varieties

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:00–10:30
ESA1 HG HS K

John Nerbonne (Invited Talk)
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It is exciting that a DGfS workshop is to be held on "Empirical Studies of Word Sense Divergences across Language Varieties", and I look forward to hearing the papers. In the present contribution I relate my own experience as a computational linguist who has worked a great deal for over twenty years in dialectology, and I'll even presume to offer some, I hope not wholly unwanted advice to others interested in similar cross-disciplinary work.

Let's begin by noting that there is increasing interest in using computational methods to compare languages and varieties from several perspectives. Comparative linguistics used to designate (comparative-)historical linguistics (Wikipedia). In addition to work in dialectology and sociolinguistics, and indeed, some modern comparative-historical linguistics is computationally sophisticated (Dellert 2019). There's a good deal of work on multilingualism and contact (Gooskens & van Heuven 2017). I'll review these and others in my talk, I hope underscoring the potential interest in studying word-sense divergences.

Lots of data on linguistic variation are themselves variable. Not every speaker of Cockney glottalizes non-initial /t/'s, and not every New Englander negates elided VPs while maintaining a positive meani*ng (She does, and so doesn't he)*. This makes it essential to collect data in a way that yields representative samples and to observe a range of cases. Arm-chair work, however phenomenologically astute, is limited even if it may be useful initially.

It is very important in applying computational techniques to linguistic problems that the reliability of the computational measure be considered. In the case of WORD SENSES, the late lexicographer, Adam Kilgariff, often pointed out the conceptual problems adhering to them (1997). As he noted, these difficulties infect the word-sense disambiguation (WSD) problem, making it difficult to evaluate. This naturally has impact on detecting WSD historically.

Not only the reliability but also the validity of the measure often needs to be established. In dialectological work, my colleagues and I applied a modified edit-distance measure to phonetic transcriptions, and the work has come to be accepted (Nerbonne 2009), but it was important that the measure was validated in comparison to dialect speakers' judgments of similarity and in comparison to judgments of "how non-native" foreign accents sound.

Finally, as further encouragement for comparative work (in the broader sense) I'll note areas where the dialectological work has inspired forays into other linguistic sub-disciplines. A favorite of mine is Greg Kondrak and Bonnie Dorr's work on detecting potential confusing drug names using edit distance, which was used by the US Food and Drug Administration (Kondrak & Dorr 2006).

References: Wikipedia "Comparative Linguistics"; J. Dellert (2019). Information-theoretic causal inference of lexical flow. Lang.Sci.Press; C.Gooskens & V.van Heuven (2017). Measuring X-linguistic intelligibility in Germanic, Romance and Slavic. Speech Communication, 25–36. A. Kilgarriff (1997) . I don't believe in word senses. Computers and the Humanities, 91–113; J. Nerbonne (2009). Data-driven dialectology. Language and Linguistics Compass, 175–198. G. Kondrak & B. Dorr (2006). Automatic identification of confusable drug names. Artificial Intelligence in Medicine.

A case study of diachrony across two languages (Poster)

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
ESA1 W Foyer

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The way words are used changes throughout time. This evolution can be tracked by training time-varying word embeddings on a temporal corpus. Here we extend the analysis of this phenomenon across multiple languages, studying "cross-lingual drifts": the temporal evolution of the representation of the same word in two languages.

We can consider for example the impact of an event on two communities. Its media resonance, represented by a change in the context of involved words, can differ in intensity and form between communities speaking different languages. Detecting these disparities can help understanding disagreements among communities, or evaluating the extend to which some communities are influenced by a given trend or thinking. As a preliminary study, we propose an experimental framework to compare word meaning evolution across two languages using diachronic embeddings alignment of representation spaces.

We rely on two newspaper corpora ranging from 1987 to 2006, divided into 20 yearly time slices: The New York Times Annotated Corpus (NYT) in English, and a corpus of French articles from the newspaper Le Monde. We use the Dynamic Bernoulli Embeddings model (DBE), a temporal version of a probabilistic generalisation of the CBOW model: each word has one embeddings vector per time slice and a unique context vector fixed over time.

To compare the evolution of a given word in both corpora, we first build a bilingual vocabulary by translating and merging the French and English vocabularies from our corpora. Then, we train monolingual word embeddings on each full corpora, normalize it, and align it relying on the bilingual dictionary. Finally, the aligned embedding vectors are used to initialise the dynamic model DBE which is trained separately on both corpora.

For each word, we compare: (a) its drift in the corpus it comes from, (b) the drift of its translation in the other corpus, and (c) the drift of the similarity between the word and its translation. Thus, we differentiate four kinds of cross-lingual drifts (table below): (1) Words that drift in the same direction on both languages; (2) Words that drift on both languages but whose cross-lingual similarity diverges between the first and the last time step; (3) Words that drift in only one language; (4) Words that are stable in both languages.

Classes	1	2	3	4	5
Proportion	5.4	5.5	16.1	15.2	57.8
Example	Renewable	Soviet	Francs	Homeland	Soap

A limit to this approach is the smoothing of the disparities between the two language during the alignment. An improvement could be to use a soft alignment method to decrease its impact on the vectorial spaces.

References: Lample G., Conneau A., Denoyer L. & Ranzato M. (2017). Unsupervised machine translation using monolingual corpora only. arXiv preprint:1711.00043. Rudolph M. & Blei D. (2018). Dynamic embeddings for language evolution. In Proceedings of the 2018 World Wide Web Conference. Tahmasebi, N., Borin, L. & Jatowt, A. (2018). Survey of computational approaches to diachronic conceptual change. CoRR, 1811.06278.

If you're about distributional semantics, you'll be into this talk: semantic change in the recent history of *into* and *about* (Poster)

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
ESA1 W Foyer

Much like the majority of other English prepositions, *into* and *about* can express a wide array of meanings, including spatial (1), temporal (2), and more abstract senses (3)–(4):

(1) Where's all the visitors gone? - Oh, they are **about** the house somewhere (1885, COHA)
He was **into** her bed in a flash, stocking and all. (1940, COHA)

(2) The moon will be up **about** midnight (1911, COHA)
By the time they are **into** their forties they have enough seniority to chair important committees. (1963, COHA)

(3) Most of the book is **about** her father (1955, COHA)
She's **into** erotic movies for the money. What she really is is a musician. (1980, COHA)

(4) I got between her and Dad and demanded a hug. Yes, I was all **about** the hugs. (2008, COHA)
She'd be up for it. She's **into** good-looking men. (1995, COHA)

In Cognitive Semantics, the meanings of prepositions are typically represented as networks of conceptually (i.e. metaphorically, metonymically) linked senses (Cuyckens 1999: 15). However, there is no consensus on the most plausible shape of these representations: the proposed senses in the networks and the distances/connections between them are often derived from subjective intuitions, which are ultimately not falsifiable (Glynn 2014: 17). To attain more credible approximations of such polysemy networks, then, it is key to to approach the concept of semantic relatedness in a objective, data-driven way (Gries & Divjak 2005; Sagi et al. 2011). Supported by the sizable Corpus of Historical American English (COHA, 400M words), this study sets out to capture the most plausible diachronic trajectory of the 'fondness' sense attested with *about* and *into* (illustrated in (4)) by means of a state-of-the-art, token-based distributional semantic model called BERT (Devlin et al. 2018). This model creates compressed usage representations of individual contextualized tokens of *into* and *about* (ca. 55,000 tokens) in the form of vectors. By means of these token vectors, we can induce a large-scale and data-driven estimation of the distances or 'semantic relatedness' (cf. Rice 1996) between all senses of *into* and *about* over time.

References: Devlin et al. (2018). BERT: Pre-training of Deep Bidirectional Transformers for Language Understanding. arXiv:1810.04805; Cuyckens, H. (1999). Historical evidence in prepositional semantics: The case of English by. In Tops et al. (eds.). Leuven: Peeters, 15–32. Glynn, D. (2014). Polysemy and synonymy: Cognitive theory and corpus method. In Glynn, D. & J. Robinson (eds.). Amsterdam: Benjamins, 7–38. Gries, S. Th. & D. Divjak (2005). Behavioral profiles: A corpus-based approach to cognitive semantic analysis. In Evans, V. & S. Pourcel (eds.). Amsterdam: Benjamins, 57–75. Rice, S. (1996). Prepositional prototypes. In Pütz, M. & R. Dirven (eds.), The construal of space in language and thought. Berlin: De Gruyter, 135–166. Sagi, E., Kaufmann, S. & B. Clark (2011). Tracing semantic change with Latent Semantic Analysis. In K. Allan & J. Robinson (eds.). Berlin: De Gruyter, 161–183.

What is 'normal'? Exploring semantic shifts in the medical domain (Poster)

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 17:00–18:00 ESA1 W Foyer

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This study aims to shed light on the semantic shifts from standard language that can be observed in the medical domain. We investigate the correlation between semantic change and word frequency, as well as the nature of semantic shifts in terms of narrowing, broadening, elevation, degeneration and metaphorical extension.

To study shifts from standard language in the medical domain, we compare clinical notes (±4 million words) taken from a Dutch corpus of electronic medical records to a corpus of Dutch Wikipedia pages (±17 million words), and detect semantic shifts with the aid of word2vec.

The first question this study addresses, is: *To what extent are shifts in meaning associated with frequency of use?* Because repetition is a precursor to conventionalization, we hypothesize that words which are frequent in the medical domain (relative to the general domain), are more likely to shift semantically than words that are relatively infrequent in the medical domain. Our findings illustrate that semantic shifts are indeed stronger for words that are used relatively often in the medical domain. The effects are most prominent for the categories of nouns and adjectives, and less so for verbs.

Additionally, we explored the nature of the semantic shifts for the most dissimilar words of each part of speech category, to answer the question: *How can semantic shifts from standard language in the medical domain best be characterized?* We notice that compared to the general domain, words in the medical domain seem to have shifted mostly towards more specific or more metaphoric uses. Verbs and nouns for example contain many metaphoric words, such as fight-related metaphors to describe how patients handle diseases: *battle*, fight, struggle, attack, conquer,* and *lose* are strongly associated with terminally ill patients, while these words are associated with concepts such as *war*, *invasion* and *allies* in the Wikipedia corpus. Other metaphors include nature-related phenomena: in the medical corpus, it is pain that comes in waves, while it are mostly fluid things such as water that come in waves in the Wikipedia corpus.

Furthermore, we notice that meaning shifts result from semantic narrowing rather than semantic broadening: *positive* is associated with words such as *honest* and *logical* in the general domain, but is related to test outcomes in the medical domain. Similar observations can be made for *normal*, which is used to qualify observations objectively rather than subjectively in the medical domain.

In this talk we will provide a detailed description of the methods we propose to detect semantic shifts in unlabeled corpora, and will elaborate on our findings and conclusions, illustrated with examples.

* All examples are translated from Dutch to English.

AG 14

Computational analysis of Kiezdeutsch: Syntactic and semantic variation (Poster)

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 17:00–18:00 ESA1 W Foyer

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Over the past five decades, the phenomenon of "Urban Youth Languages" has been observed across Europe where young people in multi-ethnic urban areas follow specific linguistic practices. One example of urban youth languages is Kiezdeutsch (‚hood German'), which is a German-language variety spoken primarily by teenagers from multi-ethnic urban neighborhoods. On the syntactic level, variants found in Kiezdeutsch reflect changes in functional categories. Examples include: bare noun phrases lacking determiners or prepositions (e.g., *Hast du Problem?*), lack of copula verbs (e.g., *Er aus Kreuzberg.*), Verb-first declaratives (e.g., *Wollte ich keine Hektik machen da drinne.*), and preserved subject-verb-object (SVO) word order in sentences beginning with an adverb (e.g., *Jetzt ich bin 18.*).

Although the research to date has studied various linguistic levels of Kiezdeutsch (e.g., syntax, morphology, and phonetics), the evidence it has presented is either qualititative in nature or comes from small-scale studies of specific test cases. Consequently, there is a need for empirical evidence from large-scale computational modeling of Kiezdeutsch. This contribution fills this gap in the research by providing evidence obtained from regression models.

In this study we explore the syntactic and semantic variation created by speakers of Kiezdeutsch through a series of experiments. In the first experiment, we explore Kiezdeutsch syntax, then learn which of its constructions are characteristic of it, and what relations they have to one another. This is achieved by exploiting generalized mixed effects models (GLMMs) to predict whether a given sequence of words comes from a corpus of Kiezdeutsch as opposed to a corpus of standard German. These models use part-of-speech (POS) n-grams as fixed effects along with random effects such as the prominence of the POS n-gram, the speaker and the word sequence itself.

In the second experiment, we analyze the semantic variation of verbs in Kiezdeutsch using vector space modeling. Here, verbs are represented by the POS tags of words they occur with and their distances are calculated in order to detect whether their meanings have shifted in Kiezdeutsch. For example, the verb "gucken" is used in Kiezdeutsch with a similar argument structure to that of the verbs "sehen" or "angucken" (e.g., *Ich guck dich.*). Therefore, it is expected that the vector representation of "gucken" will be closer or more similar to that of "sehen" in a corpus of Kiezdeutsch as opposed to a corpus of standard German. The findings of this study not only enrich discussions about Kiezdeutsch, but also pave the way for future computational investigations of this urban youth language.

References: Auer, P. (2003). "Türkenslang" – ein jugendsprachlicher Ethnolekt des Deutschen und seine Transfor-mationen. In Häcki-Buhofer, A. (Hg.): Spracherwerb und Lebensalter. Wiese, H., Freywald, U. & Mayr, K. (2009). Kiezdeutsch as a Test Case for the Interaction Between Grammar and Information Structure. ISIS 12, Working Papers of the SFB 632 "Information Structure".

AG 14

Methodological issues in using word embeddings in a sociolinguistic perspective: the case of contact-induced semantic variation across Canadian Twitter corpora (Poster)

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
ESA1 W Foyer

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We present an interdisciplinary approach to lexical semantic variation in Quebec English, a regional variety characterized by contact with French. We base data collection and analysis on variationist sociolinguistic research (Labov 1972) and follow recent computational studies in applying word embeddings to synchronic semantic variation (Fišer & Ljubešić, 2019). We use a corpus of 42M tweets (728M tokens) from Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, collected between January and April 2019, with phenomena specific to Montreal expected to reflect the influence of French. For each subcorpus, an embeddings model was trained using word2vec (Mikolov et al. 2013). Similarly to diachronic studies (Hamilton et al. 2016), we aligned the models and computed cosine-distances between each word's vectors to detect divergences in Montreal.

Our method correctly identified contact-induced meanings including *exposition* 'exhibition' and *terrace* 'restaurant patio', which reflect previous sociolinguistic studies (Boberg 2012), as well as similar new cases such as *definitively* 'definitely': the unconventional meanings are all likely related to French cognates (*exposition*, *terrasse*, and *définitivement*). Crucially, an analysis of users' language choices on Twitter shows that, unlike established regional variants, the contact-induced meanings represent a variation in usage largely limited to bilingual speakers.

However, other results are of limited interest. In addition to the sporadic impact of prolific users, certain meanings relate to cultural factors, such as Montreal's thriving IT sector (*unsupervised* referring to machine learning) or Vancouver's proximity to the Pacific Ocean (*chum* denoting a species of salmon). A local referent is at play in *plateau*, which in Montreal refers to the borough of Plateau-Mont-Royal. Our method also identifies French items which are homographous with unrelated English words and occur in code-switched tweets (*pour* 'for').

Our ongoing work focuses on addressing these issues through word-level language identification and control of topical usage variation. More generally, the successfully identified examples confirm the need for our approach at the intersection of natural language processing and sociolinguistics: word embeddings trained on geotagged data are instrumental in detecting semantic shifts, while fine-grained variationist sociolinguistic analysis is necessary to uncover precise usage patterns. While this analysis currently relies on Twitter metadata, our methodology also includes sociolinguistic fieldwork based on a subset of the indexed users. Our aim is to investigate the precise status of the computationally identified linguistic variants and their relationship with real-life sociolinguistic behaviors. This will in turn help inform data collection, analysis and evaluation in future computational studies of sociolinguistic phenomena.

References: Boberg, C. (2012). English as a Minority Language in Quebec. World Englishes 31(4), 493–502. Fišer, D. & N. Ljubešić (2019). Distributional modelling for semantic shift detection. Int. J. of Lexicography 32(2), 163–183. Hamilton, W. L., J. Leskovec & D. Jurafsky (2016). Diachronic Word Embeddings Reveal Statistical Laws of Semantic Change. Proc. of ACL. Labov, W. (1972). Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia: UPP. Mikolov, T., K. Chen, G. Corrado & J. Dean (2013). Efficient Estimation of Word Representations in Vector Space. Proc. of Workshop at ICLR.

Metaphorical Mapping across Text Genres. Domain-specific variation in the conceptualization of TIME in Medieval Latin (Poster)

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–18:00
ESA1 W Foyer

A number of studies have shown that in a large majority of languages the concept of time is systematically comprehended in metaphorical terms (Evans 2013). Now, the metaphorical mapping is all but immune to diachronic, cultural, and genre variation (Kövecses 2007). This is valid for Latin as well in which the conceptualization of time would significantly change with the advent of Christianity, the exception being spatial metaphors that are crucial for its understanding.

In two case studies that are a follow-up to our previous research (Nowak 2019) we examine the domain-specific variation of the time metaphors in Medieval Latin, a language that was extensively used in Europe from the 7th to mid-16th century. To that aim the occurrences of the Lat. *tempus* 'time' were retrieved from two Latin corpora: (1) a large (ca. 100M tokens) corpus of mainly theological texts from the 2nd-13th centuries and (2) a small (ca. 3M tokens) corpus of texts written in the Polish Kingdom from the 11th to the 16th century.

In the first study, separate collocation candidates lists were computed for each of the text genres represented in both corpora. The collocates of the node word were next clustered using a distributional semantics model (Baroni & Lenci 2010) built from both text collections. In the second study, separate distributional semantic models (DSMs) were built from the texts belonging to each of the topical domains represented in the larger corpus. The DSMs were next employed to retrieve lists of similar terms of the node word in each subcorpus.

The analysis, first, confirmed that the sense of the term *tempus* and, consequently, the nature of temporal reference differs with regard to the text domain. For example, in the historiography, *tempus* is predominantly used to fix events to some particular moment, while in charters it would usually evoke the inexorable passage of time. Second, our study also clearly shows that in some of the genres the concept of time is subject to more intensive and varied metaphorical elaboration than in the others.

At the same time, some serious methodological issues emerged that need to be addressed if distributional semantics models are to become a tool of fine-grained study of lexical meaning. One of the crucial problems seems to be the quality of the DSMs built from small historical corpora as it has direct impact on the validity of the research conclusions one may draw.

References: Baroni, M. & A. Lenci (2010). Distributional Memory: A General Framework for Corpus-based Semantics. Computational Linguistics 36, 673–721. Evans, V. (2013). Language and time: a cognitive linguistics approach. Cambridge: CUP. Kövecses, Z. (2007). Metaphor in culture: universality and variation. Cambridge: CUP. Nowak, K. (2019). Tempus mutatur: Analysing collocations of tempus 'time' with distributional semantic models. In Lemmata Linguistica Latina. Volume I: Words and Sounds, eds. Holmes, N., Ottink, M., Schrickx, J. & M. Selig. Berlin: De Gruyter, 69–85.

Modelling gradient variability in grammar

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Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) K

Workshop description

Constraint-based approaches to language, such as Harmonic Grammar, Optimality Theory, and Gradient Symbolic Computation (Smolensky & Goldrick 2014) represent an alternative to traditional models of grammar to account for variability and gradience within the use and knowledge of language. Recently, these approaches have started to focus on how graded representations model linguistic performance in different speaker groups (Goldrick, Putnam & Schwarz 2016).

In this workshop, we bring together different fields of linguistics to investigate grammatical variability from within the system (theoretical linguistics), between individual speakers (psycholinguistics), and try to model variability by means of (weighted) constraint-based approaches. By modelling the factors influencing variability, we aim to get a clearer picture of the underlying mental representations and processing architectures in the individual and of the grammatical options that are inherent in a linguistic system.

The phenomena of interest include (but are not restricted to) syntactic and morphological variation. Some of the questions we aim to address are:

- How much variability does the language system allow?
- How much variability do individual speakers or different speaker groups show?
- How can this variability be predicted by means of weighted constraints?

References: Goldrick, Matthew, Michael Putnam & Lara Schwarz (2016). Coactivation in bilingual grammars: A computational account of code mixing. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition 19, 857–876. Smolensky, Paul, Matthew Goldrick & Donald Mathis (2014). Optimization and quantization in gradient symbol systems: A framework for integrating the continuous and the discrete in cognition. Cognitive Science 38, 1102–1138.

Accepting our mistakes: How variation completes the linguistic puzzle

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 11:45–12:45 ESA1 HG HS K

Lara Schwarz (Invited Talk)
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The goal of this talk is to reframe how linguists view speech errors, and to introduce Gradient Symbolic Computation (GSC: Smolensky et al. 2014) as a framework that can accommodate variation in linguistic output, including deviant utterances as a part of the whole working grammar.

Every speaker has multiple options to express an idea. Sometimes, speakers produce an unintentional utterance that deviates from the standard language. For instance (1) is a speech error known as a *blend*. While nonsensical in its own right, it blends two well-formed responses "It really is" and "Very" to the hypothetical question "Isn't this lovely?"

(1) It very is (Fromkins 2002, #450)

Deviations such as (1) are often excluded from linguistic analysis, or glossed over as an outlier. However, "unintentional deviations from what we attempt to produce … provide a window into the tacit knowledge underlying speech (Goldrick 2011: 397)." Meringer and Mayer (1895) acknowledged that and produced one of the first psycholinguistic studies centered around speech errors, by collecting and analyzing slips of the tongue as evidence of the language production process.

More recently, Goldrick et al. (GPS, 2016) drew attention to doubling in codeswitching corpora. Using the example utterance (2), GPS develop an analysis in GSC and claim that this rare code-switch is a probable output from the grammar.

(2) they gave me a research grant *koḍutaa* (Sankoff et al. 1990: 93)
they gave me a research grant gave.3.PL.PAST
'They gave me a research grant'

GPS's analysis of doubling criticized regarding whether or not doubling is actually a codeswitching phenomenon or if it is a "performance error" or a result of "misfiring" during the production process (Deuchar & Biberauer 2016: 881).

The question central to this talk is: why must there be a distinction between performance errors, misfires and rare linguistic phenomenon? Is there a way to embrace all linguistic output and fit all of the pieces into the puzzle?

References: Deuchar, M. & Biberauer, T. (2016). Doubling: an error or an illusion?. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 19(5), 881–882. Fromkins Speech Error Database. (2002, November 8). Retrieved December 12, 2019, from https://www.mpi.nl/dbmpi/sedb/sperco_form4.pl. Goldrick, M. (2011). Linking speech errors and generative phonological theory. Language and Linguistics Compass, 5(6), 397–412. Goldrick, M., Putnam, M. & Schwarz, L. (2016). Coactivation in bilingual grammars: A computational account of code mixing. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 19(5), 857–876. Meringer, R. & Mayer, C. (1895). Versprechen und Verlesen: Eine Psychologisch-linguistische Studie. Stuttgart: Göschensche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Sankoff, D., Poplack, S. & Vanniarajan, S. (1990). The case of the nonce loan in Tamil. Language variation and change, 2(1), 71–101. Smolensky, P., Goldrick, M. & Mathis, D. (2014). Optimization and quantization in gradient symbol systems: a framework for integrating the continuous and the discrete in cognition. Cognitive science, 38(6), 1102–1138.

AG 15

Gradient variability in morphological classes. Examining frequency effects in language processing and production

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 13:45–14:15 ESA1 HG HS K

Eleonore Schmitt
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This talk is concerned with gradient variability as a result of token frequency influencing grammatical variation. In German corpora, strong (irregular) verbs that are not token frequent show variation between strong and weak (regular) conjugation (Nowak 2015). This empirical finding can be explained theoretically with respect to cognitive constraints. The strong conjugation forms past tense and past participle with ablaut (*geben – gab – gegeben* 'give – gave – given'). The ablaut pattern is barely predictable from the phonological structure of the base verbs (Köpcke 1999) so that the pattern has to be memorized for each strong verb individually. Hence, strong verbs have to be token frequent to keep the cognitive costs at a manageable level (Bybee 1985). In contrast, the weak conjugation has low cognitive costs as every verb forms the past tense and past participle with -t(e) (*lach-te, ge-lach-t* 'laugh-ed').Hence, weak forms become more likely with decreasing token frequency.

The result of the cognitive cost trade-off described above is gradient variability: For token frequent elements as well as for token-infrequent elements, stable conjugation is to be expected. Between these poles, variation can be observed. This stance has been well-tested in the domain of language production (Bybee & Moder 1983; Nowak 2013). However, although regular and irregular conjugation have been of interest in psycholinguistics in general (Clahsen et al. 2001; Beretta et al. 2003), the specific influence of token frequency on variation has not been studied yet. A focus on processing seems to be promising: First hints for language variation might be measurable in processing before variation is observable in language production.

The present study tests this hypothesis with the help of a lexical decision task. Eight token frequent verbs (> 13 tpm) are contrasted with eight infrequent verbs (< 2 tpm) that already show variation in corpora (ratio of strong to weak forms is <100/1) and eight infrequent verbs that do not vary yet (ratio of >100/1). Participants are presented weak and strong forms of each test verb and asked to indicate whether they know the presented word. With this design, the study aims at modelling the influence of frequency on the gradient variability of morphological classes.

References: Beretta, Alan; Campbell, Carrie; Carr, Thomas H.; Huang, Jie; Schmitt, Lothar M.; Christianson, Kiel & Yue Cao (2003). An ER-fMRI investigation of morphological inflection in German reveals that the brain makes a distinction between regular and irregular forms. Brain and language 85(1), 67–92. Bybee, Joan L. (1985). Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form. (Typological studies in language, 9). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: J. Benjamins. Bybee, Joan L. & Carol Lynn Moder (1983). Morphological Classes as natural categories. Language 59(2), 251–270. Clahsen, Harald; Eisenbeiss, Sonja; Hadler, Meike & Ingrid Sonnenstuhl (2001). The Mental Representation of Inflected Words. An Experimental Study of Adjectives and Verbs in German. Language 77(3), 510–543. Köpcke, Klaus-Michael (1999). Prototypisch starke und schwache Verben der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Butt, Matthias & Nanna Fuhrhop (eds.). Variation und Stabilität in der Wortstruktur (Germanistische Linguistik, 141–142). Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 45–60. Nowak, Jessica (2015). Zur Legitimation einer 8. Ablautreihe: eine kontrastive Analyse zu ihrer Entstehung im Deutschen, Niederländischen und Luxemburgischen. Hildesheim: Olms.

AG 15

Assessing the compatibility and stability of individual grammars through multiple replication

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 HG HS K

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A major strain of research in Probabilistic Grammar focuses on cases where speakers chose between two or more superficially interchangeable options (*alternations*) and the choices depend probabilistically on soft constraints (see Gries 2017). Often, corpus evidence is used, but some studies also uses experimental data in order to corroborate the corpus findings. Some studies have shown how corpus and experimental data converge (e.g., Durrant & Doherty 2010), but other studies have led to diverging results between corpus and experimental evidence (e.g., Dąbrowska 2014). More importantly, Dąbrowska (2012) presents evidence showing that individual speakers have partially incompatible grammars. Similarly, Verhagen & Mos (2016) address the possibility that there might be random between-speaker variability (*incompatibility*), and individual speaker grammars are subject to random fluctuations (*instability*). My research presented here addresses incompatibility and instability as sources of variation in and divergence between corpus and experimental work.

I report results of two repeated replications of two previously published combinations of corpus studies and experiments on binary morphosyntactic alternations in German (Schäfer 2018, Schäfer & Pankratz 2018). The original experiments were replicated twice with the same groups of participants but two months apart, allowing for an analysis of both incompatibility and instability. I find incompatibility effects inasmuch as large groups of participants strongly prefer one variant consistently in a split-100 task. Also, in a self-paced reading (SPR) experiment, one variant incurs a reading time delay regardless of other factors for some participants. As for instability, one third of the participants reacts more or less randomly across the two split-100 replications. I argue that this is likely due to problems of the split-100 task. More dramatically, roughly half of the participants in the SPR experiment show no stable behaviour across replications. I discuss this w.r.t. the usability of SPR in alternation research and its sensitivity to specifics of the experiment. However, the fundamental findings about the probabilistic semantic and morphosyntactic constraints controlling the alternation turn out to be robust across the corpus studies and most of the experiments. I discuss how this might come about in the face of incompatibility and instability, and how it affects linguistic theory, experimental practice, corpus studies, and statistical analysis.

References: Dąbrowska, E. (2012). Different speakers, different grammars. Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism 2, 219–253. Dąbrowska, E. (2014). Words that go together. The Mental Lexicon 9(3), 401–418. Durrant, Ph. & A. Doherty (2010). Are high-frequency collocations psychologically real? Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory 6(2), 125–155. Schäfer, R. (2018). Abstractions and exemplars: the measure noun phrase alternation in German. Cognitive Linguistics 29(4), 729–771. Schäfer, R. & E. Pankratz (2018). The plural interpretability of German linking elements. Morphology 28(4), 325–358. Verhagen, V. & M. Mos (2016). Stability of familiarity judgments. Cognitive Linguistics 27(3), 307–344.

Variable Affix Order on the Surface: The Case of Turkish

Freitag,
06.03.2020
11:45–12:15
ESA1 HG HS K

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Claim: The Turkish verb has two surface positions for the agreement suffix. We argue that, syntactically, there is only one position for the agreement marker (cf. also Kabak 2007) and that the variability is entirely due to surface-oriented precedence constraints that also derive the pattern of suspended affixation. We implement the idea in Standard OT.
Data: In Turkish, there are at least 4 agreement paradigms, the choice of which depends on the preceding marker. The *k*-paradigm (Agr_k) can follow or precede the copula ((1a) vs. (2a)); the z-paradigm Agr_z must follow it ((1b) vs. (2b)). With the coordinator ve ‚and', suspension is ungrammatical for precopular Agr_k (3a). Suspension of postcopular Agr_k is not possible if there is a non-suspended TAM_k ((3b) vs. (3c)). Suspension of Agr_z is grammatical (ex. omitted).

(1) a. Gör-dü-y-se-**k**
see-pfv-cop-cond-**1pl**
‚If we have seen'

b. Gör-üyor-Ø-muş-**uz**.
see-ipfv-cop-evid-**1pl**
‚Apparently we see.'

(2) a. Gör-dü-**k**-**Ø**-se.
b. *Gör-üyor-uz-**Ø**-**muş**.
(Good & Yu 2005)

(3) a. ***[Çalış-tı] ve [kazan-dı] -**k** mı?
[work-pfv] and [earn-pfv] -**1pl** q

b. *[Çalış-tı] ve [kazan-dı] -y-dı-**k**
[work-pfv] and [earn-pfv] -cop-pst-**1pl**

c. [Çalış-ıyor] ve [kazan-ıyor] -du-**k**
[work-ipfv] and [earn-ipfv] -pst-**1pl** (Kabak 2007: 321)

Proposal: We assume a syntactic structure with a number of functional projections above the VP (cf. Kornfilt 1996): $[[[[V\text{-}\ldots\text{-}TAM_1]\text{-}C(op)]\text{-}TAM_2]\text{-}Agr]$. Postsyntactically, the structure is linearized before vocabulary insertion (Arregi & Nevins 2012). Linearization is subject to optimization. We assume that Turkish presents a case of true optionality (Müller 2001), which is the result of identical constraint profiles. There are two morpheme ordering constraints (cf. Ryan 2010) in (4) (precedence vs. immediate precedence) with the ranking (4a) >> (4b). This accounts for both variable affix ordering ((5)-(6)) and suspended affixation (tableau omitted):

(4) a. Tz<*A: Count a violation for every TAM_z that does not precede an Agr.
b. Tk-A: Count a violation for every morpheme that prevents a TAM_k from immediately preceding an Agr.

(5) I: [[[[V-Tk]-C]-Tk]-A]	Tz <*A	Tk-A	(6) I: [[[[V-Tz]-C]-Tz]-A]	Tz <*A	Tk-A
→ a. V-Tk-C-Tk-A		**	→ a. V-Tz-C-Tz-A		
→ b. V-Tk-A-C-Tk		**	b. V-Tz-A-C-Tz	*	

References: Good, J. & A. Yu (2005). Morphosyntax of two Turkish subject pronominal paradigms. In L. Heggie & F.Ordóñez (eds.) Clitic and Affix Combinations: Theoretical perspectives. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 315–341. Kabak, B. (2013). Turkish Suspended Affixation. Linguistics 45, 311–347.

Variation in Idiom Part Movement: A Gradient Harmonic Grammar Approach

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 HG HS K

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The goal of this talk is to show that Gradient Harmonic Grammar (Smolensky & Goldrick 2016) offers a new perspective on the restrictions on movement of DPs that are part of VP idioms, and on the substantial but highly principled variation that can be found in this empirical domain in German. The central claim is that object DPs in VP idioms are subject to exactly the same constraints as other object DPs; however, idiom part DPs are associated with less strength than regular object DPs. They are therefore more likely to be kept from undergoing movement by intervening heads of the clausal spine; and they also need more help from the featural trigger of the movement operation. 2. Idioms resist movement operations that split them up to various degrees (Fraser 1970, Nunberg et al. 1994, Jackendoff 1997, O' Grady 1998 for English; Burger 1973, Fleischer 1997, Müller 2000, Wierzba 2016, Bargmann & Sailer 2018 for German). Nunberg et al. (1994) assume that there are only two types of VP idioms – those that are compositional and can be split up, and those that are not compositional and cannot be split up. However, as noted in Müller (2000) and Bargmann & Sailer (2018), this view is untenable for German. In contrast, a more fine-grained opacity scale with four discrete areas can be postulated, according to which compositional interpretation becomes successively easier: (i) opaque, (ii) semi-opaque, (iii) semi-transparent, (iv) fully transparent idioms. Movement types differ as to whether they can affect parts of VP idioms. For instance, topicalization can affect all kinds of idiom part DPs, even, under ideal information-structural conditions (Fanselow & Lenertova 2011), fully opaque ones. In contrast, wh-movement cannot easily affect DPs of opaque or semi-opaque idioms. Scrambling is most restricted: It can only apply to DPs in transparent VP idioms. 3. In Gradient Harmonic Grammar, both constraints and symbols in linguistic expressions are assigned weights (between 0 and 1, as in Squishy Grammar (Ross 1973)). This way, the concept of varying strength of syntactic categories (Chomsky 2015) can be implemented in the grammar. I adopt a minimalist setting; more specifically, I assume that movement must take place in extremely local small steps, via the specifiers of intermediate heads. Finally, I assume that optimization proceeds serially (McCarthy 2008, Heck & Müller 2012): Outputs are generated by applying at most one operation to the input; the optimal output is used as the next input; and so on. 4. The analysis relies on two violable constraints: The Merge Condition triggers movement to specifier; the Anti-Locality Condition blocks this. Depending on the strength of (i) the constraints, (ii) the features that trigger movement, and (iii) the head crossed by movement (V or C), one and the same item may or may not move. Crucially, object DPs in VP idioms have less strength than regular object DPs, and this accounts for their immobility. 5. There is variation, which will be addressed by minor differences in weight assignments, and by incorporating a stochastic component (Boersma & Pater 2016).

AG 15

On the integration of gradient inter- and intra-speaker variation in linguistic data into formal grammatical theory: A look at prosodic phrasing in Spanish

Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 HG HS K

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This paper presents an experimental study on the prosodic phrasing of sentences with (embedded) *clitic left-dislocations* (CLLDs) in Peninsular Spanish and offers new perspectives on how the phenomenon of inter-speaker variation in linguistic data can be integrated into formal grammatical theory. Results from a production experiment based on scripted speech show that CLLDs have an obligatory left and right boundary (typically a high edge tone at the intermediate phrase level), while other sentence-internal boundaries are subject to inter-speaker variation. The hypothesis presented here suggests that prosodic boundaries which mark information structural (IS) categories (such as the ones for CLLD) are more necessary than boundaries which satisfy alignment constraints; only the latter can show inter-speaker variation (*IS-over-Alignment* Hypothesis, see also Feldhausen 2016). A modified version of the Stochastic Optimality Theory (SOT, Boersma & Hayes 2001) is proposed to account for the attested inter-speaker variation. By assuming that the degree of constraint overlap can vary between individual speakers while the underlying hierarchy remains invariant, the modified version of SOT is applicable beyond variation in the output structure of a whole population.

References: Boersma, Paul & Hayes, Bruce (2001). Empirical tests of the gradual le arning algorithm. Linguistic Inquiry 32, 45–86. Feldhausen, Ingo (2016). Inter-speaker Variation, Optimality Theory and the Prosody of Clitic Left-Dislocations in Spanish. Probus 28(2), 293–334.

AG 15

Structure and gradience in morphological processing

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 HG HS K

João Veríssimo (Invited talk)
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In the 'classical' approach to morphology, knowing morphological relations is knowing *rules*, a set of context-free operations that create structured representations; in turn, processing morphology entails (de)composing complex forms into/from their constituents via the application of such rules (Pinker, 1999). Alternatively, within analogical, connectionist, and discriminative learning approaches, it has been proposed that the mechanisms that generalise and process complex forms are inherently graded, frequency- and similarity-sensitive, and do not explicitly represent constituent structure (Gonnerman et al. 2007).

In this talk, I will review work from our lab and others that aimed at adjudicating between these two broad theoretical positions. Rather than unambigously supporting one or the other position, the conclusions from such work indicate the need for an integrated approach that will unify the main principles of the two theoretical views. On one hand, many experimental results obtained with various experimental techniques (e.g., elicited production, masked and cross-modal priming) suggest that constituent structure is operative in speakers' minds, generalised by rules, and computed in the course of morphological processing (Veríssimo & Clahsen 2009). On the other hand, other phenomena and results (especially in derivational morphology, and especially with non-native speakers) cannot be easily accomodated by such a strict separation between structured and unstructured representations and appear to require more gradient notions of constituency (Veríssimo et al. 2018).

We have tackled this problem by making use of computational modelling, within various frameworks: minimal generalisation learning (Albright 2002), interactive activation models (McLelland & Rumelhart 1986), and Gradient Symbolic Computation (GSC) (Smolensky et al. 2014). We have modelled experimental results from different tasks (generalisation and priming), phenomena (conjugations and semantic transparency), and groups (L1 and L2).

Initial results indicate that these approaches provide novel and fruitful ways to represent and process morphology. The models, especially those in the GSC framework, can explicitly represent constituent structure, but also the intermediate, 'blended' representations that are formed in the course of processing. As such, these approaches may have a major advantage over the other theoretical contenders: they allow the integration of the symbolic/structural and the probabilistic/gradient aspects of morphology within one single architecture.

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Diversity and Prediction in Language Processing: Influences of Speaker, Register, and Experimental Method

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Raum: ESA 1 Ost (O) 121

Workshop description

Aims and background: Prediction plays a central role in theories of language processing and is assumed to influence both the speed and accuracy of processing. Although there is a lively debate about what form prediction may take (cf. Huettig & Mani 2016, Kuperberg & Jaeger 2016, Pickering & Gambi 2018), there is little work examining the influence of linguistic and experimental diversity on prediction. For a better understanding of prediction, this workshop examines three facets of diversity in language processing:

Intra- and Inter-individual Diversity: Usually explored in coarse group comparisons (e.g., mono- vs. multilingual) or broad cognitive distinctions (e.g., working memory), intra- and inter-individual diversity remains underdescribed and less well understood. How do language users differ in their predictive abilities and strategies, and how are these differences shaped by biological and/or cultural influences?

Stylistic Diversity: Despite calls for more naturalistic stimuli, the majority of language processing research still focuses on a very constrained register of well-controlled sentences composed in the standard language. How are predictions shaped by extra- and meta-linguistic context, such as register/genre or accent/speaker identity?

Methodological Diversity: A wide variety of empirical methods are now available, yet the majority of studies use only one or two. What opportunities and challenges do we face, when inte-grating multiple approaches to examine linguistic diversity in human's predictive capacity? How much diversity can our methods handle?

Talks: This workshop brings together researchers working on one or more of these facets. *Roel Willems* opens the workshop with an overview of how computational language models and neuroimaging data from the processing of naturalistic stimuli can be combined to further our understanding of prediction in language processing. *Alexandra Engel and Adriana Hanulíková* report on a study that examines the interplay between morphosyntactic predictions and text genre or speaker style, respectively, hence addressing stylistic and intra-individual diversity. They find that readers/listeners are sensitive to genre and speaker style and adjust their morphosyntactic predictions accordingly. *Elma Kerz, Daniel Wiechmann and Stella Neumann* focus on the well-established effect of lexical predictability and how it is influenced by stylistic diversity (language register) and inter-individual diversity in working memory capacity. Their findings from reaction time experiments suggest that word predictability is mediated by both language register and working memory capacity. In their talk, *Kyla McConnell and Alice Blumenthal-Dramé* investigate methodological diversity in pitting corpus-linguistic association scores against psycholinguistic variables for lexical processing cost in a self-paced reading study. They conclude that task effects exert a non-negligible influence on the relationship between cognitive processing correlates and association scores from corpora. *Leigh Fernandez, Paul Engelhardt, Angela G. Patarroyo and Shanley Allen* take a closer look at inter-individual diver-

sity based on speaker age and language background (L1 vs. L2) and examine the influence of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements in spoken language comprehension. They find that speaker groups are differentially sensitive to speech rate, which impacts on the existence of anticipatory eye movements. *Kate Stone and Sol Lago* further investigate individual variability in the time-course of predictions during spoken language comprehension. They find an earlier onset of anticipatory eye movements in German L1 speakers vs. L2 speakers of German, who were slower and more variable in their effect pattern. *Karen Henrich, Matthias Scharinger and Winfried Menninghaus* investigate stylistic diversity as to whether the predictability of strong and weak syllables in metered speech varies as a function of foot type. They present EEG evidence that predictive processing seems to be enhanced in metered speech, especially if the meter is based on the preferred foot type of the investigated language. *Priscila López-Beltrán and Paola E. Dussias* approach stylistic diversity from a somewhat different perspective, by developing experimental stimuli from corpus tokens to investigate the predictive processing of Spanish subjunctive mood in embedded clauses. Their findings demonstrate the reliability of ecologically valid stimuli and that lexical verb information triggers expectations regarding mood in embedded clauses. Finally, *Anna Laurinavichyute, Anastasiya Lopukhina and Svetlana Malyutina* approach the question of whether readers build sentence representations with a good-enough strategy, including inter-individual diversity based on a varied age sample from adolescence to older age. They found that age groups are susceptible to good-enough processing in sentence comprehension to a different extent.

In sum, the presentations in our workshop provide novel empirical evidence for the variability and diversity inherent in predictions, and how they may modify the quality and time-course of predictions in language processing.

References: Huettig, F. & N. Mani (2016). Is prediction necessary to understand language? Probably not. Language, Cognition and Neuroscience, 31(1), 19–31. Kuperberg, G.R. & T.F. Jaeger (2016). What do we mean by prediction in language comprehension? Language, Cognition and Neuroscience, 31(1), 32–59. Pickering, M.J. & C. Gambi (2018). Predicting while comprehending language: A theory and review. Psychological Bulletin, 144(19), 1002–1044.

Combining computational language models and neuroimaging to understand prediction during language comprehension

Roel Willems (Invited talk)

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Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
13:45–14:45
ESA1 O 121

Prediction during language comprehension has been studied extensively in psycholinguistics. Prediction is typically studied within the context of psycholinguistic models which include prediction among other cognitive constructs such as retrieval and integration. In neatly controlled experiments there are conditions which contain sentences with varying degrees of predictability. Our approach to studying prediction (and integration) during language comprehension has been different. In recent studies we have combined computational language models with rich neuroimaging data sets to study prediction during contextualized language comprehension. I will give examples in my talk. The approach crucially rests on two ingredients that I will now briefly describe in turn.

First, we use computational language models to get to a computationally explicit implementation of prediction and integration. Computational language models have seen a recent and spectacular increase in their ability to perform a range of language tasks. Since most of their usage is application-based, the majority of models were not designed to be psychologically realistic. Still it has been found that the characterization from such models fits human language use data (e.g. reading times or eye movement durations during reading) reasonably well. The main reason to use computational language models in our line of work is that they make notions such as 'integration' and 'prediction' computationally explicit.

Second, we use rich, contextualized language stimuli. In most of our experiments, participants read or listen to narratives of a few thousand words long. The words within those narratives differ naturally in how predictable they are. We exploit this natural variation by regressing the prediction values as given by the computational language models onto the neural time series. Since we model prediction / integration for each word in the narrative, we end up with a statistically very powerful analysis. Not only is this approach statistically powerful, it is also efficient in the sense that every time point in the neuroimaging time series is used in the analysis. Finally, it scores high on ecological validity given that the language that our participants listen to is contextualized. One of the shortcomings of this approach is that it is essentially quasi-experimental. After all, as experimenters we do not manipulate our factors of interest.

In my talk I will present what we have learned so far about (the neural basis of) prediction during language comprehension from taking this approach. I consider my presentation a success if we engage in fruitful discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of studying prediction during language comprehension in this manner.

Processing of morphosyntactic variants: the role of speaking style and genre

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
14:45–15:15
ESA1 O 121

Alexandra Engel[1], Adriana Hanulíková[2]

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Previous research has shown that talker identity and speaking style affect the processing of morphosyntactic variants. Non-standard variants (e.g. gender agreement errors) spoken by a non-native speaker showed distinct neural responses compared to the same variants spoken by a native speaker (Hanulíková et al. 2012). Similar effects have been shown by contrasting variants spoken in casual and careful speaking styles (Viebahn et al. 2017). The present study extends this line of research to morphosyntactic variants (case variation in prepositional phrases) that tend to be associated with distinct speaking styles by comparing processing of written and spoken language in two different genres and speaking styles.

German prepositional phrases with prepositions *wegen* "because of" and *während* "during" show a substantial variation concerning their case government with genitive and dative. Some German grammars as well as corpus studies indicate that the degree of text and genre formality contributes to some of the variation (Koch & Oesterreicher 2007; Scott 2014). Using self-paced reading (SPR) and a sentence repetition/completion task, we examined the extent to which processing of these variants is modulated by genre or speaking style.

In the SPR experiment, we expected a processing benefit for the genitive variants in a formal newspaper context as compared to an informal genre of online blogs (cf. Squires, 2018). Preliminary results indicate that, regardless of genre, participants (n = 70, mean age = 23) read the noun region faster with the dative than with the genitive variant in sentences with *wegen*, while there was no difference in sentences with *während*. A four-way interaction between genre, case, preposition, and experiment half in the spillover region suggests that participants tended to adjust their reading behavior depending on genre. In the sentence repetition and completion task, participants (20 young adults, mean age = 22; 27 older adults, mean age = 64) were familiarized with two talkers (one with a careful and one with a casual pronunciation), and then asked to repeat sentences spoken by these talkers. Critical case markers were replaced by white noise. Results showed a main effect of talker across both age groups, suggesting that speaking style modulates expectations and the subsequent responses. A main effect of talker block and an interaction with the order of talker presentation indicate that participants adjusted their responses throughout the experiment. Participants reported the genitive variant more frequently in the second block and particularly when the carefully speaking talker was presented first. These findings have implications for the study of morphosyntactic variation and expectation-based language processing.

References: Hanulíková, A. et al. (2012). When one person's mistake is another's standard usage: The effect of foreign accent on syntactic processing. Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience 24(4), 878–887. Koch, P. & Oesterreicher, W. (2007). Schriftlichkeit und kommunikative Distanz. Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik, 35(3), 346–375. Scott, A. K. (2014). The genitive case in Dutch and German: A study of morphosyntactic change in codified languages. Leiden: Brill. Squires, L. (2018). Genre and linguistic expectation shift: Evidence from pop song lyrics. Language in Society, 20, 1–30. Viebahn, M. C. et al. (2017). Speaking style influences the brain's electrophysiological response to grammatical errors in speech comprehension. Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience 29(7), 1132–1146.

Effects of Word Predictability are Mediated by Language Register and Inter-Individual Variation in Working Memory Capacity

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:15–15:45
ESA1 O 121

Elma Kerz[1], Daniel Wiechmann[2] & Stella Neumann[1]

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A substantial body of research has demonstrated that children and adults (both native and non-native speakers) are sensitive to the statistics of multiword sequences (MWS) and rely on knowledge of such statistics to facilitate their language processing and boost their acquisition [1]. Sensitivity to such statistics facilitates chunking - enabling predictive language processing and the integration of the greatest possible amount of available information as fast as possible to overcome the fleeting nature of linguistic input and the limited nature of human memory (Now-or-Never bottleneck, [2]). However, previous studies on the effects of language statistics on MWS processing have focused on group-level analyses, leaving open questions of whether they are affected by individual differences (IDs) in cognitive factors and to what extent they are contingent on language registers. Here we report on a study that examined the effect of word predictability in adult second language (L2) processing in four MWS decision tasks comprising experimental items constructed from four language registers (spoken, fiction, news, and academic language). Specifically, using a within-subject design embedded in an individual differences framework, the study addressed three research questions: (1) whether online L2 processing of MWS is affected by word predictability, as quantified by the Shannon entropy of the distribution of the probabilities of the sequence-final words [3], (2) whether the word predictability effect is perturbed by language register, and (3) to what extent interindividual variability in the effect is related to working memory capacity (WMC). WMC was assessed using a complex span task (RSPAN) in combination with three tasks measuring executive-control (Simon, Flanker, Stroop colorword). Linear mixed effects modeling of the reaction time data from the MWS decision tasks revealed that participants were significantly faster in responding to MWS from the spoken register than to any of the three written registers (with RT being slowest in the academic register) and that MWS processing was facilitated by higher RSPAN scores. No correlations were observed among the four WMC variables. Importantly, we found that the word predictability effect was mediated by both register (with larger effects in news and fiction) and all WMC-related variables (best-fitting model included all four WMC indicators, register and their two-way interactions with entropy). The implications of the results for current models of language processing are discussed.

References: [1] Arnon, I. & Christiansen, M. H. (2017). The role of multiword building blocks in explaining L1-L2 differences. Topics in Cognitive Science, 9(3), 621–636. [2] Christiansen, M. H. & Chater, N. (2016). The now-or-never bottleneck: A fundamental constraint on language. Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 39. [3] Willems, R. M., Frank, S. L., Nijhof, A. D., Hagoort, P. & Van den Bosch, A. (2015). Prediction during natural language comprehension. Cerebral Cortex, 26(6), 2506–2516.

Predicting collocates: Task effects, chunk frequency, and association measures

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
16:30–17:00
ESA1 O 121

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Comprehenders may track distributional statistics online and use them to inform predictions (Kuperberg & Jaeger 2016). Consider the modifier-noun collocation *vast majority*: where *vast* appears, there is a strong likelihood that *majority* will follow. Several metrics have been put forward to quantify association strength between words. But can these metrics reflect prediction in online processing? And how is this relationship affected by experimental task?

In a self-paced reading study, we assessed the reading times for the second word in collocated modifier-noun bigrams like *vast majority*. Six of the most common corpus linguistic association scores – MI, MI3, Dice coefficient, T-score, Z-score and log-likelihood – were pitted against predictors of lexical processing cost that are widely established in the psycholinguistic and cognitive linguistic communities: log-transformed forward/backward transition probability and bigram frequency (Evert 2009). 123 native speakers of English read 91 critical sentences and 157 filler sentences. Critical sentences contained one modifier-noun bigram embedded in a neutral sentence head and followed by a three-word spillover region (i.e. Connor was informed about the *great deal* on designer jeans.) Association scores for each bigram were extracted from the British National Corpus.

Reading times to the noun were analyzed with mixed-effects models with one association score per model. Results showed that none of the six traditional corpus linguistic metrics patterned significantly with log-transformed reading times to the noun at the Bonferroni-corrected significance level of 0.005 in the expected direction. However, log backward transition probability and log bigram frequency prove to be realistic predictors of reading times. The significance of bigram frequency provides support for the idea of chunk-level activation, as suggested by usage-based approaches (Arnon & Snider 2010). Concurrently, backward transition probability suggests activation of the bigram's component words, though it suggests backwards integration rather than prediction.

These two metrics were additionally compared across two task conditions: In the control block, comprehension questions had a multiple-choice format. In the task block, questions appeared in a typed free response format. The multiple-choice condition elicited faster overall reading times and the effects of the two metrics were stronger at the critical word. In the typed condition, the effect was weaker but longer lasting across the spillover region. It thus seems possible that during slower reading, low-level information tied to individual words is not dismissed as quickly, thereby exerting stronger effects on neighboring words. We argue that insufficient attention to task effects may have partially obscured the cognitive correlates of association scores in similar research.

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The impact of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements in L1 aging and in L2 speakers

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:00–17:30
ESA1 O 121

Leigh Fernandez[1], Paul Engelhardt[2], Angela Giovanna Patarroyo[3], Shanley Allen[1]
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Research has shown that suprasegemental cues in conjunction with visual context can lead to anticipatory (or predictive) eye movements. However, the impact of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements has received little empirical attention. To date, only one study has investigated the impact of speech rate in the VWP (Huettig et al. 2019). Across three studies, they found that participants made anticipatory eye movements when sentences were presented at a "slow" rate but only made anticipatory eye movements at a "normal" speech rate when the visual array was available for an extended period of time. In that study, and like most VWP research, the actual speech rate is somewhat unclear, and given that normal speech rates have been reported anywhere from 2-8 syllables per second (Hertich et al. 2013; Wilshire 1999) it is hard to quantify what is "slow" and "normal". The purpose of the current study was twofold. Methodologically, we tested the impact of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements by systemically (using Praat) varying speech rate (3.5, 4.5, 5.5, and 6.0 syllables per second) in the processing of filler-gap dependencies. Theoretically, we examined two groups thought to show fewer anticipatory eye movements, and thus, are likely to be impacted by speech rate. Experiment 1 compared younger and older adults, and Experiment 2 compared L1 vs. L2 speakers after hearing a story (1) and a question containing a filler gap dependency (2). We analyzed the weighted empirical logit (log-odds ratio of looks to the target object relative to looks to the non-targets) in a 1000ms time window from 200ms following the onset of the verb (e.g., *tickle* in 2). Results showed that all groups made anticipatory eye movements. However, L2 speakers only made anticipatory eye movements at 3.5 syllables per second, older adults at 4.5 syllables per second, and younger adults at 5.5 syllables per second. At the fastest speed, all groups showed a marked decrease in anticipatory eye movements. This work highlights group-level performance differences in filler-gap prediction, and the importance of speech rate on anticipatory eye movements.

(1) One day a bride and groom were walking in the mall. The bride was feeling playful, so the bride tickled the groom. A clerk was amused.

(2) Who$_i$ did the bride tickle t$_i$ in the mall.

References: Hertrich, I., Dietrich, S. & Ackermann (2013). How can audiovisual pathways enhance temporal resolution of time-compressed speech in blind subjects? Frontiers in Psychology, 4, 1–11. Huettig, F. & Guerra, E. (2019). Effects of speech rate, preview time of visual context, an participant instructions reveal strong limits on predication in language processing. Brain Research, 1706, 196–208. Wilshire, C. (1999). The "tongue twister" paradigm as a technique for studying phonological encoding. Language and Speech 42, 57–82.

Individual variability in the timecourse of predictions

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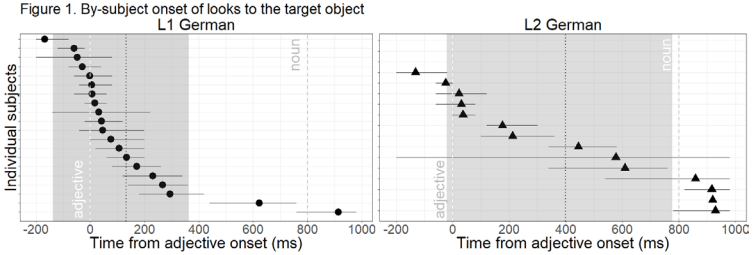
Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
17:30–18:00
ESA1 O 121

Predicting upcoming words is important in comprehension because it can influence processing speed and accuracy. While much work has demonstrated that predictive processing is diminished in non-native (L2) versus native (L1) languages, it is less known whether the speed of L2 predictions varies across individuals and whether this variation is linked to properties such as proficiency, native language status, and age of acquisition. To address these questions, we used a visual world paradigm where L1 and L2 speakers of German saw two objects and heard a pronoun whose gender inflection agreed with only one of the objects, e.g.: "*Klicke auf seinen.MASC blauen.MASC…*" [1,2]. We used participants' fixations during the time window of the adjective to infer whether they could use gender information to predict an upcoming noun. To estimate the onset of predictive effects, we adapted a bootstrapping-based survival procedure originally proposed for reading data [3]. We show that this method allows measuring the speed of predictions on a by-participant basis, allowing its correlation with individual properties. We discuss the method's advantages over approaches that only allow binary decisions about the presence/absence of an effect in a selected time window [4] or inference at a cluster- rather than at an individual timepoint level [5,6].

Methods and results. Fixations to the target object were sampled at 200 Hz and grouped into 20 ms bins. The bootstrapping procedure involved resampling observations within each bin 1000 times. After each resample, z-scores were computed in each bin to test whether looks to the target were above chance. The earliest bin in a run of 10 consecutive significant z-scores was taken as the onset of predictive eye-movements, resulting in a bootstrap distribution of onset times by-subject. In the figure below, the dashed vertical line and shaded area in show mean onset times and 95% CIs for each speaker group. German L1s began looking at the target 266 ms earlier than German L2s, who showed more variable predictive onsets. Following the completion of data collection, variability in L2 onsets will be correlated with individual-level variables such as age of acquisition, proficiency and native-language status.

Figure 1. By-subject onset of looks to the target object



References: [1] Lew-Williams & Fernald (2010). JML; [2] Hopp & Lemmerth (2017). Studies in SLA. [3] Sheridan & Reingold (2012). Visual Cog. [4] Allopenna et al. (1998). JML. [5] Barr et al. (2014). J Exp Psych. [6] Maris & Oostenveld (2007). J Neurosci Methods.

Predictive processing in poetic language: ERP data on rhythmic omissions in metered speech

Karen Henrich[1], **Mathias Scharinger**[1,2,3], **Winfried Menninghaus**[1]
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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
09:00–09:30
ESA1 O 121

Predictions during language comprehension are currently discussed from many points of view. One area where predictive processing may play a particular role concerns poetic language that is regularized by meter and rhyme, thus allowing strong predictions regarding the timing and the stress of individual syllables. There is experimental evidence that metrical regularity enhances ease of processing (e.g. Obermeier et al. 2015). However, the exact mechanism by which these predictions are exploited has not been directly examined by methods with a specific focus on top-down processes.

The present EEG study (n=20; 64 electrodes) examined whether the predictability of strong and weak syllables within metered speech, as is prevalent in poetic language, would differ as a function of meter type (here: foot type). Strong, i.e. accented positions within a foot should be more predictable than weak, i.e. unaccented positions. Our focus was on disyllabic pseudowords that solely differed in foot type, i.e. between trochee vs. iamb, with trochees providing the preferred foot in German. To this end, we looked at a specific type of the so-called Mismatch Negativity (MMN) that is elicited when an anticipated auditory stimulus is omitted. The resulting omission MMN (oMMN) is particularly interesting because its elicitation is not depending on a physical stimulus. It is therefore considered the optimal method for examining the error signal caused by top-down predictions.

Omissions in deviant position were realized as either omitting the first or the second syllable, arriving at a 2-by-2 design with the factors foot type and omission position. Analyses focused on the mean amplitude differences between deviant and standard responses.

The result pattern was characterized by an interaction of the effects of foot type and omission position. A decomposition of this interaction revealed that oMMN latencies differed between trochee and iamb, but only for omission in first syllable position. There, omissions in trochees elicited earlier oMMN responses. The results thus suggest that omissions in initial position are modulated by foot preferences in German. German shows a bias towards trochaic foot structure. Hence, particular importance is assigned to the first syllable in disyllabic words. A missing strong syllable in this position elicits an earlier violation response because the prediction in this position has been stronger. Altogether, predictive processing seems to be enhanced in metered speech, especially if the meter is based on the preferred foot type.

References: Obermeier, C., Kotz, S. A., Jessen, S., Raettig, T., Koppenfels, M. v. & Menninghaus, W. (2015). Aesthetic appreciation of poetry correlates with ease of processing in event-related potentials. Cognitive Affective & Behavioral Neuroscience. DOI 10.3758/s13415-015-0396-x.

Anticipating a subjunctive clause in Spanish: A pupillometry study

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 09:30–10:00 ESA1 O 121

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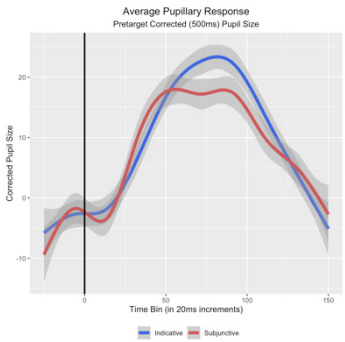
In this study, we use the Spanish subjunctive mood to investigate the human linguistic predictive capacity during spoken language processing in a group of Spanish speakers, using experimental materials derived from natural language usage. The Spanish subjunctive is well suited to investigate predictive processing because the presence of a subjunctive verb in a subordinate clause typically depends on lexical information encoded in the verb (the "governor") in the immediately preceding main clause. Hence, in supportive contexts, speakers should anticipate a verb carrying subjunctive morphology. Seventeen native speakers of Spanish participated in the experiment. Data were collected using an Eyelink Portable Duo eye-tracking system, and the resulting pupillary data were analyzed utilizing Generalized Additive Mixed Effects Models. We employed pupillometry because this technique has been used to study a wide variety of language-related processes. An advantage of pupillometry over other psycholinguistic methods is that it is well suited to study spoken language processing in unrestricted contexts. Because our experimental materials were extracted from oral corpora, the use of pupillometry was ideal as it required no visual information to be present, allowing for less restricted and more naturalistic stimuli presentation. Participants heard a preceding contexts (Table 1) followed by a target sentence in two conditions: In Condition 1 (C1), the subordinate verb was presented in the subjunctive form (licensed condition); in Condition 2 (C2), the subordinate verb was presented in the indicative form (unlicensed condition). In both conditions, the **governor** subcategorized for a verb with subjunctive morphology. Target sentences were designed to be as ecologically valid as possible. To this end, tokens extracted from the *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* (CSCM) were used as the bases to create the target sentences. As target sentences were designed to be as ecologically valid as possible, tokens extracted from the *Corpus Sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México* [1] were used as the bases to create the stimuli. In addition, all sentences were recorded by a native speaker of Mexican Spanish. We predicted that if participants were immediately sensitive to the lexical constraints encoded in the governor, C1 should be easier to process than C2. The results show just that (Figure 1). These findings suggest that the use of an appropriate method for data collection, along with the incorporation of corpus-based materials in the design of psycholinguistic experiments, can contribute to a predictive processing theory that has greater explanatory adequacy.



References: Martín Butragueño, P. & Lastra, Y. (2011; 2012; 2015). Corpus sociolingüístico de la ciudad de México. México: El Colegio de México.

Good-enough processing and how it depends on environmental noise — from adolescence into older age

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Donnerstag, 05.03.2020 10:00–10:30 ESA1 O 121

When building sentence representations, readers can rely not only on the fully specified syntactic structure, but also on the semantic associations formed by typical event frames. That is, instead of engaging in potentially costly syntactic parsing, readers might guess the meaning of the sentence based on the set of words that constitute the sentence. The reliance on such good-enough processing increases when the input is processed in noisy conditions (Gibson et al. 2013), with the noise broadly defined as anything that disturbs or interferes with linguistic signal, be that actual noise, foreign accent, or perceived speaker characteristics. What is little known is whether readers of different ages are equally likely to rely on the good-enought processing, and whether this reliance is equally modulated by noisy conditions at every age. We know that older adults might adopt riskier reading strategies (Rayner et al. 2006), which might suggest higher reliance on the good-enough processing, however, little is known about adolescents.

To test whether the good-enough processing and its modulation by noisy conditions depends on age, we tested three groups of Russian-speaking participants: 51 adolescents (MAge = 15 (13–17); 14 females), 78 adults (MAge = 24 (20–39); 50 females), and 36 older adults (Mage = 65 (55–91), 25 females). They read 56 early- vs. late-closure sentences that were either semantically plausible or implausible, i.e., the syntactic structure either matched or contradicted the typical semantic relations. Half of the sentences were presented under visual distraction (noise) conditions: idioms and set expressions appeared in different parts of the screen simultaneously with words of the sentences appearing at the center of the screen. Each experimental sentence was accompanied by four or five random items of visual noise.

We analysed question response accuracies using Bayesian mixed-effects logistic regression. While adolescents performed on par with adults, older participants tended to make more errors ($p(\beta<0) = 0.97$). Participants of all ages gave more correct responses to plausible sentences, with both adolescents ($p(\beta<0) = 0.97$) and older participants being more sensitive to plausibility than adults. Sentences with high attachment received more correct responses, and conditions with visual noise received fewer correct responses independently of age or other parameters. To summarise, we found that while on average adolescents perform on par with adults and older participants give fewer correct responses, specifically in the semantically implausible conditions both adolescents and older adults are more susceptible to good-enough processing than adults. Importantly, we found no evidence that the tendency to engage in good-enough processing depends on visual noise at any age.

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Variation in the lexical semantics of adjectives and their crosslinguistic kin

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Raum: ESA 1 Ost (O) 121

Workshop description

Semantic theories of gradability and comparison (e.g., Kamp 1975; Cresswell 1977; Klein 1980 and many following) have been developed based on data from a very small sample of languages — almost exclusively English and German. Recent work extending such theories from a crosslinguistic perspective (e.g., Kennedy 2007; Beck et al. 2010; Bochnak 2015) has shown that translationally equivalent expressions do not always exhibit the same entailment behaviors, and can additionally have different morphosyntactic properties (Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017). These findings therefore present new facts that theoreticians have sought to tie together: In some cases through the positing of crosslinguistic semantic differences with i) some languages lacking a degree semantics (e.g., Washo, Bochnak 2015); and ii) some gradable expressions built on lexical items that have a mass noun semantics (Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017). These proposals contrast with degree-relation or context-dependent individual-characterizing semantics assigned to adjectives in more familiar languages.

This workshop aims to provide a forum for work that pushes the crosslinguistic agenda in the semantics of adjectives, their crosslinguistic non-adjectival equivalents, and the syntax and semantics of constructions of gradability and comparison in which they appear, with the specific aim of identifying variation in this domain. The selected contributions address aspects of this agenda in addition to the following specific questions tied to it: Are all degreeless languages alike, or are there different kinds of degreelessness (cf. Deal & Hohaus 2019)? Are all "degree-ful" languages alike, or are there semantically consequential, crosslinguistic differences in the kinds of degrees a language might have (whether as portions, as in Francez & Koontz-Garboden, degrees, states, or as something else)? What is the semantic relationship between adjectives in familiar languages and translationally equivalent non-adjectival expressions? Do adjectives (e.g., *wise*, as argued by Menon & Pancheva (2014) have the kinds of meaning observed transparently in possessive constructions of the kind discussed by Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017 (e.g., *have wisdom*)? How do the meanings of gradable stative verbs (e.g., *love, hate*, etc.) relate to the meanings of adjectives? Are they built on a common ontology, as argued by Baglini (2015)? What drives variation in the adjectival domain in languages with and without this category? Do languages exhibit semantic differences or is the observed variation merely the result of different realizations of the same functional material (Menon & Pancheva 2014)?

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Meaning and derivational morphology in the grammar of property concepts

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
11:15–12:15
ESA1 O 121

Two semantically relevant and cross-linguistically pervasive oppositions in the grammar of property concept lexemes are: positive vs. comparative forms (e.g., English *happy* vs. *happier*) and adjectival vs. nominal forms (e.g., English *happy* vs. *happiness*). In this talk, I review cross-linguistic data bearing on the morphosyntactic derivational relationships between the two forms involved in each opposition, and explore their consequences for points of variation and uniformity in the compositional semantics of the sentences in which these forms participate.

In the first part of the talk, I focus on the positive/comparative opposition. I review arguments from Grano (2012) and Grano & Davis (2018) regarding Mandarin Chinese and Arabic, respectively, indicating that despite surface appearances, comparative forms are systematically derived from positive forms, rather than vice versa, and rather than both forms being derived independently from a common root. This suggests a point of cross-linguistic uniformity in compositional semantics, whereby comparative meaning is systematically built on positive-form meaning.

In the second part of the talk, I focus on the adjectival/nominal opposition. Here, the situation is different: we find (a) nominal forms derived from adjectival forms (e.g., English Adj. *happy* -> N. *happi**ness***; Mandarin Adj. *gao* ‚tall' -> N. *gao**du*** ‚height'); (b) adjectival forms derived from nominal forms (e.g., English N. *joy* -> Adj. *joy**ful***); and (c) in Arabic, adjectival and nominal forms each independently derived from a common triliteral root (e.g., Adj. *Hakiim* ‚wise' and N. *Hikma* ‚*wisdom*' from the root √*Hkm*). Adopting the hypothesis that adjectival property concept words are individual-characterizing whereas nominal property concept words are (typically) substance-denoting (Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017), I explore various ways of modeling their semantic relationship so as to achieve transparency with their observed morphosyntactic derivational relationships, with an eye toward predicting truth-conditional equivalence between sentences like *John is happy* and their possessive counterparts *John has happiness*. The investigation draws on relevant prior work on cross-categorial gradability, including Moltmann (2009); Menon & Pancheva (2014); Baglini (2015); Francez & Koontz-Garboden (2015, 2017); Wellwood (2015), and Hanink et al. (2019).

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Towards a measurement-theoretic typology of adjectives

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
12:15–12:45
ESA1 O 121

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I present a novel cross-linguistic typology of gradable adjectives. It is based on scales of the measurement theory and offers an empirically superior alternative to the degree-based parametric proposal of Beck et al. (2009), the main current *semantic* typology of comparison constructions.

Beck et al. (2009) capture the cross-linguistic variation by offering several parameters, which form an implicational hierarchy that produces an implicational hierarchy of constructions available in a language. I draw on data from Kunbarlang (original field work) and Nez Perce (Deal & Hohaus 2019) to challenge Beck et al.'s implicational hierarchy and argue for the need for more fine-grained distinctions. I also argue that these unexpected 'gaps' cannot be analyzed as accidents of lexicalization, since such treatment would render their original proposal unfalsifiable.

We adopt a delineation analysis of gradable adjectives as vague context-sensitive predicates (Klein 1980). They are associated with different ordering structures, i.e. scales of the measurement theory (Stevens 1946, Krantz et al. 1971), thus allowing for individual treatment of each adjective, that is, it affords the level of granularity not only necessary for cross-linguistic comparison, but also admitting of language-internal variation between adjectives (e.g. positive and negative forms, predicates that allow for measure phrases in positive/comparative form, etc.; e.g. Sassoon 2010). These scales form a natural progression of increasing informativeness.

Implicit (or conjoined) comparatives are the ones that employ nominal scales, which can only classify individuals into unordered classes (John is tall, Paul is short). The comparison meaning arises via inference. "Degreeless" languages (such as Motu (Beck et al. 2009) or Kunbarlang) only have adjectives and constructions pertaining to nominal scales. In Kunbarlang, however, some units of measure are lexicalized, which allows for Measure Phrase modification. Ordinal scales, which can express ordered relations, are expressive enough for the morphological comparatives (as in Nez Perce). Differential comparatives require that the adjective associate with an interval scale; ratio comparatives — with a ratio scale.

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Overt positive degree morphology in Tibetic

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Donnerstag,
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13:45–14:15
ESA1 O 121

Recent literature on degree morphology and gradable adjectives has sometimes claimed (e.g. Bobaljik 2012: 32, fn. 5; Grano & Davis 2018: 133) that there is no well-described language in which a degree morpheme attending gradable adjectives in the positive form is uncontroversially and overtly realized. If this is true, then it is a problem for semantic theories of gradable adjectives which, following Cresswell (1976), posit a positive-form degree morpheme ('POS') in this position, since there is no descriptive, theory-independent reason to believe in the existence of such a morpheme.

The purpose of this talk is to fill a descriptive lacuna in the theoretical literature: certain varieties of Tibetic, including Ü-Tsang / 'Standard' Tibetan (UT), from which this talk takes its examples, but also Literary Tibetan (Goldstein et al. 1991: 249ff.) and Sherpa (Kelly 2004: 235–236), do overtly realize a distinct morpheme with positive-form gradable adjectives. The marking is robust, regular, and clear, making the case for such a morpheme in Tibetic far less controversial than previous similar claims made for Navajo (Bogal-Albritton 2008: 30), Mandarin (Grano 2012), and Arabic (Grano & Davis 2018).

UT has a distinct class of adjectives, which appear with obligatory degree morphology to the right of the stem, both in attributive and predicative position. This includes a morpheme, most often realized as *po*, which appears in the positive form. As illustrated with the stem *tsha* 'hot':

(1) *tsha po* ('hot') / *tsha ba* ('hotter') / *tsha shos* ('hottest')

This questions the generalization in Grano & Davis (2018: 133, ex. 8), according to which comparative and positive forms can't be overtly (i) equally complex and (ii) non-identical. The marker *po* is obligatory in the positive, it is in contrastive distribution with a wide variety of other degree markers, and it cannot stack with the others (e.g. **tsha po ba*). It further has its own morphophonological life, with the allomorph depending on the adjectival stem, and has a cross-categorical degree-related function, appearing also on gradable quantifiers (e.g. *mang po* 'much/many').

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What children's interpretation of gradable adjectives can tell us about language variation

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
14:15–14:45
ESA1 O 121

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Investigating the interpretation of gradable adjectives in first language acquisition, our study provides evidence for the cross-linguistic variation of gradability. Beck et al. (2009) propose three dependent parameters to account for the variation attested across languages; the most fundamental one is the Degree Semantics Parameter (DSP) in (1).

(1) A language {does/does not} have gradable predicates (type <d,<e,t>> and related).

In [+DSP]-languages, gradable predicates denote relations between individuals and degrees (type <d,<e,t>>). In [-DSP]-languages, gradable predicates denote vague predicates (type <e,t>).

Following Snyder (2007), changes in children's grammar during acquisition can inform us about the nature of parameters: the child's hypothesis space regarding the grammar of the target language is assumed to be restricted to the options permitted by the range of the existing parameters. Extending research on the use of comparison constructions (Hohaus et al. 2014), we investigated whether German-speaking adults' and children's (age: 3–5 years) interpretation patterns of the positive form of gradable predicates provide support for the DSP parameter. Participants saw series of objects with small size differences and had to respond to test prompts such as *Give me the {big/small}* water balloons. Two analyses based on a total of 552 responses were performed to test whether the participants' ordering was based on big vs. small objects as in [-DSP]-languages or whether it was based on degrees as in [+DSP]-languages. First, we examined how participants divided the object array. Second, we investigated whether the participants' judgements for *big/small* were context-sensitive. Findings of the first analysis suggest that all participants establish an ordering among the objects that results in a set of big and a set of small objects. Findings of the second analysis suggest that the 3-year-olds, but not the 4- and 5-year-olds, adjusted their judgements less often than the adults.

How can this developmental pattern be explained? We argue that at age 3, children interpret gradable adjectives as properties of individuals, just as in [-DSP]-languages, but that starting at age 4 they take gradable adjectives to express relations between individuals and degrees, just as in [+DSP]-languages. In summary, the notion that 'gradability' varies cross-linguistically seems to be mirrored in the child's acquisition path. If correct, degrees are predicted to enter the child's grammar in the same way as has been proposed for language change: paths, i.e., totally ordered sets of locations, initiate scales, i.e., totally ordered sets of degrees (see Hohaus 2018 for language change).

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On two polarity-sensitive equative constructions

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Freitag,
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ESA1 O 121

Cross-linguistic variation in the semantics of equative constructions has been the subject of considerable recent interest (see e.g. Crnič & Fox 2019, Rett in press). We contribute to this body of research with an investigation of two equative markers – Japanese *hodo* and German *dermaßen* – which exhibit the interesting property of being polarity sensitive on some but not all of their uses.

The following examples illustrate a use of these items that can be paraphrased roughly with English *as … as*. In this construction, they pattern as negative polarity items:

(1) a. Taro-wa Jiro-**hodo** se-ga *takai/takaku-nai.
Taro-TOP Jiro-hodo height-NOM tall/tall-NEG
b. Taro *ist / ist nicht **dermaßen** groß wie Jiro.
'Taro *is / isn't as tall as Jiro.'

But both items also have a second use that would be paraphrased with English *so … that*; on this use they are not polarity sensitive:

(2) a. Taro-wa basukettobooru senshu-ni nar-eru-**hodo** se-ga takai/takaku-nai.
Taro-TOP basketball player-to become-can-hodo height-NOM tall/tall-NEG
b. Taro ist (nicht) **dermaßen** groß, dass er Basketballspieler werden könnte.
'Taro is (not) so tall that he could become a basketball player.'

Standard analyses of equatives take them to express relations between two maximal degrees. Building on a recent proposal by Crnič & Fox (2019), we argue that *hodo* and *dermaßen* sentences do not have maximality as part of their semantics, but instead simply introduce existential quantification over degrees. Polarity-based distributional restrictions then arise as the result of triviality of meaning in certain configurations.

We extend the analysis by considering the norm-related presuppositions of these items: the negative sentences in (1) presuppose that both Jiro and Taro are tall, and the sentences in (2) likewise presuppose a high standard (they would be odd if 'basketball player' were replaced with 'jockey'). We propose that these effects can be accounted for by construing the degrees over which existential quantification operates as possible thresholds θ for the positive form of the gradable expression. That is, *hodo / dermaßen* sentences are varieties of positive constructions. Presuppositional effects can then be derived pragmatically via competition with the unmodified positive form.

In the talk we consider differences between the Japanese and German cases, as well as connections to other equative constructions in these and other languages, and discuss the implications for the cross-linguistic semantics of degree constructions more generally.

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Variation in the Lexical Semantics of Dimensional Adjectives in Spanish

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ESA1 O 121

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The goal of this paper is to explore the phenomenon of syntactic variation illustrated in (1), related to the appearance of dimensional adjectives [A] in copulative sentences in Spanish. Spanish is a language that has two copulas: *ser* '*be*$_{\text{IL/relative property}}$' *and estar* '*be* $_{\text{SL/absolute property}}$'. In (1), *estar* is combined with dimensional adjectives that express the *size* of an inanimate entity. The grammaticality of these examples delimits the existence of two large dialectal areas in Spanish: dialectal area A (European Spanish and Southern Cone varieties, which reject this type of construction; sentences would be grammatical with *ser*); dialectal area B (American varieties from Mexico, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru, where they are grammatical).

(1) ...ella vive de las rentas..., porque **estaba grandísima la casa**, si pues... [la vendió en] ... unos milloncitos, los metió al banco, así que ya no tiene ninguna preocupación...
(México, Gutiérrez 1994, (24))
'...she lives on the rents..., because **the house was very big**, if well... [she sold it in] ... a few million, she put them in the bank, so she no longer has any concern...'

Our proposal is based on the descriptive intuitions of Gutiérrez (1994) and Brown & Cortés-Torres (2012), who point out that examples like (1) express „speaker subjectivity". The idea we intend to develop is that the notion of „subjectivity" is obtained because, in variants B, the evaluation of the property that the dimensional As express with *estar* is linked to the experiencer/perceiver that this class of As has in its structure. The dimensional As in variants B have an experiencer argument in their structure just as it happens in general Spanish with evaluative As (according to Lasersohn 2005, a.o.). Thus, „variation is restricted to the lexicon" (Chomsky 2001: 2). This would be a case of diatopically conditioned argument alternation in the adjectival domain.

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Indo-European microvariation in scalar expressions

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Freitag,
06.03.2020
12:45–13:15
ESA1 O 121

The microvariation of lexical categories and composition in property concept sentences relates to overarching issues of translatability and semantic universalism. The talk is concerned with Indo-European microvariation relating to state measurement and the noun-adjective distinction. Whereas some languages only permit the state measurement of gradable adjectives, such as Danish, other languages also permit the use of nouns and atelic verbs in such constructions, such as Norwegian. Compare the Norwegian and Danish data below:

(1) a. *Mannen var veldig nerdete / nerd.* [Norwegian]
man.DEF was very nerdy / nerd
'The man was very nerd.'
b. *Manden var meget nørdet /*nørd.* [Danish]
man.DEF was very nerdy /*nerd

Only having one kind of adverb to measure high degree, Danish permits the modification of atelic verbs by meget 'very/much', measuring volume, whereas Norwegian permits both *veldig* 'very' and *mykje* 'much' for the measurement of atelic verbs, though with different measurements.

(2) a. *Lars sprang mykje / veldig.* [Norwegian]
Lars ran MYKJE / VELDIG
'Lars ran a lot / intensely.'
b. *Lars løb meget.* [Danish]
Lars ran MEGET
'Lars ran a lot.'

To produce a Danish sentence with a similar interpretation as (2b), one would need to add a manner adverb like *intenst* 'intensely', like in English. The *very/much* distinction provides a separation between the measurement of state and volume. I suggest a connection between the *very/much*-distinction and the acceptability of Deg NP constructions.

The goal of the talk is to explore this adjective-noun variation in degree constructions across Indo-European, specifically considering Mainland Scandinavian, English, Spanish and Italian. The kinds of concepts modifiable by degree appear similar across these languages, in the sense that they all relate to some overarching value associated with the properties of the concept (Knobe, Prasada & Newman 2013; Del Pinal 2015). The comparative approach to degree modification is not new (see, e.g. Wellwood 2015; Fleischhauer 2016); however, observing high degree expressions cross-linguistically may provide some insight into how measurement spans across lexical categories. The *Deg NP* construction blurs the distinction between nouns and adjectives as lexical categories (cf. Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017), and it leaves us with a more uniform theory of degree modification.

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Historical change in scalar meanings

Freitag,
06.03.2020
13:15–14:15
ESA1 O 121

Roumyana Pancheva (Invited Speaker)
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I show that the meanings of gradable adjectives and of the comparative morpheme have undergone change in the history of Slavic. I suggest that degree arguments were not originally part of the lexical semantics of gradable adjectives in Old Slavic, but were introduced by the comparative suffix. The historical change reflects types of meanings for scalar adjectives (degree-less and deree-based) that are attested typologically (Bochnak 2015, a.o.).

The empirical core of the talk is the analysis of the comparative suffix in Old Slavic, which can attach in two different positions within adjectival projections, to the root or to an augmented adjective (analogously to the *-ios* and *-ter* affixes of Greek). I show that the comparative suffix combines only with roots which denote property concepts, or with complex structures that also have property-concept meanings, built compositionally from adjectival meanings. The results for Old Slavic add to work by Francez and Koontz-Garboden (2015) and others, concerning variation in the lexicalization and grammar of property-concept based expressions cross-linguistically.

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Adjectives denoting lack of property lack degree semantics

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Scalarity of adjectives has been a topic of a large discussion so far, cf. (Kennedy & McNally 2005; Kearns 2007; Kennedy 2007; Bochnak 2013; Morzycki 2015) but theories of scalarity have been elaborated based on a relatively small set of languages — mostly European ones. In my talk, I will show empirical evidence from several languages indicating that some semantic classes of adjectives which are scalar in European languages tend to lack scalar semantics crosslinguistically. In particular, I will discuss adjectives describing the lack of a certain property ('empty', 'blind' etc.) which I will refer to as (semantically) caritive adjectives. The data come from my own fieldwork on five languages: Tomo Kan (< Dogon), Natioro (< Gur), Hill Mari, Udmurt and Moksha (< Finno-Ugric).

In Hill Mari, the most widespread degree adverbial is *piš*. Its meaning is ambiguous between 'very' and 'absolutely' and it is compatible both with open-scale (1) and closed-scale (2) adjectives. However, not all closed-scale adjectives allow modification by *piš*. In such cases, the only felicitous interpretation is the one where the whole proposition is modified but not the adjectival scale itself (3).

(1) *Vas'a* ***piš toša***. 'Vasya is very thin'.
(2) *Ti küer* ***piš järgeškä***. 'This stone is perfectly round'.
(3) *Vas'a* ***piš arəâ***. 'Indeed, Vasya is sober!/*Vasya is absolutely sober'.

In my talk, I will argue that adjectives like 'sober' in Hill Mari lack scalar semantics and are crucially different from adjectives like 'round'. Adjectives of both types encode lexically closeness to a standard; however, I argue that the crucial difference between the two sets of adjectives is that only adjectives of the latter type are caritive adjectives — that is, they encode absolute lack of a property and therefore are not subject to any degree modification.

I will also show that adjectives of this class tend to lack scalar semantics cross-linguistically. For example, in Tomo Kan, an underdescribed Dogon language, scalarity can be identified in comparative constructions. I argue that Tomo Kan adjectives are inherently comparative and are able to project standards of comparison without any additional comparative markers. However, semantically caritive adjectives consistently do not project standards of comparison. In my talk, I will try to bring together typological data, formal semantics and lexical typology. In particular, I will provide a functional explanation of the fact that some adjectives denoting age ('old', 'worn-out') share many properties of caritive adjectives. I will also discuss different language-specific diagnostics used to identify scalar properties of caritive adjectives in languages of my sample.

References: Bochnak, M. R. (2013). The non-universal status of degrees: Evidence from Washo. Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS) 42, 79–92. Kearns, K. (2007). Telic senses of deadjectival verbs. Lingua 117, 26–66. Kennedy, C. (2007). Vagueness and grammar: The semantics of relative and absolute gradable adjectives. Linguistics and Philosophy, 30(1), 1–45. Kennedy, C. & McNally, L. (2005). Scale structure, degree modification, and the semantics of gradable predicates, Language, 81 (2), 345–381. Morzycki, M. (2015) Modification.

Postersession
der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Organisation: Melanie Andresen
Ort: ESA 1 Flügel West Foyer (EG)

Teil I: Mittwoch, 04.03.2020, 15:45–16:30

Adrien Barbaresi:
Towards a balanced corpus of modern political speeches in German

Felix Bildhauer & Roland Schäfer:
Beyond Multidimensional Analysis: Probabilistic Register Induction for Large Corpora

Thomas Haider, Debby Trzeciak & Gerrit Kentner:
Speech Rhythm and Syntax in Poetry and Prose

Aida Kasieva, Jörg Knappen, Stefan Fischer & Elke Teich:
A new Kyrgyz corpus: sampling, compilation, annotation

Inga Kempfert, Saba Anwar, Alexander Friedrich & Chris Biemann:
Digital History of Concepts: Sense Clustering over Time

Dominik Schlechtweg & Sabine Schulte im Walde:
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Sarah Jablotschkin & Heike Zinsmeister:
LeiKo: A corpus of easy-to-read German

Keoma G. Kögler & Roman Schneider:
Empirical Research Between Standard and Non-Standard: The German Song Corpus

Christian Lang & Roman Schneider:
The integration of terminological diversity – an onomasiologically structured terminology resource of German grammar

Thomas Proisl, Natalie Dykes, Philipp Heinrich, Besim Kabashi & Stefan Evert:
EmpiriST corpus 2.0: Adding normalization, lemmatization and semantic tags to a German web and social media corpus

Adam Roussel, Fabian Barteld & Katrin Ortmann:
CorA-XML Utils: Processing Diplomatic Transcriptions in Historical Corpora

Towards a balanced corpus of recent political speeches

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 15:45–16:30 ESA1 W Foyer

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CLP

Speeches are widely researched upon in political science as they can be used as a data source to reveal important information about the policy positions of their authors (Laver et al. 2003). Improving coverage for this text type can be of particular interest for corpus and computational linguistics. Words, themes and phraseology found in speeches are likely to complement other contemporary texts. Additionally, their comparatively open copyright status makes them highly relevant for research, for instance to perform replication studies. Clean categorized data is necessary for most approaches and potential use cases so that a peculiar scrutiny is required for corpus construction (Graën et al. 2014).

Previous versions of the corpus – first presented at this poster session (Barbaresi 2012) – have already been used in various scientific publications and in different disciplinary contexts (Barbaresi 2018). Three main approaches can be distinguished overall: qualitative analysis, mostly in history and political science; quantitative uses, mostly in machine translation; and integration into reference corpora and corpus linguistics tools. The current focus lies on significant political figures from German-speaking countries and regions from 1990 to 2020. Corpus development strives towards a balance in terms of linguistic and political diversity by taking into account population data as well as party-based distinctions (e.g. leaders of the opposition in Parliament) and institutional roles (for example the presidents of the Austrian National Council). From a linguistic standpoint, the form and content of the speeches can be expected to diverge according to the conditions in which they were held and to the characteristics of the speaker. There are also qualitative differences from a political standpoint, as some speeches are part of the daily routine of state bodies whereas others are considered to be important because of a particular political situation or institutional relevance. In order to reflect and operate on these factors of diversity, the corpus now features enhanced metadata including the country, the role and the affiliation of each speaker, which makes it possible to build a specialized subcorpus or to target certain speeches using a faceted search.

The corpus is publicly available for download (https://purl.org/corpus/german-speeches) and for querying on the DWDS infrastructure (https://www.dwds.de/d/k-spezial#politische_reden). The poster will present recent changes (most notably thousands of new speeches for more diversity), feature examples of use, and discuss work on further completion and balancing.

References: Barbaresi A. (2012). German Political Speeches – Corpus and Visualization, DGfS-CL postersession, Frankfurt. Barbaresi, A. (2018). A corpus of German political speeches from the 21st century. Proceedings of the 11th Language Resources and Evaluation Conference (LREC 2018), ELRA, 792–797. Graën, J., Batinić, D. & Volk, M. (2014). Cleaning the Europarl corpus for linguistic applications. Proceedings of KONVENS 2014, University of Hildesheim, 222–227. Laver, M., Benoit, K. & Garry, J. (2003). Extracting policy positions from political texts using words as data. American Political Science Review, 97(2), 311–331.

Beyond Multidimensional Analysis: Probabilistic Register Induction for Large Corpora

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Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 15:45–16:30 ESA1 W Foyer

CLP

The automatic analysis of the register in which a corpus document is written is prominently associated with Biber's (1988; 1995) Multidimensional Analysis (MDA). We present an approach superficially similar to MDA but which solves three major conceptual problems of MDA by using Bayesian inference to uncover registers – or rather potential registers (pregisters). First, in MDA, registers are associated discretely with documents, and each document can only instantiate one specific register, whereas we allow registers to be associated probabilistically with documents, and we allow mixtures of registers in single documents. Given that many linguistic phenomena are now understood as being probabilistic in nature (cf. Schäfer 2018), we suggest that this is a much more realistic assumption. Second, we assume the surface features to be associated with registers in a probabilistic manner for similar reasons. Third, we do not use a catalogue of registers assumed to exist a priori but we merely infer pregisters via clusters of surface features. The question of which pregisters actually correspond to actual registers with an identifiable situational-communicative setting will be dealt with in a future stage of the project using theory-driven evaluation and experimental validation. Given our assumptions about the nature of the mapping between features and pregisters as well as pregisters and documents, an obvious algorithm to use is Bayesian inference in the form of Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA; Blei et al. 2003; Blei 2012) as used in Topic Modelling. In our approach, we deal with pregisters instead of topics and with distributions of lexico-grammatical surface features instead of lexical words. The LDA algorithm otherwise performs an exactly parallel inference task. We first show how we extended the COReX feature extraction framework (Bildhauer & Schäfer in prep.) developed at FU Berlin and the IDS Mannheim in order to provide a large enough number of features for the LDA algorithm to work. We then present first results and discuss how we tuned the LDA algorithm and the feature set to lead to interpretable results. In order to be able to interpret the pregisters found by LDA, we extract the documents which most strongly instantiate the inferred pregisters. We introduce the PreCOx20 sub-corpus of the DECOW German web corpus, in which those prototypical documents are collected for further analysis w.r.t. their situational communicative setting.

References: Biber, D. (1988). Variation across Speech and Writing. CUP. Biber, D. (1995). Dimensions of Register Variation: A Cross-Linguistic Comparison. CUP. Bildhauer, F. & R. Schäfer (in prep.) Automatic register annotation and alternation modelling. Blei, D. M (2012). Probabilistic topic models. Communications of the ACM 55(4), 77–84. Blei, D. M., A. Y. Ng & M. I. Jordan (2003). Latent Dirichlet Allocation. Journal of Machine Learning Research 3, 993–1022. Schäfer, R. (2018). Probabilistic German Morphosyntax. Habilitation thesis. HU Berlin.

Speech Rhythm and Syntax in Poetry and Prose

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:45–16:30
ESA1 W Foyer

Thomas Haider[1,2], Debby Trzeciak[1,3], Gerrit Kentner[1,4]

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CLP

Prosody undisputedly affects the choice of syntactic constructions and the order of constituents within a sentence (Anttila 2016). The influence of prosody on syntax is most obviously attested in metered poetry where strict metrical rules and poetic license influence word order and grammaticality (Donat 2010). However, for German, it is largely unclear which prosodic factors affect sentence construction, and how strong their influence is on grammatical encoding.

To analyze the interaction of syntax with meter and rhythm, we train Conditional Random Fields (CRF) with sklearn-crfsuite to annotate large scale for *part-of-speech* (POS), *binary meter* (BM), and *ternary rhythm* (TR). For POS tagging we rely on gold annotation from DTA (deutschestextarchiv) and TIGER, according to the STTS tagset. For BM and TR we manually annotate 3600 lines of school canon poetry (158 poems) with Cohen κ > .90 on syllable level.

BM includes binary syllable prominence (+/-) and foot boundaries (|). TR segments the verse into *rhythmic groups* at caesuras (|) and in these segments allows for main accent (2), side accent (1), and no accent (0). See example (1) for an annotated line. We use the CRF models to annotate the German Poetry Corpus DLK (Haider & Eger, 2019) (74k poems, 1.6m lines, 11m token) on all three levels. We achieve up to 95% accuracy for POS and BM, while TR still has substantial 85% accuracy. The TR model and humans similarly confuse main and side accents.

(1) <l met="-+|-+|-+|-+|-+|" rhythm="01020|20102|">Geduckte Hütten, Pfade wirr verstreut,</l>

In our experiments we investigate:

1. the likelihood of a certain POS class to be stressed or unstressed, which allows us to establish a stress hierarchy like Antilla et al. (2018), but obtaining differing results: NOUN > $VERB_{modal}$ > $VERB_{full}$ > ADJ > ADV > FUNC. We agree however, that function words (FUNC, e.g. KONJ, ART) are seldom stressed, while nouns are usually stressed.
2. how words change their stress based on their context. We find that the established hierarchy reiterates for contextual dependence. If a word is preceded by a conjunction, then likelihood of stress is higher. Nouns rarely lose their prominence, and adverbs, which are quite balanced, also show a balanced context dependence.
3. the interaction of enjambement (line end without punctuation) with part-of-speech and line measures. We find no obvious differences (beyond tendencies) in POS transitions between lines, but shorter lines and hexameter prefer enjambement, while the alexandrine disprefers it.
4. the distinction of prose vs. poetry with a regularized linear discriminant analysis to interpret feature weights. Classifying single sentences reaches barely over random baseline while whole documents can be classified on POS n-grams (.93 Acc.) and rhythmic groups (.84 Acc.), suggesting infrequent recurring types of syntactic inversion (Gopidi & Alam 2019).

References: Anttila, A. (2016). Phonological effects on syntactic variation. Anttila, A. et al. (2018). Sentence stress in presidential speeches. Donat, S. (2010). Deskriptive Metrik. Gopidi, A. & Alam, A. (2019). Computational Analysis of the Historical Changes in Poetry and Prose. Haider, T. & Eger, S. (2019). Semantic Change and Emerging Tropes in a Large Corpus of New High German Poetry.

LeiKo: A corpus of easy-to-read German

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:30-11:15
ESA1 W Foyer

CLP

'Easy to read' is a general concept to describe variants of natural languages that are systematically reduced in vocabulary and syntax to be more easily accessible for adults with low reading competence. For German, there is 'Leichte Sprache', which adheres to specific linguistic and typographical rules, and the less restricted 'einfache Sprache'. Both variants have been the subject of growing attention in the academic and non-academic discourse - not least because in 2009 Germany ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), which demands accessibility for all people not only to physical environments but also to information and media (cf. United Nations 2006, Art. 21). Implementing the Convention in German law resulted in rule sets for Leichte Sprache (BMJV 2011; BMAS 2014) followed by linguistic descriptions (Bredel & Maaß 2016).

The empirical validations of how much the simplified structures contribute to facilitated text comprehension are still in their beginnings. A particular desideratum is how well the rules for syntactic simplification allow to convey discourse structure-related information, e.g. the causal structure underlying (1) (cf. Jablotschkin 2017).

(1) Der Mensch bekommt Rente. Weil er krank ist.
'The man gets a pension. Because he is ill.' (Dt. Rentenversicherung Bund 2017)

To contribute to this kind of research, we introduce LeiKo, a comparable corpus of German easy-to-read news texts. This freely available resource is systematically compiled and linguistically annotated for linguistic and computational linguistic research.

LeiKo consists of 216 news and newspaper texts (approx. 50.000 tokens) and their meta data structured in four subcorpora according to the websites they were published on. All texts are tokenized, lemmatized, part-of-speech tagged and dependency parsed and can be queried in ANNIS (Krause/Zeldes 2016). A pilot corpus of 40 texts is manually corrected.

The poster will present challenges of the manual and automatic annotation. Due to the specific use of punctuation marks in easy-to-read German, one such challenge was to determine sentence borders. Segments that seem to be separate syntactic units from the punctuation point of view tend to be related by syntactic dependencies. Automatic annotation quality could be improved by training the sentence segmentation on easy-to-read data. The poster also will describe the corpus by statistics based on the subcorpora and comparable standard German data with a focus on characteristic syntactic constructions.

References: Bredel, U. & C. Maaß (2016). Leichte Sprache. Mannheim: Duden-Verlag. BMJV (2011): Verordnung zur Schaffung barrierefreier Informationstechnik nach dem Behindertengleichstellungsgesetz (Barrierefreie-Informationstechnik-Verordnung – BITV 2.0). Last modified: 25.11.2016. BMAS (2014) (ed.): Leichte Sprache. Ein Ratgeber. Deutsche Rentenversicherung Bund (ed.) (2017). Die Renten-Versicherung. Jablotschkin, S. (2017). Kausalrelationen in Leichter Sprache. Master's thesis, Universität Hamburg. Krause, T. & A. Zeldes (2016). ANNIS3: A new architecture for generic corpus query and visualization. Digital Scholarship in the Humanities 2016 (31). United Nations (2006): Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

A new Kyrgyz corpus: sampling, compilation, annotation

Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 15:45–16:30 ESA1 W Foyer

CLP

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We present a Kyrgyz corpus comprising 1,205,888 words of 84 literary texts of five genres: novel, novelette, epic, minor epic, and fairy tale. The corpus is annotated with part-of-speech tags and rich per-text meta-data and made available under a free licence from CLARIN-D.

The Kyrgyz language is spoken by approximately 4.4 million speakers worldwide and it is one of the two official languages of Kyrgyzstan. It belongs to the Turkic language family and has a rich agglutinative morphology. Kyrgyz is currently a low-resourced language, available corpora include web corpora without further annotation* and a plain text Wikipedia dump**. This corpus is to our knowledge the first fair-sized Kyrgyz corpus containing human-curated texts with lemma and part-of-speech annotations.

Corpus sources. As a copyright law became effective in the then Soviet Union only on May 27, 1973, all texts created before that date are public domain. This allowed us to include "Jamila" by the famous Kyrgyz writer Chinghiz Aitmatov in the corpus. Other sources included in the corpus were taken from http://bizdin.kg run by the Bizdin Muras foundation which promotes the development of the Kyrgyz language under a Creative Commons licence.

Meta-data. Each text in the corpus is annotated for the year of publication, author, title, an English translation of the title, and text source. The corpus as a whole is described by extensive metadata in Dublin Core and CMDI (Broeder et al. 2011) format.

Corpus processing. The text is tokenized by an in-house tool and lemmatized and POS-tagged using the Apertium toolkit (Washington et al. 2012). For convenient use, the corpus is post-processed to a vertical format as used by the Corpus Query Processor and CQPweb (Hardie, 2012).

* Kyrgyz corpus in the Leipzig corpora collection http://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en?corpusId=kir_community_2017 and kyWaC – Kyrgyz corpus https://www.sketchengine.eu/kywac-kyrgyz-corpus/

** http://hdl.handle.net/11234/1-2735

References: Broeder, D, O. Schonefeld, T. Trippel, D. Van Uytvanck & A. Witt (2011). A pragmatic approach to XML interoperability – the Component Metadata Infrastructure (CMDI). In Balisage: The Markup Conference, vol. 7. Hardie, A. (2012). CQPweb—combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis tool. International Journal of Corpus Linguistics, 17, 380–409. Washington, J. N., M. Ipasov & F. M. Tyers (2012). A finite-state morphological transducer for Kyrgyz. In Nicoletta Calzolari (Conference Chair) et al. (ed.), Proceedings of the Eighth Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation, LREC2012, Istanbul, Turkey, 934–940.

Digital History of Concepts: Sense Clustering over Time

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Mittwoch, 04.03.2020 15:45–16:30 ESA1 W Foyer

CLP

We present a tool for tracking word senses over time for enabling a digital, data-driven history of concepts, in an ongoing collaboration between computational linguistics and philosophy [FB 2016]. Research in the history of concepts deals with the historical semantics of terms with a special focus on the evolution or change of scientific or political concepts related to them. Special interest is given to the (often polysemic) meaning of basic concepts that are still crucial for the understanding of contemporary cultural, political or scientific world- and self-descriptions (such as "freedom", "power", "life", or "crisis"). A fundamental question here is how relevant contexts and periods of time of such changes can be identified. Our exploration tool allows to visualize the semantics of conceptual terms and their change over time, based on digital text analysis. The visualization shall help conceptual historians to identify and track significant changes of conceptual terms within and across different periods of time in different text corpora as well as to narrow down relevant contexts and source documents for further study.

Distributional semantics and word sense induction enable a data-driven approach to tracking word senses over time. Distributional semantics represents word meaning by their global contexts [MC 1991], allowing us to compute word similarity over large text corpora, such as the Google Books collection, using the graph-based JobimText framework [BR 2013]. Word sense induction creates data-driven hypotheses of coherent paradigms of target words, forming clusters that reflect different word senses. On time slices of time-stamped text corpora, we can access the formation, change and the demise of word meanings [MMM+. 2014].

Our contribution consists of SCoT (Sense Clustering over Time), a web interface to access the different senses of a word as they change over time. The paradigms of the target word are displayed as a graph, where word nodes are connected with edges indicating their similarity. The interface allows for parameterization of the graph creation and display as well as setting time intervals of interest. For the formation of concepts, graph clustering provides an automatic initialization of colour-coded sense clusters, which can be labelled and post-edited by the user, since clustering is known to produce distinctions that are highly correlated, but not necessarily congruent to the user's needs. For the visualization of differences, colour coding is employed to show, for selected time intervals, which paradigms resp. senses are stable, are added or fall out of use. This mode also allows for stepping through the time intervals for visually analysing the dynamics of change. Across both modes, it is possible to pin nodes onto the visualization canvas to ensure visual continuity of senses across time slices. The tool is implemented as a freely accessible web interface that allows locally saving and loading its current state, enabling the interruption and the sharing of sessions, and will be demonstrated live.

References: Biemann, C. & M. Riedl (2013). Text: Now in 2D! A Framework for Lexical Expansion with Contextual Similarity. J Lang Mod 1(1):55–95. Friedrich, A. & C. Biemann (2016). Digitale Begriffsgeschichte? Methodologische Überlegungen und exemplarische Versuche am Beispiel moderner Netzsemantik, Forum Interdisziplinäre Begriffsgeschichte 5(2), 78–96. Miller, G. & W. Charles (1991). Contextual Correlates of Semantic Similarity. Language and Cognitive Processes, 6(1), 1–28. Mitra, S., R. Mitra, S. Maity et al. (2015). An automatic approach to identify word sense changes in text media across timescales. J Nat Lang Eng 21(05), 773–798.

Empirical Research Between Standard and Non-Standard: The German Song Corpus

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:30–11:15
ESA1 W Foyer

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CLP

We introduce a corpus with multi-layer annotation of German pop lyrics as a basis for interdisciplinary research. Lyrics can be considered a text genre with features of both written and spoken discourse, as well as a language variety in the continuum between standard and non-standard. Given the fact that pop music has developed from an originally youth cultural phenomenon into an integral part of modern culture, its textual content also has a high "communicative impact factor" (Kreyer/Mukherjee 2007), and apparently shows a remarkable amount of variation and creativity. Nevertheless, empirically based research on German pop lyrics remains an interdisciplinary desideratum so far – possibly due to the non-existence of reasonably stratified and preprocessed data resources and obstacles concerning copyright.

The publicly available Song Corpus (Schneider 2019) fills this gap. Its TEIP5-encoded content is divided into author-specific and thematic archives, such as the Udo Lindenberg Archive and a Charts 2000-2018 Archive, containing nearly half a million tokens within > 1,000 lyrics. Every text is automatically processed via a customized WebLicht tool chain, and manually corrected using the collaborative corpus platform WebAnno. The POS annotation layer broadens the STTS 2.0 tagset for contractions such as *auf'm* – short for *auf dem* (engl. *on the*) – and *willst's* – short for *willst es* (engl. *want it*). Furthermore, extensible layers for named entities (differing between real and fictional person and location names), neologisms (using a rather broad definition of what is new or innovative), and rhyming forms (e.g. end rhyme, beginning rhyme, internal rhyme) are added. All manual processing steps are subject to inter-annotator agreement; the resulting corpus database is explorable online (www.songkorpus.de), allowing fine-grained retrieval and the ad hoc calculation of linguistically motivated statistics.

The corpus collection provides a sustainable empirical basis for linguistics and the broad spectrum of cultural studies. Potential research studies include: (i) empirical statements on linguistic variety (ii) sentiment analysis for selected time periods or musical genres (iii) influence of external factors on lexical diversity (iv) stylistic analyses, identification of lexical or syntactical style markers (v) dialect lyrics (vi) text similarity (vii) comparison of rhyming forms and schemes (viii) empirical approaches to phenomena such as irony and wit (iv) topic modeling for selected authors/genres/time periods (x) identification of author-/genre-/time-specific formulation patterns (xi) symbolic elements and metaphors (xii) identification of parallelisms between the notion of persons, places, or institutions, and prominent topics in public discourse.

References: Kreyer, R. & Mukherjee, J. (2007). The Style of Pop Song Lyrics: A Corpus-linguistic Pilot Study. Anglia – Zeitschrift für englische Philologie 125(1), 31–58. Schneider, R. (2019). "Konservenglück in Tiefkühl-Town" – Das Songkorpus als empirische Ressource interdisziplinärer Erforschung deutschsprachiger Poptexte. Proceedings of the Conference for the Processing of Natural Language (KONVENS), Erlangen.

The integration of terminological diversity – a terminology resource of German grammar

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Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:30–11:15
ESA1 W Foyer

CLP

In linguistics the appropriate use of terminology is anything but trivial (Ziem & Neumann, to appear 2019). Scholars from different backgrounds may refer to the same concept by means of different terms or may even operate with different concept structures. This diversity and sometimes even inconsistency poses massive challenges for learning environments like the grammatical online information system *grammis* (https://grammis.ids-mannheim.de), where easy access to information for user groups with varying backgrounds is a priority.

We present the terminological database of *grammis* and how it deals with terminological diversity. The resource serves as *grammis*' knowledge organization system (KOS; Mazzocchi 2017) and is used, among other things, for information retrieval (IR). After an extensive methodological revision (cf. Suchowolec et al. 2017), the core of the terminological resource is a comprehensive concept structure consisting of approx. 1,700 concepts of German grammar which are interconnected by hierarchical (generic and partitive) and non-hierarchical relations. The resource's data model allows for various attributes being assigned to each concept. These include (theory-specific) terms for synonymy management and a label to mark concepts as pertaining to a particular school of thought or a particular linguistic subdomain. Also, our resource is designed to be descriptive on the concept level allowing for parallel concept structures (e.g., different views on the basic functional components of a sentence).

The resource's descriptive design, the inclusion of parallel concept structures and the disambiguation mechanisms in place enable the integration of terminological diversity in one system – both on term and concept level. The result is a versatile terminology management system with varied applications. *Grammis*' users benefit from the integration of terminological diversity as it enhances IR by offering multiple search pathways. On term level, a search for *Tun-Wort* leads to the same results as a search for *Verb*. On concept level, the inclusion of parallel concept structures allows users that are familiar only with the concept *Satzglied* to discover the similar but not identical concept *primäre Komponente* (Zifonun et al. 1997). The ability to specifically access all concepts that pertain to a certain theoretical background opens up applications that go beyond IR (for example, the terminological infrastructure is currently used for an upcoming online publication on grammatical terminology in school education).

References: Mazzocchi, F. (2017): Knowledge organization system (KOS). Version 1.2. www.isko.org/cyclo/kos. 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 Garcia, J., Bond, F., McCrae, J. P. et al. (eds.), Language, Data and Knowledge. First International Conference, LDK 2017. Galway, Ireland. Proceedings. Cham: Springer, 203–212. Zifonun, G., Hoffmann, L. & Strecker, B. (1997). Grammatik der Deutschen Sprache. Bd. 1–3. Berlin: de Gruyter. Ziem, A. & Neumann, A. (to appear 2019). Towards a FrameNet for linguistic terminology: Theoretical foundations, lexicographic practice, didactic potential. In Boas, H. C. (ed.): Constructionist Approaches to Language Pedagogy. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

EmpiriST 2.0: Adding normalization, lemmatization and semantic tags to a German web and social media corpus

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:30–11:15
ESA1 W Foyer

Thomas Proisl, Natalie Dykes, Philipp Heinrich, Besim Kabashi, Stefan Evert
Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, Lehrstuhl für Korpus- und Computerlinguistik
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CLP

The EmpiriST corpus is a manually annotated corpus consisting of almost 23,000 tokens of German web pages and German computer-mediated communication (CMC), i.e. written discourse. Examples for CMC genres are monologic and dialogic tweets, social and professional chats, threads from Wikipedia talk pages, WhatsApp interactions and blog comments.

The dataset was originally created for the EmpiriST 2015 shared task (Beißwenger et al. 2016) and featured manual tokenization and part-of-speech tagging. Subsequently, Rehbein et al. (2018) incorporated the dataset into their harmonised testsuite for POS tagging of German social media data (https://www.cl.uni-heidelberg.de/~rehbein/tweeDe.mhtml), manually added sentence boundaries and automatically mapped the part-of-speech tags to UD POS tags. In our own annotation efforts, we manually normalized and lemmatized the data and converted the corpus into the "vertical" format used by the Open Corpus Workbench, CQPweb, SketchEngine, and similar corpus tools. i.e. a CoNLL-style format with tab-separated columns for token-level annotation and structural XML tags for texts, postings and sentences.

During normalization, we corrected, for example, obvious spelling errors, e.g. *hinstelt*, and normalized non-standard variants to their canonical form, e.g. *uuuh* to *uh* or *hab* to *habe*. Then, we produced two lemma variants: Surface-oriented lemmata that are mainly based on the inflectional suffixes of the token and retain, as far as possible, any non-standard orthographical features of the token (the surface-oriented lemma for *hinstelt* would be *hinstelen*) and normalized lemmata that are based on the normalized token (e.g. *hinstellen*). The corpus was annotated by four student annotators, with agreement scores between 92.7 and 98.2 (Cohen's κ). The corpus and the annotation guidelines are available online under a Creative Commons license (https://github.com/fau-klue/empirist-corpus).

We will also report on our ongoing efforts to annotate the corpus with the semantic tagset used by the multilingual UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS; Piao et al., 2016) which consists of 232 category labels grouped into 21 major discourse fields (Archer et al. 2002).

References: Archer, D., Wilson, A. & Rayson, P. (2002). Introduction to the USAS category system. http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/usas_guide.pdf. Beißwenger, M., Bartsch, S., Evert, S., & Würzner, K.-M. (2016). EmpiriST 2015: A shared task on the automatic linguistic annotation of computer-mediated communication and web corpora. Proceedings of the 10th web as corpus workshop (WAC-X) and the EmpiriST shared task, 44–56. Piao, S., Rayson, P., Archer, D., Bianchi, F., Dayrell, C., El-Haj, M., Jiménez, R.-M., Knight, D., Křen, M., Löfberg, L., Nawab, R. M. A., Shafi, J., Teh, P. L. & Mudraya, O. (2016). Lexical coverage evaluation of large-scale multilingual semantic lexicons for twelve languages. Proceedings of the tenth international conference on language resources and evaluation (LREC 2016), 2614–2619. Rehbein, I., Ruppenhofer, J. & Zimmermann, V. (2018). A harmonised testsuite for pos tagging of German social media data. Proceedings of the 14th conference on natural language processing (KONVENS 2018), 18–28.

CorA-XML Utils: Processing Diplomatic Transcriptions in Historical Corpora

Donnerstag,
05.03.2020
10:30–11:15
ESA1 W Foyer

Adam Roussel[1], Fabian Barteld[1,2], Katrin Ortmann[1]
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CLP

When annotating non-standard texts, annotators often need to change the tokenization (while retaining information about whitespace and line breaks in the original text) and/or the text itself (e.g. when correcting errors in the digitization), however this feature is not found in many annotation tools. One exception is CorA (Bollmann et al. 2014), which was developed specifically for the annotation of historical German for the Reference Corpus of Early New High German, though it has also been used for CMC (Beißwenger et al. 2016). To retain flexibility, CorA does not interpret the text itself: Tokenization and the conversion of texts into its document model is handled by external scripts. To simplify the creation of these scripts, we present CorA-XML Utils (https://github.com/comphist/coraxml-utils).

CorA-XML Utils supplements the CorA document model with an ontology of character types. These enable CorA-XML Utils to convert data in the CorA-XML format, in which the token strings are not interpreted at all, into other useful formats, e.g. TEI-XML (https://tei-c.org/) which can make use of this information, e.g., in order to mark deleted passages in the transcription. Apart from this basic differentiation between actually transcribed characters and meta-characters, the character ontology adds further information, for instance marking some characters as having been "difficult to recognize" or "completed from a published edition". Such characters can be selectively masked in an exported diplomatic representation of the document. Other meta-characters in the transcription may mark the token boundaries used for annotation. In this case, Cora-XML Utils can then tokenize the document according to the whitespace in the original text or according to the additional boundaries, as required.

CorA-XML Utils already contains parsers for the transcription format of the ReM (Klein et al. 2016), ReN (Ren-Team 2019), ReF, ReDI, and Anselm (Dipper et al. 2018) corpora, all of which are or will be available in CorA-XML format. Therefore it can be readily used to convert these corpora into other formats. To use CorA-XML Utils with corpora that employ other transcription conventions, the addition of new tokenizers and parsers is possible. And with the addition of new importers and exporters, CorA-XML Utils is extendable to new import and export formats as well.

References: M. Beißwenger et al. (2016). EmpiriST 2015: A Shared Task on the Automatic Linguistic Annotation of Computer-Mediated Communication and Web Corpora. Proceedings of the 10th Web as Corpus Workshop. Berlin: Association for Computational Linguistics, 44–56. DOI: 10.18653/v1/W16-2606. URL: https://www.aclweb.org/anthology/W16-2606. M. Bollmann et al. (2014). CorA: A Web-Based Annotation Tool for Historical and Other Non-Standard Language Data. Proceedings of the 8th Workshop on Language Technology for Cultural Heritage, Social Sciences, and Humanities (LaTeCH). Gothenburg, Sweden, 86–90. URL: https://aclweb.org/anthology/W14-0612. S. Dipper et al. (2018). The Anselm Corpus. Version 1.0. Ruhr University Bochum. URL: http://islrn.org/resources/568-178-806-856-4/. Th. Klein et al. (2016). Referenzkorpus Mittelhochdeutsch (1050–1350). Version 1.0. URL: http://islrn.org/resources/332-536-136-099-5/. ReN-Team (2019). Referenzkorpus Mittelniederdeutsch/Niederrheinisch (1200–1650). Version 1.0, August 14, 2019. Hamburger Zentrum für Sprachkorpora. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/11022/0000-0007-D829-8.

A Semi-Supervised Interactive Algorithm for Word Sense Clustering

Mittwoch,
04.03.2020
15:45-16:30
ESA1 W Foyer

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CLP

Traditionally, word sense annotation in lexical semantics relied on a fixed inventory of senses assigning a single best sense for a given use (Navigli 2009). Nowadays, studies often take a graded view on word meaning where a use may be assigned to multiple senses on a graded scale (Erk, McCarthy & Gaylord 2013) or use pairs may be annotated for their semantic proximity and then clustered (McCarthy, Apidianaki & Erk 2016). While the latter approach avoids the definition of a word sense inventory, and thus by itself gives no information on the quality of a sense cluster (what sense a cluster represents), the approach allows to measure important lexical properties such as polysemy or vagueness.

We propose an online interface with an underlying algorithm requiring only two manual inputs: (i) a sample of uses for a target word for each of the different corpora that should be compared, and (ii) consecutive judgments of use pairs from these samples. The algorithm will pass through several steps presenting use pairs to annotators and using their judgments to infer word sense clusters in an efficient way. It may be applied to create data sets for different fields such as lexical semantic change detection (Schlechtweg, Hätty, del Tredici & Schulte im Walde 2019), term extraction (Hätty et al, 2019), graded word similarity inference or lexicography.

Use pair annotation is attractive, because it requires no manual preparation except for the sampling of uses from a corpus. We extend this approach to annotate use pairs sampled from different corpora allowing us to measure differences in a word's corpus-specific sense distributions. The resulting approach is largely automatized, efficient, language-independent and yields high inter-annotator agreement (Erk et al. 2013).

References: Hätty, A., Schlechtweg, D. & Schulte im Walde, S. (2019). SURel: A gold standard for incorporating meaning shifts into term extraction. Proceedings of the 8th Joint Conference on Lexical and Computational Semantics. Minneapolis, MN, USA, 1–8. Erk, K., McCarthy, D. & Gaylord, N. (2013). Measuring word meaning in context. Computational Linguistics 39(3), 511–554. McCarthy, D., Apidianaki, M. & Erk, K. (2016): Word sense clustering and clusterability. Computational Linguistics, 42(2), 245–275. Navigli, R. (2009). Word sense disambiguation: a survey. ACM Computing Surveys, 41(2), 1–69. Schlechtweg, D., Schulte im Walde, S. & Eckmann, S. (2018). Diachronic Usage Relatedness (DURel): A Framework for the Annotation of Lexical Semantic Change. Proceedings of the 2018 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies, New Orleans, Louisiana, 169–174. Schlechtweg, D., Hätty, A., del Tredici, M. & Schulte im Walde, S. (2019). A Wind of Change: Detecting and Evaluating Lexical Semantic Change across Times and Domains. Proceedings of the 57th Annual Meeting Association for Computational Linguistics (vol. 1: Long papers). Florence, Italy, 732–746.

Tutorium
der Sektion Computerlinguistik

Organisation: Rainer Osswald (Düsseldorf)
Ort: ESA 1 Flügel Ost (O) 123

Friendly Distributional Semantics: from theory to practice

Gabriella Lapesa, Diego Frassinelli
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Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 11:00–18:00 Uhr, Raum: ESA 1 Flügel Ost (O) 123

Distributional Semantics is a well established methodology in Natural Language Processing which builds on the assumption that the meaning of a word can be inferred by its usage (i.e. distribution) in text. Distributional semantic models (DSMs) build word representations as multi-dimensional vectors by looking at the linguistic context in which words occur in large corpora. DSMs have shown to be a robust method for a cognitively plausible processing of lexical-semantic information.

The aim of this workshop is to provide participants that have no programming background with the basic knowledge and skills to build and understand the output of a DSM in an interactive and non-pressuring environment.

Tagung der
Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik
(ALP e.V.)

Ort: ESA 1 Flügel West 221

Tagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik e.V. (ALP) „Digitale Pragmatik“

Organisation: Lars Bülow[1], Konstanze Marx[2], Simon Meier[3], Robert Mroczynski[4]
[1] Universität Salzburg, [2] Universität Greifswald, [3] TU Dresden, [4] Universität Leipzig

Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 09:00–18:00 Uhr, ESA 1 Flügel West 221

Digitalisierung betrifft auch die linguistische Pragmatik. Zum einen lassen sich in den digitalen Medien vielfältige Sprachgebrauchsphänomene beobachten, die mit den einschlägigen pragmatischen Konzepten theoretisch modelliert und empirisch untersucht werden können (Yus 2011; Herring, Stein & Virtanen 2013; Marx & Weidacher 2014; Hoffmann & Bublitz 2017). Zum anderen finden digitale Forschungsmethoden zunehmend auch in pragmatischen Forschungskontexten Anwendung, etwa korpuslinguistische Zugriffe im Rahmen der Korpuspragmatik (Felder, Müller & Vogel 2011; Aijmer & Rühlemann 2014; Müller 2015) oder Verfahren der digitalen Annotation (Weisser 2018; s.a. die Arbeit der Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), https://tei-c.org). Die Gründung entsprechend ausgerichteter Publikationsforen wie das Journal of Internet Pragmatics (2018ff.) und Corpus Pragmatics (2017ff.) bestätigt diesen Trend auch auf internationaler Ebene.

Die Hinwendung der linguistischen Pragmatik zu digitalen Gegenständen und digitalen Methoden konturiert die pragmatische Theorie und Methodologie dabei in vielerlei Hinsicht neu. Die in klassischen pragmatischen Forschungen oft auf mündlich-kopräsente Interaktion zugeschnittenen Konzepte (man denke etwa an Bühlers Deixis ad oculos oder Searles Sprechakte) müssen angesichts der quasi-synchronen, translokalen und oft auch teilanonymen Kommunikationskontexte modifiziert werden. Die datengeleitete Erhebung von Sprachgebrauchsmustern in großen Korpora rückt Einheiten in den Blick, die in manuellen Analysen womöglich unbemerkt bleiben, und macht sie funktionalen Deutungen zugänglich (Bubenhofer 2009). Auch neue Formen der digitalen Schriftlichkeit in multimodalen Kontexten sind unter pragmatischen Gesichtspunkten ausgedeutet worden (vgl. Androutsopoulos 2010, 2007; Bülow, Merten & Johann 2018). Schließlich gehen mit der nahezu unbegrenzten Zugänglichkeit teils höchstpersönlicher Sprachdaten im WWW auch neue Herausforderungen in forschungsethischer Hinsicht einher (Marx 2019).

Auf der Jahrestagung 2020 der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik e.V. sollen aktuelle Tendenzen und Herausforderungen der Digitalen Pragmatik diskutiert werden, wobei beide Perspektiven auf digitale Gegenstände einerseits und digitale Methoden andererseits gleichermaßen Berücksichtigung finden.

Keynote: Jannis Androutsopoulos (Hamburg)
Programm und weitere Informationen: http://www.alp-verein.de

Doktorandenforum

Organisation: Sarah Jablotschkin & Melissa Müller
Ort: ESA 1 Flügel West (W) 121

Doktorandenforum
Linguistic Data Vizualization with R

Natalia Levshina
Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen

Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 09:00–16:00 Uhr,
Raum: ESA1 W 121

This interactive hands-on workshop addresses PhD students and students. It offers an introduction to basic concepts of descriptive statistics (types of variables, measures of central tendency and dispersion) and different possibilities of visualizing the data with R. We will discuss the visualization of categorical, continuous and discrete variables with the basic plotting functions in R and with the help of ggplot2, a popular add-on package for creation of high-quality graphs. The list of graph types includes scatter plots, bar charts, box-and-whisker plots, histograms, dot charts, rug plots, violin plots, pie charts, density plots, interactive 3D plots, correlograms, mosaic plots, etc. In the course of the workshop there will be the possibility for participants to present their own research data and discuss ideas for visualization.

Speaker: Natalia Levshina (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen)

Time Schedule:

09:00–11:00	Visualization of Numeric Data
11:00–11:30	Coffee Break
11:30–13:30	Visualization of Categorical Data
13:30–14:30	Lunch Break
14:30–16:00	Discussion Panel

Infotag der Lehramtsinitiative der DGfS

Organisation: Melitta Gillmann
Ort: ESA 1 Fügel Ost (O) 221

Lehramtsinitiative/Lehrerinformationstag Digitalisierung im Grammatikunterricht

Organisation: Melitta Gillmann

Dienstag, 03.03.2020, 15:00–19:45 Uhr

Raum: ESA 1 Flügel Ost (O) 221

Durch die Digitalisierung verändert sich die Gesellschaft grundlegend; Schule und Unterricht müssen sich auf diese Veränderungen einstellen, um den Schülerinnen und Schülern digitale Kompetenzen zu vermitteln und sie auf die aktuellen gesellschaftlichen Herausforderungen vorzubereiten. Darüber hinaus bieten digitale Lernwerkzeuge gute Möglichkeiten, um Lerngegenstände sprachlicher Fächer interaktiver und attraktiver zu gestalten. Sie ermöglichen kooperatives und projektbasiertes Arbeiten und bieten dadurch neue Perspektiven auf die Inhalte.

Der diesjährige Lehrerinformationstag der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS) widmet sich der Frage, welche digitalen Angebote und Ressourcen im Grammatikunterricht eingesetzt werden können. Darüber hinaus soll es um erste Antworten auf folgende Fragen gehen: Welche digitalen Werkzeuge eignen sich für die Reflexion über Sprache und Sprachgebrauch – und wie können sie im Unterricht eingesetzt werden? Lassen sich digitale Forschungsmethoden der Linguistik für forschendes Lernen im Grammatikunterricht nutzen? Welche Lerngegenstände eignen sich besonders für digitale Zugänge?

Programm

15:00–15:15	**Begrüßung**	ESA1 O 221
15:15–16:45	**Workshops (Block 1)**	
	Prof. Dr. Michael Beißwenger & Veronika Burovikhina (Universität Duisburg-Essen) *Kooperative Textarbeit mit dem TEXTLABOR*	ESA1 O 120
	Dr. Roland Schäfer (HU Berlin) & Dr. Felix Bildhauer (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS) Mannheim) *Annotierte Webkorpora als Lehrmittel in der Vermittlung von Registerkompetenz*	ESA1 O 121
	Brigitte Ganswindt, Tanja Giessler (beide Universität Marburg) & Renata Samà (Universität Hamburg) *Digitale Lernspiele im Grammatikunterricht*	ESA1 O 122
16:45–17:00	Kaffeepause	ESA1 O 221

17:00–18:30 **Workshops (Block 2)**

Hans-Georg Müller (Universität Potsdam) ESA1 O 121
Chancen digitalen Lernens im Grammatikunterricht

Melitta Gillmann (Universität Hamburg), Christiane Höltmann (Friedrich-Ebert-Gymnasisum), Linda Kunow (Universität Hamburg) & Jessica Sohl (Lise-Meitner-Gymnasium) ESA1 O 122
Forschendes Lernen im schulischen Grammatikunterricht

Jannis Androutsopoulos & Franziska Kuhlee (Universität Hamburg) ESA1 O 120
Grammatik in der Sprachlandschaft: Wie die digitale Datenbank LinguaSnappHamburg *im Deutschunterricht eingesetzt werden kann*

18:30–18:45 Kaffeepause ESA1 O 221

18:45–19:45 **Plenarvortrag** ESA1 O 221
Michael Beißwenger (Universität Duisburg-Essen)
Zum Lernen verlocken mit ORTHO & GRAF.
Ein online-gestütztes Planspiel zur Reflexion über Rechtschreibung und Grammatik in der Sekundarstufe I

LAI

Kooperative Textarbeit mit dem TEXTLABOR

Michael Beißwenger, Veronika Burovikhina
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Dienstag, 03.03.2020 15:15–16:45 ESA1 O 120

In diesem Workshop stellen wir das Werkzeug TEXTLABOR vor, das es Lernenden ermöglicht, digital bereitgestellte Texte kooperativ und problembezogen mit Anmerkungen zu versehen und in einer digitalen Leseumgebung direkt an Texten über Texte zu diskutieren. Wir berichten von Erfahrungen mit dem Einsatz des Werkzeugs für Formen der kooperativen Textarbeit (Erschließung von Fachtexten, Analyse literarischer Texte) in germanistischen und deutschdidaktischen Seminaren an der Universität Duisburg-Essen. In einem Kooperationsprojekt mit einem Gymnasium wird das Konzept derzeit für den Einsatz im schulischen Deutschunterricht angepasst.

Das Werkzeug TEXTLABOR steht als Erweiterung zur Lernplattform Moodle als freier Download zur Verfügung. Nach einer einführenden Präsentation besteht für die Teilnehmenden im zweiten Teil des Workshops Gelegenheit, das Werkzeug direkt am Rechner mit verschiedenen Beispieltexten auszuprobieren und davon ausgehend eigene Ideen für den Einsatz im Deutschunterricht zu entwickeln. Eine erste Orientierung zu TEXTLABOR bietet Abschnitt 5 des folgenden, online verfügbaren Textes.

References: Beißwenger M., V. Burovikhina & L. Meyer (2019). Förderung von Sprach- und Textkompetenzen mit sozialen Medien: Kooperative Konzepte für den Inverted Classroom. In M. Beißwenger & M. Knopp (Hg.), Soziale Medien in Schule und Hochschule: Linguistische, sprach- und mediendidaktische Perspektiven. Frankfurt: Peter Lang (Forum Angewandte Linguistik 63), 59–100 (https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/68195).

LAI

Annotierte Webkorpora als Lehrmittel in der Vermittlung von Registerkompetenz

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
15:15–16:45
ESA1 O 121

Roland Schäfer[1], Felix Bildhauer[2]

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LAI

Die Entwicklung von Registerkompetenz bei Schüler*innen wird als essentielle Aufgabe des Deutschunterrichts angesehen. Im Rahmenlehrplan für Berlin/Brandenburg wird wie selbstverständlich gefordert, dass „[Schüler*innen] [...] die unterschiedlichen Sprachregister wie Alltags-, Bildungs- und Fachsprache [...] situationsangemessen [gebrauchen]“ (S. 6). Solche Forderungen stellen für die germanistische Linguistik und auch für Lehrpersonen im Fach Deutsch ein grundsätzliches Problem dar, da die Register des Deutschen (insbesondere in neuen Medien und internetbasierter Kommunikation) noch nicht katalogisiert wurden und die in den Lehrplänen genannten Register wie „Bildungssprache“ oft eher als stark weiter zu unterteilende Makro-Register angesehen werden müssen. Lehrpersonen können also nur exemplarisch relevante Register und Registerunterschiede heranziehen.

Wir stellen daher eine neue Möglichkeit vor, registerspezifisches Material auszuwählen, und präsentieren eine digitale Ressource für die Vermittlung von Registerkompetenz in normnahen und normfernen geschriebenen Texten (inklusive Spezifika neuer Medien). Zunächst wird das große deutsche Korpus DECOW, das aus WWW-Texten besteht, gezeigt. In der Hauptsache wird dann Bibers (1988) Multidimensionale Analyse als Methode sowie eine erheblich weiterentwickelte Variante des Ansatzes vorgestellt, die auf Entwicklungen der HU Berlin (SFB 1412, Projekt A04) sowie des IDS Mannheim basiert. Die Methode erlaubt es, diejenigen Register zu finden, die zu messbar unterschiedlichen Verteilungen von lexikalischen und grammatischen Oberflächenmerkmalen (z.B. die Häufigkeit von Passivbildungen, Häufigkeiten von bestimmten Adverbialen, Pronomina, Konnektoren usw.) führen. Neben einer Annotation dieser Häufigkeiten für das gesamte DECOW (den sogenannten COReX-Merkmalen) wird das PreCOx-Korpus vorgestellt, das gezielt Dokumente aus DECOW enthält, die prototypischen Verteilungen (Clustern) dieser Merkmale – und damit potentiell Registern – entsprechen. Dieses Korpus kann von Lehrpersonen praktisch eingesetzt werden, um sich einerseits selber ein Bild von der Verteilung grammatischer Merkmale in diversen schriftlichen Registern zu verschaffen, und andererseits, um konkretes Material für die Unterrichtsgestaltung auszuwählen. Das PreCOx-Korpus stellt ein langfristiges Forschungsvorhaben dar. Daher werden die Teilnehmer*innen abschließend mit den Möglichkeiten vertraut gemacht, die Form und den Inhalt zukünftiger verbesserter Versionen des Korpus durch Rückmeldung mitzugestalten.

Für interaktive Anteile ist es von Vorteil, wenn den Teilnehmer*innen je ein internetfähiger Computer zur Verfügung steht. Besondere Vorkenntnisse sind nicht erforderlich.

References: Biber, D. (1988). Variation across Speech and Writing. CUP. Rahmenlehrplan für Berlin und Brandenburg 2017/2018, Teil C: Deutsch, Jgs. 1–10.

Digitale Lernspiele im Grammatikunterricht

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
15:15–16:45
ESA1 O 122

Brigitte Ganswindt[1], Tanja Giessler[1], Renata Samà[2]

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LAI

Grammatikunterricht wird sowohl von Schüler*innen als auch von Lehrkräften häufig als wenig attraktiv empfunden. Dies liegt nicht zuletzt daran, dass grammatische Lerninhalte auf Grund ihrer Abstraktheit und Komplexität für viele Schüler*innen eine Herausforderung darstellen. Um diese Themen interessanter und damit besser verstehbar zu machen, eignen sich alternative Lehrmethoden wie der Einsatz von digitalen Lernspielen im Unterricht. Auf Basis des lerntheoretischen Hintergrundes zum spielbasierten Lernen, bei dem Lerninhalte in eine Spieldynamik übertragen werden, kann das Potential dieser Lernform im Grammatikunterricht genutzt werden. Dadurch kann sich für die Lernenden ein aktiver, konstruktiver und selbstgesteuerter Lernprozess entfalten, der durch Spaß, Belohnung und messbaren Fortschritt im Spiel die intrinsische Motivation zur Auseinandersetzung mit dem Themenbereich anregt.

Im Workshop lernen die Teilnehmenden zunächst eine selbst entwickelte Lern-App (LINGURINTH) [1] zum Thema Wortarten kennen, die mobiles Lernen und dabei eine spielerische Wiederholung der Lerninhalte auf verschiedenen Ebenen ermöglicht.

Im zweiten Teil des Workshops erstellen die Teilnehmenden selbständig kleinere Lernspiele mithilfe der kostenlosen Web 2.0-Plattform „LearningApps.org“. Die einfache Bedienung und das intuitive Vorgehen bei dieser plattformgestützten Erstellung von Lernbausteinen erfordern weder Programmierkenntnisse noch ausgefeiltes technisches Know-how. Diese leicht zu erlernende Art der App-Erstellung ist auch dafür geeignet, im Schulunterricht eingesetzt zu werden, so dass auch Schüler*innen selber Apps erstellen können und sich dabei sowohl die erforderlichen technischen Kenntnisse aneignen als auch das zu erlernende Fachwissen auf diese Art vertiefen können. Die Teilnehmenden des Workshops können verschiedene Apps direkt auf ihren Smartphones testen und als Anregung für die Erstellung eigener Apps nutzen.

Benötigte technische Ausstattung: PC oder Laptop mit Internetanschluss und nach Möglichkeit Smartphone mit QR-Code-Reader. Voraussetzungen der Teilnehmenden: Keine.

References: [1] Ganswindt, Brigitte, Tanja Giessler, Renata Samà & Steffen Vaupel (i. E.): LINGURINTH. A Serious Computer Game to Support Undergraduate Students in Language Learning Courses. In INTED2019 Proceedings. 13th International Technology, Education and Development Conference, Valencia, Spain, 11–13 March, 2019. DOI: 10.21125/inted.2019.1684.

Chancen digitalen Lernens im Grammatikunterricht

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
17:00–18:30
ESA1 O 121

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LAI

Obwohl sich der Grammatikunterricht in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend gewandelt und mit Fragen der Sprachreflexion und Sprachkritik auseinandergesetzt hat, ist es nach wie vor Aufgabe der Schule, für ein Verständnis grundlegender grammatischer Zusammenhänge zu sorgen. Schließlich drohen Sprachreflexion und Sprachkritik ohne sprachstrukturelles Wissen und eine gesicherte Fachbegrifflichkeit zur Banalität, zur Spekulation oder zur populistischen Meinungsmache zu verkommen. Erforderlich ist allerdings, dass der Grammatik¬unterricht deutlich an kognitiver Nachhaltigkeit hinzugewinnt.

Hier setzen die immensen Chancen digitalen Lernens an, welche sich nicht in den multimedialen Möglichkeiten des Internets erschöpfen, sondern vielmehr in den breiten Gestaltungsspielräumen für interaktive Lernszenarien liegen. Gut erarbeitete und fachdidaktisch begleitete digitale Lernangebote erlauben unter anderem:

- präzise Lernstandsbestimmungen der Nutzer*innen,
- variable, auf den Wissensstand angepasste Lern- und Übungswege,
- unmittelbare Erfolgsrückmeldungen an die Lernenden,
- langfristige Dokumentationen der Kompetenzentwicklung sowie
- innovative Aufgabenformate, die im klassischen Grammatikunterricht nicht möglich wären.

Ferner ermöglichen digitale Lernangebote bei entsprechender technischer Ausarbeitung eine natürliche Schnittstelle zur fachdidaktischen Erforschung grammatischer Lernprozesse: Die Interaktionen zwischen Nutzer*innen und gestellten Aufgaben liefert beinahe ohne zusätzlichen Aufwand didaktisch hoch relevantes Datenmaterial, zu Fragen der Ontogenese grammatischer Kenntnisse, der Optimierung von Erwerbswegen, zu Einflussfaktoren auf den Lernverlauf, zur Effizienz von Hilfsangeboten und vielen weiteren Aspekten.

Anhand zweier eLearning-Applikationen werden im Workshop Möglichkeiten und Chancen digitalen grammatischen Lernens ausgelotet und diskutiert. Dabei werden lerntheoretische und unterrichtspraktische Aspekte des Grammatikerwerbs ebenso beleuchtet wie die Chancen, die sich aus einer Rückkopplung zwischen fachdidaktischer Forschung und schulpraktischer Verwendung ergeben.

References: Leimeister, Jan Marco (2019). Chancen und Herausforderungen des digitalen Lernens. Methoden und Werkzeuge für innovative Lehr-Lern-Konzepte. Berlin: Springer. Müller, Hans-Georg (2012). Automatische Leistungsdifferenzierung im E-Learning. Möglichkeiten, Chancen und Wege. In Apostolopoulos, Nicolas et al. (Hg.), Grundfragen Multimedialen Lehrens und Lernens. Von der Innovation zur Nachhaltigkeit. Tagungsband GML². Berlin: Waxmann, 107–123.

Forschendes Lernen im schulischen Grammatikunterricht

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
17:00–18:30
ESA1 O 122

Melitta Gillmann[1], Christiane Höltmann[2], Linda Kunow[1], Jessica Sohl[3]
[1] *Universität Hamburg,* [2] *Friedrich-Ebert-Gymnasium, Hamburg,* [3] *Lise-Meitner-Gymnasium, Hamburg*
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LAI

Im Workshop werden forschende Zugänge zu Gegenständen des schulischen Grammatikunterrichts mithilfe von Korpora thematisiert. Bei Korpora handelt es sich um Sammlungen schriftlicher oder gesprochener Sprachdaten, die digitalisiert vorliegen und mit linguistischen Informationen wie bspw. Wortarten versehen sind (Lemnitzer & Zinsmeister 32015: 11). In der Forschung werden sie genutzt, um sprachwissenschaftliche Fragestellungen empirisch zu untersuchen. Im Rahmen von zwei Schulprojekten mit Hamburger Gymnasien wurde im WiSe 2018/19 und im WiSe 2019/20 überprüft, wie Korpora* im Deutschunterricht verschiedener Klassenstufen eingesetzt werden können, um für den schulischen Grammatikunterricht relevante Gegenstände zu behandeln.

Der Workshop basiert auf den gewonnenen Erfahrungen und zeigt, wie Korpora als didaktische Methode des forschenden Lernens gewinnbringend im Deutschunterricht eingesetzt werden können. Zunächst wird die Anwendung des DWDS-Korpus im Allgemeinen vorgestellt. Danach wird am Beispiel exemplarisch ausgewählter sprachlicher Phänomene gezeigt, wie diese im Unterricht korpuslinguistisch behandelt werden können. Hierbei handelt es sich bspw. um Zweifelsfälle der satzinternen Großschreibung (z.B. *Recht haben* vs. *recht haben*; Sie liebt S/schwimmen) oder der starken oder schwachen Konjugation von Verben (z.B. *gewinkt* vs. *gewunken; gehängt* vs. *gehangen*). Der forschende Zugang hat den Vorteil, dass die Schülerinnen und Schüler sich aktiv mit den Gegenständen befassen, selbst Beobachtungen machen und diese abstrahieren (Hartinger & Lohrmann 2011). Indem sie zu eigenen Ergebnissen kommen, werden sie motiviert, sich mit Sprache zu befassen.

* Gearbeitet wurde mit den DWDS-Textkorpora (https://www.dwds.de/r).

References: Hartinger, A. & K. Lohmann (2011). Entdeckendes Lernen. In W. Einsiedler, M. Götz, A. Hartinger, F. Heinzel, J. Kahlert & U. Sandfuchs (eds.), Handbuch Grundschulpädagogik und Grundschuldidaktik. 3rd ed., 367–371. Lemnitzer, L. & Zinsmeister H. (2015). Korpuslinguistik. Eine Einführung. 3rd ed.

Wie die digitale Datenbank *LinguaSnappHamburg* im Deutschunterricht eingesetzt werden kann

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
17:00–18:30
ESA1 O 120

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LAI

Das junge Forschungsgebiet der Linguistic Landscape beschäftigt sich mit Formen und Funktionen von Schriftlichkeit im öffentlichen Raum. Durch Digitalfotografie werden Schilder und andere Textformen (Aushänge, Aufkleber, Graffiti, Inschriften) in ihren räumlichen Kontexten erfasst und nach verschiedenen Fragestellungen quantitativ und qualitativ ausgewertet. Mit der digitalen Plattform *LinguaSnappHamburg*, die wir seit 2018 an der Universität Hamburg betreiben, stellen wir eine digitale Infrastruktur für die Aufzeichnung, Annotation und Bereitstellung solcher Daten bereit. Die Plattform umfasst eine Smartphone-App und eine frei zugängliche Online-Karte, die im Mittelpunkt des Workshops stehen soll (s. Links unten).

Bisherige Vorschläge, wie Methoden und Ergebnisse aus der Linguistic Landscape-Forschung in den Sprachunterricht eingebunden werden können, heben den Beitrag zur Sprachreflexion sowie die Möglichkeit zur eigenständigen Erhebung und Auswertung abfotografierter Schilder durch Schülerinnen und Schüler (SuS) hervor (vgl. Der Deutschunterricht, Themenheft 4/2018). Darauf aufbauend soll in diesem Workshop gezeigt werden, wie die Online-Karte von *LinguaSnappHamburg* in den Grammatikunterricht integriert werden kann und welche spezifischen Kompetenzbereiche konkret angesprochen werden können. Als Referenzpunkt dienen dabei die Angaben des Bildungsplans Deutsch für Hamburger Gymnasien sowie die übergeordnete Zielsetzung, dass der Deutschunterricht „sprachliche Erfahrungsräume" eröffnen soll, in denen die „unterschiedlichen sozialen und sprachlichen Erfahrungen der Schülerinnen und Schüler" thematisiert werden können (Bildungsplan Sek I, 15f.)

Nach einer Einführung in die Funktionsweise der Online-Karte von *LinguaSnappHamburg* zeigen wir an authentischen Beispielen vier konkrete Arbeitsthemen, die sich in den Sprachunterricht einbauen lassen: Syntax, Wortarten, Semantik und Pragmatik. Für alle vier Arbeitsvorschläge zeigen wir interaktiv, wie sich jeweils relevante Schilder aus unserer Datenbank abrufen lassen. Abschließend wird erläutert, wie SuS der Sek. II mithilfe unserer Smartphone-App auch eine eigenständige Datenerhebung in ihrer Schule bzw. ihrem Umfeld durchführen können.

References: Projektwebsite: www.linguasnapp.uni-hamburg.de, Online-Karte: https://map.linguasnapp.uni-hamburg.de; Hamburger Bildungspläne: https://www.hamburg.de/bildungsplaene (Sek. I, Kompetenzbereich „Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen", Jahrgangsstufen 6–8).

Zum Lernen verlocken mit ORTHO & GRAF (Plenarvortrag)

Dienstag,
03.03.2020
18:45–19:45
ESA1 O 221

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LAI

Der Vortrag geht der Frage nach, wie Lernende dazu motiviert werden können, sich eigenaktiv und selbstgesteuert mit Lerngegenständen zu beschäftigen, die sie typischerweise als „trocken" empfinden. Ein Beispiel für einen solchen Lerngegenstand im Bereich des Deutschunterrichts (und auch des Lehramtsstudiums Deutsch) ist die Orthographie. Für Schülerinnen und Schüler bildet ein Verständnis der Systematik des Schriftsystems eine wichtige Grundlage, um Rechtschreibregeln als Ausdruck von (grammatischen) Regularitäten zu begreifen und die Normrichtigkeit erzeugter Schreibungen im eigenen Schreibprozess kritisch zu hinterfragen und zu kontrollieren. Für Studierende der Lehrämter Deutsch bildet ein vertieftes Verständnis der Funktion der Orthographie sowie der sprachsystematischen Zusammenhänge, die orthographischen Regelformulierungen zugrunde liegen, eine wichtige Basiskompetenz, um einerseits Materialien für den Rechtschreibunterricht fachlich bewerten und andererseits zur Bearbeitung von Fehlerschwerpunkten von Schülerinnen und Schülern geeignete Fördermaßnahmen auswählen zu können. Am Beispiel des Planspiels ORTHO & GRAF, dessen Konzept ausführlich vorgestellt wird, werde ich diskutieren, unter welchen Bedingungen es möglich ist, Lernende durch spieltypische Elemente (‚Gamification') zu einer selbstgesteuerten, kooperativen, diskursiven und motivierenden Auseinandersetzung mit den Schreibregularitäten des Deutschen anzuregen. Kern des Spielszenarios ist das fiktive privatwirtschaftliche Unternehmen ORTHO & GRAF, das über eine Website Dienstleistungen zur professionellen Klärung von Rechtschreibunsicherheiten anbietet. Im Rahmen des Spiels beschäftigen sich die Lernenden in unterschiedlichen Rollen und aus variierenden Perspektiven mit den Regularitäten der deutschen Rechtschreibung. Das Spielkonzept sowie die zugehörigen Online-Ressourcen wurden am Institut für Germanistik der Universität Duisburg-Essen entwickelt und 2017 und 2018 in mehreren Seminarveranstaltungen mit Studierenden der Lehrämter Deutsch in einem Inverted-Classroom-Setting erprobt. 2018/19 wurde das Konzept für den Einsatz im Deutschunterricht der Sekundarstufe I angepasst und in der Klassenstufe 7 eines Gymnasiums durchgespielt. Die Erfahrungen mit dem Einsatz werden ausführlich beleuchtet; dabei wird auch die Perspektive der Studierenden bzw. der Schülerinnen und Schüler sowie der beteiligten Lehrpersonen einbezogen. Die Spielumgebung sowie ein ausführliches Handbuch für Lehrende werden unter https://udue.de/orthoundgraf als freie Ressourcen zur Verfügung gestellt.

References: Beißwenger, M., V. Burovikhina & L. Meyer (2019). Förderung von Sprach- und Textkompetenzen mit sozialen Medien: Kooperative Konzepte für den Inverted Classroom. In M. Beißwenger & M. Knopp (eds.), Soziale Medien in Schule und Hochschule: Linguistische, sprach- und mediendidaktische Perspektiven. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 59–100 (https://www.peterlang.com/view/title/68195).

Informationsveranstaltung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

Informationsveranstaltung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG)

Helga Weyerts-Schweda

Donnerstag, 05.03.2020, 12:45–13:45 Uhr,

Raum: ESA 1 Hauptgebäude (HG) Hörsaal (HS) J

Informationsveranstaltung zu den Fördermöglichkeiten der DFG:
Im Vordergrund stehen Fragen wie folgende:

- Welche Fördermöglichkeiten gibt es bei der DFG für Forschungsvorhaben in der Linguistik?
- Worauf ist bei der Antragstellung zu achten?
- Wie verläuft die Begutachtung und wie hoch sind die Chancen für eine Bewilligung?

Nach einer Skizzierung der wichtigsten Förderprogramme und deren Besonderheiten sollen diese und ähnliche Fragen in der Info-Veranstaltung beantwortet werden. Einzeltermine zu speziellen Fragen können im Anschluss ebenfalls vereinbart werden.

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Personenverzeichnis

Gesamtübersicht
der Arbeitsgruppensitzungen

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13:45 – 14:15	Johannessen **Keynote**	Lillo-Martin **Keynote**	Gamper, Weber **Intro**	Haspel- math	J. Nowak, Dücker, S. Hartmann, Szczepaniak **Intro**	Bauke, Wegner **Intro**
14:15 – 14:45			Bordag, Opitz, Polter, Meng	K. Hartmann **Keynote**	Voeste **Keynote**	Sigurðar- dóttir, Eyþórsson
14:45 – 15:15	Arnaus, Stahnke, N. Müller	da Silva		S. Müller **Keynote**	M. Neumann	Herbeck
15:15 – 15:45	Petersen	Rinaldi, Sanalitro, Caselli	Bunk, Gamper	Leufkens	Dipper, Waldenber- ger, Lemke	Kim, S. Müller
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16:30 – 17:00	van Osch, Hulk, Sleeman, Aalberse	Tanyeri, Kubus	Cristante, Schimke	Stolz	Lüschow	Maché
17:00 – 17:30	Zuban, Zerbian, Rathcke	Koulidobrova, Ivanova		Middleton	Leuckert	Haumann, Killie
17:30 – 18:00	Arnaus, Juarros Daussà, Pera Ros Jiménez- Gaspar	Milković, Radošević, Hrastinski		Berdicevskis	Berg	

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Blaszczak	Weth **Keynote**	Evans, Barth **Keynote**	De Brabanter	Wiese, Bunk	Willems **Keynote**
				Park	
Bunčić	Fuhrhop	Hellwig	Wislicki	Ehrmantraut	Engel, Hanulikova
Kosheleva	Turgay	Ozerov	Ito	A. Baumann, Hofmann, Marakasova, Neidhardt, Wissik	Kerz, Wiechmann, S. Neumann
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Penkova	Usanova, Gabriel, Gogolin, Klinger, A. Müller, Schnoor	Mettouchi, Vanhove	Finkbeiner	McGillivray **Keynote**	McConnell, Blumenthal- Dramé
Breu	Steinlen, Piske	Matić	Maier	**Poster Session** (ESA1 West)	Fernandez, Engelhardt, Patarroyo, Allen
Pila	H.-G. Müller, Schroeder	Haig, Schnell		**Poster Session** (ESA1 West)	Stone, Lago

05.03.2020	AG 1	AG 2	AG 3	AG 4	AG 5	AG 6
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9:00 – 9:30	Assouline	Bauer		Verkerk, Haynie, Gray, Greenhill, Shcherbakova Skirgård	Rössler **Keynote**	Öhl
9:30 – 10:00	Kühl	Loos, Steinbach, Repp	Kentner, Franz	Pepper	Postler	Wall
10:00 – 10:30	Vosburg	Bosworth, Morford		Ye	Caro Reina, Akar	Grestenberger
KAFFEEPAUSE: 10:30–11:45						
11:15 – 11:45	Montrul **Keynote**	Gärdenfors	Fahrner	Hole	Condorelli	Pross, Roßdeutscher
11:45 – 12:15		Villwock, Wilkinson, Morford		Levshina	Tinits	Hirschmann
12:15 – 12:45	Yilmaz, Özsoy	Stroh, Rösler, Ossandón, Bottari, Rossion, Röder	Weber	Tokizaki, Kuwana	De Wulf	Catasso
MITTAGSPAUSE: 12:45–13:45						
13:45 – 14:15	Klosinski	Woll **Keynote**	Vasylyeva	Zamaraeva, Howell, Bender, Curtis	van der Moezel	Haegeman
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Wiemer, Socka	Walkenhorst	Seifart **Keynote**	Steinbach **Keynote**	Franco, Geeraerts	Henrich, Scharinger, Menninghaus
Jäger	Langlotz			De Pascale, Zhang, Heylen	Lopez-Beltran, Dussias
Petrova	Nimz, Schmidt	Closing discussion	Griffiths, Güneş, Lipták	Nerbonne **Keynote**	Laurinavichyute, Lopukhina, Malyutina
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	Leopoldino dos Santos	Storjohann	Horn **Keynote**	L. Schwarz	
Gewering, Marynissen	Stopfner	Mittmann, Plate			Kapitonov
MITTAGSPAUSE: 12:45–13:45					
Lara Bermejo, Escandell-Vidal	A. Schwarz	Derwojedowa	Huang	Schmitt	Muñoz
Salkie	Dovalil	Mörth	Breheny, Sun, Gotzner, Benz	Schäfer	Weicker

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Raum	ESA1 HG HS J	ESA1 HG HS B	VMP5 2091/2201	ESA1 HG HS M	VMP5 2098/2194	VMP5 2067/2071
11:45 – 12:15	Blevins, Burns	Rathmann, Geißler	Pappert, M. Baumann	McGury	Joyce, Meletis	
12:15 – 12:45	Zimmer	Rosen		Seržant	Verheijen	Besier
12:45 – 13:15	Pashkova, Hodge, Allen	Meili	Schellhardt	Michaelis	Busch	Adam
13:15 – 13:45	Tsehaye, Bunk Iefremenko	Kotowicz, Woll, Morgan			**Final discussion**	Roeper
13:45 – 14:15	Martynova, Yazhinova	C. Becker, Antonopoulou, Audeoud, Hadjikakou	**Discussion**			

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Halfmann	Kleinberger	Ogilvie **Keynote**	Shabanov, Shetreet	Himmelreich, Özdemir	Tanaka, Mizutani, Solt
Campbell	Scarvaglieri	Nolda, Barbaresi, Geyken	Albu	G. Müller	Gumiel-Molina, Moreno- Quibén, Pérez-Jiménez
Konnerth	Redder	Leonardi	Tomlinson, Baier	Feldhausen	Sant
Savić	Panel	Wan	**Poster Session** (ESA1 West)	Veríssimo **Keynote**	Pancheva **Keynote**
Harlos		Harm			

#DGFS2020