



# Sprache & Einstellung

46. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft  
28. Februar bis 1. März 2024 — Ruhr-Universität Bochum

RUHR  
UNIVERSITÄT  
BOCHUM

RUB

dgfs

Deutsche Gesellschaft  
für Sprachwissenschaft

## **Umschlaggestaltung und Plakat | Cover design and poster:**

Daniel Gutzmann (Gestaltung | *Design*, Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

Katharina Turgay (Idee | *Idea*, Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

## **Haftungsausschluss | Disclaimer:**

Der Tagungsband enthält Hyperlinks und QR-Codes, die auf externe Internetangebote (Webseiten Dritter) verweisen. Für Schäden, die aus der Nutzung von in dieser Form bereitgestellten Informationen resultieren, haftet allein der Anbieter des verlinkten Internetauftritts. Wir übernehmen zudem keine Haftung für eventuelle Datenschutz- und sonstige Rechtsverletzungen externer Internetangebote, auf die wir einen Link gesetzt haben. Für die Inhalte der von uns verlinkten Fremdangebote sind die jeweiligen Anbieter verantwortlich. Vor dem Einrichten von Links sind die Webseiten Dritter nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen geprüft worden. Es kann jedoch keine Gewähr für die Vollständigkeit und Richtigkeit von Informationen auf verlinkten Seiten übernommen werden.

*The conference proceedings contain hyperlinks and QR codes that refer to external internet offers (third-party websites). The provider of the linked website is exclusively responsible for any damage resulting from the use of information provided in this form. In addition, we assume no responsibility for possible data protection and other legal violations of external websites to which we have set a link. The respective providers are responsible for the contents of the external websites linked by us. Before setting up links, the third-party websites have been checked to the best of our knowledge and belief. However, no guarantee can be given for the completeness and correctness of information on linked pages.*

**DUDEN**

**ESV** ERICH  
SCHMIDT  
VERLAG  
100 Jahre

Lin|gu|is|tik  
FACHINFORMATIONSDIENST  
[www.linguistik.de](http://www.linguistik.de)

**GEORG OLMS**   
VERLAG

  
**iudicium**

**db** JOHN BENJAMINS  
PUBLISHING COMPANY

 language  
science  
press

 **J.B. METZLER**  
1682

**narr/f  
ranck  
e|atte  
mpto**

  
**PETER LANG**  
INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS

 **WAXMANN**

Universitätsverlag  
WINTER  
Heidelberg



**46. Jahrestagung der  
Deutschen Gesellschaft  
für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)**

**Sprache & Einstellung**

**28. Februar – 1. März 2024  
Ruhr-Universität Bochum**

---

***46th Annual Meeting of the  
German Linguistic Society (DGfS)***

***Language & Attitude***

***February 28 – March 1  
Ruhr University Bochum***

# Contents

Verhaltenscodex   <i>Code of conduct</i>	1
Sponsoren   <i>Sponsors</i>	3
<b>I Allgemeine Informationen   <i>General information</i></b>	<b>4</b>
Rahmenthema   <i>Main topic</i>	5
Tagungswebseite   <i>Conference website</i>	7
Pläne und Räume   <i>Maps and rooms</i>	8
Raumübersicht   <i>Room overview</i>	9
Veranstaltungszentrum (VZ)   <i>Convention center (VZ)</i>	11
G-Gebäude   <i>G-buildings</i>	12
Campus   <i>Campus</i>	13
Abendveranstaltungen   <i>Evening events</i>	14
<b>II Tagungsprogramm   <i>Conference program</i></b>	<b>15</b>
Programmübersicht   <i>Program overview program</i>	16
Rahmenprogramm   <i>Social program</i>	19
<b>III Plenarvorträge   <i>Plenary talks</i></b>	<b>22</b>
<b>IV AG-Programme   <i>Workshop programs</i></b>	<b>27</b>
AG 1   <i>Workshop 1</i>	28
AG 2   <i>Workshop 2</i>	30
AG 3   <i>Workshop 3</i>	32
AG 4   <i>Workshop 4</i>	34
AG 5   <i>Workshop 5</i>	35
AG 6   <i>Workshop 6</i>	38
AG 7   <i>Workshop 7</i>	40
AG 8   <i>Workshop 8</i>	43

AG 9   <i>Workshop 9</i> . . . . .	45
AG 10   <i>Workshop 10</i> . . . . .	47
AG 11   <i>Workshop 11</i> . . . . .	50
AG 12   <i>Workshop 12</i> . . . . .	52
AG 13   <i>Workshop 13</i> . . . . .	54
AG 14   <i>Workshop 14</i> . . . . .	56

**V Abstracts | Abstracts** **58**

AG 1   <i>Workshop 1</i> . . . . .	59
AG 2   <i>Workshop 2</i> . . . . .	75
AG 3   <i>Workshop 3</i> . . . . .	91
AG 4   <i>Workshop 4</i> . . . . .	109
AG 5   <i>Workshop 5</i> . . . . .	117
AG 6   <i>Workshop 6</i> . . . . .	131
AG 7   <i>Workshop 7</i> . . . . .	142
AG 8   <i>Workshop 8</i> . . . . .	157
AG 9   <i>Workshop 9</i> . . . . .	175
AG 10   <i>Workshop 10</i> . . . . .	187
AG 11   <i>Workshop 11</i> . . . . .	208
AG 12   <i>Workshop 12</i> . . . . .	217
AG 13   <i>Workshop 13</i> . . . . .	227
AG 14   <i>Workshop 14</i> . . . . .	237
CL-Postersession   <i>CL-postersession</i> . . . . .	250

## VERHALTENSODEX | *CODE OF CONDUCT*

### **46. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS)**

**28. Februar – 1. März 2024  
Ruhr-Universität Bochum**

Mit der Teilnahme an Veranstaltungen im Rahmen der 46. Jahrestagung der DGfS erklären Sie sich bereit dazu beizutragen, einen Raum zu schaffen, der frei von jeglicher Form von Diskriminierung oder Gewalt ist.

Wir dulden keine Belästigung, Einschüchterung, Diskriminierung oder Mobbing von Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft in irgendeiner Form. Dies gilt nicht nur für Personen, die an der Tagung teilnehmen, sondern für alle, die sich entscheiden, in die größere DGfS-Gemeinschaft bspw. im Rahmen der Organisation oder anderer Formen der Unterstützung einzutreten.

Dies gilt insbesondere für Belästigungen, die sich auf das äußere Erscheinungsbild, die Sprache, das Alter, die Herkunft, das Geschlecht, die sexuelle Orientierung, die Religion (oder deren Fehlen), die Nationalität, die Fähigkeiten sowie körperliche oder geistige Beeinträchtigungen oder Behinderungen beziehen, aber auch für die Störung von Vorträgen während Sitzungen oder anderen (virtuellen) Treffen.

Diese Regeln gelten auch für den metasprachlichen Gebrauch von Sprache, es sei denn, die wissenschaftliche Untersuchung erfordert die Erwähnung von diskriminierender Sprache mit den oben genannten Merkmalen. In diesem Falle sollten die entsprechenden Ausdrücke durch eine inhaltliche Warnung signalisiert und entsprechend gekennzeichnet werden, zum Beispiel als Zitat oder Korpusbeleg. In anderen Fällen sollten solche Ausdrücke in der sprachlichen Argumentation nicht verwendet werden.

Während der Tagung müssen sich alle Anwesenden an die Anweisungen der jeweils moderierenden Person und der lokalen Organisation halten. Präsentationen und Diskussionsbeiträge sollten außerdem keine Werbematerialien, Sonderangebote, Stellenangebote, Produktankündigungen oder Aufforderungen zur Inanspruchnahme von Dienstleistungen enthalten.

Wenn eine teilnehmende Person sich belästigend verhält, kann die lokale Organisation alle Maßnahmen ergreifen, die sie für angemessen hält, einschließlich der Verwarnung oder des Ausschlusses von der Tagung ohne Rückerstattung des Tagungsbeitrags.

Wenn Sie belästigt werden, feststellen, dass eine andere Person belästigt wird, oder andere Bedenken haben, wenden Sie sich bitte an ein Mitglied der lokalen Organisation, senden Sie eine E-Mail an [dgfs2024@rub.de](mailto:dgfs2024@rub.de) mit der Bitte um ein (vertrauliches) Gespräch.

**46th Annual Conference  
of the German Linguistic Society (DGfS)  
February 28 – March 1 2024  
Ruhr University Bochum**

*By entering and participating in the events related to the conference, you agree to assist in creating a space free from any form of discrimination or violence in the context of the conference.*

*We do not tolerate harassment, intimidation, discrimination, or bullying of any community member in any form. This does not only extend to attendees but to anyone who chooses to become involved in the larger DGfS community as part of the organization team or for other forms of support.*

*This particularly applies to harassment related to anyone's outer appearance, language, age, origin, gender, sexual orientation, religion (or lack thereof), nationality, abilities, as well as physical or mental impairments or disabilities, but also includes the disruption of presentations during sessions or other (virtual) meetings.*

*These rules also apply to metalinguistic uses of language except for scientific inquiries requiring mentioning discriminatory language with the above characteristics. In this case, mentioning such language should be signaled by means of a content warning and marked accordingly as, e.g., a citation or corpus evidence. Otherwise, discriminatory language should not be used in linguistic argumentation.*

*All participants must comply with the instructions of the moderator and the DGfS organization team. Presentations and contributions in discussions should further not contain promotional materials, special offers, job offers, product announcements, or solicitation for services.*

*If a participant engages in harassing behavior, the conference organizers may take any action they deem appropriate, including warning the offender or expulsion from the conference with no refund of the conference fee. If you are being harassed, notice that someone else is being harassed, or have any other concerns, please contact a member of the conference staff, send an e-mail to [dgfs2024@rub.de](mailto:dgfs2024@rub.de) requesting a (confidential) conversation.*

*Please be assured that your concerns will be kept in strict confidence, and we will consult with you on any actions taken.*



**SPONSOREN | SPONSORS**

**Das Organisationsteam bedankt sich herzlich  
bei den folgenden Sponsoren:**

***The organizers would like to thank the following sponsors:***

(in alphabetischer Reihenfolge | *in alphabetical order*)

Duden / Cornelsen Verlag

ERICH SCHMIDT VERLAG GmbH & Co. KG

Fachinformationsdienst Linguistik

Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg

Linguistik - Portal für Sprachwissenschaft

[www.linguistik.de](http://www.linguistik.de)

Georg Olms Verlag Buske Verlag GmbH

Helmut Buske Verlag GmbH

IUDICIUM Verlag GmbH

J.B. Metzler, Springer-Verlag GmbH

John Benjamins Publishing Company

LangSci-Press / *Language Science Press*

Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH + Co. KG

Peter Lang Group AG

Universitätsverlag WINTER GmbH

Walter De Gruyter GmbH | De Gruyter Mouton

Waxmann Verlag GmbH

Part I

**Allgemeine Informationen**

---

***General Information***

**RAHMENTHEMA | MAIN TOPIC**

***Sprache und Einstellung | Language and Attitude***

Vom **28. Februar bis 01. März 2024** (mit Satellitenveranstaltungen am 27. Februar) lädt die Ruhr-Universität Bochum (RUB) zur 46. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft (DGfS) ein.

Dabei werden insgesamt **14 Arbeitsgruppen** und **4 Plenarvorträge** Sprache aus den unterschiedlichsten Blickwinkeln betrachten. Das Rahmenthema – **Sprache und Einstellung** – legt den Fokus dabei auf eine der wichtigsten Funktionen von Sprache.

Sprache ist eines der wichtigsten, vermutlich sogar das wichtigste Mittel, um Einstellungen zum Ausdruck zu bringen:

- **persönliche Einstellungen** wie Wünsche, Bedürfnisse oder Präferenzen,
- **öffentliche Einstellungen** wie z.B. politische Überzeugungen.

Sprache wird benutzt, um solche Einstellungen auszudrücken:

- durch **explizite Einstellungsausdrücke** oder
- durch Mittel der **impliziten Einstellungskodierung**.

Sprache wird auch benutzt, um **Einstellungen zu beeinflussen**, von unseren Gesprächspartner\*innen oder der generellen Öffentlichkeit.

Sprache spielt bei der **Formung von Einstellungen** eine entscheidende Rolle:

- extern als **meinungsbildendes Instrument**,
- intern als Faktor der **psychologischen Meinungsmanifestation**.

Auch ist **Sprache das Objekt von Einstellungen** selbst:

- bei Debatten um den „**richtigen**“ **Sprachgebrauch** oder
- wenn **Sprache bewertet** werden soll (z.B. in der Schule) oder
- wenn wir **Grammatikalitätsurteile** bilden.

Das Rahmenthema erlaubt somit Arbeitsgruppen in allen linguistischen Kerngebieten, Teildisziplinen und Schnittstellen.

From **February 28 to March 01, 2024** (with satellite events on February 27), the Ruhr University Bochum (RUB) hosts the 46th Annual Conference of the German Linguistic Society (DGfS).

A total of **14 work shops** and **4 plenary talks** will investigate language from a variety of perspectives. The theme of conference – **Language and Attitude** - focuses on one of the most crucial functions of language.

Language is one of the most important, probably even the most important means to **express attitudes**:

- **personal attitudes** such as desires, needs, or preferences,
- **public attitudes** such as political beliefs.

Language is used to express such attitudes:

- through **explicit attitude expressions**, or
- through means of **implicit attitude encoding**.

Language is also used to **influence attitudes**, those of our interlocutors or of the general public.

Moreover, language plays a crucial role in shaping and forming attitudes:

- externally as an **opinion-shaping tool**,
- internally as a factor of **psychological manifestation of attitudes**.

Also, language is the object of attitudes itself:

- in debates about the **“correct” use of language**,
- when **language itself is to be evaluated** (e.g. in school), or
- when we form **grammaticality judgments**.

The theme thus allows for workshops in all linguistic core areas, sub-disciplines and interfaces.

**Tagungswebseite | *Conference website***

Für alle praktischen Informationen zur Tagung (Anreise, Hotels, Essen & Trinken etc.) verweisen wir auf die Webseite der Tagung.

*For all practical information about the conference (travel, hotels, food & drinks, etc.), please refer to the conference website.*

<https://dgfs2024.ruhr-uni-bochum.de>

## Pläne & Räume | *Maps and rooms*

Die Tagung findet auf dem Campus der Ruhr-Universität statt:

Ruhr Universität Bochum  
Universitätsstraße 150  
44801 Bochum

Auf dem Campus verteilt sich die Tagung auf zwei Standorte:

- **Veranstaltungszentrum (VZ):**  
Tagungsbüro, Plenarvorträge, Kaffeepausen, AG 5 und AG 13+14, CL-Postersession, Verlagsausstellung, DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung, CL-Mitgliederversammlung
- **G-Gebäude (GB+HGB+GA):** Alle anderen AGs (1–4, 6–12), CL-Tutorium, Promotionsforum, ALP-Tagung, DGfS-Vorstandssitzung

*The conference will take place on the Ruhr University campus:*

*Ruhr University Bochum  
Universitätsstraße 150  
44801 Bochum, Germany*

*The conference will be held at two locations on campus:*

- **Convention center (VZ):**  
*Conference office, plenary lectures, coffee breaks, WG 5 and WG 13+14, CL poster session, publishers' exhibition, DGfS general meeting, CL general meeting*
- **G-buildings (GB+HGB+GA):**  
*all other AGs (1-4, 6-12), CL tutorial, doctoral forum, ALP conference, DGfS board meeting*

**RAUMÜBERSICHT | Room overview****Allgemeines | General**

Tagungsbüro   <i>Conference office</i>	VZ 4
Anmeldung (MI)   <i>Registration (WED)</i>	VZ Foyer
AG-Räume   <i>Workshops</i>	VZ; GA + HGB + GB

**Pausen & Veranstaltungen | Breaks & Events**

Pausen   <i>Breaks</i>	VZ Foyer
Sektion Computerlinguistik.: Postersession 1 & 2   <i>Section Comp. Linguistics: Poster session 1 &amp; 2</i>	VZ 2
Verlagssausstellung   <i>Publishers' exhibition</i>	VZ Foyer

**Plenar & Mitgliederversammlungen | Plenary & Members Meetings**

Tagungseröffnung, Plenarvorträge, Verleihung WvH-Preis   <i>Conference opening, plenary talks, award ceremony WvH prize</i>	VZ 2
Computerlinguistik-Mitgliederversammlung   <i>Computational Linguistics members meeting</i>	VZ 2
DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung   <i>DGfS members meeting</i>	VZ 2

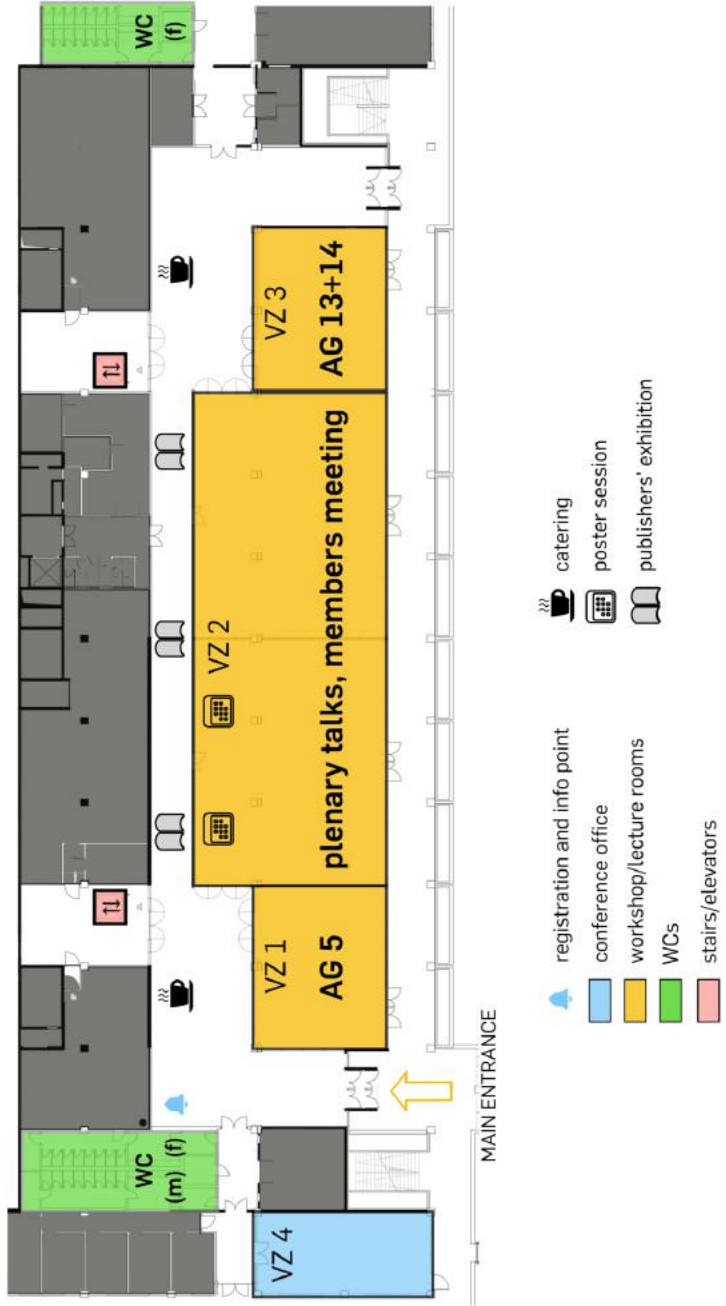
**Satellitenveranstaltungen | Satellite Events**

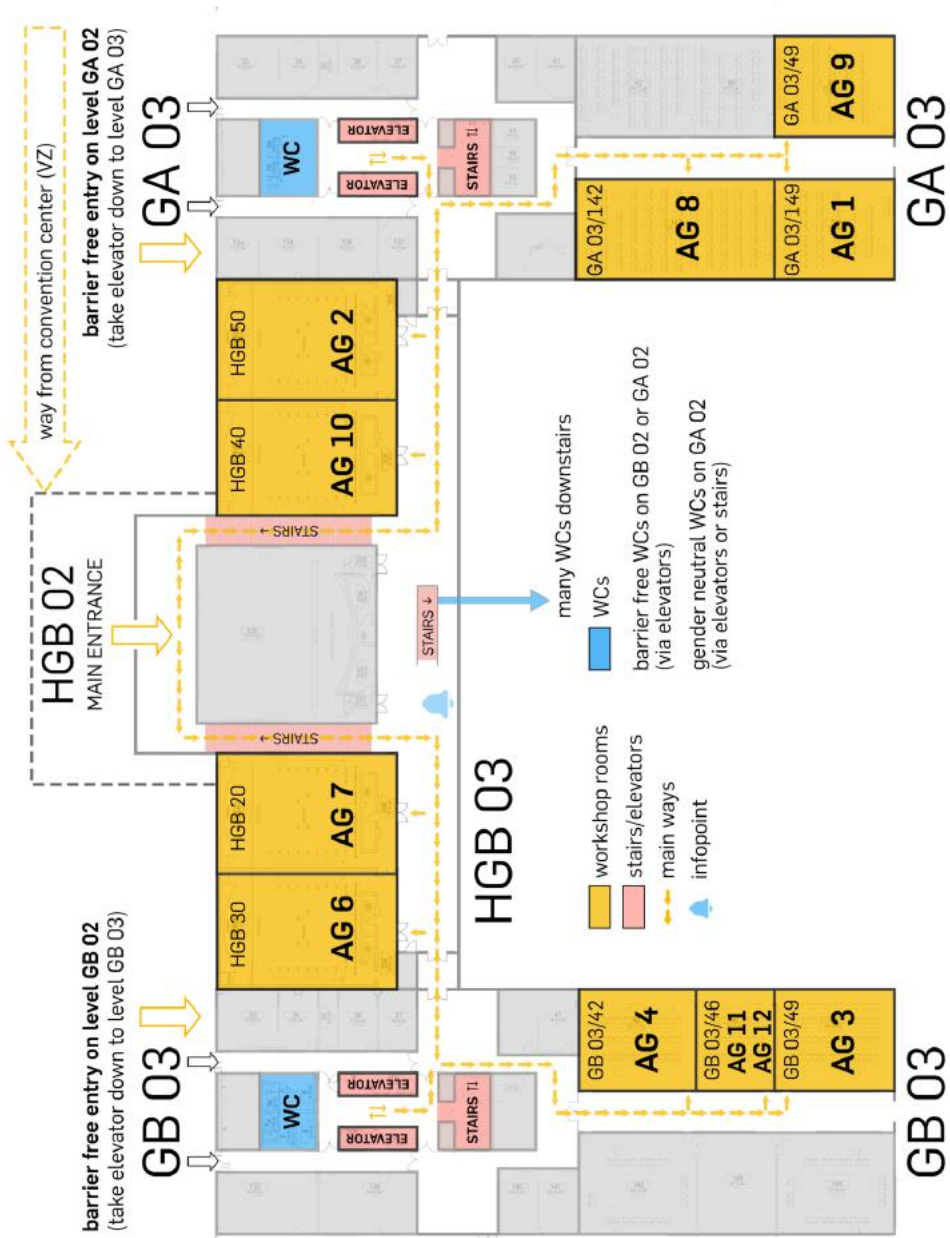
Jahrestagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)   <i>ALP annual meeting</i>	HGB 20
Computerlinguistik-Tutorium   <i>Computational Linguistics tutorial</i>	GABF 04/414
Promotionsforum   <i>PhD forum</i>	GB 4/131

<b>Arbeitsgruppen   Workshops</b>		<b>Room</b>
AG 1	(De-)composition and modification of attitude predicates	GA 03/149
AG 2	Attitudinal meaning in prosody	HGB 50
AG 3	Pronomengebrauch und Stance Taking	GB 03/49
AG 4	The language of extremist narratives: cross-disciplinary approaches	GB 03/49
AG 5	Clause-type marking in the visual modality	VZ 1
AG 6	Towards linguistically motivated computational models of framing	HGB 30
AG 7	Computational approaches to metaphor and figurative language	HGB 20
AG 8	Constraining linearization	GA 03/142
AG 9	The spectrum of kinds	GA 03/49
AG 10	Prosody in focus: prominence marking from multiple perspectives	HGB 40
AG 11	Evaluating register(s)	GB 03/46
AG 12	Naturalistic approaches to reference	GB 03/46
AG 13	Semantische Phänomene und Grundlagen lehren und lernen	VZ 3
AG 14	Sprache bzw. Sprachen betrachten im Lehramt	VZ 3



# Veranstaltungszentrum / Convention center (VZ)





# CAMPUSPLAN

RUB  
UNIVERSITÄT  
BOCHUM

**Unicenter**  
(restaurants  
+groceries)

**subway station:**  
to campus: U35-Hustadt  
to city center: U35-Herne

**Campus Kiosk**  
(snacks  
+drinks)

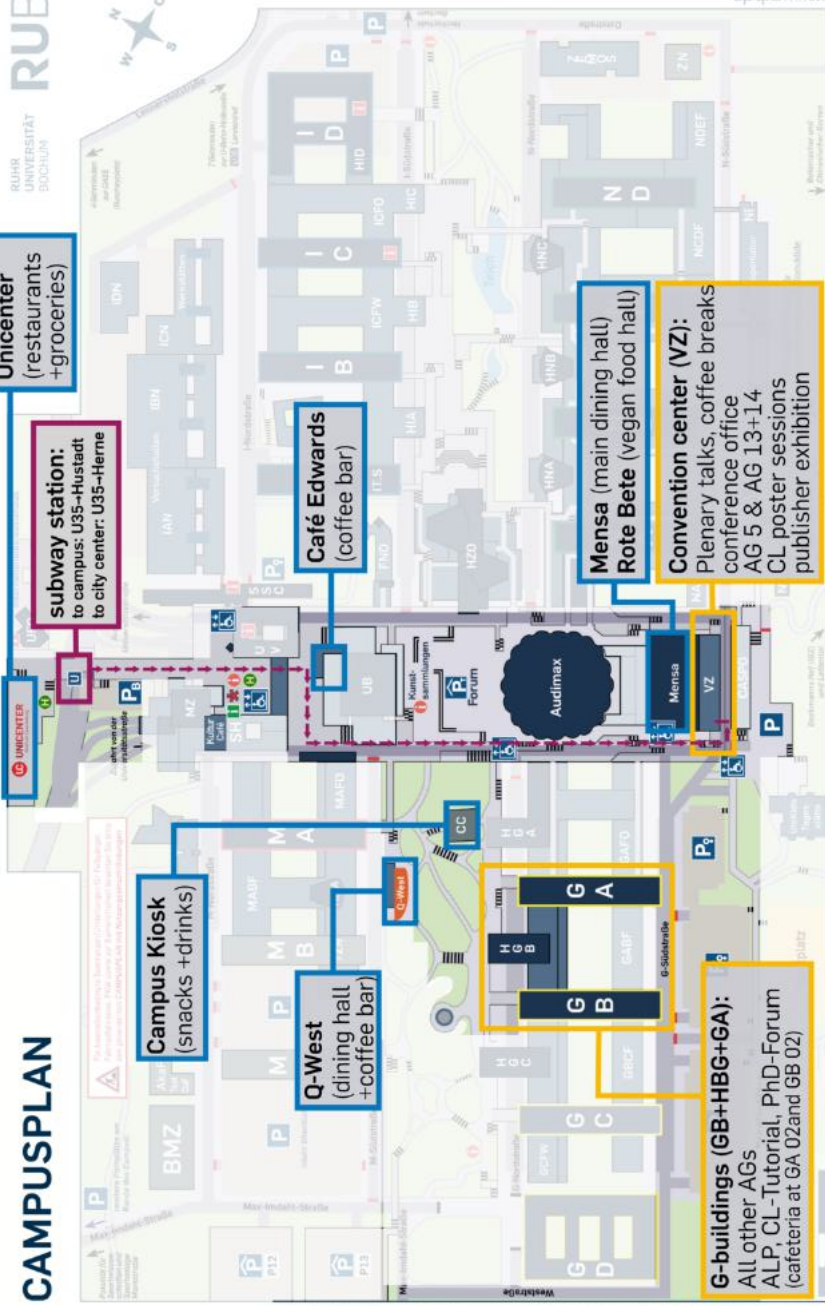
**Q-West**  
(dining hall  
+coffee bar)

**Café Edwards**  
(coffee bar)

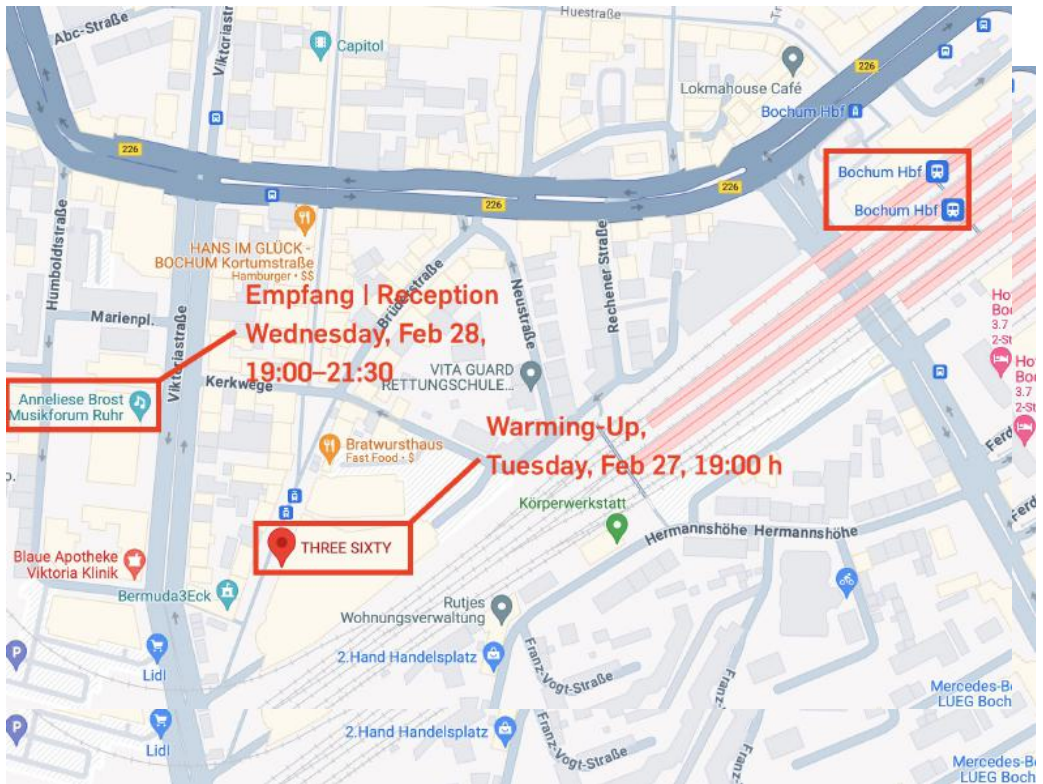
**Mensa (main dining hall)**  
**Rote Bete** (vegan food hall)

**Convention center (VZ):**  
Plenary talks, coffee breaks  
conference office  
AG 5 & AG 13+14  
CL poster sessions  
publisher exhibition

**G-buildings (GB+HBG+GA):**  
All other AGs  
ALP, CL-Tutorial, PhD-Forum  
(cafeteria at GA 02 and GB 02)



www.rub.de



Part II

Tagungsprogramm

---

*Conference program*

**TAGUNGSPROGRAMM | CONFERENCE PROGRAM**

<b>Dienstag   Tuesday, 27.02.2024</b>		<b>Ort   Location</b>
09:00-18:00	Jahrestagung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Linguistische Pragmatik (ALP)   ALP annual meeting Genderpragmatik	HGB 20
09:00-19:15	Linguistics@Schools	HID, SSC
13:00-17:00	Computerlinguistik (CL)-Tutorium   <i>Computational Linguistics (CL) tutorial</i>	GB 04/414
13:00-17:00	Promotionsforum   <i>PhD forum</i> Start the Dialogue – Open up Science! Introduction to Science Communication	GB 4/414
19:00	Warming-up	Three Sixty, Kortungstr. 2–14, 44787 Bochum
<b>Mittwoch   Wednesday, 28.02.2024</b>		<b>Ort   Location</b>
08:00-18:15	Registration   Conference office	Convention Center VZ Foyer & VZ 4
09:00-09:30	Tagungseröffnung und Begrüßung   <i>Conference opening and welcome</i>	VZ 2
09:30-10:30	Plenarvortrag 1   <i>Plenary talk 1</i> Maite Taboada	VZ 2
10:30-11:00	Verleihung Wilhelm-von-Humboldt-Preis (Dissertationspreis)   <i>Award ceremony Wilhelm von Humboldt prize (best PhD dissertation award)</i>	VZ 2
<b>11:00-11:30</b>	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b> Verlagsausstellung   <i>Publishers' exhibition</i>	VZ Foyer
11:30-12:30	Plenarvortrag 2   <i>Plenary talk 2</i> Rae Langton	VZ 2

	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
12:30-13:45	CL-Mitgliederversammlung   <i>CL members meeting</i>	VZ 2
13:45-15:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	
15:45-16:30	Sektion Computerlinguistik: Postersession 1   <i>Section Computational Linguistics: Poster session 1</i>	VZ Foyer VZ 2
16:30-18:00	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
19:00	Empfang Stadt Bochum/ <i>Reception City of Bochum</i>	Anneliese Brost Musikforum Ruhr, Marienplatz 1, 44787 Bochum
<b>Donnerstag   Thursday, 29.02.2024</b>		<b>Ort   Location</b>
08:30-18:15	<i>Conference office</i>	VZ 4
09:00-10:30	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	
	Verlagssausstellung   <i>Publishers' exhibition</i>	VZ Foyer
10:30-11:15	Sektion Computerlinguistik: Poster session 2   <i>Section Computational Linguistics: Poster session 2</i>	VZ 2
11:15-12:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
	<b>LUNCH BREAK</b>	
12:45-13:45	Verlagssausstellung   <i>Publishers' exhibition</i>	VZ Foyer

13:45-14:45	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
15:00-18:15	DGfS-Mitgliederversammlung   <i>DGfS members meeting</i> Einlass ab 14:30   <i>Entry from 14:30</i>	VZ 2
19:00-20:00	Conference Dinner	Rote Bete, RUB Ebene 01
<b>Freitag   <i>Friday, 01.03.2024</i></b>		<b>Ort   <i>Location</i></b>
08:30-14:30	<i>Conference office</i>	VZ 4
09:00-10:00	Plenarvortrag 3   <i>Plenary talk 3</i> Martina Wiltshcko	VZ 2
10:00-11:00	Plenarvortrag 4   <i>Plenary talk 4</i> Thomas Ede Zimmermann	VZ 2
<b>11:00-11:45</b>	<b>COFFEE BREAK</b>	VZ Foyer
11:45-14:15	Arbeitsgruppensitzungen   <i>Workshop sessions</i>	GA, HGB, GB, VZ
14:15	Ende der Tagung   <i>End of the conference</i>	



**WARMING UP**

27.02.2024

19:00 h



<https://bochum.three-sixty.de>

Kortumstr. 2-14, 44787 Bochum



**EMPFANG DER STADT BOCHUM | *Reception by the city of Bochum***

28.02.2024

19 Uhr



Anneliese Brost Musikforum Ruhr

Marienplatz 1, 44787 Bochum

**GESELLIGER ABEND | *Conference Dinner***

29.02.2024

19 Uhr



Rote Bete, Ruhr-Uni (Ebene 01 | *level 01*)

Part III

Plenarvorträge

---

*Plenary talks*

---

**Computational evaluation**  
**Representing and processing evaluative language**

---

**Maité Taboada**  
*Simon Fraser University*  
mtaboada@sfu.ca

I propose that *computational evaluation* is an emerging field of research, one that applies computational techniques to the representation and processing of evaluative language, associating evaluative meanings with expressions of human language. The study of evaluative language has a long history in linguistics, encompassing research on attitude, subjectivity, point of view, and evidentiality, with more recent studies on appraisal or emotion language. At the same time, computational linguistics has by now accumulated a back catalogue of research going back a couple of decades into how we can extract evaluation, sentiment, and opinion automatically from text. In this talk, I briefly survey this history, to then outline a proposal that the study of evaluative language from a computational point of view cross-cuts all levels of language, from morphology and the lexicon to figuration, and requires a comprehensive understanding of language. By way of illustration, I will discuss research in my lab on appraisal, abusive language online, and the use of metaphors in the expression of negative opinion. This work has applications in content moderation, detection of misinformation, or information retrieval, but it is also interesting in its own right, as a theoretical field in linguistics and computational linguistics.



---

**Beyond expression:**  
**Speech acts and the accommodation of social attitudes**

---

**Rae Langton**  
*Cambridge University*  
rh127@cam.ac.uk

Theorists of politics and language are alike in treating speech as the expression of individual speaker attitudes, such as beliefs or feelings. This neglects the way speakers *do things with words* (Austin), it neglects the role of *hearer* attitudes in these doings, and it neglects the role of speech acts in *social hierarchies*. I wish to draw some lessons from hate speech. Such speech does not merely express speaker attitudes: it can subordinate a social group, ranking the group as inferior, and legitimating hatred and discrimination. Hearer attitudes are involved in the perlocutionary goals of hate speech, and in the felicity conditions of hate speech itself, as an illocutionary act. Hate speech requires authority if it is to subordinate, and authority can be gained via *accommodation*, through adjustment in hearers' attitudes. As theorists, we may need to revise our understanding of felicity conditions, and of conversational 'score' or 'common ground'. As hearers, we may need to recognise our power to shift the force of harmful speech, for better or worse.



---

## The syntax of knowing (and beyond)

---

**Martina Wiltschko**

*ICREA/Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona*

*martina.wiltschko@icrea.cat*

In this talk, I present evidence from a range of linguistic phenomena that the most unmarked types of clauses are used to assert a speaker's knowledge about the actual world. This evidence includes propositional attitude verbs, modality, clause-typing, mood, evidentiality, and discourse particles. While it is not the case that knowledge cannot be marked as such, we show that it need not be linguistically marked, unlike other propositional attitudes. These linguistic patterns invite the conclusion that knowledge (rather than belief) is the most basic propositional attitude. Specifically, I shall argue that knowledge simply involves the representation of a bare proposition, without any attitude. The “feeling of knowing” (in the sense of Burton 2008) ensues. Any other propositional attitude is more complex and arguably requires an explicit representation (and thus linguistic marking) of the attitude itself. Thus, I argue that patterns of linguistic markedness can contribute to the long-standing philosophical debate as to whether knowledge or belief is more basic.

**References:** Burton, R.A. (2008). *On being certain: believing you are right even when you're not*. New York: St. Martin's Press.



---

## Propositions and Attitudes

---

**Thomas Ede Zimmermann**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

T.E.Zimmermann@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

According to the popular, though rarely explicitly defended thesis of *propositionalism*, informational content is always truth conditional. In particular, the objects of mental attitudes need to be propositions – in some sense, which includes propositional concepts as well as perspectival (or subjective) content. In particular, propositionalists seek to reduce attitudes towards “intentional” objects in terms of propositional attitudes: someone who is looking for a unicorn strives for it to be the case that he or she finds a unicorn; someone who fears Superman is afraid that Superman might do something to him or her; someone who likes chocolate likes it when he or she consumes chocolate; etc.

In linguistic semantics, propositionalism comes in various guises, usually relating to intensionality. In its most straightforward form (aka *sententialism*), propositionalism treats all intensional constructions as clausal embeddings. Less ambitious varieties claim that intensionality can always be paraphrased in terms of propositional embedding, possibly in some more refined language. In this talk I will define and compare different forms of propositionalism and discuss various strategies of defending or rejecting them, thereby focussing on two particular aspects: the very notion of a proposition and the risk of trivializing propositionalism by type-shifting.





Part IV

AG-Programme

---

*Workshop programs*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 1**

Raum / Room: GA 03/149

**(De-)composition and modification of attitude predicates**Frank Sode, Valerie Wurm & Sarah Zobel  
Humboldt Universität zu Berlin**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15 Frank Sode, Valerie Wurm & Sarah Zobel (HU Berlin)  
*Introduction*
- 14:15-15:15 Kristina Liefke (Universität Bochum)  
*Remembering is past-directed, experientially parasitic  
imagining*
- 15:15-15:45 Achille Fusco (IUSS), Cristiano Chesi (IUSS) & Valentina  
Bianchi (Università di Siena)  
*Teasing apart experiential and doxastic meanings of SAVs*

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:00 Judith Tonhauser (Universität Stuttgart) & Judith Degen  
(Stanford University)  
*I have no idea if factivity is categorical. Did Mandelkern et al.  
2020 discover that it is?*
- 17:00-17:30 Kajsa Djärv (The University of Edinburgh) & Deniz Özyıldız  
(Universität Konstanz)  
*Worried about factivity*
- 17:30-18:00 Emil Eva Rosina & Kristina Liefke (Universität Bochum)  
*Remembering is a Propositional Attitude: (de-)compositional  
support from German 'noch wissen, wie'*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Malte Zimmermann (Universität Potsdam) & Edgar Onea  
(Universität Graz)  
*Towards a general equative-based analysis of attitude  
predicates*
- 09:30-10:00 Denis Pisarenko (HSE University)  
*Non-factive 'know' in Russian and polarity subjunctive*

10:00-10:30 Chloé Tahar (Université de Neuchâtel) & Alda Mari (Institut Jean Nicod, CNRS)  
*Action-oriented apprehensives and the embedding of negative purpose adjuncts*

---

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

---

11:15-11:45 Xinran Yan (Universität Leipzig)  
*'Think' or 'Want': The Syntax and Semantics of Mandarin 'Xiang'*

11:45-12:15 Kalle Müller (Université Côte d'Azur)  
*A claim in the making: realizing unique kinds*

12:15-12:45 Ryan Walter Smith (University of Manchester)  
*Attitudinal complex predicates in Persian via possessive predication*

---

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

13:45-14:45 Hazel Pearson (Queen Mary University of London)  
*(De-)composition and modification in the realm of de se reports*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

11:45-12:45 Deniz Özyıldız (Universität Konstanz)  
*Lexical aspect shapes the meaning of attitude reports*

12:45-13:15 Judith Lauterbach (Universität Tübingen)  
*(De)composition of inferential perception verbs and the meaning of 'an'*

13:15-13:45 Natasha Korotkova (University of Utrecht) & Pranav Anand (UCSC)  
*Today I learned: English 'coming-to-know' predicates*

13:45-14:15 Jonathan Caleb Kendrick (University of Maryland)  
*Thinking (and finding) compositionally*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 2**

Raum / Room: HGB 50

**Attitudinal meaning in prosody**

Timo Buchholz<sup>1</sup>, Heiko Seeliger<sup>1</sup> & Katharina Zahner-Ritter<sup>2</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>Universität zu Köln, <sup>2</sup>Universität Trier

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15 Timo Buchholz (U Köln), Heiko Seeliger (U Köln) & Katharina Zahner-Ritter (U Trier)  
*Introduction*
- 14:15-15:15 Sophie Kutscheid (U Konstanz)  
*Be careful what you wish for... – Bouletic bias in German questions (invited talk)*
- 15:15-15:45 Johannes Heim (U Aberdeen)  
*Diagnosing speaker attitudes in English Rising Declaratives*

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:00 Stephen Jones (U Groningen), Yoolim Kim (Wellesley) & Cong Zhang (U Newcastle)  
*Perceiving the prosody of question focus scope in Korean*
- 17:00-17:30 Sophie Repp (U Köln) & Christiane Ulbrich (U Köln)  
*Prosodic reflexes of speech act and polarity in German and Dutch response particles: Feature bundling for (un)marked discourses*
- 17:30-18:00 Kalle Glauch (U Bochum)  
*Prosodic cues to the interpretation of expressive adjectives*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-10:00 Maria del Mar Vanrell (U de les Illes Balears), Meghan Armstrong (UMass Amherst), Elena Castroviejo (U Basque Country), Laia Mayol (U Pompeu Fabra)  
*Understanding the development of evidentiality comprehension through intonation in Majorcan Catalan (invited talk)*
- 10:00-10:30 Heiko Seeliger (U Köln)  
*On L\*+H, verum focus, and rejections*

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 
- 11:15-11:45 Jonas Grünke (U Mainz), Bistra Andreeva (U Saarbrücken),  
Christoph Gabriel (U Mainz) & Mitko Sabev (U Saarbrücken)  
*Attitudinal meaning in Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish calling  
contours*
- 11:45-12:15 Jacob Maché (U Lisboa)  
*How calling contours convey propositional attitudes*
- 12:15-12:45 Sophia Fünfgeld (U Trier), Angelika Braun (U Trier) &  
Katharina Zahner-Ritter (U Trier)  
*“Great job!” – The prosodic marking of ironic attitude in two  
German regional accents*
- 

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

- 13:45-14:15 Alice Karbanova (Masaryk U)  
*Enhancing Lyric Meaning: The Interplay of Language and  
Music in Song*
- 14:15-14:45 Siavosh Sepanta (U Trento), Natallia Chaiko (U Trento) &  
Roberto Zamparelli (U Trento)  
*“Actors Challenge” Collecting data to study prosodic patterns  
and their mapping to meanings across languages*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Daniel Turner (Northwestern U) & Jennifer Cole  
(Northwestern U)  
*Intonation meets emotion: Evidence from production for robust  
phonological contrasts in F0*
- 12:15-12:45 Carolin Worstbrock (U Trier), Sabine Arndt-Lappe (U Trier)  
& Katharina Zahner-Ritter (U Trier)  
*Let me hear the emoji: Prosodic patterns in attitudinally loaded  
Instagram comments*
- 12:45-13:15 Huan Wei (U Marburg) & Ulrike Domahs (U Marburg)  
*Effects of lexical tone on the prosodic marking of vocal emotions  
in Mandarin Chinese*
- 13:15-13:45 Timo Buchholz (U Köln), Heiko Seeliger (U Köln) &  
Katharina Zahner-Ritter (U Trier)  
*Closing discussion*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 3**

Raum / Room: GB 03/49

**Pronomengebrauch und *stance taking***Antje Dammel<sup>1</sup>, Wolfgang Imo<sup>2</sup>, Jens Lanwer<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>Universität Münster, <sup>2</sup>Universität Hamburg**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:45 Simone Busley (U Mainz), Damaris Nübling (U Mainz)  
*“Bei Frauen und Mädchen, die man kennt, sagt man meistens äs, bei fremden eher si.“ Stance taking durch Genuswechsel bei pronominaler Referenz auf Frauen in deutschen Dialekten*
- 14.45-15:15 Nathalie Bauer (U Münster)  
*Selbstpositionierungen mit also ich – Zur pronominalen Kontingenzmarkierung von Positionierungshandlungen*
- 15:15-15:45 Peter Herbeck (U Wuppertal)  
*Starke Pronomina als Stance-Marker in romanischen Nullsubjektsprachen*
- 16:30-17:00 Linda Konnerth (U Bern)  
*Stance-taking durch Inklusiv-Formen in den transhimalajischen Südzentralen Sprachen*
- 17:00-17:30 Timo Schürmann (U Münster)  
*das ja optimal. Stance taking und phonetische Variation in das-ist-Mustern*
- 17:30-18:00 Aaron Schmidt-Riese (U Potsdam)  
*„ich bin der donald duck“ – Pronomen als Mittel der Rollenorganisation im frühkindlichen Spiel*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:30-10:00 Luise Ehrmantraut (U des Saarlandes)  
*„Spinnt sie“ oder „Spinnt die“? Empirische Untersuchungen zu p- und d-Pronomen.*
- 10:00-10:30 Jannet Haid (U Magdeburg)  
*Pronomengebrauch und stance taking in Reden zum Internationalen Frauentag von Erich Honecker und Hugo Chávez*

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 11:15-11:45 Robert Külpmann (U Mainz)  
*Der Pronomengebrauch in kommentativen wenn-VL-Sätzen*

- 11:45-12:15 Jens Lanwer (U Münster)  
wollen wir da ma HINgehn; *Pronomengebrauch und deontic stance in der Eltern-Kind-Interaktion*
- 12:15-12:45 Laura Duve (U Münster) & Valeria Schick (U Hamburg)  
„Man schaue und wundere sich.“ – *Heische-Formeln mit **man** als Positionierungsressourcen in Hexenverhörprotokollen und Dramen des 17.-19. Jahrhunderts*

---

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

- 13:45-14:15 Liv Büchler (U Münster/ FU Berlin)  
*Stance taking durch man-Referenzen in Musterdialogen frühneuzeitlicher Fremdsprachenlehrwerke*
- 14:15-14:45 Caroline Döhmer (U Luxemburg)  
*Warum sind die luxemburgischen Indefinitpronomen een und keen femininum-scheu?*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Sophie Ellsäßer (U Osnabrück)  
*Sie ist halt eine.../ er ist so jemand... stance taking durch personenbezeichnende Indefinitpronomen*
- 12:15-12:45 Paul Meuleneers (U Freiburg)  
„wie erfreut ich als Autor, Verleger und Sprachwissenschaftler [...] war“ – *nicht-minimale Selbstreferenzen in der Debatte um genderbewussten Sprachgebrauch*
- 12:45-13:15 Wolfgang Imo (U Hamburg)  
„Kerl, du erschreckst mich! Aber du, der du weit älter bist als er, kannst du ihn nicht dann und wann zurechte weisen?“ – *Personalpronomen + Relativsatz als Mittel des Stancetaking in deutschen Dramen vom 17. zum 19. Jhd.*
- 13:15-14:15 Vanessa Angenendt & Evelyn Ziegler (Universität Duisburg-Essen)  
*Pronomengebrauch in Rekonstruktionen von Diskriminierungserfahrungen und diskriminierenden Äußerungen*

---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 4**

Raum / Room: GB 03/42

---

**The language of extremist narratives**

Ana Yara Postigo Fuentes<sup>1</sup>, Stefan Hartmann<sup>1</sup>,

Rolf Kailuweit<sup>1</sup> & Alexander Ziem<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15 Ana Yara Postigo Fuentes, Stefan Hartmann, Rolf Kailuweit & Alexander Ziem  
*Introduction to the workshop*
- 14:15-14:45 Dimitra Niaouri, Michele Linardi & Julien Longhi (Cergy Paris)  
*Keynote: Extremist narratives analysis at the challenge of internal and external interdisciplinarity – Quality, quantity, cross-disciplinarily and "expert" discourse*
- 14:45-15:15 Frank Austermühl (Nottingham Trent University)  
*The Normalization of Extremist Narratives in Donald Trump's Campaign Discourse*
- 15:15-15:45 Nourah Almulhim (University of Nottingham)  
*Critical discourse analysis of xenophobia in UK political party blogs*

---

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 
- 16:30-17:00 Houda Landolsi (Uppsala University)  
*The French Extreme Right and the Gallicization of Forenames: An appeal for the assimilation of immigrants or a covert racialization?*
- 17:00-17:30 Gloria Comandini (Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici)  
*"Dirty satanist paedophiles": discovering hate speech against the LGBTQIA+ community in Italian, between religious extremism and conspiracy theories*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Flavio Faresi (Université Paris 8) & Ludovica Lena (Xiamen University & CRLAO)  
*Metaphorical landscapes of extremism: An analysis of rhetorical narratives in Italian extra-parliamentarian far-right discourse during the Years of Lead*
- 09:30-10:00 Darja Fišer (University of Ljubljana)  
*Studying socially unacceptable discourse: a mixed bag*



---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 5**

Raum / Room: VZ 1

---

**Clause-type marking in the visual modality**

Annika Herrmann (University of Hamburg), Nina-Kristin Meister (University of Göttingen), Marloes Oomen & Floris Roelofsen (University of Amsterdam)

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15    *Introduction*
- 14:15-15:15    Invited presenter: Pilar Prieto (ICREA-Universitat Pompeu Fabra)  
*Intonational and gestural signals act as sister systems in the marking of pragmatic operations*
- 15:15-15:45    Serpil Karabüklü (University of Chicago) & Ronnie B. Wilbur (Purdue University)  
*Novel marking of signer commitment in Turkish Sign Language (TİD)*
- 15:45-16:30    PAUSE / BREAK**
- 16:30-17:00    Svetlana Dachkovsky (University of Haifa), Rose Stamp (Bar-Ilan University), Shirir Cohen-Koka (University of Haifa) & Bracha Nir (University of Haifa)  
*Plugging the argumentative stance in monologic texts: PALM-UP functions from the sentence type perspective*
- 17:00-17:30    Anna Kuznetsova (University of Trento) & Vadim Kimmelman (Universitetet i Bergen)  
*Testing MediaPipe Holistic for the analysis of eyebrow movement in questions*
- 17:30-18:00    Round table: *Data collection methods*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-10:00 Invited presenter: Miriam Royer (Universidade Federal do Cariri)  
*Clause structure in Libras: Types of sentence*
- 10:00-10:30 Alexandra Navarrete-González (Pompeu Fabra University) & Giorgia Zorzi (Western Norway University of Applied Sciences)  
*Marking sentence types in Catalan Sign Language: coordination and subordination*
- 10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**
- 11:15-11:45 Lyke Esselink, Tobias de Ronde, Marloes Oomen & Floris Roelofsen (University of Amsterdam)  
*Challenges in the development of a procedure for annotating non-manual markers at the clausal level*
- 11:45-12:15 Vinicius Rodrigues da Silva (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina), Ronice Müller de Quadros (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina) & Carlos Roberto Ludwig (Universidade Federal de Tocantins)  
*Causal adverbial hypotaxis of Libras*
- 12:15-12:45 Patrick Georg Grosz (University of Oslo)  
*How emotive facial expressions affect speech acts: the view from face emojis*
- 12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**
- 13:45-14:15 Johannes Heim (University of Aberdeen), Rebecca Woods (Newcastle University), Franziska Busche (Universität zu Köln) & Sophie Repp (Universität zu Köln)  
*Co-speech gesture in negative questions: evidence from American soap opera actors*
- 14:15-14:45 Round table: *Research collaborations – sentence types across modalities*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Alexander Eisenzimmer (Universität Hamburg), Annika Herrmann (Universität Hamburg), Thomas Finkbeiner (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen), Simon Kollien (Universität Hamburg) & Nina-Kristin Meister (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)  
*SUDDENLY4 and clause types in German Sign Language: a corpus-based case study of a multifunctional sign*
- 12:15-12:45 Emmanuella Martinod (LISN, University Paris-Saclay & CNRS) & Michael Filhol (LISN, University Paris-Saclay & CNRS)  
*Examining interrogative marking in French Sign Language with the AZee approach*
- 12:45-13:15 Cornelia Loos (Universität Hamburg) & Sophie Repp (Universität zu Köln)  
*Multimodal strategies for affirmations and rejections: evidence from co-speech gesture in German*
- 13:15-13:45 Round table: *Outreach*

**Alternate:**

- Elynn Weijland, Marloes Oomen & Floris Roelofsen (University of Amsterdam):  
*Visual cues in biased polar questions in Dutch*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 6**

Raum / Room: HGB 30

**Towards linguistically motivated computational models of framing**Annette Hautli-Janisz<sup>1</sup>, Gabriella Lapesa<sup>2</sup> & Ines Rehbein<sup>3</sup><sup>1</sup>Universität Passau, <sup>2</sup>GESIS/HHU Düsseldorf, <sup>3</sup>Universität Mannheim**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

13:45-14:15 Welcome and introduction

14:15-15:15 Manfred Stede (Universität Potsdam)  
*Topics and Rhetorics - A multi-level approach to framing (invited talk)*15:15-15:45 Qi Yu (Universität Konstanz)  
*German Modal Particles: A Lens on Framing At Non-Propositional Level***15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**16:30-17:00 Tim Feldmüller (Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim)  
*From the Linguistic Surface to the Framing of Extremism: A Distributional Method for Modeling and Visualizing Framing and Semantic Frames*17:00-17:30 Ines Reinig<sup>1</sup>, Ines Rehbein<sup>1</sup>, Simone Paolo Ponzetto<sup>1</sup>  
(<sup>1</sup>Universität Mannheim)  
*How to do politics with words: Analyzing the framing of political issues through the lens of speech acts*17:30-18:00 Anna Verbytska (Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg)  
*Framing the War in Ukraine in a Time Lapse***Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.03.2024**09:00-10:00 Elena Musi (University of Liverpool)  
*Automatic Detection of Argumentative Frames: A Frame Semantics Approach (invited talk)*10:00-10:30 Berry Claus, Marie Christin Walch (Universität Hannover),  
*Towards a Semantic-Pragmatic Dual-Process Model of Framing Effects*

---

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

---

11:15-11:45 Agnes Wankmüller (Universität Passau)  
*Reaching Beyond Framing: Surveying Ideological (Dis)similarities of Far-right Actors*

11:45-12:15 Zlata Kikteva<sup>1</sup>, Annette Hautli-Janisz<sup>1</sup>, Chris Reed<sup>2</sup>, Steve Oswald<sup>3</sup>, Christopher Klamm<sup>4</sup>, Wassiliki Siskou<sup>1</sup>, Meghdut Sengupta<sup>5</sup>, Manfred Stede<sup>6</sup>, Henning Wachsmuth<sup>7</sup>  
(<sup>1</sup>Universität Passau, <sup>2</sup>University of Dundee, <sup>3</sup>University of Fribourg, <sup>4</sup>Universität Mannheim, <sup>5</sup>Leibniz Universität Hannover, <sup>6</sup>Universität Potsdam)  
*The Dynamics of Framing in Dialogue*

12:15-12:45 Doriana Cimmino (independent researcher)  
*Manipulative Framing in Italian Political Discourse*

---

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

13:45-14:15 *Shared task/workshop*

---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 7**Raum / Room: HGB 20

---

**Computational approaches to metaphor and figurative language**Sebastian Reimann<sup>1</sup>, Adam Roussel<sup>1</sup>, Stefanie Dipper<sup>1</sup> & Tatjana Scheffler<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>SFB 1475 Metaphern der Religion, Ruhr-Universität Bochum**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:45 Sebastian Reimann, Adam Roussel, Stefanie Dipper & Tatjana Scheffler (RU Bochum)  
*Introduction*
- 14:45-15:45 INVITED TALK  
Ekaterina Shutova (University of Amsterdam)  
*Modelling metaphor in the age of large language models*

---

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:00 Markus Egg (Humboldt University Berlin)  
*Extended Metaphors*
- 17:00-17:30 Ariel Cohen (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)  
*Computational Analysis of the Use of Metaphors vs. Similes*
- 17:30-18:00 Matthew Ong (UC Berkeley) & Shai Gordin (Ariel University)  
*A Survey of Body Part Construction Metaphors in the Neo-Assyrian Letter Corpus*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-10:00 INVITED TALK  
Sabine Schulte im Walde (Universität Stuttgart)  
*Interactions of Figurative Language, Abstractness and Plausibility in Verb-Object Event Descriptions*
- 10:00-10:30 Marie Teich (MPI MiS, Leipzig), Wilmer Leal (U Florida Gainesville) & Jürgen Jost (MPI MiS, The Santa Fe Institute, ScADS.AI)  
*A Metaphor Theory Based on Etymological Network Structure Analysis*

---

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

---

- 
- 11:15-11:45 Prisca Piccirilli (Universität Stuttgart), Alexander Fraser (LMU München / Munich Centre for Machine Learning) & Sabine Schulte im Walde (Universität Stuttgart)  
*VOLIMET: A Parallel Corpus of Literal and Metaphorical Verb-Object Pairs for English—German and English–French*
- 11:45-12:15 Anna Hülsing (Universität Hildesheim) & Sabine Schulte im Walde (Universität Stuttgart)  
*Cross-Lingual Metaphor Detection for Low-Resource Languages*
- 12:15-12:45 Maria Isabel Marin Morales (University of Groningen), Maribel Betancur Serna (Universidad de Antioquia) & Laura Marcela Quintero Montoya (Universidad de Antioquia)  
*Determiners' Impact on Metaphoric Meaning for Computational Analysis in Spanish*
- 

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

- 13:45-14:15 Chris Jenkins, Filip Miletić, Sabine Schulte im Walde (Universität Stuttgart)  
*Identifying shifts in metaphorical use of compound nouns over time*
- 14:15-14:45 Marek Placiński, Svetlana Kuleshova, Klaudia Karkowska, Darya Namednikava & Michael Pleyer (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń)  
*Challenges in the Computational Detection of Metaphoric Change in Less-Resourced Languages: A Case Study of Technology-Related Expression in Polish*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Gerold Schneider (University of Zurich), Johannes Fröh (University of Bonn) & Janis Goldzycher (University of Zurich)  
*Improved metaphor identification via (contextual) distributional semantic representations*
- 12:15-12:45 Mojca Brglez (University of Ljubljana, Slovenia) & Kristina Pahor de Maiti Tekavčič (U of Ljubljana, Institute of Contemporary History, Slovenia)  
*Conceptual domain disambiguation for metaphor identification and interpretation*
- 12:45-13:15 Jiahui Liang (Leiden University, The Netherlands), Stephan Raaijmakers (Leiden U, TNO, The Hague, The Netherlands), Aletta G. Dorst (Leiden U) & Jelena Prokic (Leiden U)

*Using Large Language Models for Conventional Metaphor  
Detection*

13:15-14:15 Organizers  
*Closing Discussion*



**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 8**

Raum / Room: GA 03/142

**Constraining Linearization**

Sascha Alexeyenko (Universität Göttingen) &  
Katharina Hartmann (Universität Frankfurt)

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15 Sascha Alexeyenko (Universität Göttingen) & Katharina Hartmann (Universität Frankfurt)  
*Introduction*
- 14:15-14:45 Andrew Murphy (Universität Potsdam)  
*Linearizing remnant movement in a multidominant syntax: Challenges and consequences*
- 14:45-15:15 Nicholas Catasso (Universität Wuppertal)  
*Multiple fronting does not exist in German (but crowded CPs do): cyclic relinearization and multiple base-generation in the left edge of the clause*
- 15:15-15:45 Molly Rolf and David Diem (Universität Konstanz)  
*Constrained by FOFC: a shift back to head-finality in Alemannic verb clusters*

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:00 Alicia Katharina Börner, Simon Masloch and Tibor Kiss (Universität Bochum)  
*An integrative constraint-based account of constituent linearisation in the German midfield*
- 17:00-18:00 Invited talk:  
Michelle Sheehan (Newcastle University)  
*Clitic placement in European Portuguese as an anti-V2 requirement*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University)  
*An OT Approach to Linearization and FOFC Effects*
- 09:30-10:00 Johannes Mursell and Anke Himmelreich (Universität Frankfurt)  
*Information-structural constraints on linearization in the DP*

10:00-10:30 Molly Rolf (Universität Konstanz)  
*Applying FOFC to the nominal domain: case and adposition typology*

---

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

---

11:15-11:45 Gerrit Kentner (Universität Frankfurt)  
*Functional head : Lexical argument :: Vowel : Consonant*

11:45-12:15 Philipp Weisser (Universität Leipzig)  
*A typology of shifting coordinators and its implications for theories of clitics*

12:15-12:45 Hisao Tokizaki (Sapporo University), Jiro Inaba (University of Tokyo) & Yasutomo Kuwana (Asahikawa Medical University)  
*A prosodic constraint on the head-complement linearization*

---

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

13:45-14:15 Invited talk:  
Theresa Biberauer (University of Cambridge)  
*FOFC and FOFC-type effects: implications for linearization*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

11:45-12:15 Sören Eggert Tebay (Universität Leipzig)  
*Prosodic domains and (re-)linearization in Indonesian nominalizing circumfixes*

12:15-12:45 Daniel Aremu (Universität Frankfurt)  
*Focus marking in Ikálè and the Final-over-Final Constraint*

12:45-13:15 Niina Ning Zhang (National Chung Cheng University)  
*Modification Markers and Meaningless Movement*

13:15-13:45 Emanuele Bernardi (Università di Verona)  
*Roberts's (2017) parallels between clausal and nominal domains revisited*

13:45-14:15 Chenyuan Deng and Antonio Machicao y Priemer (Humboldt Universität Berlin)  
*Generalizing linearization: marking instead of projecting. An attempt in the nominal domain of Mandarin Chinese*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 9**

Raum / Room: GA 03/49

**The spectrum of kinds**Cécile Meier<sup>1</sup> & Carla Umbach<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>Goethe-Universität Frankfurt, <sup>2</sup>Universität Köln**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:15 Cécile Meier (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt) & Carla Umbach (Universität Köln)  
*Introduction*
- 14:15-15:15 Sandeep Prasada (Hunter College, CUNY)  
*Generating a spectrum of kind representations*
- 15:15-15:45 Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (University of Cambridge), Artemis Alexiadou (Humboldt Universität Berlin) & Elena Castroviejo (University of the Basque Country)  
*The well-defined kind restriction: experimental evidence from Greek, German and Catalan*

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:30 Luca Gasparri & Gerhard Schaden (Université de Lille)  
*Kinds, Generics and Definite Singulars*
- 17:30-18:00 Regine Eckardt (Universität Konstanz)  
*Innovated Compounds, Concepts, and Prototypes*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-10:00 Claire Beyssade (Université Paris 8) & Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin (CNRS)  
*Number, definiteness and ad-hoc vs. well-established kinds*
- 10:00-10:30 Zi Huang (Universität Pompeu Fabra)  
*Gerunds as ad-hoc event kinds*

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 11:15-12:15 Barbara Kaup (Universität Tübingen)  
*Facilitating Factors for Concept Formation*

12:15-12:45 Britta Stolterfoht (Universität Tübingen) & Carla Umbach  
(Universität Köln)  
*The role of features of similarity in ad-hoc kind construction*

---

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

---

13:45-14:45 Olav Mueller-Reichau (Universität Leipzig)  
*Well-establishedness, deep genericity, and the naming of  
subkinds*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

11:45-12:45 Manfred Krifka (ZAS Berlin)  
*Indefinite Singular vs. Bare Plural Generics:  
Essential Interpretations and Quantification over Samples*

12:45-13:45 Jon Ander Mendia (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)  
*A grammatical recipe for kind construction*

13:45-14:15 *Final discussion*

---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 10**

Raum / Room: HGB 40

---

**Prosody in Focus – Prominence Marking from Multiple Perspectives**

Alina Gregori<sup>1</sup> & Corinna Langer<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:45 Invited Speaker: Stefan Baumann (Universität zu Köln)  
*Multimodal prosodic prominence and its role in marking information structure*
- 14:45-15:15 Natascha Schuldes (Goethe Universität Frankfurt), Alina Gregori (Goethe Universität Frankfurt) & Frank Kügler (Goethe Universität Frankfurt)  
*Let's focus on Gesture and Prosody - Are they better together and deficient apart?*
- 15:15-15:45 Anna Preßler (Goethe Universität Frankfurt) & Frank Kügler (Goethe Universität Frankfurt)  
*The influence of focus on word order: the case of French attributive adjectives*
- 
- 15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**
- 
- 16:30-17:00 Frank Kügler (Goethe Universität Frankfurt), Anja Arnhold (University of Alberta), Corinna Langer (Goethe Universität Frankfurt) & Nele Ots (Goethe Universität Frankfurt)  
*Prosodic prominence within noun phrases in Finno-Ugric languages*
- 17:00-17:30 Katrin Ketchun Li (University of Leiden)  
*Focal Prominence in Chinese Languages: Comparing Effects of Tone and Focus Types*
- 17:30-18:00 Luke Horo (Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages) & Gregory D. S. Anderson (Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages)  
*Towards a typology of focus in Munda languages*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Clara Lombart (Université de Namur & Université de Mons)  
*Contrastive focus marking and non-manual cues in French and LSFb (French Belgian Sign Language): A comparative study*
- 09:30-10:00 Serpil Karabüklü (University of Chicago), Aslı Gürer (İstanbul Bilgi University) & Burak Çavuşoğlu (İstanbul Bilgi University)  
*Focus and Givenness in Turkish Sign Language (TİD)*
- 10:00-10:30 Camilla Antonio Barros (Freie Universität Berlin) & Uli Reich (Freie Universität Berlin)  
*Prominence or domain marking: what Romance languages can tell us about gesture/speech alignment?*

**10:30-11:15 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 11:15-11:45 Aleksandra Ćwiek (Leibniz ZAS Berlin), Alina Gregori (Goethe Universität Frankfurt), Paula G. Sánchez-Ramón (Goethe Universität Frankfurt & Universitat Pompeu Fabra), Frank Kügler (Goethe Universität Frankfurt) & Pilar Prieto (Universitat Pompeu Fabra & ICREA)  
*Bridging the Gap: Exploring a Middle-Way Approach for Prosodic Annotation*
- 11:45-12:15 Christoph Gabriel (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz) & Steffen Heidinger (Universität Graz)  
*Prosody and focus recognition in Spanish: a fresh look at the Focus Prominence Rule*
- 12:15-12:45 Aslı Gürer (İstanbul Bilgi University), İpek Şen (İstanbul Bilgi University) & İpek Cerrahoğlu (İstanbul Bilgi University)  
*Focus Prominence in Whistled Turkish*

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

- 13:45-14:15 Kathleen Jepson (LMU München)  
*Individual strategies in marking focus within Djambarrpuyŋu noun phrases*
- 14:15-14:45 Katharina Spalek (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf)  
*Individual differences in processing contrastive focus accents*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Simon Roessig (University of York)  
*Effects of focus structure on prenuclear prosody*
- 12:15-12:45 Haohan Zhang (Université Paris Cité), Lisa Brunetti (Université Paris Cité/CNRS), & HiyonYoo (Université Paris Cité/CNRS),  
*When aussi 'also' mixes things up: Prosodic disambiguation with additive focus in French.*
- 12:45-13:15 Aleksandra Belkind (Leipzig University)  
*Prosody as an anchor for a clitic: conditional clitic in Kazym Khanty*
- 13:15-14:15 Invited Speaker: Kriszta Szendrői (Universität Wien)  
*A flexible approach to variability in syntactic focus marking*
- 
- Alternative Presenters** Henri Ebert (University of Potsdam), Zaher Alkali (University of Potsdam), Nadine Bade (University of Potsdam) & Malte Zimmermann (University of Potsdam)  
*The role of focus in exhaustivity effects — evidence from a novel experimental paradigm*
- Corinna Langer (Goethe Universität Frankfurt)  
*Post-focal creaky voice? Prosodic disambiguation of syntactic ambiguities*

---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 11**

Raum / Room: GB 03/46

---

**Evaluating Register(s)**

Oliver Bunk<sup>1</sup>, Esther Jahns<sup>2</sup>, Annika Labrenz<sup>1</sup>, Antje Sauer mann<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, <sup>2</sup>Universität Oldenburg

**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:00 Panel Organizers  
*Welcome and introduction*
- 14:00-14:45 Invited speaker: Rafael Lomeu Gomes (UiT The Arctic  
University of Norway / University of Oslo)  
*Discourses on youth language in Norwegian media*
- 14:45-15:15 Judith Purkarthofer (Universität Duisburg-Essen)  
*Family registers? A longitudinal perspective on self-  
evaluations of multilingual families*
- 15:15-15:45 Arne Peters (Universität Bremen)  
*Cognitive-conceptual approaches to multilingual repertoires  
in South Africa and their implications for the study of linguistic  
registers*

---

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

---

- 16:30-17:00 Enakshi Nandi (independent scholar), Ayesha Kidwai  
(Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi)  
*Theorizing Encryption: What leads to the formation of a secret  
register?*
- 17:00-17:30 Vroni Zieglmeier (Freie Universität Berlin)  
*Is English a 'queer' language? The ideological opposition of  
English and German in the narratives of queer L1 German  
speakers in Berlin*
- 17:30-18:00 Theresa Heyd (Universität Greifswald)  
*Ideologies of English, ideologies of gender: entanglements of  
internal and external purism in the German language  
ideological landscape*



**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Britta Schulte, Antje Sauermann & Heike Wiese (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)  
*Register perception in multilingual speakers of German in a minority context: An open guise addressee identification study*
- 09:30-10:00 Aria Adli, Zahra Farokhnejad, Jozina (Universität Köln), Jozina Vander Klok, Elisabeth Verhoeven (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)  
*Code-switching into the dominant language in multilingual societies: Pronominal forms as markers of politeness and register*
- 10:00-10:30 Invited discussant: Naomi Truan (Leiden University)  
*Synthesis of the panel and discussion: How language practices and ideologies become enregistered*
- 

Alternate: 1. Esther Jahns, *Academic register anxiety? – How language ideologies towards the academic register influence students' oral participation*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 12**

Raum / Room: GB 03/46

**Naturalistic approaches to reference**Magdalena Repp, Clare Patterson & Ingmar Brilmayer  
University of Cologne**Donnerstag / Thursday, 09.03.2023**

- 11:15-11:45 Robert Voigt (University of Cologne)  
*I see what you mean – investigating the interplay of linguistic and non-linguistic cues during reference resolution in a real-world design*
- 11:45-12:15 Jia E. Loy & Vera Demberg (Saarland University)  
*Title Discourse contextualisation affects referring expression choice*
- 12:15-12:45 Asya Achimova<sup>1</sup>, Marjolein van Os<sup>2</sup>, Vera Demberg<sup>2</sup> & Martin V. Butz<sup>1</sup> (<sup>1</sup>University of Tübingen, <sup>2</sup>University of Saarland)  
*Event predictability affects production of anaphoric references*

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

- 13:45-14:15 Madeleine Long<sup>1</sup>, Asli Özyürek<sup>2</sup> & Paula Rubio-Fernández<sup>2</sup>  
(<sup>1</sup>University of Edinburgh, <sup>2</sup>Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)  
*Psychological proximity guides multimodal communication in interactive settings*
- 14:15-14:45 Kelly Cheuk, Hannah Rohde & Chris Cummins (University of Edinburgh)  
*Reference production in context: how discourse goals and relevance shape modifier choice*

**Freitag / Friday, 10.03.2023**

- 11:45-12:45 Invited speaker: Linda Drijvers (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)  
*Towards a multimodal view on the neurobiology of language*
- 12:45-13:15 Katharina Schuhmann<sup>1</sup> & Susan Brennan<sup>2</sup> (<sup>1</sup>Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, <sup>2</sup>Stony Brook University)  
*Referring in the World and in the Lab: Bridging the Gap*

- 13:15-13:45 Eleanor Huizeling<sup>1</sup>, Phillip M. Alday<sup>2</sup>, David Peeters<sup>3</sup>, Peter Hagoort<sup>1,4</sup> (<sup>1</sup>Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, <sup>2</sup>Beacon Biosignals Inc., <sup>3</sup>Department of Communication and Cognition, TiCC, Tilburg University, <sup>4</sup>Radboud University, Donders Institute for Brain, Cognition and Behaviour)  
*Predicting language in naturalistic settings: the role of linguistic, visual and pragmatic context*
- 13:45-14:15 Guendalina Reul & Petra B. Schumacher (University of Cologne)  
*Neurocognitive adaptation to repeated use of ad-hoc metonymies*

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 13**

Raum / Room: VZ 3

**Semantische Phänomene und Grundlagen lehren und lernen**Sebastian Bücking<sup>1</sup>, Helga Gese<sup>2</sup> & Katharina Kellermann<sup>3</sup><sup>1</sup>Universität Oldenburg, <sup>2</sup>Universität Tübingen, <sup>3</sup>RPTU Kaiserslautern-Landau**Mittwoch / Wednesday, 28.02.2024**

- 13:45-14:45 Michael Rödel (LMU München) & Björn Rothstein  
(Universität Bochum)  
*Semantik in der Lehrer:innenbildung. Möglichkeiten und Herausforderungen*
- 14:45-15:15 Kristin Börjesson (Universität Halle)  
*In der (Grund-)Schule „Sinn und Bedeutung“ sprachlicher Zeichen thematisieren*
- 15:15-15:45 Derya Dinçer (Universität Tübingen)  
*Modalität im Vorschulalter – Vermutungen im Kontext frühen naturwissenschaftlichen Lernens*

**15:45-16:30 PAUSE / BREAK**

- 16:30-17:00 Elvira Topalović, Laura Drepper & Alisa Blachut (Universität Paderborn)  
*Kausalität im Längsschnitt. Funktionen und Formen in der Textproduktion vom 4. bis zum 6. Schuljahr*
- 17:00-17:30 Merle Weicker (Universität Frankfurt)  
*Konnektoren als Lehr- und Lerngegenstand in der Primarstufe*
- 17:30-18:00 Theresa Strombach, Julia Weiss & Jonas Romstadt  
(Universität Bonn)  
*Wie passt das zusammen? Von der Interpunktion zur Semantik und zurück.*

**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 09:00-09:30 Barbara Schlücker (Universität Leipzig)  
*Passiv im schulischen Grammatikunterricht: Form – Bedeutung – Funktion*
- 09:30-10:00 Jörg Förstner (Universität Stuttgart)  
*\*Das Auto fährt in die Tiefgarage den Motor warm. Zur modellhaften Vermittlung des Zusammenhangs von (Anti-)*

*Kausativität, (In-)Transitivität und Kasusvergabe anhand  
lexikalischer Dekomposition in der gymnasialen Oberstufe*

10:00-10:30 Mailin Antomo & Yuqiu Chen (Universität Göttingen)  
*Lüge und Wahrheit - Eine unterrichtspraktische Annäherung an  
semantische Grundbegriffe mittels täuschender Sprache*

---

**ARBEITSGRUPPE / WORKSHOP 14**

Raum / Room: VZ 3

**Sprache bzw. Sprachen betrachten im Lehramt (Kurz-AG)**Kristin Börjesson<sup>1</sup>, Sandra Döring<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, <sup>2</sup>Universität Leipzig**Donnerstag / Thursday, 29.02.2024**

- 11:15-11:45 Daniela Elsner (PH Vorarlberg) & Franz Unterholzner (PH Salzburg)  
*Wie kann die Integration von Sprachbetrachtung in der Lehramtsausbildung modelliert werden?*
- 11:45-12:15 Rode Veiga-Pfeifer, Ina-Maria Maahs & Erol Hacisalihoğlu (Universität zu Köln)  
*„Es hat auf jeden Fall meinen Blick verändert“ Vorstellung eines sprachdiagnostischen Verfahrens zur systematischen Erkennung sprachlicher Stärken und Förderbedarfe.*
- 12:15-12:45 Maria Averintseva-Klisch & Doreen Bryant (Universität Tübingen)  
*Anaphorische Demonstrativpronomen im Spannungsfeld von konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit und (dis)funktionaler Textgrammatik: Ein Fall fürs Lehramtsstudium?*

**12:45-13:45 MITTAGSPAUSE / LUNCH BREAK**

- 13:45-14:15 Sinja Ballmer (Pädagogische Hochschule Zug, Schweiz)  
*Sprachliche Muster im Lehramtsstudium.*
- 14:15-14:45 Martin Ertl (Pädagogische Hochschule Steiermark)  
*Phrasen als Ausgangspunkt grammatischer Reflexion.*

**Freitag / Friday, 01.03.2024**

- 11:45-12:15 Irmtraud Kaiser (Universität Salzburg)  
*„Sprachwissenschaftlich denken lernen“: Auf- und Ausbau linguistischer Konzepte bei Germanistikstudierenden.*
- 12:15-12:45 Doreen Bryant (Universität Tübingen), Benjamin Siegmund (PH Freiburg)  
*Das werden-Passiv als Lehr- und Lerngegenstand.*

- 12:45-13:15 Thomas Strobel (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, Italien)  
*Keiner außer dir/du würde daran zweifeln. Grammatische Zweifelsfälle als Lerngegenstand in Studium und Schule.*
- 13:15-13:45 Diana Walther (Universität Leipzig)  
*“Jugendsprache” als Gegenstand eines empirisch orientierten Deutschunterrichts.*
- 13:45-14:15 Christina Noack & Stefan Tröster-Mutz (Universität Osnabrück)  
*Sprache(n) entdecken in und außerhalb der Schule.*

**Alternates:**

1. Hanna Fischer (Universität Rostock) & Lisa Dücker (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz)  
*Sprachvariation@Schule: Sprachvariation als kommunikative Ressource erschließen und reflektieren.*
2. Julia Sacher (Universität zu Köln)  
*Mündlichkeit als Gegenstand von Sprachbetrachtung – Gesprächsanalytische Perspektiven auf eine domänenspezifische Kompetenz.*

Part V

Abstracts



*Abstracts*



---

**Remember is past-directed, parasitic, and authentic *imagine***

---

**Kristina Liefke**

*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

Kristina.Liefke@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Much recent work in philosophy and neuroscience has argued that remembering past events is just a (special) kind of imagining future events (see e.g. Addis, 2018). This work suggests that the syntax and semantics of *remember* are but a restrictive version of *imagine*. My talk supports this suggestion by investigating the modification behavior and truth-conditional contribution of *remember vis-à-vis imagine*.

In contrast to their *imagine*-counterparts (see (1a)), *remember*-reports with a reflexive pronoun (see (1b-i)) are typically taken to resist modification with a third-person/'outside' viewpoint adjunct. Such modification is only possible if *remember* is replaced by a mental depiction predicate like *visualize* (see (1b-ii)). In philosophy, the deviance of (1b-i) is often attributed to the AUTHENTICITY of memory.

- (1) a. Bo imagines himself swimming *from the perspective of s.o. on a cliff*.  
 b. Bo {i. #remembers, ii. visualizes} himself swimming *from the perspective of someone on a cliff*.

The greater semantic strictness of *remember* w.r.t. *imagine* is further supported by the fact that the truthmakers of *remember*-reports are a proper subset of the truthmakers of *imagine*-reports (cf. Cresswell, 1982): In contrast to (2b) (which is true in all circumstances from (3)), the truth of the memory report (2a) requires that the constructed scenario is PAST-DIRECTED and referentially depends (or is PARASITIC) on another (single) experience (cf. Blumberg, 2019; Maier, 2015). These requirements effect that, unlike (2b), (2a) is false/deviant in circumstances like (3c–d):

- (2) John {a. remembers, b. imagines} a woman waltzing.  
 (3) John is constructing a scenario in which . . . [truth-value of (2a), (2b)]  
 a. . . the woman whom he saw *waltz* at the park is waltzing. [T, ?]  
 b. . . the woman whom he saw *tango* at the park is waltzing. [T, T]  
 c. . . the woman whom he saw at the park is waltzing with [??, T]  
     the man of whom he had dreamt.  
 d. . . some woman – no one in particular – is waltzing. [F, T]

My talk provides a decompositional semantics for the English verb *remember* as PAST-DIRECTED, PARASITIC, and AUTHENTIC *imagine* that captures this behavior.

**References:** • Addis, D.R. (2018). Are episodic memories special? *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 48(2/3), 64–88. • Blumberg, K. (2019). *Desire, Imagination, and the Many-Layered Mind*. PhD thesis, New York University • Cresswell, M. J. (1982). The autonomy of semantics. In *Processes, Beliefs, and Questions*. Dordrecht: Springer, 69–86. • Maier, E. (2015). Parasitic attitudes. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38(3), 205–236.

---

***Teasing apart experiential and doxastic meanings of subjective attitude verbs***

---

**Achille Fusco<sup>1</sup>, Cristiano Chesi<sup>1,2</sup> & Valentina Bianchi<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*NETS Lab, IUSS Pavia*, <sup>2</sup>*University of Siena*

achille.fusco@iusspavia.it, cristiano.chesi@iusspavia.it,

valentina.bianchi@unisi.it

Subjective attitude verbs (SAVs), like *find* and *consider*, are known to embed only subjective clauses, e.g., clauses containing a predicate of personal taste (PPT) or, more generally, a gradable predicate (Sæbø, 2009 and much subsequent work). However, SAVs do not form a single uniform class: further asymmetries have been observed between *find* and *consider*. Main theories about SAVs may be characterized along two descriptive dimensions. On one dimension, proposals in the literature differ as to the kind of restriction that *find* imposes on its complement clause (hereby, *p*): either a direct experience requirement (Stephenson, 2007; Muñoz 2019; Korotkova & Anand 2021) or a subjectivity requirement (Sæbø, 2009; Kennedy & Willer 2016). On the second descriptive dimension, theories about SAVs can be distinguished according to whether (or not) they take *find* to express a doxastic attitude of the subject (Stephenson, 2007; Kennedy & Willer, 2016; Korotkova & Anand, 2021), or not (Sæbø, 2009; Muñoz 2019).

To assess the theories on the market, we set up an acceptability task aimed at testing the experiential vs. doxastic meanings of SAVs. Specifically, we constructed scenarios triggering a potential doxastic conflict (PDC), i.e., a situation where a subject holds a belief that *p* but, for some reason, her perceptual experience (temporarily) suggests that not-*p*. We then tested the acceptability of *find* and *consider* reports after contexts triggering a PDC or not. Although all the contexts satisfied both the direct experience and the subjectivity requirements, results showed that attributions with *find* after PDC contexts produced significantly lower acceptability rates than their counterparts with *consider*. We suggest that non-doxastic accounts (Sæbø, 2009; Muñoz, 2019) are better suited to explain the results: the absence of a doxastic component in the denotation of *find* allows the system the necessary flexibility to represent experiential content independently enough from belief.

References: • Kennedy, C., & M. Willer (2016). Subjective attitudes and counterstance contingency. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory* (Vol. 26, pp. 913–933). • Korotkova, N., & P. Anand (2021). 'Find', 'must' and conflicting evidence. In P. G. Grosz, L. Martí, H. Pearson, Y. Sudo, and S. Zobel (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* (Vol. 25, pp. 515-532). University College London and Queen Mary University of London. • Muñoz, P. (2019). *On Tongue: The Grammar of Experiential Evaluation*. PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago. • Sæbø, K. J. (2009). Judgment ascriptions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 32(4), 327–352.

---

**I have no idea if factivity is categorical. Did Mandelkern et al. 2020 discover that it is?**

---

**Judith Tonhauser<sup>1</sup> & Judith Degen<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Stuttgart, <sup>2</sup>Stanford University

judith.tonhauser@ling.uni-stuttgart.de, jdegen@stanford.edu

This talk challenges the long-standing assumption that attitude predicates divide into factive and nonfactive ones (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1970, Karttunen 1971, i.a.). Empirical investigations in de Marneffe, Simons, and Tonhauser 2019 and Degen and Tonhauser 2022, which asked participants to draw inferences about the content of the clausal complement (CC) from examples like (1), confirmed the long-standing intuition that the CCs of factive predicates are highly projective, but they also found i) that there is variability in how projective the CCs of factive predicates are, and ii) that the CCs of factive predicates are not categorically more projective than those of nonfactive predicates. These results were taken to suggest that “there is little empirical support [...] for the assumed categorical distinction between factive and nonfactive predicates” (Degen and Tonhauser 2022:552).

(1) Ed: “*Does Cole know/think that Julian dances salsa?*”

Mandelkern et al. 2020 challenged this conclusion by arguing that projection variability is an artefact of the inference task used, writing that “we should think twice before embracing a notion of presupposition projection that is gradient based on results from inference tasks alone” (p.497). They suggested that naturalness ratings of utterances with attitude predicates in explicit ignorance contexts, as in (2), are more suitable to distinguish the semantic presuppositions of factive predicates (hypothesized to be unnatural in such contexts) from inferences that may arise with nonfactive predicates “for any of a variety of pragmatic reasons short of entailment or presupposition” (p.497).

(2) Ed: “*I have no idea if Julian dances salsa. Does Cole know/think that Julian dances salsa?*”

This talk presents the results of an experiment designed to investigate Mandelkern et al.’s 2020 claim that projection is categorical and that their measure can distinguish presuppositions from nonpresuppositions. The results again fail to support a categorical factivity distinction, in line with Degen and Tonhauser 2022.

**Select references:** • Mandelkern et al 2020. We’ve discovered that projection across conjunction is asymmetric (and it is!). *Linguistics & Philosophy* 43. • Degen & Tonhauser 2022. Are there factive predicates? An empirical investigation. *Language* 98.

---

### Worried about factivity

---

Kajsa Djärv<sup>1</sup> & Deniz Özyıldız<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Edinburgh, <sup>2</sup>Universität Konstanz  
 k.djarv@ed.ac.uk, deniz-ozyildiz@uni-konstanz.de

Ascriptions of worry trigger a doxastic and a dispreference inference. With a declarative  $p$ , the doxastic inference alternates between the attitude holder considering  $p$  likely, in (1a), or certain, in (1b). When available, this second belief inference is not at issue and ordinarily accompanied by factivity.

- (1) a. Alice worries [that she missed her train] <sub>$p$</sub>   
 ⇒ Alice disprefers  $p$  and considers  $p$  likely.
- b. It worries Alice [that she missed her train] <sub>$p$</sub>   
 ⇒ Alice disprefers  $p$ , considers  $p$  certain. and  $p$ .
- c. It doesn't worry Alice [that she missed her train] <sub>$p$</sub>   
 ⇒ Alice is okay with  $p$ , considers  $p$  certain, and  $p$ .

The predicate worry has received little direct attention until now (Hartman 2012, though see von Fintel 1999, Uegaki & Sudo 2019, and White 2021). We describe and model its inferential properties with declarative and interrogative clausal arguments, from a cross-linguistic perspective, and, crucially, in how they are conditioned by morphosyntactic factors.

**References:** • von Fintel, K. (1999). NPI licensing, Strawson entailment, and context dependency. *Journal of semantics* 16(2), 97–148. • Hartman, J. (2012). Varieties of clausal complementation. PhD thesis, MIT. • Uegaki, W. & Y. Sudo (2019). The \*hope wh- puzzle. *Natural Language Semantics* 27(4), 323–356. • White, A. (2021). On Believing and Hoping Whether. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 14(6), 1–16.

---

**Remembering is a Propositional Attitude.**  
**(de-)compositional support from German *noch wissen*, *wie*.**

---

**Emil Eva Rosina & Kristina Liefke**

*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

Emil.Rosina@ruhr-uni-bochum.de, Kristina.Liefke@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

The German memory predicate *noch wissen* [‘still know’] licenses both declarative *dass*- [‘that’-] and free relative *wie*- [‘how’-] complements (see (1); Umbach et al., 2022). Our experimental work (N=30) has found that *noch wissen*, *wie* unambiguously reports experiential remembering (i.e. recall of a personally experienced past event; as opposed to fact-only remembering).

- (1) Mia weiß noch, wie/dass Paul im Meer geschwommen ist.  
*Mia knows still how/that Paul in-the sea swim is*  
 ‘Mia remembers how/that Paul was swimming in the sea.’

We give a uniform, propositionalist compositional semantics for *noch wissen* that captures both uses. Events are represented as informationally rich propositions, resulting from Umbach et al.’s (2022) semantics for non-manner *wie*- [‘how’-] complements. Combined with an evidence-based variant of the standard presuppositional semantics for ‘know’ (formalizing Lewis 1996, using elements of Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970), we predict the distribution of *wissen*, *wie* as opposed to *wissen*, *dass* and the inferences between such knowledge reports.

In a next step, this knowledge is retained via the temporal particle *noch* [‘still’]: As a modifier of ‘*wissen*, *dass/wie p*’, it captures the past-directedness of memory by presupposing that *x* had knowledge of *p* at a time preceding the utterance time. Retaining knowledge of a rich proposition denoted by ‘*wie p*’ usually requires direct evidence, leading to the pragmatic inference of experientiality.

We show that this semantics yields the intuitive different interpretations of *genau* [roughly: ‘exactly’] in *noch genau wissen*, *dass* (reliability) and *noch genau wissen*, *wie* (vividness) under a single lexical entry for *genau* (due to Wurm, 2020) by indirectly increasing the standards for evidence.

In short: We analyze ‘*noch genau wissen*, *wie p*’ as retained extra-justified knowledge of the informationally rich proposition denoted by ‘*wie p*’. *wissen* contributes factivity and evidentiality. *genau* increases the standard for justification, *wie* adds informational richness, *noch* past-directed retention.

**References:** Kiparsky, P. & C. Kiparsky (1970). Fact. In M. Bierwisch and K. E. Heidolph (Eds.), *Progress in Linguistics*. The Hague. • Lewis, D. (1996). Elusive knowledge. *Australasian Journal of Philosophy* 74, 549–67. • Umbach, C., S. Hinterwimmer, & H. Gust (2022). German *wie*-complements: Manners, methods and events in progress. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 40, 307–343. • Wurm, V. (2020). Distinguishing semantic components of attitude verbs via the German modifier *genau*. In *STATI*, Vol. 68, 256–264.

---

## Towards an equative analysis of attitude predicates

---

**Edgar Onea<sup>1</sup> & Malte Zimmermann<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Graz, <sup>2</sup>Universität Potsdam

edgar.onea-gaspar@uni-graz.at, mazimmer@uni-potsdam.de

Embedded questions under *to know* have two exhaustive interpretations: the strong exhaustive (SE) reading (1a), and the intermediate exhaustive (IE) reading (1b). The IE-reading is currently considered the basic semantic reading by many (Cremers & Chemla 2016), in opposition to the earlier partition-based SE-semantics (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984).

- (1) Luca knows [who danced].
- a. SE: *Luca knows of every person who danced that she danced, and of every person who did not dance that she did not dance.*
  - b. IE: *Luca knows of every person who danced that she danced and does not assume of anyone who did in fact not dance that she danced.*

The goals of this paper are two-fold. We first propose a novel equative-based analysis for the lexical meaning of *to know*, inspired by Heim (1984), which yields the intermediate exhaustive (IE)-reading as the basic semantic interpretation for questions embedded under *to know*. The core idea of this approach is that the lexical meaning of the attitude predicate *to know* contains an equative statement as paraphrased in (2). This yields exhaustification effects in a way reminiscent from literature on cleft exhaustivity (Szabolcsi 1994, Pollard and Yasavul 2016).

- (2) A knows who danced. =  
*The strongest subjective answer to the question who danced that A can give (based on his beliefs) to the question who danced equals the strongest objectively true answer.*

Secondly, we show that this equative-based analysis for *to know* extends to other embedding attitude verbs, thereby paving the way towards a general equative semantics for embedding attitude predicates (and clefts). For example, we suggest that *agree* has a very similar equative paraphrase as *to know* as shown in (3).

- (3) A and B agree on who danced. =  
*the maximal subjective answer of A and B equals the conjunction of all answers mutually believed to be true by both A and B.*

**References:** • Cremers, A. & E. Chemla (2016). A psycholinguistic study of the exhaustive readings. *J. Semantics* 33.1: 49-85. • Groenendijk, J. & M. Stokhof (1984). *Semant. of Questions & Pragmatics of Answers*. PhD. U. Amsterdam • Heim, I. (1994). *Interrogative Semant. Proc. of the 9<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Israel Assoc. for Theor. Ling.* Jerusalem: Academ, 128-144. • Pollard, C. & M. Yasavul (2016). Anaphoric it-clefts, *Proc. CLS 50*: 381-395. • Szabolcsi, A. (1994). All quantifiers are not equal. *Acta Ling. Hung.* 42-43: 171-187.

---

**Non-factive know in Russian and polarity subjunctive**


---

**Denis Pisarenko**

*HSE University*

dpisarenko@hse.ru

In Russian, the verb *znat'* 'know' normally takes indicative complements. However, when negated, it can take a subjunctive complement. Unlike the sentence with *NEG + znat' + IND* pattern, the *NEG + znat' + SUBJ* pattern does not presuppose the truth of the verbal complement, cf. (1) and (2).

- (1) Mila **ne** znaet **čto** Ljuba igraet na flejte  
*Mila NEG knows that.IND Ljuba plays on flute*  
 'Mila doesn't know that Ljuba plays the flute' (in fact, Ljuba plays)
- (2) Mila **ne** znaet **čto-by** Ljuba igrala na flejte  
*Mila NEG knows that-SUBJ Ljuba played on flute*  
 'Mila does not know any cases when Ljuba played the flute.' (in fact, it is possible that Ljuba plays flute but Mila is unaware of it)

I propose to treat the complements of non-factive *znat'*, like in (2), as a *polarity subjunctive* (PS), i.e. such a subjunctive clause which may be used under certain predicates only in negative environments (Giannakidou 1998). According to (Bondarenko 2022), whether the predicate can accept a PS complement is determined by the ability of this predicate to take non-propositional CPs. It is claimed that there are two types of complements of attitude predicates: CPs conveying the propositional content (Cont-CP) and CPs describing a situation (Sit-CP). While Cont-CP is as a set of possible worlds or situations denoted by the propositional content of the clause, Sit-CP is a 'minimal situation' (3).

- (3) [[that the squirrel ate the nut]]s =  
 (Bondarenko 2022)
- a.  $\lambda x. \text{Cont}(x) = \{s: \text{the squirrel ate the nut in } s\}$   
**Cont-CP**
- b.  $\lambda s'. s'$  is a minimal situation of the squirrel eating the nut **Sit-CP**

Bondarenko (2022: 380) claims that while indicative complements can be either Cont-CPs or Sit-CPs, PS complements are always Sit-CPs. Following this analysis, I argue that Russian *znat'* is able to take Sit-CP complements. These data provides the evidence that *znat'* (at least, non-factive) may be analyzed as a non-propositional-taking predicate (Montague 2007), which challenges the traditional Hintikka-style approach relying on the embedded proposition.

**References:** Bondarenko, T. I. (2022). *Anatomy of an Attitude* (Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Giannakidou, A. (1998). Polarity sensitivity as (non)veridical dependency. *Polarity Sensitivity as (Non) Veridical Dependency*, 1-297.  
**Montague, M. (2007).** Against propositionalism. *Noûs*, 41(3), 503-518.

---

## Action-oriented apprehensives and the embedding of negative purpose adjuncts.

---

**Chloé Tahar<sup>1</sup> & Alda Mari<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Institut Jean Nicod*, <sup>2</sup>*Université de Neuchâtel*  
alda.mari@ens.fr, chloe.tahar@unine.ch

Verbs of fearing are robust selectors of expletive negation across languages, including French *craindre* ('fear'). We propose that expletive negation in the complement of verbs of fearing descends from Latin negative purpose adjuncts. We show that verbs of fearing can receive an action-oriented reading with embedded eventives, see (1) or an epistemic reading with embedded statives (2) (extending Hare (1971)'s distinction for *want*).

- (1) Je crains qu'elle n'arrive en retard.  
'I fear that she'll be late.'
- (2) Je crains que Marie soit la coupable.  
'I fear that Mary is the culprit'

Based on a fined-grained corpus-study drawing its material from historical French corpora, we establish that, in Medieval French, expletive *ne* appears only with the action-oriented reading of *craindre*. In our analysis, *ne* introduces a negative purpose clause.

- (1)  $\llbracket ne\ p \rrbracket^{M,i,GOALS} = 1$  iff  $\forall w' \in GOALS(M(i),w) : \neg p(w')$

We endorse a double-layered analysis of the attitude *craindre* whereby uncertainty is represented as a partitioned epistemic modal base  $M(i)$  as the verb introduces universal quantification over a restricted set of

- (2)  $\llbracket x\ craint\ que\ ne\ p \rrbracket^{M,i,FEARS,GOALS}$ , = is defined if  $M(i)$  is partitioned between  $p$  and  $\neg p$  worlds (uncertainty).  
If defined  $\llbracket x\ craint\ que\ ne\ p \rrbracket^{M,i,FEARS,GOALS} = 1$  iff  
 $\forall w' \in FEARS(M(i),w) : \forall w'' \in GOALS(M(i),w') : \neg p(w'')$

In Modern French, expletive negation can appear with the mere-fear reading of *craindre*. In this context, we submit that *ne* loses its plain modal meaning and becomes non-at-issue, expressing mere dispreference (see Yoon, 2011).

- (3)  $\llbracket x\ craint\ que\ ne\ p \rrbracket^{M,i,FEARS,GOALS}$ , = is defined if  $M(i)$  is partitioned between  $p$  and  $\neg p$  worlds (uncertainty).  
If defined  $\llbracket x\ craint\ que\ ne\ p \rrbracket^{M,i,FEARS,GOALS} = 1$  iff  
 $\forall w' \in FEARS(M(i),w) : p(w')$   
NON-AT-ISSUE:  $\forall w'' \in GOALS(M(i),w') : \neg p(w'')$

**References:** • Hare, M. (1971). Wanting, some pitfalls. In: *Practical Inferences*. • Yoon, S. (2011). *Not in the mood: the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of evaluative negation* PhD thesis, University of Chicago.



---

**'Think' or 'Want': The Syntax and Semantics of Mandarin *Xiang*.**


---

**Xinran Yan**

*Universität Leipzig*

xinran.yan@uni-leipzig.de

The Mandarin Chinese verb *xiang* is usually considered as a hybrid attitude predicate that can mean both 'think' and 'want' as in (1). In this talk, I will also show a third clause-embedding use of *xiang* with an epistemic prospective interpretation such as in (2), which has not been noticed in the previous literature.

- (1) Zhangsan *xiang* Lisi renshi Wangwu.  
*Zhangsan xiang Lisi know Wangwu.*  
 'Zhangsan **thinks** Lisi knows / **wants** Lisi to know Wangwu.'
- (2) Jintian *xiang* xiayu.  
*today xiang rain*  
 'It seems to be going to rain today.'

I adopt Grano & Lu's (2021) proposal that the meaning of *xiang* is underspecified while arguing against their treatment of *xiang* as an underspecified attitude that takes the embedded proposition as a modifier. Instead, I suggest that *xiang* denotes an underspecified modal taking the proposition as its direct argument. Since the 'think' reading of *xiang* is also compatible with interrogative complements just as English *think*, I assume that *xiang* selects a set of propositions P as in (3a). The underspecified modal can be specified as three distinct readings: *xiang<sub>desire</sub>*, *xiang<sub>think</sub>*, and *xiang<sub>prospect</sub>* as in (3b)-(3d) depending on the context. For the readings 'think' and 'want', I further assume that the attitude holder and the attitude event are extra introduced via the Experiencer (EXP) operator (4).

- (3) a.  $\llbracket xiang \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e. \text{MOD}(P)(e)$   
 b.  $\llbracket xiang_{desire} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e. \exists p: P = \{p\}. \forall w' \in \text{DESIRE}(e): [p(w') = 1]$   
 c.  $\llbracket xiang_{think} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e. \forall w' \in \text{THINK}(e): [\exists p. p \in P \wedge p(w') = 1]$   
 d.  $\llbracket xiang_{prospect} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda e. \exists p: P = \{p\}. \exists w' \in \text{PROSPECT}(e): [p(w') = 1]$
- (4)  $\llbracket \text{EXP} \rrbracket = \lambda x \lambda e. \text{ATTITUDE}(e) \wedge \text{EXP}(x)(e)$  (Bogal-Allbritten 2017)

I will also show that there are hierarchical factors in the matrix/complement clause (MC/CC) that may influence the interpretation of *xiang*. For example, aspect markers in the CC often lead to the 'think' reading, suggesting that the 'want' reading prefers a smaller CC (cf. Grano & Lu 2021), but if the matrix predicate *xiang* is negated or modified with a degree adverb such as 'much', the 'think' interpretation is blocked, and the reading is shifted again to 'want'.

**References:** •Bogal-Allbritten, Elizabeth (2017). Basic pieces, complex meanings: Building attitudes in Navajo and beyond. Talk at DGfS 2017. • Grano, Thomas & Lu, Chan (2021). Mandarin *xiang* and the architecture of attitude reports. Talk at LSA 2021.

---

**A claim in the making:  
realizing unique kinds**

---

**Kalle Müller**

*Université Côte d'Azur*

Kalle.MUELLER@univ-cotedazur.fr

In recent research, analyses of attitudes and verbs of speech in terms of content-bearing objects have provided a promising alternative to the classic Hintikka approach (e.g. Bondarenko 2021, Kratzer 2006, Moulton 2009, Moltmann 2020, Müller 2020, Srinivas & Legendre 2022). Complex predicates with nominals that signal overt reference to these content-bearing objects such as *make the claim that S* or *make the decision that S* offer a window into the decomposition of the respective simple predicates. This paper argues that in these cases, *make* as a light verb selects unique kinds of attitudinal objects as arguments and proposes an analysis based on the causation of a realization state in which an individual object realizes the respective attitudinal kind. While most contentful object based approaches assume attitudinal objects to be concrete entities that depend on a particular agent and event or state (e.g. Elliott 2020, Moltmann 2013, Srinivas & Legendre 2022), the approach taken in this paper explains the requirement of the definite article, assuming weak definiteness in the sense Aguilar Guevara (2014). Thus, it flips the relationship between claiming events and *the-claim-that S* constructions: the unique kinds of claims, to which the nominal constructions typically refer, do not depend on a particular claiming event, instead claiming events depend on the particular kind of claim that they instantiate.

**References:** • Aguilar-Guevara, A. (2014). *Weak definites: Semantics, lexicon and pragmatics*. Dissertation, Universiteit Utrecht. • Bondarenko, T. (2021). The dual life of embedded CPs: Evidence from Russian cto-clauses. *Proceedings of SALT* 31, 304–323. • Elliott, P. D. (2020). *Elements of clausal embedding*. London: University College London. PhD dissertation. • Kratzer, A. (2006). Decomposing attitude verbs. Talk given at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, July 4, 2006. • Moltmann, F. (2013). *Abstract objects and the semantics of natural language*. Oxford: OUP. • Moltmann, F. (2020). Truthmaker semantics for natural language: Attitude verbs, modals and intensional transitive verbs. *Theoretical Linguistics* 46(3–4), 159–200. • Moulton, K. (2009). *Natural selection and the syntax of clausal complementation*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst. • Müller, K. (2020). Perception verbs and finite complement clauses. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 13, 55–79. • Srinivas, S. & G. Legendre (2022). Does D Select the CP in Light Verb Constructions? A Reply to Hankamer and Mikkelsen 2021. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 1–27.

---

## Attitudinal complex predicates in Persian via possessive predication

---

**Ryan Walter Smith**

*University of Manchester*

ryan.smith-3@manchester.ac.uk

In Persian, verbs form a small closed-class of around 115 members (Mohammad & Karimi 1992). To compensate for the relatively small verbal inventory, Persian makes heavy use of *complex predicates*, a combination of a limited set of light verbs and some non-verbal element. Among these complex predicates, a number of expressions that act as translational equivalents of English attitude verbs occur with the verb *dāshtan* ‘to have.’ (1) provides a non-exhaustive list of such *attitudinal complex predicates*.

1) a. *e'teghād dāshtan* ‘to believe’ (lit. have belief) c. *nīyāz dāshtan* ‘to need’

b. *ārezu dāshtan* ‘to desire’

d. *shakk dāshtan* ‘to doubt’

The nominal component of these complex predicates is modifiable by a range of adjectives, and is gradable. In this talk, I propose an analysis of attitudinal complex predicates in terms of Francez & Koontz-Garboden’s (2017) approach to *property concept lexemes*. On my proposal, the noun denotes a set of abstract portions  $p$  of a quality corresponding to the attitude, as in (2). I analyze *dāshtan* as introducing the possessive relation between an abstract portion and an individual, with composition by a rule of (intensionalized) Restrict (Chung & Ladusaw 2003).

2)  $[[e'teghād]] = \lambda w.\lambda p.\text{belief}_w(p)$                           3)  $[[dāshtan]] = \lambda w.\lambda p.\lambda x.\pi_w(x,p)$

4)  $\text{Restrict}(f_{\langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}, g_{\langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle}) = \lambda w.\lambda y.\lambda x.f(w)(y) \ \& \ g(w)(y)(x)$

5)  $[[e'teghād dāshtan]] = \text{Restrict}([[3]], [[4]]) = \lambda w.\lambda p.\lambda x.\text{belief}_w(p) \ \& \ \pi_w(x,p)$

Restrict is also used to introduce the clausal complement of the attitude predicate, which, following work on clausal embedding, is analyzed as a function introducing the *content* of the portion argument (Kratzer 2006, a.o.).

6)  $\lambda w.\exists p[\text{belief}_w(p) \ \& \ \pi_w(r,p) \ \& \ \text{Cont}_w(p) = \lambda w'.\text{eat}_w(\text{Mohsen}, \text{cheese})]$

This analysis is able to explain the modifiability of the attitude nominal, in addition to its gradability by making use of measure functions applied to the portion argument (Wellwood 2015). The approach makes the further prediction that attitudinal nouns should pass diagnostics for quality nouns (Francez & Koontz-Garboden 2017), which I show to be borne out.

**References:** • Chung, S., & Ladusaw, W. A. (2003). *Restriction and saturation*. MIT press; Francez, I., & Koontz-Garboden, A. (2017). *Semantics and morphosyntactic variation: Qualities and the grammar of property concepts*. Oxford University Press; Kratzer, A. (2006). *Decomposing attitude verbs*. *Talk given at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*; Mohammad, J. and Karimi, S. (1992). *Light verbs are taking over: Complex verbs in persian*. In *Proceedings of WECOL*, volume 5, pages 195–212; Wellwood, A. (2015). *On the semantics of comparison across categories*. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 38, 67-101.

---

## Towards a decompositional semantics for partial control

---

**Hazel Pearson**

*Queen Mary University of London*

*h.pearson@qmul.ac.uk*

In a partial control (PC) sentence, the understood subject of the control complement is a group that includes, but is not limited to, the controller:

(1) I want to read a book together.

In Pearson (2016), I argued that two conditions are jointly necessary and sufficient for a given control predicate to license PC. Firstly, it must be an attitude predicate. Secondly, it must allow non-simultaneous interpretations, with the event time of the embedded predicate shifted forward or backward with respect to the subjective ‘now’ of the attitude holder (cf. Landau 2000). I accounted for this via a centred worlds semantics for PC predicates, where the individual and temporal coordinates of the alternatives quantified over by the predicate are both permitted to shift, giving rise to PC (in the individual domain) and non-simultaneity (in the temporal domain). Thus the semantics of PC was in effect built into the semantics of the predicates that license it.

A problem for this view concerns the attitude predicates *claim* and *pretend*, which are prototypically simultaneous predicates (2a), and which in the unmarked case do not allow partial control (2b).

- (2) a. \*Tomorrow I will claim/pretend to read a book yesterday.  
 b. \*I claimed/pretended to read a book together.

While the facts in (2a) and (2b) are expected on the account in Pearson (2016), the analysis leaves unexplained the fact that PC is made available by the addition of tense or aspect markers in the complements of these predicates:

(3) I claimed/pretended to have read a book together.

I will argue that these facts show that PC does not arise purely from the semantics of the embedding predicate, but rather via an interaction between the lexical semantics of the predicate and material in the embedded clause; it is the latter that yields the shifting of individual and temporal coordinates that is characteristic of PC predicates. The resulting decompositional account is true to the spirit of the earlier proposal, while addressing (at least some of) its inadequacies.

**References:** • Landau, I. (2000). *Elements of Control: Structure and Meaning in Infinitival Constructions*. • Pearson, H. (2016). The semantics of partial control. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.

---

## Lexical aspect shapes the meaning of attitude reports

---

**Deniz Özyıldız**

*Universität Konstanz*

*deniz-ozyildiz@uni-konstanz.de*

It is by now understood that inferential properties of attitude predicates help explain the kinds of clauses they can and can't combine with. Ongoing are debates about what the relevant descriptive generalizations are, and how they should be analyzed. For example, are all neg-raising predicates incompatible with interrogatives? How does this generalization, originally formulated on the basis of English, hold up cross-linguistically? If it is less than true, should we patch up, or discard the theories that are designed to predict it?

It is also understood that more than just modal properties of attitude predicates, e.g., neg-raising, veridicality, preferentiality, etc., play a role in this empirical landscape. Elements above the attitude verb matter, in (1), and elements below the attitude verb matter as well, in the comparison between (1b) and (2).

- (1)   a. #I think whether I should have invite Sam.  
       b. I'm thinking whether I should have invite Sam.
- (2) ??I'm thinking whether I invited Sam.

In this talk, I focus on contrasts like (1), where manipulating tense and aspect affects an attitude predicate's combinatorial profile. This suggests that eventuality related factors (e.g., being stative, eventive, telic, atelic, etc.) must generally factor into analyses of attitude reports. I delimit the kinds of interactions we might expect between the aspectual, modal and combinatorial properties just mentioned, provide a way of modeling them, and discuss the challenges that arise along the way.

**References:** • Mayr, C. (2019). Triviality and interrogative embedding: Context sensitivity, factivity and neg-raising. *Natural Language Semantics* 27(3), 227–278. • Özyıldız, D. (2021). The event structure of attitudes. PhD thesis, UMass Amherst. • Özyıldız, D., C. Qing, F. Roelofsen, M. Romero & W. Uegaki (2023). A Crosslinguistic Database for Combinatorial and Semantic Properties of Attitude Predicates. *Proceedings of SIGTYP 2023*, 65–75. • Theiler, N., F. Roelofsen & M. Aloni (2019). Picky predicates: why believe doesn't like interrogative complements, and other puzzles. *Natural Language Semantics* 27(2), 95–134. • White, A. (2021). On Believing and Hoping Whether. *Semantics and Pragmatics* 14(6), 1–18. • White, A. & K. Rawlins (2018). Question agnosticism and change of state. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 21, 1325–1342. • Zuber, R. (1982). Semantic restrictions on certain complementizers. *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists, Tokyo*, 434–436.

---

**(De)composition of inferential perception verbs  
and the meaning of *an***

---

**Judith Lauterbach**

*Universität Tübingen*

judith.lauterbach@uni-tuebingen.de

Perception verbs (PVs) with finite *that*-clauses express an inferring event instead of direct perception. In this use, German PVs allow prepositional phrases that are headed by *an* (engl. roughly 'at') and express the basis of the inference (Diewald & Smirnova 2010, Müller 2020), and therefore bear an evidential interpretation.

- (1) Maria sah an den Möbeln, dass die Bewohner kein Geld haben.  
*Mary saw at the furniture that the residents no money have*

Müller (2020) argues that *an*PPs like in (1) refer to directly perceived entities and claims that PVs in their inferential use yet imply a perception event. Following this, a class of inferential perception verbs (IPVs) can be identified, which involves rather cognitive verbs like *merken* 'notice/'realize' or *erkennen* 'recognize', too. IPVs hence come up with an experiencer that is holder of a mental state and, implicitly, perceiver of a stimulus. The view that a mental state is caused by an underspecified entity is widely accepted. I therefore propose (2a) as decompositional structure of IPVs. An underspecified causer is introduced via a free variable *c*. The postulate in (2b) provides a stimulus as event participant, which will replace *c* on a pragmatic-conceptual level.

- (2) a.  $\llbracket \text{IPV} \rrbracket = \lambda y \lambda x \lambda e [\text{infer}(e) \ \& \ \text{exp}(e,x) \ \& \ \text{mental-state}(e,y) \ \& \ \text{cause}(e,c)]$   
b.  $\forall e [\text{IPV}(e) \rightarrow \exists f [\text{stimulus}(e,f)]]$

Evidential *an*PPs behave similar to other non-locative *an*PPs in that they are event-internal modifiers and indirectly relate an integral part of the described event to a part of the *an*-referent (cf. Laptieva 2022 for atelic *an*). This follows from Maienborn (2003)'s analysis of event-internal modifiers, and from Carstensen (2000)'s functional approach to the meaning of *an*. In IPV-sentences, the causing stimulus as integral component of the event is conceptualized as part of the *an*-referent. In (1), it is a particular property of the furniture that causes Mary to infer that the residents are poor, and thus gives evidence for her claim.

**References:** • Carstensen, K.-U. (2000). Räumliche Mikroperspektivierung und die Semantik lokaler Präpositionen. In: Habel, C./Stutterheim, C.v. (eds.), *Räumliche Konzepte und sprachliche Strukturen*. Niemeyer, 237-260 • Diewald, G. & E. Smirnova (2010). *Evidentiality in German: Linguistic Realization and Regularities in Grammaticalization*. Mouton de Gruyter. • Maienborn, C. (2003). Event-internal modifiers: Semantic underspecification and conceptual interpretation. In: E. Lang et al. (eds.), *Modifying Adjuncts*. Mouton de Gruyter, 475-509 • Laptieva, E. 2022. *Atelische an-Konstruktion. Eine korpusbasierte Modifikatoranalyse*. Narr Francke Attempto. • Müller, K. (2020). Perception verbs and finite complement clauses. *EISS* 13, 55–79.

---

## Today I learned: English ‘coming-to-know’ predicates

---

Natasha Krotkova<sup>1</sup> & Pranav Anand<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Utrecht University, <sup>2</sup>UC Santa Cruz

n.korotkova@ucla.edu, p.anand@ucsc.edu

This paper is a focused investigation of English ‘coming-to-know’ verbs, e.g., discover, find out, figure out, learn, notice and realize. Much has been said about their factivity (Karttunen 1971). Drawing on the literature on aspect and evidentiality, we argue that these verbs are culmination achievements that denote a change in doxastic state (from agnosticism to belief) and lexicalize the type of evidence that triggered that change.

A. Our verbs exhibit the imminency reading of the progressive (1), which only occurs with a sub-class of achievements (Gyarmathy 2015) and signals that the process is in final stages. B. Our verbs specify how the knowledge was gained; e.g, discover, learn and find out are grounded in knowledge obtained via abduction, while notice tracks knowledge grounded in perceptual experience and is incompatible with inference (2).

(1) **Murdoch is realizing that he’s stuck with the monster he created.**

(2) **Reasoning from effect to cause** *Seeing a rat scurrying away:*  
I discovered / found out / learned / # noticed that we have rats.

We propose that ‘coming-to-know’ verbs presuppose a complex eventuality of knowledge acquisition that is comprised of (i) an initial state of agnosticism, followed by (ii) the event of evidence acquisition that triggers (iii) the process of deliberation that culminates in (iv) the punctual event of belief-change leading to (v) a new belief state. Note that, at least in English, there is no vanilla verb that would just mean ‘come-to-know’. This fact shows that a subset of factives belongs to a large group of semantically and syntactically heterogeneous expressions that are sensitive to evidential restrictions (Bary and Korotkova 2023), and allows us to connect the growing body of work on fine-grained semantics for attitudes with research on evidence in language.

**References:** • Bary, C. and N. Korotkova (2023). Expressing evidence. *Journal of Pragmatics* 218, 1–5. • Gyarmathy, Z. (2015). Achievements, Durativity and Scales. Ph.D. thesis, University of Düsseldorf. • Karttunen, L. (1971). Some observations on factivity. *Papers in Linguistics* 4, 55–69.

---

**Thinking (and finding) compositionally**

---

**Jonathan Caleb Kendrick & Jéssica Mendes***University of Maryland, College Park*

jckend@umd.edu, jmendes@umd.edu

Cross-linguistically, the meaning of several attitude verbs depends on the kind of complement they combine with (Özyıldız 2017, Bondarenko 2020, Bogal-Allbritten 2016; a.m.o.) This paper delineates a novel case of meaning alternation due to complementation: in Brazilian Portuguese (BrP), *achar* can be translated as *think* or *find*, depending on the syntax of its complement. When it embeds a Small Clause (SC), *achar* is translated as *find*, but it's translated as *think*, when it embeds a CP. Only in the latter case, is *achar* able to obviate the Acquaintance Inference (AI) of a Predicate of Personal Taste (PPT) in its complement; that is, it blocks the requirement that the attitude-holder have had the relevant experience associated with the PPT. We provide a formal analysis of these facts within Bondarenko's (2023) framework, and discuss their implications for our understanding of PPTs and Subjective Attitude Verbs (SAVs).

In addition to its empirical contribution, this paper also contributes to our understanding of the semantics of SAVs and the nature of the AI. In recent work, Korotkova and Anand (2022) suggest that the transparency of the complement of findverbs follows from a semantically-encoded requirement that the attitude holder have direct knowledge of the truth of this complement. We show, however, that the same verb can behave like *find* or like *think* in virtue of whether it combines with an opaque or with a transparent complement. That suggests that the direct-knowledge requirement is a consequence of the transparency of the complement of *find*, not the other way around

**References:** • Bogal-Allbritten, E. (2016). Building Meaning in Navajo. Ph.D. thesis, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. • Bondarenko, T. (2020). Factivity from pre-existence: Evidence from barguzin buryat. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics* 5(1). • Bondarenko, T. (2023). Factivity-alternating attitude verbs in azeri. *Languages* 8(3), 184. • Korotkova, N. and P. Anand (2022). Refining 'find': Transparency and categorical judgment. Workshop 'Subjectivity in semantic interpretation', NASSLLI. • Özyıldız, D. (2017). Attitude reports with and without true belief. In *Semantics and Linguistic Theory*, Volume 27, pp. 397–417.



## **Arbeitsgruppe 2**

---

### Workshop 2

---

**Be careful what you wish for...**  
**Bouletic bias in German questions**

---

**Sophie Kutscheid**

*University of Konstanz*

sophie.kutscheid@uni-konstanz.de

In everyday life we use subtle ways to communicate our attitude towards what we are saying or towards the answers we are expecting. One example is to indirectly utter our desires by asking questions with a *bouletic bias* (Sudo, 2013; van Rooy & Šafářová, 2003, cf. ‘Is this seat taken?’ vs. ‘Is this seat free?’).

I will present qualitative and quantitative data from studies investigating a) how a positive (desiring *yes* as an answer) or negative bouletic bias (desiring *no* as an answer) affects the prosodic realization of positive polar questions such as (1), b) the effect of these different prosodic realizations on listener’s perception of biased vs. neutral questions, and c) the meaning and purpose speakers assign to biased questions.

- (1) Machst du heute Auflauf?  
 ‘Are you making a casserole?’

The production data showed that speakers use various prosodic aspects to convey bouletic bias in such string-identical polar questions: positive bias is frequently produced with a low rise (L\* L-H%) or a rise-fall-rise (L+H\* L-H%), negative bias with a slower speech rate and a final high plateau (H\* H-%) and neutral polar questions with a high final rise (L\* H-^H%). Results of two perception studies (a decision task and a rating study using *semantic scales*, Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957) confirmed the relevance of the identified cues for the perception of bias and corroborated that different prosodic forms signal distinct functions: Nuclear tunes associated with neutral questions were, for instance, judged as more *open* than tunes associated with biased questions. Participants furthermore detected the polarity of the bias conveyed by the respective nuclear tune (more frequent mention of *expecting agreement* in L+H\* L-H% vs. *expecting rejection* in H\* H-%). Statements obtained in a guided interrogation provided direct insights into the meaning and purpose speakers ascribe to questions with a bouletic bias, revealing that the main motivation for using biased questions is to maintain politeness and to give the addressee freedom of choice.

**References:** • Osgood, C. E., Suci, G. J., & Tannenbaum, P. H. (1957). *The Measurement of Meaning*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. • Sudo, Y. (2013). Biased polar questions in English and Japanese. In D. Gutzmann & H.-M. Gärtner (Eds.), *Beyond expressives: Explorations in use-conditional meaning* (pp. 275-296). Leiden: Brill. • van Rooy, R., & Šafářová, M. (2003). *On Polar Questions*. In R. B. Young & Y. Zhou (Eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 13* (pp. 292–309). Linguistic Society of America.

---

## Diagnosing speaker attitudes in English Rising Declaratives

---

**Johannes Heim**

*University of Aberdeen*

johannes.heim@abdn.ac.uk

What does rising intonation encode when it occurs with English declarative clauses? The contrast between examples (1) and (2) suggests that the rise signals an uncertainty about the truth of the proposition ( $p$ ), which results in a request for confirmation of whether it is true that it is raining (Gunlogson 2001).

(1) Speaker A enters a windowless office, all wet, and says: ‘It’s raining $\downarrow$ ’

(2) Speaker A enters a windowless office, all wet. Speaker B says: ‘It’s raining $\uparrow$ ’

Uncertainty about  $p$  isn’t the only function of RDs, however (e.g., Goodhue 2021). In addition to this inquisitive use, there is an incredulous use, which is employed if the speaker thinks that it is not true that it is raining. There is also a speculative use where truth does not seem to be at issue. Another use of the rise, particularly in narrative contexts, signals continuation. In this talk, I survey existing diagnostics for the use conditions of RDs using data elicited in a Map Task Study. In a departure from previous analyses, I introduce diagnostics that don’t exclusively focus on (evidence for) the truth of  $p$ . Instead, some of these novel diagnostics focus on the relevance of the speaker’s contribution. The reliability of the proposed diagnostics is then tested in an online naturalness rating study with 40 native speakers of North American English judging examples of my own Map Task Study. I compare the results of applying these diagnostics with an analysis of RDs in a previous Map Task study (Ritchart & Arvaniti 2014) which uses turn-taking properties and indirect requests as diagnostics to identify different uses of rising intonation. This comparison demonstrates that a combination of six diagnostics (subjective predicates, evaluating adverbs, indirect evidentials, hedging, calls, and addresses) suffice to discriminate the four different uses mentioned above. These findings suggest that it is indeed possible to systematically discriminate different uses of rising intonation without relying on ambiguous turn-taking or contextual cues. This in turn may get us closer to resolving the question of whether different uses have unique prosodic profiles. The Map Task data elicited here suggest that English RDs that negotiate the truth of  $p$  have a steeper rise than those that negotiate the relevance of an utterance to the course of the conversation. Variation of speaker attitudes in RDs can then be characterised by un/certainty about truth or relevance.

**References:** • Goodhue, D. (2021). A unified account of inquisitive and assertive rising declaratives. *Proceedings of the LSA* 6(1), 951–965. • Gunlogson 2001. *True to form: Rising and falling declaratives as questions in English*. Ph.D. dissertation, UC Santa Cruz. • Ritchart A. & A. Arvaniti (2014). The form and use of uptalk in Southern Californian English. *Proceedings of Speech Prosody*. Vol. 7. Dublin, Ireland: Trinity College Dublin.

---

## Perceiving the prosody of question focus scope in Korean

---

**Stephen Jones<sup>1</sup>, Yoolim Kim<sup>2</sup> & Cong Zhang<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Groningen, <sup>2</sup>Wellesley College, <sup>3</sup>University of Newcastle  
s.m.jones@rug.nl, ykim6@wellesley.edu, cong.zhang@newcastle.ac.uk

Prosody in Korean is associated with grammatical mood and can also disambiguate open and polar questions in sentences with ambiguous content pro-forms (1).

- (1) *halmeni-kkeyse          nwukwu-lul          manna-syess-eyo*  
 grandmother-SBJ.HON who/someone-OBJ meet-HON.PST-POL  
 Declarative: ‘Grandmother met someone.’  
 Open: ‘Who did grandmother meet?’  
 Polar: ‘Did grandmother meet someone?’

Jun & Oh (1996) accounted for the disambiguation of open and polar questions by the placement of accentual phrase (AccP) boundaries. Later work by Jones (2016) showed that AccP boundaries alone cannot account for cases where the content pro-form is not adjacent to the verb. Jones proposed an account including a prosodic feature *expanded pitch range* and generated a formal syntactic analysis using Lexical Functional Grammar.

Although the concept of expanded pitch range is intuitively simple, coming up with a specific definition is more difficult. We undertook an online pilot gating study to identify whether prosodic focus alone allowed hearers to disambiguate between statements, open questions and polar question. The pilot results show that statements and open questions were ultimately reliably disambiguated, and that for open questions, focus prosody at the content pro-form often allowed disambiguation even before the possibility of post-focus compression was available. The picture for polar questions is more complicated. Similar to statements, there was a tendency to identify the utterance as an open question once the content pro-form had been heard, but ultimately disambiguation was not reliably successful.

We report the results of our full experiment, which investigates how the magnitude of pitch expansion affects the reliability and point of disambiguation. Test stimuli are based on index utterances produced by native speakers, with the F0 contour resynthesised following the methodology of Ritter & Grice (2015) to produce four variants of each open and polar question stimulus. We hypothesise that there is a minimum degree of pitch expansion required to convey focus reliably.

**References:** • Jones, S. (2016). The syntax-prosody interface in Korean: resolving ambiguity in questions. DOI:10.20248/hpsg.2016.17 • Jun, S.-A. and Oh, M. (1996). A prosodic analysis of three types of wh-phrases in Korean. *Language and Speech* 39(1), 37–61. • Ritter, S. and Grice, M. (2015). The role of tonal onglides in German nuclear pitch accents. DOI: 10.1177/0023830914565688

---

## Prosodic reflexes of speech act and polarity in German and Dutch response particles: Feature bundling for (un)marked discourses

---

Sophie Repp & Christiane Ulbrich

*Universität zu Köln*

sophie.repp@uni-koeln.de, culbrich@uni-koeln.de

Response particles like German *ja* and *nein* may express that the proposition introduced by an antecedent is true or false – thus carrying out the speech act of affirmation vs. rejection –, and they may express that the polarity of the response is positive or negative, which may be done in both types of speech acts. The speech act function and the polarity-indicating function come apart after negative antecedents (NegA): the statement *Tim didn't cough* in principle may be affirmed with *ja* or *nein* (*ja* → affirmation, *nein* → negative polarity), so that ambiguity arises. Languages and speakers differ in their preferences for *ja/nein* signaling speech act vs. polarity. Written acceptability studies have shown that most German (G) speakers rate affirmations of NegA using speech-act-signaling *ja* as more acceptable, whereas most Dutch (D) speakers judge polarity-signaling *nee* as more acceptable. Still, in both languages, the non-preferred particle is fairly or (for some speakers) equally acceptable to affirm a NegA. Rejection is unambiguously signalled by dedicated particles in G and D (*doch, jawel*). The ambiguity issue in affirmations raises the question what particle(s) speakers use in production, and if they use different prosodic and voice quality means to mark the different functions. We present findings from an oral production study investigating the choice and realization of response particles after PosA and NegA in G and D. 48 G and 32 D participants took part in scripted dialogues and produced a response of their choice. We found that particle choice matched the acceptability ratings of earlier studies, including inter-individual variation. The analysis of the acoustics of the particles revealed significant bundles of phonetic features. For *nein/nee* in rejections vs. affirmations, tonal measures in G/D are lower, and they align with longer particle duration, but only D speakers modify voice quality (HNR). For *ja* in affirmations of NegA vs. PosA, tonal measures are lower in G/D, and they align in duration of the silence after the particle. Voice quality is modified only by G speakers (CPP). In our talk, we discuss the results in terms of discourse markedness. Rejections are more marked than affirmations, and the observed longer duration and higher HNR in D rejections might reflect negative attitude due to the face-threatening act. Negative sentences are more marked than positive sentences, so the higher CPP in G *ja*-affirmations of NegA might signal the negative polarity of the answer.

**References:** Claus et al. (2017). Puzzling response particles. *Semantics & Pragmatics* • Gobl & Ní Chasaide (2003). The role of voice quality in communicating emotion, mood and attitude. *SpeechCommun.* • Repp et al. (2019) Responding to negative assertions. *SuB Proceedings*. • Roelofsen & Farkas (2015). Polarity particle responses. *Language*

---

## Prosodic Cues to the Interpretation of Expressive Adjectives

---

**Kalle Glauch**

*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

kalle.glauch@rub.de

Expressive adjectives (EAs) like *damn* convey a negative speaker attitude towards a discourse referent realized in an utterance (Gutzmann 2019). EAs differ from other adjectives in that they can target any referent irrespective of syntactic embedding due to their status as quasi independent non at issue speech acts (Frazier et al. 2015).

(1) Der Nachbar hat den verdammten Hund geschubst.

,The neighbor has shoved the damn dog.'

😞 Hund

Local Referent Reading

😞 Nachbar

Preceding Referent Reading

😞 schubsen(Nachbar, Hund)

Event Reading

Until now, the interpretation of EAs has been investigated only in the context of pragmatic cues pertinent to written communication. In spoken language, (emotive) prosody can be assumed to operate as an additional formal cue that guides the listener in selecting the speaker intended EA target due to increased perceptual prominence. The current study investigates how the factors (1) valence of discourse referents, (2) linear adjacency and (3) prosodic accentuation interact to determine the speaker intended EA target. Participants will be presented with spoken utterances manipulated by EA position (subject internal vs. object internal) and accentuation (subject noun vs. object noun) in a 2x2 within subject design. Valence is not manipulated as an additional factor across different lists. Instead, the experimental items are constructed in such a way that the referents vary in their relative valence across all trials. Participants listen to the utterances and are required to infer the speaker intended EA target in a binary forced choice task. Both selection and reaction times are measured as response variables. More selectional variation and longer reaction times are expected for conditions where position, accentuation and valence do not align due to increased competition resulting from contradicting cues. Conversely, cue alignment should reduce the probability of non local readings.

**References:** • Frazier, L., Dillon, B., & Clifton, Jr., C. (2015). A note on interpreting damn expressives: Transferring the blame. *Language and Cognition*, 7, 291–304. • Gutzmann, D. (2019). *The Grammar of Expressivity*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 72. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

---

## Understanding the development of evidentiality comprehension through intonation in Majorcan Catalan

---

**Maria del Mar Vanrell<sup>1</sup>, Meghan E. Armstrong<sup>2</sup>, Elena Castroviejo<sup>3</sup> &  
Laia Mayol<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*University of the Balearic Islands*, <sup>2</sup>*UMass-Amherst*, <sup>3</sup>*University of the  
Basque Country*, <sup>4</sup>*Pompeu Fabra University*  
mm.vanrell@uib.cat, armstrong@umass.edu, elena.castroviejo@ehu.eus,  
laia.mayol@upf.edu

It is assumed that by the age of 2-3, children have already acquired intonational differences related to basic semantic distinctions (assertions vs. polar questions, polar questions vs. wh-questions, etc.). However, there is still limited knowledge about the acquisition of intonational contrasts related to constructions acquired beyond the age of 4. In languages like English, Catalan, Spanish, or French, intonation can indicate the speaker's degree of certainty (*epistemicity*) about the propositional content. It has also been shown that prosody can be a strategy for marking evidential distinctions. For example, Vanrell et al. (2017) demonstrated that polar questions characterized by the particle *que* and the L+H\* L% contour in Catalan express that the speaker has directly perceived the information encoded in the proposition. While many studies explore the early acquisition of evidentiality marked through lexicon or morphology, the acquisition of prosodic markers of evidentiality is less studied.

This paper investigated children's developmental paths regarding the comprehension of evidential marking through intonation in Majorcan Catalan, specifically focusing on directly perceived evidence. We also aimed to understand the role of conceptual development in the comprehension of intonational evidentiality. To achieve this, we explore children's general source-marking ability and their ability to make inferences based on directly perceived information. Data were collected through four tasks involving a total of 90 children aged 3-7. The results reveal that children make gains in source monitoring and evidence-based inferences during this developmental window. However, it is not until the age of 7 that a significant improvement (69% correct responses) in the ability to detect evidentiality is observed, which aligns with previous research (Papafragou et al. 2007, i.a.).

**References:** • Papafragou, A., Li, P., Choi, Y. & Han, Ch. (2007). Evidentiality in language and cognition. *Cognition* 103(2), 253-299. • Vanrell, M.M., Armstrong, M.E., Prieto, P. (2017). Experimental evidence for the role of intonation in evidential marking. Intonational constraints on pragmatic inferences: Theoretical and experimental investigations. In: Prieto, P. & Escandell-Vidal, V. (Eds.), Special issue, *Language and Speech* 60(2), 242-259.

---

## On L\*+H, verum focus, and rejections

---

**Heiko Seeliger**

*Universität zu Köln*

heiko.seeliger@uni-koeln.de

In the contexts relevant in this talk, verum focus expresses polarity contrast and is prosodically encoded with an accent on the finite verb, see (1). I compare the results of three recent studies that investigated the prosody of verum focus in German rejections (Repp & Seeliger, 2023; Röhr, Grice & Baumann, 2023; Seeliger & Repp, 2023), in order to investigate the factors that influence associations between verum focus and accent *types*.

- (1) A: Du wohnst doch gar nicht in Köln! (Röhr et al., 2023)  
           *you live MP at.all not in Cologne*
- B: Doch, ich WOHNE in Köln!  
           *yes I live in Cologne*
- ‘A: You don’t live in Cologne at all! B: Yes, I DO live in Cologne!’

Röhr, Grice & Baumann (2023) conducted a perception study that manipulated the accent type (H\*, L+H\*, L\*+H) on verbs that were either in verum focus like in (1) or in lexical contrast (ex.: ‘A: You’re on vacation in Cologne. B: No, I LIVE in Cologne!’). The perceptually prominent L\*+H, in which the pitch peak is aligned with the post-tonal syllable, was judged to fit well in verum contexts but not well in contexts with lexical contrast. The authors suggest an association between contrast and more prominent accent types, and some attitudinal meaning of L\*+H that clashes with lexical contrast. The prosody of verum focus has also been investigated in production studies. Seeliger & Repp (2023) found L\*+H to be extremely common in German rejections that contained negation (‘Wait, he DIDN’T bring any flowers!’). Conversely, Repp & Seeliger (2023) found L\*+H to be very rare in German rejections without negation but containing *doch*, a modal particle appealing to addressee knowledge (≈ ‘as you should already have known’).

I will present an account for the rarity of L\*+H in rejections with *doch*. Verum, *doch*, and L\*+H show overlap in their functions, and their combination is not outright impossible (e.g. the combination is possible in (1A)). I will argue that their combination is rare in contexts in which the combined contribution of the three, particularly the attitudinal meaning of L\*+H, is too face-threatening.

**References:** Repp, S. & Seeliger, H. (2023). The prosody of contrastive focus and verum focus in rejections. Poster presented at *Tone and Intonation*, Singapore. • Röhr, C.T., M. Grice & S. Baumann (2023). Intonational preferences for lexical contrast and verum focus. In R. Skarnitzl & J. Volín (eds.), *Proceedings of the 20th ICPhS*. Prague: Guarant International • Seeliger, H. & S. Repp (2023). Information-structural surprises? Contrast, givenness and the (lack of) accent shift and deaccentuation in non-assertive speech acts. *Laboratory Phonology* 14, 1–46.



---

## Attitudinal meaning in Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish calling contours

---

**Jonas Grünke<sup>1</sup>, Bistra Andreeva<sup>2</sup>, Christoph Gabriel<sup>1</sup> & Mitko Sabev<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, <sup>2</sup>Saarland University

jgruenke@uni-mainz.de, christoph.gabriel@uni-mainz.de, andreeva@lst.uni-saarland.de, msabev@lst.uni-saarland.de

In our contribution, we investigate the prosodic realization of calling contours in two groups of informants from Bulgaria: bilingual speakers of Bulgarian (BG) and Judeo-Spanish, and monolingual speakers of BG. Judeo-Spanish (JS) refers to the varieties of Spanish spoken by the Sephardic Jews in their new areas of settlement after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula in the 15th century. From that point, it developed independently from other Spanish varieties but in close contact with the respective surrounding languages. The Bulgarian variety of JS (BJS) is spoken today by probably less than 30 native speakers, the youngest of whom were born in the 1960s. All speakers are at least bilingual and dominant in BG.

As shown by Andreeva et al. (2019; 2021), BJS and BG use the same repertoire of pitch accents and boundary tones, which the authors interpret as intonational convergence of BJS with BG in line with a series of recent studies showing that prosodic systems are prone to change and tend towards wholesale convergence in situations of extensive language contact (cf. Matras 2009; Grünke 2022). In the present study, we deepen the previous analyses into BJS intonation by analysing how nuclear contours are used to express certain attitudinal meanings, drawing on recently collected data from a discourse completion task. The analyses show that BJS, BG<sub>b</sub>, and BG<sub>m</sub> use the same inventory of calling contours: (1) the “vocative chant” L+H\* !H-%, (2) L+H\* H-L%, and (3) L+H\* L%. However, their distribution differs across contexts and varieties. Monolingual and bilingual speakers of BG, on the one hand, predominantly use (1) and (2) in neutral and positive calling contexts and clearly prefer (3) in negative (urgent) contexts. In BJS, the bilinguals more often recur to (3) also in neutral and positive contexts and generally show more variation. However, additional quantitative analysis of acoustic measures show that the phonetic realization of the three contour types is relatively stable across contours and varieties.

**References:** • Andreeva, B., S. Dimitrova, C. Gabriel & J. Grünke (2019). The intonation of Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish spontaneous speech. In S. Calhoun et al. (eds), *Proceedings of the 19th ICPhS*, 3827–3841. • Andreeva, B., S. Dimitrova, C. Gabriel & J. Grünke (2021). Intonational convergence in Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish spontaneous speech. In A. Teixeira Kalkhoff et al. (eds), *Prosody and conceptual variation*. Frankfurt: Lang, 171–190. • Grünke, J. (2022). *Intonation in language contact. The case of Spanish in Catalonia*. Ph.D. dissertation, Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany. • Matras, Y. (2009): *Language contact*. Cambridge: CUP.

---

## How calling contours convey propositional attitudes

---

**Jakob Maché**

*Centro Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa*

jakob.mache@letras.ulisboa.pt

Most Indo-European languages have various intonation contours to attract the hearer's attention, such as in Germanic (cf. Ladd 1978:30–32), but also outside. The pattern is illustrated below for German (1):

- (1) a. MOTHER: [fri: dɔ. 'ri: kə]  
           *L+ H\* !H-%*
- b. FRIEDERIKE: [ja: a:]  
           *L+H\* !H-%*

Calling contours of this type show puzzling pragmatic properties. As pointed out by Ginzburg (2012:69) and Krifka (2013), response particles such as *yes* or *no* serve as means to detect a question under discussion (QUD) which was introduced into discourse with the latest move. The big question arising in (1) is what is the QUD which is confirmed by *ja*? Inspired by Bartels (1999) and Truckenbrodt (2012: 2045–2048), it is assumed here that the intonation contour introduces a salient proposition with the content ‘are you ready to cooperate with respect to the content of the message?’, which being at-issue content becomes an available antecedent for response particles. Apart from that, the calling contours illustrated in (1) imposes further requirements on the context in form of non-at-issue content: (i) the speaker is not sure whether they have the hearer's attention (cf. Pierrehumbert/Hirschberg 1990:293–294). (ii) Inspired by Ladd (1978:525–532), the level boundary tone !H- is taken here to introduce a further salient proposition *pepx* which is a speaker expectation and the fact that the expects *pepx* to become true is known to the addressee. (iii) There is some information beneficial either to the speaker or to the hearer.

The analysis presented here is implemented in Type Theory with Records as suggested by Ginzburg (2012) and Cooper (2023). It builds on three ingredients: (i) a type hierarchy of prosodic constituents inspired by Klein (2000), (ii) a grammatical morpheme in form of a contour, which is the head of the speech act type call and which is licensed by a special phrasal scheme and (iii) a conversational rule licensing the use of calls.

**References:** • Bartels, C. (1999). *The Intonation of English Statements and Questions*. New York: Garland. • Ginzburg, J. (2012). *The interactive stance: meaning for conversation*. Oxford University Press. • Krifka, M. (2013). *Response particles as propositional anaphors*. In T. Snider (ed.), *Proceedings of SALT 23*. Santa Cruz, CA. 1–18. • Ladd, R. D. (1978). *Stylized intonation*. *Language* 54(3), 517–540.

---

**“Great job!” – The prosodic marking of ironic attitude  
in two German regional accents**

---

**Sophia Fünfgeld, Angelika Braun & Katharina Zahner-Ritter**

*Phonetik, Universität Trier*

fuenfgeld | brauna | k.zahner-ritter@uni-trier.de

In most ironic utterances, the lexical content mismatches with the communicative intent of the speaker, which may, for example, express a disapproving or mocking attitude. This sarcastic form of irony is typically encoded by a lower overall fundamental frequency (f<sub>0</sub>) [2, 5, 6], a lower intensity [6], and a longer duration [1, 2, 5, 6], compared to sincere speech. Comparative studies furthermore revealed that the acoustic marking of irony differs across languages (e.g., [3]). We hence investigated whether the prosodic marking of irony also differs across regional accents (of German), focusing on Moselle Franconian (Trier region) and Low Alemannic (Freiburg region). We analyzed 16 utterances, produced in a sincere and sarcastic mode, by 20 speakers from Trier and Freiburg each (N = 1280).

Results show that ironically intended utterances in both speaker groups were overall lower in f<sub>0</sub>, less loud, and longer than those intended to be sincere, corroborating previous research [1, 2, 5, 6]. These cues were used in parallel, rather than being traded against each other. The intonational analysis revealed that, irrespective of mode, differences across regions occurred in the use of pitch accent types (more H\* in the Trier region and more L\*+H in the Freiburg region overall, cf. [4]), and in the phonetic implementation of the pitch accents (tonal alignment in Freiburg tended to be later). To mark irony, speakers from both regions used accent *position* as a cue by placing an additional prominence in the prenuclear region (e.g., on “das” in *Das klappt ja super!* ‘That works PRT well!’). In nuclear position, the pitch range of the accentual movement (e.g., on *super*) was reduced in ironic utterances (phonologically encoded by H\* in ironic vs. L+H\* in sincere utterances). The present study thus provides initial insights into the intricate interplay between regionally specified prosodic patterns and the encoding of ironic attitude. In the talk, we will also discuss the implications for irony decoding (recognition and interpretation), in particular from a cross-regional point of view.

**References:** • [1] Bryant, G. A. & Fox Tree, J. E. (2005). Is there an ironic tone of voice? *Language and Speech* 48, 3, 257–277. • [2] Cheang, H. S. & Pell, M. D. (2008). The sound of sarcasm. *Speech Communication* 50, 5, 366–381. • [3] Cheang, H. S. & Pell, M. D. (2009). Acoustic markers of sarcasm in Cantonese and English. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 126, 3, 1394–1405. • [4] Gilles, P. (2005). *Regionale Prosodie im Deutschen. Variabilität in der Intonation von Abschluss und Weiterverweisung*. Linguistik, Impulse & Tendenzen 6. W. De Gruyter, Berlin, New York. • [5] Rockwell, P. (2000). Lower, slower, louder: Vocal cues of sarcasm. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 29, 5, 483–495. • [6] Schmiedel, A. (2017). *Phonetik ironischer Sprechweise. Produktion und Perzeption sarkastisch ironischer und freundlich ironischer Äußerungen*. Frank & Timme, Berlin.

---

## Enhancing The Meaning of Lyrics: The Interplay of Language and Music in Song

---

**Alice Karbanova**

*Masaryk University, Brno, CZ*  
alice.karbanova@gmail.com

Over the past decades, the intricate relationship between language and music has garnered the attention of scholars from diverse linguistic disciplines, revealing compelling evidence of their mutual influences on various levels, from the sensory to the cognitive realm. They have provided evidence for overlapping brain areas involved in processing both musical and linguistic meaning, as well as shared conceptual networks for language and music. Empirical validation supports music's capacity to effectively convey abstract concepts. Music is meaningful mainly on the pragmatic level because it bears resemblance with the affective prosodic cues in speech. Given that speech prosody provides important clues about a speaker's communicative intentions during conversation, listeners decode the acoustic clues present in music as indicative of such intentions. To convey information, speech and music rely on similar acoustic cues (pitch, timing, timbre cues etc.) which differ with respect to the emotion that is expressed by the producer. A portion of meaning is encoded in speech prosody and such acoustics patterns are imitated in musical structure. This doctoral investigation in song perception delves into the potential competition between language and music for cognitive resources during song perception and interpretation. Since musical acoustic cues function as pragmatic context influencing the meaning of words, the ongoing experimental phase of this research seeks to unveil how concepts adjust based on inferences drawn from communicative intentions embedded within musical cues. This study promises to illuminate the intricate dynamics through which language and music converge and coalesce in the human cognitive landscape, enriching our understanding of their mutual interactions and shared processing mechanisms.

**References:** • Juslin, P. N. & Laukka, P. (2003) Communication of Emotions in Vocal Expression and Music Performance: Different Channels, Same Code? *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(5), 770–814. • Painter, J. G. & Koelsch, S. (2011). Can out-of-context musical sounds convey meaning? An ERP study on the processing of meaning in music. *Psychophysiology*, 48(5), 645–655. • Schön *et al.* (2010) Similar cerebral networks in language, music and song perception. *NeuroImage*, 51(1), 450–461. • Curtis, M. E. & Bharucha, J. J. (2010). The Minor Third Communicates Sadness in Speech, Mirroring Its Use in Music. *Emotion*, 10(3), 335–348.

---

**“Actors Challenge”: Collecting data to study prosodic patterns & their mapping to meanings across.**

---

**Sia Vosh Sepanta, Natallia Chaiko & Roberto Zamparelli**

*University of Trento, CIMEC*

siavosh.sepanta@unitn.it; natallia.chaiko@unitn.it;

roberto.zamparelli@unitn.it

The study of Affective Prosody, an umbrella term that includes emotional and attitudinal prosody (Ross, 2000), involves mapping prosodic patterns to the information structure encoded in text. Researchers working to establish such correspondence would benefit immensely from an annotated set of cross-linguistic data in which contexts are mapped onto utterances produced according to prosodic patterns appropriate for that context. While there are various multilingual/-modal data sets of labeled phrases, e.g. (Bagher Zadeh, 2020) used for Speech Emotion Recognition, and multilingual multisubject corpora of spoken language, the community is still missing a comprehensive multilingual oral dataset of minimal pairs uttered by a large number of speakers, suitable for studying emotional as well as attitudinal prosodic patterns across languages.

This need prompted us to implement a web-based game, *Actors Challenge* (AC), designed to collect prosody-meaning mappings in multiple languages in the form of recordings that are simultaneously generated and validated by the players. The game, which has just been launched in 4 languages (English, Italian, German and French), works as follows: To target emotional prosody, we prepare a series of target phrases that could be uttered in various contexts and are as neutral as possible in their affective value, such as “It’s a cappuccino”. Similarly, for the attitudinal prosody, the chosen targets should lend themselves to various topics of study, e.g., focus: “Kevin isn’t drinking because he is unhappy.” Next, we prepare a set of contexts in which the target could fit. These contexts give the background to understand how the target should be uttered: triggering emotions, resolving ambiguity, changing focus, etc. Participants alternate in two roles: *Auditioners*, where they record and submit their voices reciting the given target phrase in each context;  *Casting Directors*, where they listen to the recordings of other players and are asked to choose the context they think the actor was aiming for, and rate the performance. Each player obtains an acting score based on how often their recordings were correctly matched, weighed by their rating. Research ideas benefiting from this dataset include studying the ambiguity or complexity of different prosodic patterns or attitudes, detecting mismatches between production and recognition, and evaluating the difference between metalinguistic directions and contextual cues.

**References:** • Bagher Zadeh, A. C. (2020). CMU-MOSEAS: A multimodal language dataset (*EMNLP*), (pp. 1801–1812). • Ross, E. D. (2000). Affective prosody & the aprosodias. In M.-M. Mesulam, Principles of behavioral and cognitive neurology (pp. 316-331). Oxford University Press.

---

## Intonation meets emotion: Evidence from production for robust phonological contrasts in F0

---

**Daniel R. Turner, Jennifer S. Cole**

*Northwestern University*

dturner@u.northwestern.edu, jennifer.cole1@northwestern.edu

Intonation is notoriously variable in the speech signal, making empirical validation of phonological theories like the Autosegmental-Metrical (AM) model (Ladd, 2008) for Mainstream American English (MAE) a deep challenge. We examine emotion as a source of variation in intonation production with a study that crosses AM's phonologically contrastive phrase-final (nuclear) tunes with psychometrically contrastive emotions (Fontaine et al. 2007). **Methods.** An imitation experiment was conducted following Cole et al. (2023/C23), extended by (a) presenting intonational tunes in rich pragmatic context, (b) eliciting an emotional portrayal, and (c) recruiting trained voice actors (N=12) along with university students (N=19) as participants. We tested a subset of 8 nuclear tunes comprised of sequences of Low/High pitch accent, phrase accent and boundary tone: LLL, LLH... HHH. Crossing 8 tunes with 5 emotions (love, pride, anger, shame, neutral) gives 40 tune-emotion combinations, which participants produced over 3-syllable names (e.g. *Marilyn*). The final dataset included 4,764 tune-emotion productions. C23 found production and perception evidence for at most 5 of the 8 predicted tune categories, when tunes were presented without context. We hypothesized that with a specified pragmatic context, our participants would successfully imitate all 8 tunes. In an exploratory analysis, we also looked for interactions of emotion and tune that might enhance or reduce the tune distinctions produced in emotionally neutral or unspecified pragmatic contexts. Pitch contours from imitated productions across emotions were analyzed with k-means clustering to test the correspondence between emergent clusters and phonologically specified tune categories. Effects of emotion and tune-emotion interaction on contour variation were modeled using GAMM regression, with tune, emotion and their interaction as predictors, and by-speaker random effects. **Results.** Clustering results showed 6 robust distinctions among the emotional tune productions, one more than in C23, which is still short of the 8-way distinction predicted by the AM model. GAMM results showed main effects of emotion and distinct contour shapes for each tune in at least one emotion condition, yet no single emotion condition exhibited the full 8-way contrast. Tune shape is preserved under emotion, with emotion effects seen only in interactions with specific tunes, which suggests an interaction between pragmatic and emotional contexts in tune production.

**References:** • Cole et al. (2023). *Laboratory Phonology*: 1-51. • Fontaine, J. R. J., Scherer, K. R., Roesch, E. B., & Ellsworth, P. C. (2007). *Psychological Science*, 18 (12), 1050-1057. • Ladd, D. R. (2008). *Intonational phonology* (2nd ed). Cambridge Univ. Press

---

**Let me hear the emoji 🍷👉👉👉:**

**Prosodic patterns in attitudinally loaded Instagram comments**

---

**Carolin Worstbrock, Sabine Arndt-Lappe & Katharina Zahner-Ritter**

*Universität Trier*

carolin.worstbrock@outlook.com, arndtlappe|zahneritter@uni-trier.de

Commenting on Instagram is a social practice for which a variety of digital writing routines have evolved, some of which are community-specific [1]. Linguistic research on social media has so far mainly focused on written comments, including the use of “emojis”, but little is known about *spoken* language. The present study sets out to explore whether, within the social media community, users (“literates”) produce not only written [2], but also *spoken* conventionalized patterns. To this end, we designed a production experiment in which 25 native speakers of German, who differed in their social media usage, read aloud short written Instagram comments. Materials were taken from a corpus compiled by [3] (29,373 comments on body acceptance). We focus on the “emoji”-phenomenon (4 items: super, richtig, danke, toll). The three experimental conditions contained different types of emojis: intensifying (super 🍷), affective, (super 🍷👉), or both (super 🍷👉👉), while the control condition contained no emoji (super). Participants were instructed to read out the comments in the four conditions (within-subject), and express the attitude communicated in the post. To increase naturalness, they were asked to imagine that their spoken renditions would be made available to people with visual impairments. Participants’ social media usage was assessed in a questionnaire.

Results revealed longer syllable durations and a higher intensity for the ‘emoji’-conditions as compared to the neutral condition. Interestingly, participants who more infrequently use social media tended to show a stronger acoustic difference between the neutral and the emoji conditions than those who spend more time on social media (both for duration and intensity). For  $f_0$ , we observed a high degree of individual variation, which was not necessarily associated with participants’ social media usage. Some participants used a larger  $f_0$  range to encode emojis; others used a high plateau (H-%). Vowels in unstressed syllables also tended to be lowered. Speakers hence use prosodic and segmental cues to encode attitude in Instagram comments – a finding that could eventually inform automatic read-out functions. To further explore the role of familiarity with social media, we plan to include more senior participants and adolescents in future studies.

**References:** • [1] Reyes, A. (2019). Virtual communities: Interaction, identity and authority in digital communication" *Text & Talk*, 99-120. • [2] Penfield, J. (1989). Social and linguistic parameters of prosody in Chicano English. In O. García & R. Otheguy (eds.), *English across cultures. Cultures across English*. Berlin: De Gruyter. • [3] Merten, M.-L., (2022). “This!!! 100!!! DANKE!!!“ – Multimodales Stancetaking auf Instagram," Talk at the Center for Language and Communication, Trier, Germany.

---

## Effects of lexical tone on the prosodic marking of vocal emotions in Mandarin Chinese

---

**Huan Wei<sup>1,2</sup>, Daniela Sammler<sup>3</sup>, Mathias Scharinger<sup>1,2</sup>, Ulrike Domahs<sup>1,2</sup>**  
<sup>1</sup>Philipps-University Marburg, <sup>2</sup>Universities of Marburg and Giessen, Max  
 Planck Institute for Empirical Aesthetics, Frankfurt am Main  
 weih@students.uni-marburg.de

Prosodic properties, such as pitch, intensity, duration, voice quality, and articulatory precision, express emotions in spoken languages (Xu, 2023). However, in Mandarin, the pitch contour also serves to express distinctive lexical tones. This duality poses intriguing questions regarding the interplay between lexical tones and emotional expression. Building upon previous studies (Zahner-Ritter et al., 2022), our research investigates the intricate relationship between four lexical tones and emotional prosody in Mandarin, employing production and perception studies.

In the production study, we focus on the underlying production dynamics associated with the fusion of lexical tones and emotional expressions in Mandarin. We analyzed the acoustic characteristics of bisyllabic Mandarin nouns (eight words for each tone) recorded in four emotions (HAPPINESS, PLEASANT SURPRISE, SADNESS, DISGUST), and in NEUTRAL mode. Our analysis revealed that positive emotions were associated with higher pitch and intensity, along with shorter word duration, while negative emotions exhibited lower pitch and intensity but longer word duration. Notably, the differences between phonetic markers of positive and negative emotional prosody were less pronounced in words exhibiting tone 3 at the second syllable.

Using the same nouns in a perception study, we investigated how native Mandarin (n=20) and non-Mandarin speakers with German as L1 (n=20) perceive emotional prosody in Mandarin. The participant's task was to categorize the emotion of each stimulus as positive, negative, or neutral. Behaviorally, Mandarin native speakers demonstrated higher accuracy (mean=93%) than German speakers (77%). The analysis revealed a significant interaction between EMOTION and GROUP (F=5.1, p<0.01), but not for EMOTION and TONE. Specifically, German speakers performed worse in categorizing the emotions DISGUST and HAPPINESS than Mandarin native speakers. Taken together, our findings indicate that the acoustic characteristics of vocal emotions in Mandarin vary depending on the type of lexical tone a word is specified for. This variation, however, did not affect the perception of emotional prosody.

**References:** • Xu, Y. (2023). *Phonetics of Emotion*. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics. • Zahner-Ritter, K., Chen, Y., Dehé, N., & Braun, B. (2022). *The prosodic marking of rhetorical questions in Standard Chinese*. Journal of Phonetics, 95, 101190.



## **Arbeitsgruppe 3**

---

### Workshop 3

---

**„Bei Frauen und Mädchen, die man kennt, sagt man meistens *äs*, bei fremden eher *si*“ – Stance taking durch Genuswechsel bei pronominaler Referenz auf Frauen in deutschen Dialekten**

---

**Damaris Nübling & Simone Busley**

*Universität Mainz*

damaris.nuebling@uni-mainz.de, busley@uni-mainz.de

Der Vortrag beleuchtet, wie sich Sprecher/innen deutscher Dialekte durch die Verwendung femininer vs. neutraler Pronomina im Gespräch über eine Frau positionieren. Präsentiert werden damit Ergebnisse eines DFG-Projekts, in dem Vorkommen und Funktion neutraler Referenzen auf Frauen über (nicht diminuierte) Rufnamen, Appellative und Pronomen untersucht wurden (*Dat Sabine, dat hät so sien Kopp*). Deren Kerngebiet liegt im Westmitteldeutschen und Luxemburgischen, wo dieses Neutrum an stärksten grammatikalisiert wurde. Im restlichen Verbreitungsgebiet markiert man mittels Genus die Beziehung zu einer weiblichen Person gegenüber Dritten, wobei das Neutrum i.A. jungen, vertrauten und ortsansässigen Frauen und Mädchen gilt, das Femininum hingegen älteren, fremden und besonders respektierten Frauen.

Die Rufnamenartikel sind dabei genusstabiler. Damit wird das Stance taking vom genusvariablen Pronomen übernommen. Oft kommt es zu syntaktischen Genusumbrüchen, da das pronominale Genus nicht mit seinem Antezedens übereinstimmen muss. Referiert z. B. ein feminines Nomen (*Frau, Tochter*) auf eine junge oder vertraute Frau, kann das Pronomen neutral sein. Somit können auch syntagmatische Genuswechsel je nach Dialekt spezifische pragmatische Funktionen entfalten. Den Dialektsprechenden stehen dabei verschiedene Pronominalformen zur Verfügung: Neben Vollformen (*ääs, het, it*) kommen schwachtonige (*et, se*) und *d*-haltige (*dat, die*) Formen vor, die jeweils zusätzliche (diskurs)pragmatische Funktionen übernehmen. Der Vortrag zeigt, wie hochkomplex die Referenz auf Frauen in den Dialekten organisiert ist.

**References:** • Baumgartner, G. et al. (2020). *Dat Anna, et Charlotte und s Heidi*. Neutrale Genuszuweisung bei Referenz auf Frauen als überregionales Phänomen. In H. Christen (ed.), *Regiolekt – Der neue Dialekt? Akten des 6. IGDD- Kongresses*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 175–192. • Busley, S. & Fritzing, J. (2021), Neutrales Rufnamengenuss zwischen Grammatik und Pragmatik. *Linguistik Online* 107/2, 125–144. • Busley, S. (2021). *Frauen im Neutrum*. *Empirische Studien zu mittel- und niederdeutschen Dialekten*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York: Olms. • Busley, S. & Nübling, D. (2021). Referring to women using feminine and neuter gender: Sociopragmatic gender assignment in German dialects. In: *NoSo* 1, 33–59. • Corbett, G. G. (1979). The agreement hierarchy. *J. of Linguistics* 15, 203–224. • Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 139–182.

---

**Selbstpositionierungen mit *also ich*-  
Zur pronominalen Kontingenzmarkierung von  
Positionierungshandlungen.**

---

**Nathalie Bauer**

*Universität Münster*

nathalie.bauer@uni-muenster.de

Im Zuge von Aktivitäten des Stance-Taking positionieren sich Interagierende nie allein zu einem Gegenstand, sondern zugleich immer auch zu (möglichen) alternativen Positionierungen Anderer zu diesem (Goodwin/Goodwin 1992; Du Bois 2007). Dabei – so die zentrale Ausgangsbeobachtung des Vortrags – orientieren sich Gesprächsbeteiligte mitunter erkennbar an der Kontingenz ihrer Positionierungen. In dem Vortrag soll eine Ressource in den Blick genommen werden, die Handelnde zur Markierung dieser Kontingenz rekurrent einsetzen: Konstruktionen mit *also ich*.

Selbstpositionierungen enthalten im Deutschen nicht notwendigerweise das egoreferenzielle Pronomen *ich* (vgl. Bredel 2002; Imo/Ziegler 2022). Vielmehr lassen sich spezifische sequenzielle Kontexte identifizieren, innerhalb derer explizite pronominale Selbstbezüge funktional eingesetzt werden. Während Positionierungspraktiken bislang vorrangig mit Blick auf Pronomen der zweiten und dritten Person Singular untersucht wurden (Bredel 2002; Auer/Stukenbrock 2018; Imo/Ziegler 2022), fokussiert dieser Vortrag Positionierungspraktiken mit Subjektpronomen der ersten Person Singular.

Konkret wird auf der Grundlage sequenzieller, syntaktischer und prosodischer Analysen einer Kollektion von 128 Fällen aus einem Korpus norddeutscher Tischgespräche gezeigt, dass *also ich*-Konstruktionen im Kontext von Positionierungen routinisiert dazu eingesetzt werden, (i) Kontrast- und Ähnlichkeitsrelationen zwischen eigenen und fremden Positionierungen sowie (ii) die Handlungskontingenz der eigenen Positionierung auszuweisen.

**References:** Auer, P. & Stukenbrock, A. (2018). When ‘you’ means ‘I’: The German 2nd Ps.Sg. pronoun *du* between genericity and subjectivity. *Open Linguistics* 4, 280–309. • Bredel, U. (2002). “You can say you to yourself”: Establishing perspectives with personal pronouns. In C. F. Graumann & W. Kallmeyer (ed.), *Perspective and Perspectivation in Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 167–180. • Du Bois, J. (2007): The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse. Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 139–182. • Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. (1992). Assessment and the construction of context. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (ed.): *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: CUP, 147–190. • Imo, W. & Ziegler, E. (2022). Migration in the Ruhr Area: Stancetaking and Attitude Expression in Talk-in-Interaction. In A. Auer, & J. Thorburn (ed.), *Approaches to Migration, Language, and Identity*. Tübingen: Lang, 71–112.

---

## Starke Pronomina als *Stance*-Marker in romanischen Nullsubjektsprachen

---

**Peter Herbeck**

*Universität Wuppertal & Universität Wien*

herbeck@uni-wuppertal.de

In diesem Vortrag argumentieren wir dafür, dass einige Verwendungen leerer, starker und emphatischer Subjektpronomina der ersten Person Singular in romanischen Nullsubjektsprachen auf Unterschiede bzgl. des stance takings zurückzuführen sind. Spezifisch zeigen wir anhand von Korpusdaten des gesprochenen Katalanischen (Corpus oral de conversa col·loquial (COC) und Parlars), dass die Alternanz zwischen schwachen (d.h. Null-) und starken Pronomina häufig durch die Konzepte der Epistemizität/Evidentialität und Mirativität bestimmt wird.

DuBois (2007:152) argumentiert, dass ein Subjektpronomens der 1. Person Singular gleichzeitig Sprechersubjekt und stance subject, das sich bzgl. eines stance objects positioniert bzw. dieses evaluiert, repräsentieren kann. Wir zeigen, dass die phonologische Realisierung eines Subjektpronomens der ersten Person Singular mit satzeinbettenden Verben im gesprochenen Katalanisch häufig mit einer Subjektivierung einhergeht, welche abhängig vom Verbtyp einen Wechsel zwischen interner und externer Perspektive bewirken kann (Verben des Sagens), oder eine Anpassung auf einer epistemischen und evidentiellen Skala (kognitive Verben).

Die Verwendung eines Subjektpronomens der ersten Person Singular kann in Kombination mit Verben der Kognition und des Sagens zu Grammatikalisierungs- bzw. Pragmatikalisierungsgraden führen (Thompson & Mulac 1991; Aijmer 1997; Kärkkäinen 2006; Posio 2011, 2013, 2018). Im Vortrag wird diskutiert, in wie weit die Kombinationen NULL+Verb und Pronomen+Verb unterschiedliche Fixierungs- und Konventionalisierungsgrade bzgl. des stance takings aufweisen.

**References (Auswahl):** • Aijmer, K. (1997). I think: An English modal particle. In T. Swan & O. J. Westvik (ed.), *Modality in Germanic languages*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1–47. • Du Bois, J. (2007). The stance triangle. In: R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 139–182. • Kärkkäinen, E. (2006). Stance taking in conversation: From subjectivity to intersubjectivity. *Text and Talk* 26(6), 699–731. • Posio, P. (2018). Properties of pronominal subjects. In K. L. Geeslin (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of Spanish linguistics*. Cambridge: CUP, 286–306. • Thompson, S. A. & Mulac, A. (1991). A quantitative perspective on the grammaticalization of epistemic parentheticals in English. In E. C. Traugott & B. Heine (ed.), *Approaches to grammaticalization 2*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 313–339.

---

## Stance-taking durch Inklusiv-Formen in den transhimalajischen Südzentralen Sprachen

---

**Linda Konnerth**

*Universität Bern*

linda.konnerth@unibe.ch

Inklusivformen bieten eine interessante Option, die soziopragmatisch oft komplexe Interaktion zwischen Sprecher und Adressat zu verschleiern (Heath 1991). In den Südzentralen Sprachen der sino-tibetischen Sprachfamilie findet sich eine Klusivitätsunterscheidung in 26 von 34 untersuchten Sprachen. Klusivität lässt sich hier rekonstruieren; gleichwohl ist diese morphologische Kategorie von einer starken Innovationsdynamik geprägt. Generell ist der Exklusiv eine IPL-Form, der Inklusiv besitzt hingegen eine vollständig andere Form. In der Anal Naga Sprache hat sich gezeigt, dass der Inklusiv im natürlichen Sprachgebrauch selten als eigentlicher Inklusiv verwendet wird (sprich für eine Personengruppe von Sprecher plus Adressat), und deutlich häufiger entweder generisch verwendet wird, oder zwar schon referentiell aber dann auf die erste Person (singular oder exklusiv) verweist (Ozerov and Konnerth 2021). In letzterer Verwendung gibt es folgende pragmatische Funktion: es geht darum, den Adressaten einzubeziehen in einen Sachverhalt, der eigentlich nur Sprecher (singular) und eventuell dritte Personen (exklusiv) betrifft. Durch die Inklusiv-Verwendung wird der Adressat dazu aufgefordert, sich in einer, vom Sprecher erstellten Sprecher-Adressaten-Gruppe einzufinden, und die Einstellung des Sprechers zu übernehmen.

Diese soziopragmatische Dimension des Inklusivs hat auch eine diachrone Dimension. Der Shift von rekonstruierbarem Inklusiv zu Formen der ersten oder zweiten Person, der sich in mehreren Sprachen findet, zeugt davon, dass synchrone Variation wie im Anal Naga zu diachronem Wandel führen kann. Besonders interessant ist hier auch, dass die generische Referenz eine «Vermittlerrolle» zwischen Inklusiv und erster Person einnehmen kann, aber nicht muss.

Anhand einzelsprachlicher Daten des spontanen Sprachgebrauchs soll die Hypothese dargelegt werden, dass sich die diachrone Dynamik in den Inklusivformen durch soziopragmatische Verwendungsweisen, welche als stance-taking verstanden werden können, erklären lässt.

### References:

- Heath, Jeffrey. 1991. "Pragmatic Disguise in Pronominal-Affix Paradigms." In *Paradigms: The Economy of Inflection*, edited by Frans Plank, 75–89. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ozerov, Pavel, and Linda Konnerth. 2021. "Multiple Functions of the Inclusive: Examining Synchronic Variation in Light of Diachronic Shift in South-Central Trans-Himalayan." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 55 (42–1): 175–204.

***das ja optimal*****stance taking und phonetische Variation in *das ist* Mustern****Timo Schürmann***Universität Münster*

timo.schuermann@uni-muenster.de

Die Rolle phonetischer Varianten in der Interaktion ist erst rezent und vereinzelt in den Fokus der interaktionalen Linguistik gerückt (vgl. Bergmann 2015; Bergmann 2018). Der Vortrag beleuchtet Varianten von *das ist das* und *das ist ja X* Mustern. *das ist* Muster fallen in Korpora gesprochener Sprache zunächst einmal durch ihre schiere Frequenz ins Auge. Die Abfolge ist sowohl im zugrundeliegenden Korpus norddeutscher Freundegespräche als auch im *FOLK* und *GeWiss* das häufigste Bigramm. Die Struktur aus der unspezifischen Referenz mit *das* und dem Kopulaverb *ist* deckt ein breites funktionales Spektrum ab, das neben Informationsnachträgen und Reparaturanleitungen auch Positionierungen zu Sachverhalten, Personen und Gegenständen im geteilten Wahrnehmungs- und Wissensraum beinhaltet (vgl. für die Demonstrativpronomen Ahrenholz 2007, S. 214-248). Diese *stance taking* Äußerungen sind dabei eingeordnet in eine Bandbreite von Varianten. Neben der regionalen Variation zwischen dem auslautenden /t/ in den niederdeutschen Dialekten und dem auslautenden Frikativ /s/, spielen lautliche Reduktionen im Zusammenhang mit Frequenzeffekten eine Rolle (vgl. z.B. Bybee und Scheibmann 1999). Dabei lassen sich Reduktionen bis zum /das/ über Formen mit verschobener Silbengrenze (z.B. /dadis/) bis hin zu Vollformen mit Glottisverschluss (z.B. /dat.ʔ ɪs/) ausmachen.

Der Vortrag nimmt die positionierenden Äußerungen mit dem Demonstrativpronomen *das* in den Blick und exploriert, ob und inwiefern die lautliche Varianten zum Einen als Verstehenshinweise zur Abgrenzung von Positionierungen von weiteren sprachlichen Aktivitäten reanalysiert werden und zum Anderen Hinweise zur intendierten Positionierung der interaktiven Gegenübers zum *stance object* liefern

**References:** • Ahrenholz, B. (2007). *Verweise mit Demonstrativa im gesprochenen Deutsch: Grammatik, Zweitspracherwerb und Deutsch als Fremdsprache*. Berlin: De Gruyter. • Bergmann, P. (2015). "Hauptsei bin dick und fett: Konstruktionen mit Hauptsache im gesprochenen Deutsch". In: P. Bergmann, K. Birkner, P. Gilles et al. (ed.), *Sprache im Gebrauch*. Heidelberg: Winter, 211–229. • Bergmann, P. (2018). *Morphologisch komplexe Wörter: Prosodische Struktur und phonetische Realisierung*. Berlin: Language Science Press. • Bybee, J. L. & Scheibman, J. (1999). "The effect of usage on degrees of constituency: the reduction of don't in English". In: *Linguistics* 37 (4), 575–596.

---

**„ich bin der donald duck“-**

**Pronomen als Mittel der Rollenorganisation im frühkindlichen Spiel**

---

**Aaron Schmidt-Riese**

*Universität Potsdam*

aaron.schmidt-riese@uni-potsdam.de

Der eingereichte Vortrag widmet sich dem Einsatz von Pronomen im deontischen *stance-taking* zur Aushandlung von Rollen in frühkindlichem Spiel. Grundlage ist das Longitudinalkorpus Eltern-Kind-Interaktion (LEKI), das 200h audiovisuelle Aufnahmen natürlicher Eltern-Kind-Interaktionen aus drei Familien umfasst.

Pronomen werden dabei als Mittel der Kontextualisierung (Gumperz 1982) und Herstellung von Rollen im Spiel („pretend play“, siehe u.a. Bateman 2018) analysiert, wobei der Begriff des deontischen *stance-taking* zugrundegelegt wird, der definiert wird als „the entitlement or authority, as displayed in talk, to decide within some domain of action what it [sic] is necessary or desirable to do“ (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 2017: 25).

Dies ist besonders interessant, da sich im Spiel die epistemische und deontische Asymmetrie in der Eltern-Kind-Beziehung (Kyratzis/Cook-Gumperz 2015) in Form von kindseitigem *stance taking* gewissermaßen umkehrt, wenn das Kind den Vater etwa zum Sprechen in einer Rolle auffordert: „du musst sagen ‚Hilfe, zu Hilfe, sonst bin ich verloren‘“ (siehe Beispiel 1, Z.6).

Zur AG „Pronomengebrauch und *stance-taking*“ trägt der eingereichte Vortrag daher die Analyse einer spezifischen Aktivität, nämlich *pretend play*, bei, und fokussiert zudem mit kindlichem Sprachgebrauch eine andere Beteiligtengruppe.

Beispiel 1: *Hilfe, zu Hilfe* (Alter des Kindes: 3;8).

01 KIND mUh muh muh muh muh MUH-  
 02 äh JETZT ist- (-)  
 03 die (.) KUH kann mit dem güggel [Hahn] klEttern; (1.0)  
 04 (.) <<h> HI:Lfe:-  
 05 zu HI:Lfe;>  
 06 (-) du musst sagen hllfe zu hilfe sonst bin ich verLOren.=  
 07 VAT =<<h> hilfe zu hilfe sonst bin ich verLOren;>  
 08 KIND (1.0) jetzt kommt der feuerwehrmann SAM;

**References** • Bateman, A. (2018). *Conversation Analysis and Early Childhood Education: The Co-Production of Knowledge and Relationships*. Routledge. • Couper-Kuhlen, E. & Selting, M. (2017). *Stance and Footing (C). Interactional Linguistics: Studying Language in Social Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge University Press. • Kyratzis, A., & Cook-Gumperz, J. (2015). Child Discourse. In D. Tannen, H. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (ed.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. John Wiley & Sons, 681–704.

---

## Spinnt sie oder Spinnt die? Empirische Untersuchungen zu *p*- und *d*-Pronomen

---

**Luise Ehrmantraut, Universität des Saarlandes**

*Universität des Saarlandes*

mailto:luise.ehrmantraut@uni-saarland.de

Das Verhältnis von *d*-Pronomen (*der/die/das*) und *p*-Pronomen (*er/sie/es*) wird in der jüngeren Forschungsliteratur insbesondere im Hinblick auf unterschiedliche Bezugspräferenzen bei mehreren potenziellen Referenten diskutiert (vgl. Bader & Portele 2016, 2019). Die hier präsentierten Ergebnisse fokussieren dagegen bisher vernachlässigte Fälle freier Austauschbarkeit, in denen die Pronomenwahl von rein pragmatischen Faktoren wie Höflichkeit und Wertung abhängt.

Im Rahmen einer Rating-Studie, in der untersucht wurde, inwiefern der personale Bezug durch *p*- oder *d*-Pronomen das Höflichkeitsempfinden einer Äußerung beeinflusst, konnte die häufig vertretene Hypothese bestätigt werden, dass Äußerungen mit *d*-Pronomen als signifikant unhöflicher (dem Referenten des Pronomens gegenüber) empfunden werden als Äußerungen mit *p*-Pronomen (vgl. Bellmann 1990, Bethke 1990, Weinrich 2007) – und zwar unabhängig von der Anwesenheit des Referenten und der Vertrautheit von Sprecher und Referent.

In einer Forced-Choice-Studie zum Einfluss der Äußerungswertung auf die Pronomenwahl konnte gezeigt werden, dass sich sowohl Wertungsintensität als auch -richtung signifikant auswirken: Je stärker wertend die Äußerungen, desto häufiger werden *d*-Pronomen gewählt. Bei gleicher Wertungsintensität werden in negativ wertenden Äußerungen häufiger *d*-Pronomen verwendet als in positiv wertenden.

Dass *d*-Pronomen unhöflicher sind und in wertenden Äußerungen vergleichsweise häufiger vorkommen, ist durch ihr Auffälligkeitsmerkmal erklärbar (vgl. Bethke 1990, Weinrich 2007), das mit höflichem Verhalten schlecht vereinbar ist, sich aber zur Markierung von „bewerteten“ Referenten eignet. Der Unterschied bei positiver und negativer Wertung kann durch den Faktor Höflichkeit erklärt werden, der im Falle positiver Wertung die Wahl des *d*-Pronomens mitunter hemmt.

**References:** • Bader, M. & Portele, Y. (2016). Accessibility and Referential Choice: Personal Pronouns and D-pronouns in Written German. *Discours* 18, 1–40. • Bader, M. & Portele, Y. (2019). The interpretation of German personal pronouns and d-pronouns. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 38(2), 155–190. • Bellmann, G. (1990). *Pronomen und Korrektur*. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter. • Bethke, I. (1990). *der, die, das als Pronomen*. München: Iudicum. • Weinrich, H. (2007). *Textgrammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Hildesheim: Olms.



---

## Pronomengebrauch und stance taking in Reden zum Internationalen Frauentag von Erich Honecker und Hugo Chávez

---

**Janett Haid**

*Otto-von-Guericke-Universität Magdeburg*  
janett.haid@ovgu.de

Da Individuen verschiedene soziale, diskursive und interaktionale Rollen übernehmen können, kann ein Pronomen entsprechend viele verschiedene soziale Bedeutungen erhalten (vgl. Fetzer/Bull 2008: 275). Vor allem in der Politik spielen Pronomen eine besondere Rolle oder werden sogar als eines der wichtigsten rhetorischen Mittel in politischer Sprache gesehen (vgl. Íñigo-Mora 2004: 36). Nicht nur das Hervorheben von Zusammengehörigkeit und Einigkeit, auch das sich Positionieren gegenüber anderen Parteien, Nationen etc. wird dadurch impliziert oder auch bewusst explizit gemacht. Durch die Analyse des Gebrauchs von Personalpronomen im politischen (hier im sozialistischen) Diskurs wird beschrieben, wie Evaluationen und Positionierungen verschiedenen Gruppen (WIR, FREUND, FEIND) gegenüber durch ebendiese Pronomen unterstützt oder beeinflusst werden. Dies geschieht in einer kontrastiven Diskursanalyse (vgl. Czachur 2011, Gür-Şeker 2015) am Beispiel von insgesamt zwölf Reden zum Internationalen Frauentag von Hugo Chávez und Erich Honecker. Um die Aspekte von stance taking nachzuvollziehen, wurden sämtliche in den Reden vorkommende Personalpronomen (1SG bis 3PL) untersucht. Die Ergebnisse zeigen beispielsweise die herausragende Rolle der 1PL, die in beiden Korpora einen großen Teil der verwendeten Wörter ausmacht. Semantische und pragmatische Funktionen des *Wir* dienen der Positionierung der sprechenden Person innerhalb der WIR-Gruppe oder der Positionierung der WIR-Gruppe innerhalb des Diskurses (vgl. Haid 2023). Der Fokus liegt vor allem auf der Konstruktion von (verschiedenen Arten von) Hierarchien, nicht nur zwischen den verschiedenen Gruppen sondern auch innerhalb dieser Gruppen. Es soll also nicht nur um die Abgrenzung der Gruppen voneinander, sondern vor allem auch um die Positionierung vom Redner als Staatsoberhaupt, Privatmensch, Mann etc. und Publikum als Bevölkerung, Frauen, Profitierende, Verantwortliche usw. gehen.

**References:** • Czachur, W. (2011). *Diskursive Weltbilder im Kontrast: linguistische Konzeption und Methode der kontrastiven Diskursanalyse deutscher und polnischer Medien*. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza ATUT. • Fetzer, A. & Bull, P. (2008). ‚Well, I answer it by simply inviting you to look at the evidence‘. *Journal of Language and Politics* 7(2), 271–289. • Gür-Şeker, D. (2015). Kontrastive Diskursanalyse softwaregestützt. In H. Kämper, & I. H. Warnke (ed.), *Diskurs – interdisziplinär*. Berlin: De Gruyter. 419–426. • Haid, J. (2023). *Die sprachliche Dimension des Sozialismus. Dominanz- und Gruppenkonstruktionen in politischen Reden zum Internationalen Frauentag von Erich Honecker und Hugo Chávez*. Hamburg: Buske. • Íñigo-Mora, I. (2004). On the Use of the Personal Pronoun *We* in Communities. *Journal of Language and Politics* 3 (1), 27–52.

---

## Der Pronomengebrauch in kommentativen *wenn*-VL-Sätzen

---

**Robert Külpmann**

*Universität Mainz*

Robert.Kuelpmann@uni-mainz.de

Der Untersuchungsgegenstand meines Vortrags ist der Pronomengebrauch in kommentativen *wenn*-VL-Sätzen (KWS), deren Verwendung auf Überschriften, vor allem aber auf Social-Media-Kontexte beschränkt ist:

- (1) X-UserIn A: [...]  
 X-UserIn B: Wenn man zu dumm zum Lesen ist

KWS sind ein Musterbeispiel für eine kommentative Konstruktion: Ein Kommentator fügt einem Kommentandum eine Information hinzu (Posner 1972), die seine Perspektive auf das Kommentandum widerspiegelt (Schneider-Mizony 2021). Im Zuge seiner Perspektivnahme positioniert sich der Kommentator nicht nur zum Kommentandum, sondern evaluiert es zugleich (Du Bois 2007), womit KWS als Mittel des *stance takings* zu betrachten sind.

KWS zeigen eine Reihe von Besonderheiten auf, die sich über ihre Funktion als *Stance*-Konstruktion erklären lassen. Hierzu gehören u.a. die obligatorische Kookkurrenz zu einem weiteren Diskursinhalt (Kommentandum bzw. *Stance*-Objekt) sowie ihr spezifischer Pronomengebrauch. In einer von mir erstellten, nicht-repräsentativen Sammlung von KWS-Memes und -Tweets zeigt sich, dass vor allem generisch zu interpretierende Personal- und Possesivpronomen der 2. Ps. Sg. und man verwendet werden.

Das Ziel meines Vortrags ist, den Pronomengebrauch in KWS-Memes und -Tweets im Rahmen der von Lou (2017) vorgeschlagenen Analyse für *when*-Memes im Englischen zu erklären. Demnach handelt es sich bei KWS-Memes und -Tweets um Gleichnisse, die AdressatInnen vor die Aufgabe stellen, die möglichen Folgen des KWS zu erarbeiten, indem sie Sachverhalte, Handlungen oder Eigenschaften der im Bild dargestellten Figuren auf Entitäten im KWS abbilden. In meinem Vortrag werde ich dafür argumentieren, dass der Pronomengebrauch nicht nur den intendierten Adressatenkreis anzeigt, sondern zugleich zu verstehen gibt, ob das Gleichnis auf persönliche Erfahrungen der AdressatInnen oder allgemeine Sachverhalte anspielt.

**References:** • Du Bois, J.W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 139–82. • Lou, A. (2017). Multimodal simile: The “when” meme in social media discourse. In *English Text Construction* 10(1), 106–31. • Posner, R. (1972). *Theorie des Kommentierens: Eine Grundlagenstudie zur Semantik und Pragmatik*. Frankfurt M.: Athenäum. • Schneider-Mizony, O. (2021). Kommentar als Anschlusskommunikation, Informationserweiterung, oder didaktische Intention? In A.-F. Ehrhard-Macris & G. Magnus (eds.), *Text und Kommentieren im Deutschen*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 17–30.

**wollen wir da ma HINgehen;****Pronomengebrauch und *deontic stance* in der Eltern-Kind-Interaktion****Jens Lanwer**

Universität Münster

jp.lanwer@uni-muenster.de

Das interaktionallinguistische Interesse an Eltern-Kind-Interaktion gilt u.a. dem Aufdecken von Mechanismen der kindlichen Aneignung sprachlicher Formative unter Einbeziehung interaktionskonstitutiver Spezifika (Quasthoff et al. 2019). Zugleich bietet sich aber auch die Chance, den Sprachgebrauch der Bezugspersonen in seiner Orientierung an den sozio-kommunikativen Fähigkeiten der Heranwachsenden zu studieren. Im Vortrag soll eine solche Perspektive mit Blick auf den Gebrauch von WIR eingenommen werden. Bisherige interaktionale Arbeiten haben gezeigt, dass das Pronomen, in institutionellen Settings, unterschiedliche referenzielle Konstellationen installiert, die spezifische Rollenkonstellationen sowie verschiedene Grade von Handlungsverantwortung anzeigen (Günthner 2021; Hendricks/Imo 2023). Es stellt sich daher die Frage, ob WIR in entsprechenden, aber auch in anderen Kontexten als eine Art *stance marker* zwecks Kallibirierung des *footing* (Goffman 1979) in Bezug auf lokal relevante deontische Asymmetrien (Stevanovic 2013) fungiert. Im Rahmen des Vortrags soll dieser Überlegung am Beispiel einer Longitudinal-Studie zum Gebrauch von WIR in Eltern-Kind-Interaktionen nachgegangen werden. Es wird gezeigt, dass hier die Bezugspersonen das WIR (a) zumeist in Handlungs-aufforderungen/-angeboten sowie (b) häufig in Kombination mit Modalverben verwenden und dabei (c) eine Mitverantwortung für das Handeln der Kinder, also einen spezifischen *deontic stance* indizieren. Darüber hinaus lässt sich beobachten, dass (d) der Gebrauch von WIR seitens der Bezugspersonen mit zunehmendem Alter der Kinder abnimmt. Es wird vor diesem Hintergrund argumentiert, dass Formative des Typs Modalverb+WIR in Eltern-Kinder-Interaktionen der handlungspraktischen Mobilisierung dienen und daher mit zunehmender Handlungsautonomie der Kinder an Relevanz verlieren (können), was erklärbar macht, warum WIR mit zunehmendem Alter der Kinder tendenziell seltener gebraucht wird.

**References:** • Goffman, E. (1979). Footing. *Semiotica* 1–2, 1–30. • Günthner, S. (2021). WIR im interaktionalen Gebrauch: Zur Verwendung des Pronomens der 1. Person Plural in der institutionellen Kommunikation – am Bsp. onkologischer Aufklärungsgespräche. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 49, 292–334. • Hendricks, D. & Imo, W. (2023). Ärztliche Therapieentscheidungsempfehlungen in der Onkologie und die Rolle des Personalpronomens *wir* bei der Aushandlung ärztlicher *agency*. *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Linguistik* 2023, 163–194. • Quasthoff, U. et al. (2019). *Diskurse und Texte von Kindern. Praktiken – Fähigkeiten – Ressourcen: Erwerb*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. • Stevanovic, M. (2013). *Deontic rights in interaction. A conversation analytic study on authority and cooperation*. Helsinki: Unigrafia Bookstore.

---

**„Man schaue und wundere sich.“ – Heische-Formeln mit *man* als  
Positionierungsressourcen in Hexenverhörprotokollen und Dramen  
des 17.-19. Jahrhunderts**

---

Laura Duve<sup>1</sup>, Valeria Schick<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universität Münster, <sup>2</sup>Universität Hamburg

laura.duve@uni-muenster.de, valeria.schick@uni-hamburg.de

Das generische Pronomen *man* eignet sich durch seine referenzielle Offenheit und Fähigkeit zur Entpersonalisierung zum Ausdruck verschiedener Arten von Stance, was für das Gegenwartsdeutsche gesprächslinguistisch gut erforscht ist (vgl. Imo/Ziegler 2021). Aus diachroner Perspektive ist der Gebrauch von *man* in Positionierungsaktivitäten allerdings noch kaum untersucht (vgl. jedoch Dammel 2023), worauf in diesem Beitrag am Beispiel von Hexenprozessakten der Edition Macha et al. (2005) und ausgewählten Dramen aus dem Zeitraum vom 17.–19. Jahrhundert fokussiert wird. Beide Textgattungen sind Verschriftlichungen dialogischer Interaktionen und bieten daher im Ansatz Zugang zum Sprachgebrauch vergangener Sprachstufen (vgl. Macha 2003; Gillmann/Imo 2021). Im Zentrum der Analyse stehen Äußerungen, die im sogenannten Heische-Modus prototypisch nach dem Muster *man* + (X) + Verb in 3. Pers. Sg. Konj. I realisiert werden (vgl. Zifonun et al. 1997: 664–667). Sie werden von SprecherInnen genutzt, um (un-)bestimmte anwesende Personen zu einer Handlung aufzufordern. Da Textgattungen als sedimentierte sprachlich-kommunikative Muster spezifischen kommunikativen Anforderungen unterliegen (vgl. Günthner 2014), soll hier der Frage nachgegangen werden, inwiefern sich gattungsspezifische/-übergreifende Muster von Heische-Äußerungen mit *man* herausarbeiten lassen und wie durch diese jeweils *deontic stance* ausgedrückt wird.

**References:** • Dammel, A. (2023). Pronominale Referenz und Stancetaking mit *man* in historischen Zeitungstexten. In S. Haaf & B.-M. Schuster (ed.), *Historische Textmuster im Wandel*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 253–289. • Gillmann, M. & Imo, W. (2021). „Du rotziger Blasebalckemacherischer Dieb! Solst du mich dutzen?“ – Das funktionale Spektrum des Personalpronomens *du* in Gryphius‘ „Peter Squentz“. *ZGL* 49, 121–154. • Günthner, S. (2014). Discourse Genres in Linguistics: The Concept of ‘Communicative Genres’. In M. Fludernik & D. Jacob (ed.), *Linguistics and Literary Studies: Interfaces, Encounters, Transfers*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 307–332. • Imo, W. & Ziegler, E. (2021). Migration in the Ruhr Area: Stancetaking and attitude expression in talk-in-interaction. In A. Auer & J. Thoburn (ed.), *Approaches to Migration, Language and Identity*. Oxford: OUP, 71–112. • Macha, J. (2003). Regionalität und Syntax: Redewiedergabe in frühneu-zeitl. Verhörprotokollen. In R. Berthele u.a. (ed.), *Die deutsche Schriftsprache und die Regionen. Entstehungs-geschichtliche Fragen in neuer Sicht*. Berlin: De Gruyter. • Zifonun, G., Hoffmann, L. & Strecker, B. (1997). *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Band 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.

---

**Stance taking durch *man*-Referenzen in Musterdialogen  
frühneuzeitlicher Fremdsprachenlehrwerke**

---

**Liv Buechler**

*FU Berlin*

liv.buechler@fu-berlin.de

Das Pronomen *man* wird aufgrund seiner referenziellen Flexibilität, die vom generischen bis zum autoreferenziellen Gebrauch reicht, regelmäßig für sprachliche Positionierungspraktiken und *stance taking* eingesetzt, z.B. um Referenz und Verantwortung zu verschleiern oder eine Distanzierung zum Sachverhalt auszudrücken. Im Gegensatz zum Gegenwartsdeutschen ist sein Referenzspektrum und Potenzial für Formen sprachlicher Positionierung historisch kaum erforscht. In diesem Beitrag sollen daher *man*-Verwendungen und damit einhergehende Positionierungen in Musterdialogen frühneuzeitlicher Sprachlehrwerke untersucht werden. Die Textsorte eignet sich für interaktional ausgerichtete historisch-pragmatische Fragestellungen und Sprachbetrachtungen ‚von unten‘ (Elsaß 2015). Sie bildet trotz ihres simulierend-mündlichen Charakters eine ausreichend authentische Quelle für historische Gesprächsdaten und umfasst ein breites Spektrum an *speech participants*, Dialogthemen sowie Alltagskommunikationssituationen. Daher ist sie in der Lage, ein repräsentatives Bild vom diachron-dialogischen Pronomengebrauch im Zusammenhang mit Positionierungspraktiken zu liefern. In den Dialogen werden unterschiedliche *man*-Referenzen hergestellt und möglicherweise routinisiert formelhaft (2) gebraucht:

- (1) *C. Nach dem saß mich gedunckt gelegner zu seyn/ ich gib nit ach=tung darauff. – D. Man sagt/ es sey ge=sünder auff der rech=ten zu schlaffen [Sumaran 1620/21]*
- (2) *J. Was für Geschäft habt jr dorten/ wann mans wissen darf [Sumaran 1620/21]*

Der Beitrag soll zeigen, welche *man*-Funktionen in welcher Regelmäßigkeit in Musterdialogen vorkommen und welche nicht-prototypischen Verwendungen und routinisierten Formeln sich als gattungscharakteristisch herausstellen. Ziel ist dabei, Beobachtungen über Zusammenhänge zwischen Pronomengebrauch und *stance*-Formen aufzustellen, d.h. welche *man*-Referenzen welche Arten der Positionierung implizieren. So führt die *man*-Verwendung in (1) dazu, dass die gesundheitlichen Vorteile, auf der rechten Seite zu schlafen, hier als allgemein geteilte Einschätzung gerahmt werden. Aus dieser Normempfehlung folgt die epistemische Absicherung der Äußerung (epistemic stance).

**References:** Elsaß, S. (2015). Grammatischer Wandel im (Mittel-) Neuhochdeutschen – von oben und von unten. Perspektiven einer Historischen Soziolinguistik des Deutschen. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 43(3), 387–420.

---

## Warum sind die luxemburgischen Indefinitpronomen *een* und *keen* femininum-scheu?

---

**Caroline Döhmer**  
*Universität Luxemburg*  
 caroline.doehmer@uni.lu

Dass sowohl mit femininen als auch mit neutralen Pronomen auf Frauen verwiesen werden kann, ist im luxemburgischen Pronominalsystem nicht ungewöhnlich, da es so genannte *Femineutra* gibt (vgl. Nübling 2015; Döhmer 2016; Martin 2019). Vereinfacht dargestellt, werden die femininen Pronomen *si/hir/hir* 'sie/ihr/ihr' bei älteren weiblichen Personen, bei der Referenz auf feminine Appellative (*Tatta* 'Tante') oder Titel (*Madame*) verwendet. Mit den Neutrumpronomen *hatt/him/seng* 'es/ihm/sein' verweist man auf jüngere Personen und Referentinnen, bei denen der weibliche Vorname im Vordergrund steht.

Für den bislang unerforschten Bereich der Genuszuweisung bei Indefinitpronomen zeigt sich allerdings, dass bei der Referenz auf Frauen kaum Femininum verwendet wird und das Neutrum bei indefiniter weiblicher Referenz das unmarkierte Genus zu sein scheint – unabhängig von grammatischen oder soziopragmatischen Faktoren. Auch im Kontext geschlechtersensibler Sprache tritt bei den Indefinitpronomen nicht das Femininum, sondern das Neutrum neben das Maskulinum, wie der folgende Beleg zeigt: *jiddereen:t, deen oder dat de Podcast nach net kennt* 'jeder.MASK:S.NEUTR, der.MASK oder das.NEUTR den Podcast noch nicht kennt'. Grundlage für die Analyse sind luxemburgische Korpus- und Internetbelege aus den vergangenen 20 Jahren, die im Kontext indefiniter Personenreferenz in unterschiedlichen Textsorten qualitativ ausgewertet werden. Die Daten sollen Aufschluss darüber geben, warum Neutra, die im Luxemburgischen als Substantiv-Genus stark unterrepräsentiert sind, im (indefiniten) Pronominalsystem mit weiblicher Personenreferenz so dominant sind.

**References:** • Döhmer, C. (2016). Formenbestand und strukturelle Asymmetrien der Personalpronomen im Luxemburgischen. In A. Speyer & Ph. Rauth (ed.): *Syntax aus Saarbrücker Sicht* 1. Stuttgart: Steiner, 15–38. • Martin, S. (2019). *Hatt or si?* Neuter and feminine gender assignment in reference to female persons in Lux. In: *STUF – Language Typology and Universals* 72 (4), 573–601. • Nübling, D. (2015). Between feminine and neuter, between semantic and pragmatic gender assignment: Hybrid names in German dialects and in Luxembourgish. In J. Fleischer, E. Rieken & P. Widmer (ed.), *Agreement from a Diachronic Perspective*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 235–265.

---

***Sie ist halt eine.../ er ist so jemand...***

**Stance taking durch personenbezeichnende Indefinitpronomen**

---

**Sophie Ellsäßer**

*Universität Osnabrück*

sophie.elsaesser@uni-muenster.de

Die Indefinitpronomen *ein-* und *jemand* zeigen morphosyntaktische und funktionale Unterschiede. Es wird angenommen, dass *ein-* ursprünglich eher spezifische (1) und *jemand* eher unspezifische Referenten (2) bezeichnet hat, was die generische Form von *jemand* und die nicht generischen Formen von *ein-* funktional erklärt. Diese Differenzierung scheint sich zunehmend aufzulösen (vgl. Haspelmath 1997, Fobbe 2004). *Jemand* kann heute auch für spezifische Referenz genutzt werden (3), wobei die ursprüngliche Verwendung im Korpus noch quantitativ dominiert. Zusätzlich lässt sich eine Typisierungsfunktion (z. B. Birkner 2006) der Indefinitpronomen nachweisen (4), in der eine (definit markierte) Referenzperson einer ad-hoc-definierten Gruppe zugeordnet wird.

- (1) Da kommt eine, die ihren Bus verpasst hat.
- (2) Es gibt sicher jemanden, der dort schonmal ein Eis probiert hat.
- (3) Da kommt jemand, der/die den Bus verpasst hat.
- (4) Sie ist eine, die gern telefoniert.
- (5) Deutschland sucht den Gesundheitsapostel. Kaum einer, der nicht irgendein Geheimrezept besitzt, mit dem er sein Immunsystem stärkt oder müheelos ein paar Kilos verliert. (<https://www.freundin.de/leben-gesundheit-falsch-beraten-und-ich-dachte-ich-tue-mir-etwas-gutes-147476.html>)

Ziel des Vortrags ist es, Formen und Funktionen von stance taking zu ermitteln, die die beiden Indefinitpronomen in diesen Kontexten ausüben können. Dazu wird eine Analyse der DWDS-Korpora ‚Mode- und Beauty-Blogs‘ und ‚Die Zeit‘ um eine Online-Befragung ergänzt. Untersucht wird neben der Typisierungsfunktion zur Selbst- bzw. Fremdpositionierung das evaluative Potential der (nicht erhaltenen) Differenzierung von spezifischer und unspezifischer Referenz, das sich z.B. für unspezifisch verwendetes *einer* in (5) abzeichnet.

**References:** • Birkner, K. (2006). (Relativ-)Konstruktionen zur Personenattribuierung: *ich bin n=mensch* der... In S. Günthner & W. Imo, *Konstruktionen in der Interaktion*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 205–238. • Fobbe, E. (2004). *Die Indefinitpronomina des Deutschen. Aspekte ihrer Verwendung und ihrer historischen Entwicklung*. Heidelberg: Winter. • Haspelmath, M. (1997). *Indefinite pronouns. Oxford studies in typology and linguistic theory*. Oxford: OUP.

---

**“wie erfreut ich als Autor, Verleger und Sprachwissenschaftler [...] war“- nicht-minimale Selbstreferenzen in der Debatte um genderbewussten Sprachgebrauch**

---

**Paul Meuleneers**

*Universität Freiburg*

paul.meuleneers@germanistik.uni-freiburg.de

Die polarisierte Debatte um genderbewussten Sprachgebrauch führt dazu, dass in verschiedenen Kontexten Einstellungen gegenüber genderbewusstem Sprachgebrauch, denen, die ihn befürworten und denen, die ihn ablehnen, sichtbar werden. Evaluationen und Positionierungen dazu sind insbesondere in (medialen) Debatteformaten explizit und z. T. eingefordert. Sie zeitigen somit verschiedene Formen von stance taking. Im Vortrag sollen nicht-minimale Selbstreferenzen (vgl. Whitehead & Lerner 2021) in Form von „Ich als X“ oder „Ich bin X“ untersucht werden, mithilfe derer sich die Sprecher\*innen zum je verhandelten Sprachgebrauch positionieren und diesen verhandeln. Diese Form des stance takings greift dabei stets auf das gleiche Pronomen zurück, die jeweilige Kategorie, der sich die sprechenden Subjekte als Mitglieder zuordnen, unterscheidet sich aber.

Anhand von Daten aus der medialen Debatte sowie aus leitfadengestützten Interviews sollen aufgegriffene Selbstkategorisierungen und -positionierungen (vgl. Lucius-Hoehne & Deppermann 2004) und was diese in der Debatte zur Evaluation des verhandelten stance objects ‚gendern‘ beitragen, analysiert werden. Insbesondere epistemische und Autoritätszuschreibungen stehen dabei im Fokus des Vortrags, aber auch eingenommene Rollen wie Vater- oder Feministin-Sein sowie die damit postulierten oder in Anspruch genommenen Rechte werden untersucht. Die Daten aus der medialen Debatte legen nahe, dass es – trotz der pronominalen Markierung einer subjektiven Sprecherposition („Ich“) – auch zu einer Verstärkung der evaluativen Handlung, des stance takings, kommt, indem auf eine Gruppe verwiesen wird, der eine für die Debatte besonders relevante Eigenschaft zukommt.

Neben den aufgerufenen Kategorien und deren verschiedenen Funktionen sollen im Vortrag Unterschiede in den kommunikativen Settings herausgestellt werden. In den Interviews werden im Rahmen von stance taking anders als in den Mediendebatten sehr wenig nicht-minimale Selbstreferenzen genutzt. Zudem soll die (fehlende) Interaktion mit und Reaktion auf diese Selbstreferenzen diskutiert werden.

**References:** • Lucius-Hoene, G. & Deppermann, A. (2004). Narrative Identität und Positionierung. *Gesprächsforschung* 5, 166–183. • Whitehead, K. A. & Lerner, G. H. (2021). When simple self-reference is too simple: Managing the categorical relevance of speaker self-presentation. *Language in Society* 1–24. doi:10.1017/S0047404521000270.



---

**„Kerl, du erschreckst mich! Aber du, der du weit älter bist als er,  
kannst du ihn nicht dann und wann zurechte weisen?“ –  
Personalpronomen + Relativsatz als Mittel des Stancetaking in  
deutschen Dramen vom 17. zum 19. Jhd.**

---

**Wolfgang Imo**

*Universität Hamburg*

wolfgang.imo@uni-hamburg.de

Deiktisch verwendete Personalpronomen sollten eigentlich maximal definit und in ihrer Referenz eindeutig sein, wie Helmbrecht (2015: 177) feststellt: “Personal pronouns are inherently definite and specific; this is obvious for all singular pronouns but holds also for the plural pronouns.” Aus diesem Grund können sie nicht durch restriktive Relativsätze erweitert werden – „They do not allow restrictive modifiers (since they are inherently referential)“ (Helmbrecht 2015: 177) – wohl aber prinzipiell zumindest durch nicht-restriktive Relativsätze. Birkner (2008) konnte allerdings in ihren Daten mit heutigem gesprochenen Deutsch nicht-restriktive Relativsätze nur nach Demonstrativ-, Indefinit- und Possessivpronomen feststellen, nicht aber nach Personalpronomen.

In Dramentexten dagegen sind von Relativsätzen gefolgte Personalpronomen kein seltenes Phänomen. Wie eine Analyse von Dramen von Gryphius (Barock), Lessing (Aufklärung) sowie Goethe und Schiller (Sturm und Drang und Klassik) zeigt, finden sich dort Strukturen wie „Aber du, der du weit älter bist als er, kannst du ihn nicht dann und wann zurechte weisen?“ (Lessing: Der junge Gelehrte) regelmäßig und zu besonderen interaktionalen aber auch dramentechnischen Funktionen: Sie leisten mehr, als einfach nur eine deiktische Referenz herzustellen. Vielmehr können sie mit Günthner (2018: 418) als Referenzierungspraktiken beschrieben werden, mit denen interaktionale Perspektivierungen geleistet werden, über die Positionierungen (Deppermann 2013) bzw. Stancetaking (Du Bois 2007) erfolgen.

**Literatur:** • Birkner, Karin (2008). *Relativ(satz)konstruktionen im gesprochenen Deutsch*. Berlin: de Gruyter. • Deppermann, A. (2012). ‘How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction: (What) Does ‘Positioning’ offer more than ‘Membership Cateagorization’?’ In M. Bamberg (ed.) *Narrative inquiry*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 62–88. • Du Bois, John W. (2007). ‘The stance triangle’. In R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 139–182. • Günthner, S. (2018): Perspektiven einer sprach- und kulturvergleichenden Interaktionsforschung: Chinesische und deutsche Praktiken nominaler Selbstreferenz in SMS-, WhatsApp- und WeChat-Interaktionen. *Gesprächsforschung* 19, 478–514. • Helmbrecht, J. (2015). A typology of non-prototypical uses of personal pronouns: synchrony and diachrony. *Journal of Pragmatics* 88, 176–189.

---

## Pronomengebrauch in subjektiven Rekonstruktionen von Diskriminierungserfahrungen und in spontanen diskriminierenden Äußerungen

---

**Evelyn Ziegler, Vanessa Angenendt**

*Universität Duisburg-Essen*

vanessa.angenendt@uni-due.de, evelyn.ziegler@uni-due.de

Diskriminierungen gehören zu den tiefgreifendsten Erfahrungen. Im Kontext von Migration markieren sie immer auch gesellschaftliche Positionierungen, die Zugehörigkeit, Abgrenzung und Ausgrenzung, d.h. Zuschreibungen und Bewertungen ebenso wie Erwartungserwartungen anzeigen können. Pronomen spielen dabei eine zentrale Rolle, weil mit Pronomen Bezug genommen wird auf Gruppen, d.h. das Selbst und der/die Andere/n konstruiert werden. Aus Gründen der epistemischen Gerechtigkeit berücksichtigen wir neben der Perspektive derjenigen, die Diskriminierungen äußern, auch und gerade die Perspektive der Betroffenen. Im Zentrum der Analysen stehen zwei Fragenkomplexe: (1) Welche Rolle spielen Pronomen bei der Perspektivierung von subjektiven Diskriminierungserfahrungen, in welchen sprachlichen Formaten treten sie auf und mit welchen kommunikativen Strategien werden sie verbunden? (2) Welche Pronomen werden in spontanen Akten der intendierten/nicht-intendierten Diskriminierung zur Referenz auf den/die Andere(n) gewählt, um Nichtzugehörigkeit, Andersheit und Abwertung anzuzeigen, und welche Pronomen werden dabei zur Markierung von Geltungsansprüchen diffamierender Äußerungen gewählt? Grundlage ist ein sog. „convenience corpus“, das als Teilkorpus aus einem größeren Korpus narrativer Interviews (N=130) zum Themenbereich Mehrsprachigkeit und Migration erstellt wurde. Dieses „convenience corpus“ (N=40) umfasst 30 Interviews mit mehrsprachig aufgewachsenen Informant:innen (türkisch-deutsch, arabisch-deutsch) und 10 Interviews mit einsprachig deutsch aufgewachsenen Informant:innen, die in Essen leben und unterschiedlichen Altersgruppen angehören. Die vorläufigen Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass der Pronomengebrauch in subjektiven Rekonstruktionen von individuell erlebten Diskriminierungserfahrungen hohe Varianz aufweist: Betroffene perspektivieren ihre Diskriminierungserfahrungen (i) über den Gebrauch der 1. Sg. als persönliche Erfahrung, (ii) über den Gebrauch der 1. Pl. und des generischen „man“ als kollektive Erfahrungen oder (iii) schreiben diese Erfahrungen anderen Personen zu. Die Daten spontan geäußerter Ungleichwertigkeitszuschreibungen zeigen, dass zwischen pronominal markiertem subjektivem Geltungsanspruch und persönlicher Verantwortungsübernahme häufig ein Spannungsverhältnis besteht.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 4**

---

### Workshop 4

---

**Extremist narratives analysis at the challenge of internal and external interdisciplinarity: quality, quantity, cross-disciplinarily and “expert” discourse.**

---

**Dimitra Niaouri, Michele Linardi & Julien Longhi**

*CY Cergy Paris universit *

[Julien.longhi@cyu.fr](mailto:Julien.longhi@cyu.fr)

In the framework of the Horizon Europe project ARENAS (<https://arenasproject.eu>), a specific task consists in testing an algorithm with an annotated dataset, in order to validate an annotation schema for automatic detection of extremist narratives. First investigations have been made in Machado et al. (2023), about Socially unacceptable discourse (SUD) analysis: in this work, we argued that “to build more general and reliable models, the ML community should consider formal guidelines provided by language experts”, and that the semantic issues in discourse categorization “have an impact not only in terminological and computational terms, but also in legal, political, and sociological terms cross-disciplinarily within linguistics”. In this talk, we propose to extend this perspectives, considering for linguistics the cross-disciplinary according to two dimensions:

- Internal cross-disciplinarity with the connexion of morphology, syntax, semantics pragmatics, etc.,
- And “external” cross-disciplinarity in relation to other disciplines (history, political science, etc.).

When addressing these aspects, we will question notions such as qualitative or quantitative approaches and their connection to a certain 'expertise' on these subjects, often originating outside the academic world, with a wide range of rigor. We will follow Lazaraton (1995) regarding the rigor of quantitative approaches: “Quantifying qualitative data is not only possible and desirable but necessary in order to make generalizable claims about and within other contexts.” On the other hand, we will argue for “qualitative” approaches and the necessity of targeting an interdisciplinary approach that combines qualitative and quantitative perspectives in a unique workflow (see also Meunier 2019). In the context of extremist narrative analysis, these scientific challenges allow for the formulation of expertise in applied linguistics that is essential for society, distinct from media expertise often influenced by subjectivity.

**References:** • Carneiro, B. M., Linardi, M., & Longhi, J. (2023). Studying Socially Unacceptable Discourse Classification (SUD) through different eyes: "Are we on the same page?", *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on CMC and Social Media Corpora for the Humanities 2023* • Lazaraton, A. (1995). Qualitative research in applied linguistics: A progress report. *Tesol Quarterly*, 29(3), 455-472. • Meunier, J. G. (2019). Enjeux de la mod lisation formelle en s miotique computationnelle. *Cygne noir*, (7), 42-78.

---

## The Normalization of Extremist Narratives in Donald Trump's Campaign Discourse.

---

**Frank Austermuehl**

*Nottingham Trent University, UK*

frank.austermuehl@ntu.ac.uk

Based on a corpus of public speeches by Donald Trump ranging from the announcement of his candidacy in 2016 to the present time, this paper analyses the linguistic strategies applied by Trump to mainstream a narrative of White supremacy that is both fuelled by and contributing to extremist narratives of American identity. I will focus in particular on strategies of normalization, such as demonization, racialization, and dehumanization, stigmatization and victimization, as well as othering and exclusion aimed as "present[img] 'uncivil' ideas related to unacceptable norms of social conduct – such as e.g. racism, discrimination etc. – as legitimate and acceptable." As I will further show, these strategies "were used against the background of discursively constructed complex imaginaries of whiteness where the exclusion of un-American others in Trump's campaign discourse was closely linked with an articulation of America as an expressly "white" nation (Krzyżanowski 2020, 444).

The paper adopts an interdisciplinary framework bringing together a range of approaches (presidential studies, social semiotics, communication studies, American studies), yet is most strongly informed, both conceptually and methodologically, by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and its interest in the construction of identities and the establishment of political power relationships (see Fairclough 1992, van Dijk 2008 and Wodak 2015). The study combines CDA with Corpus Linguistics (CL) and is both corpus-based and corpus-driven, linking quantitative and qualitative forms of computer-assisted analysis (e.g., frequencies, collocates, n-grams) with the close reading of selected campaign speeches (see Baker et al. 2008). The main corpus (830K words) used for this analysis is composed of 141 campaign speeches covering the 2016 and 2020 general election campaigns (74 for 2016, 67 for 2020). It is hoped that such a combined CDA-CL approach will add a methodological option to the study of extremist discourses.

**References:** • Baker, P., C. et al. 2008. "A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press." *Discourse and Society* 19(3): 273–306. • Fairclough, N. 1992. *Language and Power*. London: Longman. • Krzyżanowski, M. 2020. "Normalization and/as Discursive Construction of Norms and 'New' Normality: Discursive Shifts of Populism and Neoliberalism." *Social Semiotics* 30(4), 431–448. • van Dijk, T. 2008. *Discourse and Power*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. • Wodak, R. 2015. *The Politics of Fear. What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. London: Sage.

---



---

## Critical Discourse Analysis of Xenophobia in UK Political Party Blogs

---

**Nourah Almulhim**

*University of Nottingham*

Nourah.Almulhim1@Nottingham.ac.uk

This paper takes a CDA approach to investigating discourse and ideology in political blogs, focusing on the 'Conversative Home' blog. I mainly explore the writers and commentators attitudes towards British Muslims in the UK, focusing essentially on how extremist they are in their own narratives. The blog/article discourse reflects the writer's political identity and their authorial voice while the commentators create adversative positions, introducing different language users, who bring their own identities and argue around different ones. I rely on Van Dijk's (2001) cognitive approach along with Fairclough's (2010) dialectical approach to understand dominant discourses. Consequently, I analyzed qualitatively 10 articles with more than 200 comments to explicate the dominant discourses of Islamophobic/extremist context in the far-right blog. I further aim to produce systematic analysis of actor, action, argument (KhosraviNik 2011) to understand identity construction and appraisal analysis (Martin et.al 2007). This is to first understand discursive strategies used to legitimize xenophobic discourse, second to classify attitudes, and finally to elaborate on core values in the data set. Finally, I rely on the grammar of othering to explain how these discourses are expressed.

The main findings suggest that the dominant discourses produced by the blogger and the commentators are variant and different. Commentors produce a victimhood discourse as they argue that the British race, values, and cultures are under threat by Islam and Muslims and go far to explicitly reflect on 'replacement' theory of white race and culture. They also negatively represent Muslims as being misogynist, terrorists and violent and they directly associate them to fascism as 'Islamofascism'. Finally, the blaming discourse is reflected through the argument of power as the government with main parties is represented as weak and tolerant in facing the power of Islam and extremism in events of violence and national security. Moving to the bloggers' discourse they still represent Muslims as terrorists and supporters of violence, but some writers argue for Muslim women being leaders and businesswomen. Bloggers who are conservative party members attempt use their authorial voice and political identity to influence readers and argue for the positive role of the government as holding the power and defending the British values.

References: • Fairclough, N 2010. *Critical Discourse analysis*. New York: Taylor and Francis. • KhosraviNik, M. (2010). Actor descriptions, action attributions, and argumentation: Towards a systematization of CDA analytical categories in the representation of social groups. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(1), 55–72. • Martin, J. R., White, P. R. R. Martin, J. R. 2007. *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. Macmillan. • van Dijk, T. A. 1990. *Social Cognition and Discourse*. In: Giles, H. and Robinson, W.P. *Handbook of language and social psychology*. John Wiley & Sons, pp. 163–183.

---

## The French Extreme Right and the Gallicization of Forenames

### An appeal for the assimilation of immigrants or a covert racialization?

---

**Houda Landolsi**

*Uppsala University*

houda.landolsi@moderna.uu.se

This study offers a semantic, pragmatic, and argumentative analysis of extracts from the French Extreme Right discourse on the gallicization of forenames. It would indeed appear that the question of the gallicization of forenames only arises in political circles from time to time, particularly on the initiative of leaders of the Rassemblement National, and more widely the Extreme Right camp (by Éric Zemmour), which advocates the integration of immigrants by means of their forename. The issue was already aired in the political public arena by Marine Le Pen during the 2012 presidential election campaign<sup>1</sup>. The idea of integration through the forename was then taken up and hotly defended in political debates by Éric Zemmour who, when establishing himself as a new figure of the Extreme Right (even more extreme than the RN), made the gallicization of forenames his key issue.

The present study will examine, using Critical Discourse Analysis tools, the discursive mechanisms that are present in the discourse on assimilation through the forename, allowing this discourse of the Extreme Right to be seen as part of an ideology founded on the inequality of ethnic groups. My analysis aims to show that in political and/or media discourses held by the Extreme Right on the subject of integration and assimilation of immigrants and on citizenship, it is not unusual for the speaker to embark on an argument with the objective of identifying and ranking individuals, community groups, and peoples according to a hierarchy. This categorization is itself the manifestation and result of an attempt to promote cultural, ideological, and social interpretations which form an entire system, enabling speakers to give a very precise and almost archetypical definition to certain notions and to associate a social or cultural group with a very specific and negative image.

**References:** • De Rudder, V. (1998). Identité, origine et étiquetage, *Journal des anthropologues*, 72-73, DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/jda.2697>. • Dickinson, J. (1998). La prénomination dans quatre villages de la plaine de Caen, 1670-1800, *Annales de Normandie*. 48-1, 67-104. • Mohd Yusof, B. (2013). Identity Assimilation: Sustaining the Identity, or Sustaining the Aspiration. *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 91, 316-321. • Wilkinson, S. (2011). Constructing ethnicity statistics in talk-in-interaction: Producing the ‘White European’. *Discourse & Society* 22(3), <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510395446>

---

<sup>1</sup> “Marine Le Pen pour l’assimilation par le prénom français,” france aiseetfiere, 30/06/2011, 1min19s. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o934nsi22rk>

---

**“Dirty satanist paedophiles”: discovering hate speech against the  
LGBTQIA+ community in Italian, between religious extremism and  
conspiracy theories**

---

**Gloria Comandini**

*Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici*

comandini@studigermanici.it

The last few years have seen a global rising concern about the diffusion of hateful rhetoric against marginalized people and right-wing radicalization through conspiracy theories. Thus, hate speech (HS) has been extensively studied, highlighting how it can change based on the targeted group, on the social media platforms it uses and on the time frame in which it is produced (Basile et al., 2019). Therefore, to analyse HS effectively, it is essential to keep up with the new forms it takes, the new platforms that host HS and the ever-changing rhetorical arguments that build the foundations of hateful discourse.

Through a corpus-based approach, this study aims to investigate and classify the linguistic features of HS against LGBTQIA+ people on popular Telegram chats in Italian, characterized by a high number of Christian religious extremists and believers in fearmongering conspiracy theories.

The investigation develops in two phases.

A) The corpus was annotated using the framework developed by Sanguinetti et al. (2018), classifying every comment on the basis of the following categories: HS (yes/no), HS intensity (on a scale from 1 to 4), aggressiveness (no/weak/strong), offensiveness (no/weak/strong), irony (yes/no) and stereotypes (yes/no).

B) A new annotation framework was developed, in order to address the specific themes and peculiar rhetorical strategies used against the LGBTQIA+ community, and in particular against transgender people; therefore, the corpus was annotated also on the base of the following binary (yes/no) categories: dehumanization, invalidation of gender identity, pathologization, religious themes, conspiracy theories and populist rhetoric (Comandini & Patti, 2019).

**References:** • Comandini, G. & V. Patti, (2019). An impossible dialogue! Nominal utterances and populist rhetoric in an Italian Twitter corpus of hate speech against immigrants. In *Proceedings of the third workshop on abusive language online*. Minneapolis: Association for Computational Linguistics, 163–171. • Basile, V. et al. (2019). SemEval-2019 Task 5: Multilingual Detection of Hate Speech Against Immigrants and Women in Twitter. In *Proceedings of SemEval 2019*. Minneapolis: Association for Computational Linguistics, 54–63. • Sanguinetti, M. et al. (2018). An Italian Twitter Corpus of Hate Speech against Immigrants. In *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2018)*, Miyazaki: European Language Resources Association (ELRA), 2798–28



---

## Metaphorical landscapes of extremism: Rhetorical narratives in Italian radical far-right discourse during the Years of Lead

---

Flavio Foresi<sup>1</sup> & Ludovica Lena<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Paris 8 University, <sup>2</sup>Xiamen university

foresiflavio@gmail.com, ludolena@xmu.edu.cn

The Years of Lead (*Anni di piombo*) encompassed a period of intense social upheaval and political violence from the late 1960s to the late 1980s, marked by far-left and far-right political terrorism and armed clashes. In this political context, extra-parliamentarian far-right groups such as *Ordine Nuovo* (1969–77) and *Terza Posizione* (1978–82) emerged as proponents of a “national-revolutionary” and “third-positionist” neo-fascist political ideologies, advocating for a subversive and violent struggle against state institutions, aiming to the overthrow of the democratic order (Ferraresi 1996). In this study, we compiled an historical corpus consisting of political texts and journals disseminated by these extremist groups to investigate the rhetorical application of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) within their narratives. The analysis unveils the extensive use of metaphors (1) and (2) (Lakoff et al. 1991):

- (1) DANGEROUS BELIEFS ARE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES
- (2) SOCIETY IS A BODY

In particular, the source domain CONTAGIOUS DISEASE (*malattia, cancro, bubbone*, etc.), particularly in the form of **cancer**, is by far the dominant rhetorical device observed. In some instances, the enemy is also conceptualized as **poison**. Society, characterized by terms related to **wound** (*ferita, sangue, dissanguarsi, mutilazione*) and **death** (*decrepito, morte*), is portrayed as an AFFLICTED BODY. The discourse also features metaphors likening dangerous practices to **dirt** or **mud** to be purged from society (cf. MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS, Lakoff et al. 1991). The rhetoric employed by these groups has the aim, among others, of dehumanizing their adversaries through abstraction (see Périès 2001). This perspective ultimately validates their resort to violence within their ‘crusade’ against liberal democracy and communism, while simultaneously positioning themselves as caretakers and rescuers of a society afflicted by sickness. The preference for negative, destructive metaphors over positive and constructive ones capitalizes on fear, as in far-right narratives more generally (Wodak 2019). In conclusion, this interdisciplinary study reveals how extremist narratives manipulate public perception and normalize ideologies through specific rhetorical strategies such as the use of conceptual metaphors. The research deepens our understanding of how these narratives were propagated during a pre-social media era when traditional avenues like journals and printed materials were the means of dissemination. This contributes to a broader exploration of extremist communication strategies, with relevance extending beyond the specific historical context.

---

## Studying socially unacceptable discourse: a mixed bag

---

**Darja Fišer**

*University of Ljubljana*

*darja.fiser@ff.uni-lj.si*

In this talk I will present an overview of the approaches to studying socially unacceptable discourse (SUD) utilized in our recently completed project [LiLaH](#). In the project we studied the properties of the language that is used to express hate against migrants and LGBTQ+ people in Facebook comments in English, Dutch, Slovene, Croatian and French. I will showcase the conducted analyses of various aspects of SUD, such as the distinguishing linguistic features of SUD, characteristics of SUD producers as well as automatic detection of SUD. I will argue that due to a highly complex nature of SUD, a thorough understanding of the phenomenon is only possible with the use of comparative approaches, mixed methods and through interdisciplinary collaboration.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 5**

---

### Workshop 5

---

**Intonational and gestural signals act as sister systems in the marking  
of pragmatic operations**

---

**Pilar Prieto**

*ICREA-Universitat Pompeu Fabra*

Pilar.prieto@upf.edu

The main goal of this talk will be to assess the joint role of prosody and gesture as markers of pragmatic operations across languages. I will show the co-dependency between prosody and gesture as markers of polite stance, speech act information (more concretely reject operators, e.g. disagreement and incredulity questions, and speaker uncertainty), as well as information structure marking. The results of a set of production and comprehension experiments show that speakers' pragmatic marking and interpretation is strongly dependent on the visual information and on the interplay and dependencies between prosodic and gestural patterns. Second, these results point to some trade-off effects between the prosodic and gestural markings and to some crosslinguistic differences that need to be further investigated. I will argue that a more fine-grained and unified approach is needed that fully integrates intonation and gestural signals into the study of multimodal language.

## Novel Marking of Signer Commitment in Turkish Sign Language (TİD)

Serpil Karabüklü<sup>1</sup> & Ronnie B. Wilbur<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Chicago, <sup>2</sup>Purdue University

skarabuklu@uchicago.edu, wilbur@purdue.edu

A collaborative speaker/signer should convey commitment to a proposition (Krifka 2021) with choice of morphemes or intonational patterns by following the maxim of quantity (Grice, 1975). Here we address the unstudied interaction of manual signs and nonmanuals for marking signer commitment. Possibilities include the two channels contributing distinctly or that one (manual) forms the basis while the other (nonmanual) further increases or decreases the commitment level.

This study investigated how combinations of nonmanuals (head nod, squint, head tilt) with sentence types (declarative, modals, attitude verbs) affected the signer's commitment levels in TİD. 16 participants (9 f, age M=35) rated sentences with nonmanuals for how certain the signer was about a proposition on a 7-point scale. Results showed a significant effect of nonmanuals ( $X^2(6)=134.15$ ,  $p<.001$ ) sentences ( $X^2(11)=36.975$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and their interaction ( $X^2(6)=87.393$ ,  $p=.04$ ). Sentences with head nod were rated significantly higher than the ones with squint ( $p<.001$ ). Interestingly, nonmanuals affected certainty levels, but within a range established by the sentences themselves. To illustrate, the effects of nonmanuals were not prominent with the verb GUESS compared to other verbs like KNOW. Thus, nonmanuals *boost* the commitment level that is set by the sentence itself.

This leads to a theoretical question: why would two exponents, head nod and squint, be needed for marking commitment? One possibility is the existing use of head nod as an edge marker in the information structure, as well as on a focused verb (Gürer and Karabüklü, 2023). Thus, we see high commitment with head nod as similar to the *verum focus* effect in spoken languages (Tonhauser, 2016). Separately, squint conveys the signer's judgment of the proposition (Krifka 2021). Following Krifka's distinction between subjective and objective epistemics, we propose that manual signs in Tense Phrase function in the at-issue level, whereas squint would be in Judge Phrase in the not-at-issue level to convey signer's justification for commitment to the proposition. As expected from a not-at-issue level operator, squint appears in questions and scopes over the sentential negation NOT. As the first study systematically testing nonmanuals and commitment, the study shows that commitment as a gradable property is simultaneously modified via both manual and nonmanual strategies.

**References:** Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In: Speech Acts • Gürer, A. & Karabüklü, S. 2023. Nonmanual Focus Markers in TİD. In Proceedings of Tu+7 Workshop. • Krifka, M. 2021. Layers of assertive clauses: Propositions, judgments, commitments, acts. • Tonhauser, J. 2016. Prosodic cues to presupposition projection. SALT 26.

---

**Plugging the argumentative stance in monologic texts:  
PALM-UP functions from the sentence type perspective**

---

Svetlana Dachkovsky<sup>1,2</sup>, Rose Stamp<sup>3</sup>, Shirit Cohen-Koka<sup>1</sup> & Bracha Nir<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>University of Haifa, <sup>2</sup>Gordon College, <sup>3</sup>Bar-Ilan University  
 dachkov@yahoo.com, rose\_stamp@hotmail.com, shirit83@gmail.com,  
 bnir123@gmail.com

The present study focuses on one of the most pervasive discourse markers (DMs) in sign languages, PALM-UP. Previous studies have suggested a number of PALM-UP functions, ranging from gestural expressions of uncertainty [1] or obviousness [2] to highly grammatical functions of interrogativity and epistemic modality in signed languages [3].

Here we investigate syntactic contexts of PALM-UP in Israeli Sign Language, and illustrate how the interpretation of this DM is constrained by the type of unit in which it is used. We explore the role of this DM in two text types [4] – personal narrative and expository discussion. Detailed analysis of 165 PALM-UP tokens [n = 10 ISL signers] demonstrate that this DM usually co-occur with specific, yet not mutually exclusive, clausal environments. 1) Listing (Fig.1), 2) negation, 3) clauses with *verba dicendi*, and 4) rhetorical questions constitute the most common PALM-UP environments. They are characteristic of an **argumentative stance**, where the general statement is supported, compared or contradicted.



**Fig 1. PALM-UP in the listing sequence:** *I did not understand what it meant, what the context was **PU**, how to understand things thoroughly and discuss the text **PU**.*

[1] Cooperrider, K., Abner, N., & Goldin-Meadow, S. (2018). The palm-up puzzle: Meanings and origins of a widespread form in gesture and sign. *Frontiers in Communication*, 3, 23. [2] Inbar, A. & Maschler, Y. 2023. Shared Knowledge as an Account for Disaffiliative Moves: Hebrew *ki* 'Because'-Clauses Accompanied by the Palm-Up Open-Hand Gesture. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 56, 141-164. [3] Engberg-Pedersen, E. (2020). Markers of epistemic modality and their origins: Evidence from two unrelated sign languages. *Studies in Language*. [4] Berman, R. A., & Nir-Sagiv, B. (2007). Comparing narrative and expository text construction across adolescence: A developmental paradox. *Discourse Processes*, 43(2), 79-120.

---

## Testing MediaPipe Holistic for the analysis of eyebrow movement in questions

---

**Anna Kuznetsova<sup>1</sup>, Vadim Kimmelmann<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*University of Trento*, <sup>2</sup>*Universitetet i Bergen*

kuzannagood@gmail.com, vadim.kimmelmann@uib.no

In previous research (Kuznetsova et al. 2021), we used OpenFace (OF) (Baltrusaitis et al. 2018) to analyze eyebrow movement for question marking in Kazakh-Russian Sign Language (KRSL). We found that polar questions were marked with eyebrow raise on the whole clause and forward head thrusts, while wh-questions were marked with eyebrow raise and backward head movement only on the wh-sign. Importantly, we have shown that OF cannot be used to directly measure eyebrow movement because the presence of a head tilt leads to distortion of the 3D reconstructed model of the face. Recently a new CV solution, MediaPipe Holistic (MPH) was published (Lugaresi et al. 2019). In this study, we tested whether MPH copes better with eyebrow position estimation than OF.

We extracted landmark locations from the same dataset of questions and statements in KRSL using MPH, and applied the same measures of eyebrow position. MPH seems to show generally the same pattern as OF corrected, but with smaller differences between sentence types.

In order to further test MPH in the context of head tilts, we recorded short videos of a single subject performing head tilts with and without eyebrow raise at three different distances from the camera. We estimated eyebrow position using MPH and OF (uncorrected), and estimated head tilts using OF.

Summarizing the results informally, MPH performs better than OF for pitch up, but worse for pitch down. A surprising additional pattern is revealed: MP's estimation of eyebrow position in the presence of backward head tilt behaves differently with and without eyebrow raise. Without eyebrow raise, eyebrow position is not greatly affected by head tilt, but with the eyebrow raise, their position estimation is greatly affected by head tilt.

Our explanation for the apparently good performance of MPH on our KRSL dataset is that the distortions that MPH introduces are generally in the direction of the actual effects. The take home message is that MPH, similarly to OF, clearly cannot be used for accurate measurement of eyebrow movement in the presence of head tilts, and a correction model is required.

**References:** • Kuznetsova, A. et al. (2022) Functional Data Analysis of Non-manual Marking of Questions in Kazakh-Russian Sign Language, *Proceedings of the LREC2022* • Baltrusaitis, T. et al. (2018) Openface 2.0: Facial behavior analysis toolkit, In *FG 2018*, IEEE • Lugaresi, C. et al. (2019) MediaPipe: A Framework for Building Perception Pipelines, doi: 10.48550/ARXIV.1906.08172.

---

**Clause structure in Libras: types of sentence**

---

**Miriam Royer***Universidade Federal do Cariri*

miriam15royer@gmail.com

In this presentation, I will discuss results from a study on word order in Libras that will deepen our understanding of clause constructions and clause types in a sign language from the global south. There have been various advances in studies of sentence structure in Libras, initially starting from research that was carried out with Libras previously, such as Ferreira Brito (1995), Quadros (1999), Karnopp and Quadros (2004), Araújo (2013), Napoli, Sutton -Spence and Quadros (2017). However, it is necessary to complement these investigations. The presented research will now dedicate itself to exploring other possible combinations of arguments, including null arguments, omission, and verbal incorporation. I will present results from the functional linguistics perspective based on research on word order in Libras, including studies on sentence types and verbs. Royer (2019) investigates transitive verbs, relating the analysis of Libras to word order and types of sentences, but Royer (2023) considers an analysis of verb transitivity in relation to non-realized arguments, such as null arguments, omission, and verbal incorporation. I also present the research methodology that was used in the Grande Florianópolis corpus and the Deaf Reference corpus. Annotations are made using the ELAN software. The analysis of the selected corpus data, along with the research of existing transcriptions, will be related to the data found within theoretical references. Royer (2019) analyzes the results with regard to word order in Libras, using some statistical data to compare the structures signaled by the participants. From this methodology, it is concluded that the basic structure of Libras is SVO. Royer (2023) compares the structures signaled by the participants, the results confirm the presence of null arguments, omissions and incorporations as constituent elements of clause structures in Libras. Thus, this presentation identifies the grammatical role of various types of verbs in Libras including transitive verbs in the composition of sentence structures in sign languages.



---

## Marking sentence types in Catalan Sign Language: coordination and subordination

---

**Alexandra Navarrete-González<sup>1</sup> & Giorgia Zorzi<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Pompeu Fabra University*, <sup>2</sup>*Western Norway University of Applied Sciences*  
alexandra.navarrete@upf.edu, giorgia.zorzi@hvl.no

The goal of this paper is to show that, in Catalan Sign Language (LSC), coordination and subordination involving contrast share the same combination of markers, contributing to the claim that contrast is an independent notion in information structure (Navarrete-González 2021). It also aims at contributing to the study of structures that can be interpreted like subordinate clauses, but that have the form of coordinate clauses due to a lack of overt subordination markers.

In this research we analyse coordination and subordination considering two factors: (i) the presence or absence of semantic parallelism (referents belong to the same set of alternatives), and (ii) the (a)symmetry of the clauses (possibility of swapping the clauses without affecting the meaning of the sentence).

Coordination and contrast in LSC have been described to be expressed by the same combination of markers (Barberà 2012, Zorzi 2018, Navarrete-González 2021): head tilts (ht), body leans (bl), and the use of opposite sides of space (sp) (1). Results show that these markers are actually expressing contrast and not coordination, since they do not appear in non-contrastive coordinate clauses (2).

- (1)  $\frac{\text{left bl}}{[\text{GIORGIA}]_T [\text{LINGUIST}]_F]_{\text{left\_sp}}}$   $\frac{\text{right bl}}{[\text{RAQUEL}]_T [\text{INTERPRETER}]_F]_{\text{right\_sp}}}$   
'Giorgia is a linguist and/but Raquel is an interpreter.'  
(Navarrete-González 2021: 10)

- (2)  $[\text{JORDI SLEEP QUITE OUTSIDE RAIN}]_{\text{central\_sp}}$   
'Jordi was sleeping quietly, and outside it was raining.'

The two factors (i) and (ii) show that the same markers for contrast that we find in coordination may appear in subordinate clauses. Moreover, in constructions with no subordination markers, it is not possible to tell whether it is a coordinate or a subordinate clause. For example, parallel conjunctive coordination and temporal subordination expressing simultaneity of events are expressed with the same syntactic realization (3).

- (3)  $\frac{\text{left ht+bl}}{\text{JORDI BOOK RECIPE READ}}$   $\frac{\text{right ht+bl}}{\text{GIORGIA COOK}}$   
'Jordi was reading a recipe **and/while** Giorgia was cooking.'

**References:** • Navarrete-González, A. 2021. The expression of contrast in Catalan Sign Language (LSC). *Glossa*, 6(1), 29. • Zorzi, G. 2018. *Coordination and gapping in Catalan Sign Language (LSC)*. Dissertation. Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF).

---

## Challenges in the development of a procedure for annotating non-manual markers at the clausal level

---

**Lyke Esselink, Tobias de Ronde, Marloes Oomen, Floris Roelofsen**

*University of Amsterdam*

l.d.esselink@uva.nl, t.d.a.deronde@uva.nl, m.oomen2@uva.nl,

f.roelofsen@uva.nl

Non-manual markers (NMM) are very important in sign language structure, and in clause-type marking in particular (see e.g. Wilbur 2021). NMM are challenging to annotate, which stems from two main issues. The first is that there is not a standard procedure for annotating NMMs in experimentally obtained sign language data. It is exceedingly difficult to achieve high inter-rater agreement for NMM annotations, which as a result also makes it difficult to compare annotations. A second issue is that there is not a standard method to quantify the validity of annotations. These are major challenges in the field of sign language linguistics and more broadly in research on multimodal communication.

In Oomen et al. (2023) we report on a first version of an annotation guideline (and its application), addressing the first issue. Here, we are interested in the second issue of quantifying the validity of the annotations made using these guidelines, for which we present a procedure. We already took a preliminary step in Oomen et al. (2023) by assessing inter-annotator agreement of the test data, using ‘eyebrows’ as a test case. The discussion of inter-annotator agreement was based on a confusion matrix as generated by a frame-based approach, and using Cohen’s Kappa as an agreement index. We have extended this evaluation to include a confusion matrix of an event-based approach, as well as another agreement index, Krippendorff’s Alpha. Using both frame- and event-based approaches allows us to match labels given to NMMs on a frame-by-frame basis, and to compare whether annotators identified the same ‘events’ in the data. The agreement indices provide a simple and objective score that we can compare across iterations of the guidelines.

The extended procedure for the quantification of the validity of the annotations gives comprehensive insight into specific issues the annotation guidelines present in their current form, which allows us to formulate recommendations for improving them. We are currently working on incorporating these recommendations into a revised version of the annotation procedure, which will again be subject to evaluation, after which we expect to see considerable improvements in inter-annotator agreement. The materials will be freely available for researchers.

**References:** • Oomen, M., de Ronde, T., and Roelofsen, F. (2023). A procedure for annotating non-manual markers in question sentences in sign languages. Poster presented at North East Linguistics Society (NELS 53). • Wilbur, R.B. (2021). Non-manual markers – theoretical and experimental perspectives. In J. Quer, R. Pfau & A. Herrmann (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Theoretical and Experimental Sign Language Research*, 530–565.

---

## Causal Adverbial Hypotaxis of Libras

---

**Vinicius Rodrigues da Silva<sup>1</sup>, Ronice Müller de Quadros<sup>1</sup> & Carlos Roberto Ludwig<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, <sup>2</sup>Universidade Federal de Tocantins  
ronice.quadros@ufsc.br, vinirs.mouse@gmail.com  
carlosletras@mail.uft.edu.br

This research analyze the conjunctions manual and non-manual markings in causal adverbial hypotaxis in Brazilian Sign Language (Libras). According to Lima (2002), causality in adverbial hypotaxis establishes a relationship in which two clauses are articulated in such a way that one of them denotes the cause and the other, the consequence. In Libras, this process of articulating causal adverbial hypotaxis can happen through signs such as PORQUE (WHY), POR-CAUSA (BECAUSE), and MOTIVO (REASON), or through the juxtaposition of sentences, in which the proposition emerges from the context (Rodrigues & Souza, 2019). The data analyzed is based on Libras deaf signers data Libras Corpus of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC) (Quadros et al 2020). For this research, interviews of four selected reference deaf data were analyzed, with at least 70 sentences classified with the types and subtypes of parataxis, hypotaxis and embedded (Ludwig et al. 2022). Sentence 1 presents an example of causal hypotaxis with the sign WHY:

(1) **Glosa ID em PT:** [IX(direita-letras-libras) LETRAS-LIBRAS] tópico PARECER MAIS FORTE **PORQUE** AJUDAR DESENVOLVER MESTRADO

**Glosa ID in EN:** IX( right-letters-pounds ) LETTERS-LIBRAS] topic OPINION STRONGER **WHY** HELP DEVELOP MASTER'S DEGREE

There are also examples that do not present a connective link between the sentences, but use non-manual markers as strategy such as eye blinking to highlight the break between the clauses. The proposition between the sentences emerges from the signing context, demonstrating the semantic relationship between the sentences that define the causal and effect relationship.

**References:** • Lima, A. (2002). Relações hipotáticas adverbiais na interação verbal. 190f. Tese (Doutorado em Linguística e Língua Portuguesa) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista Júlio de Mesquita Filho, Araraquara. • Ludwig, C. R.; Quadros, R. M. de; Rodrigues-Silva, V. (2022). As Marcações Não-Manuais na Hipotaxe Adverbial Causal da Libras. *Quintú Quimün. Revista De lingüística*, (6), Q065. • Quadros, R M. de; Schmitt, D.; Lohn, J. T.; Leite, T. de A. Corpus de Libras. <http://corpuslibras.ufsc.br/> 2020.

---

## How emotive facial expressions affect speech acts: the view from face emojis

---


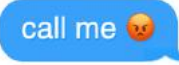


**Patrick Georg Grosz**

*University of Oslo*

p.g.grosz@iln.uio.no

Emojis are a human-made artifact that fills a communicative gap in written digital communication (see, e.g., Gawne & McCulloch 2019, Grosz et al. 2023). Face emojis consistently amount to ~50% of the most frequently used 50 emojis; this plausibly reflects the use of face emojis as digital written counterparts of facial expressions (see, e.g., Maier to appear), which entails that face emojis share properties of facial expressions. Researchers working on facial expressions can thus gain insights from looking at face emojis, and vice versa.

Imperative clauses (e.g. *call me!*) are notoriously underspecified with regards to the speech act that they encode (COMMAND, PERMISSION, etc.), see Kaufmann (2012:169). Face emojis can disambiguate the speech act of an imperative: an informal online survey (49 participants) shows that (1a) and (1b) preferably encode an INVITATION, and not a COMMAND, whereas (1c) is more likely to communicate a COMMAND than an INVITATION; (1d) is most likely to communicate a REQUEST.

- (1) a.  c.   
 b.  d. 

Since face emojis predominantly express emotive meaning (see Grosz et al. 2023), the fact that they disambiguate speech acts entails that emotive devices can play a role in speech-act marking. I propose to analyze face emojis as speech act cues (see Grosz 2014): they do not semantically encode speech act information, but their emotive meanings support some speech acts while blocking others; e.g. the positive valence of (1a-b) is more naturally correlated with the nature of an INVITATION than with that of a COMMAND, whereas the negative valence of (1c) patterns in the opposite way. We expect that facial expressions may exhibit a similar inference from emotive meaning (see Scherer et al. 2018) to speech-act disambiguation.

**References:** • Gawne, L. & G. McCulloch (2019). Emoji as Digital Gestures. *Language@Internet* 17.2. • Grosz, P. (2014). Optative markers as communicative cues. *Natural Language Semantics* 22, 89–115. • Grosz, P., G. Greenberg, C. De Leon & E. Kaiser (2023). A semantics of face emoji in discourse. *Linguistics and Philosophy*. • Maier, E. to appear. Emojis as pictures. *Ergo*. • Kaufmann, M. 2012. *Interpreting Imperatives*. Amsterdam: Springer. • Scherer, K., M. Mortillaro, I. Rotondi, I. Sergi & S. Trznadel (2018). Appraisal-driven facial actions as building blocks for emotion inference. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 114(3), 358–379.

---

**Co-speech gesture in negative questions:  
Evidence from American soap opera actors**

---

**Johannes Heim<sup>1</sup>, Rebecca Woods<sup>2</sup>, Franziska Busche<sup>3</sup> & Sophie Repp<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Aberdeen, <sup>2</sup>Newcastle University, <sup>3</sup>Universität zu Köln  
johannes.heim@abdn.ac.uk, rebecca.woods@ncl.ac.uk, f.busche@uni-koeln.de, sophie.repp@uni-koeln.de

In this talk, we present gestural profiles of different negative questions. These questions are considered marked due to the presence of a negation, which does not impact their semantics. Unlike positive questions (1a), negative questions (1b-c), are asked to double-check a proposition (previously) considered to be true, or for which there is evidence in the context that it is true; therefore, there is a bias in the speech situation (see Romero's 2020 overview). Another pragmatic effect of negative questions (but also some positive ones) is that they can be easily used as suggestions, thus not actually having the discourse effect of asking.

(1) *Mary attends a party at Peters house. After a fun evening, Mary begins to worry about getting home. The last bus just left. Peter says to Mary:*

- |                                 |                               |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. Do you want to stay?         | (Polarity Question; PQ)       |
| b. Why don't you stay?          | (Why-Don't-You Question; WDQ) |
| c. Don't you want to stay?      | (High Negation Question; HNQ) |
| d. You want to stay, don't you? | (Negative Tag questions; NTQ) |

An interesting issue arising here is whether the different question types, resp. the range of discourse effects they may have, are characterized by different patterns of co-speech gesture that potentially guide the interlocutor in interpreting the intended discourse effect and thus arriving at the intended illocutionary interpretation.

Our data comes from 4 actors of the American soap opera *Bold and Beautiful* from the years 2010-2020. For each actor, we selected 80 questions of four different types (PQs, WDQs, HNQs & NTQs). We annotated all questions using the 3MD guidelines (Rohrer et al. 2023) with additions for body posture and eyebrow movement. Our preliminary results suggest that the negative questions considered here do not form a natural class with a uniform gestural encoding but all differ from what is reported for PQs. For instance, WDQs showed more hand gestural activity than other types, and these gestures are more beat-like than others. NTQs had the fewest gestures and were also the least beat-like. They also showed the smallest amount of head-movement. Nevertheless, NTQs had more eyebrow movements than both WDQs and NTQs, contrary to the trend we found in manual gestures.

**References:** • Rohrer, P. et al. (2023) The MultiModal MultiDimensional labeling system, doi: 10.17605/OSF.IO/ANKDX. • Romero, M. (2020) Form & function of negative, tag, and rhetorical questions. In Dépraz & Espinal, *The Oxford Handbook of Negation*. 235-254. OUP.

---

**SUDDENLY4 and clause types in German Sign Language: a corpus-based case study of a multifunctional sign**

---

**Alexander Eisenzimmer<sup>1</sup>, Thomas Finkbeiner<sup>2</sup>, Annika Herrmann<sup>1</sup>,  
Simon Kollien<sup>1</sup> & Nina-Kristin Meister<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Hamburg, <sup>2</sup>Georg-August-Universität Göttingen  
alexander.eisenzimmer@uni-hamburg.de, thomas.finkbeiner@uni-goettingen.de, annika.herrmann@uni-hamburg.de, simon.kollien@uni-hamburg.de, ninakristin.meister@uni-goettingen.de

German Sign Language (DGS), like many other sign languages, exhibits a lot of multifunctional signs that show interesting restrictions on their distribution across clause types. Our collaborative work investigates such a sign using data from the Public DGS Corpus *MEINE DGS – annotiert* (cf. Konrad et al. 2020).

More than 400 tokens of SUDDENLY4 have been detected in the corpus data using the Public DGS Corpus. 144 participants used SUDDENLY4 in their signing. We analyzed a subset of 150 randomly picked examples based on the judgement of three deaf native and near-native signers. In group discussions, all tokens were categories according to function, distribution within the clause, and occurrence within clause types, by taking semantics, phonology, and prosody into account.

We found evidence for three major context-dependent functional categories: (i) Lexically, SUDDENLY4 may function as a temporal adverbial. It is a two-handed sign with the O-handshape and a downward movement combined with a lexical facial expression usually involving a mouth pattern with the Action Units 10+25+33A (cf. FACS by Ekman et al. 2002; Pendzich 2022). The sign can mark a sudden event in a storyline and may be an indication of parallel events or scenes. The sign may also function as (ii) a conditional subjunction, which has been previously described for DGS (cf. Paulus 2021; Pendzich et al. 2022) and is now further confirmed by our corpus-study. SUDDENLY4 as (iii) a discourse marker has been found in our data to indicate a reference to a certain topic shift. SUDDENLY4 does not appear in questions or imperatives and seems to be clause-type sensitive.

**References:** • Ekman, P. et al. (2002). *Facial Action Coding System. Investigator's guide*. Salt Lake City: Research Nexus. • Konrad, R. et al. (2020). *MY DGS – annotated. Public Corpus of German Sign Language*, 3rd release [Dataset]. Universität Hamburg. <https://doi.org/10.25592/dgs.corpus-3.0> • Paulus, L. (2021). *Der Konditionalsatz DGS und Libras – Eine empirische soziolinguistische Studie*. Dissertation. • Pendzich, N.-K. (2020). *Lexical Nonmanuals in German Sign Language. Empirical Studies and Theoretical Implications*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton / Ishara Press. • Pendzich, N.-K. et al. (2022). How do Signers Mark Conditionals in German Sign Language? Insights from a Sentence Reproduction Task on the Use of Nonmanual and Manual Markers. In: *Croatian Review of Rehabilitation Research* 58 (Special Issue: Sign Language, Deaf Culture, and Bilingual Education), 206–226.

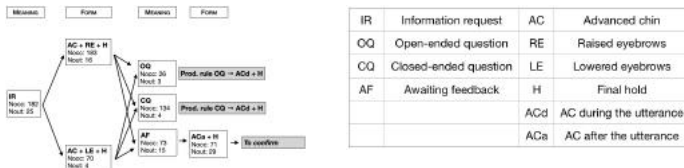
## Examining interrogative marking in French Sign Language with the AZee approach

**Emmanuella Martinod, Michael Filhol**

*LISN, University Paris-Saclay & CNRS*

emmanuella.martinod@lisn.fr, michael.filhol@lisn.fr

Work on Sign Languages (SLs) underline the role of different non-manual markers depending on the type of question: the eyebrows would be raised, and the chin lowered for the production of *closed-ended questions*, while the eyebrows would be lowered for *open-ended questions*. Work on French Sign Language (LSF) also seem to validate this contrast but without quantitative analysis. We tested this in the framework of AZee, a formal approach to SL modeling. It is based on the identification of linguistic associations between forms (i.e. timed body articulations) and identified meanings (of which ‘information request’ constituted a relevant instance for this work), called *production rules*. A corpus-based methodology exists to extract AZee production rules from SL data (Hadjadj et al. 2018). It consists in data searches alternating meaning and form criteria, gradually converging to strong associations ultimately leading to production rules. We applied it on approximately 1 ½ hours of semi-elicited dialogues in LSF. This process is summarized below.<sup>2</sup>



Results do not show that eyebrows would be *the* marker of IR in LSF. Additionally, the type of question does not seem to trigger a specific shape of eyebrows. This work instead highlights the role of AC for *all* questions. However, AC also seems to be involved in other utterances that are not questions: AF. Further studies would confirm the difference of timing of AC observed between IR and AF. Finally, another blind spot is the change in eyebrows shape alongside questions, regardless of its type. Having a closer look at the signer’s biases could also shed new light on this point.

References: • Hadjadj, M., Filhol, M., Braffort, A. (2018). Modeling French Sign Language: A proposal for a semantically compositional system. In *Proceedings of the Language Resources and Evaluation Conference*, 4253-4258, Miyazaki, Japan.

<sup>2</sup> *Nocc* corresponds to the total number of occurrences found for the concerned criterion; *Nout* corresponds to the number of occurrences that do not fit into any of the next groups.

---

**Multimodal strategies for affirmations and rejections:  
Evidence from co-speech gesture in German.**

---

**Cornelia Loos<sup>1</sup> & Sophie Repp<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Hamburg, <sup>2</sup>Universität zu Köln

cornelia.loos@uni-hamburg.de, sophie.repp@uni-koeln.de

Polar response particles like *yes* and *no* may express the affirmation and rejection of a previous utterance and thus serve a speech-act-signaling function. The particles may also express the polarity of the response clause. In responses to negative antecedents, the two functions come apart, so that ambiguity may arise:

- (1) *Antecedent:* Peter hat die Wette **nicht** gewonnen. ‚Pete has **not** won the bet.‘  
*Response:*a. **Ja/Nein**, hat er nicht. *ja* =affirmation, *nein* = negative polarity  
 b. **Ja/Nein**, hat er. *nein* = rejection, *ja* = positive polarity

In view of recent studies on multi-modal communication, the issue arises if co-speech gestures might be exploited for disambiguation. Head movements have been claimed to be equivalent to spoken response particles in that they encode affirmation and rejection [2], and absolute polarity [3]. Data from Mandarin [4], Catalan and Russian [5] suggest that head nods can encode positive absolute polarity. Brow movements are another multimodal strategy observed in rejections. Brow raising occurs with increased frequency in rejections of negative antecedents [4,5,6], brow furrowing in rejections in general [6]. This study investigates the interplay of co-speech gesture and response elements in signaling affirmation/rejection and polarity in German. We conducted a discourse completion task with 24 speakers who watched 48 dialogues between two characters that ended in a positive/negative assertion. Speakers completed the dialogues by affirming or rejecting the assertion. All data have been annotated for movement/position of head, brows, hands, shoulder, torso and nose. Statistical analyses are ongoing; we expect head movements to align with the particles *ja/nein*, which in German preferentially express the speech act [1]. We also expect alignment for unambiguous speech-act-signaling response elements; in rejections with *doch*, head nods might occur. For brow movements we expect furrowing in rejections.

**References:** [1] Claus/Meijer/Repp/Krifka (2017). Puzzling response particles: an experimental study on the German answering system. *Sem & Prag* 10(19), 1-52. [2] Jakobson (1972). Motor signs for ‘yes’ and ‘no’. *Lang in Soc*, 1, 91–96. [3] Esipova (2021). Polar Responses in Russian across Modalities and across interfaces. *Jrl. Slav Ling*, 29. [4] Li/González-Fuente/Prieto/Espinal (2016). Is Mandarin Chinese a truth-based language? Rejecting responses to negative assertions and questions. *Front. Psych.* 7, 1967, 1-10. [5] 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. *Front. Psych.* 6(899), 1-16. [6] Loos/Steinbach/Repp. (2019). Affirming and rejecting assertions in German Sign Language (DGS). *Proc. Sinn und Bedeutung* 24, 1-19.



## **Arbeitsgruppe 6**

---

### Workshop 6

---

## Topics and Rhetorics: A Multi-Level Approach to Framing

---

**Manfred Stede**

*Universität Potsdam*

stede@uni-potsdam.de

The journals *Nature* and *Science* enjoy a high reputation and are being followed not only in the scientific community, but also by media, and journalists often transmit findings to wider public audiences. The editorials of the journals therefore also play an important role for conveying the opinions of scientists to the public, and indirectly to political actors. British climate scientists built a corpus of all editorials that addressed the topic of climate change (CC) between 1966 and 2016 (Hulme et al. 2018), and attached to each text a frame label that was meant to capture the type of challenge that CC posed, according to the author of the editorial. The categories included *Science*, *Technology*, *Economics*, *Development*, and others. From the annotations, Hulme et al. derived temporal trends of frame usage and a number of differences in the framings used by the two journals.

In the course of running computational experiments on the corpus (Stede et al., 2023), we found two shortcomings of the data: (i) Editorials address CC to very different degrees, sometimes mentioning it only in passing; (ii) the ‘challenges’ essentially amount to *topics*, which (while a very popular approach in many disciplines) do not provide a fully satisfactory conceptualization of *framing*.

In our current work, we extend the corpus by adding the editorials covering 2016 to 2022, and by re-annotating the data as follows: Paragraphs are rated for their degree of being related to CC. If a paragraph addressess CC, it receives a ‘topic’ frame. In addition, we annotate frames in the tradition of Entman (1993) on sentence level within that paragraph: *problem description*, *cause of the problem*, *moral judgement*, or *suggestion of remedy*. Finally, to the full editorial text, we assign the stance the author conveys toward CC: it is a problem; it is not a problem; author is unsure about the status of the problem; or there is no recognizable stance. We argue that these annotations provide a more fine-grained account of the framing in the texts, by focusing only on the relevant text portions and by representing the interplay of the ‘topic’ frames and the Entman-style ‘rhetorical’ frames.

**References:** Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *J of Communication* 43(4), 51-58. • Hulme, M., N. Obermeister, S. Randalls & M. Borie (2018). Framing the challenge of climate change in *Nature* and *Science* editorials. *Nature Climate Change* 8, 515-521. • Stede, M., Y. Bracke, L. Borec, N.C. Kinkel & M. Skeppstedt (2023). Framing Climate Change in *Nature* and *Science* Editorials: Applications of Supervised and Unsupervised Text Categorization. *J of Computational Social Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42001-023-00199-7>

---

## German Modal Particles: A Lens on Framing at Non-Propositional Level

---

Qi Yu

*University of Konstanz*  
qi.yu@uni-konstanz.de

The automated detection of framing in political discourses has gained substantial attention in natural language processing (NLP). However, most NLP studies to date oversimplify framing as a matter of topic preference (see a survey by Ali & Hassan 2022), whereas more subtle types of framing arising from non-propositional contents have been severely neglected. To fill this gap, we investigate one type of pragmatic cues that evokes framing effect by the non-propositional messages it carries: the usage of *modal particles* (MPs) in causal structures.

German possesses a diverse range of MPs that convey the speaker's stance on a proposition's connection to common ground, without contributing to the propositional content. These include: **(a)** MPs signaling that a proposition is in the common ground (*ja*), and **(b)** MPs signaling a resigned acceptance of a proposition (*eben, halt*). Specifically, when used in causal structures, these MPs subtly render the speakers' reasoning as a consensus or being evident, thereby covertly enhancing the credibility and incontrovertibility of the speakers' event interpretation. The underlined part in Example (1) below illustrates this effect:

- (1) *Das Schlepperunwesen kann ja/eben nur deswegen grassieren, weil Europa die Flüchtlinge mit allen Mitteln fernhält.*

‘The human smuggling is rampant, only because Europe keeps the refugees away with all means - as everyone knows / that's just how it is.’

(source: Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2015-04-18; text slightly adapted by the author)

In this work, we focus on a large-scale dataset of articles on the event “European Refugee Crisis” published between 2014 and 2018 by Germany's three most circulated national daily newspapers: *Bild*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), and *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ). With a logistic regression model, we show the systematic framing strategies carried by the MPs: most crucially, the occurrence of causal discourse relation in FAZ and SZ significantly increases the log-odds of MPs' occurrence. This finding is particularly intriguing as it suggests that FAZ and SZ systematically emphasize causal relationships in a manner that accentuates consensus or undeniability. By investigating the intricate interplay between MPs' pragmatic subtleties and argumentative structures, this work serves as an attempt towards a more in-depth detection of framing.

**References:** Ali, M & N. Hassan (2022). A survey of computational framing analysis approaches. In *Proceedings of the 2022 conference on empirical methods in natural language processing*, 9335–9348.

---

**From the Linguistic Surface to the Framing of Extremism.  
Distributional Methods for Modeling and Visualizing Framing and  
Semantic Frames**

---

**Tim Feldmüller<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Leibniz-Institut für Deutsche Sprache Mannheim*  
feldmueller@ids-mannheim.de

This contribution introduces a computational approach to framing that follows on from the work of Klein (2018) and Ziem et al. (2018) and ties the framing concept to linguistic theory building on semantic frames. I use Busse's (2012) frame model, which is a synthesis of earlier slot-filler models, including those of Fillmore, Minsky, Barsalou, and Schank & Abelson, and allows to describe the extensive (linguistic) knowledge required to participate in discourses. I would like to demonstrate the potentials of this method by means of analyses I conducted on the discourse of extremism in the years 1999 - 2021 and the framing of individual variants of extremism. In this context, an extremism frame could hold slots for actors, actions or attributions such as *Bernd Höcke, demonstrating* or *cruel*. In Busse's model, such an abstracted frame description represents a type frame, while the realizations in individual texts with concrete fillers are called token frames. Following Klein (2018) and Ziem et al. (2018), I conceptualize framing as the potentially strategic realization of a token frame with specific slots and fillers.

In order to show how the framing of individual forms of extremism differs diachronically and between different newspapers, I create sub-corpora for individual time periods and the three newspapers from a large press corpus (1.3 billion tokens) consisting of the online article stock of the newspapers *Taz*, *Spiegel* and *Welt*. By combining the paradigmatic distributional analysis of word embedding clusters with the syntagmatic analysis of collocations, it is possible to create network-like frames for individual time periods and newspapers. It can be shown, for example, that right-wing extremism is still framed as a violent form of extremism in the years 1999-2001, but that this changes after the attacks of September 11, 2001 to a framing that focuses on party-political action and demonstrations, until after the uncovering of the NSU in 2011, the capacity for violence and terrorism comes back into focus.

**References:** • Busse, D. (2012). *Frame-Semantik. Ein Kompendium*. De Gruyter. • Klein, J. (2018). Frame und Framing. Frametheoretische Konsequenzen aus Praxis und Analyse strategischen politischen Framings. In A. Ziem, L. Inderelst, & D. Wulf (eds.), *Frames interdisziplinär. Modelle, Anwendungsfelder, Methoden*. 289–330. Düsseldorf University Press. • Ziem, A., Pentzold, C., & Fraas, C. (2018). Medien-Frames als semantische Frames: Aspekte ihrer methodischen und analytischen Verschränkung am Beispiel der ‚Snowden-Affäre‘. In A. Ziem, L. Inderelst, & D. Wulf (eds.), *Frames interdisziplinär. Modelle, Anwendungsfelder, Methoden*. 155–182. Düsseldorf University Press.

---

## How to do politics with words: Analyzing the framing of political issues through the lens of speech acts

---

**Ines Reinig, Ines Rehbein, Simone Paolo Ponzetto**

*Universität Mannheim*

ines.reinig@uni-mannheim.de

Parliamentary debates provide a rich resource for analyzing political discourse and for investigating how political parties discuss and frame current political issues. Speakers from different political parties are given the opportunity to express their viewpoints and demands regarding these issues. The structured nature of the debates allows us to study which communicative strategies are employed by the different parties to talk about the same political issues.

Examples (1) and (2) below illustrate how the same political goal can be expressed either in a cooperative or in a confrontational manner. In (1), the request includes both the speaker and the addressees of the utterance as an invitation to work together towards a shared goal (to abolish the solidarity surcharge). In (2), however, the speaker utilizes a far more confrontational communicative strategy, making a demand directed at the political opponent (and excluding the speaker).

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| (1) Lassen Sie uns gemeinsam den Soli abschaffen. | Request |
| (2) Schaffen Sie endlich den Soli ab!             | Demand  |

The goal of our work is to study *how* different parties talk about opponents, issues and their own goals. Our contributions are the following:

- (i) We present a new annotation scheme with 14 classes tailored to German parliamentary debates. Our scheme draws on the seminal categorization of illocutionary acts in Searle (1976) and on Kondratenko et al. (2020).
- (ii) We create a new dataset of German parliamentary debates annotated for speech acts, with more than 12,900 annotated instances.
- (iii) We provide strong baselines to automatically detect speech acts. Our best classifier achieves a micro-averaged F1 close to 82%.
- (iv) We showcase how our new schema and resources can be used for political text analysis. We use our best classifier to predict the pragmatic functions of utterances in German parliamentary debates over a time range of 30 years. In an initial analysis, we confirm our expectation that parties opt for different rhetorical strategies, depending on whether they are in government or part of the opposition at the time of speaking.

**References:** • Kondratenko, N. V., Kiselova, A. A., & Zavalska, L. V. (2020). Strategies and Tactics of Communication in Parliamentary Discourse. In *Studies about Languages*. (36), 17–29. • Searle, J. R. (1976). A classification of illocutionary acts. In *Language in society*, 5(1), 1–23.

---

## Framing the war in Ukraine in a time lapse.

---

**Anna Verbytska**

*Martin Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg*

anna.verbytska@medienkomm.uni-halle.de

As previously shown by a number of scholars, media framing for various areas like policy, political arguments, media debates on climate change, or narratives about the war and genocide in media discourse (Kent, 2005) is being effectively studied with the application of computational models for linguistic research, e.g. LDA model with MALLET's, LDA model with spaCy and Gensim, or transformer-based language models.

The current paper offers frame analysis to address the 'ideological orderings' that determine the moral judgment of the war in Ukraine and emotional framing of the war's milestones in European Union and Ukrainian (English version) media outlets in a one-year time span (24 June 2022 – 24 June 2023). These questions will be answered with the help of computational and linguistic methods of Natural Language Processing (NLP), Corpus Linguistics (CL), Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Previously, the innovative interdisciplinary combination of these fields has proved efficient for the studies of terrorist discourse (Francisco et al., 2022), and is to be used again, yet for another life-and-death topic.

The SFL framework offers transitivity, appraisal and affect analyses to identify transitivity patterns of processes, participants and circumstances, appraisal and sentiments. The NLP techniques with employment of transformer-based models provided by Hugging Face (BERT, DistilBERT, RoBERTa) such as topic modelling to extract latent topics, Named Entity Recognition and Sentiment Analysis in Python and CL methodology with LancesBox X corpus analysis tool will identify the broader frames (topics), and more detailed issue-specific frames which, according to Entman (2010), define the problem, analyse causes, provide a moral evaluation to the situation and, finally, recommend treatment. In the end, CDA prompts us to consider potential ideological motivations for the linguistic options chosen to represent the event of utter social importance – the war in Ukraine – from two political perspectives.

**References:** • Kent, G. (2006). *Framing war and genocide: British policy and news media reaction to the war in Bosnia*. NY: Hampton Press. • Entman, R. M. (2010). Framing Media Power. In: P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers (Eds.). *Doing News Framing Analysis: Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, 331–355. Routledge. • Francisco, M., Benítez-Castro, M.-A., Hidalgo-Tenorio, E. & Castro, J. L. (2022). A semi-supervised algorithm for detecting extremism propaganda diffusion on social media. *Pragmatics and Society*, 13, 532–554.

---

## Automatic detection of argumentative frames: solutions and challenges

---

**Elena Musi**

*University of Liverpool*  
elena.musi@liverpool.ac.uk

In this contribution I discuss two methodologies to identify frames with an argumentative value at scale, leveraging Frame Semantics and Congruity Theory.

**Rationale:** Although in Communication Science framing in argumentation has been investigated from a theoretical perspective, Natural Language Processing studies have addressed the empirical task of automatically identifying frames and their argumentative potential only recently. The majority of the unsupervised approaches have either analyzed framing from the perspective of topic-modeling or keyword clustering or treated frames as domain labels, thus not shedding lights on frames' argumentative potential. Regardless the approach, lexical semantics aspects have been largely neglected.

**Frame semantics approach:**<sup>3</sup> Rather than formulating frames as unsupervised topic labels, a context/domain and genre-independent methodology for frame identification leveraging Frame Semantics is proposed. As a dataset the WEBIS (Ajjour et al., 2019) corpus which contains 1,623 domains and 465 topics is used. First, the parser SEMAFOR is run over corpus. As a second step, to select those frames which bear more relevance, the Keyphrase Digger (KD) (Moretti et al., 2015) tool for key concept extraction is run on the WEBIS arguments and semantic frames which overlap with key concepts are selected. Options for evaluating the performance are discussed.

**Congruity theory & hashtags approach:** Focusing on the hashtag #*genocide* on Twitter in relation to the Ukraine-Russia war, it is shown that hashtags, working as frames, can constitute proxies for advancing standpoints and arguments depending on their semantic features. A methodological pipeline is proposed where the presuppositions and entailments of the lexical items making up the hashtags are mapped onto their framing functions, further constrained by the position of the hashtags and their discursive value.

**References:** • Ajjour, Y., Alshomary, M., Wachsmuth, H., & Stein, B. (2019, November). Modeling frames in argumentation. In *Proceedings of the 2019 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing and the 9th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (EMNLP-IJCNLP)* (pp. 2922-2932). • Moretti, G., Sprugnoli, R., & Tonelli, S. (2015). Digging in the dirt: Extracting keyphrases from texts with kd. *CLiC it*, 198.

---

<sup>3</sup> This is ongoing co-work with Dr Debanjan Ghosh, Educational Testing Service (ETS)

---

## Towards a Semantic-Pragmatic Dual-Process Model of Framing Effects

---

**Berry Claus & Marie Christin Walch**

*Leibniz Universität Hannover*

berry.claus@germanistik.uni-hannover.de, marie.walch@germanistik.uni-hannover.de

The term *framing effect* (FE) refers to the phenomenon that choices and judgments are systematically altered by changing the description of states of affairs. For example, a program to combat a disease expected to kill 600 people is more often endorsed if it is framed in terms of the number of people who will survive rather than die (see (1)).

(1) If Program 1 is adopted, [200 people will survive] / [400 people will die].

FEs are empirically well-established. Yet, their source remains controversial. We aim to account for FEs via a semantic-pragmatic approach inspired by experimental findings on effects of numeral modification with *at least* (Mandel 2014) and *more than* and *fewer than* (Claus 2019). These findings are complemented by new results from experiments in which we addressed the difference between *at most* and *up to*. Both numeral modifiers are upper-bounding. However, they exhibit a sharp contrast in evaluative contexts. In our experiments, we found a reversed FE for numeral modification with *at most* as in (2), and a standard FE for numeral modification with *up to* as in (3). These findings are challenging for all extant accounts of FEs. However, they can be captured in a semantic-pragmatic dual-process model.

(2) ... [at most 200 people will survive] / [at most 400 people will die].

(3) ... [up to 200 people will survive] / [up to 400 people will die].

We propose that the source of FEs is that different frames make different partial outcomes of a two-edged issue salient. By default, the salient part is that the given predicate (e.g. *survive* or *die*) holds for some instances. However, downward-entailing modifiers may make the complement set salient. FEs emerge if judgments are based on the immediate valence appraisal of the salient partial information. FEs are less likely to occur on the basis of deliberate reasoning processes. However, such controlled processes may be affected by numeral modifiers, e.g. argumentative and persuasive inferences and quantity implicatures. This account may be incorporated into a computational model by building on implementations of dynamic stochastic dual process modelling (e.g. Diederich & Trueblood, 2018).

**References:** • Claus, B. (2019). Framing effects as a semantic puzzle: Putting the alignment-assumption account to a test. In *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 23, Vol. 1 (pp. 249-266). • Diederich, A. & Trueblood, J.S. (2018). A dynamic dual process model of risky decision making. *Psychological Review*, 125, 270–292. • Mandel, D.R. (2014). Do framing effects reveal irrational choice? *JEP: General*, 143, 1185-1198.



---

## Reaching Beyond Framing

### Surveying Ideological (Dis)similarities of Far-right Actors

---

**Agnes Wankmüller**

*Universität Passau*

wankmu01@ads.uni-passau.de

In research on far-right mobilization online, framing has become the central analytical category for many quantitative and qualitative inquiries. However, the exclusive focus on framing might omit important aspects of far-right mobilization. *Framing* refers to the collective processes of interpretation, attribution and social construction that seek to legitimize and mobilize collective action. However, the analytical focus on *ideology* is oriented to capture the multiple dimensions and interrelations of ideas within belief systems: it allows us to capture information not just about why an idea resonates with a group, but also points to the social construction processes of thinking, reasoning and socializing (Oliver/ Johnston 2000). Similarly, Bennett and Toft propose an analytical focus on both framing and narratives in order to capture different ideological constructs that can underlie one frame (2009: 248-9).

The focus on ideology gains more relevance for analyses of far-right YouTube, as narratives often refer to the ideological components of antagonistic in-/out-grouping, e.g. by presenting anti-immigration stances as representation of a white working class (Mudde/ Rovira Kaltwasser 2012: 8). In other words, they rely on the symbolic reference and the cultivation of affectively charged group identities that are positioned in existing struggles (cf. Rensmann 2017).

In my contribution, I look into how NLP could be applied to trace the above mentioned narrative components of ideologies using video transcripts as data source. By applying topic modeling to the transcripts of individual channels, the framing strategies with regard to group identities can be indicated. Central wordings that refer to groups then can be tested on their cosine similarity both by a pretrained model (containing ‘ordinary’ biases in the English language) and by a model trained from scratch on the data taken from far-right YouTube. Thereby, the placing of groups within a semantic space could be compared among different far-right actors and against the background of common prejudice.

**References:** • Bennett, W. L. & A. Toft, (2009). Identity, technology, and narratives. In: A. Chadwick, A. & P.N. Howard (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. New York: Routledge, 246–260. • Mudde, C. & C. Rovira Kaltwasser (2017): *Populism: A very short introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. • Oliver, P. & H. Johnston (2000): What a Good Idea! Ideologies and Frames in Social Movement Research. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 5 (1): 37–54. • Rensmann, L. (2017): The Noisy Counter-Revolution: Understanding the Cultural Conditions and Dynamics of Populist Politics in Europe in the Digital Age. *Politics and Governance* 5 (4), 123–135.

---

## The Dynamics of Framing in Dialogue

---

**Zlata Kikteva<sup>1</sup>, Annette Hautli-Janisz<sup>1</sup>, Chris Reed<sup>2</sup>, Steve Oswald<sup>3</sup>,  
Christopher Klamm<sup>4</sup>, Wassiliki Siskou<sup>1</sup>, Meghdut Sengupta<sup>5</sup>, Manfred  
Stede<sup>6</sup> & Henning Wachsmuth<sup>5</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Passau, <sup>2</sup>University of Dundee, <sup>3</sup>University of Fribourg,

<sup>4</sup>University of Mannheim, University Hannover, <sup>6</sup>University of Potsdam

Corresponding author: zlata.kikteva@uni-passau.de

Framing is an appealing and intuitive notion, both academically and in common usage. Pinning down what, precisely, is meant by framing as well as by the types, mechanisms, and rules that govern framing has posed deep challenges for disciplines right across academia for at least half a century (Chong and Druckman (2007); Dewulf et al. (2009); Rocci (2009); Jermini-Martinez Soria (2021)). Our goal, however, is not to try to settle the arguments on what framing is, but to operationalize frames in communication by defining and formalizing a set of reframing moves that allow us to show how framing unfolds and is reacted to in a dialogical setting. We do not attempt to model the exact spell-out of what the text is about but interpret framing as a dynamic process where individual moves between segments allow people to make content more or less salient.

We seek to identify ‘framing moves’, as we call them, i.e., labels that characterize the transitions between speaker moves. To this end, we split the discourse into segments, called ‘frame discourse units’, FDUs, i.e., units that encompass a specific frame move in the dialogue. In order to characterize how the FDUs hang together in the discourse, we identify seven moves: *start*, *take on*, *resume*, *elaborate*, *reframe*, *switch*, and *merge*. In formalizing those moves, we build on a vectorized representation of the FDUs, the notion of activated pieces of information, and semantic distance between FDUs as characterizations of frame moves.

What we aim to provide is a framework and a new vocabulary for talking about framing dynamics. A description of just how it is that the dynamics of framing can rest upon the salience of complex semantic juxtapositions can now be made more precise and formal, while at the same time allowing for a natural and straightforward translation into computational settings.

**References:** • Chong, D., Druckman, J.N. (2007). Framing Theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10 (1), 103–126. • Dewulf, A., Gray, B., Putnam, L., Lewicki, R., Aarts, N., Bouwen, R., van Woerkum, C. (2009). Disentangling approaches to framing in conflict and negotiation research: A meta-paradigmatic perspective. *Human Relations*, 62 (2), 155–193. • Jermini-Martinez Soria, C. (2021). Reframing as an argumentative competence in dispute mediation (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Università della Svizzera Italiana, Lugano. • Rocci, A. (2009). Manoeuvring with voices: The polyphonic framing of arguments in an institutional advertisement. F.H. van Eemeren (Ed.), *Argumentation in Context* (Vol. 1, pp. 257–283). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

---

## Manipulative framing in Italian political discourse

---

**Doriana Cimmino**

*Independent researcher*

dorcimm@hotmail.com

In his 1993 thought-provoking work, Entman pinpoints the absence of a theory of framing capable of showing “how frames [...] make themselves manifest in a text, or how framing influences thinking.” (p.52). We wish to contribute to the ongoing debate on framing by i) introducing a functional definition of frame for textual analysis and by ii) showing how framing can possibly influence voters’ choices.

We will define Frame as the information unit providing the semantico-pragmatic coordinates for the interpretation of one or more utterances in the discourse (Ferrari 2014). This definition can include not only classical spatio-temporal coordinates (1), but also, for example, logical premises (2).

(1) *Today*, we will not go out.

(2) *If it rains heavily*, we will not go out and we will play cards.

We will argue that the so defined Frame performs the selective and highlighting functions described in Entman (1993: 52). The framed linguistic material describes the portion of reality selected by the speaker as a pragmatic reference for the addressee (Cresti/Moneglia 2018), and it acquires discourse prominence at a textual level (von Heusinger & Schumacher 2019).

Furthermore, following Lombardi Vallauri/Masia (2014), we will maintain that framed linguistic material is likely to be processed as cognitively active in the addressee Short-Term Memory. Debatable or even false contents could thus be smuggled as already accepted by the addressee. Relying on the IMPAQTS corpus of pragmatically annotated Italian political speeches (Cominetti et al., 2022), we will discuss examples of deceptive framing. We will show how selection, prominence, and cognitive activation can influence voters’ thinking.

**References:** • Cominetti, F., Gregori, L., Lombardi Vallauri, E. & A. Panunzi (2022). IMPAQTS: un corpus di discorsi politici italiani annotato per gli impliciti linguistici. In E. Cresti, M. Moneglia, *Corpora e Studi Linguistici. Atti del LIV Congresso della SLI*. Milano: Officinaventuno, 151–164. • Cresti, E., & M. Moneglia (2018). The definition of the TOPIC within language into Act Theory and its identification in spontaneous speech corpora. *Revue Romane* 53(1), 30–62. • Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43 (4), 51–58. • Ferrari, A. (2014). The Basel Model for paragraph segmentation: the construction units, their relationships and linguistic indication. In S. Pons (ed.), *Discourse Segmentation in Romance Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 23–54. • von Heusinger, K. & P. B. Schumacher (2019). Discourse prominence: Definition and application. *Journal of Pragmatics* 154, 117–127. • Lombardi Vallauri, E. & V. Masia (2014). Implicitness impact: Measuring texts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 61, 161–184.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 7**

---

### Workshop 7

---

**Modelling metaphor in the age of large language models**

---

**Ekaterina Shutova**  
*University of Amsterdam*

---

## Extended metaphors

---

**Markus Egg**

*Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

markus.egg@hu-berlin.de

In a corpus-based analysis of extended metaphor (EM), I investigated whether EM correlates with register and how register properties can influence its realisation.

Metaphors refer to an entity that is similar to the literal referent. In *extended metaphor*, several metaphors in a discourse share the kind of similarity (Semino and Steen 2008, Reijnierse et al. 2020). E.g., (1) and (2) both refer to a direct referendum as the free leg of democracy, a metaphor of the type SOCIETY IS A BODY:

- (1) *Standbein unserer Demokratie* ‘main pillar of our democracy’
- (2) *Da dieses Standbein fehlt, steht unsere Demokratie gewisser Weise nur auf einem Bein da.* ‘Since this free leg is missing, our democracy is standing on one leg only, as it were.’

*Register* refers to the influence of situational or functional context on intra-individual linguistic variation. Halliday & Hasan (1985) define register features like ‘tenor’, which targets relations of interlocutors (e.g., hierarchy or closeness). Biber & Conrad (2009) identify register dimensions like persuasivity.

The analysis used the metaphor corpus of Egg and Kordoni (2023), whose text types (parliament speeches, news commentaries, sermons, fiction, debates, and TEDx talks) vary along register dimensions. EM frequency (per 1000 words) in the corpus is given in Table 1, correlation to text type is significant at  $p < .0001$ .

text type	sermons	speeches	commentaries	fiction	debates	TEDx talks
EM	3.0	.3	1.2	.2	2.0	.7

Table 1: EM counts for the subcorpora

These scores correlate strongly ( $p < .01$ ) with persuasivity and hierarchy. Also, EMs greatly vary in length, in particular, sermons and debates often exhibit long EMs. While many EMs consist of conventionalised metaphors, we also found non-conventionalised metaphors in EMs. In the debates, due to their dialogic nature, EMs typically span across the turns of several speakers, and their distribution between speakers follows specific patterns in that metaphors can be shared or be used exclusively by individual speakers or groups of speakers.

**References:** • Biber, D., & S. Conrad (2009). *Register, genre, and style*. CUP. • Egg, M., & V. Kordoni (2023). A corpus of metaphors as register markers. *Findings of EACL 2023*, 220–226. • Halliday, M., & R. Hasan (1985). *Language, context and text*. Deakin University Press. • Reijnierse, G., C. Burgers, T. Krennmayr & G. Steen (2020). The role of co-text in the analysis of potentially deliberate metaphor. In C. Di Biase-Dyson & M. Egg (eds), *Drawing attention to metaphor*. Benjamins, 15–38. • Semino, E., & G. Steen (2008). Metaphor in literature. In R. Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of metaphor and thought*. CUP, 232–246.

---

## Computational Analysis of the Use of Metaphors vs. Similes

---

**Ariel Cohen**

*Ben-Gurion University of the Negev*

arikk@bgu.ac.il

Ever since Aristotle, it has been noted that the meanings of metaphors and similes seem very close; it seems that (1a) and (1b) mean pretty much the same thing.

- (1)     a. My lawyer is a shark                             b. My lawyer is like a shark

This raises a question: why do we have these two forms, instead of only one?

Chiappe & Kennedy (2001) found that people sometimes prefer one form over another. For example, informants prefer the metaphor (2a) over the simile (2b), but the simile (3b) over the metaphor (3a). The question is: why?.

- (2) a. Life is a journey                                        b. Life is like a journey  
 (3) a. Highways are snakes.                               b. Highways are like snakes.

Chiappe & Kennedy claim that the preference is based on similarity: metaphors are preferred as similarity between tenor and vehicle increases. In earlier work, Gibb & Wales (1990) argue that the preference is based on abstractness: metaphors are preferred as vehicles are more abstract.

Both studies are based on eliciting subjective judgments of similarity or abstractness, but it is not clear on what basis the informants made their judgments. We argue that a more objective measure is called for, and demonstrate how at computational analysis provides precisely this measure.

We first set out to check the role of similarity. We examined a list of tenors and vehicles of 30 figurative statements, used by Chiappe & Kennedy. For each tenor and vehicle we extracted the word vectors from Sense2Vec (Trask *et al.* 2015) and the preference of metaphor over simile, but found no significant correlation, in contrast with Chiappe & Kennedy's claims.

Turning to abstractness, we assigned a rating to the vehicle in each tenor-vehicle pair, taken from a dataset developed using the computational method described in Turney *et al.* (2011). Our results show a very strong correlation between these variables, supporting Gibb and Wales (1990).

Thus, a computational approach helps decide between theories of metaphor.

**References:** • Chiappe, D. L., & Kennedy, J. M. (2001). Literal bases for metaphor and simile. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 16(3-4), 249-276. • Gibb, H., & Wales, R. (1990). Metaphor or simile: Psychological determinants of the differential use of each sentence form. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 5(4), 199-213. • Trask *et al.*(2015). Sense2Vec—a fast and accurate method for word sense disambiguation in neural word embeddings, arXiv preprint, 1511.06388 •Turney *et al.* (2011). Literal and metaphorical sense identification through concrete and abstract context. EMNLP (680-690).

---

## A Survey of Body Part Construction Metaphors in the Neo-Assyrian Letter Corpus

---

**Matthew Ong<sup>1</sup>, Shai Gordin<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>UC Berkeley, <sup>2</sup>Ariel University

matthewcong@berkeley.edu, shaigo@ariel.ac.il

We present findings from a semi-automated linguistic analysis of the letter sub-corpus of the online State Archives of Assyria project (SAA), focusing on a specific grammatical configuration we dub a **Body Part Construction** (BPC). This is a verb phrase with a compound prepositional phrase involving a simple human body part. For instance, *alāku ina muhhi* literally means ‘to go to the skull’, or more colloquially, ‘to go towards’. The BCP is a major template for conventional metaphors that greatly expands the expressive capacity of Akkadian. While specific instances of this construction have been documented in the literature, no large scale survey of them has been conducted until now.

Our presentation centers on how we constructed and analyzed our data set, which involved annotating the entire SAA letter corpus and converting those annotations to a format conducive to searching for BPC’s. This process first involved training a custom spaCy language model on a set of gold-standard annotations and then applying the model’s predictions to the rest of the corpus. The resulting annotations were converted to a linked open data format that easily facilitated searches for BPC’s via sparql queries. These automated search results were then combined with pre-existing corpus metadata, allowing us to easily discern a number linguistic and rhetorical features of BPC’s in the SAAo letter sub-corpus. The most interesting of these to date is the fact that there is a dialectal split between Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian letters in terms of whether BPC’s use the base prepositions *ina* versus *ana*.

Beyond the specific linguistic findings we present, the value of our presentation also lies in how our methods can easily be used by other scholars of low-resource ancient languages who wish to efficiently annotate and analyze corpora on their own.

**References:** • Ong, M. & S. Gordin (to appear). A Survey of Body Part Construction Metaphors in the Neo-Assyrian Letter Corpus. *Journal of Open Humanities Data*.



---

## Interactions of Figurative Language, Abstractness and Plausibility in Verb-Object Event Descriptions

---

**Sabine Schulte im Walde**

*Universität Stuttgart*

schulte@ims.uni-stuttgart.de

Across research disciplines, figurative language usage has long been viewed as strongly interacting with abstract concepts and contexts, cf. a cognitive perspective in Cognitive Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and a computational perspective in a range of distributional models such as Turney et al. (2011), Tsvetkov et al. (2014), and Köper & Schulte im Walde (2016), among many others. This interaction may be illustrated by the literal vs. figurative meanings of *abshminken* in *die Augen abshminken* ('remove eye makeup') vs. *die Karriere abshminken* ('forget about the career'), with the concrete word *Augen* ('eyes') in the literal phrase and the abstract word *Karriere* ('career') in the figurative phrase.

In the first part of my talk I will present a selection of studies where contextual occurrences indeed provide salient empirical features for these distributional computational models when automatically detecting figurative language usage, in contrast to models where this interaction is not successful (Piccirilli & Schulte im Walde, 2022). The second part of my talk will then shift the focus from contexts to targets, and present studies that zoom into the degrees of abstractness of individual verbs and their corresponding subject and object nouns. Regarding this target-specific perspective, I will discuss quantitative textual analyses (Frassinelli & Schulte im Walde, 2019), a dataset with plausibility and metaphoricity ratings of subject-verb-object events (Eichel & Schulte im Walde, 2023), and automatically generated images of events whose descriptions vary across degrees of abstractness and metaphoricity (Khaliq et al., Under review).

**References:** • Lakoff, G. & M. Johnson (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press. • Turney, P., Y. Neuman, D. Assaf & Y. Cohen (2011). Literal and metaphorical sense identification through concrete and abstract contexts. In *Proceedings of EMNLP*, 680–690. • Tsvetkov, Y., L. Boytsov, A. Gershman, E. Nyberg & C. Dyer (2014). Metaphor detection with cross-lingual model transfer. In *Proceedings of ACL*, 248–258. • Köper, M. & S. Schulte im Walde (2016). Distinguishing literal and non-literal usage of German particle verbs. In *Proceedings of NAACL*, 353–362. • Frassinelli, D. & S. Schulte im Walde (2019). Distributional interaction of concreteness and abstractness in verb-noun subcategorization. In *Proceedings of IWCS*. • Piccirilli, P. & S. Schulte im Walde (2022). What drives the use of metaphorical language? Negative insights from abstractness, affect, discourse coherence and contextualised word representations. In *Proceedings of \*SEM*, 229–310. • Eichel, A. & S. Schulte im Walde (2023). A dataset for physical and abstract plausibility and sources of disagreement. In *Proceedings of LAW*, 31–45. • Khaliq, M.A., D. Frassinelli & S. Schulte im Walde (Under Review). Comparison of image generation models for abstract and concrete events.

---

## A Metaphor Theory Based on Etymological Network Structure Analysis

---

**Marie Teich<sup>1</sup>, Wilmer Leal<sup>2</sup> & Jürgen Jost<sup>1,3,4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Max-Planck-Institute für Mathematik in den Naturwissenschaften, Leipzig,

<sup>2</sup>University of Florida <sup>3</sup>The Santa Fe Institute,

<sup>4</sup>ScaDS.AI, Dresden, Leipzig

marie.teich@mis.mpg.de

A strong metaphor theory, started by Gianbattista Vico and evolved with variations but also common key elements by successors including Max Black, Blumenberg and Ricoeur, considers metaphor as a point of meaning-creation in language. Formulating parts of these thoughts in form of a cognitive theory, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) views metaphor as a thought mechanism through which abstract topics are structured by means of concrete domains.

Given this role of metaphors in language, however, there is so far largely a lack of statistical real data analysis, as most research on metaphor theory is based on small sets of hand-picked linguistic examples. In turn we would like to systematically study the metaphoric network underlying the English language by looking at the dataset of the MappingMetaphor project.

Constructing a network from the Mapping Metaphor data, we can detect systematic structural properties of metaphoric mappings. We find that metaphoric connections do form persistent cognitive and linguistic structures, which are significantly more likely to get reused in new metaphoric statements ones they are established. Thus, future changes in language are influenced by currently established metaphoric connections.

The global structure of the network is dominated by two anti-communities: concrete topics including spacial, bodily and mechanistic domains form one group and abstract topics including social structures and emotions, but also time related domains form another group. Also, the connection pattern of the metaphor data allows to assign each topic domain a stable role by hierarchical clustering, which corresponds to the figurative conceptualization in a semantic space.

Combining our findings with Ricoeurs view on metaphor we aim towards a new integrated picture: Abstract structures are not transferred by metaphors (CMT) but are products of a tensional connection between two topics, in which a similarity is created across the tension without dissolving it, forming the abstract structure as a third innovative persistent element of the mapping.

**References:** • *Mapping Metaphor with the Historical Thesaurus*, Glasgow: University of Glasgow. Retrieved 12 November 2021, <https://mappingmetaphor.arts.gla.ac.uk>. • Ricoeur, P. (2003). *The Rule of Metaphor*. United Kingdom: Routledge. • Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. (1981). *Metaphors we live by*. University of Chicago Press.

---

## VOLIMET: A Parallel Corpus of Literal and Metaphorical Verb-Object Pairs for English—German and English—French

---

**Prisca Piccirilli<sup>1,2</sup> & Alexander Fraser<sup>2,3</sup> & Sabine Schulte im Walde<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Stuttgart, <sup>2</sup>Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, <sup>3</sup>Munich  
Centre for Machine Learning

{prisca.piccirilli,schulte}@ims.uni-stuttgart.de, fraser@cis.lmu.de

The interplay of cultural and linguistic elements that characterizes metaphorical language poses a substantial challenge for both human comprehension and machine processing (Tong et al., 2021). This challenge goes beyond monolingual settings and becomes particularly complex in translation, even more so in automatic translation. Metaphors are indeed not only very flexible in their structures and meanings, but they also strongly depend on the involved languages and cultures (Schäffner, 2004; Kövecses, 2010).

A key requirement for automating the translation of metaphors through machine translation (MT) systems is the availability of substantial training data, which remains limited. Moreover, limited MT research explores the specific phenomenon of **metaphors** and even less so the **contrast between metaphorical and literal language in translation** and its potential effect on translatability (van den Broek, 1981) and variability (Tong et al., 2021) in language production and generation.

To bridge this gap, our work focuses on the creation of a parallel corpus containing contrastive metaphorical and literal uses of verb-object (VO) pairs, e.g., *tackle/address question*. We present VOLIMET, a valuable resource enhancing the advancement of MT systems which exhibit greater sophistication in handling metaphors. This corpus provides insights on the translation of metaphorical VO pairs and their corresponding literal paraphrases from the source language (SL) – English, to our two target languages (TL) – French and German.

On one hand, the parallel nature of our corpus enables us to explore monolingual patterns for metaphorical vs. literal uses. On the other hand, we investigate the variability in German and French translations as well as the extent to which metaphoricality and literalness in the SL are transferred to the TLs.

Monolingually, our findings reveal clear preferences in using metaphorical vs. literal VO pairs. Cross-lingually, we observe a rich variability in translations and different behaviors in metaphoricality/literalness transfer between our two TLs.

**References:** • Broeck, R.V. (1981). The Limits of Translatability Exemplified by Metaphor Translation. *Poetics Today* 1(4), 73–87. • Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. 2nd edition., New York: Oxford University Press. • Schäffner, C. (2004). Metaphor and Translation: Some Implications of a Cognitive Approach. *Journal of Pragmatics* 6(7), 1253–1269. • Tong, X. & E. Shutova & M. Lewis. (2021). Recent Advances in Neural Metaphor Processing: A Linguistic, Cognitive and Social Perspective. *Proceedings of NAACL*, 4673–4686.

---

## Cross-Lingual Metaphor Detection for Low-Resource Languages

---

**Anna Hülsing<sup>1</sup>, Sabine Schulte im Walde<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Hildesheim, <sup>2</sup>Universität Stuttgart

anna.huelsing@uni-hildesheim.de, schulte@ims.uni-stuttgart.de

Research on automatic metaphor detection in a multilingual setup has gained momentum only recently. When using multilingual pretrained language models (PLMs), it is however unclear how the amount of target language data used for pretraining affects the performance of the model. Especially for languages where little data is available, PLMs often struggle, and non-neural models might be more suitable. We therefore compare neural and non-neural cross-lingual models for Russian, German and Latin as target languages, because the amount of data used to pretrain our multilingual PLM (mBERT, Devlin et al. 2019) varies greatly across these three languages. English is used as the source language.

Our metaphor detection focuses on word-based classification, as in the following example from the metaphor dataset by Köper and Schulte im Walde (2016). We define a binary classification task to detect whether the underlined target word is used metaphorically in the given context, or not.

- (1) Über die Zeit hatte sich in ihnen Sehnsucht und Verlangen aufgestaut.  
(translation: “Over time, longing and desire had dammed up inside them.”) → metaphorical

In order to find the best-performing model for each target language, we firstly carry out zero-shot classification with mBERT, where we fine-tune the PLM to metaphor detection on source language data. Secondly, we apply few-shot classification with mBERT, where we first fine-tune our PLM on source language data, and then fine-tune again on 20 target language sentences. Thirdly, we use the adapter architecture MAD-X (Pfeiffer et al. 2020), where small amounts of trainable weights (the adapters) are injected into the PLM such that they improve zero-shot classification. Lastly, as our non-neural model we use a random forest classifier that utilizes a vector space model and conceptual features (abstractness and supersenses) – similarly to the model introduced by Tsvetkov et al. (2014).

**References:** • Devlin, J. et al. (2019). BERT: Pre-training of deep bidirectional transformers for language understanding. In *NAACL*, 4171-4186. • Köper, M. & S. Schulte im Walde (2016). Distinguishing literal and non-literal usage of German particle verbs. In *NAACL*, 353-362. • Pfeiffer, J. et al. (2020). MAD-X: An adapter-based framework for multi-task cross-lingual transfer. In *EMNLP*, 7654–7673. • Tsvetkov, Y. et al. (2014). Metaphor detection with cross-lingual model transfer. In *ACL*, 248–258.

---

## Determiners' Impact on Metaphoric Meaning for Computational Analysis in Spanish

---

**María Isabel Marín-Morales<sup>1</sup>, Maribel Betancur Serna<sup>2</sup> & Laura Marcela Quintero<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Groningen, <sup>2</sup>Universidad de Antioquia  
 m.i.marin.morales@rug.nl, maribel.betancurs@udea.edu.co,  
 lmarcela.quintero@udea.edu.co

Conceptual metaphors are fundamental in framing how we perceive and articulate abstract concepts. In languages like Spanish, the choice of determiners plays a crucial role in conceptual metaphor construction, influencing their interpretation and effectiveness. Based on a corpus of Spanish metaphors, our analysis revealed some implications of the choice of the determiners. For instance, metaphors such as (1a) and (1b) frequently employ definite articles ("La," "El"). This usage contrasts with their English counterparts, often omitting articles like "Life is a journey." A definite article in Spanish metaphors suggests a tendency towards specificity and universality, implying a definitive statement about the entire concept. In contrast, the absence of such determiners in English points to a more abstract, generalized interpretation.

- (1) a. "La vida es un viaje" (Life is a journey)  
 b. "El amor es una guerra" (Love is war)

In contrast, there are cases where what is chosen is an indefinite article, as in (2a), indicating a singular instance of a broader category. The analysis also extends to source domains, with metaphors like (2b) emphasizing particular aspects through an indefinite article.

- (2) a. "Un viaje es un libro" (A journey is a book)  
 b. "Una relación es un viaje" (A relationship is a journey)

This linguistic pattern has significant implications. Using determiners such as "La" in metaphors may lead to a more concrete and collectively accepted understanding of concepts in Spanish. The specificity induced by Spanish determiners can influence how speakers engage with and conceptualize the ideas presented in metaphors, potentially reflecting underlying cultural values and perspectives. The study's findings have practical applications in various domains. For instance, they can enhance metaphor recognition in natural language processing, improve translation accuracy, and help with computational cultural studies.

**References:** • Esquivel, V. (2012). El determinante en la nueva gramática de la lengua española. *Lengua y Sociedad* 12(1), 102–107. • Ibarretxe, I. & J. Valenzuela (2012). *Lingüística cognitiva*. Anthropos. • Tong, X., E. Shutova & M. Lewis (2021). Recent advances in neural metaphor processing: A linguistic, cognitive and social perspective. *Proceedings of the 2021 Conference of the North American Chapter of the Association for Computational Linguistics: Human Language Technologies*, 4673–4686.

---

## Identifying shifts in metaphorical use of compound nouns over time

---

**Chris Jenkins, Filip Miletic, Sabine Schulte im Walde**

*Universität Stuttgart*

{christopher.jenkins, filip.miletic, schulte}@ims.uni-stuttgart.de

Nominal compounding is a productive process in many languages, providing a useful domain for computational semantic models to identify changes in literal or metaphorical use vis-à-vis the distributional similarity between compounds and their constituents. We hypothesize that compounds' senses should be distinguishable by their varying relationships to their constituents' distributions. The core of our approach is to run clustering algorithms on vector representations of compounds and their constituents (derived from BERT (Devlin et al., 2019)). The representations depend on the context that the item appears in, drawn from diachronic corpora in English and German (Davies, 2012; Berlin-Brandenburgische Aka. der Wissenschaften., 2022). Similarity between cluster distributions (for a given time period) can be correlated with present-day compositionality judgments (Cordeiro et al., 2019; Schulte im Walde et al., 2016), forming a basis to predict whether the compound was used more or less metaphorically over time. Alternatively, the divergence between cluster distributions of compounds and constituents can be used to predict clusters of sentences containing metaphorical uses of target compounds. We draw on recent work using contextual embeddings to cluster words according to their sense (e.g. Montariol et al. (2021)), and experiment with additional cluster features: a simpler vector representation (Basile et al., 2015), and frequency and productivity statistics (across different eras in the corpora). Combining representations is a means to facilitate separating groups of items during clustering (each connected to a sentence from the diachronic corpora). Overall, our focus on compounds provides a foundation to develop semantic models that can distinguish between literal and metaphorical language.

**References:** • Basile, P., A. Caputo, & G. Semeraro. Temporal random indexing: A system for analysing word meaning over time. *Italian J. of Comp. Ling.*, 1:55–68, 12 2015. • Cordeiro, S., A. Villavicencio, M. Idiart, & C. Ramisch. Unsupervised compositionality prediction of nominal compounds. *Computational Linguistics*, 45(1):1–57, 2019. • Davies, M. Expanding horizons in hist. ling. with 400M word corpus of historical Am. English. *Corpora*, 7:121–157, 2012. • Devlin, J., M. Chang, K. Lee, & K. Toutanova. BERT: Pre-training of deep bidirectional transformers for language understanding. *Proceedings of ACL*, pp. 4171–4186, Minneapolis, 2019. Association for Computational Linguistics • Montariol, S., M. Martinc, & L. Pivovarova. Scalable & interpretable semantic change detection. *Proceedings of NAACL.*, pp 4642–4652, 2021. Association for Computational Linguistics • Schulte im Walde, S., A. Hätyy, S. Bott, & N. Khvtisavrishvili. GhoSt-NN: A representative gold std. of German noun-noun compounds. *Proceedings of LREC.*, pp. 2285–2292, Portorož, 2016. Euro. Lang. Resources Association. (ELRA). • Hrsg. von der Berlin-Brandenburgische Aka. der Wissenschaften. Deutsches Textarchiv., 2022.

---

## Challenges in the Computational Detection of Metaphoric Change in Less-Resourced Languages: A Case Study of Technology-Related Expression in Polish

---

**Marek Placiński, Svetlana Kuleshova, Klaudia Karkowska, Darya NAMEDNIKAVA & Michael Pleyer**

*Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń*

marpla@umk.pl, skuleshova97@gmail.com, karkowska.klaudiaa@gmail.com,  
dnamednikava@gmail.com, pleyer@umk.pl

Metaphor is one of the primary driving factors of semantic change (Anderson 2017). Among the methods that have been employed to study this phenomenon (Díaz-Vera 2015), computational methods have shown promise in automatically detecting metaphoric change in language (e.g. Schlechtweg et al. 2017). Here, we explore whether detecting metaphorical change in less-resourced languages can potentially be addressed with computational methods that usually require large-sized resources. This study uses two small-sized corpora of historical Polish: KorBa (Kieraś et al., 2017) and PL19 (Łaziński et al., 2023).

We selected 60 technology-related words that are attested in both corpora and analysed their semantic evolution using word embeddings and topic modelling. Both of them can be applied in the study of meaning change because they encode word contexts. With word embeddings, we detected metaphorical shift in, for instance, the word *kolumna* (eng. *column*), whose architectural meaning is attested in KorBa, but metaphorical – related to the arrangement of troops – is only attested in PL19. Topic modelling allowed us to trace the acquisition of metaphorical meaning of the word *rama* (eng. *frame*). Although occurring in documents about personal properties in KorBa, the word started occurring in scientific and religious texts in PL19.

The results suggest that both word embedding and topic modelling are promising methods of studying semantic change, also when used with small-sized corpora.

**References:** Anderson, W. (2017). Metaphor and diachronic variation. In E. Semino & Z. Demjén (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Metaphor and Language* (pp. 233-246). Routledge.  
• Díaz-Vera, J. E. (Ed.). (2015). *Metaphor and Metonymy across Time and Cultures: Perspectives on the Sociohistorical Linguistics of Figurative Language*. De Gruyter.  
• Kieraś W., Komosińska D., Modrzejewski E., Woliński M. (2017). Morphosyntactic annotation of historical texts. The making of the baroque corpus of Polish. *Text, Speech, and Dialogue 20th International Conference*, 308–316.  
• Łaziński, M., Górski, R. L. i Woźniak, M. (2023). Korpus XIX w. Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego i IJP PAN. *LingVaria*, 18(1). doi: 10.12797/LV.18.2023.35.09.  
• Schlechtweg, D., Eckmann, S., Santus, E., Schulte im Walde, S. & Hole, D. 2017. German in Flux: Detecting Metaphoric Change via Word Entropy. *Proceedings of the 21st Conference on Computational Natural Language Learning (CoNLL 2017)*, 354-357.

---

## Improved metaphor identification via (contextual) distributional semantic representations.

---

**Gerold Schneider<sup>1</sup>, Johannes Fröh<sup>2</sup> & Janis Goldzycher<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>University of Zurich, <sup>2</sup>University of Bonn

gschneid@ifi.uzh.ch, jofroe@uni-bonn.de, goldzycher@cl.uzh.ch

A solid agreement exists on Firth's quote "You shall know a word by the company that it keeps". Yet, metaphors, defined by Gerard Steen as "[linguistic, cognitive, and communicative] cross-domain mapping in conceptual structure" (Steen, 2011), create meaning through the collocation of words that, otherwise, keep quite contrary company. We present an approach for automatic metaphor identification using metaphor's unique semantic cross-domain mapping as an identification feature through the combination of collocation measures with distributional semantics as a starting point for semi-supervised detection.

Based on recent advancements in distributional semantics (e.g., Baroni & Lenci, 2010), we hypothesize that metaphors are non-compositional collocations, as their lexical participants are far away in semantic space (Ricoeur 1977). We combine traditional frequentist approaches with distributional semantics measures using *word2vec* for improved idiom and metaphor identification using the cosine distance in the semantic space between the participants, and replaceability. We evaluate the performance of this approach on four constructions:

*(1) Verb-preposition collocations: we report increases in F-score by 10%; (2) Verb-object constructions: we report increases in F-score by 80%; (3) Idiomatic noun compounds: we show that two thirds of the gold standard ranking in Reddy et al. (2011) can be predicted by the cosine distance; (4) Metaphors, by means of a gold standard from salient biblical references in contemporary social media.*

Our second research focus is the identification of new metaphors. We hypothesize that a given metaphor's cross-domain mapping is expressed via the vectorial relation  $\vec{v}$  between the participating words  $w1$  and  $w2$  (Steen, 2011). New metaphors are identifiable as the translation of  $\vec{v}$  across the semantic space, to related words  $w3$  and  $w4$ . We test this hypothesis utilizing a religious communication dataset, as religion heavily draws on metaphorical language that is translated into contemporary contexts and wordings (Ricoeur, 1977). In the process, we extract religious quotes that are particularly salient.

**References:** • Baroni, M. & A. Lenci (2010). "Distributional Memory: A general framework for corpus-based semantics". *Computational Linguistics*, 36, 4, 673-721. • Reddy, S., D. McCarthy & S. Manandhar (2011). "An Empirical Study on Compositionality in Compound Nouns". *Proceedings of 5th International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing*, 210-218. • Ricoeur, P. (1977). *The Rule of Metaphor*. Translated by R. Czerny, K. McLaughlin & J. Costello. New York, London: Routledge. • Steen, G. (2011). *The contemporary theory of metaphor - now new and improved!*. *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*, 9(1), 26-64.



---

## Conceptual domain disambiguation for metaphor identification and interpretation

---

**Mojca Brglez<sup>1</sup>, Kristina Pahor de Maiti Tekavčič<sup>1,2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*University of Ljubljana*, <sup>2</sup>*Institute of Contemporary History, Slovenia*  
 mojca.brglez@ff.uni-lj.si, kristina.pahordemaiti@ff.uni-lj.si

Metaphor provides an excellent entry point to explore culture-specific conceptualizations, but its detection and interpretation is often complex and laborious. The most reliable identification of metaphors is currently still achieved by time-consuming manual annotation (Steen et al., 2010). To speed up the process, several automated approaches have also been proposed (Ptiček & Dobša, 2023), but these approaches which are generally not available for smaller or less-resourced languages, like Slovene, a gap which we address in this study.

We propose a new lexico-semantic resource that exploits semantic, affective and distributional features, and is tailored to the analysis of metaphors in Slovene. Our work builds on two ideas: semantic incongruity between the source and target domains, and the contrast in concreteness of words and domains. While most previous metaphor identification approaches have operated on the level of lexical units, our approach operates on the level of semantic fields. In our algorithm, we capitalize on existing knowledge resources (Rayson et al. 2004; sloWNet, Fišer, 2015), word embeddings (Ljubešič and Erjavec, 2018) and concreteness ratings (Köper and Schulte im Walde, 2022). The algorithm provides a good starting point for identifying and interpreting metaphors, as well as the flexibility to incorporate words that are not covered in existing dictionaries.

- References:**
- Steen, G., Dorst, A. G., Herrmann, J. B., Kaal, A., Krennmayr, T., & Pasma, T. (2010). A method for linguistic metaphor identification. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
  - Ptiček, M., & Dobša, J. (2023). Methods of Annotating and Identifying Metaphors in the Field of Natural Language Processing. *Future Internet* 15(6), Article 201. <https://doi.org/10.3390/fi15060201>.
  - Rayson, P., Archer, D., Piao, S. L., McEnery, T. (2004). The UCREL semantic analysis system. *Proceedings of the workshop on Beyond Named Entity Recognition Semantic labelling for NLP tasks*, p. 7-12.
  - Ljubešič, N., & Erjavec, T. (2018). Word embeddings CLARIN.SI-embed.sl 1.0. Slovenian language resource repository CLARIN.SI. <http://hdl.handle.net/11356/1204>.
  - Fišer, D. (2015). Semantic lexicon of Slovene sloWNet 3.1. Slovenian language resource repository CLARIN.SI. <http://hdl.handle.net/11356/1026>.
  - Köper, M., Schulte im Walde, S. (2017). Improving Verb Metaphor Detection by Propagating Abstractness to Words, Phrases and Individual Senses. *Proceedings of the 1st Workshop on Sense, Concept and Entity Representations and their Applications*, p. 24-30.

---

## Using Large Language Models for Conventional Metaphor Detection

---

Jiahui Liang<sup>1</sup>, Stephan Raaijmakers<sup>1,2</sup>, Aletta G. Dorst<sup>1</sup>, Jelena Prokic<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Leiden University, Leiden*

<sup>2</sup>*TNO, The Hague, The Netherlands*

j.h.l.jiahui@hum.leidenuniv.nl, s.a.raaijmakers@hum.leidenuniv.nl,  
a.g.dorst@hum.leidenuniv.nl, j.prokic@hum.leidenuniv.nl

Metaphor detection is a highly complex process, and requires high levels of abstraction by humans. Not surprisingly, metaphors also pose a challenge for natural language processing (NLP) due to their ubiquity and semantic complexity. Conventional metaphors, whose metaphorical meanings are lexicalized, account for 99% of linguistic metaphors (Steen et al. 2010). Some examples of conventional metaphors can be seen in the following sentences:

- (1) Inflation is *lowering* our standard of life.
- (2) Don't *waste* your time.
- (3) Your claims are *indefensible*.

The emergence of Large Language Models (LLMs) creates new possibilities for metaphor detection and sub-type labelling with their superior performance in language understanding and contextual semantic comprehension (Zhou et al. 2023). Prompting (in-context learning) has proven to be efficient for applying LLMs to NLP tasks (Chung et al. 2022).

Our work aims to provide insights into the impact of different LLM architectures and prompting scenarios on conventional metaphor detection. We explore the capabilities of LLMs on conventional metaphor detection across different prompting setups on a subset of the VUAMC metaphor corpus (Steen et al. 2010):

1. Zero-shot (bare task description to see what the model does “out of the box”)
2. N>0-shot prompting (providing N examples)
  - 2.1 Labelled examples:
    - providing sentences with word-level labels
  - 2.2 Reasoning examples:
    - Based on 2.1, providing explanation for metaphors in examples

Additionally, an error analysis will be conducted to retrieve linguistic information relevant for fine-tuning LLMs in metaphor detection.

**References:** • Chung, H.W. et al. (2022) Scaling instruction-finetuned language models, arXiv.org. Available at: <https://arxiv.org/abs/2210.11416> (Accessed: 15 June 2023). • Steen, G.J. et al. (2010) ‘Metaphor in usage’, *cogl*, 21(4), pp. 765–796. • Zhou, C. et al. (2023) A comprehensive survey on pretrained foundation models: A history from Bert to chatgpt, arXiv.org. Available at: <https://arxiv.org/abs/2302.09419> (Accessed: 15 June 2023).

## **Arbeitsgruppe 8**

---

### Workshop 8

---

## Linearizing remnant movement in a multidominant syntax: Challenges and consequences

---

**Andrew Murphy**

*Universität Potsdam*

andrew.murphy@uni-potsdam.de

Multidominance (MD) theories of syntax relax the Single Mother Condition in order to allow for two main configurations: Parallel Merge and Internal Rmerge. Since such theories make no representational distinction between fillers and gaps, displacement must be derived as a by-product of the linearization mechanism (e.g. Wilder 1999; Bachrach & Katzir 2009, 2017; Johnson 2012, 2020; Gracanin-Yüksek 2013). In this talk, I will discuss remnant movement constructions, showing that they create a linearization problem for multidominant structures and suggest how to solve this problem.

While theories of linearization in MD differ in the details, a common idea is that multidominated material is ‘ignored’ until its highest occurrence in the structure. This can be captured by Wilder’s (2008) concept of *full dominance*. Following Wilder, a node X fully dominates Y if (i) X dominates Y, and (ii) every path from Y to the root contains X. We can then assume that linearization in MD roughly involves stating that for every branching node that all of the nodes dominated by one daughter will either precede or follow all the nodes dominated by the other daughter (depending on headedness). Importantly, an exception has to be made for multidominated nodes. Here, we can add the stipulation that only nodes fully dominated by the branching node are considered. The central problem posed by remnant movement derivations is that the evacuee is not completely dominated in its extracted position and therefore cannot be pronounced there by a linearization algorithm based on full dominance.

I propose to solve this problem by introducing a version of the *Proper Binding Condition* that singles out remnant movement configurations, while allowing other licit MD configurations (cross-conjunct sharing, smuggling). Since there are no traces in MD, I will show that the PBC must be defined in terms of paths to the root. I propose that, if a structure violates the PBC, the branch connecting it to its lower mother is eliminated. This derives, I argue, a well-known generalization about remnant movement, namely that the evacuee cannot reconstruct back into the remnant at LF. This is known as *Barss’ Generalization* and is exemplified by both scope reconstruction (*How likely to talk to every senator is some journalist*;  $*\forall > \exists$ ) and idiom reconstruction (*Gegeben hat sie ihm einen Korb*;  $\neq$  ‘she rejected him’). Using Johnson’s (2012) semantics for MD structures, I will show how this follows as a natural consequence of severing the branch between the evacuee and the remnant phrase.

---

**Multiple fronting does not exist in German (but crowded CPs do):  
cyclic relinearization and multiple base-generation in the left edge  
of the clause**

---

**Nicholas Catasso**

*Bergische Universität Wuppertal*

catasso@uni-wuppertal.de

Present-day German is a well-behaved Verb-Second (V2) language in which the finite verb is linearized in V and relinearized to C and only one constituent can target Spec,CP in main clauses.

- (1) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Hans [<sub>C</sub> verzichtet<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP/VP</sub> t<sub>y</sub> dieses Mal auf einen Berater [<sub>V</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]  
 b. [<sub>CP</sub> Auf einen Berater<sub>x</sub> [<sub>C</sub> verzichtet<sub>i</sub> [<sub>IP/VP</sub> Hans dieses Mal t<sub>x</sub> [<sub>V</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]

However, in the last decades the literature has unveiled a number of mismatches between structural and linear syntax in the CP domain. Such patterns include, e.g., adverbial resumptions (2), constructions with so-called “post-initial markers” (3), and orders of the type “Topic > Frame(-like) XP” (4):

- (2) [In Berlin,] [da] ist es ja gar nicht so ruhig.  
 (3) [Den Hans] [z.B.] sehe ich seit Wochen nicht mehr.  
 (4) [Hans,] [als das passierte,] war nicht mal zu Hause.

Although a number of proposals have been put forward concerning the linearization mechanisms deriving the single patterns illustrated above, configurations in which multiple intrasentential phenomena linearly violate the V2 constraint (5) have so far been mainly neglected:

- (5) Dem Kellner aber, der da arbeitet, als wir angekommen sind, dem habe ich’s gezeigt!

In this paper, I propose a model for the derivation of complex CP linearizations in German within the cartographic approach which: (i) excludes multiple fronting; (ii) involves a combination of (cyclic) movement and base-generation; (iii) shows that the notion of bottleneck effect is not only a theoretical postulation, but can be effectively implemented to account for the observed derivations.

It will be shown that all possible linearizations are nothing but more complex variants of the simple pattern illustrated in (1).

**(Selected) references:** • Breindl, E. (2011). Nach Rom freilich führen viele Wege: Zur Interaktion von Informationsstruktur, Diskursstruktur und Prosodie bei der Besetzung der Nacherstposition. In Ferraresi (ed.), 17–57. Tübingen: Narr • Breitbarth, A. (2022). Prosodie, Syntax und Diskursfunktion von V>2 in gesprochenem Deutsch. *Deutsche Sprache* 1/22: 1–30 • Cardinaletti, A. (1989). Linksperiphere Phrasen in der deutschen Syntax. *Studium Linguistik* 22: 1–30 • Lee, D. K. (1975). Die Problematik der Zweitstellung des Verbum Finitum im Deutschen. *Colloquia Germanica* 9: 118–142.

---

## Constrained by FOFC: a shift back to head-finality in Alemannic verb clusters

---

**Molly Rolf & David Diem**

*Universität Konstanz*

david.diem@uni-konstanz.de, molly.rolf@uni-konstanz.de

The Germanic variety of Alemannic exhibits a great variety of grammatical orders of the Aux-Mod-V verb cluster. (1) shows a verb cluster in an Alemannic subordinate clause with the order 123, where 1 = auxiliary 2 = modal and 3 = main verb:

- (1) a. ... *dass dr händ künno goo*  
           that you have.1 can.2 go.3  
           “... that you could go.”

5 of the 6 logically possible orders of this verb cluster are attested (Salzmann, 2013):

- (2) a. 1 2 3                      c. \* 2 3 1                      e. 3 1 2 *t*<sub>3</sub>  
       b. 1 3 2                      d. ? 2 1 *t*<sub>2</sub> 3                      f. 3 2 1

It is argued that varying levels of acceptability among the orders indicates a steady shift towards head-final due to contact with Standard German (particularly in younger speakers). This novel analysis of Alemannic word order assumes a harmonically head-initial verbal domain for Alemannic (based on an analysis of verb doubling (Diem, to appear). We have observed that the partially and fully head-final orders are more accepted by younger speakers than older. Crucially, however, the final-over-initial order is not attested or accepted by any speaker. Our diachronic account concerning the logically possible base-generated orders based on these observations is laid out in fig. 1:

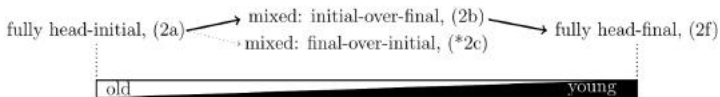


Figure 1: Schematic degree of acceptability for word orders in younger (born after c.1990) and older (born before c.1960) speakers.

Of the two conceivable intermediate/mixed directionality stages of this change, only the FOFC-complying order (2b) is attested. This follows naturally from the diachronic analysis we suggest, constrained by FOFC (Holmberg 2000, Biberauer et. al. 2014).

**Selected references:** • Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts. (2014). A syntactic universal and its consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45. • Salzmann, M. (2010). *An Alemannic Challenge to the FOFC*. Paper presented at the DGfS Linearization Workshop.

---

## An integrative constraint-based account of constituent linearisation in the German midfield.

---

**Alicia Katharina Börner, Simon Masloch & Tibor Kiss**

*Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

alicia.boerner@rub.de, simon.masloch@rub.de, tibor.kiss@rub.de

We propose a uniform model of constituent linearisation in German. Based on the results of two series of experiments, we argue that both arguments and adjuncts are base-generated in orders that are subject to violable linear precedence rules.

**Argument order with experiencer-object verbs** We consider two two-alternative forced-choice (2AFC) studies on argument order with experiencer-object verbs, one with animate, the other with inanimate subjects (see Masloch et al., 2023). We argue that the decisive factor determining the preferred order of subject and object is causativity. For a sub-class of experiencer-object verbs – namely those whose stimulus is not a causer – we found no preferred order at all. This is hard to explain on all approaches postulating a base order (e.g. Haider & Rosengren, 2003). Additionally, verbs show a varying behaviour across experiments, the main difference between them being the subject’s animacy. We explain the absence of a preference for a specific order with some experiencer-object verbs with animate subjects as the result of a constraint equilibrium.

**Linearisation of event-internal modifiers** Two 2AFC studies focussed on the relative order of objects and event-internal adverbial PPs (Kiss et al., 2023). As the results of a first study show that subject-oriented instrumentals as well as object-oriented comitatives prefer a position below the object, we assume a constraint on anaphoricity to be prevalent here. In the second study, we contrasted affirmative and privative readings of instrumentals and subject-oriented comitatives. Affirmative comitatives slightly prefer a position above, while the adverbials in all other conditions prefer a position below the object. We argue that affirmative comitatives take over the theta role of their antecedent (agent), assuming constraints based on agentivity and animacy to be at stake here. Our results contradict approaches assuming free base generation of adverbials (e.g. Haider, 2000) and those assuming base positions for adverbials (e.g. Frey & Pittner, 1998).

**References:** • Frey, W. & K. Pittner (1998). Zur Positionierung der Adverbiale im deutschen Mittelfeld. *Linguistische Berichte* 176, 489–534. • Haider, H. (2000). Adverb placement – convergence of structure and licensing. *Theoretical Linguistics* 26, 95–134. • Haider, H. & I. Rosengren (2003). Scrambling: Nontriggered chain formation in OV languages. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 15(3), 203–267. • Kiss, T., Pieper, J & A. K. Börner (2023). Word order constraints of event-internal modifiers. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/006319> • Masloch, S., Poppek, J. M. & T. Kiss (2023). Not so peculiar after all: On the normal position of arguments of German experiencer-object verbs. <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/007118>

## Clitic placement in European Portuguese: an anti-V2 requirement

Michelle Sheehan

Newcastle University

Michelle.sheehan1@newcastle.ac.uk

West Ibero-Romance languages (European Portuguese - EP, Galician and Asturian) have a much-studied complex pattern of clitic placement with finite verbs (see Barbosa 2000, Fernandez-Rubiera 2009). Proclisis is obligatorily triggered by: (i) overt complementisers (*que* ‘that’, *se* ‘if’); (ii) Negation; (iii) Fronted quantifier phrases (wh-phrases, negative phrases, contrastive foci); (iv) Certain aspectual/quantificational/focalising adverbs (*já*, ‘already’ *ainda* ‘still’, *só* ‘only’, *também* ‘also’ in EP). Enclisis is the default option, occurring in all other finite contexts.

Following Fernández-Rubiera (2009), I propose that Fin in EP has an anti-V2 property – a single edge feature requiring movement of either a head or an XP to/through Fin, but not both. I propose that the clitic always raises to spec TP, satisfying a [uT] feature. Proclisis results where an XP satisfies the edge feature and the verbal complex moves no higher than T; enclisis results where it is the verbal complex that raises to Fin to satisfy the edge feature.

In this talk, I focus on clitic placement with uninflected infinitives in EP and argue that these understudied patterns are particularly insightful. With uninflected infinitives, most proclisis triggers also permit enclisis. This is true for contexts (i)-(iii), but the exception is context (iv): the aspectual/quantificational/focalising adverbs are only ever compatible with proclisis (see Martins 2013: 2284):

- (1) Não sabemos se só {**lhe**= falar /\*falar=**lhe**} amanhã  
 NEG know.1PL if only 3SG.DAT= speakspeak=3SG.DAT tomorrow  
 ‘We don’t know whether only to speak to him tomorrow.’

Following Raposo & Uriagereka (2005), I propose there is a second way to derive enclisis in non-finite contexts via ‘low fusion’ whereby the clitic attaches to the verb and the two move together via head-movement to T. This is impossible in (1) because adverbs like *só* are heads located between T and voice, blocking verb+clitic movement to T.

The implication is that clitic placement is a syntactic rather than a prosodic matter, regulated by a morphosyntactic feature [uT] and an anti-V2 requirement (contra Barbosa 2000, and many others).

**References:** • Barbosa, P. (2000). Clitics: a window into the null subject property. In J. Costa (ed.), *Portuguese Syntax*. OUP, 31-93. • Fernandez-Rubiera, F. (2009) Clitics at the edge: clitic placement in Western Iberian Romance languages. PhD, Georgetown University. • Martins, A.-M. (2013). 4.2 posição dos pronomes pessoais clíticos. In *Gramática do Português II*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. • Raposo, E. and Uriagereka, J. (2005). Clitic Placement in Western Iberian: A Minimalist View. In G. Cinque and R. S. Kayne (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*. OUP, 639-697.



---

## An OT Approach to Linearization and FOFC Effects

---

**Paul Kiparsky**  
*Stanford University*  
 kiparsky@stanford.edu

The OT constraints (1) derive an elementary word order typology.

- (1)
- a. XP<HEAD: Heads follow their complements.
  - b. OP<XP: operators (functional heads) precede their complements.
  - c. C<XP: subordinating operators precede their complements.
  - d. HARMONY: If A dominates B, then A, B have the same headedness.

The constraints are grounded in semantic composition. Predicates combine recursively with their direct arguments to discharge their Theta-roles. A lexical head is first merged with its internal direct argument, and finally with the highest, external Theta-role, realized as the subject. This order of composition determines the constituency and order of direct arguments. Thus OV order is a special case of subject-predicate order. Functional heads, having no Theta-roles, are *operators*, subject to their own subhierarchy (1b,1c) of the stringency hierarchy of constraints (1). This predicts the implicational relationships in mixed orders: head-final CP  $\Rightarrow$  head-final IP  $\Rightarrow$  head-final VP.

(1) predicts FOFC effects more accurately than previous formulations:

- a. Languages with only right-headed functional categories, or with none, are predicted to be V-final (e.g. Japanese).
- b.  $[[Op\ XP]_{YP}\ Head]$  is OK, although it is a FOFC violation. E.g. Er hat  $[[das\ Buch]\ gelesen]$ . Restricting FOFC to extended projections to allow it incorrectly allows  $[[Head_1\ XP]_{NP}\ Head_2]_{VP}$ , where  $Head_1$  is lexical.
- c. Being defined on overt surface syntactic structure, (1) is consistent with both base-generation and movement, and cannot be subverted by PF operations (Lowering, Scrambling). Mixed structures in Bangla confirm this.
- d. The constraints do not apply below the word level, correctly predicting that morphology does not obey FOFC, e.g. (contra Hein & Murphy 2020).

**References:** Biberauer, Holmberg, & Roberts. 2014. A syntactic universal and its consequences. *LI* 45:2, 169 - 225. Johannes Hein & Andrew Murphy. 2022. VP-Nominalization and the Final-over-Final Condition. *LI* 53: 2, 337-370. Sheehan, Michelle, Theresa Biberauer, Ian Roberts, & Anders Holmberg. 2017. *The Final-Over-Final Condition: A Syntactic Universal*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

---

**Information-structural constraints on linearization in the DP**


---

**Johannes Mursell & Anke Himmelreich**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

j.mursell@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de, himmelreich@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

While information-structural (IS) constraints on linearization on the clause level as well as general constraints in the DP have each received considerable attention, the role of information structure in the DP remains underresearched. Here, we approach this topic from a comparative perspective.

We find much variation in the nominal domain when it comes to syntactic effects of information structure, ranging from very liberal reordering to basically no effects at all. Spanish, for example, shows movement in the DP caused by focus. Bernstein (2001) claims that certain elements like demonstratives require a focus interpretation when occurring post-nominal, while adjectives can occur in neutral contexts in this position. The movement is not free, however, as numerals, for example, cannot occur there (Hoot 2012:295). German, on the other hand, allows no or very little (Roehrs 2014) IS-driven movement inside the DP. However, it is possible to focus nearly any DP-internal element prosodically. At the same time, syntactic operations that require focus are more problematic and require more structure, for example an AP (Bühning & Hartmann 2001).

Other languages, for example, the Mbia languages, a language family spoken in northern Ghana and surrounding areas, do not allow DP-internal focus marking at all. These languages mark focus morphologically by particles. Taking Likpakpaanl as example, focus is marked by the particle *lè/lá*. The particle is completely banned from occurring inside DP, and (1-b) is grammatical only with the focus marker following the whole complex DP.

- (1) a. Peter aa-gban    sɔ                      b. \*Aay, ni ye John lè aa-gban.  
       Peter POSS-book here                    no it COP John FOC POSS-book  
       ‘This is Peter’s book.’                    int: ‘No, this is JOHN’s book.’

We will argue that the different behaviors of DP-internal focalization mirror the restrictions of focalization on a clausal level in the various languages. This suggests the existence of DP-internal information-structural projections and provides evidence for their syntactic impact. Starting with Spanish and German, both languages mark focus prosodically. However, the marking possibilities are much more restricted in Spanish (Swerts et al. 2002, Hoot 2012), with word order changes providing an additional marking strategy. In German, on the other hand, for a syntactic focus position to be available, more structure is needed, which could be taken as evidence for the old assumption that certain adjectives are based on reduced relatives in German (Kayne 1994). Lastly, for languages like Likpakpaanl, other evidence suggests that they host a DP-peripheral FocP, preventing any lower occurrence of the focus particles.

## Applying the Final-Over-Final Condition to the nominal domain: case and adposition typology

**Molly Rolf**

*Universität Konstanz*

molly.rolf@uni-konstanz.de

In this talk, I apply the Final-Over-Final Condition (Holmberg, 2000 and BHR, 2014 a. o.) to the nominal domain, specifically to case morphology and adpositions via the case phrase (KP as in theories such as in Caha (2009)). The logically possible KP ‘systems’ are given in fig. 1:

Exponent type		Harmony			
		Harmonic		Disharmonic	
		Head-Initial	Head-final	Inverse FOFC	FOFC Violating
Pure	Adpo + Case morph	1. Prep + Prefix	2. Post + Suffix	3. Prep + Suffix	4. Post + Prefix
	Case morph + Adpo	5. Prefix + Prep	6. Suffix + Post	7. Prefix + Post	8. Suffix + Prep
Mixed	Case morph only	9. Prefix only	10. Suffix only	11. Prefix + Suffix	12. Suffix + Prefix
	Adpo only	13. Prep only	14. Post only	15. Prep + Post	16. Post + Prep

Figure 1: The logically possible KP systems.

I explore the predictions FOFC and other factors (e.g. the suffixing preference, ease of adposition acquisition, harmony) affecting linearisation make concerning which of the systems are attested and postulate long-term diachronic pathways of change based on the relationship between these factors. The latter is modelled in fig. 2, taking into account grammaticalisation and head directionality change:

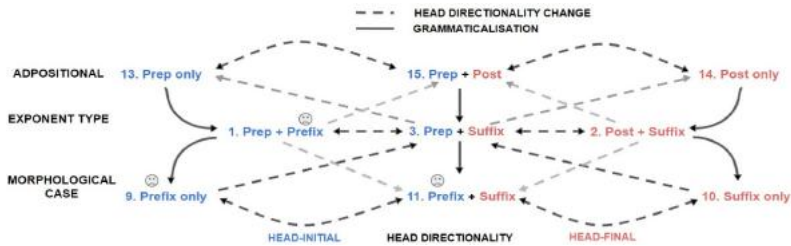


Figure 2: Diachronic pathways of the KP system.

A fainter line in fig. 2 indicates a change to a dispreferred system, and the sad faces represent the presence of morphology in a system. Fig 2. proposes that of all the systems, languages in transition are more likely to pass through/change to system 3, a system particularly abundant in Indo-European.

**Selected references:** • Biberauer, T., A. Holmberg & I. Roberts (2014). A syntactic universal and its consequences. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 45. • Caha, P. (2009). *The nanosyntax of case*. University of Tromsø

---

**Functional head : Lexical argument :: Vowel : Consonant**


---

**Gerrit Kentner**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*  
 kentner@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

Linguistic elements at various levels (phonemes in the case of morphemes; words or morphemes in the case of sentences) are preferably linearized such that qualitatively different elements alternate: Within and across languages, syntactic representations preferably obtain an alternation of (functional) heads and (lexical) arguments. This alternation is reminiscent of phonotactic constraints which lead to a roughly regular alternation of vowels and consonants (ideally: CVCV). There seems to be a deeper sense to this apparent parallelism inviting reductionist speculations (see Bermúdez-Otero & Honeybone 2006). Note the following parallels between syntax and phonology that correlate with the above observation:

i. both within phonology, as well as in syntax, there is a clear asymmetry between heads (functional heads in syntax, vocalic syllable heads in phonology) and dependents (syntactic arguments, consonantal syllable margins).

ii. somewhat paradoxically, heads do not obligatorily appear on the surface, but dependents usually do: There are languages in which words (even whole word strings) may consist of consonants only (e.g., Tashelhiyt) but no language that allows (longer) sequences of vowels to form words. As for syntax, there are languages in which sentences may consist of lexical words only, i.e., that do without overt functional morphology; but there is no language that forms sentences by concatenating functional heads, leaving out lexical words.

iii. Lexical morphemes are bearers of core meaning, whereas functional morphemes serve a syntactic function. As for phonology, Nespor and colleagues (2003) suggest that, within morphemes, consonants primarily represent the lexical meaning while vowels tend to carry syntactic information (syntactic category, tense, number etc.) – cf. semitic root and pattern morphology with consonantal and vocalic tiers.

In this talk, I seek to explore the above stated parallelism(s). The question is, whether these parallels hint at a core mechanism that is active in both the syntactic and the phonological domain. I suggest that syntactic restrictions on self-similar structures (e.g., the ban on direct X-within-X-recursion, Arsenijević & Hinzen 2012) are comparable to constraints restricting self-similarity in the phonological domain (cf. the various instantiations of the Obligatory Contour Principle). I will discuss to what extent this comparison helps explaining linearization patterns.

**References:** • Arsenijević, B. & W. Hinzen. (2012). *Linguistic Inquiry*, 43(3), 423-440. • Bermúdez-Otero, R., & P. Honeybone (2006). *Lingua*, 116(5), 543-561. • Nespor, M., Peņa, M., & Mehler, J. (2003). *Lingue e linguaggio*, 2(2), 203-230.

---

## Prosodic domains and (re-)linearization in Indonesian nominalizing circumfixes

---

**Phillip Weisser**

*Universität Leipzig*

philipp.weisser@uni-leipzig.de

**Background:** Instances of shifting coordinators (i.e. cases where a coordinator does not appear linearly in between the two conjuncts) in Latin and Ancient Greek have long been taken as the clearest examples of cases where syntax proper does not determine the linear order of elements (see Klavans 1995, Marantz 1988, Embick & Noyer 2001, Anderson 2005). Unlike in English where the coordinator and appears in between the two conjuncts, the Latin or Ancient Greek coordinator appears after the first phonological word of the 2nd conjunct.

Shifting coordinators are particularly convincing cases of non-syntactic linearization because we can determine their syntacto-semantic base-position without further ado (i.e. in between the two conjuncts) and because coordination constructions are syntactically inflexible due to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1957), which means that we can rule out syntactic movement as a source for the shifted position of the coordinator. Given that these cases are often cited poster children for instances non-syntactic linearization, it is surprising that shifted coordinators have not been investigated at all beyond the cases above. The talk aims to fill this gap and provide a theoretically informed typology which includes cases of shifted coordinator patterns in 36 languages from 20 different language families (not counting cognates in related languages).

**Findings and theoretical implications:** (A) The patterns found with shifting coordinators mirror the established cases of clitic placement in the world's languages. This indicates that the phenomenon at hand can serve as the first crosslinguistic study of the clitic placement patterns of a single morphosyntactic category in a typologically diverse sample of languages. And, as such it might provide us with a typology of clitic placement patterns and a window to investigating many properties of clitics in a more controlled environment. (B) We find that clitic placement patterns are constrained by syntactic constituency in that they only ever appear inside their syntactic complement. This indicates that syntactic structures but also prosodic structures are built cyclically bottom-up rather than in a parallel fashion. (C) We find a correlation between the clitic placement type and the ability of the clitic to appear inside of syntactic islands. Clitics with phonological targets can also appear inside syntactic islands. (D) We find a correlation between the clitic placement type and type of locality of 2<sup>nd</sup> position clitics. Clitics with morphosyntactic targets obey structural locality, clitics with phonological targets obey linear locality.

---

**A prosodic constraint on the head-complement linearization**


---

**Hisao Tokizaki<sup>1</sup>, Jiro Inaba<sup>2</sup> & Yastuomo Kuwana<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Sapporo University, <sup>2</sup>The University of Tokyo,

<sup>3</sup>Asahikawa Medical University

toki@sapporo-u.ac.jp, inabaj@boz.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp, yasukuwa@gmail.com

We propose to reinterpret the Head Final Filter (HFF) (Williams 1982) and the Final-over-Final Constraint (FOFC) (Biberauer et al. 2014) as a prosodic constraint on the head-complement linearization, Minimal Prosodic Boundaries (MPB). We argue that MPB can explain the counterexamples to HFF and FOFC.

Sheehan (2017) tries to assimilate the HFF to the basic FOFC  $*_{[\text{AP } \beta \text{ } \gamma\text{P}]} \alpha]$  without the extended projection requirement. However, East Slavic and Greek permit  $[_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{AP}} \text{A PP}]] \text{N}$ . Alexeyenko & Zeijlstra (2021) argue that HFF can be violated in languages (e.g. Greek) that have rich agreement morphology on both attributive and predicative adjectives. However, West Slavic (e.g. Czech and Slovak) have rich morphology but obey HFF (Siewierska & Uhlifova 1998).

As an alternative, we propose a constraint (1) and a syntax-PF mapping (2).

(1) Minimal Prosodic Boundaries (MPB): A constituent is Externalized with minimal prosodic boundaries between its sub-constituents.

(2) Interpret boundaries of syntactic constituent [...] as prosodic boundaries /.../

$\{_{\text{AP}} \alpha, \{_{\text{BP}} \beta, \{_{\text{YP}} \dots\}\}\}$  is linearized as in (3) and (4) (ex.  $\{_{\text{VP}} \text{V}, \{_{\text{PP}} \text{P}, \text{DP}\}\}$  *WALS*).

- |        |   |                                  |  |               |
|--------|---|----------------------------------|--|---------------|
| (3) a. | $[_{\text{AP}} \alpha [_{\text{BP}} \beta [_{\text{YP}} \dots]]]$   | $> / \alpha / \beta / \dots //$  | $[_{\text{VP}} \text{V} [_{\text{PP}} \text{P DP}]]$ | 456 languages |
| b.     | $[_{\text{AP}} [_{\text{BP}} [_{\text{YP}} \dots]] \beta]$          | $> // \dots / \beta / \alpha /$  | $[_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{PP}} \text{DP P}]] \text{V}$ | 472 languages |
| (4) a. | $\%[_{\text{AP}} \alpha [_{\text{BP}} [_{\text{YP}} \dots]] \beta]$ | $> / \alpha // \dots / \beta //$ | $[_{\text{VP}} \text{V} [_{\text{PP}} \text{DP P}]]$ | 42 languages  |
| b.     | $*[_{\text{AP}} [_{\text{BP}} \beta [_{\text{YP}} \dots]] \alpha]$  | $> // \beta / \dots // \alpha /$ | $[_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{PP}} \text{P DP}]] \text{V}$ | 14 languages  |

The harmonic orders (3a, b) have no more than one prosodic boundary (/) between  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma\text{P}$  while the disharmonic orders (4a, b) have two boundaries between  $\alpha$  and  $\dots$ . MPB explains the fact that (3a, b) outnumber (4a, b). We argue that a sequence of left brackets can be interpreted as one prosodic boundary:  $X [[\dots Y > X / Y$ . Then, (4a) can be Externalized as  $/ \alpha / \dots / \beta //$ , which satisfies MPB.

German and West Slavic languages have initial stress in words and phrases, and have the order  $[_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{AP}} \text{PP A}]] \text{N}$  (3b), which conforms to MPB and the initial stress, but not  $[_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{AP}} \text{A PP}]] \text{N}$  (4b), which violates MPB and does not match the initial stress. East Slavic and Greek have near-to-final stress, and cannot have the  $[_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{AP}} \text{PP A}]] \text{N}$  order with initial stress; they allow  $[_{\text{NP}} [_{\text{AP}} \text{A PP}]] \text{N}$  (4b), which violates MPB, a nonabsolute constraint, but matches the near-to-final stress.

**Selected Reference:** • Siewierska, A. & L. Uhlifova (1998) An overview of word order in Slavic languages. In A. Siewierska (ed.), *Constituent Order in the Language of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 105–149.

---

**FOFC and FOFC-type effects: implications for linearization**

---

**Theresa Biberauer**  
*University of Cambridge*

---

## Prosodic domains and (re-)linearization in Indonesian nominalizing circumfixes

---

Sören E. Tebay

*Universität Leipzig*

tebay@uni-leipzig.de

**Main Claim:** Indonesian adphrasal and extrametrical circumfixes challenge lexicalist theories of morphology. Postsyntactic linear displacement triggered by a prosodic subcategorization frame in Distributed Morphology (DM) explains both the extrametricality of the suffixal part and the domain of nominalization, providing a restrictive theory of circumfixation. **Data:** In Standard Indonesian (Austronesian, Indonesia), the abstract nominalization circumfix *ke- -an* shows two puzzling properties. First, it attaches to the left and right of a domain otherwise considered a syntactic phrase (Sneddon 1996), which includes negation *tidak* (in other contexts syntactically independent (Kroeger 2014)), a middle voice prefix *ber-* and a complex verbal base, or the adverb *salah* ‘wrongly’, but not high voice prefixes. Second, the circumfix is extrametrical (Conners 2002, 2003), where the usual penultimate phrasal stress (Halim 1981, Cohn 1989) is not applied and instead stress is on the antepenultimate, ignoring the *-an* of the circumfix.

**Analysis:** The analysis extends the idea of linear displacement triggered by prosodic subcategorization frames (used for infixes in Kalin 2022, Kalin & Rolle 2022) in the framework of Distributed Morphology to higher prosodic units. The nominalization head *n* attaches to a vP, the lowest part of a three-head verb phrase (Jeoung 2018). The interface between syntax and phonology proceeds cyclically, starting with the vP, which is prosodified into a prosodic phrase ( $\phi$ ) and undergoes regular stress assignment. In the next cyclic domain, *ke-* and *-an* are inserted, but only the suffixal part *-an* is equipped with a subcategorization frame [ $\phi$  \_], which demands that it follows a right prosodic phrase boundary. *-an* is displaced to follow the prosodic phrase and therefore is not integrated into it. Stress is not reassigned.

**Discussion:** The present account explains both the extrametricality and the domain of nominalization as a result of relinearization. The empirical generalization provided by Sneddon (1996) hints at a lexicalist approach, where phrases are compounded if they serve as a base for affixation, which mispredicts the stress facts and leads to a look-ahead problem. Relinearization, however, extends to e.g. modal circumfixes in Meskwaki (Algonquian, USA, Dahlstrom 2000). **References:** •Cohn, A.C. 1989. Stress in Indonesian and bracketing paradoxes. *NLLT* 7(2). 167–216. •Conners, T.J. 2002. Circumfixation: An unnoticed complication for Indonesian stress. Ms. Yale University. •Conners, T.J. 2003. Circumfixation: An unnoticed problem for Indonesian stress. In proceedings of AFLA X •Halim, A. 1981. Intonation in relation to syntax in Indonesian. •Jeoung, Helen. 2018. Optional elements in Indonesian morphosyntax. •Kalin, L. 2022. Infixes really are (underlyingly) prefixes/suffixes. *Language* 98(4). •Kalin, L. & N. Rolle. 2022. Deconstructing subcategorization: LI early access. •Kroeger, P. 2014. External negation in Malay/Indonesian. *Language* 90(1). •Sneddon, J.N. 1996. Indonesian.



---

**Focus marking in Ìkálè and the Final-over-Final Constraint**


---

Daniel Aremu

Goethe-Universität

aremu@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

**Introduction:** Cross-linguistic studies have shown that the Final-over-Final Constraint (henceforth FOFC), first proposed by Holmberg (2000), seems to be language universal. FOFC disallows, among other hierarchical head sequences, the domination of a head-initial phrase by a head-final phrase [XP[YP Y ZP] X]. Subsequent studies have proposed that FOFC only applies to certain domains (FOFC domain) (see Biberauer et al. 2008, 2014; Biberauer & Sheehan 2012; Biberauer et al. 2009; Erlewine 2017 a.o.). The present study takes a cue from these previous studies and presents novel empirical data from the focus marking in Ìkálè (an SVO Niger-Congo language spoken in Nigeria). I propose that in Ìkálè, although the ex-situ focus is a head-final phrase that dominates a head-initial phrase, it does not constitute FOFC because the FocP is part of a different *FOFC domain*. What makes up a FOFC domain here is an extended projection.

**Data and Observation:** Ex-situ focus in Ìkálè is marked by the focus marker *rín*, which always occurs at the clause-final position even though the focused constituent is fronted to the left periphery of the clause. This happens regardless of the category that is in focus. Whether it is the subject (1) or the object (2) that is focus fronted, *rín* occurs clause-finally. Assuming a focus projection (FocP) in the left periphery of the clause, in which the focused constituents move to its specifier position (SpecFocP), the head of the FocP would be to the right position (head-final). This head-final phrase would dominate a head-initial TP: [<sub>FocP</sub> XP [<sub>TP/FinP</sub> T *máa* vP ] Foc *rín*].

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(1a) Nòó. <i>máa</i> je <i>ciije</i> nè?<br/> <i>who FUT eat food DEF</i><br/> ‘Who will eat the food?’</p> | <p>(1b) <i>Ayò</i> *(ó) <i>máa</i> je <i>ciije</i> nè *(<i>rín</i>).<br/> <i>Ayò</i> 3SG will eat food DEF FOC<br/> ‘AYO will eat the food.’</p> |
| <p>(2a) Nèé <i>Ayò</i> <i>maa</i> ri-i?<br/> <i>who Ayò FUT see-Q</i><br/> ‘Who will Ayò see?’</p>             | <p>(2b) <i>Tolú</i> <i>Ayò</i> <i>máa</i> ri *(<i>rín</i>).<br/> <i>Tolú</i> <i>Ayò</i> will see FOC<br/> ‘Ayò will see TOLÚ.’</p>               |

**Proposed Analysis:** To account for such an exception to FOFC, there have been different proposals on what characterizes as a FOFC domain (where FOFC operates). There are at least two such proposals, (a) Extended projection: FOFC only holds between the heads within an extended projection (Biberauer et al. 2009; Biberauer & Sheehan 2012), and (b) Phase: a phase head constitutes the boundary of the FOFC domain. Thus, FOFC only applies to the complement of a phase (Erlewine 2017). I argue that the former (but not the latter) characterization accounts for the Ìkálè case. The FocP does not constitute the same extended projection with the TP. While the latter is in the proposition domain, the former is in the informational structural domain. They belong to different FOFC domains. Thus, FOFC does not hold between the two heads. On the other hand, I show that the FocP does not constitute a phase because the properties that are peculiar to phases are not present (contra Erlewine 2017).

---

## Modification Markers and Meaningless Movement

---

**Niina Ning Zhang**

*National Chung Cheng University*

zongningzhang@gmail.com

This talk explores the relation between the presence of a modification (mod) marker and the availability of meaningless movement that derives various orders in nominal modification. I assume that a modifier is not a sister of the modified element; it is a J-set that is merged with the modified element. A J-set is headed by the categoryless functional element J (Junk), which can take a modifier as its complement. J is realized by a mod marker (null in languages like English) or coordinator. The merger of a J-set and a modifier is that of categorization (cf. the merger of a root and its categorizer) (Zhang 2023). I discuss four constructions.

① A non-canonical position of a complete modifier can be derived by the raising of the modified NP (*the man proud of his son* <*man*>; Cinque 2010: 26). The unacceptability of the base-order in some languages (*\*the proud of his son man*) is parallel to the unacceptability of the base-order in extraposition, which comes from the raising of the modified XP (Cinque 2010: 133; cf. Larson 1989, Barbiers 1995). In a language that has mod markers (e.g., Mandarin; Rubin 2003), this is possible only in the absence of such a marker (also subject to some language-specific conditions; cf. Zhang 2008).

② The split of a complex modifier (e.g., *a smart sofa to buy*; Fleisher 2008; Cinque 2010: 127) can be derived by the raising of the complement of the adjective followed by the remnant movement of the whole NP. In a language that has mod markers (e.g., Mandarin), such a split does not occur.

③ A manner modifier (Japanese; Kitagawa 1986, Mandarin) can be integrated by  
 ❶ the raising of the NP to VP, ❷ the merge of the manner modifier to VP, ❸ the remnant movement of the object, ❹ the V-to-v movement. No mod marker occurs.

④ An event kind-level modifier (e.g., *An occasional sailor strolled by.*) can be integrated by the sideward movement of the predicate from another working site to the modifier position of an NP (Zhang 2022). No mod marker occurs with such a modifier in Mandarin.

**Conclusion** Meaningless movement can derive the observed various non-base orders in modification, in the absence of an overt mod marker. This shows that there are interactions between the overtness of the functional element J and meaningless movement in linearization.

**References:** • Cinque, G. 2010. *The syntax of adjectives*. MIT Press. • Kitagawa, Y. 1986. More on bracketing paradoxes. *Linguistic Inquiry* 17(1), 177-183. • Zhang, N. 2022. Kind-level predicates of events inside another predication. *Studia Linguistica* 76(2), 315-353. • Zhang, N. 2023. *Coordinate Structures*. Cambridge University Press.

---

## Roberts's (2017) parallels between clausal and nominal domains revisited.

---

**Emanuele Bernardi**

*University of Verona, Free University of Bozen*

emanuele.bernardi@univr.it

When dealing with the patterns observed in Greenberg's "Universal 20" (also treated in Cinque 2005; 2023, a.o.), Roberts (2017) focuses on a specific subset of languages which, according to the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS, Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), feature the [Num N A Dem] linearization. Roberts (2017: 155, 157) correctly observes that the 77 languages thus collected are equally distributed between the VS/SV divide. However, the correlation that Roberts (2017) sketches between the VS alignment in the clausal domain and the presence of a "low demonstrative" in the nominal one finds counterexamples in both directions (namely, SV with low demonstratives, and VS with high ones). There is a stronger correlation that seems to hold between VO and low demonstratives, though. Among the 77 languages reported by Roberts (2017: 155-157), only two are not VO, namely Tuvaluan and Basque (which Dryer 2013 classifies as OVS and SOV, respectively). If combined with Dryer's (2018) supplementary materials, data provided by Dryer (2013) apparently show that an almost strict VO order applies to an even larger sample of languages, where linear order can be not only [Num N Dem], but also to any order with [N Dem] preceding both A and Num. The perusal of such typological data seems to hint at another correlation: languages that linearize [A N Num] are strictly SV languages. If these observations are on the right track, then the parallel that Roberts was trying to sketch between the clausal and the nominal domain should be restated as follows: If N raises past Dem, then the internal argument follows the verb. If a pied-piping of [A N] occurs, then the external argument is attracted to the higher clausal phase.

**References:** • Cinque, G. (2005). Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and Its Exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36 (3): 315–332. • Cinque, G. (2023). *On Linearization: Toward a Restrictive Theory*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press. • Greenberg, J.H. (1966 [1963]). Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements. In J.H. Greenberg (ed.), *Universals of Language: Report of a Conference Held at Dobbs Ferry, New York, April 13-15, 1961. 2nd ed.*, Cambridge (MA): MIT Press, 73–113. • Dryer, M. S. (2013). Order of Subject, Object and Verb. M.S. Dryer and M. Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. • Dryer, M. S. (2013). On the Order of Demonstrative, Numeral, Adjective, and Noun. *Language* 94 (4): 798–833. • Dryer, M. S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.). (2013). *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <https://wals.info>, Accessed on 2023-10-30.) • Roberts, I. G. (2017). The Final-over-Final Condition in DP: Universal 20 and the Nature of Demonstratives. In M. Sheehan, T. Biberauer, I.G. Roberts and A. Holmberg (eds), *The Final-Over-Final Condition: A Syntactic Universal*. Cambridge (MA): MIT Press. 151-186.

---

**Generalizing linearization: Marking instead of projecting.  
An attempt in the nominal domain of Mandarin Chinese**

---

**Chenyuan Deng, Antonio Machicao y Priemer & Giuseppe Varaschin**  
*Humboldt Universität zu Berlin*

{dengchen | machicao.y.priemer | giuseppe.varaschin}@hu-berlin.de

In this study, we focus on the structure of Mandarin Chinese (MC) NPs to show how to constrain linearization by means of a head-functor analysis (HFA) in HPSG (Van Eynde 2021).

In MC, all constituents of the NP precede the head noun. Within the NP, Mod(ifier)s are flexible w.r.t. their linearization: they can appear before or after Dem(onstratives) and CL(assifier)P(hrases)<sup>4</sup>, or directly before bare nouns without forcing a different interpretation, see (1) & (2). This behaviour of MC NPs poses a particular challenge to current approaches (Cheng & Sybesma 1999).

Furthermore, that Mod can appear before Dem and that (some subtypes of) CLPs can be modified (3) raises questions about whether Dem and CL can be analysed as specifiers. We show that these categories lack characteristics typically ascribed to specifiers (e.g. in English) and, hence, do not need to be analysed differently from Mods. Our analysis (based on HFA) dispenses with the distinction between specifiers and Mods (to some extent similar to cartographic analyses) by treating Dems, CLPs, and Mods as functors with specific marking values, accounting for the possible linearizations and interpretations in MC NPs, as well as for bare NPs.

- (1) (Mod) Dem (Mod) Num-CL (Mod) N
- (2) guanyu yuyanxue-de na san-ben shu  
*about linguistics-DE that three-CL<sub>s</sub> book*  
‘those three books about linguistics’
- (3) dada-de yi-wan xiao yingtao (Zhang 2011: ex 8)  
*big-DE one-CL<sub>m=bowl</sub> small cherry*  
‘a big bowl of small cherries’

**References:** • Cheng, L. & R. Sybesma (1999). Bare and not-so-bare nouns and the structure of NP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30(4), 509–542. · Her, O. (2012). Distinguishing classifiers and measure words: A mathematical perspective and implications. *Lingua* 122(14), 1668–1691. · Van Eynde, F. (2021). Nominal structures. In Müller, S., Abeillé, A., Borsley, R. & Koenig, J.-P. (eds.), *Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar: The handbook*. Berlin: Language Science Press, 275–313. • Zhang, N. (2018). The constituency of classifier constructions in Mandarin Chinese. *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics* 9(1), 1–50.

---

<sup>4</sup> We treat sortal CL, e.g. *ben* (2), and measure CL, e.g. *xiang* ‘box’ (3), as subcategories of CL, see Her (2012).

## **Arbeitsgruppe 9**

---

### Workshop 9

---

## Generating a spectrum of kind representations

---

**Sandeep Prasada**

*Hunter College, CUNY*

sprasada@hunter.cuny.edu

Lexically expressible concepts such as DOG provide a perspective for thinking and talking about an abstract kind which is never encountered but is understood to contain an unlimited number of instances, as well as a perspective for thinking of the particular entities we encounter as one of an unlimited number instances of the same kind. Those instances are understood to be numerically distinct and need not differ qualitatively, except accidentally. The kind, on the other hand, cannot be understood to differ from other kinds merely numerically and accidentally. Kinds are distinguished from one another by their intrinsic character which is specified by the properties they are understood to have by virtue of being the kinds of things they are. Those properties have an explanatory, normative, and statistical connection to the kind (e.g. Dogs bark *because* they are dogs; Dogs are *supposed to* bark; Dogs, *in general*, bark) (Prasada, 2016; Haward, Carey & Prasada, 2021). This fragment of the perspectives provided by a concept like DOG receives no account in standard theories of conceptual representation.

I sketch a fragment of the theory of conceptual form according to which the perspectives provided by concepts are encoded in their formal structure which provides instructions for interpretation (Prasada, in preparation). According to the theory, kind representations are generative mechanisms that can generate an unlimited number of instance-of-kind representations that are expected to have the character that characterizes and distinguishes the kind from other kinds. Furthermore, the theory formally distinguishes different classes of kinds by whether they individuate both instances and subkinds, whether they individuate instances in more than one way, and whether they individuate other (non-subkind) kinds. This variety of classes of kind representations is generated via different combinations of the formal elements that are intrinsic to the kind representations that are in the class that contains DOG. The theory also allows for *ad hoc* instances, subkinds, and kinds, all of which are generated via conceptual combination. I will show how all these formal distinctions are linguistically relevant and help explain certain forms of systematic polysemy, count-mass phenomena, interpretation of generics, and constraints on the linguistic expression of generics among other differences in how we think and talk about kinds and their instances. Experimental and linguistic evidence for key components of the theory will also be presented.

**References:** • Prasada, S. (2016). Mechanisms for thinking about kinds, instances of kinds and kinds of kinds, In Barner, D.; and Baron, A. S., (eds) *Core Knowledge and Conceptual Change*. Oxford: OUP, 209-224. • Haward, P., Carey, S., & Prasada, S. (2021). The formal structure of kind representations. *Cognitive Science*, 45(10), Article e13040. • Prasada, S. (in preparation). *Conceptual form: The hidden structure of common sense concepts*, MIT Press.

---

## The well-defined kind restriction: experimental evidence from Greek, German and Catalan

---

Dimitra Lazaridou-Chatzigoga<sup>1</sup>, Artemis Alexiadou<sup>2</sup> & Elena  
Castroviejo<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of East Anglia/University of Cambridge, <sup>2</sup>Leibniz-ZAS/Humboldt-  
Universität zu Berlin, <sup>3</sup>University of the Basque Country

D.Lazaridou-Chatzigoga@uea.ac.uk, artemis.alexiadou@hu-berlin.de,  
elena.castroviejo@ehu.eus

**Background.** At least since the late '70s (Carlson 1977) it has been observed that nouns must express a “well-established kind” in order to form acceptable generic sentences (contrast *The Coke bottle has a narrow neck* vs. *?The green bottle has a narrow neck*). However, it has been notoriously difficult to pin down what “well-established” is supposed to be. On top of that, different languages employ different grammatical devices to express genericity (Chierchia, 1998; Longobardi, 1994). In this paper, we present results from the same experiment conducted in Greek, German and Catalan (extending Ionin et al.’s 2011 cross-linguistic experiment). The results question the universality of the restriction (which we will call the Well-Defined Kind restriction from now on) for definite singular kind terms (in Greek) and point out to the need for further experimental work on the topic that will refine the contextual manipulations employed (see Dayal 2004; Driemel et al. 2023).

**The studies.** *Participants* 40 Greek, 40 German and 40 Catalan native speakers were recruited via prolific. *Task* Acceptability Judgment Task with contexts. Each item was a paragraph-long story followed by five different target sentences differing in the nominal used (animal and artefact kinds): (a) bare plural, (b) bare singular, (c) definite plural, (d) definite singular and (e) indefinite singular. The test items tested two distinct sources of genericity: (a) NP-level genericity with kind-level predicates like *be extinct* and WDK kinds and (b) sentence-level genericity with non-WDK kinds. *Results* We tested sensitivity to the WDK restriction on definite singulars. In German the majority of the participants showed the expected sensitivity, whereas in Greek only half of them did. *Conclusion* The experimental results presented here provide a potential way out of the impasse of how to address “well-establishedness”, which could be related to the specific way each language expresses genericity or could be attributed to the suggested pragmatic nature of the phenomenon. Methodological considerations, data from Catalan, as well as new experimental designs in progress will be discussed.

**References:** • Ionin, T., Montrul, S., and Santos, H. (2011). An experimental investigation of the expression of genericity in English, Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 121, 963-985. • Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, D. and Alexiadou, A. (2019). Genericity in Greek: an experimental investigation. In Gattnar, A., Hörnig, R., Störzer, M. & Featherston, S. (Eds.) *Proceedings of Linguistic Evidence 2018: Experimental Data Drives Linguistic Theory*. Tübingen: University of Tübingen, 245-260.

---

## Kinds, Generics and Definite Singulars

---

**Luca Gasparri<sup>1,2</sup> & Gerhard Schaden<sup>1,3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Université de Lille <sup>2</sup>STL, UMR CNRS 8163 <sup>3</sup>LLF, UMR 7110 CNRS

luca.gasparri@univ-lille.fr, gerhard.schaden@univ-lille.fr

Compared to other types of generics (e.g., bare plurals or indefinite singular generics), definite singular generics (DSGs) show a distinct, and typically more restricted distribution pattern, which, however, has garnered less attention in the literature than other types of generics. We will begin with Partee's observation about the relevance of well-established kinds to generic sentences (cf. 1a-b), which, as is known, is not replicable with the bare plural version (cf. Krifka et al., 1995:11). The usual reasoning is that DSGs should be felicitous when they refer to a well-established kind. However, the distribution of DSGs does not conform neatly to Partee's observation.

- (1) a. The Coke bottle has a narrow neck. [✓generic, ✓token reference]  
 b. The green bottle has a narrow neck. [\*generic, ✓token reference]  
 c. The bottle has a narrow neck. [\*generic, ✓token reference]

“Bottle” – lexicalized in English as a simple word – should be an uncontroversial instance of a well-established kind, yet (1c) patterns with the presumed ad hoc kind *green bottle* (1b) against the well-established *Coke bottle* (1a). We will show that the difference in acceptability in (1) can be attributed neither exclusively to the type of kind denoted by the subject, nor to the predicate alone. We will therefore suggest that the determining influence on the acceptability must either be contextual, be located in the relation between the predicate and the subject, or be due to a combination of these two aspects.

This is not to say that DSGs do not impose any restrictions on their subject; for instance, high-level entities in a taxonomy are generally infelicitous as DSGs, as has been observed by Mari et al. (2012: 29).

- (2) a. The mammal suckles its young. [\*generic, ✓token reference]  
 b. ?\*The mammal is extinct.

Our talk – focusing on DSGs in English – will provide an orderly formulation of the several challenges posed by DSGs, especially in relation to the issue of the types of kinds they can admissibly denote, with an eye to further refining the distinction between well established and ad hoc kinds.

**References:** • Krifka, M. (2012). Definitional Generics. In A. Mari et al. (eds.), *Genericity*. Oxford: OUP, 372–89. • Krifka, M. et al. (1995). *Genericity: An Introduction*. In G.N. Carlson & F.J. Pelletier (eds.), *The Generic Book*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. • Mari, A. et al. (2012). Introduction. In A. Mari et al. (eds.), *Genericity*. Oxford: OUP, 1–92. • Mendia, J.A. (2020). Reference to *Ad Hoc* Kinds. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 43, 589–631.



---

## Innovated Compounds, Concepts, and Prototypes: A Road to Framing

---

**Regine Eckardt & Qi Yu**

*Universität Konstanz*

Regine.Eckardt@uni-konstanz.de, Qi.Yu@uni-konstanz.de

Innovated compounds (ICs) are frequently used in headlines to heighten readers' interest. German BILD, in particular, is famous for its use of ICs such as „Griechen-Fischer“ (Greek-fisherman), „Kopftuch-Praktikantin“ (hijab-intern) or „China-Maske“ (China-mask). Yu et al. (2022) measure the attitudinal meaning-triggering effect of ICs (e.g., “China-mask”) by comparing ICs with two control conditions: (a) phrasal alternatives (e.g., “Chinese mask”) and (b) simple neutral alternatives (e.g., “mask”). Their results show a weak but significant effect of innovated compounds on triggering stronger attitudinal meanings. In this work, we propose an explanation for this effect, combining semantics and cognition.

Sassoon (2011) distinguishes between the semantic structure of *nouns* and *adjectives*. The meaning of a noun N is defined by a prototype structure based on *dimensions* (e.g., color, size, shape) and ideal values in each dimension. The extension of N is determined by the weighted distance of objects x to the prototypical N exemplar. Speakers implicitly reason with prototype structures; they achieve fast categorization but can not reason explicitly about their decisions. Adjectives A, in contrast, refer to one dimension and speakers can reason explicitly whether A applies to a given object or not.

We show that Sassoon's linguistic tests side ICs with nouns; ICs thus rest on a prototype structure. An IC (e.g. „Kopftuch-Praktikantin“) introduces a prototype structure of its own, whereas phrasal alternatives rest on the prototype structure of the noun („Praktikantin“) and simple modification („mit Kopftuch“). Thus, ICs and their phrasal alternatives are *not* semantically equivalent, even if their extensions may be identical. —Finally, we take a closer look at the attitudinal meanings of ICs. While Sassoon (2011) offers a general basis to predict semantic differences between ICs and phrasal alternatives, examples are too varied to predict *specific* attitudinal effects. We use a range of ICs to demonstrate how novel prototype structures can flavor a referent positively (Olympia-Mädchen) or negatively (China-Maske), exoticize other nations (Griechen-Fischer), or frame religions as the cause of trouble (Kopftuch-Praktikantin).

**References:** Sassoon, G. W. (2011). Adjectival versus nominal categorization processes: The rule vs. similarity hypothesis. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 25, 104–147. <https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.25.06sas> • Yu, Q., F. Schlotterbeck, R. Eckardt & B. Stolterfoht (2022). An experimental study on ad hoc compounds in political discourse. In Frau, F. et al. (eds.), *Book of Abstracts of the 9th Experimental Pragmatics Conference (XPRAG 2022)*. OSF.io <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/C4KP2>

---



---

## Number, definiteness and ad-hoc vs well-established kinds

---

Claire Beyssade<sup>1</sup>, Carmen Dobrovie-Sorin<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Université Paris 8, <sup>2</sup>LLF/CNRS

claire.beyssade@gmail.com, sorin.carmen2@gmail.com

**1. Dayal's (2004)** analysis of 'taxonomic kinds' can be summarized as follows:

- (1) a. Any NP can denote both in the domain of individuals and in that of kinds.  
 b. Any det. (other than the intensionalized Iota) can apply to both types of sets.

This proposal cannot explain why only DP<sub>def-sg</sub> are constrained by well-establishedness:

- (2) John designed this/every/two green bottle(s)/the green bottles/??the green bottle.

**2. Beyssade (2005)** explains the well-established-kinds constraint as an effect of her (3)b [which contradicts Dayal's (1)a]: a kind that is listed in the Lexicon must be 'natural' or 'well-established'.

- (3) a. K-referring def. DP<sub>sg</sub> rely on an Iota that applies to an NP that denotes a set of kinds.  
 b. Those NPs that denote sets of kinds are listed as such in the Lexicon.

**3. Taxonomic readings** (see (2)), which Beyssade herself does not investigate, are *not* subject to the well-established-kind constraint and as such, on Beyssade's view, they *cannot* be analyzed as involving an NP that denotes a set of kinds (*contra* Dayal's (1)a).

**4. Silent taxonomic classifiers.** We will propose that (i) taxonomic/sub-kind readings [*contra* Dayal, we do *not* assume that the k-reference of def DP<sub>sg</sub> is a sort of taxonomic reading] involve silent taxonomic Ns; (ii) the uniqueness presupposition of the def. sg. can be satisfied only if the head N is lexically specified to denote a set of kinds.

**5. A case study.** Needless to say, the empirical generalizations suggested above are so wide-spanning that we expect to find data that call for theoretical refinements of the proposal sketched above. One such case is provided by demonstratives. Thus, when they accompany a gesture/gaze that points to a unique hat, the generic reading is possible with the pl but infelicitous with the sg:

- (4) a. **These hats** are going out of fashion.      a'. ??**This hat** is going out of fashion.  
 b. I love **these hats**.      b'. ??I love **this hat**.

**6. Conclusions.** Our proposal yields a three-way distinction: (a) intensional maximal sums (BPs and DP<sub>def-pl</sub>); (b) taxonomic readings: (overt or silent) taxonomic N that forces the head N to denote a non-singleton set of kinds/types (DPs other than BPs, def. DP<sub>pl</sub> and def. DP<sub>sg</sub>). (c) kind-referring DPs (DP<sub>def-sg</sub>): N that denotes a singleton set of kinds/types. The availability of kind-reference appears to be more and more constrained when we go from (a) to (c). Using the notion of 'ad-hoc' kind in a somewhat abusive way, we may say that reference to ad-hoc kinds is 'free' (almost constrained) with BPs/DP<sub>def-pl</sub>, constrained with taxonomic DPs (see demonstratives in particular) and impossible with DP<sub>def-sg</sub>.

---

## Gerunds as *ad hoc* event kinds

---

**Zi Huang**

*Universitat Pompeu Fabra*

zi.huang@upf.edu

This talk extends the notion of *ad hoc* kinds from the nominal domain (Mendia 2019) to the event domain, and proposes that POSS-*ing* gerunds in English such as *John's visiting Mary* are a consistent way of forming *ad hoc* event kinds.

POSS-*ing* is an -ing form that takes direct complements and a preceding possessor interpreted always as the subject and is analyzed as event kind descriptions by Grimm & McNally (2015). Such expressions lack reference to event tokens, being incompatible with eventive predicates and adjectives that assign properties to events (“narrow containers” in Vendler 1967):

(1) \*John's drawing the picture {happened/took place} yesterday/was {slow/fast}.

I argue that POSS-*ing* denotes *ad hoc* kinds, which are different from well-established event kinds. First, they can be formed in an unrestricted manner. POSS-*ing* freely takes referential arguments and spatiotemporal modification:

(2) Hannah's breaking John's vase yesterday at the party was astonishing.

Second, instead of partitioning a (super)kind, these *ad hoc* event kinds are constructed by generalizing over one (or some) event tokens. The token event that the kind is built upon is sometimes present in the discourse or, as is usually the case, presupposed to exist:

(3) John did not imagine Hannah's breaking his vase. → Hannah broke John's vase.

Although this presupposition is not always present, it can be argued that POSS-*ing* is a referential expression, and referentiality does not necessarily correspond to presupposition or discourse givenness. With the event token in mind as an instantiation, the kind is constructed with descriptive content to identify it.

This analysis will shed new light on the contrast between narrow containers (1) and predicates that accept POSS-*ing* as an argument (“loose containers”, e.g. *surprised me*). The traditional view is that narrow containers only select for event tokens. With the POSS-*ing* in the subject position denoting a kind, I argue that the sentence must express a generalization which holds in virtue of the subject's descriptive content, also accounting for POSS-*ing*'s opacity.

**References:** • Grimm, S., & McNally, L. (2015). The -*ing* dynasty: Rebuilding the semantics of nominalizations. In S. D'Antonio, M. Moroney, & C. R. Little (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 25th Semantics and Linguistic Theory Conference (SALT)* (Vol. 25, pp. 82–102). Ithaca, NY: LSA and CLC Publications. • Mendia, J. A. (2019). Reference to *ad hoc* kinds. *Linguistics and philosophy*, 43, 589–631. • Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

---

## Facilitating Factors for Concept Formation

---

**Barbara Kaup**  
*Universität Tübingen*  
barbara.kaup@uni-tuebingen.de

In this talk I will discuss research from cognitive psychology on concept formation. I will specifically look into different factors that have been shown to facilitate concept formation and discuss the question whether and under which conditions concept formation involves abstraction processes. A particular focus will also be on the important role that linguistic labels (even redundant ones) seem to play in concept formation.

---

## The role of features of similarity in ad-hoc kind construction

---

**Britta Stolterfoht<sup>1</sup> & Carla Umbach<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Tübingen, <sup>2</sup>Universität Köln

*britta.stolterfoht@uni-tuebingen.de, carla.umbach@uni-koeln.de*

Demonstratives of manner, quality and degree (German *so*, English *such / like this*) express similarity between the target of demonstration and the referent of the phrase (K+U). In (1), Anna's car is characterized as being similar in certain respects to the car the speaker points at – SIM(target, Anna's car).

- (1) (speaker points at a car):  
Anna hat auch so ein Auto. 'Anna has a car like this, too.'

The relation of similarity is spelled out in Umbach & Gust (2014 using multi-dimensional attribute spaces and generalized measure functions). It is shown that in the case of quality and manner, but not in the case of degree, similarity classes constitute ad-hoc kinds. The notion of similarity would be trivial without specifying relevant features (or "respects") of similarity (Goodman 1972). However, the choice of such features seems to be severely constrained. In the example in (2) the demonstrative *so* is used anaphorically referring to a previously mentioned property. Being Japanese is easily picked up, leading to the interpretation that Berta has a Japanese car. In contrast, being new does not qualify as a feature of similarity – the second sentence cannot be understood such that Berta has a new car.

- (2) Anna hat ein japanisches Auto / ein neues Auto. Berta hat auch so ein Auto (nämlich ein japanisches Auto / \*nämlich ein neues Auto).  
'Anna has a Japanese car / a new car. Berta has such a car, too (namely a Japanese car / a new car).'

In the talk, experimental studies will be presented investigating constraints on features of similarity. The results point to restrictions found with kind formation (Prasada & Dillingham 2006). Questions to be discussed are, on the one hand, how these features relate to intrinsic properties (Lewis 1986) and, on the other hand, whether analogous restrictions are found for other types of ad-hoc kind construction based on similarity (*Coke, Sprite and the like*)

**References** • Goodman, N. (1972). Seven strictures on similarity. *Problems and Projects*, Bobbs-Merrill, 437–446. • König, E. & C. Umbach (2018). Demonstratives of manner, of quality and of degree. In M. Coniglio, A. Murphy, E. Schlachter, T. Veenstra (eds), (2018), *Atypical Demonstratives*: De Gruyter, 285–327. • Lewis, D. (1986), *On the Plurality of Worlds*. Oxford: Blackwell. • Prasada, S. & E. Dillingham (2006), Principled and Statistical Connections in Common Sense Conception, *Cognition* 99, 73–112. • Umbach, C. & H. Gust (2014), Similarity Demonstratives, *Lingua* 149, 74–93.

---

**Well-establishedness, deep genericity, and the naming of subkinds**


---

**Olav Mueller-Reichau**

*Universität Leipzig*

reichau@uni-leipzig.de

I will provide examples from Russian subject and object nominals to show that NPs (like *chief editor* or *legal layer*) or VPs (like *wear a skirt* or *shoot a boar*) producing so-called well-establishedness effects (recall *The {Coke bottle/ green bottle} has a narrow neck*, where only *Coke bottle* allows for a generic construal of the definite article) operate at a deeper level of syntax than others. This seems to support the view that lexical units project into syntax as generic expressions without referential force, to be turned into expressions with referential force only later at some higher syntactic stage (Padučeva 1985; Carlson 2003; Zamparelli 2013; Mueller-Reichau 2013; Ramchand 2018; Gehrke and McNally 2019). This view, however, is confronted with a tricky question: *How does semantic composition work at the level of deep genericity where meanings of syntactically combined expressions are non-referential?* In the talk, I want to pursue the implications that the type-token mechanism described in Prasada (2016) has on this question. According to Prasada, each noun is a name of a kind, whose meaning ("the kind concept") projects a list of k-properties that characterise and identify the kind by providing properties that an instance of the kind has because it is the kind of thing. K-properties thus correspond to "essential" properties. Now, names of kinds do not only come as one-word expressions. The complex noun *chief editor* names a kind, i.e. a subkind of the kind named by *editor*. Similarly, *Coke bottle* names a subkind of what *bottle* names. This invites the conclusion that well-establishedness means kind naming. One-word nouns and verbs are always kind naming, modified nouns and verbs are sometimes. When they are, they give rise to well-establishedness effects. If deep genericity is in fact the domain of (sub)kind names, we gain a provokingly simple answer to our question: since names do not have to observe compositionality, there perhaps is no deep generic composition at all.

**Selected references:** • Borik & Espinal (2020). Numberless kinds: Evidence from Russian. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 19, 231–260. • Chierchia (1998). Reference to kinds across language. *Natural Language Semantics* 6(4), 339–405. • Gehrke & McNally (2019). Idioms and the syntax/semantics interface of descriptive content vs. reference. *Linguistics* 57, 769–814. • McNally (2017). Kinds, descriptions of kinds, concepts, and distributions. In: *Bridging Formal and Conceptual Semantics*, 39–61. • Mueller-Reichau (2013). *Sorting the World. On the Relevance of the Kind/Object-Distinction to Referential Semantics*. Berlin, Boston. • Prasada (2016). *Mechanisms for thinking about kinds, instances of kinds, and kinds of kinds. Core Knowledge and Conceptual Change*, 209–224. • Ramchand (2018). *Situations and Syntactic Structures: Rethinking Auxiliaries and Order in English*. Cambridge. • Trugman (2004). *Modifiers of bare nouns in Russian*. In: *Formal Studies in Slavic Linguistics*, 245–270.

---

## Indefinite Singular vs. Bare Plural Generics: Essential Interpretations and Quantification over Samples.

---

**Manfred Krifka**

*Leibniz-Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS) Berlin*

krifka@leibniz-zas.de

It is well-known that indefinite singular generics (ISGs) and bare plural generics (BPGs) cannot always be interchanged, as illustrated in (1):

- (1) a. #A rat reached / Rats reached Australia in 1770 (Krifka et al. 1995)
- b. #A madrigal is / Madrigals are popular. (Lawler 1973)
- c. #An elephant lives / Elephants live in Africa and Asia. (Nickel 2008)
- d. #A barn is / Barns are red. (Leslie et al. 2009, on New England barns)

Various proposals have been made to capture this difference: In addition to the established fact that BPGs, but not ISGs, can refer to kinds and hence allow for episodic kind-level properties like (a), ISGs have been argued to be restricted to predications that are “essential” (Lawler 1973), “principled” (Prasada & Dillingham 2006, Leslie et al. 2009), “normative” (Knobe et al. 2013), “definitional” (Krifka 2013) or “causal” (van Rooij & Schulz 2020). I will review these proposals and argue that ISGs occur in a wider range of environments, as in (2), which are based on non-essential, purely statistical generalizations.

- (2) A 2\$ bill is / 2\$ bills are quite rare.
- (3) #A mosquito carries / Mosquitoes carries malaria.

I will argue that ISGs are acceptable whenever the generalization is grounded in individual entities. This holds for the previous proposals for essential generalizations but also for cases like (2), which states that it is rare to find a 2\$ bill. I will argue that BPGs are preferred under two conditions: namely (a) to avoid an otherwise plausible “essential” reading (cf. Plunkett et al. 2023 on metalinguistic negation) and (b) whenever in statistical generalizations the incidence expressed by the predication is low, as in (3). I argue that with generics based on purely statistical motivation, BPGs express a quantification over samples containing more than one entity, resulting in a much higher probability that the sample will contain positive instances when compared to quantifications over single entities.

**References:** • Knobe, J. et al. 2013. Dual character concepts and the normative dimension of conceptual representation. *Cognition* 127. • Krifka, M et al. 1995. Genericity: an introduction. Ed. Greg N. Carlson & F. J. Pelletier, *The generic book*. The University of Chicago Press. • Krifka, M. 2013. Definitional generics. In A Mari et al., *Genericity*. Oxford. • Lawler, J. 1973. *Studies in English generics*. U of Michigan. • Leslie, S.-J. et al., 2009. Conceptual and linguistic distinctions between singular and plural generics. *CogSci 2009 Proceedings*. • Nickel, B. 2008. Generics and the ways of normality. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 31(6). • Plunkett, D. et al. 2023. Generics and metalinguistic negotiation. *Synthese* 201(2). • van Rooij, R, & K Schulz. 2020. A Causal Semantics of IS Generics. *Journal of Semantics* 37.

---

## A grammatical recipe for kind construction

---

**Jon Ander Mendià**

*Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*

jonander.mendia@uab.cat

Although there is no consensus about what kinds are, there is a common understanding that they are representative of collections of objects that share certain properties (e.g. Carlson 1977; Prasada & Dillingham 2006). What these properties exactly are is often left unspecified, under the general assumption that they must be in some way essential or natural. Kinds relying on such distinguished properties are typically said to be *well-established*. On this view, what counts as a kind is not set by the grammar, but amounts instead to conventional knowledge of a community of speakers: the main property of kinds is simply that “we can impute to them a sufficiently regular behavior” (Chierchia 1998). If that is so, what stops us from picking non-natural properties that nevertheless single out a sufficiently regular behavior in some population and constructing a corresponding kind-denoting term? I argue that this is not just cognitively plausible, but is in fact grammatically sanctioned: certain grammatical constructions allow us to disregard natural/essential regularities and spontaneously build kinds in real time; i.e. they allow us to construct *ad hoc* kinds:

(1) The lions that eat people are widespread.

The subject *the lions* in (1) can be only understood as making a claim about a particular *subkind* of lion (Dayal 2004), but one that does not form a natural (taxonomic) class—in fact it may comprise of individual lions in several subspecies of lion and exclude others in the same subspecies. Nevertheless, as (1) shows, we can easily refer to subkind of lions whose regular behavior relies on a particular aspect that they all share, as idiosyncratic as that property may be—like the fact that they eat people. I suggest that the sole role of the relative clause in (1) and other ad hoc subkind reference constructions is to provide information that helps determine what the relevant sufficiently regular behavior is; in this case, by collecting every individual people-eating-lion in the same cell of a lion-partition. This is because with ad hoc kind-referring terms it becomes necessary to supplement the information provided by the kind-referring NP in some way such that the listener can reconstruct the intended kind.

**References:** Carlson, G. (1977). *Reference to kinds in English*. PhD thesis. UMass Amherst.  
 • Chierchia, G. (1998). Reference to kinds across Languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6(4), 339–405.  
 • Dayal, V. (2004). Number Marking and (In)Definiteness in Kind Terms. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27(4), 393–450.  
 • Mendià, J.A. (2020). Reference to ad hoc kinds. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 43(6), 589–631.  
 • Prasada, S. & Dillingham, E.M. (2006). Principled and statistical connections in common sense conception. *Cognition* 99, 73–112.



## **Arbeitsgruppe 10**

---

### Workshop 10

---

## Multimodal prosodic prominence and its role in marking information structure

---

**Stefan Baumann**

*IfL-Phonetik, University of Cologne*  
stefan.baumann@uni-koeln.de

Many studies on various languages investigated the marking of information structure (such as focus-background and the degree of *givenness* of constituents) by prosodic means, in particular by changes in prosodic prominence (see Kügler & Calhoun 2020). There is also a large body of empirical evidence showing a close connection between gestures and information structure, e.g. in that manual gestures tend to mark focus domains and/or *new* referents (Ebert et al. 2011).

In fact, speech and gestures are often regarded as two parts of the same signal having similar but not necessarily identical functions (McNeill 1992). As a consequence, non-referential co-speech gestures are claimed to be prosodic in nature (Shattuck-Hufnagel & Ren 2018), with their beat component accounting for the rhythm and phrasing of movements of the hands, head or eyebrows. It is a matter of debate, however, which part of a gesture is the most relevant anchor of alignment with the speech signal (e.g. its stroke, apex or peak velocity), and how this alignment contributes to the production and perception of prominence.

Only a few studies have looked at the potential *joint* effects of spoken and gestural prosody on information structure, among them Türk (2020) on Turkish, Rohrer (2022) on English and Baills & Baumann (2023) on French. While temporal synchronization of the dimensions is confirmed for these typologically diverse languages, it is also shown that beat-like gestures are scarcely used on their own but only in co-occurrence with pitch accents when marking focus and/or *givenness*. This talk will attempt to give an overview of studies that investigated the division of labour between speech and gesture in the expression of multimodal prominence and their relation to different levels of information structure.

**References:** • Baills, F. & S. Baumann (2023). The multimodal marking of information status in French as a foreign language: What can we learn about the use of prosodic and gestural cues in an interlanguage? *PaPE* 2023, Nijmegen. • Ebert, C., S. Evert & K. Wilmes (2011). Focus marking via gestures. *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung* 15, 193–208. • Kügler, F. & S. Calhoun (2020). Prosodic encoding of information structure: A typological perspective. In C. Gussenhoven & A. Chen (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of language prosody* (pp. 454–467). Oxford Academic. • McNeill, D. (1992). *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought*. University of Chicago press. • Rohrer, P. (2022). A temporal and pragmatic analysis of gesture-speech association: A corpus-based approach using the novel MultiModal MultiDimensional (M3D) labeling system [Doctoral dissertation]. • Shattuck-Hufnagel, S. & A. Ren (2018). The prosodic characteristics of non-referential co-speech gestures in a sample of academic-lecture-style speech. *Frontiers in Psychology* 9:1514. • Türk, O. (2020). Gesture, prosody, and information structure synchronization in Turkish [Doctoral dissertation].

---

## Let's Focus on Gesture and Prosody – Are they better together and deficient apart?

---

**Natascha Schuldes, Alina Gregori & Frank Kügler**

*Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main*

{schuldes, gregori}@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de, kuegler@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Recent research highlights the interplay between gesture and speech with pioneering work by Kendon (1980) and McNeill (1992) emphasising the integral relationship between them and the need to consider both for a comprehensive understanding of a speaker's intention. This study focuses on iconic and non-referential co-speech gestures and explores the mismatch between gesture and pitch accent. Numerous production studies confirm the temporal integration of gesture and speech (e.g., Loehr 2012; Esteve-Gibert & Prieto 2013), but research on the perception of this phenomenon is rather scarce (but see Ebert et al. 2022). Our perception study investigates the temporal relationship between gesture and prosody studying whether a temporal mismatch between co-speech gesture and focus accent influences the perceived naturalness of sentences in dependence of the gesture type. We expect that incongruence between the gestural stroke and the pitch accent decreases naturalness with non-referential gestures exhibiting a greater impact due to their discourse structuring function. The study adopts a 3x2 factorial design with the factors 'Gesture type' (iconic vs. non-referential vs. none) and 'Alignment' (aligned vs. unaligned); the none gesture conditions serve as a baseline for the naturalness of the prosody manipulation. Videos of a professional speaker uttering a context sentence and the target sentence with an accompanying co-speech gesture were recorded in the aligned conditions. Mismatched conditions were created by manipulating the focus accent in the target sentence from object to subject position using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2023). The gesture remains on the object of the target sentence, resulting in a total of six versions per item. In total, the study comprises 18 experimental items. The naturalness of the presented videos is rated by participants on a scale from 1 (absolutely unnatural) to 7 (absolutely natural). The analysis aims to uncover differences in the naturalness ratings between gesture-prosody alignment and gesture types.

**References:** • Boersma, P. & D. Weenink. 2023. „Praat: doing phonetics by computer“. <http://www.praat.org/>. • Ebert, C., G. Pirillo & S. Walter. 2022. „The Role of Gesture-Speech Alignment for Gesture Interpretation“. • Esteve-Gibert, N. & P. Prieto. 2013. „Prosodic structure shapes the temporal realization of intonation and manual gesture movements“. • Kendon, A. 1980. „Gesticulation and speech: Two aspects of the process of utterance“. *The relationship of verbal and nonverbal communication* 25 (1980): 207–27. • Loehr, D. P. 2012. „Temporal, structural, and pragmatic synchrony between intonation and gesture“. *Laboratory Phonology* 3 (1). • McNeill, D. 1992. *Hand and mind: what gestures reveal about thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

---

## The influence of focus on word order: The case of French attributive adjectives

---

**Anna Preßler & Frank Kügler**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

pressler@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de, kuegler@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Strategies of focus marking are widely discussed (Kügler & Calhoun, 2020, a.o.). Hardly differentiating focused and given elements by phonetic cues (Hamlaoui et al., 2012), French rather marks focus by means of phrasal cues using boundary tones (Féry, 2001). Syntactically, French tends to place focused elements in sentence-final position (Vander Klok et al., 2018). Whether this also holds inside the noun phrase (NP) has been proposed but not yet empirically proven. In fact, Nölke (1996) claims that (1a.) and (b.) differ as a function of information structure. While in (1a.) the adjective ‘excellent’ occupies the focus position, (1b.) would be appropriate either if only the noun is focused or if the entire NP is focused.

- (1) a. un livre excellent    b. un excellent livre  
       a *book excellent*      a *excellent book*    ‘an excellent book’

To investigate the relation between word order and focus, we conducted two studies to assess the comprehension of adjective-noun sequences that allow for variable linearization. In a 7-point Likert scale acceptability judgment task (adapted from van Leur, 2021), participants were presented with context-target sentence pairs. To test the effect of focus on the position of adjectives, focus was either on the noun, on the adjective or on the entire NP in the target sentence. The target sentence contained the adjective-noun pairs either in A-N order (prenominal adjective) or in N-A order (postnominal adjective). The second study consisted of a forced-choice task with the same context-target pair set-up. Showing two possible target sentences (A-N or N-A order), participants were asked to choose the one that (better) matched the context. If participants are sensitive to focus, our predictions are that for both experiments they prefer the A-N version, when the noun or the entire NP is focused. They would prefer the N-A version when the adjective is focused. The results of our experiments will contribute to the strategies of focus marking inside European French NPs.

**References:** • Féry, C. (2001). Focus and Phrasing in French. 153-181. Akademie Verlag • Hamlaoui, F., Coridon, S., & Féry, C. (2012). Expression prosodique du focus et du donné au sein des groupes nominaux [N A] du français. • Kügler, F., & Calhoun, S. (2020). Prosodic Encoding of Information Structure: A typological perspective. 453-467. OUP. • Nölke, H. (1996). Où placer l’adjectif épithète ? *Langue française*, 111(1), 38-58 • van Leur, C. (2021). *L’influence de la structure informationnelle et de la longueur relative des mots sur la syntaxe des syntagmes nominaux [Nom +Adjectif de goût personnel] en français laurentien: Une étude empirique* [Master’s Thesis]. University of Toronto. • Vander Klok, J., Goad, H., & Wagner, M. (2018). Prosodic focus in English vs. French: A scope account. *Glossa* 3(1).

---

**Prosodic prominence within noun phrases in Finno-Ugric languages**


---

Frank Kügler<sup>1</sup>, Anja Arnhold<sup>2</sup>, Corinna Langer<sup>1</sup> & Nele Ots<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Goethe Universität Frankfurt, <sup>2</sup>University of Alberta

kuegler@em.uni-frankfurt.de, arnhold@ualberta.ca, langer@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de, ots@em.uni-frankfurt.de

This comparative study investigates the prosodic marking of focus in noun phrases in Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian. Sharing word prosodic properties, these languages differ at their sentence-level prosodic marking of focus (e.g., Arnhold, 2016, Ots, 2017, Langer & Kügler, 2022). In a production study, focus was varied within sentence-initial complex noun phrases (focus on first, or second adjective, on the noun, or the entire NP). 20 speakers per language read ten different items in four different contexts (20 x 10 x 4 = 800 sentences per language). For each word, ten equidistant f0 points and duration were extracted in Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2023). Measurements were modelled with Generalized Additive Mixed Models (GAMM; Wood 2017).

Initial analysis indicates striking similarities in the phrasal prosody of these three languages. Specifically, all languages exhibit a consistent NP-initial f0-peak across focus conditions, and in second adjective or noun focus conditions, a downstep pattern across the entire NP including a focal f0-peak. Hence, focal prominence within the NP shows a distinct f0-peak that is however reduced compared to the NP-initial f0-peak. The languages differ in their post-focal region with post-focal compression in Finnish and post-focal deaccentuation in Estonian and Hungarian. The results add information on highlighting focus within the NP, suggesting that in Finno-Ugric languages, focus marking within NPs differs from sentential focus marking. In contrast, Germanic languages show focal f0-raising on the focused word, while Romance languages show accentuation of all words within an NP (Krahmer & Swerts, 2001), which is identical to sentential focus marking in these languages. The findings suggest the need to revise and expand the focus typology. The similarities in focus marking within the NP in Finno-Ugric languages join the similarities at the word-prosodic level (Karpinski et al. 2020) and may therefore be interpreted as areal feature of the Eastern European languages.

**References:** • Arnhold, A. (2016). Complex prosodic focus marking in Finnish: Expanding the data landscape. *Journal of Phonetics* 56, 85–109. • Boersma, P. & Weenink, D. (2023). Praat: Doing phonetics by computer [www.praat.org]. • Karpinski, M., Andreeva, B., Asu, E. L., Daugavet, A., Beňuš, S., & Mády, K. (2020). Central and Eastern Europe. In C. Gussenhoven & A. Chen (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language Prosody*. OUP, 225–235. • Krahmer, E., & Swerts, M. (2001). On the alleged existence of contrastive accents. *Speech Communication* 34, 391–405. • Langer, C., & Kügler, F. (2022). Focus and Prosodic Cues in Hungarian Noun Phrases. In O. Niebuhr (Ed.), *Proceedings TAI-1*, 219–223. • Ots, N. (2017). On the phrase-level function of f0 in Estonian. *Journal of Phonetics* 65, 77–93. • Wood, S. (2017). *Generalized Additive Models: An Introduction with R*. CRC press.

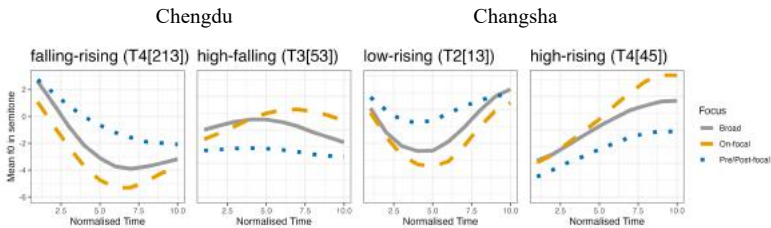
## Focal prominence in Chinese languages: comparing effects of tone and focus types

**Katrin Ketchun Li**  
*University of Leiden*  
 kl502@cam.ac.uk

This study investigates focal prominence in three distinct Chinese language groups, represented by Chengdu Mandarin, Changsha Xiang, and Cantonese. These languages (in this order) have been found to display a decreasing level of prosodic marking (Li et al. 2023). Utilising elicited read speech from 14 speakers in each language, this study further probes the effects of tone types and focus types.

When focusing on a dynamic lexical tone, the high (H) tone is typically scaled higher and the low (L) tone lower (Xu 1999). However, focus may affect only one pitch target. The figure below illustrates two dynamic tones in Chengdu and Changsha, one in the low register and the other in the high register. Focus affects only one  $f_0$  extreme, while the other remains stable or shifts in the same direction. This indicates that despite varied conventional descriptions of their shapes and tone values (listed at the top of the figure), these dynamic tones are intrinsically defined by a singular H or L pitch target. Moreover, there is a dynamic tone in the low register in both languages that remains unaffected by focus, suggesting the absence of an inherent pitch target. Thus, focus can elucidate a tone’s characteristic feature.

The marking of different focus types varies by language. In Chengdu, contrastive focus is marked with the most pronounced changes in  $f_0$  and duration, followed by wh- and even focus. In contrast, Cantonese exhibits the most substantial prosodic effects on even focus, predominantly in duration. Furthermore, broad focus, as elicited by the question ‘what happened’, often appears to be an omni-focused condition. This implies that lexical tones are fully realised by default, and focus effects are better represented by the extent of tone reduction. Combining the results of tone and focus types, this research advances our understanding of focus realisation in tone languages and provides valuable insights into prosodic typology.



**References:** • Li, K.K., F. Nolan & B. Post (2023). Variations of focus prominence in three tone languages. *ICPhS 2023*. • Xu, Y. (1999). Effects of tone and focus on the formation and alignment of  $f_0$  contours. *J.Phon.* 27(1), 55–105.

---

**Towards a typology of focus in Munda languages.**

---

**Luke Horo & Gregory D. S. Anderson**

*Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages*  
luke.horo@livingtongues.org, gdsa@livingtongues.org

Munda languages represent the westernmost branch of the Austroasiatic language phylum spoken primarily in the Indian states of Jharkhand and Odisha but also found in significant numbers in Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Chhatisgarh and West Bengal, as well as largely in diaspora in Assam and a few other states, in addition to Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Syntactically verb-final and morphologically agglutinative or polysynthetic, with many polysyllabic words, and representing a peripheral subtype of the South Asian areal complex (shared with Kiranti of the Trans-Himalayan (Tibeto-Burman) phylum and the isolate language Burushaski), Munda languages are typologically quite distinct from the majority of related Austroasiatic languages that constitute core members of the Mainland Southeast Asian areal group, with sesquisyllabic or even monosyllabic words, verb-medial (rarely verb-initial) structure syntactically, with limited derivational morphology and very little inflectional morphology.

Munda languages make use of a range of formal devices to encode focus. This includes prosodic features, morphological elements (focal clitics like =*ge* in Mundari or =*na* in Sora) and syntactic processes (non-SOV syntax). In this paper we examine the systems of focus marking in two distantly related languages of the Munda family, viz., Mundari of the Kherwarian branch and Sora of the Sora-Gorum subgroup of Munda (Sidwell 2015: 206); any attested cognate processes or structures likely reflect a feature of proto-Munda—the only node that unites these two rather distantly related languages. In this paper we describe the systems of focus in these two languages individually and compare the two. All data come from the authors' field notes and findings are substantiated with instrumental analysis of speech data.

**References:** • Sidwell, Paul (2015). Austroasiatic Classification. In M. Jenny and P. Sidwell (eds.) *The Handbook of Austroasiatic Languages*. Brill: Leiden/Boston, 144-220.

---

## Contrastive focus marking and non-manual cues in French and LSF (French Belgian Sign Language): A comparative study

---

**Clara Lombart**

*Université de Namur, Université de Mons (Belgium)*

clara.lombart@unamur.be

Research has demonstrated that the information status of referents, the type of information unit, and the way in which both are formally encoded are governed by analogous prosodic principles across spoken (SpLs) and signed languages (SLs) (Kimmelman & Pfau 2021). However, a direct comparative examination of the role of prosody in SpLs and SLs remains absent. Moreover, comparisons between SpLs and SLs have frequently overlooked the role of gestures in SpLs despite their acknowledged correlations with prosody and information structure (IS).

The present study seeks to undertake a comparison of French and LSF by focusing on the prosodic marking of an information unit named ‘contrastive focus’ (CF). In particular, the research aims to answer the following questions: How is CF prosodically encoded in French and LSF? How are the resources of French and LSF distributed? To answer these questions, we annotated and analysed data extracted from two comparable corpora: the LSF Corpus (Meurant 2015) and the FRAPé Corpus (Meurant et al. Under Construction).

The presentation focuses primarily on the comparison of the prosodic non-manual cues used to encode CF in LSF and French. Preliminary findings highlighted that non-manual elements were more frequent on CF compared to non-contrastive items in both languages. Furthermore, they tended to be longer in duration when produced on CF and shorter in the surrounding context. However, noteworthy disparities were observed between the two languages. First, signers and speakers relied on different strategies to encode CF: head or body movements produced alone in French and combinations of head, body, and eyebrow movements in LSF. Second, non-manual markers exhibited less systematicity in French than in LSF, particularly in terms of scope.

To sum up, the study contributes to a deeper understanding of how CF is encoded in LSF and French and provides new insights into language typology.

**References:** Kimmelman, V., & Pfau, R. (2021). Information structure: Theoretical perspectives. In J. Quer, R. Pfau, & A. Herrmann (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Theoretical and Experimental Sign Language Research* (pp. 591–613). Routledge. • Meurant, L. (2015). *Corpus LSF. Un corpus informatisé en libre accès de vidéos et d’annotations de la langue des signes de Belgique francophone (LSF)*. • Meurant, L., Lepeut, A., Gabarró-López, S., Tavier, A., Vandennitte, S., Lombart, C., & Sinte, A. (Under Construction). *Corpus de français parlé: Vers la construction d’un corpus comparable LSF - Français de Belgique*.



---

## Focus and Givenness in Turkish Sign Language (TİD)

---

**Serpil Karabüklü<sup>1</sup>, Aslı Gürer<sup>2</sup> & Burak Çavuşoğlu<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*University of Chicago*, <sup>2</sup>*İstanbul Bilgi University*

skarabuklu@uchicago.edu, asli.gurer@bilgi.edu.tr,

burak.cavusoglu@bilgi.edu

In spoken languages, the prominence of focused constituents is boosted, whereas given constituents are nonprominent (Büring 2009; Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2006). In sign languages, a few studies found the boosting effect of focus in modulations of manual signs (Kimmelman, 2014), yet there are no studies on the comparison of focus and givenness. This study investigates how focushood, prefocal, and postfocal givenness shapes the manual prosody of TİD. Twenty participants (17 female, 10 DoD, 10 DoH) answered questions eliciting broad focus (BF), presentational focus (PF), and contrastive focus (CF) in the syntactic roles of SOV.

Data was analyzed with linear mixed-effects models in R where participant and item were treated as random effects. We found that a focused manual sign is significantly longer in duration ( $t=8.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ) than a non-focused sign. Only focused CF constituents are longer than their BF counterparts ( $t=3.429$ ,  $p=.002$ ) and focused PF counterparts ( $t=2.99$ ,  $p=0.007$ ). As for the non-focal domains, PF subjects were shorter than BF subjects when the focus was on the object ( $t=-3.971$ ,  $p=.001$ ) or the verb ( $t=-4.001$ ,  $p=.001$ ). CF verbs were significantly shorter than BF verbs when the focus was on the subject ( $t=-3.612$ ,  $p=.006$ ). There was no significant effect of focushood on the production of nonmanuals in the data.

Taking the BF condition as the baseline, the PF condition is on par with the BF condition, but the CF condition has higher values. Additionally, PF is marked via prefocal compression and CF via postfocal compression. Finally, we argue that this study's prefocal and postfocal compressions cannot be analyzed as a pure givenness marking strategy. The compression effect is not always observed in all the comparisons, although the target signs are always given. As the first study investigating the givenness effect on manual prosody, this study shows that speakers and signers apply similar strategies in distinct modalities.

**References:** • Büring, D. (2009). Towards a typology of focus realization. In M. Zimmermann and C. Féry (Eds.), *Information Structure: Theoretical, Typological, and Experimental Perspectives*. 177–205. Oxford: Oxford University Press. • Féry, C. & Samek-Lodovici, V. (2006) Focus Projection and Prosodic Prominence in Nested Foci. *Language* 82(1): 131–150. • Kimmelman V (2014) *Information Structure in Russian Sign Language and Sign Language of the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam dissertation.

---

## Prominence or domain marking: what can Spanish and Portuguese tell us about gesture to speech alignment?

---

**Camila Barros & Uli Reich**

*Freie Universität Berlin*

c.antonio.barros@fu-berlin.de, uli.reich@fu-berlin.de

Timing is the key feature for the interface between language and gestures in multimodal communication, both in production and perception. This becomes apparent in cases in which gesture is aligned with stress and pitch excursions (Esteve-Gilbert & Prieto, 2013; Bosker & Peeters, 2021). However, the prosodic alignment is more complex. McClave (1994) pointed out that gestures do not coincide with stressed syllables, but seem to be rhythmic. We argue that the placement in time of gestures is governed also by a symbolic timing association in which gestures follow a metrically projected pattern in close to isochronic distances of beats in time. One of the key roles of gestures, then, can be a way to establish a metrical grid that allows the interlocutor to make predictions on following speech events. Thereby it creates a domain which can be manipulated to cue prominence, given the appropriate context.

Spanish and Portuguese varieties share many phonological patterns but diverge strongly regarding their rhythmic patterns, i.e. the timing in which they instantiate phonological events: the former preserves vowel quality and syllable structure, while the latter tends to strongly reduce vowel quality and modify the syllable structure (Abaurre & Galves, 1998; Dufter & Reich, 2003). We conducted a production experiment with speakers from Bogotá, Madrid, Lisbon and São Paulo. We analyzed different excerpts of these varieties in which the speakers were instructed to explain a recipe, without the mention of a gesture study. The audio was annotated regarding prosodic domains and gesture apex ('kinematic goal of a gesture'). **What we observe is that there is a strong inter-speaker variation regarding what they can align their gestures with: in some cases with prominent syllables, in others with pitch accents, in others with prosodic boundaries.**

**References:** • Abaurre, M. B. & C. Galves (1998). As diferenças rítmicas entre o português europeu e o português brasileiro: uma abordagem otimalista e minimalista. *DELTA* 14(2):377–403. • Bosker, H. R., & D. Peeters (2021). Beat gestures influence which speech sounds you hear. *Proc. R. Soc. B.* 288:20202419. • Dufter, A. & U. Reich. 2003. Rhythmic differences within Romance: identifying French, Spanish, European and Brazilian Portuguese. In: M. J. Solé & D. Recasens i Vives (eds.), *Proc of the 15th IcPhS*, 2781–2784. Barcelona: UaB. • Esteve-Gibert, N., & P. Prieto (2013). Prosodic Structure Shapes the Temporal Realization of Intonation and Manual Gesture Movements. *J. Speech Lang. Hear. Res.*, 56(3):850–864. • McClave, E. (1994). Gestural beats: The rhythm hypothesis. *J. Psych. Res.*, 23(1):45–66.

---

## Bridging the Gap: Exploring a Middle-Way Approach for Prosodic Annotation

---

Aleksandra Ćwiek<sup>1</sup>, Alina Gregori<sup>2</sup>, Paula G. Sánchez-Ramón<sup>2,3</sup>, Frank Kügler<sup>2</sup> & Pilar Prieto<sup>4,3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Leibniz-Centre General Linguistics, <sup>2</sup>Goethe University Frankfurt,

<sup>3</sup>Universitat Pompeu Fabra, <sup>4</sup>ICREA

cwick@leibniz-zas.de

Prosodic annotation is crucial for linguistic research, allowing in-depth exploration of communication subtleties across languages and contexts. Manual methods of prosodic annotation are recognized, however, they pose challenges for prosody research. Multiple annotators' agreement varies significantly (even between 60% and 90%, Breen et al., 2012), leading to potential errors and manipulation. Time intensive manual annotation limits data availability, impeding reliable computational models for comprehensive and robust prosodic annotation across schemes and languages (e.g., Ananthakrishnan & Narayanan, 2008).

Our project adopts a middle-way approach, harnessing the expertise of skilled annotators and powerful computational tools while being cautious of challenges such as the complexity of prosody, interpretation of results, and ethical considerations regarding biases. We aim to establish connections between acoustic prominence cues and automatic predictions of perceived prominence. We analyze data from German and Catalan speakers, with perceived prominence annotated in target syllables on a scale from 0 to 3 (DIMA, Kügler et al., 2015). German and Catalan, with distinct prosodic properties (Krahmer & Swerts, 2007), facilitate cross-language computational exploration. We extract acoustic markers (like  $f_0$ , intensity, duration) of prominence from target syllables, and use them as predictors in a Bayesian ordinal model. Our goal is to identify the most predictive features of prominence in prosody for German and Catalan, effectively bridging the gap between manual and computer-aided annotation. By establishing these links, we aim to address the challenges posed by tiresome manual annotation. Subsequently, we plan to employ our findings to build a classifier for automatic prominence assignment to utterances, which will undergo verification by human annotators.

**References:** Ananthakrishnan, S., & Narayanan, S. S. (2008). Automatic Prosodic Event Detection Using Acoustic, Lexical, and Syntactic Evidence. *IEEE Transactions on Audio, Speech, and Language Processing*, 16(1), 216–228. • Breen, M., Dilley, L. C., Kraemer, J. & Gibson, E. (2012). Inter-transcriber reliability for two systems of prosodic annotation: ToBI (Tones and Break Indices) and RaP (Rhythm and Pitch). *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, 8(2), 277-312. • Krahmer, E. & Swerts, M. (2007). The effects of visual beats on prosodic prominence: Acoustic analyses, auditory perception and visual perception. *J. Memory and Language* 57. 396-414. • Kügler, F., Smoliboeki, B., Arnold, D., Baumann, S., Braun, B., Grice, M., Jannedy, S., Michalsky, J., Niebuhr, O., & Peters, J. (2015). DIMA: Annotation guidelines for German intonation. *Proc. 18th ICPHS*, 317–320.

---

## Prosody and focus recognition in Spanish: a fresh look at the Focus Prominence Rule

---

**Christoph Gabriel<sup>1</sup> & Steffen Heidinger<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>JGU Mainz, <sup>2</sup>Universität Graz

christoph.gabriel@uni-mainz.de, steffen.heidinger@uni-graz.at

The Focus Prominence Rule (FPR; Jackendoff 1972), which requires that nuclear stress falls within the focus domain, is considered one of the most stable principles governing the prosody-focus mapping. To determine whether violations of the FPR occur during production or perception, we combine the results from a perception experiment on Argentinean Spanish (Gabriel & Heidinger 2022) with a prosodic analysis of a sample of 30 stimuli used in that study. In the underlying perception experiment, we presented L1-Spanish listeners with oral production data and examined whether the focus-background partition assigned by the participants to contextless sentences coincided with the one under which these sentences had originally been produced.

To scrutinize the role of production and perception in the FPR violations (30%), we analyzed 30 productions of [<sub>F</sub> *María*] *le da el diario a su hermano* ‘Mary gives the newspaper to her brother’ and correlated the results with the respective rates of correct focus recognition. In a relative weight analysis (Johnson 2000), we identified four significant prosodic predictors ( $R^2 = 0.81$ ): 1) Alignment of the focal pitch accent’s H tone with the end of stressed syllable (raw relative weight (RRW) = 0.2422); 2) Duration of the stressed syllable of [<sub>F</sub> *María*] in relation to that of the following verb (*da*) (RRW = 0.168); 3) Alignment of the L tone following the focal pitch peak with the end of the word [<sub>F</sub> *María*] (RRW = 0.1561); 4) Alignment of the L tone following the focal pitch peak with the end of the stressed syllable (RRW = 0.1518). In 1), 3), and 4), focus recognition improves with increasing negative alignment; in 2), it improves with increasing difference in length between *-rí-* and *da*, the former being longer than the latter.

The strong impact of prosody on focus recognition suggests that FPR violations typically occur during production: Stimuli with a clear nuclear stress on the subject are interpreted as sentences with focal subjects. Given that it is also conceivable that violations would occur during perception, our results allow to discriminate between production and perception as the locus of FPR violations.

**References:** Gabriel, C. & S. Heidinger (2022). The focus prominence rule in Spanish from a perception perspective. *Borealis* 1(1), 141–172. □ Jackendoff, R. (1972). *Semantic interpretation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. □ Johnson, J. W. (2000). A Heuristic Method for Estimating the Relative Weight of Predictor Variables in Multiple Regression. *Multivariate behavioral research* 35(1), 1–19.

---

## Focus Prominence in Whistled Turkish

---

**Ash Güreer, İpek Şen & İpek Cerrahoğlu**

*Istanbul Bilgi University*

asli.gurer@bilgi.edu.tr, ipek.sen@bilgi.edu.tr, ipekcerrahoglu@gmail.com

A whistled language is a surrogate of a spoken language with a reduced system in which certain differences are neutralized due to the articulatory constraints. The investigation of whistled languages reveals how languages are modeled, how the deficits in the system are compensated for, and the strategies that are (in)dispensable. Whistled languages are either tone-based or formant-based languages. Tone-based languages transpose the fundamental frequency and pitch, and formant-based languages transpose the formants (Meyer 2015). Whistled Turkish (WT) is expected to emulate the formants as a non-tonal language. However, the patterns of pitch change at the sentence level are essential in Turkish to mark focus prominence. For example, the constituent preceding the question particle bears focus in polar questions, and the H\*L pitch accent maps onto this constituent (Göksel, Keleşir & Üntak-Tarhan 2009). This study investigates the prosody of focus in polar questions in WT to reveal the strategies used to transpose this intonation contour. We collected data from four male whistlers from Giresun, Kuşköy. The whistlers acted out dialogues in pairs in Turkish and then in WT, including six polar questions with *-mI* appearing in 3 positions (6 (target sentences) x 3 (conditions) x 4 (speakers)). The question particle follows the subject, object, and verb. Using Praat, we annotated the sentences and marked the boundaries of words in Turkish and WT. We extracted the pitch and intensity values of each word, and the mean pitch value of the syllable preceding the particle, which bears the high pitch accent in Turkish. Time normalization and word alignments were done via MATLAB to get representative contours across speakers.

The high-pitch accent systematically accompanies the focused phrase preceding the particle in Turkish. In WT, a high-frequency value systematically accompanies the syllable preceding the question particle only when the verb bears focus, confirmed by the mean pitch values extracted from Praat. However, unlike Turkish, a high pitch value is not systematically observed when the subject or the object precedes the particle. Based on these results, we suggest that even in this reduced communication system in which intelligibility across long distances is the ultimate goal, focus prominence is reflected via modulations in the pitch value. Still, this strategy is restricted to a single position in polar questions. As a next step, we investigate how focus prominence is reflected in declarative clauses in WT.

**References:** • Göksel, A. & Keleşir, M. & Üntak-Tarhan, A. (2009). Decomposition of question intonation: The structure of response-seeking utterances. In *Phonological domains; universals and deviations*. Mouton de Gruyter. • Meyer, J. (2015). *Whistled Languages: A Worldwide Inquiry on Human Whistled Speech*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

---

## Individual strategies in marking focus within Djambarrpuyŋu noun phrase

---

**Kathleen Jepson**

*LMU Munich*

k.jepson@phonetik.uni-muenchen.de

Speakers of Djambarrpuyŋu, a Pama-Nyungan language of northern Australia, can employ a number of strategies to mark information structure and status within noun phrases (NPs). These include, but are not limited to 1) word order variation (Jepson, 2023; Wilkinson, 2012; see also Mithun, 1992), 2) the occurrence of discontinuous nominal expressions (NEs), 3) an optional “prominence” morpheme which reportedly has many of the functions of focus (Tchekhoff & Zorc, 1983), 4) phonetic prosodic marking such as greater acoustic prominence of focused words, and 5) phonological prosodic marking such as deaccenting of given information, which is unusual for Australian languages (Jepson, 2023; Jepson & Fletcher, *accepted*). Of interest here are relative order of the target nouns and adjectives, use of different NE types, deletion, (de)accentuation, and the acoustic measure of  $f_0$  peak. In this paper, individual speakers’ strategies for encoding information structure within NPs in Djambarrpuyŋu are considered.

Thirteen Djambarrpuyŋu speakers completed a game designed to elicit NPs with different information structure patterns: focus on the adjective, the noun, or the whole NP. There is considerable variation in how speakers mark focus within NPs in Djambarrpuyŋu. Through a combination of NE type, deletion of a target word, relative word order, peak  $f_0$ , and deaccenting, the speakers distinguished the focus conditions; however, irrespective of strategies, the NF- and NPF-conditions often patterned more closely together, while the AF-condition was most often distinct. It appears that the focus/giveness status of words are distinguished using a combination of possible strategies, with prosodic means such as deaccenting and  $f_0$  modulated by syntax.

**References:** • Jepson, K. 2023. Prosody and word order in marking focus within Djambarrpuyŋu noun phrases. Poster. *ICPhS*, Prague. • Wilkinson, M. 2012. Djambarrpuyŋu: *A Yolŋu variety of northern Australia*. Munich: LINGCOM Europa. • Mithun, M. 1992. Is basic word order universal? In Payne D. (ed.), *Pragmatics of word order flexibility*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 15-61. • Tchekhoff, C. & Zorc, D. 1983. Discourse and Djambarrpuyŋu: Three features. *Linguistics* 21, 849-878. • Jepson, K. & Fletcher, J. Accepted. The intonation of Djambarrpuyŋu. In Jun, S.-A. & Khan, S.D. (eds), *Prosodic Typology III*. Oxford: OUP. • Swerts, M., Krahmer, E., & Avesani, C. 2002. Prosodic marking of information status in Dutch and Italian: A comparative analysis. *JPhon* 30, 629-654. • Burdin, R.S., Phillips-Bourass, S., Turnbull, R., Yasavul, M., Clopper, C.G., & Tonhauser, J. 2015. Variation in the prosody of focus in head- and head/edge-prominence languages. *Lingua* 165, 254-276.

---

## Individual differences in processing contrastive focus accents.

---

**Katharina Spalek**

*Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf*

Katharina.Spalek@hhu.de

Focus signals the importance of alternatives (Krifka, 2008): In a sentence like “I would like some [WATER]<sub>F</sub>, please.”, contrastive focus accent on *water* indicates that alternatives (other beverages) are relevant for a full interpretation of this request. The contextual relevance of alternatives makes them easier to access in online language processing (e.g., Braun & Tagliapietra, 2010) and easier to remember (e.g., Fraundorf et al., 2013).

Here, I review four studies (two of them published) from my lab that jointly show that not every individual processes contrastive focus in the same way. In two memory studies (Koch & Spalek, 2021; Tjuka et al., 2020), participants listened to little stories in which a set of three elements was mentioned. In the final sentence, one of these was repeated and in focus. Focus was marked with contrastive or neutral accent. Later, participants recalled more alternatives if the focused element had been contrastively accented. This memory benefit was stronger for women, suggesting individual differences depending on participants’ gender.

In a neuroimaging study on the representation of focus alternatives (unpublished data), we also observed a gender difference, with only the data for women suggesting alternative activation. In a final memory study with 148 participants (unpublished data), we used different clustering techniques to classify memory performance. The best fit was achieved when assuming two groups of participants: One, for which contrastive accent improved recall for the focused element and its alternatives, and one, for which contrastive accent impaired recall. Unlike the previous studies, the groups in the last study contained equal numbers of men and women, not supporting a split based on gender.

I will discuss the working hypothesis that the population can be split in two groups with respect to how they process contrastive accent: One treats it as indication for the relevance of alternatives, while the other one treats it as a prominence – without activating any alternatives. Women seem to belong to the “alternatives group” more often than men. However, this distribution is not stable across studies.

**References:** • Braun, B., & L. Tagliapietra, (2010). The role of contrastive intonation contours in the retrieval of contextual alternatives. *LCP* 25, 1024-1043. • Fraundorf, S. H. et al. (2010). Recognition memory reveals just how CONTRASTIVE contrastive accenting really is. *JML* 63, 367-386. • Koch, X., & K. Spalek, (2021). Contrastive intonation effects on word recall for information-structural alternatives across the sexes. *Memory & Cognition* 49, 1312-1333. • Krifka, M. (2008). Basic notions of information structure. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55, 243-276. • Tjuka, A. et al. (2020). *Foxes, deer, and hedgehogs*: The recall of focus alternatives in Vietnamese. *LabPhon* 11, 16.

---

**Effects of focus structure on prenuclear prosody**

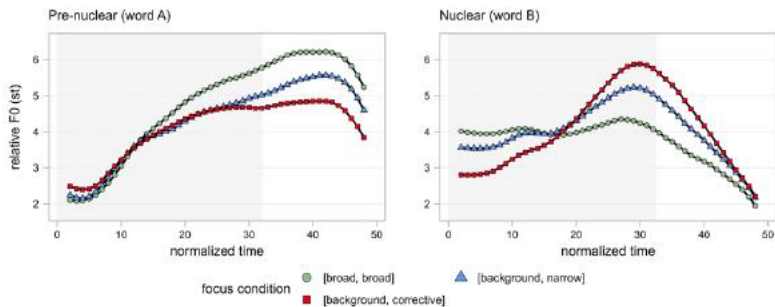

---

**Simon Roessig**

*University of York*

simon.roessig@york.ac.uk

The role of prenuclear prominences for focus marking attracts more and more attention. Studies present evidence that the prosody of the prenuclear region indicates its status as part of a broad focus or as prefocal, e.g., Kügler (2008) for German, Andreeva et al. (2017) for Bulgarian, and Alzamil & Hellmuth (2021) for Arabic. In this contribution, I will present a systematic investigation of the prenuclear domain and its relation to the nuclear accent in German. The results show that the realization of the prenuclear domain indeed depends on whether it is focal or prefocal, see Fig. 1. The prenuclear noun is characterized by larger F0 excursions, higher F0 maxima and longer durations when it is in broad focus than when it precedes a narrow focus. Furthermore, the realization of the prefocal domain, when *prefocal*, depends on the following focus. The prenuclear noun is produced with smaller F0 excursions, lower F0 maxima and shorter durations before a corrective focus than before a non-corrective narrow focus. The findings suggest that the phonetic manifestation of information structure is distributed over larger prosodic domains in an inverse relationship with the prenuclear domain becoming less prominent when the nuclear domain becomes more prominent.



**Fig. 1:** Average F0 contours of prenuclear and nuclear word in the three focus conditions. The condition labels are pairs of the prenuclear and nuclear information status, e.g., [background, narrow] = prenuclear word in background and nuclear word in narrow focus.

**References:** • Alzamil, A., & Hellmuth, S. (2021). The realization of different structural focus conditions in Saudi Arabic dialects. *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Tone and Intonation (TAI)*, 196–199. • Andreeva, B., Barry, W. J., & Koreman, J. (2017). Local and Global Cues in the Prosodic Realization of Broad and Narrow Focus in Bulgarian. *Phonetica*, 73(3–4), 256–278. • Kügler, F. (2008). The role of duration as a phonetic correlate of focus. *Proceedings of Speech Prosody 2008*, 591–594.



---

## When *aussi* mixes things up

### Prosodic disambiguation of association with additive focus in French

---

**Haohan Zhang<sup>1</sup>, Lisa Brunetti<sup>2</sup> & Hiyon Yoo<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>*Université Paris Cité*, <sup>2</sup>*Université Paris Cité / CNRS*

haohan.zhang@etu.u-paris.fr, lisa.brunetti@u-paris.fr, hi-yon.yoo@u-paris.fr

The present research investigated the prosodic disambiguation of the additive focus adverb (FA) *aussi* ‘also’ in French through a production experiment, aimed to define the intonation pattern when the associate of *aussi* is located (a) in the middle of the sentence as an argument of verb or (b) at the end as an adjunct. Every sentence was preceded by a disambiguating context.

- (1) Hugo a aussi présenté sa femme à Manon  
*Hugo* *AUX.* *also* *introduce.PST.* *POSS.F.* *wife* *to.* *Manon*  
*SSG.PRS* *PTCP* *SG* *PREP*

‘Hugo also introduced his wife to Manon’

The prosodic analysis using F\_ToBI (Delais-Roussarie et al., 2015) shows a dominant pattern of H\* L- for middle-position associates (50% of the cases). This pattern is mainly located in the final syllable of the associate, indicating a high pitch accent followed by a boundary tone, which marks the boundary of narrow focus. An early H\* peak (in the penultimate syllable) is an interesting phonetic cue in this position, especially appearing with long associates. For the associate in final position, the intonation patterns appeared more varied. The most frequent pattern, Hi L\* L%, accounts for 37.5% of the corpus and represents the typical intonation at the end of declaratives in French. In this final position, an added pause just before the associate may serve as an important acoustic cue. Furthermore, a prosodic prominence was found on *aussi*, with H\* systematically appearing on /si/ (unlike previous findings : Benazzo & Patin 2017).

Using the production experiment data, a perception experiment was conducted to explore the identification of the associate by French speakers. Results revealed a significant effect of the associate position, indicating improved performance when the associate was adjacent to the FA ( $p < 0.01$ ).

Both findings raise questions about the role of proximity between FA and associate in the prosodic realisation of the latter, which might be explored in the future through online experiments such as eye-tracking. Future research will also include a more comprehensive statistical analysis for the production data, and a more fine-grained analysis of the perceptual cues used to identify the final associate.

**References:** • Benazzo, S., & Patin, C. (2017). French additive particle *aussi*: Does prosody matter. *Focus on Additivity: Adverbial Modifiers in Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages*, 107-136. • Delais-Roussarie, E. ... & Yoo, H.-Y. (2015). Intonational phonology of French : Developing a ToBI system for French. In *Intonation in Romance*, OUP, 63-100.

---

**Prosody as an anchor for a clitic: conditional clitic in Kazym Khanty**


---

**Aleksandra Belkind**

*Universität Leipzig*

aleksandra.belkind@uni-leipzig.de

In this talk I present novel data about possible hosts for the conditional clitic *ki* in Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric, Uralic). There are both syntactic and information structural restrictions on hosts interacting in this language. I argue that these can be simplified to prosodic phrasing combined with prominence.

The conditional marker *ki* in Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric, Uralic) is an enclitic. As a sentential clitic, it is expected to be located at the clause edge (e.g. Klavans 1984). Indeed, its most common position is the one right-adjoined to a word before a (clause-final) finite verb (1). *Ki* can also be right-adjoined to a finite verb (i.e. be the last element in a clause), a subject, an object (1), a high/low adverbial, or some DP-modifiers. Illicit hosts are complements of PP and demonstratives.

Penultimate position corresponds to wide-focus reading of the clause. When *ki* is not penultimate, its host must be a contrastive topic/focus. Background topics can never host *ki* (unlike contrastive topics).

- (1) Puχ-em            χošəm    náń    (ki)    juχi    (ki)    λε-λ            (ki)  
*son-POSS.ISG    fish    bread    if    PREV    if    eat-NPST    if*  
*'If my son eats a fish pie...'*

Syntax or information structure alone are unable to capture the distribution of *ki*. I suggest that prosody can not only describe this clitic pattern, but also explains both syntactic and information structural restrictions. I argue that *ki* is adjoined to the most prominent phonological phrase. This allows unification of syntactic and information-structural restrictions. (i) Prosodic prominence groups together new information (wide) focus, contrastive focus and contrastive topic, with exclusion of background topic both in Khanty and beyond (Féry & Ishihara 2010; Sahnai & Mihkla 2017). (ii) Prosodic phrasing captures syntactic restrictions as well: a host should form a separate  $\phi$ , to which *ki* can adjoin. Complements of PP and demonstratives never form separate  $\phi$  and are correctly predicted to be illicit hosts.

This analysis has two consequences: (i) prosodic prominence should be seen as a separate prosodic feature, and not only as a realization of different information-structural features; and (ii) previously stated locality restrictions on PF-movement (e.g. Embick & Noyer 1999) are falsified wrt. prosodically motivated movement.

**References:** • Embick D. & R. Noyer. (1999). Locality in post-syntactic operations. MIT WPL, 34. Féry C. & S. Ishihara. (2010). How focus and givenness shape prosody. In: Information structure from different perspectives. Klavans, J. (1985). The independence of syntax and phonology in cliticization. Language. Sahnai, H. & M. Mihkla. (2017). Intonation of contrastive topic in Estonian. Interspeech.

---

**Variability in syntactic focus marking: a flexible approach**

---

**Kriszta Eszter Szendrői***Universität Wien*

kriszta.szendroi@univie.ac.at

My talk will be concerned with focus movement in languages where a focal constituent can be displaced to what looks like a designated focus position. I will start by raising some empirical and theoretical issues facing the main-stream idea that the grammar would encode a syntactic Focus feature and a corresponding designated functional position for focal elements to derive these cases, the cartographic theory (Rizzi 1997, Cinque and Rizzi 2008). I will then present an alternative proposal based on joint work with Fatima Hamlaoui (Hamlaoui and Szendrői 2015) that puts a flexible syntax-prosody mapping of clauses into a central position. I will show that this approach makes certain predictions regarding (i) the interactions between the syntactic position of moved foci, (ii) the presence or absence of verb movement and (iii) the directionality of prosodic prominence assignment. For instance, we will see that the proposal makes slightly different predictions for the kind of positions that can be targeted by moved foci in languages with right-aligned prosodic edges vs. languages with left-aligned prosodic edges. I will also show that the emerging typological space is supported by the empirical facts from different languages. The final part of the talk will be concerned with the role of finiteness in determining the relevant domain for intonational phrases and consequently with the role of finiteness in prosodic focus marking.

**References:** • Cinque, Guglielmo & L. Rizzi (2008). The cartography of syntactic structures. *STiL Working papers*, Vol. 2, 43-59, CISCL, University of Siena. • Hamlaoui, Fatima & K. Szendrői (2015). A flexible approach to the syntax-phonology mapping of intonational phrases. *Phonology* 32(1). 79–110. • Rizzi, Luigi (1997). The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed.) *Elements of Grammar*. Kluwer, 281-337.

---

## The role of focus in exhaustivity effects – Evidence from a novel experimental paradigm

---

**Henri Ebert, Nadine Bade, Malte Zimmermann & Zaher Alkaei**

*Universität Potsdam*

hebert@uni-potsdam.de, nadine.bade@uni-potsdam.de, mazimmer@uni-potsdam.de, zaher.alkaei@uni-potsdam.de

The paper presents new experimental evidence on the exhaustivity effects associated with German Es-clefts, see (1), compared to sentences with subject focus (2), pseudo-clefts (3) and exclusives (4). We redesigned Experiment II of DeVeugh-Geiss et al. (2018) into an old-school RPG, wherein a school janitor becomes a detective. We argue that the status of exhaustivity associated with (pseudo-)cleft sentences in German is a pragmatic (Horn, 2014) instead of a semantic inference (which is modeled as a maximality presupposition (Percus, 1997) or a homogeneity presupposition (Büring and Križ, 2013)). Compared to Experiment 2 in DeVeugh Geiss et al. (2018), we find much higher rates of exhaustivity inferences with focus in (2) in our experiment, which we attribute to the Gamification paradigm in combination with the capitalization of the subject noun. Apart from this, we replicated their findings, further supporting their analysis of exhaustivity in clefts having the status of a pragmatic inference, rather than a robust semantic effect.

- |     |  |              |
|-----|--|--------------|
| (1) | Es ist            John, der                            getanzt hat.<br>It COP.SG                            John, REL.MASC.SG danced has.<br><i>‘It is John who danced.’</i>     | CLEFT        |
| (2) | JOHN hat getanzt.<br>John has danced.<br><i>‘John danced.’</i>   | FOCUS        |
| (3) | Derjenige,            der                            getanzt hat, is            John.<br>DEF.MASC.SG REL.MASC.SG danced has COP.SG John.<br><i>‘The one who danced is John.’</i> | PSEUDO-CLEFT |
| (4) | Nur John hat getanzt.<br>Only John has danced.<br><i>‘Only John danced.’</i>   | EXCLUSIVE    |

**References:** De Veugh-Geiss, J. P., Tönnis, S., Onea, E., & Zimmermann, M. (2018). That’s not quite it: An experimental investigation of (non-) exhaustivity in clefts. *Semantics and Pragmatics*, 11, 3. • Horn, L. (2014). Information structure and the landscape of (non-)at-issue meaning. In Caroline Féry & Shinichiro Ishihara (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of information structure*, Oxford University Press. • Büring, D. & M. Križ. (2013). It’s that, and that’s it! Exhaustivity and homogeneity presuppositions in clefts (and definites). *Semantics and Pragmatics* 6(6). 1–29. • Percus, O. (1997). Prying open the cleft. In Kiyomi Kusumoto (ed.), *North Eastern Linguistic Society (NELS)*, vol. 27, 337–351.

---

## Post-focal creaky voice? Prosodic disambiguation of syntactic ambiguities

---

**Corinna Langer**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

langer@lingua.uni-frankfurt.de

Hungarian is a so-called discourse-configurational language with fixed positions for topic (sentence-initial) and focus (immediately pre-verbal) (É. Kiss 1995). However, there are cases where syntactic ambiguities arise, when the typical syntactic focus marking either does not suffice to disambiguate between possible meanings or cannot be used at all (see, e.g., Langer & Kügler 2021, 2023).

In this study, I present preliminary results of a production experiment on the additive particle *is* ('also, too'). The particle *is* is focus sensitive (see, e.g., Krifka 2006, Beaver & Clark 2008, Balogh 2021, Balogh & Langer 2022), i.e., its scope depends on differences in focus marking. This is a challenge for syntactic focus marking, because syntax alone cannot disambiguate between these scopes. Additionally, the additive particle *is* cannot appear in the focus position, because it clashes with its exhaustive interpretation (É. Kiss 2002). It can appear pre- or post-verbal without a change in interpretation. This study tested the role of prosodic prominence marking in disambiguating these syntactic ambiguities.

In the study, participants produced sentences with three different scopes of *is* (narrow, VP and broad focus). The preliminary results show that Hungarian native speakers do use prosodic focus marking when syntax does not suffice. However, the results are not as clear as on the phrase level (Langer & Kügler 2021, 2023), because of the high amount of inter- and intra-speaker variation. The most striking result is the use of creaky voice. The results indicate that there are two strategies used by the participants. In one strategy, creaky voice is used as an 'extreme' version of post-focal deaccentuation, i.e., the presence and absence of creaky voice functions as a focus domain marker. In the other strategy, there are perceivable pitch differences inside the creaky voiced sentence parts that need further analysis.

**References:** • Balogh, K. (2021). Additive particle uses in Hungarian: A Role and Reference Grammar account. *Studies in Language*, 45.2, 428-469. • Balogh, K. & C. Langer (2022). Additive particles, prosodic structure and focus sensitivity in Hungarian. *Linguistics*. 60.1, 277-314. • Beaver, D. & B. Clark (2008). *Sense and sensitivity: how focus determines meaning*. Wiley-Blackwell. • É. Kiss, K. (1995). *Discourse Configurational Languages*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press. • É. Kiss, K. (2002). *The syntax of Hungarian*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. • Krifka, M. (2006). Association with focus phrases. In Molnár, V. & S. Winkler (eds.) *The architecture of focus*. Berlin: De Gruyter. • Langer, C. & F. Kügler (2023). Focus and Prosodic Cues in Hungarian Noun Phrases. In *Proc. 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on Tone and Intonation*, 219-223. • Langer, C. & F. Kügler (2023). Prosody-Syntax Interface and Hungarian Noun Phrases. In Skarnitzl, R. & J. Volin (eds.) *Proceedings of the 20<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Phonetics Sciences*, 1290-1294.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 11**

---

### Workshop 11

---

## Discourses on youth language in Norwegian media

---

**Rafael Lomeu Gomes**

*UiT The Arctic University of Norway / University of Oslo*

r.l.gomes@iln.uio.no

Media discourse has been an important site of investigation in attempts to understand the semiotic dimensions of power relations (Fairclough et al. 2011), including in analyses of the discursive construction and contestation of linguistic and social hierarchies (Milani 2010, Suárez-Krabbe 2022, Svendsen 2014). Contributing to this line of inquiry, in this presentation I examine Norwegian media discourses on “Kebabnorsk”—a contemporary urban vernacular (Rampton 2015) or a register (Agha 2007)—that has been typically associated with youth with immigrant background in Oslo, Norway. Particularly, I present two case studies in which colleagues and I have investigated (i) a debate taking place in Norwegian print media in 2020 that revolved around the discursive production of inclusion and exclusion in connection to the use of “Kebabnorsk” (Lomeu Gomes and Svendsen 2023) and (ii) the entanglements between language practices and processes of racialisation in the construction of characters in comedy programmes in Norwegian television (Lomeu Gomes et al. forthcoming). Apart from shedding new light on the different values attached to different registers—and on the ideological work underpinning such processes—, this presentation engages with recent efforts towards decolonising Critical Discourse Studies (Resende 2021).

**References:** • Agha, A. 2007. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Fairclough, N., J. Mulderrig, and R. Wodak. 2011. Critical Discourse Analysis. In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, edited by T. A. van Dijk, 357–378. London: Sage. • Lomeu Gomes, R. and B. A. Svendsen. 2023. Minoritised Youth Language in Norwegian Media Discourse: Surfacing the Abyssal Line. In *Southernizing Sociolinguistics: Colonialism, Racism, and Patriarchy in Language in the Global South*, edited by B. Antia and S. Makoni, 206–224. New York and London: Routledge. • Lomeu Gomes, R., T. Opsahl, and U. Røynealand. Forthcoming. Imitation game? Karnevalessk humor i media-representasjoner av (andrespråkspreget) norsk. Manuscript in preparation for NOA - Norsk som andrespråk. • Milani, T. M. 2010. What's in a Name? Language Ideology and Social Differentiation in a Swedish Print-mediated Debate. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14: 116–142. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2009.00435.x>. • Rampton, B. 2015. Contemporary Urban Vernaculars. In *Language, Youth and Identity in the 21st Century: Linguistic Practices across Urban Spaces*, edited by Jacomine Nortier and B. A. Svendsen, 24–44. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. • Resende, V. M. 2021. Decolonizing Critical Discourse Studies: For a Latin American Perspective. *Critical Discourse Studies* 18(1): 26–42, doi: 10.1080/17405904.2018.1490654. • Suárez-Krabbe, J. 2022. Relinking as healing. On crisis, whiteness and the existential dimensions of decolonization, *Globalizations*, doi: 10.1080/14747731.2021.2025293 • Svendsen, B. A. 2014. Kebabnorskdebatten. En Språkideologisk Forhandling om Sosial Identitet.” *Tidsskrift for ungdomsforskning* 14(1): 33–62.

---

## Family registers? A longitudinal perspective on self-evaluations of multilingual families

---

**Judith Purkarthofer**

*Universität Duisburg-Essen, judith.purkarthofer@uni-due.de*

Family language policy (FLP) research has used different approaches to capture language practices, to understand parental attitudes and to engage with child agency (Lanza & Lomeu Gomes 2020). Little attention has been paid to the family registers or familylects (van Mensel 2018) as specific forms and expressions in a family: they can be a sign of belonging and identification but they can also be perceived as a short-coming in light of standard language ideologies. While educational contexts often voice clear preferences for the standard (i.e. Oldani & Truan 2022), families' own perspectives may differ. This contribution aims to discuss the evaluations and negotiations of family registers as they happen among parents and between parents and children.

I discuss data from three multilingual families that have lived in Austria (for a time) over the last 15 years. Each family finds itself in a multilingual situation, and has managed to negotiate multilingual family life from the birth of the first child until now. In three recorded sessions per family, each 7 years apart, I used a multimodal method that centers collaborative building activities with LEGO® building blocks to understand how FLP came into being, is negotiated in everyday actions and is ultimately leading to expectations for the future. With Winnicott (2005) I see these interactions as playful spaces of development to be able to realize one's potential and to advance to next steps. Reference to the family and familylect is made in the here-and-now but also in the there-and-then and even in the there-and-now as the families have transnational ties to other places. This *rechronotopization* (Karimzad and Catedral 2021) is linked to the possibility of experiences that are connected to the immediate surrounding but also to earlier experiences and mediated experiences connected to other places.

**References:** • Karimzad, Farzad & Lydia Catedral. (2021) Chronotopes and Migration: Language, Social Imagination, and Behavior. Milton: Taylor and Francis.

Lanza, Elizabeth & Lomeu Gomes, Rafael (2020) 8 Family language policy: Foundations, theoretical perspectives and critical approaches. In Andrea C. Schalley and Susana A. Eisenchlas, Handbook of Home Language Maintenance and Development: Social and Affective Factors, De Gruyter Mouton, 153-173. DOI: 10.1515/9781501510175-008

Oldani, Martina & Truan, Naomi (2022) Navigating the German school system when being perceived as a student 'with migration background': Students' perspectives on linguistic racism. *Linguistics and Education*, 71, 101049. DOI:10.1016/j.linged.2022.101049

Van Mensel, Luk (2018) 'Quiere koffie?' The multilingual familylect of transcultural families, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 15:3, 233-248, DOI: 10.1080/14790718.2018.1477096

Winnicott, Donald (2005) *Playing and Reality*. Routledge.



---

## Cognitive-conceptual approaches to multilingual repertoires in South Africa and their implications for the study of linguistic registers

---

**Arne Peters**

*Universität Bremen*

arne.peters@uni-bremen.de

While traditionally, analyses of elicited language portraits (e.g. Busch 2012, Krumm 2013) have focussed on the description of few speakers from a more qualitative perspective, Peters & Coetzee-van Rooy (2020) and Coetzee-van Rooy & Peters (2021) advanced portrait methodology by analysing data from structured language portraits of 105 South African youth as a linguistic corpus from both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Their portrait-corpus analysis focussed on eliciting underlying cognitive conceptualisations people exhibit when reflecting on their language repertoires. This first-ever cognitive sociolinguistic approach to patterns of meta-linguistic reflection enabled the uncovering of (a) prominent underlying (metaphorical) conceptualisations of African language(s) (such as Sotho, Tswana, Zulu and Xhosa) and (post)colonial European languages (such as Afrikaans and English) on the one hand and the human body on the other hand, and (b) the differences and similarities of these conceptualisations vis-à-vis previous cognitive (socio)linguistic studies of embodied language experiences.

The present analysis revisits some of the main cognitive findings of Peters & Coetzee-van Rooy (2020) and Coetzee-van Rooy & Peters (2021) and links them to the concept of linguistic registers. As participants' reflections of language use frequently referenced factors such as emotions, psychological (dis)comfort and stress as well as socio-cultural aspirations and cultural-communicative necessities pertaining to certain languages within the South African multilingual ecology, these reflections can be considered access points to understanding the conceptual load that language varieties and lectal variation carry in multilingual repertoires. This cognitive-conceptual approach to perceptions, attitudes and ideologies of uses of language(s) makes both qualitative and quantitative contributions to understanding factors contributing to register choice and evaluation on the levels of both individual and socio-cultural cognition.

**References:** • Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics* 33, 503–523. • Krumm, H.-J. (2013). Multilingualism and identity: What linguistic biographies of migrants can tell us. In P. Sigmund, I. Gogolin, M. E. Schulz & J. Davydova (eds.), *Multilingualism and language diversity in urban areas: Acquisition, identities, space, education*, 165–176. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. • Peters, A. & S. Coetzee-Van Rooy (2020). Exploring the interplay of language and body in South African youth. *Cognitive Linguistics* 31(4), 579–608.

---

## Theorizing Encryption:

### What leads to the formation of a secret register?

---

**Enakshi Nandi<sup>1</sup>, Ayesha Kidwai<sup>2</sup>**

*<sup>1</sup>Independent scholar, <sup>2</sup>Jawaharlal Nehru University*  
 enakshi.nandi@gmail.com, ayeha.kidwai@gmail.com

The existence of secret registers spoken by the transfeminine/femme hijra-koti community has been documented in various regions of South Asia in the last few decades (Hall 1995; Reddy 2005; Nagar 2008; Awan and Muhammad 2011; Nandi 2021; Snigdha 2021; Rafiq 2022). A look at the linguistic data emerging from these studies indicates that while these registers might emerge from a common source or context, the registers as they are spoken now are quite varied (e.g., Farsi, Farasi, Ulti) and can be mutually unintelligible, as they are codemixed with the dominant languages spoken in the regions each of them are used in.

In this paper, we take a close look at Ulti, the secret register spoken in West Bengal, India. We analyse the socio-cultural, ideological, and linguistic conditions that led to the construction of a secret register like Ulti, and its immense significance for its speech community as the site and means of the construction of hijra-koti identity and subculture. In the conservative, cis-hetero-normative, multilingual ecosystem of West Bengal where there existed next to no vocabulary to articulate the subjectivities and desires of the people who fell outside the framework of binary gender, Ulti was developed by the hijra community to fill these linguistic gaps and thereby find their voice in a powerful act of linguistic and ideological subversion. However, in order to ensure the safety of its speakers from harassment and persecution by the upholders of the colonial laws that criminalized their existence (see Reddy 2005), as well as the mainstream society in general as they went about their occupations, it became necessary to keep this register a secret and use it as a code in public when required.

In this paper, we also explore how the element of secrecy has been seminal to the development of this register at a lexical and syntactic level, thus ensuring that Ulti retains its symbolic and strategic value for the community and continues to be transmitted through generations of hijras and kotis.

Through this exercise, we reflect upon the fundamental aspects that distinguish a secret register from other types of registers (see Lewandowski 2010), and argue that the formation of secret registers like Ulti cannot be adequately described as a process of enregisterment (Agha 2004). It calls for the development of the theory of encryption, which is defined 'as a socio-historical process of development of a variety or register that is governed by the need to preserve its secrecy, such that the element of secrecy becomes one of the main reasons the variety or register carries linguistic and/or social value for its speech community.' (Nandi 2021)

---

## Is English a 'queer' language? The ideological opposition of English and German in the narratives of queer L1 German speakers in Berlin

---

**Vroni Zieglmeier**

*Freie Universität Berlin*

v.zieglmeier@fu-berlin.de

The role of English in Berlin has been subject to increasing media (e.g., Spahn, 2017) and scholarly (e.g., Heyd & Schneider, 2019; Schneider, 2020) attention over the last years. This paper delves into ideological perceptions of English and German by L1 German speakers participating in a queer community of practice (CofP, Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992) in Berlin. Despite the availability of the majority language German, the CofP, a queer activist group, operates in English. The paper analyzes ethnographic interview data with five group members, focusing on their metapragmatic narratives on the use of the two languages. The central finding is that in the context of the CofP, English and German are juxtaposed alongside a 'queer' versus 'heteronormative' dichotomy, which coincides with other opposing indexical meanings of English and German, including cosmopolitan vs. provincial, modern vs. old-fashioned, and young vs. old. Outside of the group context, however, the participants understand English as elitist and exclusionary, adhering to a local counter-discourse about English in Berlin (Hilal & Varatharajah, 2022). Building on theories of indexicality (Ochs, 1992; Eckert, 2008), language and identity (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) and language ideology (Irvine & Gal, 2000), the paper argues that the use of English as opposed to German is constitutive of the participants' and the group's queer identity.

**References:** • Bucholtz, M & K. Hall. (2005). Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4/5), 585–614. • Eckert, P. (2008) Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(4), 453–476. • Eckert, P. & S. McConnell-Ginet, (1992). Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21, 461–90. • Heyd, T. & B. Schneider. (2019). Anglophone practices in Berlin: From historical evidence to transnational communities. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *English in the German-Speaking World*, 143–164. Cambridge University Press. • Hilal, M. & S. Varatharajah. (2022). *Englisch in Berlin. Ausgrenzungen in einer kosmopolitischen Gesellschaft/English in Berlin. Exclusions in a Cosmopolitan Society*. Wirklichkeit Books. • Irvine, J.T. & S. Gal. (2000) Language ideology and linguistic differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*, 35–84. School of American Research Press. • Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing Gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, 335–358. Cambridge University Press. • Schneider, B. (2020). Language in transnational communities of consumption. Indexical functions of English in Third-Wave Coffee Culture. In S. Rüdiger & S. Mühleisen (Eds.), *Talking about Food. The Social and the Global in Eating Communities*, 79–96. Benjamins. • Spahn, J. (2017). Berliner Cafés: Sprechen Sie doch deutsch! *ZEIT online*. Retrieved on 13/03/2023 from <https://www.zeit.de/2017/35/berlin-cafes-hipster-englisch-sprache-jens-spahn>.

---

**Ideologies of English, ideologies of gender:  
Entanglements of internal and external purism in the German  
language ideological landscape**

---

**Theresa Heyd**

*Universität Greifswald*

theresa.heyd@uni-greifswald.de

Linguistic purism is a longstanding German-speaking language ideology (Stukenbrock 2005). It works as a nationalist gesture, instrumentalized for populist and rightwing sentiment and used to reinforce discourses of a monolingual ideal under threat, e.g. through immigration and globalization. In particular, English has been constructed as such since the 19<sup>th</sup> century through public discourse, aided along by ideology brokers such as the Verein Deutsche Sprache. Less attention has been paid to German language ideologies aimed at variation within the language – a distinction that Spitzmüller’s (2007: 265) “internal” versus “external” purism hints at. I wish to propose in this paper that the notion of internal purism can constructively be used to understand language-ideological animus against gender-inclusive language. Specifically, this paper seeks to explore structural, systematic and continued entanglements between ideologies of *English* and ideologies of *gender* in German-speaking discourse. These linguistic resources are, to a certain extent, fluid and malleable in terms of their ideological construction, in line with sociolinguistic theories of enregisterment (Agha 2003). Ideologies of English oscillate between vilification as a dreaded Other and idealization as a “rational” or “progressive” language with regard to its loss of grammatical gender German L2 speakers become unlikely targets of sympathy in antifeminist discourse when gender-inclusive language is construed as difficult to learn by nonnative speakers. Anti-English and anti-gender purism display structural similarities in the way they construe Others as being outside an imagined “normal” linguistic community.

This study is grounded in corpus-based discourse analysis to bring forth parallels and entanglements in the enregisterment of internal and external purism in the German-speaking ideological landscape. Two datasets will be used: 1) the digitized text of the magazine *Sprachnachrichten*, published since 2002 by the Verein Deutsche Sprache; and 2) a purpose-built corpus of public discourse surrounding policies of gender-inclusive language and the ongoing antifeminist rollback of such initiatives. These data will be used to construct a timeline of shifting and overlapping waves of external vs. internal purism and to identify intersecting registers of ideological discourse.

**References:** Agha, A. (2003). The social life of cultural value. *Language & communication*, 23(3-4), 231-273. • Spitzmüller, J. (2007). Staking the claims of identity: Purism, linguistics and the media in post-1990 Germany. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(2), 261-285. • Stukenbrock, A. (2005). *Sprachnationalismus*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

---

**Register perception in multilingual speakers of German in a minority context: An open guise addressee identification study.**

---

**Britta Schulte, Antje Sauermaun & Heike Wiese***Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

britta.schulte@hu-berlin.de

Multilingual practices are often perceived negatively in countries with monoglossic language ideologies, where speakers are constructed as not belonging and thus forming an out-group. In contrast, multilingual language practices are seen as the norm in multilingually oriented societies such as Namibia, leading to positive attitudes towards multilingualism. This study uses an open-guise approach to investigate the association of Namibia-specific linguistic features of German with informal registers and the impact of lexical versus grammatical features on participants' perceptions of addressees.

32 speakers of minority German from Namibia (mean age 26.7) participated in an open guise rating task via IbexFarm. Participants listened to three audio stimuli with descriptions of an accident by the same speaker, one in canonical standard German from Germany ('DE-standard'), the other two differing from it either in some Namibia-specific lexical items ('NAM-lex') or in some grammatical patterns ('NAM-gram'). The stimuli were presented as WhatsApp voice messages. Participants were asked to attribute each message to either a friend or a teacher on a scale of 1 (friend) to 9 (teacher) and explain the reasons for their decisions.

NAM-lex was more closely associated with a friend than with a teacher (mean: 1.78), DE-standard more closely with a teacher (mean: 7.75), and NAM-gram occupies an intermediate position (mean: 4.66). A linear mixed model showed significant differences between all three conditions ( $p < 0.001$ \*\*\*). When explaining their reasons, participants described NAM-lex as 'slang' and language mixing, associated it with informality and Namibia, and characterised speakers as 'friendly' or 'casual'. DE-standard was described as 'correct/standard German', associated with 'professionalism', 'respect', and with Germany. For NAM-gram, speakers were often unsure what supported their choice.

This suggests that standard language ideologies influence the evaluation of speakers and their associated belonging even in a multilingually oriented society. With respect to registers, results indicate that Namibia-specific lexical features are associated with informal registers and in-group use, while Standard German from Germany is associated with formal registers and out-group use. The fact that Namibia-specific grammatical patterns are less strongly associated with either register, suggests that grammatical patterns are less salient and do not carry as much social meaning as lexical features.

---

**Code-switching into the dominant language in multilingual societies:  
Pronominal forms as markers of politeness and register**

---

**Aria Adli<sup>1</sup>, Zahra Farokhnejad<sup>1</sup>, Jozina Vander Klok<sup>2</sup> &  
Elisabeth Verhoeven<sup>2</sup>**

*<sup>1</sup>Universität zu Köln, <sup>2</sup>Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*  
aria.adli@uni-koeln.de, zfarokhn@uni-koeln.de, jozina.vander.klok@hu-berlin.de, elisabeth.verhoeven@hu-berlin.de

Politeness expressions are linguistic manifestations of social facework practices (Brown and Levinson 1987), having a transparent social meaning and are typically register markers above the level of awareness. In multilingual speech communities, speakers can code-switch to make use of a different linguistic repertoire in another language. We investigate (i) to what extent is politeness a conditioning factor in code-switching for pronominal forms and (ii) how do the language ideologies of the multilingual speech community affect this type of code-switching. Based on results from the Lang\*Reg corpus (Adli et al. 2023) which includes conversations of the same participants across six different situational-functional contexts, we draw on data from three unrelated minority languages that are spoken in multilingual communities: Javanese (Indonesia; Austronesian; in contact with Indonesian), Yucatec Maya (Mexico; Mayan; in contact with Spanish); and Southern Kurdish (Iran; Indo-Iranian; in contact with Persian).

The contact language pairs differ in how politeness is implemented in their pronominal systems: While Yucatec Maya and Kurdish employ less politeness levels compared to their contact languages, politeness marking in Javanese is more complex than in Indonesian. Language ideologies also differ. In Javanese speech, the use of Indonesian indicates social distancing, moving away from former hierarchical distinctions within Javanese speech levels (Nurani 2015). However, initial results show the use of High Javanese pronominal forms in situations beyond the friend dialogue, suggesting that Javanese language ideology remains important. In Kurdish, the most code-switching is found in the most formal situation, raising the question whether the formal Persian form of address is being integrated into the Kurdish pronominal system (unlike for the use of Spanish pronominal forms in Yucatec Maya). We argue that the speakers of these multilingual communities have a single face concept, which they optimally enact either by making use of speech levels as in Javanese, or by strategically employing code-switching to use a pronominal system with politeness distinctions as in Kurdish and Yucatec Maya.

**References:** • Adli, A., E. Verhoeven, N. Lehmann, V. Mortezapour & J. Vander Klok (2023) Lang\*Reg: A multilingual corpus of intra-speaker variation across situations. Version 0.1.0. Zenodo. doi: 10.5281/zenodo.7646320. • Brown, P. & Levinson, S. (1987) *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: CUP. • Goebel, Z. (2005) An ethnographic study of code choice in two neighborhoods of Indonesia. *Australian J. of Linguistics* 25, 85–107.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 12**

---

### Workshop 12

---

***I see what you mean – investigating the interplay of linguistic and non-linguistic cues during reference resolution in a real-world design***

---

**Robert Voigt**

*Universität zu Köln*

rvoigt4@uni-koeln.de

In this talk, I report the methodology and initial results of an interactive real-world experiment investigating the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic cues in referential communication. I hypothesize that, during reference resolution towards objects in the real world, interlocutors will follow the eye gaze of each other directed to the potential referents whenever possible and that this behavior will speed up reference resolution in comparison to situations where they just follow the linguistic information presented to them (Hanna et al. 2020).

15 pairs of two naïve participants will play a referential communication game as in Keysar et al. (2000), where each of them sits on one side of a shelf with 4 rows of 4 compartments each and they jointly have to move objects from one compartment into the other. One participant, the director, sees pictures of certain object configurations and needs to tell the other participant, the matcher, how to move the objects so that their order resembles the order on the pictures. Crucially, in one condition (no-gaze condition), the compartments in front of the director's face are covered. Thus, the matcher is unable to see the face of the director. In the other condition (gaze condition), the face of the director is visible to the matcher.

The key dependent variable I measure are the eye movements of the matcher and the director using a mobile eye tracking device. I aim at analyzing the eye movements of the matchers depending on the eye movements of the directors. Furthermore, I measure the reaction times of both participants using automatically annotated video recordings of the participants. I hypothesize that matchers will use the eye gaze of the director as main cue for reference resolution. Thus, I expect them to follow the directors' gaze in the gaze condition and fixate the target object before the disambiguating linguistic expression and earlier than in the no-gaze condition. In the no-gaze conditions, they should focus more strongly on the linguistic cues and fixate the target objects later at the linguistic point of disambiguation. Furthermore, I expect the matchers to move the object more quickly in the gaze condition than in the no-gaze condition.

**References:** Hanna, J. E., Brennan, S. E. & K. J. Savietta (2020). Eye gaze and head orientation cues in face-to-face referential communication. *Discourse Processes* 57 (2020). 201–223. • Keysar, B, Barr D., Balin, J. & J. Brauner (2000). Taking perspective in conversation: the role of mutual knowledge in comprehension. *Psychological Science* 11(1). 32–38.



---

## Discourse contextualisation affects referring expression choice

---

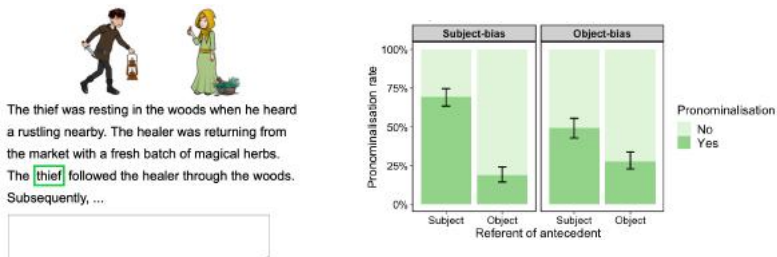
**Jia E. Loy & Vera Demberg**

*Universität des Saarlandes*

jialoy@coli.uni-saarland.de, vera@coli.uni-saarland.de

Theories of referring expressions highlight the role of predictability on reference choice: more predictable elements should be pronominalised with higher probability (e.g., Arnold, 2008). However, experimental evidence for this is mixed. This inconsistency may be in part due to the myriad of factors that have been examined, from linguistic (e.g., verb biases) to methodological (e.g., nature of paradigm). In particular, passage completion tasks, where participants continue a story based on a sentence prompt, have been criticised for being removed from naturalistic discourse production, potentially limiting predictability effects.

In three experiments, we manipulate a range of factors identified by previous studies: verb type, antecedent gender ambiguity, antecedent length, and naturalness of context (see Demberg, Kravtchenko & Loy, 2023 for full details). Our main finding points to naturalness of context as the sole factor influencing predictability effects on reference choice. When the paradigm was modified to use longer, story-like narratives embedded within a thematic context (e.g., a fantasy setting), we observed a predictability effect such that subject and object antecedents were pronominalised more often with subject-biasing and object-biasing verbs respectively ( $\beta=1.44$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Crucially, this task was closer to natural language production than traditional passage completion tasks, suggesting that the rich, story-like contexts allowed speakers to develop stronger discourse representations, leading to better conceptual integration of sentences and a stronger bias towards selecting pronouns.




---

**References:** • Arnold, J. E. (2008). Reference production: Production-internal and addressee-oriented processes. *Language and Cognitive Processes*, 23(4), 495–527. • Demberg, V., Kravtchenko, E. & Loy, J. E. (2023). A systematic evaluation of factors affecting referring expression choice in passage completion tasks. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 130, 104413.

---

**Event predictability affects production of anaphoric references**


---

Asya Achimova<sup>1</sup>, Marjolein van Os<sup>2</sup>,  
 Vera Demberg<sup>2</sup> & Martin V. Butz<sup>1</sup>  
 Universität des Saarlandes

<sup>1</sup>University of Tübingen, <sup>2</sup>Saarland University  
 asya.achimova@uni-tuebingen.de

Speakers take multiple considerations into account when they choose forms of reference (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986). To refer to a previously mentioned entity, a speaker may choose several forms of reference, such as a definite noun phrase (NP) (1a), a pronoun (1b), or a conjoined verb phrase with no overt subject repetition (1c).

- (1) The yellow monster attacked the red monster and...
- (a) the yellow monster fell down.
  - (b) it fell down.
  - (c) fell down.

In this work, we ask whether speakers select a more informative expression when they describe surprising events following the maxim of quality (Grice, 1967). We investigate how the world knowledge, operationalized here as event predictability, affects the choice of utterances.

We used a free-production paradigm to test how speakers describe both familiar and surprising events. In line with our previous work (Stegemann-Philipps et al., 2021), we found that speakers were less likely to use a reduced expression for a surprising event when the same character acted as agent in both events ( $\beta = 12.829, SE = 4.497, z = 2.853, p < 0.01$ ). Our current goal is to focus on the qualitative analysis of responses. We investigate what those rich and at times difficult to categorize answers reveal about the nature of reference production and what implications the differences in annotation procedures carry for the conclusions we reach. We discuss our findings in the context of the noisy channel hypothesis (Gibson et al., 2013).

**References:** • Clark, H.H & D. Wilkes-Gibbs. (1986). Referring as a collaborative process. *Cognition* 22(1), 1–39. • Gibson, E., Bergen, L. & S.T. Piantadosi. (2013). Rational integration of noisy evidence and prior semantic expectations in sentence interpretation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 110(20). 8051–8056. • Grice, H.P. (1967). 87. Logic and conversation. *Studies in the way of words*, 3-143. • Stegemann-Philipps, C., Butz M.V., Winkler, S. & A. Achimova. (2021). Speakers use more informative referring expressions to describe surprising events. In *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*, vol. 43, 2897–290.

---

## Psychological proximity guides multimodal communication in interactive settings

---

Madeleine Long<sup>1</sup>, Aslı Özyürek<sup>2</sup> & Paula Rubio-Fernández<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Edinburgh, <sup>2</sup>MPI for psycholinguistics

mlong@ed.ac.uk, Asli.Ozyurek@mpi.nl, Paula.RubioFernandez@mpi.nl

Traditional accounts posit that demonstratives signal *spatial distance* [1], while recently it has been argued that they signal *psychological proximity* [2]. We tease these apart using naturalistic materials by testing demonstrative and pointing use in Turkish where “şu” (the middle demonstrative) is theorised to be used to redirect the listener’s attention towards the intended referent, alongside pointing [3,4].

**Experiment:** 58 Turkish speakers saw 48 videos in which a speaker and listener stood across a table with 4 identical objects (Fig. 1). Participants played the speaker role, requesting a target object (in the circle) from the listener by completing the phrase (“Now I need...”) with “bu”, “şu” or “o” (i.e., ‘this one’, ‘that one’ and ‘that one over there’). We manipulated the listener/target position (1-4), the listener’s perspective (aligned or misaligned) and use of pointing for a fully crossed design.

**Results:** Our LMER model of Şu Choice with Pointing, Position and Perspective as FE revealed main effects of Pointing, Perspective and Position ( $p$ ’s<.001) with şu selected more with pointing, in misaligned trials and in middle positions. There were also Pointing x Position and Position x Perspective interactions ( $p$ ’s<.05) where Pointing and Visual Perspective had a greater influence on şu choice in more distant positions, perhaps because in close proximity interlocutors rely on subtle eye/head movements. Bu and O models did not reveal greater use in misaligned trials, supporting the idea that şu is used for attention correction in Turkish.



Figure 1: Trial with misaligned perspectives and pointing. Video link: <https://osf.io/s7dq3>.

**References:** • [1] Diessel, H., & Coventry, K. R. (2020). Demonstratives in spatial language and social interaction: An interdisciplinary review. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 11, 555265. • [2] Peeters, D., & Özyürek, A. (2016). This and that revisited: A social and multimodal approach to spatial demonstratives. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 7, 222. • [3] Özyürek, A. (1998). An analysis of the basic meaning of Turkish demonstratives in face-to-face conversational interaction. In S. Santi, I. Guaitella, C. Cave, & G. Konopczynski (Eds.), *Oralite et gestualite: Communication multimodale, interaction: actes du colloque ORAGE 98* (pp. 609-614). Paris: L'Harmattan. • [4] Rubio-Fernandez, P. (2022). Demonstrative systems: From linguistic typology to social cognition. *Cognitive Psychology*.

---

## Reference production in context: how discourse goals and relevance shape modifier choice

---

**Kelly Cheuk, Hannah Rohde & Chris Cummins**

*University of Edinburgh*

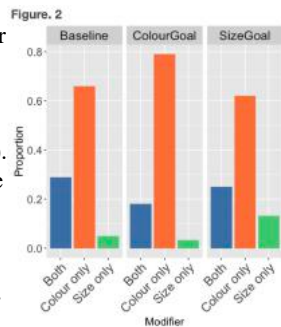
k.a.cheuk@sms.ed.ac.uk, hannah.rohde@ed.ac.uk,  
ccummins@exseed.ed.ac.uk

Speakers' use of adjectives to achieve unambiguous reference is a focus of extensive research, with important implications for debates about communication efficiency in the light of perceptual biases. The preference for overspecifying colour over size has been attributed to colour being an absolute and visually salient attribute, while size is relative (Belke & Meyer, 2002). Also, the mention of colour is often customary, especially in categories such as clothing, where colour serves as a core property (Rubio-Fernandez, 2019). Our study builds upon previous research by reviewing what makes speakers produce particular adjectives when establishing reference, exploring how this choice is connected with predicating contextually relevant properties outlined by the discourse goals.

Previous studies primarily used context-independent tasks, such as clicking on or describing specific objects in lab settings. In two web-based studies, we placed referential tasks in a more plausible context where participants answered questions with responses that naturally involved achieving successful reference as part of the utterance. (See Fig. 1). We compared the use of modifier types across conditions, with discourse goals relevant to colour or size or none.



Experiment 1 examined situations where both colour and size were fully distinguishing. The highest proportion of responses using colour or size only was observed in the condition where the respective attribute aligned with the discourse goal (See Fig. 2). Experiment 2 (in progress) explores scenarios where only one attribute, either colour or size, is fully distinguishing. We expect to observe increased use of fully-distinguishing modifiers that align with the discourse goals and more redundant use of partially-distinguishing goal-relevant modifiers.



**References:** □ Belke, E., & Meyer, A. S. (2002). Tracking (...) decisions. *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, 14(2), 237–266. □ Rubio-Fernandez, P. (2019). Overinformative (...) Quantity. *Cognitive Science*, 43(11), e12797.

---

## Towards a multimodal view on the neurobiology of language

---

**Linda Drijvers**

*Donders Institute & Max Planck Institute,  
Nijmegen*  
Linda.drijvers@donders.ru.nl

Face-to-face communication involves auditory signals, such as speech, and visual signals, such as visible speech and gestures. Despite the abundance of visual expressions in language, most models and theories on the neurobiology of language are based on characteristics of speech and text. In this talk, I will argue that we need a multimodal view on the neurobiology of language, and that these visual signals are often taken on board immediately by listeners in creating and shaping an interpretation of the linguistic input. This talk will center around the question of how we, as language users, integrate auditory and visual signals into a coherent message, and how this is orchestrated in the brain. I will focus on how this is achieved both *within* and *between* conversational partners, and will discuss what is so 'special' about face-to-face communication.

---



---

## Referring in the World and in the Lab: Bridging the Gap.

---

**Katharina S. Schuhmann<sup>1</sup> & Susan E. Brennan<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> *Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg*, <sup>2</sup> *Stony Brook University, NY*  
*Katharina.Schuhmann@uni-oldenburg.de, Susan.Brennan@stonybrook.edu*

Research on referential communication demonstrates great variability in word choice within referring expressions (Brennan & Clark, 1996; Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986). When speakers refer to a particular referent, they choose how to conceptualize it and how to lexicalize the referring expression. Speakers' choices may be guided by their perspective, salient features of the referent, or common ground experienced with the addressee, among others. When pairs of interlocutors repeatedly refer to an object, they tend to entrain on the same expression (Bortfeld & Brennan, 1997; Brennan & Clark, 1996; Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs, 1986).

Converging referring expressions reflect temporary agreements; interlocutors can adapt their expressions when the referential context changes. In the real world, many potential factors could influence referring, such as goals, being immersed in the 3D world versus referring to objects on a 2D map, or interlocutors sharing differing levels of visual co-presence. We present a parameterized study that bridges the gap between referring in the world and in the lab: we aim to model what factors shape the variability of referring expressions when the same pairs perform multiple tasks in different contexts (extending Brennan et al. (2013a,b)).

In a card-matching task in the laboratory, pairs of partners entrained 69% of the time on the same referring expression they had used earlier in the navigation task in the world. Partners entrained despite differences in the contexts of these two tasks and differences in their more recent, intervening private experiences. Overall, the study reveals that interlocutors do not simply reuse the most recent referring expression for a given referent, nor are they restricted to following a previously established conceptual pact. Instead, referring is flexibly adapted to the context of communication and is influenced by partner-specific constraints.

**References:** • Burkhardt, P. (2007). The P600 reflects cost of new information in discourse memory. *Neuroreport*, 1851–1854. • Schumacher, P. B. (2013). When combinatorial processing results in reconceptualization: Toward a new approach of compositionality. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4. • Schumacher, P. B., Weiland-Breckle, H., Reul, G., & Brilmayer, I. (2023). *Tracking meaning evolution in the brain: Processing consequences of conventionalization*. *Cognition*, 240, 105598.

---

**Predicting language in naturalistic settings: the role of linguistic, visual and pragmatic context**

---

**Eleanor Huizeling<sup>1</sup>, Phillip M. Alday<sup>2</sup>, David Peeters<sup>3</sup>, Peter Hagoort<sup>1,4</sup>**  
*<sup>1</sup>Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, <sup>2</sup>Beacon Biosignals Inc., Boston, <sup>3</sup>Tilburg University, Tilburg, <sup>4</sup>Radboud University, Nijmegen*  
Eleanor.huizeling@mpi.nl

For a complete understanding of how the brain processes language, it is crucial to study language in naturalistic settings, where language is embedded in dynamic and multimodal contexts and speech is full of disfluencies. The prediction of language is one mechanism that is thought to facilitate our incredible ability to process speech so quickly. Evidence for this comes from the fact that a listener's eye-gaze moves towards a referent before it is mentioned if the sentence context is highly constraining, rendering the noun predictable. I will present a line of work where we have been using EEG, eye tracking and virtual reality to investigate to what extent the linguistic, visual and pragmatic contexts are used together to predict upcoming language in naturalistic settings.

---



---

## Neurocognitive adaptation to repeated use of ad-hoc metonymies

---

Guendalina Reul & Petra B. Schumacher

*Universität zu Köln*

g.reul@uni-koeln.de, petra.schumacher@uni-koeln.de

(Referential) metonymies reflect various kinds of relations where linguistically one entity substitutes another (e.g., content-for-container, place-for-event, etc.). Metonymies have different levels of conventionalisation that also come with different processing mechanisms (see Schumacher, 2013). In the present study, we investigated how neurocognitive processes adapt to repeated use of metonymic expressions (reflected in changing ERP patterns over time). A relevant ERP response regarding the processing of metonymies is the Late Positivity (LP), where the signal peaks around 600 ms after the onset of the critical stimulus, indicating an operation where a new conceptual representation is computed and the discourse model is updated (Burkhardt, 2007). The LP has been associated with the operation of meaning extension and referential shift (Schumacher, 2013). Earlier EEG studies indicate that ad-hoc metonymies have a more pronounced LP compared to their controls (Schumacher, 2013). Furthermore, a study by Schumacher et al. (2023) replicated this result and further found a gradual effect, i.e. the more conventionalised a place-for-event expression the lower the LP (conventionalization was determined on the basis of association ratings). In the present study, we wanted to investigate ‘in vitro’ conventionalisation. We created a design that allowed us to study the change of meaning in a naturalistic discourse. In our study, 42 participants listened to ten scripted reports where speakers talk about their interaction with different people in the context of dating apps. After introducing each person with a salient property (e.g., [...] *whose prominent moustache was not to be overlooked*), the property was used subsequently five times to refer to this person across the report (e.g., *the moustache reported that he gave singing lessons.*; note that in German the metonymy-triggering predicate (e.g., *reported*) preceded the target word). Our results indicate that we were able to replicate previous findings of highly controlled experiments, i.e., a more pronounced LP for metonymies vs. their controls (normal person referring denotation e.g., *After the meeting, the swimmer made another appointment with me*). Furthermore, our results indicate an effect of mention (more pronounced LP for the first mention), suggesting a conventionalisation process as the discourse unfolds. This study has the potential to show how meaning and the corresponding mental representation adapt during the construction of a discourse. This finding provides a basis to further test why some meanings become established, and which linguistic parameters are crucial for this process. Meaning change has immediate consequences for comprehension, indicating that listeners adapt to current use conditions almost instantaneously, rendering further updating costs superfluous. Mental representations should thus be considered to be fluid and context-dependent.

**References:** • Burkhardt, P. (2007). The P600 reflects cost of new information in discourse memory. *Neuroreport*, 1851–1854. • Schumacher, P. B. (2013). When combinatorial processing results in reconceptualization: Toward a new approach of compositionality. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 4. • Schumacher, P. B., Weiland-Breckle, H., Reul, G., & Brilmayer, I. (2023). *Tracking meaning evolution in the brain: Processing consequences of conventionalization. Cognition*, 240, 105598.



## **Arbeitsgruppe 13**

---

### Workshop 13

---

## **Semantik in der Lehrer:innenbildung. Möglichkeiten und Herausforderungen**

---

**Michael Rödel<sup>1</sup> & Björn Rothstein<sup>2</sup>**

*LMU München<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

m.roedel@lmu.de, bjoern.rothstein@rub.de

Ausgangspunkt des Vortrags sind unsere unterschiedlichen Auffassungen in der semantischen Analyse von Tempusformen. Die Arbeiten von Björn Rothstein sind der formalen Semantik und Pragmatik zu zuordnen, die aufbauend auf Reichenbach (1947) mit der Diskursrepräsentationstheorie arbeitet. Michael Rödel's Arbeiten sind im Kontext von Grammatikalisierungs- und Prototypentheorie und (beginnender) Konstruktionsgrammatik zu verorten. Daraus folgen die Frage, wie diese Differenzen eigentlich in die Lehrer:innenbildung einsickern, und die Diskussion, welche Art von Semantik der Deutschunterricht eigentlich benötigt – gerade vor dem Hintergrund, dass ein Nachdenken über Sprache ohne (lexikalische wie grammatische) Semantik schlichtweg nicht vorstellbar ist.

Die Relevanz semantischen Wissens liegt für Lehrende wie Lernende ohnehin auf der Hand: Semantische Organisationsprinzipien helfen dabei, Wortfelder aufzustellen und zu analysieren. Das kann dazu beitragen, Lese- wie auch Schreibprozesse zu erleichtern. Auch das in den Medien prominente Thema „Framing“ ist zur Semantik zu zählen: Die Wahl bestimmter Ausdrücke und Wortformen vermittelt immer bestimmte Informationen samt Perspektive, sodass andere ihrerseits in den Hintergrund treten. Es ist damit zu rechnen, dass sich die gesellschaftliche Bedeutung auch im Deutschunterricht der kommenden Jahre reflektiert.

Wir wollen daher auch darüber sprechen, welche Terminologie und welche didaktischen Operationen im Deutschunterricht der Schule notwendig sind, um Semantik sinnhaft betreiben zu können.

---

## In der (Grund-)Schule „Sinn und Bedeutung“ sprachlicher Zeichen thematisieren.

---

**Kristin Börjesson**

*Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*

kristin.boerjesson@paedagogik.uni-halle.de

In der Fachdidaktik werden bedeutungsbezogene (semantische) und handlungsbezogene (pragmatische) Reflexionen neben den strukturbezogenen (grammatischen) Reflexionen als zwei nicht minder wichtige Teilbereiche schulischer Sprachreflexion angesehen (vgl. z.B. Riegler 2011: S. 6). Mit der Frage, welche konkreten Phänomene Gegenstand solcher bedeutungsbezogenen oder handlungsbezogenen Reflexionen sein könnten (oder sollten?), hat sich die Fachdidaktik jedoch bisher nur wenig beschäftigt (siehe jedoch Ulrich 2018 und Börjesson/Laser 2022). In meinem Vortrag möchte ich auf drei Phänomene eingehen, die sich aus meiner Sicht besonders für einen sprachreflexiven Unterricht, auch schon in der Grundschule eignen:

- (1) das, was Löbner (2015) unter “Dimensionen der Bedeutung“ fasst, hier insbesondere die deskriptive, soziale und expressive Bedeutung als verschiedene Facetten der Ausdrucksbedeutung sowie mit Ausdrücken assoziierte Konnotationen,
- (2) das Verhältnis von deskriptiver Bedeutung und Denotationspotenzial eines Ausdrucks und seiner tatsächlichen Referenz in einem Äußerungskontext,
- (3) das Verhältnis von Ausdrucks- bzw. Äußerungsbedeutung zum Kommunikativen Sinn einer Äußerung.

Während es sich bei (1) und (2) um genuin semantische Phänomene handelt, ist Aspekt (3) an der Schnittstelle von Semantik und Pragmatik angesiedelt. Die Beschäftigung mit diesen Phänomenen ermöglicht es Schüler:innen, sich der verschiedenen „Bedeutungsnuancen“ sprachlicher Ausdrücke bewusst zu werden, sowie der Tatsache, dass die Interpretation verbaler Kommunikation sich nicht einfach im Dekodieren einer von einem Sender empfangenen Nachricht erschöpft.

Im Vortrag wird skizziert, wie die o. g. Phänomene im Unterricht altersangemessen thematisiert werden können und gezeigt, dass und wie sich darauf spiralcurricular aufbauen ließe, da alle drei Phänomene eine gute Grundlage bilden für eine spätere Auseinandersetzung mit weiteren semantischen und pragmatischen Phänomenen.

**Literatur:** • Börjesson, Kristin/Laser, Björn (2022): *Pragmatik. Sprachgebrauch untersuchen*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto. • Löbner, Sebastian (2015): *Semantik. Eine Einführung*. 2., aktualisierte, stark erweiterte und korrigierte Auflage. Berlin: de Gruyter. • Riegler, Susanne (2011): Sprachreflexion – mehr als Grammatikunterricht. *Grundschule Deutsch* 32, S. 4–7. • Ulrich, Winfried (2018): *Mehrdeutigkeit als zentrales Thema des Sprach-, Lese- und Literaturunterrichts*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.

---

## Modalität im Vorschulalter

### Vermutungen im Kontext frühen naturwissenschaftlichen Lernens

---

**Derya Dincer**

*Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen*  
 derya.dincer@uni-tuebingen.de

Die Markierung von Modalität hat für den Sachunterricht der Grundschule eine zentrale Bedeutung und bildet somit schon früh einen wichtigen Aspekt der schulischen Sprachanforderungen. Doch auch Kinder im Vorschulalter sind bereits mit dem Phänomen der epistemischen Modalität konfrontiert. Dies zeigt sich in besonderer Weise im Kontext des frühen naturwissenschaftlichen Lernens, das untrennbar mit sprachlicher Interaktion verbunden ist (vgl. Gottwald 2016) und bei dem Erkenntnisprozesse u. a. durch Sprachhandlungen wie differenziertes Beschreiben und Beobachten angestoßen werden (vgl. Gabler et al. 2020). Das Vermuten spielt in diesem Kontext eine entscheidende Rolle. In Experimentiersituationen etwa sind Vorschulkinder dazu angehalten, eigene Vermutungen zu altersgerechten Fragestellungen zu äußern: *Was passiert wohl, wenn man ein Glas über eine brennende Kerze stülpt? Was geschieht wohl mit Rosinen, die in Sprudelwasser gegeben werden?* Zum Ausdrücken unterschiedlicher Sicherheitsgrade über das Zutreffen oder Nicht-Zutreffen eines Sachverhaltes werden beispielsweise verschiedene epistemische Adverbien wie *vielleicht*, *vermutlich* und *sicherlich* benötigt. Mit Strukturen der Form *Ich glaube/vermute, dass ...* können subjektive propositionale Einstellungen der Sprecher:innen gekennzeichnet (vgl. Klein 1985) und von Wissensdarstellungen (*Ich weiß, dass ...*) abgegrenzt werden. Die Realisierung solcher modalisierten Äußerungen erfordert neben fachlichem Wissen auch komplexes sprachliches Wissen und steht im Fokus des vorzustellenden Forschungsprojekts.

Der Vortrag bietet erste Einblicke in das Projekt und diskutiert, wie rezeptive und produktive kindliche Sprachkompetenzen im Bereich der epistemischen Modalität festgestellt und inwiefern Situationen des elementarpädagogischen Alltags zur Vermittlung von Form-Funktions-Zusammenhängen und somit als Vorbereitung auf den schulischen Sprachalltag und die sprachlichen Anforderungen des Sachunterrichts genutzt werden können.

**References:** • Gabler, K. et al. (2020): Fachintegrierte Sprachförderung im Sachunterricht der Grundschule. Entwicklung, Erprobung und Evaluation eines Fortbildungskonzepts auf der Grundlage des Scaffolding-Ansatzes. In Titz, C. et al. (Hrsg.): *Sprach- und Schriftsprachförderung wirksam gestalten. Innovative Konzepte und Forschungsimpulse*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer. 59-83. • Gottwald, A. (2016): *Sprachförderndes Experimentieren im Sachunterricht. Wie naturwissenschaftliches Arbeiten die Sprache von Grundschulkindern fördern kann*. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien. • Klein, J. (1985): *Die konklusiven Sprechhandlungen. Studien zur Pragmatik, Semantik, Syntax und Lexik von Begründen, Erklären-warum, Folgern und Rechtfertigen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

---

## Kausalität im Längsschnitt. Funktionen und Formen in der Textproduktion vom 4. bis zum 6. Schuljahr

---

**Elvira Topalović, Laura Drepper & Alisa Blachut**

*Universität Paderborn*

elvira.topalovic@upb.de, laura.drepper@upb.de, alisa.blachut@upb.de

Die sprachlichen Ausdrucksmittel von Kausalität sind vielfältig. Sie umfassen neben den gängigen Subjunktionen *da* und *weil* und den syntaktischen Einzelgängern *dass* und *denn* auch zahlreiche Adverbkonnektoren (z.B. *nämlich*) und Postponierer (z.B. *weswegen*) (vgl. Volodina 2014, 790ff.). Syntaktisch kann Kausalität durch Koordination, Subordination und Integration realisiert werden (vgl. Langlotz 2014, 15). Darüber hinaus können kausale Relationen auch implizit, d.h. konnektorlos, ausgedrückt werden. Exemplarisch seien zwei Korpusbelege aus einem 4. Schuljahr angegeben (orthographisch angepasst):

- (1) PB-a-22 (mit Konnektor): *Ich persönlich fände es nicht sehr gut, wenn die Rechtschreibung abgeschafft wird. Dann schreiben **nämlich** alle so, wie sie gerade Lust haben.*
- (2) PB-a-14 (ohne Konnektor): *Ich fände es schlecht, wenn die Rechtschreibung abgeschafft wird. Mir zum Beispiel machte und macht es immer noch Spaß.*

Während der Erwerb von Konnektoren unterschiedlicher semantischer Relationen in der Primar- und Sekundarstufe in verschiedenen Querschnitts- bzw. unechten Längsschnittstudien untersucht wurde (vgl. z.B. Langlotz 2014), sind echte Längsschnittstudien (vgl. Augst et al. 2007) sowie Funktions-Form-Analysen explizit zur Kausalität im Übergang von der Primar- zur Sekundarstufe noch immer rar. Wir greifen diese Forschungslücke auf und zeigen anhand eines qualitativen Zugriffs, wie der Erwerb des Konzepts Kausalität bei 70 Schüler:innen verläuft. Für die korpuslinguistische Analyse nutzen wir 210 Texte. Leitend sind die folgenden Fragen: Welche kausalen Relationen zeigen sich in den Texten? Welche Konnektoren werden wie häufig genutzt? Welche Entwicklungsverläufe lassen sich nachzeichnen? Anhand der Analyseergebnisse wollen wir auch mögliche Implikationen für die Vermittlung von Kausalität im Deutschunterricht (vgl. Kellermann 2023) diskutieren.

**References:** • Augst, G. & Disselhoff, K. & Henrich, A. & Pohl, T. & P. Völzing, (2007). *Text-Sorten-Kompetenz. Eine echte Longitudinalstudie zur Entwicklung der Textkompetenz im Grundschulalter*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang. • Kellermann, K. (2023). *Kausalsätze verstehen und formulieren. Eine empirische Studie zur Vermittlung des globalen Prinzips von Kausalität im Deutschunterricht der Sek I*. Münster/New York: Waxmann. • Langlotz, M. (2014). *Junktion und Schreibentwicklung. Eine empirische Untersuchung narrativer und argumentativer Schülertexte*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter. • Volodina, A. (2014). C4.2 Kausale Konnektoren. In Breindl, E. & Volodina, A. & U. Waßner (Hrsg.). *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren 2. Semantik der deutschen Satzverknüpfen*. Teilband 1. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 790–899.

---

## Konnektoren als Lehr- und Lerngegenstand in der Primarstufe

---

**Merle Weicker**

*Goethe-Universität Frankfurt*

weicker@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Der vorliegende Beitrag analysiert anhand von Lehrwerken für das Fach Deutsch, welche formalen, funktionalen und semantischen Aspekte von Konnektoren in Jahrgangsstufe 4 berücksichtigt werden, und zeigt mögliche Herausforderungen auf, die sich aus dieser Darstellung für die Lernenden ergeben können.

Konnektoren sind sprachliche Mittel, die Textelemente miteinander verbinden, indem sie eine bestimmte semantische Beziehung (z.B. kausal, temporal, konzessiv) zwischen zwei Propositionen ausdrücken. Dieselbe Beziehung kann mittels verschiedener Lexeme ausgedrückt werden, die verschiedenen Wortklassen (z.B. Subjunktionen, Konjunktionen, Adverbien) angehören und in verschiedenen syntaktischen Strukturen auftreten (Fabricius-Hansen, 2000).

In den vier analysierten Lehrwerken werden Konnektoren im Kompetenzbereich „Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen“ als „Bindewörter“ eingeführt. Dies zielt ausschließlich auf ihre Funktion ab, Sätze miteinander zu verbinden. In diesem Zusammenhang wird besonders die Interpunktion thematisiert. Der Terminus „Bindewort“ wird mittels verschiedener Wortarten illustriert, Unterschiede bezüglich der syntaktischen Struktur werden kaum aufgezeigt. Die verwendeten Konnektoren drücken verschiedene semantische Relationen aus, die nicht explizit thematisiert werden. In drei Lehrwerken befinden sich aber Aufgaben, bei denen die Schüler:innen Sätze mit „passenden“ Bindewörtern verbinden sollen. Solche Aufgaben erfordern implizites semantisches und syntaktisches Wissen, welches in Jahrgangsstufe 4 noch nicht als erworben vorausgesetzt werden kann (z.B. Kellermann, 2023). Diese empirischen Befunde legen nahe, dass Sprachbetrachtung - wie sie für den Kompetenzbereich „Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen“ gefordert wird (KMK, 2022) - neben Form-Funktions-Zusammenhängen auch logisch-semantische Aspekte berücksichtigen sollte, um das (implizite) Wissen über Konnektoren zu erweitern.

Im Vortrag wird ein Ausblick auf eine experimentelle Studie gegeben, die den Einfluss linguistischer Eigenschaften von Konnektoren und individueller Voraussetzungen der Lernenden auf das Konnektorenverständnis untersucht. Dies kann konkretere unterrichtspraktische Implikationen für Sprachbetrachtungsaktivitäten in der Primarstufe ermöglichen.

**References:** • Fabricius-Hansen, C. (2000). Formen der Konnexion. In K. Brinker et al. (eds.), *Text- und Gesprächslinguistik 1. Halbband* (S. 331-343). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. • Kellermann, K. (2023). *Kausalität verstehen und formulieren*. Münster/New York: Waxmann. • Kultusministerkonferenz (2022). *Bildungsstandards für das Fach Deutsch Primarbereich*.

---

## Wie passt das zusammen? – Von der Interpunktion zur Semantik und zurück

---

**Jonas Romstadt, Julia Weiss & Theresa Strombach**

*Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn*

jromstadt@uni-bonn.de, juweiss@uni-bonn.de, tstromba@uni-bonn.de

Wenn es in der Schule um Interpunktion geht, dann vor allem in einem normativen Kontext: Die Schreibenden sollen lernen, normkonform zu interpungieren, also keine Fehler zu machen. Eine Folge dieser Zielsetzung ist, dass oft (fast) ausschließlich das Komma und auch dort vor allem aus Schreibperspektive fehleranfällige syntaktische Konstruktionen im Fokus stehen.

Das ist wiederholt kritisiert worden (vgl. Wielenberg 2020 u.v.a.); zentral sind dabei drei Aspekte: Erstens wird vor allem die Perspektive der Schreibenden thematisiert; mögliche Funktionen der Interpunktion für Lesende bleiben oft unberücksichtigt. Zweitens kann durch die Fokussierung auf wenige Zeichen (und die syntaktischen Konstruktionen, in denen sie vorkommen) kein Einblick in die Funktionspotentiale des Interpunktionssystems insgesamt erzielt werden. Drittens, und das ist hier entscheidend, bleiben bisher häufig die Zeichen unberücksichtigt, die neben einem rein syntaktischen auch andere Funktionspotentiale aufweisen.

Hier setzen wir an: Indem wir für eine stärker funktional ausgerichtete Interpunktionsdidaktik plädieren, kommen semantische Beschreibungsmodelle ins Blickfeld (vgl. etwa Baudusch 1981, Bücking 2022). Diese vorgeschlagene Reperspektivierung kann, das zeigen wir in diesem Beitrag, für beide Seiten gewinnbringend sein: Interpunktion wird im formal-funktionalen Kontext diskutiert und semantische Phänomenbereiche können anhand dieses Gegenstandes in den Blick genommen werden. Damit kann ein funktional orientierter (Schrift-)Grammatikunterricht von der Einbeziehung semantischer Themen profitieren (vgl. Rödel & Rothstein 2015). Konkret diskutieren wir diese Funktionspotentiale anhand von authentischen Schüler\*innentexten mit Blick auf kompositionale Ambiguität, Strukturbedeutungen verschiedener Satztypen sowie diskursstrukturelle Subordination und Koordination.

**References:** • Baudusch, R. (1981): Die Prinzipien der deutschen Interpunktion. *Zeitschrift für Germanistik* 2(2), 206–218. • Bücking, S. (2022): Schriftgrammatik und Diskursrelationen: Der Doppelpunkt als lexikalischer Marker für diskursstrukturelle Subordination. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 50(3), 435–474. • Rödel, M. & B. Rothstein (2015): Die Kategorie Tempus, der Begriff der Funktion und ihre Didaktik. In B. Mesch & B. Rothstein (ed.), *Was tun mit dem Verb? Über Möglichkeiten und Notwendigkeit einer didaktischen Neuerschließung des Verbs*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 199–218. • Wielenberg, D. (2020): Die Kunst, auf den Punkt zu kommen. Zur Heterogenität des Interpunktionslernens. In M. Langlotz (ed.), *Grammatikdidaktik: Theoretische und empirische Zugänge zu sprachlicher Heterogenität*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 33–60.

---

## Passiv im schulischen Grammatikunterricht: Form – Bedeutung – Funktion

---

**Barbara Schlücker**

*Universität Leipzig*

barbara.schluecker@uni-leipzig.de

Betrachtet man das Passiv im didaktischen Kontext, zeigt sich, dass allen Konzeptionen implizit die Trias Form – Bedeutung – Funktion zugrunde liegt, die Bedeutungsseite jedoch deutlich weniger umfassend thematisiert wird und genuin semantische Aspekte meist außen vor bleiben.

So zeigt beispielsweise die Untersuchung aktueller Deutschlehrbücher der Sek. I für das Bundesland Sachsen, dass das Passiv in einigen Lehrbuchreihen gar nicht thematisiert wird. Wenn vorhanden, wird es in unterschiedlichen Klassenstufen, in unterschiedlichem Umfang und mit divergierenden Inhalten behandelt. Neben der Formenbildung liegt der Fokus vor allem auf der Funktion. Hier wird meist die Fokussierung der Handlung bzw. des Vorgangs durch das Passiv im Kontrast zur Fokussierung der handelnden Person durch das Aktiv genannt. Daran schließen weitergehende funktional-stilistische Aspekte wie z.B. das Passiv als Mittel der Variation im Satzbau an und es werden die Gründe für den Passivgebrauch in bestimmten Textsorten (Bericht, Gebrauchsanweisung etc.) dargestellt.

Gleichzeitig werden die semantischen Grundlagen für diese Funktionen, d.h. das Wissen um semantische Rollen, Verbalenz, verschiedene Ereignistypen von Verben und der Zusammenhang zwischen diesen Aspekten, kaum behandelt. Dies könnte jedoch in verschiedener Hinsicht problematisch sein, u.a.: (a) Semantische Bildungsbeschränkungen: Die für die Anwendung zentrale Frage, welche Verben überhaupt passivfähig sind (vgl. z.B. Sayatz 2011: 41), wird nicht gestellt. (b) Semantik der Agens-Argumente und Textverständnis: Anders als in den Deutschbüchern dargestellt sind Agens-Argumente im Passiv nicht immer menschlich-belebt, sondern beispielsweise abstrakt, wie u.a. Olthoff (2021) für Schulbuchtexte anderer Fächer zeigt. (c) Vergleich mit und Abgrenzung von anderen deagentivischen, passivähnlichen Konstruktionen. (d) Verständnis der Deagentivierung und der Aktiv-Passiv-Konverse als syntaktischer Operation sowie der Satzgliedanalyse des Passivs (vgl. dazu auch Primus 2015). – Ausgehend von diesen Beobachtungen soll im Vortrag darauf eingegangen werden, was eine Stärkung der semantischen Aspekte bewirken und wie diese aussehen könnte und wie viel Semantik tatsächlich notwendig ist.

**Literatur:** • Olthoff, S. (2021). *Herausforderung Passiv? Das werden-Passiv in Texten für Schülerinnen und Schüler*. Berlin: Frank & Timme. • Primus, B. (2015). Semantische Rollen und Satzgliedanalyse im Grammatikunterricht. In B. Mesch & B. Rothstein (eds.), *Was tun mit dem Verb?* Berlin: De Gruyter, 79–106. • Sayatz, U. (2011). Aus zwei Richtungen sprechen. Aktiv- und Passivformen des Verbs. *Praxis Deutsch* 216, 40–45.



---

**Zur modellhaften Vermittlung des Zusammenhangs von  
(Anti-)Kausativität, (In-)Transitivität und Kasusvergabe  
anhand lexikalischer Dekomposition in der gymnasialen Oberstufe**

---

**Jörg Förstner**

*Universität Stuttgart und Franziskus Gymnasium Mutlangen*  
joerg.foerstner@ling.uni-stuttgart.de

Der Vortrag zeigt aus linguistischer und sprachdidaktischer Perspektive die Vernetzungsmöglichkeiten der Themenfelder in (1) auf und stellt am konkreten Unterrichtsbeispiel Erarbeitungsmöglichkeiten in der gymnasialen Oberstufe dar.

- (1)
- a. Unterscheidung struktureller und lexikalischer Kasus
  - b. Prinzipien der Kasusvergabe im Deutschen
  - c. Valenzreduzierte ‚Varianten‘ jenseits des persönlichen Passivs
  - d. Zusammenhang/Ableitung (anti)kausativer und (in-)transitiver Paare
  - e. Resultativa jenseits der Valenz
  - f. Unmöglichkeiten durch beschränktes morpho-syntaktisches Linking

Als Ausgangspunkt der Unterrichtseinheit zu einem vertieften Verständnis des semanto-syntaktischen Linkings soll die bekannte Auffälligkeit der Verwendung ausschließlich struktureller Kasus beim persönlichen Passiv, morpho-syntaktisch motiviertem *es<sup>NOM</sup>/AKK* oder inhärenter Reflexivität dienen, um durch den Kontrast zu lexikalischen Kasus allgemeine Prinzipien der Kasusvergabe im Deutschen (insbesondere Kasushierarchie vs. lexikalisch motivierte -vergabe) zu motivieren. Nachfolgend wird die didaktische Bedeutung von (anti-)kausativischen und (in-)transitiven Paaren verdeutlicht: Hierbei wird dafür argumentiert, dass insbesondere der Vergleich von inhärenter Reflexivität und Fällen ohne eine solche, vgl. (2), bei semantischer Ähnlichkeit zu einer wertvollen kognitiven Dissonanz führt.

- (2) Doof! Dein Minigolfball rollt (\*sich) direkt ins Loch, meiner bewegt sich nicht einmal. Mein Ball spielt (/<sup>?</sup>rollt) sich wirklich schlechter!

Durch Einbezug der lexikalischen Dekomposition kann das Zusammenspiel von Semantik und Morpho-Syntax in einer hohen Komplexität eingefangen werden, wobei einerseits die Parallelen von innervalenten Resultativa, vgl. direktionale PPs und Partikel wie in (3), und valenzexternen Resultativa, vgl. (4), andererseits die Grenzen morpho-syntaktischer Realisierung, vgl. (5), dargestellt werden können.

- (3) Gestern fuhr ich Max nach Hause und dabei gleich drei Mülleimer um.  
 (4) Im eisigen Winter fahre ich meinen Wagen immer erst ganz sachte warm.  
 (5) \*Gestern fuhr ich im eisigen Winter Max nach Hause den Motor warm.

**Literatur:** • Engelberg, S. & I. Rapp (2017). Lexikalische Dekomposition. In S. Staffeldt & J. Hagemann (eds.), *Semantiktheorien. Lexikalische Analysen im Vergleich*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 51–76. • Betz, A. & A. Firstein (eds.) (2019). *Schülerinnen und Schülern Linguistik näher bringen. Perspektiven einer linguistischen Wissenschaftspropädeutik*. Hohengehren: Schneider.

---

## Lüge und Wahrheit

### Eine unterrichtspraktische Annäherung an semantische Grundbegriffe mittels täuschender Sprache

---

**Mailin Antomo & Yuqiu Chen**

*Georg-August-Universität Göttingen*

mailin.antomo@phil.uni-goettingen.de, yuqiu.chen@uni-goettingen.de

Bei Lügen handelt es sich um ein sprachliches Phänomen. Dennoch findet die Untersuchung von Lügen im schulischen Kontext schwerpunktmäßig im Ethik- bzw. Religionsunterricht statt. Der Fokus liegt dabei auf der moralischen Evaluation von Lügen, wohingegen eine eingehende Beschäftigung mit unterschiedlichen Definitionen des Phänomens sowie der Untersuchung der sprachlichen Seite weitgehend ausbleibt.

In diesem Vortrag wird dafür argumentiert, dass die Beschäftigung mit Lügen auch im Rahmen sprachreflexiver Unterrichtseinheiten lohnenswert ist. Das alltägliche Phänomen eignet sich als Türöffner zur Auseinandersetzung mit zahlreichen für die semantische und pragmatische Analyse relevanten Begriffen wie u. a. Sprecherin und Adressat, Wahrheit und Wahrhaftigkeit, Sprecherintention und nicht zuletzt zur Ausbildung eines Grundverständnisses für den Begriff der wahrheitskonditionalen Proposition als ein Statement, das wahr oder falsch sein kann. Zudem bietet das Phänomen zahlreiche Anknüpfungspunkte, die im sprachreflexiven Unterricht aufgegriffen werden können: Anhand geeigneter Beispiele aus der aktuellen Forschung zu Lügen kann ein erster Zugang zur Bedeutungstaxonomie hergestellt werden, indem Fälle von täuschenden Implikaturen (siehe u. a. Meibauer 2005) oder Präsuppositionen (Reins/Wiegmann 2021) diskutiert werden, und die Analyse kann sogar auf visuell transportierte Bedeutung unter Einbezug von täuschenden Gesten (Antomo 2023) und Emojis (Weissman 2022) ausgeweitet werden. Weitere Anknüpfungspunkte bilden u. a. die Abgrenzung zu Phänomenen wie Ironie, Metapher oder Hyperbel, außerdem Lügen und Höflichkeit oder auch die Verbindung zu aktuell relevanten Phänomenen wie Bullshitten und Fake News.

Neben theoretischen Überlegungen zur Relevanz des Themas im sprachreflexiven Unterricht werden wir erste Ideen für die Unterrichtspraxis vorstellen.

**References:** • Antomo, M. (2023): Lying with gestures. Erscheint in: A. Wiegmann (ed.), *Lying, Fake News, and Bullshit*. New York: Bloomsbury • Meibauer, J. (2005): Lying and falsely implicating. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (9), 1373–1399. • Reins, L. M. & A. Wiegmann (2021): Is lying bound to commitment? Empirically investigating deceptive presuppositions, implicatures, and actions. *Cognitive Science* 45 (2). • Weissman, B. (2022): Emoji semantics/pragmatics: investigating commitment and lying. *Proceedings of the Fifth International Workshop on Emoji Understanding and Applications in Social Media*, 21 – 28.

## **Arbeitsgruppe 14**

---

### Workshop 14

---

## Wie kann die Integration von Sprachbetrachtung in der Lehramtsausbildung modelliert werden?

---

**Daniela Elsner<sup>1</sup> & Franz Unterholzner<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>PH Vorarlberg, <sup>2</sup>PH Salzburg

daniela.elsner@ph-vorarlberg.ac.at, franz.unterholzner@phsalzburg.at

In den neuen österreichischen Lehrplänen wird der Bereich Sprachbewusstsein ausschließlich als integrierter Kompetenzbereich modelliert (BMBWF). Es sind darin nur wenige Andeutungen enthalten, welche Inhalte dem Kompetenzziel eines sprachbewussten Umgangs mit Sprache dienen (vgl. Elsner im Druck). Die große Vagheit in den institutionellen Schriften ist ein Hinweis auf den Bedarf in der Lehramtsausbildung nach Integration von (1) akademischem Fachwissen, (2) schulischem Fachwissen, (3) kognitionspsychologischem Wissen zur Interaktion von Wissen und Können sowie (4) pädagogisch-lernpsychologischem Wissen zur Unterstützung von Transfer.

Um die Vagheiten und Leerstellen des Lehrplans zukünftig selbst füllen zu können, müssen Lehramtsstudierende anhand exemplarisch ausgewählter sprachlicher Beispiele erkennen lernen, welches linguistische Fachwissen jeweils für die Bearbeitung relevant ist, wie es zu schulischem Fachwissen umgestaltet werden kann und welches lernbegleitende Wissen unterstützend benötigt wird. Das impliziert auch, dass lernwirksamer Hochschulunterricht Verknüpfungsmöglichkeiten zwischen Sprachbetrachtungsaktivitäten und anderen Kompetenzbereichen des Deutschunterrichts explizit zeigen muss. Für die Inhalte der Lehramtsausbildung hat das zur Folge, dass linguistisch orientiertes exemplarisches Arbeiten an sprachlich interessanten Beispielen erfolgen muss, an denen die unter (1)–(4) genannten Wissensarten und die Folgen für unterrichtliches Handeln erarbeitet werden. In unserem Vortrag zeigen wir an einem Beispiel, wie dies unter expliziter Vermittlung metakognitiver Anwendungsstrategien (vgl. Unterholzner/Müller 2023) geschehen kann.

**References:** • BMBWF. Pädagogikpaket (inkl. neue Lehrpläne und Kompetenzraster). <https://www.paedagogik-paket.at/>, abgerufen am 9.8.2023. • Elsner, D. (im Druck). Systematisch neue Wege gehen – Syntax in der Primarstufe. Erscheint in: *Erziehung und Unterricht*. • Unterholzner, F., Müller, H.-G. (2023). Metakognition als Brücke zwischen sprachlichem Wissen und Können. *Didaktik Deutsch* 55, 20-38.

---

**„Es hat auf jeden Fall meinen Blick verändert“**  
**Vorstellung eines sprachdiagnostischen Verfahrens zur**  
**systematischen Erkennung sprachlicher Stärken und Förderbedarfe**

---

**Rode Veiga-Pfeifer, Ina-Maria Maahs & Erol Hacisalihoglu**

*Universität zu Köln*

rode.veiga-pfeifer@mercator.uni-koeln.de, inamaria.maahs@mercator.uni-koeln.de, erol.hacisalihoglu@mercator.uni-koeln.de

Damit ein ressourcenorientierter Unterricht, der dem Bedarf der Lernenden entgegenkommt, in einer sprachlich vielfältigen Migrationsgesellschaft möglich ist, bedarf es Professionalisierungsangebote, die eine gezielte Auseinandersetzung mit Sprache bei Lehramtsstudierenden sowie Lehrkräften anregen. Ziel dabei sollte aus unserer Sicht sein, sie dazu zu befähigen, sprachliche Strukturen zu erkennen und zu erklären, um sowohl Fehler bzw. Förderbedarfe als auch bereits erworbene sprachliche Kompetenzen der Lernenden über ein intuitives Sprachgefühl hinaus erfassen zu können. Dafür müssen die (angehenden) Lehrkräfte lernen, ihre eigene Sprache aus der Distanz sowie aus der Lerner:innenperspektive zu betrachten.

Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt ein Sprachdiagnostikverfahren vor, das einen kompetenzorientierten Ansatz verfolgt und Studierenden bzw. Lehrkräften ein systematisches Vorgehen bietet, wie sie anhand ausgewählter sprachlicher Phänomene aus unterschiedlichen linguistischen Ebenen sowohl sprachliche Stärken als auch Förderbedarfe der Lernenden ermitteln können. Es handelt sich dabei um die *kompetenzorientierte linguistische Lerner:innentextanalyse (KLLA)*; Veiga-Pfeifer et al. 2020), die an der Universität zu Köln entwickelt wurde und sowohl in der Lehrkräfteaus- als auch Weiterbildung systematisch eingeführt wird. In diesem Kontext wurden sowohl quantitative als auch qualitative Daten erhoben, die belegen, dass die Teilnehmenden nach einer gezielten Auseinandersetzung mit der deutschen Sprache sowie der schrittweisen Einführung in das Verfahren wesentlich besser in der Lage sind, bereits erworbene zielsprachliche Kompetenzen der Lernenden wertzuschätzen als zu Beginn der Professionalisierungsmaßnahme. Darüber hinaus können sie Förderbedarfe besser erkennen und differenzierter beschreiben. Ursächlich dafür sind hochschuldidaktische Lerngelegenheiten, die es ihnen ermöglichen, sich mit Komplexität des Deutschen vertraut zu machen und eine spezifische Terminologie für zuvor oft unbewusst eingesetzte grammatische Phänomene zu erwerben. Dazu sollen Daten aus einer Prä-Post-Studie präsentiert werden, die zeigen, wie viele sprachliche Stärken und Förderbedarfe die Teilnehmenden in einem Lerner:innentext erkennen.

**References:** • Veiga-Pfeifer, R./Maahs, I-M./Triulzi, M./Hacisalihoglu, E. (2020): *Linguistik für die Praxis: Eine Handreichung zur kompetenzorientierten Lernertextanalyse*. Verfügbar unter: <http://tinyurl.com/bpa93s7c>

---

**Anaphorische Demonstrativpronomen im Spannungsfeld von  
konzeptioneller Schriftlichkeit und (dis)funktionaler Textgrammatik:  
Ein Fall fürs Lehramtsstudium?**

---

**Maria Averintseva-Klisch & Doreen Bryant**

*Universität Tübingen*

maria.averintseva@uni-tuebingen.de, doreen.bryant@uni-tuebingen.de

Die adäquate sprachliche Markierung referenzieller Bezüge gilt als basale Kompetenz beim Schreiben von Texten. Studien zeigen, dass diese Kompetenz bei Schüler:innen bis zum Abitur nicht vorausgesetzt werden kann. Dennoch ist dieser Kompetenzbereich kaum Gegenstand in den Schulbüchern (vgl. Averintseva-Klisch, Bryant & Peschel 2019). Die Autorinnen plädieren deshalb für eine explizite universitäre und schulische Beschäftigung mit referenzieller Kohärenz und Kohäsion aus textfunktionaler Perspektive, d.h. unter Berücksichtigung der Textsortenspezifika und der funktionalen Unterschiede von bspw. Nomen und Personalpronomen als Anapher.

In unserem Vortrag wollen wir dieser Forderung mit neuen datengestützten Argumenten weiteren Nachdruck verleihen. Im Fokus steht der Fehlgebrauch anaphorischer Demonstrativpronomen – eine neuere Erscheinung im Bemühen um ein gehobenes Sprachregister.

Demonstrativpronomen übernehmen als referenzielle Mittel besondere Funktionen im Text. So wird *dies-* gebraucht, um auf nicht-topikale Referenten zu verweisen, wie in (1): Während ein Personalpronomen hier ambig wäre mit der Tendenz zum Subjekt (und Topik) *Ralf*, referiert *dieser* klar auf den nicht-topikalen Opa-Referenten:

(1) Ralf<sub>1</sub> fährt zusammen mit seinem Opa<sub>2</sub> angeln. Er<sub>1/2</sub> / Dieser<sub>2</sub> freut sich schon.

In Texten von Studierenden finden sich zunehmend Belege für eine (stilistisch motivierte) Missachtung der funktionalen Anapherndistribution. Diesem Phänomen nachgehend haben wir zwei Sprachbetrachtungsfragebogenstudien durchgeführt, um zu untersuchen, ob und wie Studierende in der Lage sind, verschiedene Anaphern in differierenden textuellen Kontexten hinsichtlich ihrer (Un-)Angemessenheit zu beurteilen. Auch diese Ergebnisse werden einbezogen in unsere Didaktisierungsvorschläge. Wir plädieren dafür, Textsorten- und Registerunterschiede explizit und systematisch in den Blick zu nehmen und mit Textkohärenz zu verbinden.

**References:** • Averintseva-Klisch, M., Bryant, D. & C. Peschel (2019). Referenzielle Kohärenz: Diskrepanz zwischen Theorie und Vermittlung. Eine kritische Analyse von Deutschlehrwerken der Sekundarstufe I. *Linguistik Online* 100, 19-64.

---

## Sprachliche Muster im Lehramtsstudium

---

**Sinja Ballmer**

*Pädagogische Hochschule Zug (Schweiz)*

sinja.ballmer@phzg.ch

Seit Jahrzehnten zeigen Forschungsergebnisse, dass die Trennung zwischen Grammatik und Wortschatz nicht die Art und Weise widerspiegelt, wie wir Sprache verarbeiten. Diese linguistischen Einsichten fließen aber bisher kaum in die Deutschdidaktik (Granzow-Emden 2013, Roche & Muñoz 2014) und Kategorien wie Kollokationen oder Mehrworteinheiten sucht man in Lehrmitteln meist vergeblich. Es ist daher anzunehmen, dass das Bewusstsein angehender Lehrpersonen für die Muster- und Formelhaftigkeit unserer Sprache kaum vorhanden ist (vgl. Kropfák 2023, Tajmel 2013). Damit Lehrpersonen aber den Forderungen nach durchgehender sprachlicher Bildung (Becker-Mrotzek et al. 2021, Gogolin et al. 2013) nachgehen können, sollten sie dieses Bewusstsein entwickeln. Denn die zu fördernde Bildungssprache zeichnet sich durch charakteristische Muster aus – sei es in Form von Kollokationen, Phrasen oder satzübergreifenden Strukturen auf der Textebene.

Der Beitrag skizziert Ideen für die Ausbildung von Primarlehrkräften an der Pädagogischen Hochschule Zug: Mit einem multidimensionalen Ansatz wird das Bewusstsein für die Musterhaftigkeit der Bildungssprache, für spezifische Konstruktionen und für die kognitiven Erwerbsmechanismen in verschiedenen Ausbildungsgefäßen gefördert. Dieses «kumulative Lernen» (Bremerich-Vos 2019: 61) ist nötig, zumal im Schweizer System mit dem dreijährigen Bachelorstudium und dem Studium von zehn Fächern zeitliche Ressourcen für sprachwissenschaftliche Module fehlen.

**References:** Becker-Mrotzek, M., Höfler, M., & Woerfel, T. (2021): Sprachensibel unterrichten—in allen Fächern und für alle Lernenden. In: *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Bildungswissenschaften* 43 (2), 250–259. • Bremerich-Vos, A. (2019): Zum Professionswissen von (zukünftigen) Deutschlehrkräften. Empirische Befunde und offene Fragen. In: *Didaktik Deutsch. Halbjahresschrift für die Didaktik der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 24 (1), 47–63. • Gogolin, I., Lange, I., Michel, U. & Reich, H. H. (Hrsg.) (2013): *Herausforderung Bildungssprache*. FörMig-Edition. Münster, New York: Waxmann. • Granzow-Emden, M. (2013): *Deutsche Grammatik verstehen und unterrichten*. Tübingen: Narr. • Kropfák, E. (2023): Pedagogical Language Knowledge im Sachunterricht—Professionalisierung der angehenden Lehrpersonen im Fokus. In: *Zeitschrift für Grundschulforschung* 16, 41–59. • Roche, J., & Muñoz, F. S. (2014): Kognition und Grammatik: Ein kognitionswissenschaftlicher Ansatz zur Grammatikvermittlung am Beispiel der Grammatikanimationen. In: *Zeitschrift für interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht* 19 (2), 119–145. • Tajmel, T. (2013): Bildungssprache im Fach Physik. In: Gogolin, I., Michel, U. & Reich, H. H. (Hrsg.): *Herausforderung Bildungssprache*. FörMig-Edition. Münster, New York: Waxmann, 239–256.

---

## Phrasen als Ausgangspunkt grammatischer Reflexion

---

**Martin Ertl**

*Pädagogische Hochschule Steiermark*

martin.ertl@phst.at

Der rezente schulische Grammatikunterricht fokussiert in der Regel auf zwei Bereiche, und zwar die Satzgrammatik und die Wortgrammatik. In beiden Fällen erfolgt die Betrachtung in erster Linie formorientiert. Wenn aber sprachliche Formen losgelöst von ihren semantischen und pragmatischen Eigenschaften betrachtet werden, droht der Grammatikunterricht zu einer rein theoretischen Angelegenheit zu verkommen, die nur wenig in der Lage ist, eine tiefergehende Sprachbetrachtung zu initiieren und Interesse an den sprachlichen Strukturen selbst zu wecken.

In Anlehnung an das Modell des funktionalen Grammatikunterrichts plädiert der vorliegende Beitragsvorschlag dafür, Phrasen als Ausgangspunkt der grammatischen Betrachtung heranzuziehen. Immerhin sind Phrasen und nicht einzelne Wörter die zentrale Einheit der Grammatik, denn mit ihnen beziehen wir uns auf Personen, konkrete oder abstrakte Dinge, auf Ereignisse und Handlungen, Eigenschaften und Umstände (Hoffmann 2022: 76). Im funktionalen Grammatikunterricht geht es um ein Lernen über die Funktion, dem die Formbetrachtung folgt – und nicht andersherum. Im Falle einer ausgebauten Nominalphrase, bestehend aus Artikel, attributivem Adjektiv und Substantiv, bedeutet das, deren Funktionsweise anhand eines konkreten Textbeispiels – erfundene, kontextlose Beispielsätze sollten vermieden werden – zu erläutern und im Anschluss die einzelnen Bestandteile gesondert zu betrachten.

Für eine exemplarische Sprachbetrachtung im Lehramtsstudium, aber auch in allgemeinbildenden Schulen erscheint die Phrasenebene besonders geeignet, denn ausgehend von dieser zentralen grammatischen Einheit kann problemlos in niedrigere (Morphologie) und höhere Analyseebenen (Syntax, Textebene) übergeleitet werden, da sie ohnehin nahtlos ineinandergreifen. Durch die konsequente Anbindung der gewählten Beispiele an echte Gebrauchs- oder literarische Texte ist es möglich, den Grammatikunterricht anschaulich und damit interessant werden zu lassen. Die theoretische Grundlage dafür sollte aus Sicht des Autors eine funktionale Sprachperspektive bilden, und zwar sowohl für die schulische als auch für die universitäre Sprachlehre.

**References:** • Hoffmann, L. (2022). Linguistische Theoriebildung, Schulgrammatik und Terminologie. In: Gornik, H. & Rautenberg, I. (Hrsg.). *Sprachreflexion und Grammatikunterricht*. 2. Aufl. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider (= Deutschunterricht in Theorie und Praxis 6), S. 56–88.



---

**„Sprachwissenschaftlich denken lernen“: Auf- und Ausbau  
linguistischer Konzepte bei Germanistikstudierenden**

---

**Irmtraud Kaiser**

*Universität Salzburg*

irmtraud.kaiser@plus.ac.at

Studienanfänger/-innen der Germanistik (Fachstudium und Unterrichtsfach Deutsch) beginnen in der Regel mit geringen linguistischen Vorkenntnissen ihr Studium. Hinzu kommt eine grundsätzlich unterschiedliche Herangehensweise an sprachliche Fragen in Schule und Hochschule: Während in der Schule vielfach ein präskriptiver Zugang – ausgerichtet an der Frage nach der einzig korrekten sprachlichen Norm (vgl. Kilian 2020) – dominiert, versteht sich die (germanistische) Linguistik als deskriptive, empirische Wissenschaft. Für Studierende bedeutet dies, sich in den ersten Semestern des Germanistik-Studiums mit zum Teil gänzlich neuen Konzepten, Termini und Theorien vertraut zu machen und zu lernen, mit diesen kognitiv zu operieren (vgl. Pohl 2020), also ‚linguistic reasoning‘ zu erlernen (vgl. Dielemans & Coppen 2020).

Mithilfe einer Online-Erhebung unter Germanistikstudierenden der Universität Salzburg wurde versucht, quasi-longitudinale Einblicke in diese Aneignungsprozesse zu erlangen. Studierende unterschiedlicher Semester wurden darin mittels kurzer Fallvignetten gebeten, fingierte (meta-)sprachliche und (meta-)kommunikative Aussagen aus dem Alltag auf Basis ihrer germanistischen Expertise zu bewerten und mithilfe linguistischer Kernkonzepte zu analysieren. Es zeigen sich quantitativ bemerkenswerte Lernprozesse in den ersten Semestern, die gleichzeitig als große Herausforderung und Hürde wahrgenommen werden. Der Aufbau der Begriffstiefe benötigt jedoch deutlich mehr Zeit und wird teilweise auch bis ins Masterstudium nicht zufriedenstellend erreicht.

Im Vortrag werden die beobachteten Lernprozesse und Verknüpfungen einer eingehenden Analyse unterzogen und didaktische Implikationen diskutiert. So stellt sich angesichts des eingeschränkten Zeitbudgets für sprachwissenschaftliche Lehrveranstaltungen im Lehramtsstudium und der vorliegenden Resultate u.a. die Frage nach einer Fokussierung auf (weniger, dafür) besonders zentrale Konzepte, die im Laufe des Studiums im Sinne eines Spiral-Curriculums wiederkehrend und zusehends vertiefend sprachlich und fachlich bearbeitet werden.

**References:** • Dielemans, R. & P.-A. Coppen (2020). Defining linguistic reasoning. Transposing and grounding a model for historical reasoning to the linguistic domain. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics* 9.1/2, 182–206. • Kilian, J. (2020). Didaktische Sprachkritik und Deutschunterricht. In: Niehr, Th., Kilian, J. & J. Schiewe (Hg.). *Handbuch Sprachkritik*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 413–421. • Pohl, Th. (2020). Basiserkenntnis-konzepte für den Kompetenzbereich Sprache und Sprachgebrauch untersuchen. In: Peyer, A. & B. Uhl (Hg.). *Sprachreflexion – Handlungsfelder und Erwerbskontexte*. Berlin u.a.: Peter Lang, 33–56.

---

## Das *werden*-Passiv als Lehr- und Lerngegenstand.

---

**Doreen Bryant<sup>1</sup>, Benjamin Siegmund<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Tübingen, <sup>2</sup>PH Freiburg

doreen.bryant@uni-tuebingen.de, benjamin.siegmund@ph-freiburg.de

Eine Konstruktion, die in einschlägigen Merkmalslisten und Untersuchungen zur Bildungssprache stets genannt wird, ist das Passiv als ein Mittel zur Deagentivierung. Oft wird dabei angenommen, dass das Passiv zu den sprachlichen Herausforderungen gehört, mit denen viele Lernende in der Schule und darüber hinaus zu kämpfen haben. Diese Annahme schlägt sich auch in den Bildungsplänen für das Fach Deutsch nieder. So sieht die Hälfte der Bundesländer eine sprachliche Reflexion zum Passiv erst spät, nämlich in Klasse 7/8 vor (Bryant & Siegmund, im Druck).

Aus der Spracherwerbsperspektive kann das Passiv bereits am Übergang von der Grund- in die Sekundarstufe (Kl. 4/5) Gegenstand sprachbetrachtender Aktivitäten sein. Vorliegende Daten zum Erwerb des Passivs (vgl. Bryant & Siegmund, im Druck) und Daten aus einer Interventionsstudie zur fachintegrierten Sprachbildung in der vierten Klasse (Siegmund 2022) zeigen, dass Schulkinder das Passiv bereits im Grundschulalter verstehen und auch bilden können.

Auch die Didaktisierung des Lerngegenstandes in den Deutschlehrwerken (vgl. Bryant & Siegmund, im Druck) ist zu problematisieren: Während im bildungs- und fachsprachlichen Diskurs deutlich herausgestellt wird, dass die Funktion des Passivs vor allem in der Abwendung vom Agens, bzw. vom ‚Täter‘ liegt, wird in Schulbüchern häufig an zentraler Stelle erklärt, dass der ‚Täter‘ im Passiv durch eine *von-* oder *durch-*Phrase ergänzt werden kann.

In unserem Beitrag zeigen wir unter Einbindung erhobener Daten aus der Hochschullehre, wie Lehramtsstudierende des Faches Deutsch am Beispiel des *werden*-Passivs (i) entdecken, in welcher Weise sich fehlendes sprachwissenschaftliches Fachwissen in Bildungsplänen und Schulbüchern niederschlägt und (ii) erkennen, wie wichtig sprachwissenschaftliches und sprachdidaktisches Fachwissen für ihren künftigen Beruf ist, um Schüler:innen in ihrer Sprachentwicklung und in ihrem Sprachgebrauch angemessen unterstützen zu können. Danach unterbreiten wir Vorschläge, wie sich das Passiv als Deagentivierungsmittel angemessen didaktisieren ließe.

**References:** • Bryant, D., & Siegmund, B. (im Druck). Passivkonstruktionen im Schulalter: Irritationen, Inkonsistenzen und Implikationen. In: Goschler, J., Rosenberg, P. & T. Woerfel (Hrsg.). *Empirische Zugänge zu Bildungssprache und bildungssprachlichen Kompetenzen*. • Siegmund, B. (2022). Sprachbildung im naturwissenschaftlichen Sachunterricht: Eine Interventionsstudie zur Wirksamkeit fachintegrierter Sprachbildung nach dem Scaffolding-Ansatz und mit Focus-on-Form-Strategien. *Sprachlich-Literarisches Lernen und Deutschdidaktik*. <https://doi.org/10.46586/SLLD.253>

---

**Keiner außer dir/du würde daran zweifeln. Grammatische  
Zweifelsfälle als Lerngegenstand in Studium und Schule**

---

**Thomas Strobel**

*Università Ca' Foscari Venezia*

thomas.strobel@unive.it

Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle (vgl. u. a. Klein 2003, 2018) stellen in vielerlei Hinsicht einen idealen Lerngegenstand im Lehramtsstudium und im schulischen Unterricht dar, wie auch einige jüngere Arbeiten belegen (etwa das von Müller/Szczepaniak 2017 herausgegebene *Praxis Deutsch*-Themenheft oder die Beiträge von Müller, Böhnert/Lemke, Antomo/Leyendecker, Fischer/Hofmann im Band Schmitt/Szczepaniak/Vieregge 2019). Die Betrachtung von Sprachschwankungen erfordert nicht nur eine angemessene Beschreibung der Phänomene und deren Einbettung ins Gesamtsystem, sondern in einem folgenden Schritt vor allem ihre Erklärung.

Für Schule wie Gesellschaft hochrelevante Themen, die in diesem Zusammenhang behandelt werden können, betreffen insbesondere Fragen der (Standard-)Variation (Standardsprach- und Homogenitätsideologien) und des kontinuierlichen Sprachwandels (statt „Sprachverfall“), des Umgangs mit sprachlichen Unsicherheiten im Allgemeinen und grammatischen Zweifelsfragen im Besonderen (auf individueller und gesellschaftlicher Ebene, in unterschiedlichen Sprachgemeinschaften) sowie der Grammatikalität/Akzeptabilität (und ggf. Präferenz) von Varianten (gradierte/ relative statt kategoriale/dichotomische Unterschiede).

Anhand eines Fallbeispiels sollen Möglichkeiten der Förderung der Sprachbetrachtung (mit praktischem Bezug zu Sprachanfragen), der Datengewinnung für sprachbetrachtende Aktivitäten (Korpusrecherche und Fragebogenuntersuchung) und der sprachübergreifenden (kontrastiven) Analyse diskutiert werden. Die Kasuswahl nach dt. *außer* sowie seinen niederländischen und schwedischen Entsprechungen nl. *behalve* / schwed. (*för*)*utom* (hier bei nachfolgenden Pronomina) schwankt. Im Deutschen gilt *außer* als „Einzelgänger“ (*grammis* bzw. Pasch et al. 2003), anhand dessen nicht zuletzt das Verständnis von Konjunktionen/Konnektoren vs. Präpositionen sowie für die Rolle der syntaktischen Distribution (z. B. Nach- vs. Voranstellung: *Niemand ist gekommen außer mein(em) Vater* vs. *Außer mein\*(em) Vater ist niemand gekommen*; Pasch et al. 2003: 602 f.) geschärft werden kann.

**References:** • *grammis* • Klein, W. P. (Hrsg.) (2003). Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle. Theorie und Empirie / Grammatical uncertainties. Theoretical and empirical aspects. *Linguistik online* 16/4. • Klein, W. P. (2018). *Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle im Deutschen. Theorie, Praxis, Geschichte*. Berlin/ Boston. • Müller, A. & R. Szczepaniak (Hrsg.) (2017). Grammatische Zweifelsfälle. *Praxis Deutsch – Zeitschrift für den Deutschunterricht* 264. • Pasch, R., U. Brauße, E. Breindl & U. H. Waßner (2003): *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren*. Band 1. Berlin/New York. • Schmitt, E., R. Szczepaniak & A. Vieregge (Hrsg.) (2019). *Sprachliche Zweifelsfälle. Definition, Erforschung, Implementierung*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York.

---

## “Jugendsprache” als Gegenstand eines empirisch orientierten Deutschunterrichts

---

**Diana Walther**

*Universität Leipzig*

diana.walther@uni-leipzig.de

Viele Lehramtsstudierende hinterfragen den Nutzen empirischen Arbeitens für ihren zukünftigen Berufsalltag, weil sie dessen Potential für die konkrete Anwendung im Unterricht nicht erkennen. Im Vortrag möchte ich am Beispiel »Jugendsprache« herausarbeiten, wie die Arbeit mit selbst erhobenem sprachlichen Material gewinnbringend als Form induktiven Arbeitens im Deutschunterricht eingesetzt werden kann, um Sprache und Sprachgebrauch gemeinsam mit den Schüler\_innen zu betrachten. Folgende methodische und inhaltliche Aspekte sowie Grundvoraussetzungen werden im Fokus stehen:

- 1) Methoden empirischen Arbeitens: Welche Erhebungsmethoden lassen sich im Unterricht ein- und umsetzen, um Sprachgebrauch im Allgemeinen, v.a. aber den eigenen Sprachgebrauch der Schüler\_innen zu betrachten?
- 2) Thema »Höflichkeit in der Jugendsprache«: Anhand des pragmatischen Phänomens »Höflichkeit« können grammatische Phänomene wie Anrede- und Grußformen untersucht und unter dem Aspekt situationsadäquaten Sprechens in den Blick genommen werden. Situationsadäquates Sprechen wird in Lehrplänen und Bildungsstandards als eine wichtige Kompetenz genannt. Grund also, Schüler\_innen verschiedene Kommunikationssituationen untersuchen zu lassen, in denen sie sich selbst immer wieder bewegen. Grundvoraussetzung dafür ist, dass Lehramtsstudierende die innere Mehrsprachigkeit von Jugendlichen (vgl. Neuland 2018: 191ff.) kennen und sie unter variationslinguistischer Perspektive adäquat einordnen können. Ebenso ist eine vertiefte Kenntnis pragmatischer Themenbereiche nötig.

Die Jugendsprachforschung hat in den letzten Jahren immer wieder Kritik an der fachdidaktischen Einbettung des Themas Jugendsprache im Deutschunterricht geübt, v.a. die primär deduktive Vorgehensweise beim Behandeln von Jugendsprache im Unterricht und das Fehlen authentischen Materials wurden hervorgehoben (vgl. Bahlo u.a. 2019: 217). Ziel sprachbetrachtenden Unterrichts sollte es also sein, dass Jugendliche als Sprachexpert\_innen in die Analyse „ihrer“ Sprache und „ihres“ Sprachgebrauchs einbezogen und dabei theoretisch und methodisch durch die Lehrkraft unterstützt werden. Das kann aber nur gelingen, wenn entsprechende methodische Grundlagen im Studium (auch mit Blick in Richtung Schule) vermittelt werden.

**References:** • Bahlo, N. u.a. (2019). *Jugendsprache. Eine Einführung*. Stuttgart: Metzler. • Neuland, E. (2018). *Jugendsprache*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Francke.

---

## Sprache(n) entdecken in und außerhalb der Schule

---

**Christina Noack, Stefan Tröster-Mutz**

*Universität Osnabrück*

cnoack@uni-osnabrueck.de, stefan.troestermutz@uni-osnabrueck.de

In der Sicht vieler Studierender besteht der sprachliche Anteil des Deutschunterrichts fast ausschließlich aus Orthografie und Grammatik. Dass es darüber hinaus eine Vielzahl an Möglichkeiten gibt, über Sprache(n) nachzudenken, ist den meisten aus dem eigenen Deutschunterricht kaum bekannt und wird auch im Studium eher wenig vermittelt. Dabei ist etwa die analytische Betrachtung deutscher Dialekte oder des Niederdeutschen sowie der Umgang mit unterschiedlichen Herkunftssprachen der Schülerinnen und Schülern sogar in den Kernlehrplänen verankert. Und auch die allgemein im Lehramtsstudium Deutsch verpflichtenden sprachwissenschaftlichen Grundlagen können als Werkzeug zur Reflexion über andere Sprachen genutzt werden und damit gleichzeitig zu einem besseren Verständnis des Deutschen beitragen, wie wir in unserem Beitrag an zwei konkreten Unterrichtsmodellen zeigen und diskutieren möchten: 1. Am Beispiel der Möglichkeiten, in geschriebener und gesprochener Sprache Vergangenheit und Zukunft auszudrücken (Henning 2000), kann der Unterschied zwischen sprachlicher Form und Funktion thematisiert und auf den Vergleich mit anderen Sprachen ausgedehnt und so eine distanzierte Betrachtungsweise der eigenen Sprache(n) ermöglicht werden. 2. Ein zweites Beispiel, dem wir uns widmen wollen, betrifft die Schaffung von Sprachaufmerksamkeit: Hier hat sich die Anwendung von Arbeitsweisen der *linguistic landscape*-Methodik bewährt (Tröster-Mutz 2020). Eine auf didaktische Zwecke zugeschnittene Arbeitsweise, wie sie in Malinowski et al. 2020, Krompák et al. 2022 vorgestellt ist, kann gleich mehrfach für Sprachaufmerksamkeit sorgen: Wenn Sprachdaten in Form von Fotos von den SchülerInnen selbst gesammelt werden, wird ihre Aufmerksamkeit gegenüber Sprache im öffentlichen Raum angeregt. Durch die anschließende Sortierung der Daten auf Grundlage vorgegebener und/oder selbst modifizierter Kriterien wird das Bewusstsein dafür gefördert, welche Daten für welche sprachliche Betrachtungsweise geeignet sind.

**References:** • Henning, M. (2000): *Tempus und Temporalität in geschriebenen und gesprochenen Texten*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Edina Krompák, E., Fernández-Mallat, V. & St. Meyer (Hrsg.) (2022). *Linguistic Landscapes and Educational Spaces*. Bristol: Jackson. • David Malinowski, D., Maxim, H. H. & Dubreil, S. (Hrsg.) (2020). *Language Teaching in the Linguistic Landscape. Mobilizing Pedagogy in Public Space*. Springer e-book. • Tröster-Mutz, St. (2020). Durch Sprachspaziergänge Sprache im Alltag entdecken. In: Stein, M., Jungwirth, M., Harsch, N. & Y. Korflür (Hrsg.). *Forschen.Lernen.Lehren an öffentlichen Orten – The Wider View*. Tagungsband. Münster: WTM-Verlag, S. 281-286.

---

## Sprachvariation@Schule: Sprachvariation als kommunikative Ressource erschließen und reflektieren

---

**Hanna Fischer<sup>1</sup>, Lisa Dücker<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Rostock, <sup>2</sup>Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz  
h.fischer@uni-rostock.de, lisa.duecker@uni-mainz.de

Neben vermeintlich klassischen Schulthemen wie dem Erwerb der Orthografie und Wissen über verschiedene Textsorten ist auch die sprachliche Variation fest in den Lehrplänen der allgemeinbildenden Schulen verankert (vgl. Bredel/Pieper 2015: 71–89, Neuland/Peschel 2013: 209–229). Auch die Bildungsstandards für das Fach Deutsch sehen die Thematisierung sprachlicher Variation vor. So heißt es darin, dass die Schüler:innen „angeleitet und an ausgewählten Beispielen Ausprägungen von Sprache und Sprachvariation (z.B. Standardsprache – Alltagssprache, Fachsprache, Dialekt, Regionalsprache [...])“ untersuchen und ihre Verwendungsweisen reflektieren. Auch sollen sie „ausgewählte Erscheinungen des Sprachwandels“ untersuchen (Bildungsstandards ESA/MSA [2003] 2022: S. 39).

Damit werden Sprachvariation und Sprachdynamik als relevante Themenfelder für die Schule identifiziert. Jedoch findet bislang kaum ein Transfer aktueller Ergebnisse der Sprachvariationsforschung in die Schule statt, obwohl Thema und Methoden hervorragend für einen zeitgemäßen, datenbasierten und digital ausgerichteten Deutschunterricht geeignet wären.

Die neue Plattform Sprachvariation@Schule (<https://schule.dsa.info/>) hat es sich zur Aufgabe gesetzt, Informationen und Materialien zur Thematisierung sprachlicher Variation zusammenzuführen und einen Raum für den Transfer von neuesten linguistischen Forschungsergebnissen in den Deutschunterricht zu schaffen.

Die Plattform bietet u.a. eine verschlagwortete Schulbuch-Bibliographie, eine Sammlung von Lehr- und Lernmitteln und eine Übersicht über Online-Angebote, die Lehrkräften einen niedrighschwelligigen und webbasierten Zugang zum Thema Sprachvariation ermöglicht. Daneben werden auch von einem Editorial Board geprüfte Unterrichtsmaterialien für verschiedene Schulformen und Klassenstufen bereitgestellt. Diese von Lehramtsstudierenden erstellten Materialien bereiten Phänomene der historischen, regionalen, soziolektalen, registerabhängigen oder sprachkontaktinduzierten Variation zielgruppengerecht auf.

Der Vortrag stellt das Projekt und die Unterrichtsmaterialien im Sinne eines *Good-Practice*-Beispiels vor und diskutiert den Stellenwert des Themas Sprachvariation für die Schule und die Lehramtsausbildung.

**References:** • Bildungsstandards für das Fach Deutsch Erster Schulabschluss (ESA) und Mittlerer Schulabschluss (MSA). (Beschluss der Kultusministerkonferenz vom 15.10.2004 und vom 04.12.2003, i.d.F. vom 23.06.2022). [https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen\\_beschluesse/2022/2022\\_06\\_23-Bista-ESA-MSA-Deutsch.pdf](https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2022/2022_06_23-Bista-ESA-MSA-Deutsch.pdf) • Bredel, U. & I. Pieper (2015). *Integrative Deutschdidaktik*. Paderborn: Schöningh. • Neuland, E. & C. Peschel (2013). *Einführung in die Sprachdidaktik*. Stuttgart: Metzler.

---

## Mündlichkeit als Gegenstand von Sprachbetrachtung – Gesprächsanalytische Perspektiven auf eine domänenspezifische Kompetenz

---

**Julia Sacher**

*Universität zu Köln*

julia.sacher@uni-koeln.de

Die Beschäftigung mit dem Thema „Mündlichkeit“ ist für angehende Deutschlehrer\*innen von doppelter Relevanz: Gesprochene Sprache ist Thema des Deutschunterrichts in zwei Kompetenzbereichen („Sprechen und Zuhören“ und „Sprache und Sprachgebrauch reflektieren“; vgl. z.B. KMK 2003: 11). Daraus lassen sich domänenspezifische Anforderungen an Lehramtsstudierende ableiten, die – zusammengefasst – mit dem Erwerb von Wissen über mediale Mündlichkeit zusammenhängen (Wissen über Charakteristika gesprochener Sprache; Wissen über/Reflexion eigener schriftlichkeitsbezogener sprachideologische(r) Vorstellungen, vgl. Linell 1982).

Während es für den schulischen Deutschunterricht einige (wenige) gesprächsdidaktische und z.T. auch auf Sprachreflexion ausgelegte Konzeptionen gibt, die Vorschläge zur Didaktisierung mündlichkeitsbezogener Themen machen (vgl. u.a. Becker-Mrotzek/ Brünner 2006), ist in der deutschdidaktischen Forschung zu beobachten, dass „Sprachreflexion“ zumeist mit grammatikdidaktischen Fragen gleichgesetzt wird. Im Vortrag möchte ich sowohl theoretisch hergeleitete als auch durch empirische Daten aus Transkriptarbeitsphasen Studierender gestützte Überlegungen dazu vorstellen, wie eine gesprächsanalytische Herangehensweise an gesprochene Sprache bereits in der universitären Phase der Ausbildung dazu beitragen kann, „praktische Sprachreflexion“ (Paul 1999) zu befördern (vgl. Sacher 2019, 2022).

**Literatur:** • Becker-Mrotzek, M. & G. Brünner (2006). *Gesprächsanalyse und Gesprächsführung. Eine Unterrichtsreihe für die Sekundarstufe II*. Radolfzell: Verlag für Gesprächsforschung. • Kultusministerkonferenz (2003). Bildungsstandards im Fach Deutsch für den Mittleren Schulabschluss. Beschluss vom 4.12.2003. Online verfügbar: [https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen\\_beschluesse/2003/2003\\_12\\_04-BSDeutsch-MS.pdf](https://www.kmk.org/fileadmin/veroeffentlichungen_beschluesse/2003/2003_12_04-BSDeutsch-MS.pdf) • Linell, P. (1982). *The written language bias in linguistics. Its nature, origins and transformations*. London: Routledge. • Paul, I. (1999). *Praktische Sprachreflexion*. Tübingen: Niemeyer. • Sacher, J. (2019). Hochschuldidaktische Potenziale von Konversations- und Gesprächsanalyse im Kontext Forschenden Lernens in der Lehrer\*innenbildung. *Herausforderung Lehrer\*innenbildung – Zeitschrift zur Konzeption, Gestaltung und Diskussion* 2(2), 1-19. • Sacher, J. (2022). „irgendwie so diese beginnwörter“. Transkriptbasiertes Üben im Modus der Sprachreflexion. In: Heins, J., Kleinschmidt-Schinke, K., Wieser, D. & E. Wiesner (Hrsg.). *Üben*. (Reihe Sprachlich-Literarisches Lernen und Deutschdidaktik).

## **CL-Postersession**

---



---

**Genre knowledge as an asset for NLP?: A classification experiment  
with German roommate search posts**

---

Sophie Decher

*Fraunhofer Institut für Kommunikation, Informationsverarbeitung und  
Ergonomie (FKIE)*

sophie.decher@fkie.fraunhofer.de

Natural language processing (NLP) models are becoming ever larger and more powerful, yet pragmatic elements of language remain a challenge. The output of such statistical language models is highly dependent on the amount, type, and quality of training data used. The current study aims to investigate whether an NLP model can learn to recognize genre elements in written texts.

Genres have been defined as “class[es] of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes” (Swales 1990) and as “institutionalized template[s] for social interaction” (Yates & Orlikowski 2002). Prototypical instances of a particular genre share microstructural and macrostructural elements (cf. Van Dijk 1980). Users familiar with the genre can recognize and reproduce these elements; expert users may exploit genre conventions and manipulate elements to further their communicative goals. Knowledge of genre conventions is integral for pragmatic awareness and pragmatic competence in both L1 and nonnative speakers (Ifantidou 2011).

An example of one such genre is arguably the German roommate search post. These texts are written with the communicative goal of finding a room in a shared apartment with one or more roommates (referred to as a *Wohngemeinschaft* or *WG*). Successful exemplars of this genre share certain formulaic elements—authors often include their current occupation, place of origin, and reason for moving, for example. An annotation scheme for the micro- and macrostructural elements in this genre was developed based on a self-compiled, manually annotated corpus of 72 online roommate search posts from WG-Gesucht.de. To validate this proposed annotation scheme, a model was trained with the annotated texts and unseen data was used to test whether the structural elements can be identified automatically. The results have implications for the roommate search post as a possible new genre and for training methods in NLP.

**References:** • Ifantidou, E. (2011). Genres and pragmatic competence. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 327–346. • Swales, J. M. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in academic and research settings*. Cambridge/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press. • van Dijk, T. A. (1980). *Macrostructures: An interdisciplinary study of global structures in discourse, interaction, and cognition*. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. • Yates, J., & Orlikowski, W. (2002). Genre systems: Structuring interaction through communicative norms. *The Journal of Business Communication*, 39(1), 13–35.

---

## The Nature of Disagreements on Mid-Scale Ratings: A Case Study on the Abstractness-Concreteness Continuum

---

Urban Knupleš<sup>1</sup>, Diego Frassinelli<sup>2</sup> & Sabine Schulte im Walde<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Universität Stuttgart, <sup>2</sup>Universität Konstanz

urban.knuples@ims.uni-stuttgart.de, diego.frassinelli@uni-konstanz.de,  
schulte@ims.uni-stuttgart.de

Across disciplines, researchers have collected and exploited human judgements on semantic variables such as concreteness, compositionality, emotional valence, and plausibility (inter alia). Traditionally, those judgements are collected as a degree on a continuum between extremes. While humans tend to strongly agree on their ratings for extremes (e.g., a CAT is typically judged as extremely concrete; GLORY as extremely abstract; the compound CROCODILE TEARS as extremely non-compositional; a WAR as extremely negative), we find considerable disagreement regarding human mid-range ratings, i.e., judging about semi-concreteness, semi-compositionality, semi-negativity, etc. Presumably, semi-properties are not easily graspable, thus generating stronger disagreement among raters. Nevertheless, the collected norms are heavily exploited in state-of-the-art computational approaches, where the respective knowledge represents a crucial task-related component (such as concreteness information for figurative language detection, and emotional valence for sentiment analysis).

The current study provides a series of analyses on human mid-scale ratings (Knupleš et al., 2023), while focusing on the most prominent collection of concreteness ratings for English concepts (Brysaert et al., 2014). In a first set of experiments, we analyse multi-modal characteristics of the concreteness of target nouns in the Brysaert norms: perception strength for specific senses (auditory, gustatory, haptic, olfactory, visual), emotional dimensions (valence, affect, dominance), lexical properties (frequency, ambiguity) and association types as indicators of meaning diversity. We start with a holistic perspective via correlations between targets' concreteness and their characteristics, and then zoom into differences for words with mid-scale vs. extremely concrete or abstract mean concreteness ratings, by applying supervised classification and feature analyses. In a second set of experiments, we hypothesise that mid-scale ratings are due to different combinations of individual ratings across the scale. We rely on the original 25 participant ratings per target word and apply exploratory cluster analyses to identify patterns of disagreement between the individual raters. Our results suggest to either filter or fine-tune mid-scale targets before utilising them.

**References:** • Brysaert, M., A.B. Warriner & V. Kuperman (2014). Concreteness ratings for 40 thousand generally known English word lemmas. *Behavior Research Methods* 46, 904–911. • Knupleš, U., D. Frassinelli & S. Schulte im Walde (2023). Investigating the nature of disagreements on mid-scale ratings: A case study on the abstractness-concreteness continuum. In *Proceedings of the Conference on Computational Natural Language Learning*.

---

## Analyse von Hatespeech unter Berücksichtigung der strafrechtlichen Relevanz

---

**Melanie Siegel, Jonathan Baum, Julia Brahms, Raphael Jährling, Julia Klassen, Christian Mina, Michael Seib, Kaleab Solomon, Christian Stute**  
*Hochschule Darmstadt*  
melanie.siegel@h-da.de

In den vergangenen Jahren hat sich das Internet zu einem bedeutenden Kommunikationsmedium entwickelt, das Menschen die Möglichkeit bietet, ihre Meinungen und Ansichten auf vielfältige Weise auszudrücken. Allerdings hat dieser digitale Aspekt auch Nachteile: Die Verbreitung von Hatespeech. Diese Form der Online-Diskriminierung stellt nicht nur eine Bedrohung für das soziale Miteinander dar, sondern kann auch strafrechtliche Konsequenzen nach sich ziehen.

In einem Masterprojekt wurde das Phänomen Hatespeech zunächst unter dem Aspekt der strafrechtlichen Relevanz untersucht. Dadurch, dass es sich bei Hatespeech um ein interdisziplinäres Problem handelt, gibt es verschiedene Definitionen, die nicht vollständig konsistent sind. Die Analyse wurde begleitet von einer ethischen Betrachtung der Problematik. Eine automatische Erkennung von strafrechtlich relevanten Kommentaren kann dabei helfen, diese konsequent zu verfolgen.

Daher haben Studierende maschinelle Lernverfahren entwickelt, um Social-Media-Daten auf Hatespeech mit strafrechtlicher Relevanz zu prüfen. Voraussetzung dafür ist eine umfassende Analyse des Forschungsstands. Für das Projekt wurde der Datensatz des DeTox-Forschungsprojektes von 2022 verwendet (Demus et al 2022). In diesem Datensatz sind Hatespeech-Daten unter anderem nach strafrechtlicher Relevanz in Bezug auf das deutsche Strafrecht annotiert.

Die Studierendengruppe entwickelte Modelle nach dem Supervised-Learning-Ansatz mit Feature-Extraktion, die auf die Daten angewendet und evaluiert wurden. Die sorgfältige Auswahl relevanter Features und die Evaluierung der Modelle waren dabei entscheidend.

Die Methode Support Vector Machine (SVM) erreichte bei der Erkennung von Hatespeech einen F1-Score von 72 %. Für die Erkennung von strafrechtlicher Relevanz erzielte die Methode Stochastic Gradient Descent (SGD) einen F1-Score von 81 %.

**References:** • Christoph Demus, Jonas Pitz, Mina Schütz, Nadine Probol, Melanie Siegel, and Dirk Labudde. Detox: A comprehensive dataset for German offensive language and conversation analysis. In Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop on Online Abuse and Harms (WOAH), Seattle, Washington, 2022.

---

## How to talk to ChatGPT: Methodology for probing new word production in large language models

---

Alex Stasica & Bruna Barbosa Louzada

*Utrecht University*

a.stasica@students.uu.nl, b.barbosalouzada@students.uu.nl

In language, humans create words to name new objects and redefine concepts. This word creation process is a challenge in NLP in which models must capture human behaviour. Nowadays, large language models (LLMs) acquire morphological (Lane Schwartz and Tyers, 2022) and semantics (Søgaard, 2022) knowledge, and become very good at in-context prediction of words (Piantadosi, 2023) thanks to training and memorization based on large quantities of data (Piantadosi, 2023).

With the recent release of ChatGPT 3.5 (OpenAI, 2021), these models have raised questions about their ability to capture human behaviour in neologism creation. Understanding the linguistic abilities of LLMs can provide valuable insights into human behaviour from a cognitive perspective. The act of coining new words involves various mechanisms and relies on the ability to adapt to contextual and shared understanding factors. LLMs, lacking such extra linguistic information, can serve as an evaluation of the importance of this information in word coining.

Our study examined word generation by ChatGPT 3.5 and humans using two systematic prompting methodologies. The aim was to investigate if prompts providing contextual completeness improved word creation accuracy. Results indicate that context did not significantly enhance accuracy but did help generate previously rejected words. When comparing accuracies, we observed that the model performed similarly to humans, despite requiring being prompted twice for the same level of accuracy without context. These findings suggest that the LLM's behaviour resembles that of a human, even if further research is needed to understand its internal functioning.

**References:** • Haley, C. Schwartz, C & Tyers, F. (2022), *How to encode arbitrarily complex morphology in word embeddings, no corpus needed*. pages 64– 419 76. • OpenAI (2021), *Chatgpt (gpt-3-5)* • Piantadosi, S. (2023), *Modern language models refute Chosmky's approach to language* • Søgaard, A. (2022), *Understanding models*

---

**Character-Based Convolutional Neural Networks for Authorship Attribution of Sockpuppet Accounts**

---

**Tim Trappen***Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

tim.trappen@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

In this work, we apply the method of character-based convolutional neural networks (CNN) (Zhang et al. 2015, Ruder et al. 2016) to the task of linguistic authorship attribution and verification of so called ‘sockpuppet’ accounts on Wikipedia talk pages. We try to connect the main account of a user suspected of sockpuppetry (called the ‘sockpuppeteer’) to a subset of possible sockpuppets by first training a model to attribute authorship of posts to the sockpuppeteer as an open-set, binary classification task. We choose alphanumeric and special characters as input features for the CNN, constructing three different input feature sets, two for English and one for German. The corpora used for training and evaluation of the model are small, consisting of conversations among users from German Wikipedia talk pages. Our results for the attribution task of the sockpuppeteer are competitive, with the German input feature set reaching a F1- score of 0.84. Compared to related research by Solorio et al. (2013), who approach a similar task using support vector machines (SVM) with an English dataset, our CNN approach sees an increase of 0.12 in F1-score. In a second step, we train additional models to attribute authorship to the sockpuppeteer when a suspected sockpuppet has been removed from the training data, and subsequently use that model to verify authorship between sockpuppeteer and the removed sockpuppet in a closed-set, binary classification task. While the results for the attribution task stay relatively consistent, the verification task sees the model struggle for five distinct sockpuppet accounts, indicating that their use of characters is very similar to that of the sockpuppeteer. We analyze the misclassifications of the verification task for their relative token frequencies, and find that special characters, as well as certain function words are shared in frequency between the sockpuppeteer and potential sockpuppets. We conclude that the method of character-based CNNs performs well in binary open-set authorship attribution and closed-set authorship verification tasks, even when the available data is severely limited.

**References:** • Ruder, S., P. Ghaffari & J.G. Breslin (2016). Character-Level and Multi-Channel Convolutional Neural Networks for Large-Scale Authorship Attribution. CoRR, arXiv:abs/1609.06686. • Solorio, T., R. Hasan & M. Mizan (2013). A Case Study of Sockpuppet Detection in Wikipedia. In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Language Analysis in Social Media*. Atlanta, Georgia: Association for Computational Linguistics, 59-68. • Zhang, X., J. Zhao & Y. LeCun (2015). Character-level convolutional networks for text classification. In C. Cortes, N. Lawrence, D. Lee, M. Sugiyama & R. Garnett (eds.), *Advances in Neural Information Processing Systems 28 (NIPS 2015)*. Montreal, Canada: Curran Associates, Inc.

---

## ChatGPT Does Not Speak Style!

---

Lukas Zwilling & Maria Berger

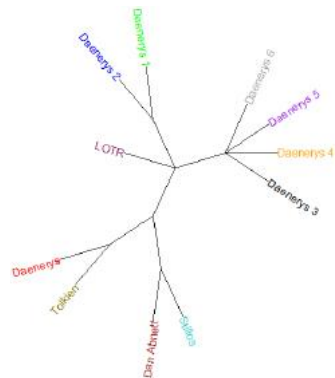
Ruhr University Bochum

lukas.zwilling@ruhr-uni-bochum.de, maria.berger-a21@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

“Human or not”? is the question people are asking quite frequently these days. Especially because chatbots like ChatGPT (Vaswani et al. 2017) are in the process of revolutionizing the writing in any domain. Even though there exist simple means of predicting the authorship of a document for a while already.

From a computational linguistics perspective, authorship attribution methods are an effective way of either assigning unknown texts to a known author from a comparatively small to medium-sized text collection or labeling them as unknown. In general, we distinguish between stylistic features such as distributions of function words (Burrows 2002), sentence length, vocabulary richness and distribution of punctuation marks, and quantitative learning methods, which can recognize an authors' writing patterns. Often, a mix of many different attributes are used as indicators for or against authorship.

In this article, we examine GPT's ability to generate a piece of writing based on an author's name and book title that we prompt to ChatGPT to communicate an author's style. A simple stylometry tool (Stylo, Eder et al. 2013) is subsequently applied to various samples of texts, both to the artificially generated texts and to the originals, to examine whether stylistic differences are recognized. The texts we use come from six chapters of George R. R. Martin's “A Game of Thrones”, featuring the character Daenerys Tagaryen. Since ChatGPT, as a large language model, does not really “speak” style per se, instead it attempts to mimic a certain author considering the works. Initial results show that Stylo is able to consistently distinguish generated texts (lower part of the fig.) from original texts (upper part). We further test GPT towards other fictionists such as Tolkien and Dan Abnett with comparable results.



Document Tree 100-3000 MFW, delta 0.6.

**References:** • Burrows, J. (2002). ‘Delta’: a measure of stylistic difference and a guide to likely authorship. *Literary and linguistic computing*, 17(3). 267–287. • Eder, M., M. Kestemont & J. Rybicki (2013). Stylometry with R: a suite of tools. In *Proceedings of Digital Humanities*. 487–488. • Vaswani, A. et al. (2017). “Attention is all you need.” *Advances in neural information processing systems* 30.

---

## A Contemporary News Corpus for Ukrainian (CNC-UA)

---

**S. Fischer, K. Haidarzhyi, J. Knappen, Y. Stodolinska & E. Teich**

*Universität des Saarlandes*

stefan.fischer@uni-saarland.de, kateryna.haidarzhyi@uni-saarland.de,

j.knappen@mx.uni-saarland.de, yuliya.stodolinska@uni-saarland.de,

e.teich@mx.uni-saarland.de

We present a corpus of Ukrainian contemporary news articles (CNC-UA) comprising 87,210,364 words and 292,955 texts. The sources represent standard language and were published between 2019 and 2022 on <https://suspilne.media>, the news website of the national public broadcaster of Ukraine. The motivation for building the corpus was to track language use in news reporting as the Russian war against Ukraine proceeded. We will show selected analyses at the poster.

While the number of Ukrainian speakers is around 45 million people, Ukrainian can still be considered a low-resource language due to the limited availability of non-commercial resources for language processing and research and the scarcity of publicly available corpora. To our knowledge, there is no similar corpus of recent Ukrainian news articles from a single source that is available for research.

CNC-UA was built from a database dump provided to us by Suspilne. Linguistic annotations were added by processing the texts with the Stanza NLP library (Qi et al., 2020). Each text is annotated with an identifier, article title as well as date and time of publication. Currently, we apply various language modelling techniques to the corpus, including topic models, for analysis of the data.

The corpus is available for non-commercial use. We provide two tab-separated formats: CoNLL-U from the Universal Dependencies project (de Marneffe et al., 2021) and vertical text format (VRT) as used by the CWB (Evert & Hardie, 2011) and CQPweb (Hardie, 2012). The corpus is hosted at the Saarbrücken CLARIN center (hdl:21.11119/0000-000E-1C5C-D) under a CC BY-NC-ND licence.

The authors acknowledge financial support from Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) – project IDs 460033370 (Text+) and 232722074 (SFB 1102) as well as the Federal Republic of Germany and the 16 federal states in the framework of the National Research Data Infrastructure (NFDI) and its association NFDI e.V.

**References:** • Evert, S. & A. Hardie (2011). Twenty-first century Corpus Workbench: Updating a query architecture for the new millennium. *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics 2011 Conference*. University of Birmingham, UK. • Hardie, A. (2012). CQPweb – combining power, flexibility and usability in a corpus analysis tool. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 17(3), 380–409. • de Marneffe, M.-C., C. D. Manning, J. Nivre & D. Zeman (2021). Universal Dependencies. *Computational Linguistics* 47(2), 255–308. • Qi, P., Y. Zhang, Y. Zhang, J. Bolton & C. D. Manning (2020). Stanza: A Python Natural Language Processing Toolkit for Many Human Languages. *Proceedings of the 58th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics: System Demonstrations*. Online.





---

## Aspectual Class Classification as a Linguistic Approach to Event Detection in Natural Language Texts

---

**Theresa Krumbiegel**

*Fraunhofer Institut für Kommunikation, Informationsverarbeitung und  
Ergonomie (FKIE)*

theresa.krumbiegel@fkie.fraunhofer.de

Recent event research in computational linguistics skews heavily towards content classification tasks like event type classification and event argument extraction. In these contexts, the layperson definition of the term *event* is often used, in the sense of *newspaper-worthy happening*. The linguistic definition of events is usually disregarded. According to linguistic theory, features like telicity and dynamicity can help to determine the aspectual class of a verb, which in turn indicates the presence or absence of an event in a sentence. Even a simple sentence like *John painted a picture in an hour* (Dowty, 1979, p. 56) can be classified as an event according to Vendler (1967), who differentiates between four aspectual classes: states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. Human annotators can identify and label these classes with the help of a number of criteria as summarized by Dowty (1979). The question remains whether transformer models such as BERT (Devlin et al., 2019) are able to: (1) classify sentences according to these classes while (2) basing their classification decisions on relevant features in the sentences. Some experiments regarding the automatic classification of aspectual verb classes have already been conducted (e.g., Metheniti et al., 2022). However, the data used for these experiments is often engineered to better suit the task. Sentences follow a simplified syntactic structure, thereby artificially avoiding the problem of aspectual type coercion (Moens & Steedman, 1988) as well as possible (semantic) bias in the data base. The current study aims to assess how well transformer models can perform this classification on a more diverse dataset. A corpus of online newspaper articles will be manually annotated using Dowty's criteria as a guide. This dataset will then be used to conduct a series of proof-of-concept classification tasks: two binary classification tasks to detect telicity and dynamicity respectively, and a multiclass classification task focusing on Vendler's aspectual classes.

**References:** • Dowty, D. (1979). *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar: The Semantics of Verbs and Times in Generative Semantics and in Montague's PTQ*. Dordrecht: Reidel. • Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY. • Devlin, J., et al. (2019). BERT: Pre-training of Deep Bidirectional Transformers for Language Understanding. In *Proceedings of the 2019 Conference of the NAACL: Human Language Technologies, Volume 1*, pp. 4171–4186, Minneapolis, MN. ACL. • Metheniti, E. et al. (2022). About Time: Do Transformers Learn Temporal Verbal Aspect? In *Proceedings of the Workshop on Cognitive Modeling and Computational Linguistics*, pp. 88–101, Dublin, Ireland. ACL. • Moens, M. & Steedman, M. (1988). Temporal Ontology and Temporal Reference. *Computational Linguistics* 14(2), 15–28.

---

## A Study of Lexical Diversity in Multilingual Student's Texts

---

**Elke G. Montanari<sup>1</sup>, Gertrud Faaß<sup>1</sup> & Aivars Glaznieks<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Universität Hildesheim, <sup>2</sup>Eurac Research, Bozen/Bolzano

elke.montanari@uni-hildesheim.de, gertrud.faaass@uni-hildesheim.de,

aivars.glaznieks@eurac.edu

In general, multilingual children have lower vocabulary competence than monolingual children when considering only one language (but more when considering all languages). If sufficient input is provided in all languages, however, the Complementarity Principle (Grosjean 2016) hypothesizes equivalent vocabulary for monolinguals and multilinguals speaking the same language. It is our objective to evaluate the bilingual vocabulary of monolingual and bilingual students who have been studying together for several years and should, according to the Complementarity Principle, have the same vocabulary. For the analysis of student texts, we will use three sets of texts taken from the LEONIDE corpus (Glaznieks et al., 2022). The sets were built to take into account the language background of the students (monolingual German-speakers, bilingual German-speakers, and multilingual non-L1-German-speakers). Due to the fact that the texts of the students are not equal, we will utilize the Lexical Diversity Measure to compare the vocabulary of each student. It has been shown that learner characteristics profoundly influence measures of lexical diversity, range, and sophistication (e.g., Meurers 2015). This poster will present an evaluation of different tools and measures for lexical diversity, including an evaluation of a state-of-the-art tagger. Considering school-related topics, we expect that the vocabulary of monolingual and bilingual students after a sufficient period of schooling is equally large. Moreover, we hope to gain knowledge about which measures of lexical diversity are more useful for (short) student texts. Consequently, lexical diversity measures would likely be useful tools for comparing the vocabulary of individual texts, and the expected results would have important implications for the judgement of the vocabulary of individuals.

### References:

- Glaznieks, A., Frey, J.-C., Stopfner, M., Zanasi, L. & Nicolas, L. (2022). LEONIDE: A longitudinal trilingual corpus of young learners of Italian, German and English. *International Journal of Learner Corpus Research* 8(1), 97–120. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ijlcr.21004.gla>
- Grosjean, F. (2016). The Complementarity Principle and its impact on processing, acquisition, and dominance. In J. Treffers-Hammou, B. A., Larouz, M., & Fagroud, M. (2021). Word frequency, Range and Lexical diversity: Picking out Changes in Lexical Proficiency among University Learners in an EFL Context. *International Journal of Linguistics and Translation Studies*, 2(2), 22-38.
- Meurers, D. (2015). Learner corpora and natural language processing. *The Cambridge Handbook of Learner Corpus Research*, 537–566.

---

## Quantitative evidence for a grammatical analysis of Chinese character component size

---

**James Myers**

*National Chung Cheng University*

Lmgmyers@ccu.edu.tw

In the grammatical terms of the Chinese character analysis of Myers (2019), the most productive “morphological” operation affixes a semantic component to one related to pronunciation, as in 接 *jiē* ‘connect’ (扌 ‘hand’ + 妾 *qiè*). Far less productive is semantic compounding, as in 掃 *sǎo* ‘sweep’ (= 扌 ‘hand’ + 帚 ‘broom’). Character “prosody”, motivated by left-to-right writing order, adds a left-small/right-large asymmetry in stroke count (“segmental phonology”) and physical size (“phonetics”), as in the left-side reduction of 手 *shǒu* ‘hand’ to 扌.

This study presents a quantitative test of this grammatical analysis in a database of 5,084 traditional Chinese characters with left-right structure, using component sizes from the Wenlin Character Description Language database (Bishop & Cook 2007). Mixed-effects linear regression models predicted component stroke count or physical size from character type (affixed/compounded), component type (affix/non-affix), component position (left/right), and log token frequency.

There were three main findings. (1) In both character types, the left component had significantly fewer strokes and was significantly narrower than the right one. (2) In affixed characters, stroke count and size were significantly influenced both by position and by component type, which did not interact. (3) There was a stronger effect of position on stroke count in rarer compounds and in more common affixed characters, while component size was mostly unaffected by frequency.

All three findings are consistent with the grammatical analysis. (1) Position (prosody) has independent effects on stroke count (segmental phonology) and component size (phonetics). (2) The affix/non-affix contrast (morphology) has effects independent of position (prosody). (3) The distinct mechanisms underlying morphology, prosody, and phonetics lead them to be associated with distinct frequency effects (Bybee 2006). Rarer semantic compounds are regularized, that is, reanalyzed as if derived via the more productive operation of affixation, with the left component reduced as if it were an affix. Meanwhile, prosodic regularities affect more common characters through the automatization of articulation (i.e., repeatedly writing the same components left to right). Finally, component size is not much influenced by lexical frequency because it is non-contrastive phonetics.

**References:** • Bishop, T. & R. Cook (2007). A character description language for CJK. *Multilingual*, 62–68. • Bybee, J. (2006). *Frequency of Use and the Organization of Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. • Myers, J. (2019). *The Grammar of Chinese Characters*. Abingdon: Routledge.

---

**Modelling predictive learning of the speech signal**

---

**Jessie S. Nixon<sup>1</sup> & Fabian Tomaschek<sup>2</sup>**<sup>1</sup>Universität Oldenburg, <sup>2</sup>Universität Tübingen

jessie.nixon@uni-tuebingen.de, fabian.tomaschek@uni-tuebingen.de,

Recent years have seen huge growth in interest regarding the role of prediction in language. So far, the role of prediction of the speech stream as a means by which infants learn the sound system of their language has received little attention. Most statistical learning models of phonetic learning have used clustering methods. But recent work suggests that in a *second language*, error-driven learning contributes to learning speech cues (Nixon, 2020). We modelled early infant speech learning as error driven, using incoming speech signal to predict upcoming speech signal.

We trained a simple two-layer cue-outcome network using error-driven learning (an implementation of Rescorla & Wagner, 1972) on sound files from a child-directed speech corpus. Because the model focuses on young infants, no lexical items or a priori sound units (phonemes, phonetic features) were used in training. Instead, infant learning was simulated with a 25 ms moving window, which moved in 10 ms steps. Intensity (log power values) at different frequency bands (104 equal mel steps) was used as *cues* to predict intensity of upcoming spectral components at each frequency band (*outcomes*). The output of the training was a network of cue-outcome connection weights.

The model was tested for discrimination of vowel and fricative continua based on data from the literature: infant discrimination data for vowels [i - I] (Swoboda et al., 1976) and fricatives [s - j] (Eilers & Minifie, 1975). The model predicted linear perception of the vowel continuum, as found by Swoboda et al. and discrimination of the endpoints of the fricatives, as found by Eilers and Minifie. Interestingly, the model also predicted nonlinear perception of the fricatives – this has not yet been tested for infants, but has been found in adults. Linear vowel perception and nonlinear fricative perception is an interesting prediction of the model, as this is known in speech perception, but not yet well understood. Further model evaluation was carried out and will also be discussed.

In summary, the model – without a priori speech units, trained to use incoming speech to predict upcoming speech – learned to weight cues in such a way as to discriminate vowel and fricative pairs. Thus, predictive, error-driven learning of the acoustic signal may play a role early infant speech learning.

**References:** • Eilers, R. & Minifie, F. (1975). Fricative discrimination in early infancy. *JSHR*, 18, 158–167. • Nixon, J. S. 2020. Of mice and men: Speech sound acquisition as discriminative learning from prediction error, not just statistical tracking. *Cognition*, 197, 104081. • Rescorla, R. & Wagner, A. 1972. A theory of Pavlovian conditioning. *Ap.-Cent-Crofts*, NY. 64– 99. • Swoboda, P. et al. (1976). Continuous vowel discrimination in normal & at risk infants. *Child Development*, 459–465.

---

**Instance vectors as a window to (non-)generic role noun semantics**

---

**Dominic Schmitz***Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf*

dominic.schmitz@uni-duesseldorf.de

Mostly psycholinguistic research has shown that generic masculines are not comprehended as gender-neutral but biased towards maleness (e.g. Schunack & Binanzer, 2022). Recently, Schmitz et al. (2023) conducted the first studies on generic masculines' semantics using computational methods. The aim of the present paper is to show that Schmitz et al.'s approach comes with a twofold issue and to introduce a potential solution to this issue.

First, their way of computing semantic vector representations for role nouns involved a vector for generic usage which is strongly correlated with the grammatical masculine, rendering all generic role nouns potentially overly correlated with the grammatical masculine. Second, the authors treated genericity as a type of inflectional feature, even though it is not.

To circumvent these issues, the present paper proposes the use of instance vectors (Lapasa et al., 2018). Instance vectors are computed for individual instances of words rather than of lemmas. For their computation, a window of  $n$  context words around a given target word is considered. The pertinent instance vector is the average of these  $n$  context words. Using instance vectors, no genericity vector is computed and, thus, genericity is neither correlated to other vectors nor treated as inflectional function.

Replicating the cosine similarity analysis of Schmitz et al. (2023) showed that instance vectors deliver similar results. Across all window sizes ( $n = 2, 5, 8$ ), the generic masculine was semantically more similar to the specific masculine than to the specific feminine. Overall, the highest degree of similarity was found for the two masculine forms.

The results of the present study demonstrate that instance vectors are a feasible approach to the computational investigation of (non-)generic word semantics. While their results are in line with those of previous computational implementations, they circumvent the issues of the latter.

**References:** • Lapasa, G., Kawaletz, L., Plag, I., Andreou, M., Kisselew, M., & Padó, S. (2018). Disambiguation of newly derived nominalizations in context: A Distributional Semantics approach. *Word Structure* 11(3), 277–312. • Schmitz, D., Schneider, V., & Esser, J. (2023). No genericity in sight: An exploration of the semantics of masculine generics in German. *Glossa Psycholinguistics* 2(1). • Schunack, S., & Binanzer, A. (2022). Revisiting gender-fair language and stereotypes - A comparison of word pairs, capital I forms and the asterisk. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 41(2).