

## Workshop on Sentence Types and Mood

October 12, 2015

English Department (SEP), 0.244 (Medienraum)

### Program

<b>9:00-9:10</b>	Organizers	<i>Introductory remarks</i>
<b>9:10-10:10</b>	Invited speaker: <b>Josep Quer</b> (Universitat Pompeu Fabra Barcelona)	<i>Mood selection with factive-emotive predicates revisited</i>
<b>10:10-10:50</b>	Mailin Antomo	<a href="#"><i>Dependent V2 in German: a marker for at-issueness?</i></a>
	<b>Small coffee break</b>	
<b>11:00-11:40</b>	Olga Kellert	<a href="#"><i>Special questions in Italian</i></a>
<b>11:40-12:20</b>	Katja Suckow	<a href="#"><i>How number attraction affects the comprehension of grammatical sentences</i></a>
<b>12:20-13:00</b>	Franziska Werner	<a href="#"><i>Datives as illocutionary converters</i></a>
	<b>Lunch</b>	
<b>14:20-15:00</b>	Eva Csipak	<a href="#"><i>On conditional sentences</i></a>
<b>15:00-15:40</b>	Svetlana Dachkovsky, Jana Hosemann, Annika Herrmann, Markus Steinbach, and Wendy Sandler	<a href="#"><i>Signers' perception of conditional intonation: A comparative study of Israeli Sign Language and German Sign Language</i></a>
<b>15:40-16:20</b>	Sarah Zobel (University of Tübingen)	<a href="#"><i>The many functions of German "als"-phrases</i></a>
	<b>Coffee break</b>	
<b>16:40-17:20</b>	Frank Sode	<a href="#"><i>Sentence Types in Free Indirect Speech</i></a>
<b>17:20-18:00</b>	Marco Cogniglio	<a href="#"><i>Relative clause marking in Old High German</i></a>
<b>18:00-18:40</b>	Andreas Blümel & Hagen Pitsch	<a href="#"><i>Strategies of label suppression: a novel approach to the syntax of adjunct clauses and beyond</i></a>
<b>19:00</b>	<b>Dinner (<a href="#"><u>Chiang Mai</u></a>)</b>	

## Book of Abstracts

### **Dependent V2 in German: a marker for at-issueness?**

Mailin Antomo

In German, the speaker often has to choose between two sentential alternatives: dependent clauses in which the finite verb occupies the final position and dependent clauses with verb-second (V2) order as shown in (1).

- (1) Peter glaubt, dass Maria ihn liebt./ Maria liebt ihn.  
Peter believes that Maria him loves./ Maria loves him.

As has been shown in numerous publications, the two constructions are no full equivalent alternatives. One main question, therefore, is what can explain the distribution of these alternatives in language use? Following Hooper/Thompson (1973), the difference between dependent verb-final and V2 clauses is often defined in terms of assertion and presupposition. However, this so called *Assertion Hypothesis* makes wrong predictions for the occurrence of dependent V2 in German. In this talk, I will focus on differences in information structure and it will be discussed if V2 and verb-final constructions typically differ in their behavior in a complex discourse context, especially, if a dependent V2 clause can only be used if its content is relevant to the current Question Under Discussion. The theoretical background is provided by a question-driven discourse model as proposed by, amongst others, Klein/von Stutterheim (1992) and Simons et al. (2011).

#### **References:**

- Hooper, Joan/Thompson, Sandra A. (1973): On the applicability of root transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 465–497.
- Klein, Wolfgang/von Stutterheim, Christiane (1992): Textstruktur und referentielle Bewegung. *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 86, 67–92.
- Simons, Mandy et al. (2011): What projects and why. In: Li, Nan/Lutz, David (eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)* 20, Ithaca, NY: CLC Publications, 309–327.

### **Strategies of label suppression: a novel approach to the syntax of adjunct clauses and beyond**

Andreas Blümel and Hagen Pitsch

In this talk we provide evidence from Slavic languages and German for Hornstein & Nunes' (2009) hypothesis that adjunct clauses do not project a category, i.e. they are exocentric. First, we argue that a broad asymmetry is discernible between complementizers in complement clauses and subordinating elements in adjunct clauses. The former are bare heads, while the latter are mostly morphologically complex and phrasal. In a second step, we explain how a case can be made that such complex complementizers lead to a failure of the labeling algorithm proposed in Chomsky 2013, thus suppressing the detection of a category label. We suggest that absence of a label is the null hypothesis for unselected sentence types (such as adjunct and root clauses). Next, we argue that recalcitrant – simplex – cases such as German *weil* ('because') might be roots (Marantz 1997 *et seq.*, Borer 2005) and thus equally non-projecting. As a tentative extension, we generalize the idea to other adjunct phrases such as adverbial PPs.

## Relative clause marking in Old High German

Marco Coniglio

In this talk, I will discuss the properties of elements introducing relative clauses in Old High German. Apart from two types not considered in my talk (relative-like constructions introduced by *sô* (*h*)*uuër sô* and the marginal type of asyndetic relative clauses), Old High German exhibits two major types of relative clauses: relative clauses introduced by a *d*-pronoun (1), as in modern German, and those introduced by a relative particle (or particle-like adverb), which may either occur alone or in combination with the *d*-pronoun (2) (cf. Schrodtt 2004: 175ff):

- (1) [...] *pî demo Satanase, der inan uarsenkan scal:* (M 45)  
*by the Satan d-pro him ruin shall*  
'by Satan, who will ruin him.'
- (2) *Bat er sih ketrenkan daz uuip thaz ther thara quam;* (CH 5)  
*begged he himself to.give.to.drink the woman d-pro PRT there came*  
'He begged the woman that came there to give him to drink.'

Based on Axel-Tober (2012), it is assumed that the clause-typing element in these clauses is not the *d*-pronoun, but rather the relative particle, which however may be overtly realized or not. Given its clause-typing function, the question arises as to why this particle is facultative in many cases. I will present a pilot corpus study which reveals the reasons for this optionality. I will then sketch possible language change scenario that combines traditional views on the origins of relative clauses in Germanic languages with the data observed.

### References

- Axel-Tober, Katrin (2012). *(Nicht-)kanonische Nebensätze im Deutschen Synchrone und diachrone Aspekte*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Schrodtt, Richard (2004). *Althochdeutsche Grammatik. 2. Syntax. (Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialekte)*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

## On conditional sentences

Eva Csipak

In this talk I discuss some empirical differences between different types of conditional sentences. The main focus will be on comparing (indicative, present tense) hypothetical conditionals and biscuit conditionals. While literature on the (syntax and) semantics of hypothetical conditionals typically ignores other types of conditionals, much of the literature on biscuit conditionals is concerned with how far we can push for a unified analysis of the two.

Recently, Franke's (2009) proposal for a unified analysis has been challenged by two types of new data: 'ifless' conditionals seem to only be available with a hypothetical interpretation (von Fintel 2015), while certain types of biscuit conditionals containing *if* appear to be more similar to sentences containing speaker-oriented adverbs than conditionals (Csipak 2015). Taking these data as a starting-off point, I ask whether it is possible (or indeed desirable) to maintain a unified analysis of conditionals.

**Signers' perception of conditional intonation:  
A comparative study of Israeli Sign Language and German Sign Language**  
Svetlana Dachkovsky, Jana Hosemann, Annika Herrmann,  
Markus Steinbach, and Wendy Sandler

In sign languages, non-manual components such as eyebrow or head position contribute to the interpretation of various types of sentences, e.g., interrogatives (Liddell 1980) or conditionals (Reilly et al 1990, Dachkovsky 2008), and perform the function of intonation (Nespor and Sandler 1999; Sandler 2012). However, the perception of these markers has not been studied. The present work, the first perception study of sign language non-manuals, investigates their role in conditional sentences in two sign languages -- Israeli Sign Language (ISL) and German Sign Language (DGS). While the two sign languages are historically related, ISL is much younger (Meir & Sandler 2008), and our study also aims to trace signers' perception as the system develops over time.

In ISL production, raised brows and forward head movement are consistently associated with the *antecedent* clause of conditionals, and neutral nonmanuals with the *consequence* clause (Dachkovsky 2008, Dachkovsky and Sandler 2009). In DGS, the antecedent clause is associated with brow raise and forward head tilt, and the consequence clause with a head nod (Herrmann 2012). In both languages, manual lexical items 'IF' and 'THEN' are optional, and nonmanuals alone typically mark conditionals. In order to investigate whether non-manuals in conditionals function as a clue to their interpretation by addressees, we conducted a perception judgment experiment in ISL and DGS. The experiments were identical in design, procedure, and analysis, differing only in the language of the stimuli, DGS or ISL.

The present study also introduces a diachronic perspective. Previous research on the diachronic development of ISL intonation production across age groups has shown that non-manual signals become more systematic and grammaticalized as the language develops (Dachkovsky 2014; see also Janzen 1999; Pfau & Steinbach 2006). In order to trace the diachronic path of the perception of non-manual patterns, ISL participants in the present experiment were divided into three age groups of equal size.

During the experiment, participants saw videotaped signed sequences that consisted of a *context*, an intermediate *question*, and a *continuation*. The context story prompted an interpretation of the continuation that was either conditional (antecedent and consequence, see example (A)), or declarative (two independent declarative sentences, see example (B)). The continuation sequences were manually (textually) identical across conditions and differed only in their non-manual marking. Participants were asked to evaluate on a 6-point scale whether the continuation was an appropriate match to the context (6) or not (1). We compared both conditional and declarative continuations in the scope of both context types (i.e., conditional-evoking as well as declarative-evoking contexts).

Preliminary results of the experiment in DGS show a significant effect for targets with conditional marking following conditional-evoking contexts compared to other contexts. That is, DGS participants identified conditional sentences purely on the basis of non-manual markers. Interestingly, while the breakdown by age group in ISL is still in the process of being analyzed, there was no significant effect for the younger sign language when responses of all groups were collapsed, suggesting that language age is a factor in the grammaticalization of intonation.

(A) Conditional evoking context:

Context: Later this afternoon, I want to go by train to Göttingen/Haifa. But I read in the newspaper that the trains might strike today. I am really worried about that, because I have an important doctor appointment in Göttingen/Haifa.

- Question: <sup>p</sup>  
MEAN WHAT  
'What does that mean?'
- (A.1) Continuation +nm: <sup>br</sup> <sup>hn</sup>  
TRAIN STRIKE, I HOME STAY  
'If the trains strike, I stay at home.'
- (A.2) Continuation -nm: TRAIN STRIKE, I HOME STAY  
'The trains strike. I stay at home.'

**(B) Declarative evoking context:**

Context: Yesterday, I wanted to go by train to Göttingen/Haifa. I was already at the train station, when I saw that all connections were cancelled. I was really upset, because I had to cancel my appointment.

- Question: <sup>p</sup>  
MEAN WHAT  
'What does that mean?'
- (B.1) Continuation +nm: <sup>br</sup> <sup>hn</sup>  
TRAIN STRIKE, I HOME STAY  
'If the trains strike, I stay at home.'
- (B.2) Continuation -nm: TRAIN STRIKE, I HOME STAY  
'The trains strike. I stay at home.'

**References:**

- Dachkovsky, S. (2008). Facial expression and intonation in Israeli Sign Language. The case of neutral and counterfactual conditionals. In J. Quer (Ed.), *Signs of the time: Selected papers from TISLR 2004* (pp. 61–82). Hamburg: Signum.
- Dachkovsky, S., & Sandler, W. (2009). Visual intonation in the prosody of a sign language. *Language and Speech*, 52(2/3), 287–314.
- Dachkovsky, S. Grammaticalisation of facial intonation: the case of squint in ISL relative clause. Talk presented at the 30th Annual Meeting of the Israel Association of Theoretical Linguistics. Beer-Sheva, October 20–21.
- Herrmann, A. (2012). Prosody in German Sign Language. In P. Prieto & E. Gorka (Eds.), *Prosody and Meaning* (pp. 349–383). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Janzen, T. (1999). The grammaticization of topics in American Sign Language. *Studies in Language*, 23(2), 271–306.
- Liddell, S. K. (1980). *American Sign Language syntax*. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Meir, I., & Sandler, W. (2008). *A language in space: The story of Israeli Sign Language*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nespor, M., & Sandler, W. (1999). Prosody in Israeli Sign Language. *Language and Speech*, 42(2/3), 143–176.
- Pfau, R., & Steinbach, M. (2006). Modality-independent and modality-specific aspects of grammaticalization in sign languages. *Linguistics in Potsdam*, 24, 5–98.
- Reilly, J.S., McIntire, M., & Bellugi, U. (1990). The acquisition of conditionals in American Sign Language. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 11(4), 369–392.
- Sandler, W. (2012). Visual prosody. In R. Pfau, M. Steinbach, & B. Woll (Eds.), *Sign Language. An international handbook (HSK)* (pp. 55–76). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

## Special questions in Italian

Olga Kellert

In my talk, I will propose a compositional analysis of some special questions in Italian (see Obenauer 2006) and argue that we do not need a special treatment of their semantics. We will see how we can derive the semantics of special questions just by the semantics of standard questions (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977) in addition to some scalar or exhaustivity inferences that are triggered by some lexical items inside special questions (e.g. some modal or discourse particles) or their syntactic structure (e.g. *wh*-clefts).

### References:

- Hamblin, C. L. (1973): „Questions in Montague English.“ *Foundations of Language* 10, 41–53.  
Karttunen, L. (1977): „Syntax and semantics of questions.“ *Linguistics and Philosophy* 1, 3–44  
Obenauer, H.-G. (2006): “Special Interrogatives - Left Periphery, Wh-Doubling, and (Apparently) Optional Elements.” In: J. Doetjes & P. Gonzalves (eds): *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2004*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins, 247-273.

## Sentence Types in Free Indirect Speech

Frank Sode

In German newspapers, statements of politicians are frequently reported in Free Indirect Speech (FIS), i.e. main clauses with subjunctive mood (= "Konjunktiv 1/2"):

- (1) (*Merkel sagte, dass Berlin sehr intensiv mit Moskau spreche.*)  
(‘Merkel said that Berlin was talking very intensely with Moscow’)

*Der Schlüssel liege aber beim UN-Sicherheitsrat.*  
the key lie.KONJ1 however with.the UN Security Council  
‘The key, however, was in the hands of the UN Security Council, she said’

If we focus on newspapers and other journalistic writings as a text genre, the impression may arise that the "grammar" of FIS restricts possible sentence types to declarative clauses. That this seeming restriction is due to the nature of the journalistic text genre and not due to the "grammar" of FIS can be seen, if we take a look at the narrative style of FIS as it is found in novels like Kehlmann's *Die Vermessung der Welt* or Grass' *Das Treffen in Telgte*:

- (2) V-in-C Interrogative  
*Glaube er wirklich, man werde dann klüger sein?* Kehlmann  
‘Did he really think that people would be more intelligent then?’ tr. C. B. Janeway
- (3) V-final Interrogative  
*Ob er die Ehre mit Gauß, dem Astronomen, habe?* Kehlmann  
‘Did he have the honor to be addressing Gauss the astronomer?’ tr. C. B. Janeway

- (4) Exclamative  
*Was die Courage sich denke!* Grass  
 ‘What did Courage think she was doing!’ tr. Ralph Manheim

The sentences in (2)-(4) do not express questions or exclamations by the narrator but are to be understood as *reports of questions and exclamations* attributed to a character in the novel. Examples like these support the claim that FIS in principle covers all sentence types that are found in ordinary speech with indicative mood.

In my talk, I want to discuss the possible sentence types in literary FIS with a focus on interrogative clauses. My main concern will be the contribution of sentence type meaning to the interpretation of sentences like (1)-(4) as speech reports.

### References:

- Kehlmann, Daniel (2005), *Die Vermessung der Welt*, Reinbek: Rowolth.  
 – (2007), *Measuring the World*, Quercus. (translated by Carol Brown Janeway)  
 Grass, Günter (1979), *Das Treffen in Telgte. Eine Erzählung*. Darmstadt/Neuwied: Luchterhand.  
 – (1990), *The Meeting at Telgte*, Harcourt. (translated by Ralph Manheim)

## How number attraction affects the comprehension of grammatical sentences

Katja Suckow

Number attraction has been shown to affect comprehension. Recent studies describe consistent attraction effects for ungrammatical sentences (Dillon (2013), Lago (in press), Tanner (2014) and Wagers (2009)). However, attraction affecting grammatical sentences appear to be inconsistent across studies (Nicol (1997), Pearlmutter et al (1999), Pearlmutter et al (2000)). One explanation for this might be that attraction is reduced by number interference processes (Van Dyke & Lewis (2003), Lewis & Vasishth (2005)).

Using eye-tracking, this study investigated number attraction in German during the processing of grammatical object-relative clauses when interference is low.

Der Tourist, den der(die) Volontär(e) des(der) Übersetzer(s) gesucht hatte(n), buchte schnell den Urlaub.

(The tourist that the volunteer(s) of the translator(s) has(have) searched booked quickly his vacation.)

Number attraction predicts longer reading times at or after the embedded verb when the local noun (Übersetzer/translators) is plural than when it is singular. Interference should be low due to the small distance and the low number of interfering nouns between subject and verb in the relative clause.

The results showed main effects of attraction at the embedded verb. More important, there was an interaction at the final region which reflects the number attraction mismatch effect from production studies. There was no effect of number interference. Thus, if interference is low, attraction can make verb integration difficult and affects sentence wrap-up processes during the processing of complex grammatical sentences.

## Datives as illocutionary converters

Franziska Werner

Free datives are common in the languages of the world and can be found in all Romance languages where they are realized as clitics. They differ from regular dative argument clitics insofar as they are optional and not part of the subcategorization of the verb. Galician (a minority language in the North-West of Spain) possesses several types of free datives that can be classified by their meaning and morpho-syntactic behaviour:

(1) Regular dative (with clitic doubling)

**Deiche a ti un libro.**

Dei=che	a	ti	un libro
give.PST.1SG=DAT.2SG	to	DAT.2SG	a book

‘I gave you a book.’

(2) Dative of interest

**Miña nai ordenoume o escritorio.**

Miña nai	ordenou=me		o escritorio
My mother	clean.PST.3SG=DAT.1SG		the desk

‘My mother cleaned the desk for me.’

(3) Dative of possession

**Collínche o lapis.**

Collín=che	o	lapis	
catch. PST.1SG=DAT.2SG	the	pencil	

‘I caught your pencil.’

(4) Ethical dative

**Non me lle deades caramelos ao neno!**

Non me= lle=deades		caramelos	a.o	neno
NEG DAT.1SG= DAT.3SG=give.Imp.3Pl	sweets		to.the	boy

‘Don’t give (to me) sweets to the boy!’

(5) Dative of solidarity

**Éche ben lista.**

É=che	ben	lista	
be.Prs.3Sg= DAT.2SG	pretty	smart	

‘She is (to you) pretty smart.’

Following Smith (2001), it is possible to classify free datives according to whether they belong to the proposition or illocution of the sentence. The regular dative, being part of the predication, is also part of the proposition. The dative of interest and the dative of possession, although they are not part of the verb’s argument structure and therefore optional, add to the proposition as well. The ethical dative and the dative of solidarity, in contrast, are outside of the argument structure and explicitly encode either the speaker or hearer in an emphatic way. They can therefore convert declaratives into exclamatives.

So far, there has been no in-depth analysis of this process for Galician datives (cf. for Hebrew Siegal & Boneh. 2015). An accurate description of the process and results of the illocutionary conversion will help to explain the semantic-pragmatic differences of the diverse types of (free) datives and thereby shed light on their morpho-syntactic behaviour and its restrictions.

### Selected References:

Siegal, Elitzur Bar-Asher & Nora Boneh. 2015. *Modern Hebrew Discursive Datives*. Abstract. The



Hebrew University of Jerusalem. [http://www.iatl.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IATL31abstract\\_Bar-Asher\\_Siegal\\_and-Boneh.pdf](http://www.iatl.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/IATL31abstract_Bar-Asher_Siegal_and-Boneh.pdf) (accessed September 20, 2015)

- Geeraerts, Dirk. 1998. The semantic structure of the indirect object in Dutch. In William van Belle & Willy van Langendonck (eds.), *The dative: Theoretical and contrastive studies*. Vol. 2 (Case and grammatical relations across languages 3), 185–210. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Freixeiro Mato, X. Ramón. 1998-2000. *Gramática da lingua galega: Morfosintaxe* (II), 1st edn. Edicions a Nosa Terra.
- Pita Rubido, María L. 2006. *Algunhas consideracións sobre os dativos non argumentais*. *Revista Galega de Filoloxía* 7. 143–165.
- Smith, John C. 2001. *Illocutionary conversation, bystander deixis, and Romance 'ethic' pronouns* (Working papers in functional grammar (WPGF) 74).

### **The many functions of German "als"-phrases**

Sarah Zobel

The German expression "als" has (at least) five distinct uses, one of which is the one as a preposition-like particle heading NPs, DPs, APs, and rarely PPs to form "als"-phrases (~ Engl. 'as'-phrases). This talk addresses the syntactic and semantic behavior of these "als"-phrases, which is far from uniform (cf. Zifonun 1998, Flaate 2007), compare the examples in (1).

- (1) a. Die getroffene Maßnahme wurde [als beispielhaft] bezeichnet.  
The measure that was taken was characterized as exemplary.
- b. [Als Großvater] gründete er eine zweite Familie.  
As a grand father he started a second family.
- c. Sein Ziel ist dabei nicht zuletzt die Selbsterkenntnis [als Mann].  
With this, his not just secondary goal is his self-awareness as a man.

My main aim is to discuss the classification of "als"-phrases proposed in Zifonun (1998) / Flaate (2007), and to argue for a new proposal inspired by these two authors, which is based mainly on the functional and combinatoric differences between the different uses of "als"-phrases:

- How do the different "als"-phrases interact with adverbials and sentence negation?
- How do they interact with temporal, modal, and other operators?
- Can parallels to other adverbials be found?

Finally, I briefly discuss the consequences of this proposal for the semantics of "als" as preposition-like particle.