



TWEETS 'N GREETINGS

for Caroline Féry

**ON THE OCCASION OF HER FAREWELL FROM
GOETHE-UNIVERSITY FRANKFURT**

Frankfurt, July 3, 2019

Tweets 'n Greetings
for Caroline Féry
on the occasion of her farewell from Goethe-University Frankfurt

Collected by
Gerrit Kentner, Frank Kügler, Beata Moskal & Stavros Skopeteas

Frankfurt, July 3, 2019

Preface

Gerrit, Frank, Beata & Stavros

Dear Caroline,

this year marks the 30th anniversary of your dissertation, the 20th anniversary of your becoming a professor of phonology and the 10th (and final) year of your professorial stint at Goethe-University Frankfurt. In view of such an accumulation of anniversaries plus today's farewell, we asked your friends, colleagues as well as current and former students to send us what we call "tweets" or "greet"s - meaning short pieces in your honour that are of a personal or scholarly nature.

The contributions we collected, their brevity and levity notwithstanding, give evidence of the lasting impact you have as a dear friend, fellow linguist, supervisor, colleague, supporter, and, last but not least, fundraiser.

We consider ourselves lucky and are grateful to be among those who had the opportunity to work and play with you.

Frankfurt, 3 July 2019

Gerrit, Frank, Beata & Stavros

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Finnish, focus and Féry's prosodic typology¹

Anja Arnhold

My dissertation as a haiku

Only the rise-fall

Where are the other accents?

Oh! A phrase language!

1. Introduction: A new prosodic typology

Prosodic typology has traditionally classified languages based on lexical specifications as intonation languages, tone languages, pitch-accent languages and, more recently, languages without lexical prosodic specifications (e.g. Cruttenden, 1997; Hyman, 2006; Jun, 2005). By contrast, Féry (2010, 2016) suggests focusing on the phrase level, where she distinguishes intonation languages, which have flexible intonation with a rich inventory of pitch-accents and boundary tones, tone languages, which have nearly no phrase-level tonal targets, and phrase languages, whose intonation is entirely determined by phrase-level tones, but not pitch accents.

The two levels are of course connected – intonation languages typically have lexically specified docking points for pragmatically triggered accents, aka stressed syllables, whereas the rich lexical specification of tone languages seems to leave little space for phrase-level tonal targets, and phrase languages often have no lexical prominence. However, the phrase level does not simply follow from the presence or type of lexical specifications. This means that Féry's suggestion is not simply a re-framing of the traditional classification, but, crucially, taking phrase-level intonation as the decisive criterion may lead to a different classification for some languages.

Finnish is a good example of this: There is broad agreement that Finnish has fixed primary stress on the first syllable, even though the acoustic marking of this syllable as prominent is

¹ This article is a very short condensation of the phonological aspects of my dissertation work on Finnish focus marking and how it fits into Caroline's prosodic typology, as I understand it. I chose it as an illustration of a part of Caroline's influence on the field and on me personally. She has not only been the best PhD supervisor I could have imagined, giving me great advice and also the freedom to develop my own thinking in my own time (see haiku), but she has continued to support and challenge me in the years since. I am thankful to have her as a mentor and as a friend.

much less evident than for stressed syllables in West Germanic languages (Ylitalo, 2009). While there is more disagreement about the patterns and analysis of secondary stresses, some segmental alternations would be difficult to explain without assuming their presence (Anttila, 2012). In terms of phrase-level intonation, however, Finnish does not show the rich array of pitch accents of an intonation language. Instead, previous analyses described Finnish as having a single pitch accent of uniform shape used on almost all content words (Suomi, Toivanen, & Ylitalo, 2008; Välimaa-Blum, 1993). The present analysis argues that Finnish displays the regular pitch contours of a prototypical phrase. Deviating from previous descriptions, it does not analyze these regular movements as pitch accents, but as realizations of tones associated with phrases.

2. A phrasing analysis of Finnish focus marking

Féry (2013) argues that the universal preference for marking focus is not by prominence, but by alignment of its left or right edge with the edge of a prosodic phrase-level constituent. She shows that languages realize this preference to various degrees and with different means, including the deaccenting of post-focal constituents typically seen in Germanic languages like English and German (e.g. Féry, 2011; Féry & Kügler, 2008; Féry & Samek-Lodovici, 2006). In contrast to other approaches, which treat this as the prototypical prosodic focus marking, Féry's account describes a nuclear accent on the focused constituent and following deaccentuation as an indirect way of achieving alignment. She provides a diverse list of languages like Italian, French, Hungarian, Nleʔkepmxcin, Chichewa and Konkani that directly align focus and ι - or ϕ -phrase edges, through the reordering of linguistic material, the insertion of phrase boundaries or the enhancement of existing boundaries. A further example is Finnish. Mirroring the left-edge alignment between focus and ι -phrases Féry (2013) describes for the related Hungarian, Finnish aligns focus and ι -phrases at the right edge (Arnhold, 2014). Thus, whereas in broad focus the default phrasing of a simple sentence consisting of subject, verb and object (SVO) follows syntactic structure, see (1), an additional ι -phrase boundary is inserted to the right of non-final focus constituents in (2) and (3), while phrasing is not altered if the focused constituent is final, see (4).

- (1) Phrasing in broad focus: $((S)_{\phi}(V O)_{\phi})_{\iota}$
- (2) Phrasing in narrow subject focus: $((((S)_{\phi})_{\iota}(V O)_{\phi})_{\iota})_{\iota}$
- (3) Phrasing in narrow verb focus: $((((S)_{\phi}((V)_{\phi})_{\iota}(O)_{\phi})_{\iota})_{\iota})_{\iota}$
- (4) Phrasing in narrow object focus: $((S)_{\phi}(V O)_{\phi})_{\iota}$

These phrasing patterns largely account for Finnish prosodic focus marking, acoustically measurable in f_0 range, duration, intensity, the frequency of pauses and the use of non-modal voice quality (Arnhold, 2016). As described for other languages in Féry (2013), prominence is used in addition to achieving alignment in these sentences preserving default constituent order. But, as shown in Arnhold & Féry (2013), prominence is less pervasive when speakers are able to achieve alignment by placing a new constituent in sentence-final position, which has traditionally been described as the default position for non-contrastive focus (Vilkuna, 1995). This suggests connection between syntactic and prosodic marking of information structure as

described for German topicalization by Féry (2007) and Ukrainian split constructions by Féry, Paslawska & Fanselow (2007).

3. Discussion: Finnish in Féry’s prosodic typology

Importantly, Finnish marking of information structure does not display any evidence for an inventory of contrasting pitch accents as seen in intonation languages. Instead, pitch movements can be explained as realization of tones associated with ι - or ϕ -phrases. These tones are sparse and largely invariable: H_ϕ and L_ϕ realized early and late, respectively, in each ϕ -phrase, and L_ι or, less frequently, H_ι at the end of ι -phrases (see Figure 1). While their precise alignment can vary, as seems typical of phrase language tones, this variation does not seem to be meaning-distinguishing in the way that differences in timing distinguish accent categories in intonation languages. Thus, intonational variation in Finnish is to a large extent variation in phrasing: Intonation is almost entirely made up of uniform pitch falls; what varies is the number of falls, and over how many and which constituents they are spread out.

In short, Finnish is a prototypical phrase language in the sense of Féry (2010, 2016). This label recognizes the intonational sparseness and regularity that is so characteristic of Finnish and is likely behind the obviously false idea that there is little or no intonation in Finnish (see review in Suomi et al., 2008:111). While Finnish may group with English and other intonation languages in a lexical prosodic typology by virtue of having stress, but no tone, this is not decisive in a phrase-level prosodic typology. In fact, as stated by Féry (2016:270-271), while some phrase languages have no lexical prosodic specifications, others, like Georgian and Hindi, may have stress and still others lexical pitch accents, like Turkish (Féry, 2016; Féry, Pandey, & Kentner, 2016; Güneş, 2014; Skopeteas, Féry, & Asatiani, 2009). The similarity of different phrase languages appears striking when listening to their prosody without listening to or understanding the segmental content, for example hearing low-pass filtered speech or the TV news in the next-door apartment. The same similarity can be observed within the categories of intonation languages and tone languages, while the differences between the three categories are even more noticeable. Féry’s typology captures these similarities and differences by providing a phonological account of phrase-level prosody.

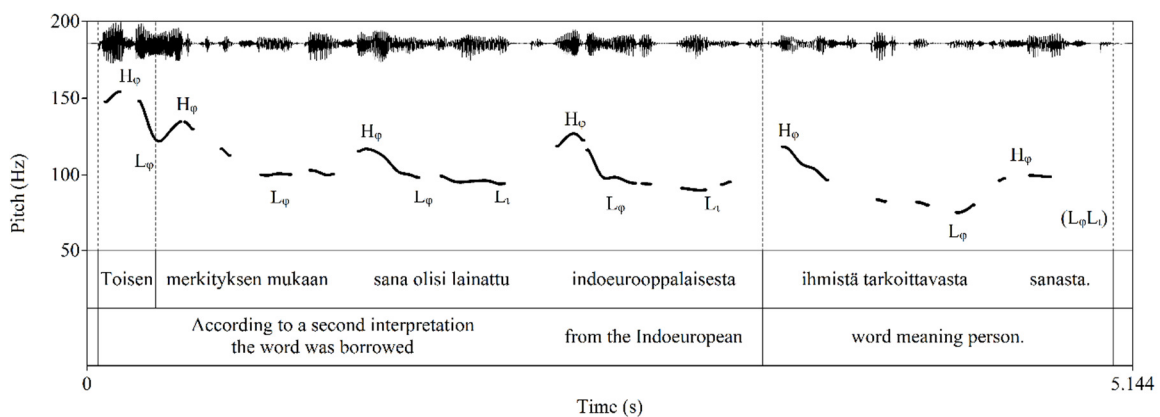


Figure 1. Illustration of regular Finnish prosody determined by phrasing at the ϕ -level (top tier) and the ι -level (bottom tier). The utterance is produced by Juhani Järviö, who once, when I was listening to

recordings of a male speaker of West Greenlandic, another phrase language, over headphones, asked if that was him speaking.

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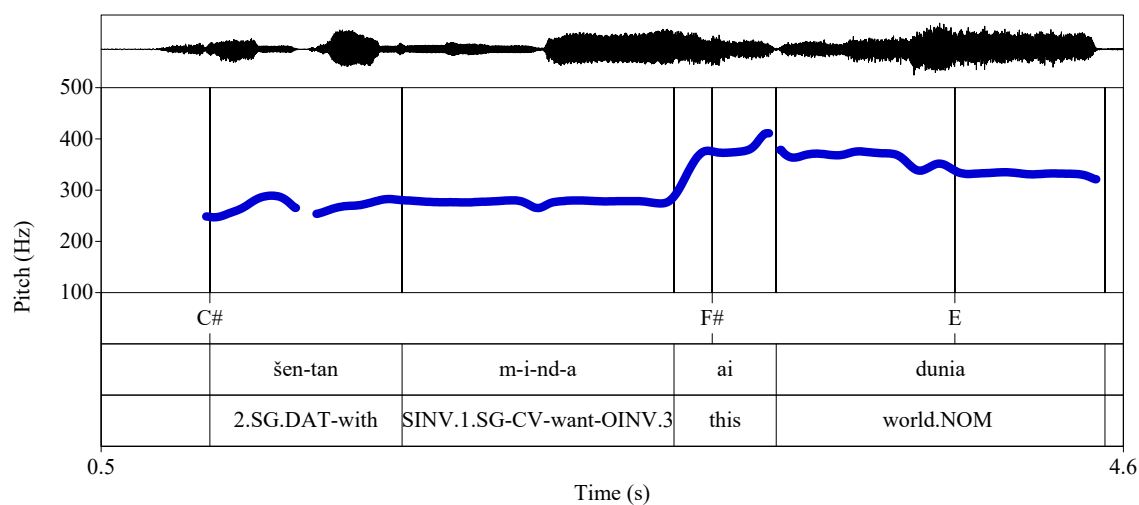
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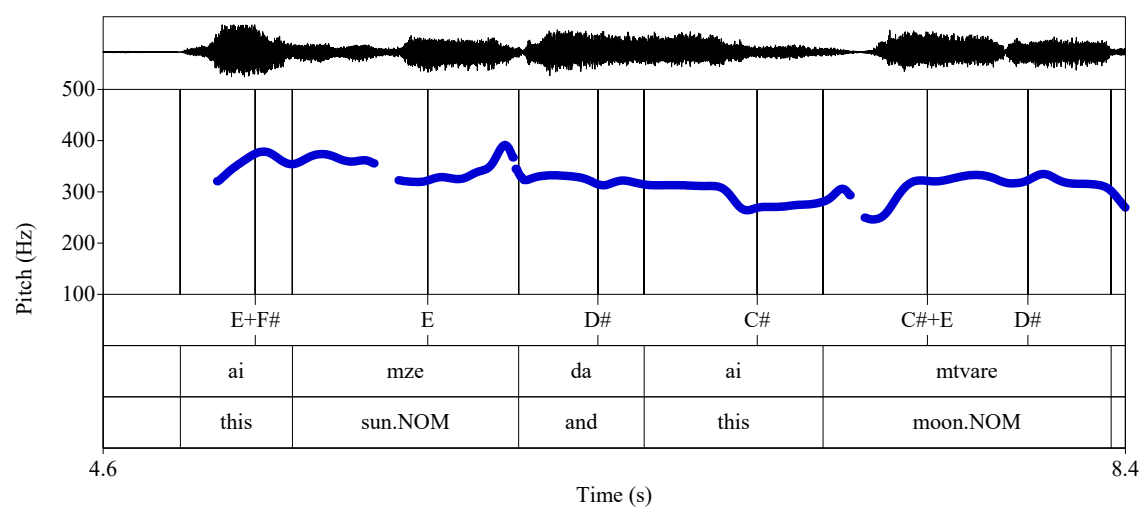
Rusiko Asatiani and Stavros Skopeteas

Dear Caroline,

as a small acknowledgment for our wonderful memories in working and thinking with you,
in discovering music in speech,
in sharing our daily khachapuri,
in enjoying the value of friendship and the taste of mchadi,
in transcribing Georgian voices
and in learning from you to be creative, friendly and to enjoy life with humor
we want to dedicate to you the Georgian song *ai dunia* (this world) in the following:



Tweets 'n greets



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Trio Mandili, *Ai dunia ai mze da ai mtvare*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SPGTE32-3kA>

♪ Kurzbeitrag zu einer etwas anderen Tonsprache ♪

Julia Biskupek

Den Spruch „*Musik ist die schönste Sprache der Welt!*“ liest und hört man gerade unter Musikern immer wieder. Als Linguisten würden wir ihn nicht sofort unterschreiben, würde das doch präsupponieren, Musik sei eine Sprache. *Ethnologue* führt unter allen zurzeit 7.111 gelisteten lebenden Sprachen zwar das austronesische, in Indonesien gesprochene, *Musi*¹ auf; *Musik* jedoch sucht man dort vergebens.

Drücken wir nun einmal ein Auge zu und betrachten das Ganze mit einem Augenzwinkern, so entdecken wir tatsächlich einige Parallelen zwischen dem System *Sprache* und dem System *Musik*. Nicht nur ersteres, sondern auch letzteres lässt sich durchaus als diskretes kombinatorisches System charakterisieren. Diskrete Elemente – wie in der Phonologie die einzelnen Phoneme mit ihren jeweiligen Merkmalen – finden wir im musikalischen Bereich beispielsweise in Gestalt der einzelnen Töne, ihren unterschiedlichen Tonhöhen und entsprechenden akustischen Korrelaten wieder. Diese endliche Anzahl diskreter Elemente, die verschiedenen Töne beziehungsweise Noten, können zu einer unendlichen Anzahl von größeren Einheiten kombiniert werden, zunächst zu einzelnen Phrasen und schließlich zu einem ganzen Musikstück. Systematisch erfolgt dies insofern, als beispielsweise im Hinblick auf Harmonie, Rhythmus oder Metrik musiktheoretische Regeln zu beachten sind. Über diese Beobachtungen hinaus sind Begriffe wie *Tondauer* und *-intensität*, *Akzentsetzung*, *Intonation* oder *Phrasierung* nicht nur in Sprachen, sondern auch in der Musik von Bedeutung.

Trotz der hier vorgestellten oberflächlichen Ähnlichkeiten spielen solche von Musikliebhabern geäußerten Zitate wie das anfangs erwähnte oder auch das folgende „*Musik ist eine Sprache, die jeder versteht.*“ weniger auf konkrete sprachliche Eigenschaften an als vielmehr auf die Eigenschaft von Musik, Gefühle (ohne Worte) zu transportieren. Musik kann – zumindest ohne Gesang – keine wörtliche inhaltliche Geschichte erzählen, wohl aber fühlen wir uns durch sie auf emotionaler Ebene angesprochen und berührt. Musik damit als eine Art nonverbaler Kommunikation zu bezeichnen, wäre an dieser Stelle jedoch etwas zu gewagt. Begnügen wir uns daher im Rahmen dieses kurzen Beitrags damit, dass sie – zumindest wortwörtlich genommen – eine etwas andere Art von Tonsprache ist.

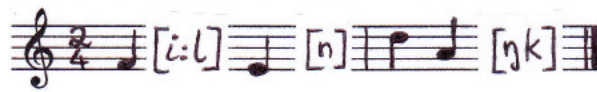
¹ <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/mui> (abgerufen am 20.06.2019)

Liebe Caroline,

für die schönen und lehrreichen Jahre an der Goethe-Universität Frankfurt möchte ich mich von Herzen bei Dir bedanken! Ich habe es genossen, nicht nur das Interesse an Sprache/n, sondern auch an Musik mit Dir zu teilen und ich wünsche Dir für dieses sowie für weitere außerlinguistische Hobbies und Interessen nun die Zeit und Muße, die in einem termin- und arbeitsreichen Alltag oft hintenanstehen müssen.

Musikalisch ausgedrückt wünsche ich Dir hiermit für die kommende Zeit ein *Andante* oder auch *Adagio* ‚a piacere‘ im Gegensatz zum vorherigen *Presto* ‚furioso‘, aber immer auch ausreichend *Allegro* ‚armonioso‘!

Julia



A friendly grammatical analysis of Caroline's L2 grammar

*Sebastian Bredemann in collaboration with Cohorts 3&4 of GK
Nominal Modification*

This paper provides a short description of Caroline Féry's German L2 grammar. Authentic data will be provided, and a grammatical analysis will be given, where applicable. We (the GK) will discuss her syntax, morphology and some observations about her phonology.

German is a West Germanic language, mainly spoken in Germany. A relatively small number of speakers is also attested in Austria and Switzerland. German has 90-95 million native speakers and 10-15 million L2 speakers (Wikipedia). One of these L2 speakers is Caroline (knowledge of the authors). The map in (1) shows, where Caroline's L2 German (from here on CL2G) is spoken:

(1)



Source: Google maps

The L2 level of Caroline is very high. There is no literature on CL2G, which is a big desideratum to this day.¹ Although Caroline's work is known among linguists, her German grammar lacks a description. This is our ambitious task.

¹ The NSA corpus, which contains linguistic data collected from all humans with a computer is not available to us, due to legal issues.

As her colleagues, friends, and family members know, her knowledge of the German lexicon is impressive and her grammatical competence has the level of a native speaker. Almost. As everyone who investigates L2 acquisition knows, the grammatical competence is biased by the learner's native language. The acquisition of some German properties is difficult for all L2 learners independently of linguistic background. Evidence for that is also found in CL2G, although we had to look very hard to find some. In the following, we will discuss syntactic, morphological and phonological aspects of CL2G. The source of this data is emails written by Caroline and personal memory, which is totally unbiased and perfectly reliable.

The syntax of CL2G certainly has the level of a native speaker. The only non-target like German sentence we found in an email:

- (2) *Lese bitte Korrektur ein paar Mal, auch [...] in Abschnitt 4,*
read please corrections a couple times, also in paragraph four
wo Tempus ist durcheinander.
where tempus is mixed.up
'Don't be so sloppy!'

The relative clause in „*wo Tempus ist durcheinander*“ has copula-predicate order, the copula *ist* precedes the predicate *durcheinander*. In the German target grammar, however, all subclauses are verb-final, and only the order predicate-copula is acceptable:

- (3) *Wo Tempus durcheinander ist.*

CL2G German syntax, however, allows the order predicate-copula as well:

- (4) *Ich hoffe, dass sie selbsterklärend sind.*
I hope, that they self.explanatory are
'I hope they are self-explanatory.'

Here, the predicate *selbsterklärend* precedes the copula *ist*. Unfortunately, we could not find an example where copula and predicate are embedded in a relative clause, but German word order is not dependent on the type of subclause. Comparing the examples in (1) and (3), we conclude that CL2G features free variation between the orders of copulas and predicates. The order between verb and object, however, is target-like in CL2G, as the examples in (4) indicate:

- (5) *Da sie sich ansonsten wundert, warum sie keine Antwort erhält.*
(6) *Es ist zu früh, um die Einführung zu schreiben.*
(7) *Ich habe das Experiment einer Kollegin geschickt.*

In the indirect WH-question in (5), the object-NP *keine Antwort* 'no answer' precedes the verb *erhält* 'get'. In (6), the infinitive *schreiben* follows its object *die Einführung*. In (7),

the lexical verb *geschickt* ‘sent’ is a participle and also follows the dative object *einer Kollegin*.

The dative NP *einer Kollegin* ‘a colleague’ leads us to the morphology of CL2G. The fusion of gender and case agreement in one morpheme is a very difficult aspect of German grammar to acquire for L2 learners. In Caroline’s written German, case and gender morphology is mastered exceptionally well. An exception is genitive plural. Consider the example she wrote in an email:

- (8) *Trotz viel-e Anfragen*
 despite many-? requests

The preposition *trotz* takes genitive case. The dative plural marking on modifiers is marked by the suffix *-er*, as illustrated in (9):

- (9) *Trotz viel-er Anfragen*
 despite many-GEN.PL requests

The ending we find in (8) is used only in the nominative plural. This is exemplified in (10):

- (10) *Viel-e interessant-e Vogel-Arten leben in Frankfurt*
 many-NOM.PL interesting-NOM.PL bird-species live-PL in F.

‘Watch out for crapping geese and pigeons, when you go outside in Frankfurt’

Due to spatial considerations, we will not go through the entire paradigm. The lexical gender specifications in CL2G sometimes deviate from L1 German. Consider the examples in (11). The examples indicate that there is a bias towards neuter gender.²

- (11) a. CL2G
Klein-es Kommentar
 small-NEUT.ACC.SG comment
- b. L1
klein-er Kommentar
 small-MASC.ACC.SG comment
- (12) a. CL2G
ein-Ø Mora
 INDF.DET-NEUT.NOM.SG mora

² A bias towards neuter gender is observed in other L2 speakers as well, e.g. Abigail Anne Bimpeh (again highly reliable personal observations, checked with the participant post-hoc to avoid observer’s paradox).

b. L1

ein-e

Mora

INDF.DET-FEM.NOM.SG mora

Finding phonological data is perhaps the hardest challenge for any linguist who has an interest in CL2G, since it requires a lot of fieldwork. On top of that, this book is presented as a surprise to her. Therefore, we could not drag Caroline into the Phono-Lab, since that would have made her suspicious. Although there are observations about her phonology, these stem from the author's memory and there is no confidence in whether they are correct. Her phonetic realization for schwa, for instance, seems a little bit lower to the hearer, but there are no recordings that could justify that claim.

This is by far the most exhaustive grammatical description of CL2G that has yet been provided in the literature. To gain even more insights a larger corpus is needed. In order to collect spontaneous speech data, we encourage wearing a hidden microphone when communicating with her. What is still lacking are insights into how Caroline processes German language. A semantic analysis is also missing. Therefore, we as a GK encourage members of the linguistics institute in Frankfurt to apply for a DFG grant to do further research on Caroline's German. In that way, she will be forced to remain present around the campus and we will not miss her as much.

Impressive reference list

https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Sprache

Personal greetings

Liebe Caroline,

ich danke dir für die tolle Unterstützung in den letzten Jahren. Du bist einer der Gründe, warum ich es nicht bereue, hier in Frankfurt geblieben zu sein. Die Goethe-Uni ist meine Heimat und sehr viel davon verbinde ich mit deiner Person. Je länger du mich betreut hast, desto wohler habe ich mich hier gefühlt. Am Ende waren nicht nur meine Familie und Freunde froh darüber, dass ich hiergeblieben bin, sondern auch ich selbst. Denn ich weiß, dass ich hier gut aufgehoben bin.

Dein persönliches Engagement fand ich immer beeindruckend. Als ich von UMass zu einem Skypeinterview eingeladen wurde, hast du dich die ganze Woche darüber gefreut, wie du mir gesagt hast. Das und auch vieles anderes, hat mir gezeigt, dass dir mein Erfolg auch persönlich am Herzen liegt. Auch wenn meine Bewerbungen für die USA am Ende nicht erfolgreich waren, will ich dir für dein Engagement noch einmal danken, denn das fand ich aller Ehren wert. Rückblickend betrachtet, ist in all den Jahren meinerseits zu kurz gekommen, dir meinen Dank dafür und auch für alles andere auszusprechen. Das möchte ich hiermit nachholen. Vor 4 Jahren hast du angefangen meine Betreuerin zu sein, als ich meine Bachelorarbeit bei dir geschrieben

for Caroline Féry

habe. Seitdem hast du hast meinen Werdegang an der Uni maßgeblich geprägt. Du hast mich gefördert, indem du mich einerseits motiviert und an mich geglaubt hast. Dazu haben mich die hohen Ansprüche, die du immer an mich hattest, enorm weitergebracht. Auch dafür bin ich dir sehr dankbar.

Ich finde es toll, dass du mich auch aus dem Ruhestand heraus noch betreust. Ich weiß nicht, wie du dazu stehst, nicht mehr unterrichten zu können und nicht mehr aktiv an der Universität beschäftigt zu sein, aber ich wünsche dir von Herzen, dass du deinem Ruhestand, den du dir mehr als verdient hast, sehr viel Positives abgewinnen kannst.

Ich wünsche dir alles Gute und einen schönen Ruhestand. Ich wiederhole mich, wenn ich sage, dass du ihn dir verdient hast.

Sebastian

The orthographic syllable does not always correspond to the linguistic syllable in Vietnamese

Sarah Duong Phu

In honour of my supervisor Caroline Féry, I am writing a short article about the Vietnamese syllable. This is the result of some discussions I had with her. I am always grateful for all that she has done for me.

The modern Vietnamese writing system Quốc Ngữ is mainly based on the very influential 17th century dictionary: de Rhodes (1651). Quốc Ngữ contains a Latin alphabet with some diacritics especially for vowel quality and tones. This writing system has syllable writing. Presumably because Vietnamese words often consist of one syllable. (1) shows the one syllable word *học* ‘study’, in (2) the two syllable word *ngân hàng* ‘bank’ is shown. In (3) we find the two syllable French loan word *cà phê* ‘coffee’. Each orthographic syllable contains one of the six lexical tones which are marked through diacritics.¹

(1) *học*

‘study’

(2) *ngân hàng*

‘bank’ (institution)

(3) *cà phê*

‘coffee’

As far as I am concerned, none of the standard Vietnamese grammars (cf. Thompson 1965, Nguyễn 1997, Emeneau 1951) or other literature on Vietnamese in general question the separation of syllables provided by Vietnamese orthography. In this paper, I will show that Vietnamese orthography does not always correctly predict how syllables are separated from each other: When two or more Vietnamese vowels occur next to each other in an orthographic syllable, for some constructions a two syllable analysis seems to be appropriate.

¹ The level tone does not have its own diacritic.

The number of Vietnamese vowels, diphthongs and possible triphthongs highly differs according to the author. Kirby (2011), for example, presents a 9 vowel system, whereas Thompson (1965) describes an 11 vowel system and Emerich (2012) a 14 vowel system. Reasons for this are difficulties in grouping long and short vowels as well as diphthongs. Discussing the different vowel system goes beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, I am only showing the vowel system provided by Kirby (2011), see Figure 1.

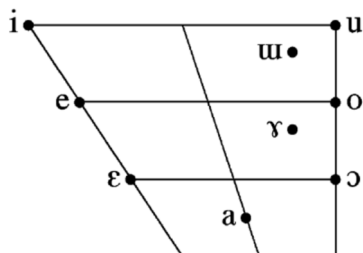


Figure 1. Kirby 2011 (p. 384)

I am now providing examples for two syllable structures that only display one orthographic syllable. In (4) the noun *ho.a* ‘flower’ (orthographic syllable *hoa*) contains two syllables. The vowels both contain a level tone and are not separated from another by a glottal stop. In German, we also find /ɔ.a/ appearing in two syllables without glottal stop, namely when the second syllable is unstressed (for German see Albert 2001). In (5) *bo.a* ‘wow’, an example of this vowel cluster in German is shown.

- (4) *ho.a* /hɔ.a/
‘flower’

- (5) *bo.a* /bɔ.a/
‘wow’

Not only Vietnamese orthographic syllables ending in a vowel may be two syllabic, also those ending in a consonant as shown in *ti.ên* ‘fairy’ (orthographic syllable *tiên*) in (6).

- (6) *ti.ên* /ti.ən/
‘fairy’

In this paper; I showed that orthographic syllables do not need to correspond to linguistic syllables in Vietnamese. This was shown in the cases of two adjacent vowels. However, more research is needed in order to show when exactly two syllable structures occur and in which cases we find diphthongs.

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And the Oscar for the best supporting actor goes to...¹

Cornelia Ebert

“Working as a supporting artiste is not as glamorous as it sounds. [...] Extras aren’t supposed to say anything during a take, for as the saying goes, you aren’t being paid to talk.”²

In this short paper, I will be concerned with what I consider the supporting actors in language: intonation and gesture. I will present the results of an experiment that aims at contributing to the question what supporting role they play exactly and finally settling the question which of the two will be awarded the Oscar.

The idea for this contribution grew out of a conversation I had with Caroline some weeks ago, where she asked me about my motivation to engage with gestures, since – so she conjectured (in line with many others I had talked to about this before) – gestures cannot belong to language proper, one argument being that people happily communicate without relying on gestures, for example on the phone. I told her that I was surprised to hear this concern from her as a phonologist, because while it’s true that communication is possible without gesture it is also true that communication is possible without intonation, evidenced by the fact that we can understand written texts.

This contribution aims at following up on the conversation we had on that occasion, but also continuing earlier discussions when Caroline was the spokesperson of the SFB “Information Structure” in Potsdam (2003-2010), where I had a PhD position and had worked on semantic effects of information structure. In fact, I believe that gesture

¹ This work has been conducted in the context of the project PSIMS (‘The Pragmatic Status of Iconic Meaning in Spoken Communication: Gestures, Ideophones, Prosodic Modulations’) within the Priority Program 1727 XPRAG.de, funded by the German Science Foundation DFG. For helpful discussions and comments as well as support with the experimental design, execution, and statistical evaluation I would like to thank Jörg Dreyer, Christian Ebert, Stefan Hinterwimmer, Robin Hörnig, Robert Müller, Giovanna Pirillo, Peter Staudacher, and Theresa Stender.

² <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/26/secret-life-film-television-extra-supporting-artiste>

nowadays shares the same fate as intonation some 40 years ago, when the role of intonation and its semantic potential was still unsettled.

1. Theory and background

It took a while until generativist linguists acknowledged that intonation belongs to language and could possibly be an interesting field for investigation also in a formal realm. It took even longer until semanticists understood that intonation does not only affect appropriateness conditions, but also truth conditions and could hence be a fruitful topic of semantics and not only pragmatics. Rooth (1985) (but see already Dretske 1975) pointed out that (1a) has different truth conditions from (1b), while the only difference between the two sentences lies in their focus assignment, which is reflected by the fact that (1a) has its nuclear accent on BILL, while in (1b) it is on SUE.

- (1) a. *Mary only introduced [BILL]_F to Sue.*
b. *Mary only introduced Bill to [SUE]_F.*

(1a) is true in situations where there was no other person apart from Bill that was introduced to Sue, whereas (1b) is only true in situations in which Bill was introduced exclusively to Sue, but to nobody else. In other words, (1a) can be falsified by a situation where Mary introduced Bill and Paul to Sue, while (1b) would be true in such a situation, as long as Bill was not introduced to anybody else than Sue.

Ever since Rooth' (1985) seminal thesis, semanticists investigated the different truth-conditional effects that information-structural categories like focus, but also topicality can have: Information structure has the power to determine a quantifier's arguments, in particular adverbial quantifiers tend to interpret topical material in the restrictor and focal material in the nuclear scope (Rooth 1985, Partee 1991, Herburger 1993, Krifka 1990, Diesing 1992). There is also a close connection between specificity, partitivity, and wide scope on the one hand and topicality on the other. Topical indefinites tend to be interpreted specifically or take wide scope (Cresti 1995, Jäger 1999, Endriss & Hinterwimmer 2006, Endriss 2009). And quite generally, information structure and accenting have a great influence on the availability of scope readings (Pafel 1997, Büring 1997).

Some decades later the same picture arises, I believe, in a different context. In these days it is common linguistic wisdom that intonation belongs to language proper, that it can be studied by using the same formal methods as other phenomena, and that it can have hard semantic truth conditional effects. But all this does not seem to hold for co-speech gestures. Among linguists, gestures are still widely seen as speech-accompanying material that is not linguistic in nature and that cannot be investigated and captured with the established formal linguistic methods. There seems to exist some silent agreement that while gesture might add some kind of meaning to what is said, this meaning component is necessarily different in nature from meaning that comes from speech and

should not be investigated with the same tools. Furthermore, people often argue that gesture contributions cannot be of any significance because we can do without. We can communicate and understand each other just by talking without taking gestures into account, as we do on the phone.

But isn't this really the same situation as with intonation? When we read a text, understanding language is possible without taking intonation into account. And yet, we know that intonation is an integral part of language – and one, as we have pointed out above, that can make truth-conditional contributions. When we read, we consider language in a different modality, abstracted from its intonational properties. Why not consider spoken language without gesture in the same way – as language abstracted from its visual semantic potential?

In recent years, Lascarides & Stone (2009), Ebert & Ebert (2014) and Schlenker (2018), among others, have argued that co-speech gestures do contribute meaning in the standard semantic sense. And it could be shown that this gestural meaning enters composition as non-at-issue information by default. Consider an utterance of (2) (along the lines of examples from Ebert & Ebert 2014) with a simultaneous iconic gesture indicating an oval object (where underlining indicates co-occurrence of speech and gesture).

(2) *Caroline bought a casserole*_{+ 'oval' gesture}.

The verbal and gestural meaning together communicate that Caroline bought a casserole and that this casserole was oval. The gestural meaning comes in as non-at-issue meaning, evidenced by the fact that gestural meaning cannot be directly denied (cf. 3a) and that it projects across operators as negation, such that (3b) is an incoherent piece of discourse in contrast to (3c), where the shape information is expressed by an adjective.

- (3) a. *#That's not true, the casserole isn't oval./Hey, wait a minute, the casserole isn't oval.*
- b. *I would never buy a casserole*_{+ 'oval' gesture}. *# Lasagna noodles do not fit in there.*
- c. *I would never buy an oval casserole. Lasagna noodles do not fit in there.*

Although people have argued that non-at-issue material does not contribute to truth conditions in the same way as at-issue material (Potts 2005³), it is without any doubt that non-at-issue material has some influence on the truth conditions of a sentence containing it (but see Syrett & Koev 2014 for discussion). This also holds for the gesture contribution in (2). While a situation where Caroline bought an oval casserole verifies the utterance, one where she bought a square one does not in the same way, because it does not meet

³ Ebert et al. (2019) investigate the nature of the semantic contribution of gestures and their influence on truth value judgements. They find experimental verification of their non-at-issueness in a picture verification task.

the requirements that come in via the gestural component, i.e. that the casserole Caroline bought was oval.

So under the hypothesis that gesture makes similarly meaningful contributions as intonation the question arises how strong the semantic impact of gesture and speech is and whether gesture can influence truth conditions in similar ways as intonation. And a further question would be: which of the two is the one that defeats the other and has the stronger semantic potential? We aimed at pursuing precisely this question by way of a forced choice study that investigates reference resolution of pronouns on the basis of co-speech gesture information on the one hand and intonation on the other.

From the literature we know that intonation can control pronoun resolution, which is yet another case of intonation influencing truth conditions. Below, I will show that the same holds for co-speech gesture, too. Lakoff (1971) was among the first to point out that intonation plays a crucial role for pronoun resolution, as evidenced by the following example.

- (4) a. *Paul insulted Bill. And then he hit him.*
b. *Paul insulted Bill. And then HE hit HIM.*

While the second sentence of (4a) is most naturally interpreted with the first pronoun (*he*) resolved to Paul and the second (*him*) to Bill, i.e. *parallel* to the presentation of the DPs in the first sentence, it is the other way around in (4b), where the pronouns carry contrastive stress. Here, pronoun resolution is *inverse* and *HE* is interpreted as referring to Bill and *HIM* to Paul.

Interestingly, pronoun resolution can also be managed by co-speech gestures. A speaker can point to a location in the gesture space while using a name to locate a referent in the gesture space (see Kendon 2004, Fricke 2009, cf. Bühler's *deixis am phantasma*) and to refer back to the respective referents via a pronoun (see Goodrich Smith & Hudson Kam 2012 and Foraker 2014 for experimental studies and Ebert 2018 for discussion of related cases). In the following examples, we consider a situation where the referents under discussion (Ede and Jan) are not present and hence a proper deictic use of the pronoun *he* is excluded. Here and in subsequent examples, A and B denote locations in the gesture space. A is a point to the left of the central gesture space in front of the speaker and B is a point more to the right of the central gesture space.

- (5) a. *Jan_{+point to A} talked to Ede_{+point to B} about emptying the dish washer and collecting premiums. And then he_{+point to A} left the room.*
b. *Jan_{+point to A} talked to Ede_{+point to B} about emptying the dish washer and collecting premiums. And then he_{+point to B} left the room.*

In (5a), *he* in the second sentence is most naturally resolved to Jan, while in (5b) it is resolved to Ede due to the co-speech gesture, which serves to determine reference and thus has truth-conditional effect in these cases.

2. Experiment: design

In an experimental study, we now aimed at testing for the reference determination potential of intonation, which we know from the literature, in comparison to the much less understood reference determination potential of co-speech gestures.

The study was designed as a forced choice experiment with four conditions in a Latin Square design, i.e. participants saw one item only in one of the four conditions. We had eight items (and nine filler items). Each participant hence saw two items per condition. We tested 16 German native speakers, 4 per list. Participants were recruited from the experiment platform *prolific* (<https://prolific.ac>). Consider the following example item.

(6) *Erst hat Peter Paul geÄRgert. Und dann hat er ihn geSCHLAgen.*

‘First Peter annoyed Paul. And then he hit him.’

Such an item came in the following four conditions:

1. unstressed + no gesture

Erst hat Peter Paul geÄRgert. Und dann hat er ihn geSCHLAgen.

2. stressed + no gesture

Erst hat Peter Paul geÄRgert. Und dann hat ER IHN geSCHLAgen.

3. unstressed + gestures (inverse)

Erst hat Peter_{+point to A} Paul_{+point to B} geÄRgert. Und dann hat er_{+point to B} ihn_{+point to A} geSCHLAgen.

4. stressed + gestures (parallel)

Erst hat Peter_{+point to A} Paul_{+point to B} geÄRgert. Und dann hat ER_{+point to A} IHN_{+point to B} geSCHLAgen.

Note that pointing was always inverse to what intonation predicts. In other words, with unstressed pronouns pointing was to (the location in gesture space standing proxy for) the second referent first and to the first referent second, while with stressed pronouns it was to the first referent first and to the second referent second. Hence, pointing was predicted to work in the opposite direction than intonation.

Subjects were shown a video with a person uttering the item in one of the four conditions above. We took care that stress patterns were kept constant over the first two and the last two of the conditions. After having watched the video with the utterance, the subjects were asked to answer a question and choose among two possible answers.

(7) *Wer hat wen geschlagen?* (‘Who hit whom?’)

a. *der Peter den Paul* (‘Paul Peter’)

b. *der Paul den Peter* (‘Peter Paul’)

Participants were instructed that they have to choose one of the two answers. In case they consider both as possible they should decide for the one that they find more plausible.

We included nine filler items, which involved pointing. They were designed along the lines of the following example.

- (8) *Gestern auf der Party hat Peter_{+point to A} Linus_{+point to B} beleidigt. Der_{+point to B} hat dann sofort angefangen zu weinen.*

‘Yesterday at the party Peter insulted Linus. He [d-pro] immediately started crying then.’

This is an example where pointing supports the intended meaning. Linus was the one who was insulted and hence the one who most likely started crying. D-pronouns, as in the second sentence, are usually argued to pick up non-subject or non-topical referents (Bosch et al. 2003, Bosch et al. 2007). Hence, in example (8), the d-pronoun is predicted to refer to Linus. Pointing is compatible with this preference, as it is also to (the location associated with) Linus. Second, we also included examples of this kind, but with pointing to the subject so that pointing and d-pronoun resolution are not in line with each other. And third, we had filler items where pointing was misleading with an additional gender mismatch.

- (9) *Heute Morgen hat Markus_{+point to A} Lily_{+point to B} einen lang ersehnten Wunsch erfüllt. Die_{+point to A} war danach total aus dem Häuschen.*

‘Today Markus fulfilled a long-awaited wish of Lily’s. She [d-pro] was totally thrilled afterwards.’

Three items of each sort were included.

3. Experiment: hypotheses

Our hypothesis was to verify the judgements from the literature and find that people prefer parallel pronoun resolution with unstressed pronouns (condition 1) and inverse pronoun resolution with contrastive stress on the pronouns (condition 2). If, as we argue, co-speech gestures can serve to determine the resolution of pronouns, we expect an effect of gesture in the following way: For condition 3, we expect that people choose inverse pronoun resolution more often than without gesture (in condition 1, cf. results of Goodrich Smith & Hudson Kam 2012 and Foraker 2014). And for condition 4, we predict that, with the contrastive stress pattern, participants favour parallel resolution more often than without gesture (in condition 2). Furthermore, conditions 3 and 4 can tell us more about the pronoun resolution potential of gesture and intonation in comparison to each other. As gesture and intonation work in opposite directions, we can see which of the two has stronger impact. Condition 4 is especially telling in this context. Here, we have strong contrastive stress, which, according to the literature, results in inverse pronoun resolution. On the other hand, gesture marking induces parallel pronoun resolution according to our

assumptions. A general preference for inverse resolution would suggest that intonation has a stronger impact than co-speech gesture. Overall preference for parallel resolution would suggest that gesture has a stronger influence than intonation.

4. Experiment: results⁴

Data of 16 participants (2 observations per participant per condition) were subjected to a generalized linear mixed model analysis (glmm) with intercepts for participants and items as random factors using the lme4 package in R. The relative frequencies of parallel pronoun resolutions in the four conditions are shown in Figure 1.

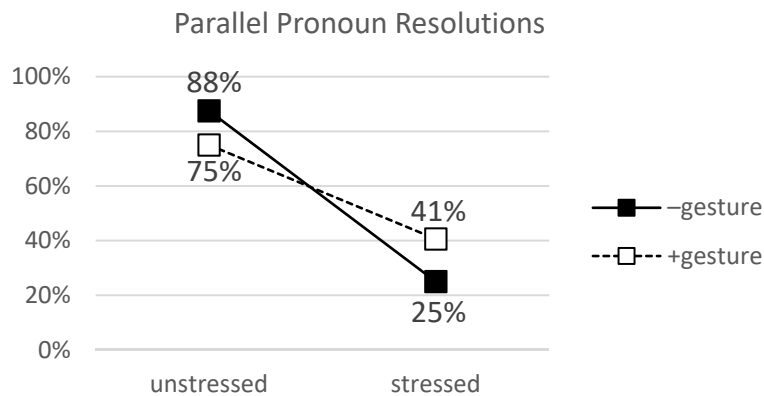


Figure 1. Percentages of parallel pronoun resolutions as a function of intonation and gesture

The analysis confirmed a main effect of intonation ($z = 4.87$, $p < .001$: 81 % vs. 33 % for stressed and unstressed pronouns). The interaction of intonation with gesture almost reached significance ($z = 1.95$, $p = .051$). As expected, the gesture in favour of an inverse resolution accompanying the unstressed pronoun decreased the frequency of parallel resolutions, whereas the gesture in favour of a parallel resolution accompanying the stressed pronoun increased the frequency of parallel resolutions. Thus, the statistical interaction corroborates a consistent effect of gesture in the direction that the gesture provides evidence for.

5. Experiment: discussion

Observations from the literature that unstressed pronouns favour parallel resolution are clearly confirmed (88% answers for parallel resolution). It could also be confirmed that contrastive stress induces inverse pronoun resolution (75% answers for inverse resolution). Furthermore, we found an interaction effect. While there were 88% answers for parallel resolution for unstressed pronouns without gesture, with gesture (working in

⁴ I would like to thank Robin Hörnig for help with the statistics and interpretation of the results.

the opposite direction, i.e. for an inverse resolution) there were only 75%. Also, stressed pronouns clearly favour inverse readings (only 25% answers for parallel pronoun resolution), but with gestures suggesting the opposite (= parallel) resolution pattern, we find 41% answers with parallel pronoun resolution.

With this experiment we could verify the observations from the literature and we find a clear gesture effect, which means that there is evidence for the claim that gesture can assist to determine pronoun resolution, which confirms results of Goodrich Smith & Hudson Kam 2012 and Foraker 2014. But furthermore, we also observe that intonation has a stronger impact than gesture. Whenever gesture and intonation work in opposite directions, most answers are in line with what would be predicted by the intonation pattern.

6. Conclusion

After all we can finally ascertain that the Oscar for the most important supporting role in language goes to... – and what else would we dare to present here in this volume? – ... INTONATION (but gesture seems to be more than an extra, too).

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Appendix

Items:

- (1) *Erst hat Stefan Charles geärgert. Und dann hat er ihn geschlagen.*
- (2) *Erst hat Fritz Pierre eine Uhr geschenkt. Und dann hat er ihn in die Karibik eingeladen.*
- (3) *Erst hat Axel Mustafa bei den Hausaufgaben geholfen. Und dann hat er ihm die Abschlussarbeit geschrieben.*
- (4) *Erst hat Robert Silas in den Bauch gestupst. Und dann er ihn gebissen.*
- (5) *Erst hat Mario Finn das Einmaleins beigebracht. Und dann hat er ihm die Galoistheorie erklärt.*
- (6) *Erst hat Moritz Levin ein Buch ausgeliehen. Und dann hat er ihm die komplette Beast-Quest-Kollektion mit nach Hause gegeben.*
- (7) *Erst hat Philipp Kevin ausgelacht. Und dann hat er ihn vor der kompletten Schule bloßgestellt.*
- (8) *Erst hat Jörg Alessandro in die Pizzeria eingeladen. Und dann hat er ihn in ein Sterne-Restaurant ausgeführt.*

Fillers:

- (1) *Gestern auf der Party hat Peter_{+point to A} Linus_{+point to B} beleidigt.
Der_{+point to B} hat dann sofort angefangen zu weinen.*
- (2) *Letztes Jahr hat Sven_{+point to A} Hans_{+point to B} beim Tennis geschlagen.
Der_{+point to A} forderte sofort eine Revanche.*
- (3) *Heute Morgen hat Markus_{+point to A} Lily_{+point to B} einen lang ersehnten Wunsch erfüllt.
Die_{+point to A} war danach total aus dem Häuschen.*
- (4) *Neulich hat Henry_{+point to A} Tom_{+point to B} das Handy geklaut.
Der_{+point to B} suchte erfolglos den ganzen Tag danach.*
- (5) *Gestern hat Rob_{+point to A} Sam_{+point to B} mit einem Ausflug ins Phantasialand überrascht.
Der_{+point to A} wollte da schon immer mal hingehen.*
- (6) *Letztes Wochenende hat Daniel_{+point to A} Laura_{+point to B} im Schwimmbad ins Wasser geschubst.
Die_{+point to A} hatte das überhaupt nicht kommen sehen.*
- (7) *Vorhin hat Karl_{+point to A} Leonard_{+point to B} einen Stift geliehen.
Der_{+point to B} vergisst nämlich ständig sein Federmäppchen.*
- (8) *Vor ein paar Tagen hat Michael_{+point to A} Lukas_{+point to B} beim Umzug geholfen.
Der_{+point to A} war ihm dafür sehr dankbar.*
- (9) *Letzte Woche hat Thomas_{+point to A} Lea_{+point to B} beim Fußballspielen verletzt.
Die_{+point to A} musste daraufhin ausgewechselt werden.*

Moderne Zeiten

Gisbert Fanselow

0. Zumindest in Deutschland, und vielleicht auch nur in der Linguistik, scheint die klassische Festschrift tot zu sein. Die Verlage mögen sie nicht (wenn Festschrift im Titel erscheint, verkauft sich das Buch nicht, sagte mir ein Verlagsmanager vor ein paar Jahren), die prospektiven Autoren vielleicht auch nicht (in den Zeiten der Szientometrie muss alles „peer reviewed“ sein) und vielleicht auch die Geehrten nicht – denn nur selten bekommt man feedback für den Beitrag, den man mit Aufwand erstellte und gerne dem Band zur Verfügung stellte. In der Suche nach neuen Formen des Markierens wichtiger Punkte des akademischen Lebens bewegen wir uns ins Poetische, ins Komische (beidesmal: wenn’s denn gelingt) oder, wie hier nun in diesem Beitrag, ins Politische.

1. Meine erstes Zusammentreffen mit Caroline reicht in die Achtziger Jahre zurück. „Das ist Edes Freundin“ sagte mir jemand, als eine junge Frau mit Kinderwagen (darinnen Alain) in einen der Seminarräume im Linguistiktrakt der Konstanzer Universität trat. Der Kinderwagen ist der Erwähnung wert, weil er einen Durchbruch symbolisiert, den Caroline und andere Frauen ihrer Generation erzwungen haben: die Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf auch für Frauen. Professorinnen gab es schon vor Carolines Zeiten, aber der Weg in die Wissenschaft hatte einen Preis, den mir eine längst emeritierte Potsdamer Kollegin eindrücklich schilderte: damals, als sie jung war, musste sie sich zwischen Partnerschaft und Karriere entscheiden. Dass ihr dies auch noch Jahre nach dem Abschied von der Uni naheging, war deutlich zu spüren. Eines der Gespräche, die man nicht vergisst.

Carolines Generation, Caroline selber, veränderten unsere Gesellschaft deutlich, indem sie, unter großen Mühen, Entbehrungen, und emotionalen Belastungen, die Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf vorlebten und so einen neuen Weg öffneten. Mir scheint dies eine Leistung zu sein, die wir nicht genug würdigen können.

Als Potsdamer Frühberufener hatte ich ja das Privileg, akademische Lebensläufe in Ost und West vergleichen zu können. Die Vereinbarkeit von Beruf und Familie war im staatssozialistischen Teil Deutschlands Realität lange bevor man im Westen überhaupt nur drüber nachdachte. Natürlich lag dies an der flächendeckenden Kinderbetreuung. Jedenfalls gibt es keine unter meinen emeritierten Kolleginnen aus Ostdeutschland, die je die Klage über erzwungenes „Entweder-Oder“ geführt hätten, von der ich gerade berichtete.

Wer an Ostdeutschland kein gutes Haar lassen mag, sagt: Ja, aber! Denn auch im Osten lag (und liegt) die Hauptlast der Familienarbeit bei den Frauen. Stimmt, der

gesellschaftliche Rahmen ändert sich langsam, doch ändert das nichts an den damaligen Unterschieden im Ausmaß der Familienpflichten, und der sozialen Akzeptanz der berufstätigen Mutter.

Was die Familienarbeit angeht, so lernte ich auf einer Graduiertenkollegsbegehung, dass manche Eliteeinrichtung nun auch Väterkurse anbietet. Mit dem deutlichen Ziel, die Bereitschaft zur gerechten Partizipation an den Familienpflichten zu erhöhen. Mir scheint das ein ganz netter Gedanke zu sein, aber er ist Teil einer gesamtgesellschaftlichen Tendenz, strukturelle Mängel unseres Systems den Charakterdefiziten der einzelnen Menschen anzulasten. Wir leben in einer Gesellschaft mit deutlich gesteigerter Lebenserwartung, und beruflichen Kontexten, die zumindest in der Wissenschaft hohe Produktivität die ganze Lebenszeit über ermöglichen. Als Caroline zu uns nach Potsdam kam, hatte sie schon mit ihrer Arbeiten zur deutschen Phonologie einen wichtigen neuen Beitrag in die Linguistik eingebracht, und es ging (und geht) dann Schlag auf Schlag weiter – für mich als Syntaktiker am ehesten transparent in so wichtigen Artikeln wie *Focus as Prosodic Alignment* von 2013, oder ihr Buch *Intonation and Prosodic Structure* von 2017. Da wir also viel viel Zeit für wissenschaftliche Produktivität haben, scheint es mir wunderbar, warum der Druck am Anfang der Karriere so stark ist. Mehr Gelassenheit dort, und das heißt vor allem längere Arbeitsverträge ohne den ständigen Druck des Nachweises der Leistungsfähigkeit täten uns gut. Dann würden wir auch mehr Frauen für die Wissenschaft rekrutieren können - und auch mehr Männer, die ihre Karriere nicht vor die Familie stellen.

Zwei weitere Beispiele für schwierige Entwicklungen will ich ergänzen. Einige Graduiertenkollegs sind z.B. auf den Gedanken gekommen, die Stellen nicht auf die vorgesehenen drei Jahre zu vergeben, sondern nach einem Jahr eine Prüfung der Leistungen der DoktorandInnen vorzunehmen. Nur wenn der Daumen hoch geht, wird die Stelle verlängert. Es wird berichtet, die DoktorandInnen sähen dies sogar positiv. Das mag sein, aber wenn man deren Meinung einholt, dann erfährt man ja nichts über die Einstellungen der jungen Nachwuchstalente, die sich auf so ein System nicht einlassen wollen, weil sie für ihre Lebensplanung etwas Sicherheit und Stetigkeit benötigen, oder einfach nur wollen.

Ein falscher Weg der Gleichstellungsförderung ist für mich die um sich greifende Mode, bei Konferenzbesuchen junger Elternteile auch die Reisekosten für die Kinder und den Partner aus öffentlichen Mitteln zu finanzieren, damit die Konferenzteilnahme möglich ist. Oder gar bei längeren Auslandsaufenthalten Partner und Kinder gleich mitzufinanzieren. Das scheint mir erstens über das Maß hinauszugehen, das man den Steuerzahlern noch vermitteln kann, besonders solchen, deren Monatseinkommen unter den 3000 Euro liegt, die solche zusätzlichen Leistungen z.B. beim Konferenzbesuch jeweils verschlingen mögen. Die Leistung setzt auch voraus, in einem Familienkontext zu leben, der ihre Inanspruchnahme überhaupt ermöglicht. Und sie legt indirekt einen

Druck auf die jungen WissenschaftlerInnen mit Familie, am Workshop und Konferenztrubel doch teilzunehmen.

Dass solche Modelle in die Drittmittelförderung eingehen, zeigt für mich, dass die Grenzen des durch Geldeinsatz erreichbaren Fortschritts erreicht sind.

2. Mein zweites Zusammentreffen mit Caroline, an das ich mich erinnern kann, liegt deutlich später als das erste. Es war der Anfang einer langen, schönen, gemeinsamen Zeit im Linguistikdepartment der Uni Potsdam.

Die Universität Potsdam hatte -endlich!- die Phonologieprofessur ausgeschrieben, und als Vorsitzender der Berufungskommission dachte ich es wäre eine gute Idee, alle in die engere Auswahl genommenen BewerberInnen persönlich zu besuchen, um mir ein genaueres Bild von Person und Inhalt zu machen. So traf ich Caroline in Tübingen zum Abendessen, und legt noch weitere Kilometer in Deutschland zurück, um bis auf eine (aus den USA) alle anderen BewerberInnen zu treffen. Als Syntaktiker verstand ich ja herzlich wenig von der Phonologie. Sie war, mit Ausnahme eines Seminars von Arnim von Stechow, auch nicht Teil meiner Ausbildung gewesen (!), trotzdem musste ich sie in meinem ersten richtigen Job, in Passau, sofort unterrichten, als Teil unseres Beitrags zum Anglistikstudium – nach dem ersten Versuch hat Sascha Felix dann der Kurs wieder übernommen. Aber davon will ich gar nicht berichten. Auch nicht davon, dass wir die Phonologieprofessur nur einer paradoxen Intervention verdankten: Verzweifelt über den gestoppten personellen Weiterbau der Potsdamer Linguistik beantragte das Institut die Schließung des Studiengangs Linguistik (bei Beibehaltung von Patho- und Computerlinguistik). Trotz der deutlichen Warnungen der Prorektorin Bärbel Kirsch, einer wahren Freundin der Linguistik, dass das die Verpflichtung zur Ausschreibung von Professuren implizieren würde, weigerte sich der Senat, unserem Antrag zu folgen. Und so ging dann bald eben die Phonologieprofessur in die Ausschreibung, weil das Institut deutlich gemacht hatte, dass ein Qualitätsstudium der Linguistik ohne Phonologie nicht vorstellbar ist.

Bemerkenswert war an jenem Besetzungsverfahren jedenfalls, dass unter den 6 in die engere Wahl gezogenen Bewerbern nur ein Mann war. Ganz im Kontrast zur damaligen Situation in der Syntax, wo wir zumindest bei GGS es immer schwerhatten, Syntaktikerinnen in die Gruppe zu bekommen und auch dort zu halten – die wenigen, die in den mittleren achtziger Jahren da waren verließen die Linguistik, gingen in andere Teilfächer (z.B. Sue Olsen in die Morphologie) – es verstrichen noch einige Jahre, bis mehr Frauen in die deutsche Syntax einstiegen.

Auch damals schon haben wir Syntaktiker darüber nachgedacht, warum sich so wenig Frauen für die Syntax begeisterten. Warum gingen sie z.B. zur Phonologie, und reüssierten dort ganz wunderbar? Was macht Phonologie „weiblich“, und was Syntax „männlich“?

Die Antworten, die wir uns damals zu geben versuchten, scheiterten allesamt an der Tatsache, dass syntaktische Leuchttürme wie Joan Bresnan und Jane Grimshaw das Teilfach deutlich voranbrachten, aber eben zumeist nicht im syntaktischen Mainstream. Der Gedanke, dass „wir“ die Ursache selber waren, kam uns damals jedenfalls nicht in den Sinn – obwohl es doch Hinweise genug gab. Aussagen von eher marginalisierten Syntaktikerinnen, dass der „innere Zirkel“ arrogant sei. Mehrere Vorfälle, in denen Kolleginnen durch unfaire Kritik zu Tränen gebracht wurden. So denke ich, wir deutschen Syntaktiker generativer Prägung haben damals die Frauen wohl vergrault, hatten keine Diskussionsforen, die ansprechend waren, und es gab keine Rollenmodelle. Und unsere jetzigen Rollenmodelle können viele Geschichten ungerechter Behandlung berichten. So dass die spannende Frage bleibt, warum die Phonologie von 30 Jahren so viel weniger männerdominiert war.

Allgemeinpolitisch sei ergänzt, dass Fortschritte in der Gleichstellung immer aus der Kombination von Druck und Systembedarf entstehen. Die sehr gute, manchmal zu intensive, Gleichstellungsstrategie der DFG ist, wie mir einer ihrer Vertreter anvertraute, nicht allein politischem Druck geschuldet oder allein Gerechtigkeitsempfinden zu verdanken, sondern auch der Tatsache, dass die Wissenschaft in Deutschland natürlich kaum überleben könnte, wenn sie bei ihrer Nachwuchsrekrutierung nicht auch auf Frauen zurückgreifen könnte. Ein Teilfach, das keine Frauen rekrutieren kann, bewegt sich somit auf einem gefährlichen Pfad.

3. Schon nach drei Teilnahmen an Sitzungen des Bewilligungsausschusses für die Graduiertenkollegs hat man mehr als 100 Anträge gesehen. Das hat mich schon viel gelehrt – von der kommenden Phosphorknappheit und den dramatischen Konsequenzen für unsere Landwirtschaft, von den Grenzen der Elektromobilität und vielem anderen habe ich auf diesen Gremiensitzungen gelernt. Aber auch davon, dass wir, wenn es um die Sprecherschaft in Graduiertenkollegs geht, wir meilenweit von der Gleichstellung entfernt sind. Meistens muss man den Stift gar nicht aus der Hand legen, wenn man die Zahl der vorgesehenen Sprecherinnen in den Anträgen einer Sitzung an den Fingern abzählen will. Hier liegt noch viel im roten Bereich.

Caroline hat zweimal in ihrer akademischen Karriere solche herausgehobenen Positionen eingenommen, als Sprecherin unseres ersten Potsdam-Berliner SFBs, und dann in Frankfurt im Graduiertenkolleg. Auch hier war sie also Pionierin – keine einfache Rolle, denn (zumindest Anfang des letzten Jahrzehnts noch) war auch in der Linguistik Gleichberechtigung auf dieser Ebene etwas, was aktiv eingefordert werden musste, auch gegen indirekte Widerstände.

Wieder sind wir an einem Punkt, wo nicht klar ist, ob und wie Wissenschaftspolitik die Entwicklung voranbringen kann. Gleichstellungsfragen sind stets Gegenstand der Beratung über Forschungsverbünde, was ja auch Antragstellern bewusst ist, die daher rationalerweise sich bemühen sollten, Professorinnen zu integrieren, aber der Grundsatz *ultra posse nemo obligatur* gilt natürlich auch in Begutachtungsverfahren, wenn man

nicht ganze Fächer mit einem geringen Frauenanteil bei den Professuren von der Förderung ausschließen. Andererseits ist der exakte Zuschnitt des Programms eines Forschungsverbundes nicht notwendigerweise sachlich zwingend vorgegeben, so dass antragstellende Gruppen doch womöglich mehr Spielräume bei der Integration von Wissenschaftlerinnen besitzen als gedacht. Vielleicht ist es auch hinreichend, für eine geschlechtergerechtere Besetzung von Professuren zu sorgen, und sich darauf zu verlassen, dass Professorinnen, die Forschungsverbünde leiten möchten, sich dann diese Positionen auch einfach nehmen werden.

4. In den mehr als 30 Jahren, die ich Caroline nun kenne, hat sich in der Wissenschaft vieles gewandelt. Niemals erschienen mir die einzelnen Ereignisse zu dem Zeitpunkt als gesellschaftlich bedeutsam, als sie passierten. Das ergibt sich erst in der Rückschau, auch weil die Defizite eines Umstands denen, die von ihm nur indirekt betroffen sind, oft erst dann als merkwürdig erscheinen, wenn die Situation durch die beseitigt wurde, deren Freiheit sie beschränkt hat. Erst dann merkt man auch, dass wir alle von dem Wandel profitieren.

Valois Restaurant

Lyn Frazier

Caroline and I both taught at the LSA Summer Institute at the University of Chicago in July 2015. In addition to exploring the city and its architecture, we ate at the fanciest French restaurants. Here's the proof. By the way, the "s" in Valois is pronounced (as /z/). Happy retirement, Caroline!! I wish you many adventures, linguistic and other. --Lyn Frazier



Valois Restaurant

Home | Breakfast | Sandwiches | Specials | Salads | Desserts | Drinks

SPECIALS

Monday

T-Bone Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Beef.....	\$ 6.25
New York Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Pork.....	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken.....	\$ 5.95
BBQ Ribs & Chicken Combo...	\$ 9.95	BBQ Ribs.....	\$11.95

Tweets 'n greets

Chop Suey	\$ 6.25	Short Ribs	\$ 9.95
Stuffed Green Peppers	\$ 5.75	BBQ Chicken	\$ 6.95
Florida Grouper	\$ 6.25	Hamburger Steak w/ Onions	\$ 6.25
Soup of the Day	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad	\$ 1.90

Tuesday

T-Bone Steak	\$13.95	Roast Beef	\$ 6.25
New York Steak	\$13.95	Baked Chicken	\$ 5.95
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Pork Chops	\$ 6.75
Chicken Oreganato	\$ 6.25	BBQ Beef Tips	\$ 6.25
Florida Grouper	\$ 6.25	Beef Liver & Onions	\$ 5.95
Roast Pork	\$ 6.25	Beef Goulash w/ Noodles	\$ 6.25
Swiss Steak	\$ 6.25	Soup of the Day	\$ 1.60
Spring Salad	\$ 1.95		

Wednesday

T-Bone Steak	\$13.95	Roast Beef	\$ 6.25
New York Steak	\$13.95	Roast Pork	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken	\$ 5.95
Corned Beef & Cabbage	\$ 6.25	BBQ Ribs	\$11.95
Chicken Cacciatore	\$ 5.55	Short Ribs	\$ 9.95
Florida Grouper	\$ 6.25	Beef Tenderloin Tips	\$ 6.25
Grecian Chicken	\$ 6.25	Hamburger Steak w/ Onions	\$ 6.25
Soup of the Day	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad	\$ 1.90

Thursday

T-Bone Steak	\$13.95	Roast Beef	\$ 6.25
New York Steak	\$13.95	Roast Pork	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken	\$ 5.95
Baked Ham & Sweet Potatoes ..	\$ 6.25	BBQ Ribs	\$11.95
Beef Stew	\$ 6.25	Lamb Shank with Spaghetti	\$ 9.95
Chicken Pot Pie	\$ 5.75	Pasticcio & Peas	\$ 5.95
Florida Grouper	\$ 6.25	Chicken Alfredo	\$ 6.75
Soup of the Day	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad	\$ 1.90

Friday

T-Bone Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Beef.....	\$ 6.25
New York Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Pork.....	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken.....	\$ 5.95
BBQ Ribs & Chicken Combo...	\$ 9.95	BBQ Ribs.....	\$11.95
Chicken Oreganato.....	\$ 6.25	Short Ribs	\$ 9.95
Meatloaf with Mushroom Sauce	\$ 5.95	Swiss Steak with Rice.....	\$ 6.25
Fresh White Fish	\$ 7.95	Macaroni & Cheese.....	\$ 4.95
Hamburger Steak w/ Onions	\$ 6.25	BBQ Chicken.....	\$ 6.95
Soup of the Day.....	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad.....	\$ 1.90

Saturday

T-Bone Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Beef	\$ 6.25
New York Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Pork	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken	\$ 5.95
Spaghetti with Meat Suace.....	\$ 4.95	BBQ Ribs	\$11.95
Chicken Oreganato.....	\$ 6.25	Short Ribs	\$ 9.95
Catfish	\$ 6.75	Hamburger Steak w/ Onions	\$ 6.25
Soup of the Day.....	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad	\$ 1.90

Sunday

T-Bone Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Beef.....	\$ 6.25
New York Steak.....	\$13.95	Roast Pork.....	\$ 6.25
Prime Rib	\$13.95	Baked Chicken & Dressing.....	\$ 6.25
Baked Ham & Sweet Potatoes ..	\$ 6.25	BBQ Ribs.....	\$11.95
Beef Tenderloin Tips	\$ 6.25	Hamburger Steak w/ Onions.....	\$ 6.25
Short Ribs.....	\$ 9.95	BBQ Ribs & Chicken	\$ 9.95
Fresh Catfish	\$ 6.75	BBQ Chicken.....	\$ 6.95
Chicken Pot Pie.....	\$ 5.75	Macaroni & Cheese.....	\$ 4.95
Soup of the Day.....	\$ 1.60	Spring Salad.....	\$ 1.90

**** Prices subject to change without notice ****

In ewiger Dankbarkeit

Ingo Feldhausen

Liebe Caroline,

wir kennen uns mittlerweile seit mehr als 15 Jahren und ich möchte Dir für die schöne und besondere Zeit mit Dir danken. Als Doktormutter hast Du mich gefördert und gefordert und mich dazu angehalten, meine Gedanken noch klarer und zwingender zu formulieren. Überhaupt hast Du mich zur Phonologie gebracht. Ich erinnere mich noch sehr gut an Dein SFB-Projekt mit Gisbert Fanselow, in dem Shinichiro Ishihara Euer Mitarbeiter war. Ich wollte eigentlich nur Syntax machen, aber es wurde mir von Treffen zu Treffen klarer, welche wichtige Rolle die Prosodie bei der Informationsstruktur spielt. Diese Forschungsrichtung ist weiterhin zentraler Bestandteil meines wissenschaftlichen Wirkens.

Irgendwann habe ich dann Potsdam verlassen. Und Du auch.



Und wir haben uns dann in Frankfurt wiedertroffen und sind seit vielen Jahren Kollegen. Du in der Linguistik, ich in der Romanistik.

Im Laufe meiner Karriere habe ich gemerkt, dass ein Stellenwechsel und somit ein zumeist damit verbundener Ortswechsel Standard im akademischen Leben ist. Dass wir beide jeweils in Frankfurt gelandet sind und dort gemeinsam wirken, empfinde ich als Glücksfall. Ich freue mich sehr darüber, dass Du so lange wichtiger Teil meines Berufslebens warst. Auch wenn ich jetzt in der Vergangenheit rede, der für mich schönste Moment ist aber der Gegenwärtige: Wir sitzen zusammen an unserer ersten gemeinsamen Publikation und treffen uns hierfür regelmäßig. Wir besprechen nicht nur die fachlichen Inhalte, sondern lernen uns auch als Menschen noch besser kennen. Allein dadurch, dass Du meine Doktormutter bist, hast Du bereits einen ganz besonderen Stellenwert in meinem Leben. Und dank Frankfurt und der aktuellen Zusammenarbeit hat dieser

Tweets 'n greets

Stellenwert noch eine ganz andere Qualität. Es macht mich sehr glücklich und stolz, mit Dir so eng zusammenarbeiten zu können.

Liebe Caroline, ich wünsche Dir für die neue Lebensphase alles erdenklich Gute. Genieße Dein Leben weiterhin so, wie Du es jetzt tust, und bleibe lange fit und gesund, so dass Du noch viele schöne Stunden, Tage und Jahre vor Dir hast.

In ewiger Dankbarkeit,

Ingo

In die Sphären des Downstep tauchen

Susanne Genzel



Liebe Caroline,
einst saßen wir im Sonnenschein und tauchten in die Sphären
des Downstep ein!
Du hast mich allzeit inspiriert, zum Akan hab ich doktriert!
Nun ist der Tag des Abschieds da, ein Auge weint, das andere
strahlt – Hurra!
Ich sende Dir einen großen Applaus, reise in die Welt hinaus!
Lass dir den Wind durchs Haar wehn' und beim Lachen deine
Zähne sehn'.
Setz dich unters' Laubdach oder spiel mal wieder Schach!
Streife durch Wald und Feld und genieß' die schöne Welt
Mit den allerliebsten Wünschen für die Zukunft,
deine Suse.

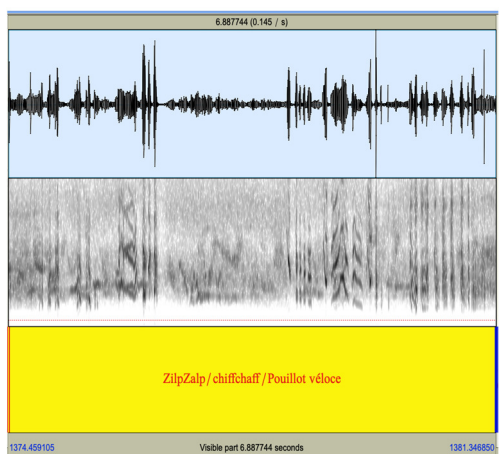
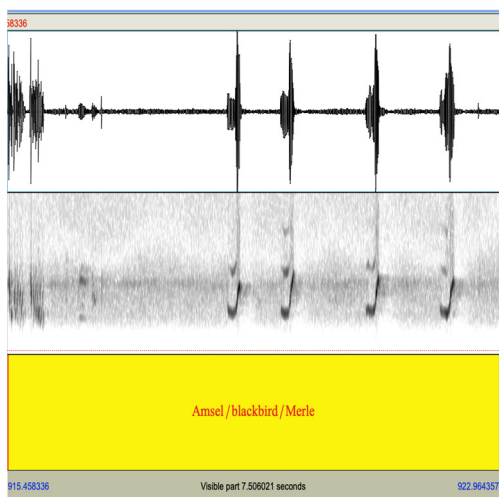
The prosody of birds

Anja Geumann & Markus Hiller

Dear Caroline,

wishing you plenty of time to enjoy or to research the prosody of birds from a-z.

All the best,



Angela Grimm



Data from:

Grimm, A. 2010. *The development of early prosodic word structure in child German: Simplex words and compounds*. <http://opus.kobv.de/ubp/volltexte/2010/4319/>.

Child's utterance	Child	Age
daĩ	Eleonora	1;03.05
daĩç	Eleonora	1;04.08
daĩ:	Eleonora	1;04.08
da:j	Eleonora	1;08.0
ga	Nele	1;06.11
gai	Eleonora	1;06.05
k ^h ai	Nele	1;08.29
kai	Eleonora	1;06.29
kait	Nele	1;08.29
ka'kai	Nele	1;11.04
ka'kaijə	Nele	1;10.0
kə'kai	Nele	1;11.14
mai	Wiglaf	1;05.26
pai	Sandra	1;05.20
pa'pai	Wiglaf	1;09.02
pa'p:ai	Wiglaf	1;09.09
tai	Eleonora	1;04.02
ta'ʔisde, gai	Nele	1;10.0
,bapa'k ^h ai	Wiglaf	2;0.17
,bapa'kai	Wiglaf	2;0.11
,ga'gai	Nele	1;11.0
,kaka'kai	Nele	1;09.24
,p ^h ape'dai	Sandra	1;07.15
,p ^h ap ^h a'gai	Eleonora	1;10.19
,p ^h apa'gai	Eleonora	1;06.22
,papa'kai	Sandra	1;11.0
,papa'dai	Sandra	1;07.29
,papa'daijə	Sandra	1;09.06
,papa'gai	Sandra	1;08.05
,papa'k ^h ai	Wiglaf	1;11.19
,papa'kai	Wiglaf	1;11.03
,papa'kyai	Wiglaf	1;11.23
,papa'tai	Sandra	1;09.06
'bapa'k ^h ai	Wiglaf	2;0.17

'ga _□ kaī	Eleonora	1;06.29
'kaī	Nele	1;09.24
'ka _□ it	Eleonora	1;05.23
'papāī	Wiglaf	1;09.02
'papa,t ^h aī	Sandra	1;09.06
'papa'daī	Sandra	1;08.14
'papə,dāī	Sandra	1;08.14
'pap:aī	Wiglaf	1;08.13

Linguistic evidence on linguistic evidence obtained by Caroline Féry and Robin Hörnig

Robin Hörnig

Much to my delight, you, Caroline, and me, we conducted language production experiments together. For instance, production experiments on animal layouts for which Figure 1 presents a very atypical example. In fact we never used any layout similar to this one. I selected this layout for other reasons, reasons no bit less important for me.



Figure 1. The zebra is lying on the pillow

1. The Experiment

We went beyond animal layouts. We implemented what we pretended to be memory experiments on non-animal layouts without ever being able to completely do it without animals, as attested by the rocker in Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows a sample picture pair of the ADD condition in which the target was added to the layout. The target in Figure 2 is the teddy bear only visible in the right panel. In the other condition, the DISPLACE condition, the target was displaced within the layout, for instance, the teddy bear was shown in the upper left corner of the first picture. The second picture was the same in both conditions. The sessions, consisting of 20 trials, were recorded in full length by means of a DAT recorder. Participants were seated vis-a-vis an instructor who occasionally gave valuable advice.

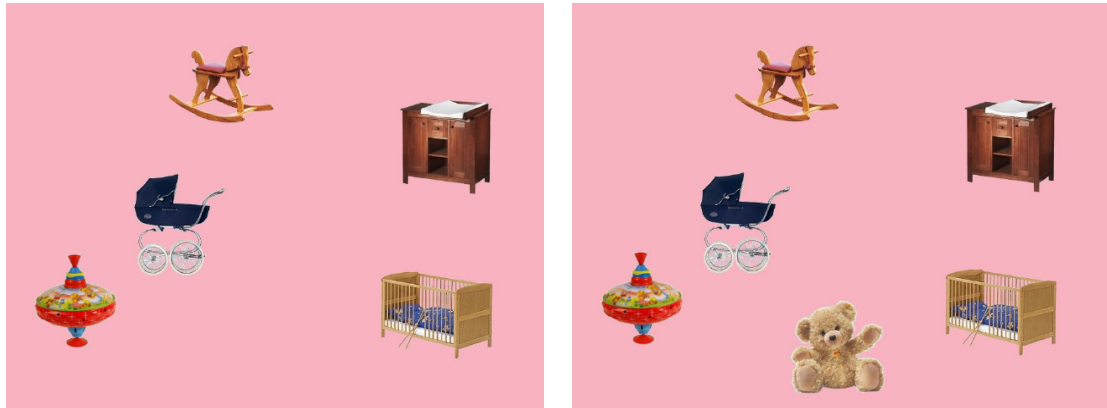


Figure 2. Picture shown first on left panel; picture shown second on right panel; participants orally described the change in the layout while looking at the second picture

To keep it simple, we just sketch our hypothesis on how the constituent order of the native and competent speakers' descriptions responds to the conditions. We expected that in the DISPLACE condition, speakers mention the already familiar teddy bear before conveying its place (e.g., *The teddy bear is at the bottom centre*), whereas in the ADD condition, speakers first speak of the place occupied by the new target and name the target only thereafter (e.g., *At the bottom centre is a teddy bear*). We asked a subsample of our participants to produce a temporal adverb like *jetzt* 'now' or *nun* 'now' in each of their utterances.

2. Linguistic Evidence

In order to get linguistic evidence on our constituent order hypothesis we look whether the target precedes the place of the target in the descriptions of our native speakers in the DISPLACE condition whereas the target follows the place of the target in the ADD condition. If the order is opposite to our prediction we are facing counterevidence.

Here we consider a complete utterance (SFB00085.wav) of one of our speakers, a young man with a slight Berlin idiom. He describes a picture in which a teddy bear was added to the arrangement at the bottom centre of the display (cf. Figure 2). It was his fifth trial, the third one in the ADD condition. He was one of the speakers who had been instructed to use a temporal adverb in his utterances. The speaker utters (1a), a linguistic localization of the teddy bear without a temporal adverb.

- (1) a. *Der Teddybär befindet sich unten in der Mitte.*
the teddy bear locates itself at the bottom in the centre
'The teddy bear is located at the bottom centre.'

- b. *Ich glaub' nicht. Soll ich nochmal sagen?*
 I believe not should I again say
 'I don't think so. Should I say [it] again?'
- c. *Der Teddybär befindet sich jetzt unten in der Mitte.*
 the teddy bear locates itself now at the bottom in the centre
 'The teddy bear is located now at the bottom centre.'

It's quite evident from the the speaker's utterance (1b) that the instructor must have pointed out to him that he omitted the temporal adverb, although her plea is not really audible on the recording. He accepts and proposes to do it again. His new attempt is shown in (1c): He repeats his previous utterance (1a) with the temporal adverb inserted at the beginning of the prefield, i.e., after the verb *befindet sich*—the target stays in the prefield in front of the verb. Here, quite obviously, we observe linguistic evidence challenging our hypothesis. Both utterances, (1a) and (1c) alike, are counterevidence to our hypothesis. Not a single one of the speaker's utterances in the ADD condition supported our hypothesis.

3. Linguistic Evidence on Linguistic Evidence

In this instance, however, the speaker hesitates. He doesn't seem to be confident with what he has uttered and, in uttering (2a), he begins to complain about the conditions of the utterance. He starts to explain his discomfort in uttering (2b), but the instructor temporarily succeeds in stopping him by pointing out to him that he is speaking about the meaning of *nun* 'now' although he was uttering *jetzt* 'now'. Notwithstanding, the speaker denies any semantic difference between the two German words at the end of (2b).

In (2c) our speaker provides his explanation why he considers (1c) infelicitous, which he makes most explicit in (2d). It is our impression that (2d) signals uncertainty on the side of the speaker about his own explanation.

- (2) a. *Ist halt doof, wenn man halt 'jetzt' sagen muss,*
 is somewhat stupid when one just 'now' say must
obwohl –also– ...
 although –well– ...
 'It's somewhat stupid when one is obliged to utter "now" although –well– ...'
- b. *... weil der Teddybär ja vorher nicht da war.*
 ... because the teddy bear actually before not there was.
Das ist irgendwie unlogisch,
 this is somehow illegitimate

weil 'nun' heißt ... das 'nun' drückt dasselbe aus
because 'now' means ... the 'now' expresses the same

'... because the teddy bear actually was not there before. This is somehow illegitimate because "now" means ... "now" expresses the same,'

- c. *'nun' heißt eigentlich, dass der Teddy schon da war*
'now' means rather that the teddy bear already there was

und den Ort verändert hat und nicht,
and the place changed has and not

dass der Teddy jetzt plötzlich dazugekommen ist
that the teddy bear now suddenly added is

'"now" rather means that the teddy bear was there already and has changed its place instead of the teddy bear being now suddenly added'

- d. *Das ist eigentlich deutsch technisch, oder, wie auch immer,*

this is in a way German technically or anyway

ausdruckstechnisch falsch

as to the expression wrong

'This is, in a way, German, technically, or, anyway, wrong, as regards the choice of expression'

In sum, we consider this piece of linguistic evidence on the linguistic evidence presented in Section 2 remarkable. In challenging the felicity of utterance (1c), he, the speaker, sows the seeds of doubt as to the competence of the speaker who uttered (1c). How could he ever do so if he, the speaker, is lacking the linguistic competence he denies to the speaker?

4. Interim Conclusion

Our speaker concludes in (3).

- (3) Na ja, egal

well equal

'Well, doesn't matter'

5. Conclusion

We disagree with our speaker. What he uttered makes a difference. A difference as regards the evaluation of his competence as a native speaker. In fact, our speaker didn't raise doubt on his own competence at any time. He complained about being forced to use a temporal adverb which he made responsible for his discomfort in verbalizing a change

in a layout by describing the resulting state. Apart from the question of the meaning of *jetzt* or *nun* ‘now’, we consider (1c) with a temporal adverb not much less infelicitous than (1a) without adverb for accomplishing the task: pointing out what has changed in the layout. But instead of elaborating at length on these problems today (what certainly would be fun), I want to dedicate this beautiful piece of linguistic evidence to you, Caroline.

MATCH, LAYEREDNESS and prosodic monsters

Shinichiro Ishihara

1. Introduction

In this squib, I spell-out some of the questions that I have been thinking about. No answers will be offered.

2. The birth of prosodic monsters

Féry (2015) calls a prosodic structure in which two Optimality-Theoretic constraints, LAYEREDNESS (Selkirk 1996) and EQUALSISTERS (Myrberg 2013), are violated a “prosodic monster.” She further claims that syntactic extraposition in German takes place (when certain conditions are met) in order to avoid such prosodic monsters.

A prosodic monster emerges as a result of the strict application of MATCH constraints (Selkirk 2011:439) to any sentence that contains an embedded clause (in a sentence-medial position). MATCH constraints require a strict one-to-one correspondence between syntactic and prosodic categories.¹ Since syntax is recursive by nature, a prosodic structure that satisfies MATCH constraints is always recursive as well. Such a structure is unavoidably in conflict with constraints prohibiting prosodic recursion such as NONRECURSIVITY (NONREC) and EQUALSISTERS (EQSIS).

(1) Prosodic recursion:

$$[_{XP1} \dots [_{XP2} \dots]] \Rightarrow (\varphi \dots (\varphi \dots)) \quad \text{Violation of NONREC, EQSIS}$$

More importantly, the combination of MATCH_{CLAUSE} and MATCH_{PHRASE} predicts that a clause embedded in an XP (e.g., clausal complements and relative clauses) causes a violation of LAYEREDNESS, a constraint that has been claimed to be universally undominated (Selkirk 1996:190). Prosodic monsters are precisely such prosodic structures that induce this type of violation.

¹ I will use the following terms (and symbols) for the three prosodic categories: PWord (ω), PPhrase (ϕ), and PClause (a.k.a., intonational phrase, ι).

(2) Clauses embedded in an XP:

$$[_{VP/NP} V/N [_{CP} \text{that } \dots]] \Rightarrow (\varnothing V/N \{ \iota \dots \}) \text{Violation of LAYEREDNESS}$$

What this means is that the prosodic phrasing of clausal complements and relative clauses always creates a conflict between MATCH and LAYEREDNESS, because clausal complements are always dominated by a verb phrase (VP) and relative clauses are always dominated by a noun phrase (NP). If LAYEREDNESS is in fact undominated as claimed by Selkirk (2011), it means that this is where some form of mismatch between syntax and prosody is always expected to be found, in order to get around prosodic monsters.

3. How to get around the monsters

In order to resolve the conflict with inviolable LAYEREDNESS, prosodic monsters need to be properly removed from the prosodic structure. There are four theoretically plausible strategies (Ishihara 2014b, further discussed and elaborated by Féry 2015:32–33), as illustrated below (newly created or modified prosodic boundaries/constituents are underlined):

SYNTACTIC EXTRACTION. The category dominated by a lower category is syntactically dislocated out of the category dominating it, creating a structure with different word order, as discussed by Féry (2015).

(3) Syntactic extraction

$$(\varnothing \dots \{ \iota \dots \} \dots) \Rightarrow (\varnothing \dots \underline{t_i} \dots) \underline{\{ \iota \dots \}_i}$$

PROSODIC DEMOTION. The category dominated by a lower category is demoted to the lower category ($\iota \rightarrow \varnothing$), creating a recursive structure of a single category. Even though the resulting structure still violates NONREC and EQSIS, it successfully avoids the LAYEREDNESS violation.

(4) Prosodic demotion

$$(\varnothing \dots \{ \iota \dots \} \dots) \Rightarrow (\varnothing \dots (\varnothing \dots) \dots)$$

PROSODIC PROMOTION. The lower category dominating a higher category is promoted to the higher category ($\varnothing \rightarrow \iota$), creating a recursive structure of a single category.

(5) Prosodic promotion

$$(\varnothing \dots \{ \iota \dots \} \dots) \Rightarrow \underline{\{ \iota \dots \}} \{ \iota \dots \} \dots$$

PROSODIC DISJUNCTION. The category dominating a higher category is chopped down into smaller constituents by the dominated higher category, creating a flat, non-recursive structure (which still violates EQSIS).

(6) Prosodic disjunction

$$(\varnothing \dots \{ \iota \dots \} \dots) \Rightarrow (\varnothing \dots) \{ \iota \dots \} (\underline{\varnothing} \dots)$$

4. Return of the monsters

It should be noted, however, that there is yet another strategy to explore. Féry (2015) proposes a markedness constraint called NOINTERVENER and ranks it above LAYEREDNESS. By ranking a constraint above LAYEREDNESS, which is previously claimed to be undominated, a resulting prosodic structure may contain a prosodic monster.

With all these possibilities under consideration, a study of the prosody of embedded clauses would face the following empirical questions, among others. First, it needs to be examined whether prosodic monsters can be found at embedded clauses or not in the language under investigation. If they do exist, the next question is what markedness constraint makes it possible for them to be realized. If monsters turn out to be absent, the next question is which strategies from (3)–(6) are used to slay the monsters.

5. The root clause problem

In relation to this, there is another line of questions that still remain to be answered. Selkirk (2011) distinguishes two types of clauses and calls them standard and illocutionary clauses. She proposes two versions of MATCHCLAUSE, and claims that the more specific version, MATCH(illocutionary clause, *l*) is universally ranked higher than the more general version of MATCHCLAUSE.

(7) Universal ranking

$$\text{MATCH}(\text{illocutionary clause}, l) \gg \text{MATCH}(\text{clause}, l)$$

Even though this ranking is claimed to be universal, there seems crosslinguistic variation regarding prosodic phrasing of embedded clauses, at least to some extent. For example, unlike in German, relative clauses in Japanese can never be detached from the head noun and extraposed. Furthermore, considering that there is no pitch reset at the head noun, there is no PClause left edge between the relative clause and the following head noun, which indicates that there is no prosodic disjunction. Also, there doesn't seem to be any prosodic differences between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses in Japanese, unlike what is observed in restrictive and appositive relative clauses in German (Schubö et al. 2015).

(8) *Náoya-wa* [*Mári-ga e_i nomiya-de tanón-da*] *wáin_i-o nónda*

Naoya-TOP Mari-NOM bar-LOC ordered wine-ACC drank

'Naoya drank the wine that Mari ordered at the bar.'

(9) a. { *Náoya-wa* { [*Mári-ga e_i nomiya-de tanón-da*] } *wáini-o nónda* }

b. *? { *Náoya-wa* } { [*Mári-ga e_i nomiya-de tanón-da*] } { *wáini-o nónda* }

Clausal complements can also stay in-situ quite naturally, despite the fact that there are syntactic options (i.e., scrambling and right dislocation) available to extrapose the

complement clauses to the sentence-initial/final positions. They also seem to be easily embedded in a larger PClause, regardless of the type of clauses (standard or not). Prosodic disjunction seems available, in contrast to relative clauses.

(10) *Náoya-wa* [*Mári-ga wáin-o nomíya-de nónda to*] *ímadem omotteiru*

Naoya-TOP Mari-NOM wine-ACC bar-LOC drank C even.now think

‘Naoya still thinks whether Mari drank wine at the bar.’

a. { *Náoya-wa* { [*Mári-ga wáin-o nomíya-de nónda to*] } *ímademo omotteiru* }

b. ?{ *Náoya-wa* } { [*Mári-ga wáin-o nomíya-de nónda to*] } { *ímademo omotteiru* }

These facts seem to indicate that prosodic disjunction or syntactic extraction is never obligatory in Japanese, and that prosodic recursion seems common even in the structures involving embedded clauses. In contrast, German seems to exploit syntactic extraction and prosodic disjunction more, which suggests that prosodic recursion is a more restricted option.

It still remains to be seen to what extent some of these variations can be attributed to syntactic and prosodic factors, respectively. For phonologically oriented variations, the questions raised in §4 need to be addressed. In the case of Japanese, it needs to be examined whether embedded clauses are realized as prosodic monsters (a PClause embedded in a PPhrase), as required by MATCHCLAUSE and MATCHPHRASE. This question is also related to a language-specific debate whether the prosodic category of PClause exists in Japanese (see Ishihara 2015 for discussion).

6. Concluding remarks

Since there is, as of now, no empirical answer to any of the questions above, there is no conclusion yet. I am hoping, however, to come up with answers sometime in the near future.

Acknowledgements

On this occasion, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Caroline, who has been my mentor, colleague and friend, for her supports and encouragement. I am, and always will be, indebted to the freedom she gave me and the trust she had in me during the time I was working in one of her projects (the A1 project of the SFB632 “Informaiton Structure” at the University of Potsdam) and as one of the researchers under her professorship (at Goethe University Frankfurt). I am always impressed by the amount of knowledge she has, the insights in her linguistic analyses, her ability to work with many collaborators, and her energy to drive things forward. It was an honor and pleasure for me to be able to work with her all these years after my Ph.D. What is most impressive about her is, however, the fact that in spite of her impressive career as a linguist she has

never been a work-machine who never cares about life outside of work. She has shown me how a frontline researcher can enjoy other parts of life with a loving family. I would like to thank her for showing me a path I wish to pursue in my future.

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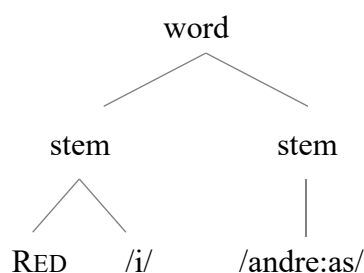
***Bill(y)* ist eine Reduplikation**

Gerrit Kentner

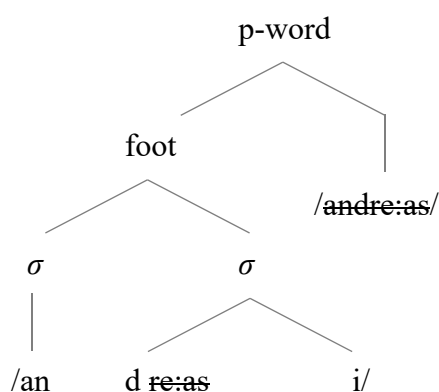
Ich erinnere mich gut daran, wie ich (es muss um 2011 gewesen sein) nach einem Seminar zur Prosodischen Morphologie Caroline gegenüber etwas scherzhaft behauptet habe, dass Reduplikation im Deutschen regelhaft und produktiv sei. Statt dies als *Quitschquatsch* abzutun, hat Caroline mich ermutigt, der Sache auf den Grund zu gehen. Von anderen habe ich mehr als einmal den Rat vernommen, nicht allzuviel Zeit darauf zu verschwenden, weil dem Thema etwas Lächerliches anhafte. Ich vermute, dass manchen die Verwendungsbedingungen der Reduplikation (ein Substandardphänomen mit scherzhaft abwertenden semantischen Effekten) den nüchternen Blick auf den Forschungsgegenstand verstellt haben. Caroline dagegen meinte in weiser Voraussicht, dass das Thema eine Habilitationsschrift füllen könne. So kam es, dass ich einen signifikanten Teil meiner Zeit in der Frankfurter Phonologie dem Phänomen gewidmet habe.

Caroline selbst hat sich intensiv mit einem der Reduplikation verwandten Thema, der i-Bildung, beschäftigt (Féry, 1997). Auch Richard Wiese (2001) hat an der i-Bildung Gefallen gefunden und zeigt in einer auf den ersten Blick abenteuerlich anmutenden Analyse, wie zugrundeliegende Reduplikation in der Morphologie (1-a) mit Trunkierung an der Oberfläche (1-b) einhergehen kann:

(1) a. Morphologie:



b. Phonologie:



Ich habe diese Idee nie so richtig ernst genommen – warum sollte eine i-Bildung wie *Andi*, in der offensichtlich kein einziger Laut redupliziert wird, auf morphologische Reduplikation zurückzuführen sein? Und wieso sollten ausschließlich Segmente im Reduplikanten *stray erasure* überleben während von der Basis gar nichts übrig bleibt?

Nachdem ich mich längere Zeit mit Reimreduplikation im Deutschen beschäftigt habe, muss ich allerdings anerkennen, dass an Wieses Versuch etwas dran ist. Mir scheinen die Ansätze von Féry (1997) und Grüter (2003) zwar für den Fall der i-Bildung im Deutschen deutlich geeigneter als Wieses, es gibt aber einen Datensatz, in dem Trunkierung ohne Reduplikation kaum herleitbar wäre. Es handelt sich dabei um die Englischen Spitznamen in (2).

- (2) *William* → *Bill(y)*
Robert → *Bob(by)*
Edward → *Ted(dy)*
Margaret → *Peg(gy)*
Richard → *Dick(y)*

Bei diesen Namen geht die Trunkierung mit einem Wechsel im Anlaut einher. Eine einfache Trunkierungsgrammatik z.B. nach Alber and Arndt-Lappe (2012) scheitert an der Anlaturalternanz und bringt stattdessen Varianten wie *Will(y)*, *Rob(by)*, *Ed(dy)*, *Meg(gy)* und *Rick(y)* hervor. Da die Kurzformen in (2) mit den eben genannten Varianten als Reimpartner korrespondieren, liegt es nahe, dass der Trunkierungsgrammatik ein Reimgenerator zugeschaltet werden muss. Einen solchen habe ich im Rahmen meiner Analyse der Reduplikation im Deutschen (Kentner, 2017) vorgeschlagen: Wenn in der Eingabe der trunkierte Name *Willy* mit einem phonologisch unterspezifizierten Expressivmorphem von der Größe eines phonologischen Fußes verkettet wird, erzeugt diese Grammatik die Reduplikation *Willybilly*. Freilich muss nach Reimdupplung wieder trunkiert werden. Die Spitznamengenerierung kann man sich in einem derivationellen Modell also folgendermaßen vorstellen (3):

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------|
| (3) | <i>William</i> | | <i>Will(y)</i> | | <i>Will(y)bill(y)</i> | | <i>Bill(y)</i> |
| | <i>Robert</i> | Trunc | <i>Rob(by)</i> | Redup | <i>Rob(by)bob(by)</i> | Trunc | <i>Bob(by)</i> |
| | <i>Edward</i> | → | <i>Ed(dy)</i> | → | <i>Ed(dy)ted(dy)</i> | → | <i>Ted(dy)</i> |
| | <i>Margaret</i> | | <i>Meg(gy)</i> | | <i>Meg(gy)peg(gy)</i> | | <i>Peg(gy)</i> |
| | <i>Richard</i> | | <i>Rick(y)</i> | | <i>Rick(y)dick(y)</i> | | <i>Dick(y)</i> |

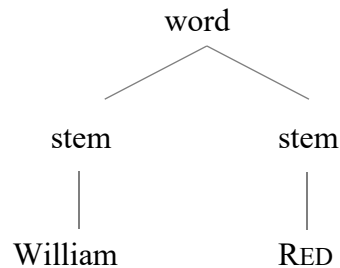
Mit den Mechanismen, die Wiese (2001) für die i-Bildung vorschlägt, sieht die Sache dann wie in (4) aus.

Der opake Reduplikationsprozess in (3) scheint im Bereich der Namensgebung schwach produktiv (gewesen zu sein): ich habe eine Handvoll von Namen gefunden, die auf diese

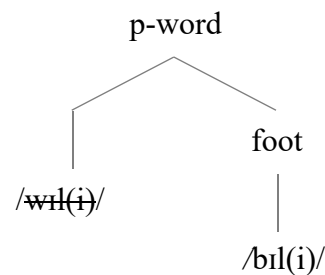
Weise zu erklären sind. Dass die Reimreduplikation dabei eine Rolle spielt, zeigen neben den Daten in (2) weitere (seltener) Reimvarianten, wie z.B. *Edward* → *Ned*, *Richard* → *Hick* oder *Robert* → *Nob*, *Hob* (das Anlautinventar bei den Reimen scheint sich auf Labiale, Koronale und Glottale zu beschränken); Belege aus Kinderliedern wie *Georgie Porgie* oder *Humpty Dumpty* zeigen, dass auch die reduplikative Zwischenrepräsentation an der Oberfläche erscheinen kann.¹

(4) *William* → *Bill(y)*

a. Morphologie:



b. Phonologie:



Wir können also behaupten, dass Spitznamen wie *Billy* zugrundeliegend reduplikativ sind.

Die Reduplikation ist für mich ein Quell neuer Erkenntnisse und steter Freude geblieben, der ohne Carolines Offenheit gegenüber vermeintlich abseitigen Themen wohl nie gesprudelt hätte. Für diese Offenheit, für ihre Unterstützung seit Studienzeiten und für ihre Freundschaft bin ich von Herzen dankbar.

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Grüter, Th. 2003. Hypocoristics: The case of u-formation in Bernese Swiss German. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 15, 27-63.

¹ Dass die im Fall der i-Bildung nach Wiese anzunehmenden Zwischenrepräsentationen durchweg ungrammatisch sind, spricht wiederum gegen die Analyse in (1).

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You say good bye, and I say hello— Three decades of prosodic research revisited

Frank Kügler

Caroline's research amounts to an impressive list of work in phonology and prosody, which is a well-known fact in the community. Her work is widely acknowledged, frequently cited, and many students – including me – have learned from a tremendously well-informed phonologist how important phonology is and how to acknowledge its role within linguistics. Caroline's research has considerably advanced our understanding of phonology and information structure. However, there is an interdisciplinary approach and view well-beyond linguistics in Caroline's scientific research that has been less acknowledged; the time is ripe to highlight even this part of her research.

Introduction

Starting off as a linguist with degrees in neurolinguistics at Brussels University, her native town, Caroline moved her focus towards theoretical linguistics writing a dissertation on “German intonational patterns” in 1989, which was published in 1993 (Féry 1993). The groundwork for an autosegmental-metrical analysis of German intonation was laid at the University of Konstanz where Caroline worked within an SFB-project under the supervision of Arnim von Stechow. Already at that time, and well before modern university-leading concepts of interdisciplinarity, Caroline developed an interest in scientific areas beyond linguistics, including areas as diverse as medical sciences, public transport and traffic policy, political sciences, onomastics as well as drama and arts. Later, Caroline extended her research areas into biology and in particular animal or wild life studies, mathematics, sports and life style, and if nothing else, sociology with a focus on family members. In this contribution I want to foreground these achievements.

Medical sciences

In her early work, dental medicine dominated her interests (1) while later, a more general interest in medical sciences arose. More specifically, research on hormones (2) and medication (3) took over.

(1) A: *Was tut weh?* ‘What hurts?’

B: [_F *Mein ZAHN*] *tut weh*. ‘My tooth hurts.’

(Féry 1993: 67)

(2)

(Féry 1995: 174)

(3) a. [*graahak ne*]_F *davaaai ko khariidaa*
 customer ERG medicine ACC buy.PAST

b. *davaaai ko* [*graahak ne*]_F *khariidaa*
 medicine ACC customer ERG buy.PAST

‘(The) customer bought the medicine.’ (Patil et al. 2008: 58)

Public transport and traffic policy

From early on, Caroline cared about traffic policy and the role of transport in society. Note the relevant change of focus from gasoline-driven individual vehicles (4) and (5) to more public transport systems (6) and (7); (8) may appear as an outlier, it was however written in 2005, yet published only in 2015, thus only seemingly bucking the trend toward eco-friendly transportation.

(4)

H*	L	H%

Wo hast du das AUTO geparkt? (Féry 1993: 92)

(5)

H*L	H*L	(falling + falling)
-----	-----	---------------------

(Lena verfolgt den) MANN mit dem MOTORRAD.

‘Lena is following the man with the motorbike.’ (Féry 1993: 113f)

- (6) *Jetzt FÄHRT der Bus. Jetzt bleibter STEHEN.*
 now moves the bus now stays it stand
 Jetzt [FÄHRT]_{FOC1} er [wieder]_{FOC2}
 now moves it again
 ‘Now the bus is moving. Now it is standing still. Now it is moving again.’ (Féry 2012: 433)
- (7) {Why have you come so late?}
 [[Die LOKFÜHRER]_{p1} streiken]
 the engine-drivers go-on-strike
 ‘The engine drivers have gone on strike.’ (Féry 2011: 1912)
- (8) *Warum meint Anna, dass ihre Nachbarn teure Autos haben?*
 ‘Why does Anna think that her neighbours have expensive cars?’
 $L^{*+H} \quad L^{*+H} \quad L^{*+H} \quad H\%$
 (Weil Lehmann und Möller einen BMW haben)
 $L^{*H} \quad L^{*+H} \quad L^{*+H} \quad H\%$
 (Hummel und Meyer einen Jaguar besitzen)
 $L^{*+H} \quad L^{*+H} \quad (H+)L^{*} \quad L\%$
 (und Lerner und Wollmann einen Daimler fahren)
 ‘Because Lehmann and Möller have BMW’s, Hummel and Meyer own Jaguars, and Lerner and Wollman drive Daimlers.’ (Truckenbrodt & Féry 2015: 29)

Political sciences

Regularly, it was up-to date developments in world politics that caught Caroline’s attention. She carefully follows political discussion in (9)-(11).

- (9) A: *Wer ist verhaftet worden?* ‘Who was arrested?’
 B: [_F GORBATSCHOW] *ist verhaftet worden.* ‘Gorbachev was arrested.’
 (Féry 1993: 67)
- (10) **who did the president resign although the foreign minister met in Afghanistan?*
 (Fanselow & Féry 2002)

(11) (Féry 2011: 1913)

T3: [Die Kanzlerin ist gekommen] _{EV}	XP-PRO	NOPhrase	HIP	SIMILARITY
a.  x i-ph [[Die KANZLERIN] _{PI} ist gekommen] _I		* (ip) * (p1)		
b. x x i-ph [Die KANZLERIN] _I [ist GEKOMMEN] _I		***! (ip)		

Military studies

Although recent news about funding of military studies by the American government showed that some German universities got millions of dollars¹, Caroline never applied for such funding! Her interests have been and continue to be peaceful.

(12)



(Féry 1995: 113)

(13) *da-č'r-i-s* *žarisk'ac-i* *monadire-s*

PR(FUT)-cut-THM-S.3.SG soldier-NOM hunter-DAT

'The soldier will wound the soldier.' (Skopeteas et al. 2009: 104)

Arts, Games and Music

Playing games and attending cultural events played an important role in Caroline's life as in (14) and (15).

(14) L*H

H*L

[_{IP}_{ip} *BEIDE* / *Theaterstücke*] [_{ip} *sind NICHT* \ *gespielt worden*]]

'Both plays were not performed.' (Féry 1993: 130)

(15) a. *Hans reizt mit, und Peter reizt ohne vier Buben.*

Hans bids with and Peter bids without four jacks

'Hans is bidding with and Peter is bidding without four jacks.'

¹ Source: <https://www.spiegel.de/lebenundlernen/uni/us-militaerforschung-an-deutschen-unis-21-millionen-dollar-in-zehn-jahren-a-1273282.html> [retrieved June 24, 2019].

- b. *Claus hat eine Reportage über Pasolini gedreht, und*
 Claus has a report on Pasolini shot and
Roland hat einen Spielfilm über Pasolini gedreht.
 Roland has a movie on Pasolini shot
 ‘Claus shot a report on Pasolini, and Roland a movie.’

(Féry & Hartmann 2005: 71, 73)

As a piano player, throughout the years, Caroline investigated music from several angles (16)-(17), even with an international perspective towards South America (18).

(16)



(Féry 1995: 113)

(17) *What did Hanna and Erika do with the melody?*

[IP[IP[PhP HANnaT]T [PhP SUMMte F]F] [IP und [PhP ErikaT]T
 [PhP SANGF eine Melodie]F]]

‘Hanna hummed and Erika sang a melody.’ (Féry & Hartmann 2005: 99)

(18) (Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2006: 144)

	[Argentinian _f music] _f	SF	HP
a.  (x) P	[Argentinian _f music] _f		*
b. (x) P	[Argentinian _f music] _f	*!	
c. (x x) P	[Argentinian _f music] _f	*!	*

Wild life research

Inspired by the rich wild life in the city of Berlin during her years of working at Potsdam University (1999-2009), Caroline intensified research on animal studies, not just birds!

(19) a. {Why were the animals happy?}

Weil der Hammel den Rammler eingeladen hat.

‘Because the sheep invited the buck.’ (Féry & Kügler 2008: 683)

- b. {Did the heron punish the sheep?}

Nein, eingeladen hat der Reiher den Hammel

no, invited has the.nom heron the.acc sheep

‘No, the heron invited the sheep.’ (Kügler & Féry 2017: 268)

- (20) *Alors j’ai toujours trois animaux devant moi, cette fois-ci c’est le gorille qui a cédé*

‘So I still have three animals in front of me, this time it is the gorilla that has given up’

[[*sa*]_{REL} *place*]_{LX} *a* [*un zèbre*]_{LOC}

[[*its*]_{REL} *place*]_{LX} to [*a zebra*]_{LOC}

(Féry et al. 2011: 8)

Onomastics

Yet another area of research, one that is more closely related to linguistics, was the intense study of personal names. Parents usually think of names of their kids, so did Caroline and Ede in the 1980ies, but of course, Caroline got interested scientifically, pursuing her genuine interdisciplinary interest in sciences.

- (21) a. *Katharina* → *Kathi*
Tom → *Tommi*
Thomas → *Tommi*
Susanne → *Susi*
Rudolf → *Rudi*
- b. *Waldemar* → *Waldi, Walli*
- c. *Andreas* → *Andi*
Gabriele → *Gabi*
Benjamin → *Benni*
Wilhelm → *Willi*
Ulrich → *Ulli*
Klinsmann → *Klinsi*
- d. *Sebastian* → *Basti*
Fabian → *Fabi*
- (Féry 1997: 466)

(22)

No. Syllables	Proper names	Phonetic transcription	
1 syllable	<i>Mo, Li</i>	[ˈmo:]	[ˈli:]
2 syllables	<i>Mona, Lina</i>	[ˈmo:.na]	[ˈli:.na]
3 syllables	<i>Ramona, Melina</i>	[ra.ˈmo:.na]	[me.ˈli:.na]
verb	<i>sah</i>	[ˈza:]	

(Kügler et al. 2003: 1261)

Mathematics and logic

Caroline is always fascinated by groundbreaking mathematical calculations and in logic as pillars of science. Married to a formal semanticist, we can only imagine their lively discussions at home around a glass of red wine in winter or of a gin tonic in summer, one arguing for “2”, the other one for “0” in (23).

(23) $3 - 2 + 1$

(Kentner & Féry 2013: 277)

Colleagues and friends appreciated and never forget Caroline and Ede’s parties, though, remember, invitations got complicated from time to time, as witnessed by (24).

(24) ((A and B) or (C and (D and E) or (F, G and (H and (I or J)))) are invited to my party. (Féry & Schubö 2010: 296)

Sports and life style

Naturally, Caroline’s interest for sports comes from her own activities, cycling to the university and climbing stairs. Though stair-climbing is not an Olympic discipline (yet), and there is unfortunately no gold medal award for it as in (25) that she would deserve.

(25) What do you think Cathy Freeman will do?

Ich glaube, dass Cathy Freeman [VP [DP eine_F

I think that Cathy Freeman a

[NP GOLDmedaille]_F] gewinnt_F]_F

gold.medal wins

‘I think that Cathy Freeman will win a gold medal.’ (Féry & Hartmann 2005: 77)

In addition, life style and spare time activities were sociologically analysed (26)-(27).

(26) SOF: Postnuclear

Die meisten unserer Kollegen waren beim Betriebsausflug lässig angezogen. Nur Peter hat eine Krawatte getragen.

Sogar einen Anzug hat nur Peter getragen.

‘Only Peter even wore a suit.’

(Féry & Ishihara 2009: 292)

(27) [(*Sie hat ihrer Mutter*)_Φ]([*dass sie mit Freunden unterwegs war*])_ι

she has her mother that she with friends out was

(*nicht erzählt*)_Φ]_ι

not told

‘She did not tell her mother that she was out with friends.’ (Féry 2015: 19)

Sociology of family life

Last but not least, Caroline always cared about her family as the following pieces of research show, and we learn about dietary preferences (28), outdoor activities (29) or the life of rootless cosmopolitan academics (30) and (31).

(28) H*L

Tom will MILCH trinken.

‘Tom wants to drink milk.’ (Féry 1993: 83)

(29) {*Was war gestern los?*}

‘What happened yesterday?’

[_{FD} [_F *Die ganze FAMILIE*] *ist ans Meer gefahren*]

‘The whole family went to the sea.’ (Féry 1993: 63)

(30) {*Where are your sons going to?*}

TOM is going to VIENNA, and ALAIN to BERLIN. (Féry 2013: 688)

As shown in (30) and (31), at times, the family members were spread across Germany and Austria; we are all the more happy that Caroline and Ede were eventually reunited in Frankfurt!

(31) *Edes Frau lebt in Berlin, sein Sohn in Wien, und [SELBST]_{TOP} [arbeitet er in FRANKFURT]_{FOC}*

‘Edes wife lives in Berlin, his son in Vienna, and he himself works in Frankfurt.’

(Féry 2012: 427)

Summary and Acknowledgements

To sum up, Caroline's research spans areas well beyond phonology. Nonetheless, her focus has always been on phonology proper, e.g. "German schwa in prosodic morphology" (Féry 1991), "Final Devoicing and the stratification of the lexicon in German" (Féry 2003), "Gradient dorsal nasal in Northern German" (Féry et al. 2009), or as simple as "Phonetik und Phonologie" (Féry 2014). Thank you, Caroline, for your inspiration, openness, and unconditional support!

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Les oiseaux sont tous beaux! Et les oiselles toutes belles!

Trudel Meisenburg



Que fait-elle,
Caroline, Parmi tous
ces oiseaux* ?



Est-elle verdier linguiste ou linotte
phonologue ? Est-elle grue, capucin, fauvette
ou moineau ?



Robin, pluvier, mésange ou
hirondelle ?



Elle a, certes, un peu de toutes ces volatiles...
Mais, avant tout – soyons honnêtes –
Elle est CHOUETTE !!!



*À Caroline chouette la plus chouette
retraite !*

* Les oiseaux se sont tous envolés :-(sans autorisation) du site <http://www.oiseaux.net/>, la chouette est arrivée du sac à dos documenta14.

Birdclouds

Beata Moskal and Peter W. Smith

It is an immense pleasure for us to contribute to this collection for Caroline. Caroline was the one who brought us to Frankfurt when she hired Beata, and over the four years that we have known her, it has been a great pleasure to work with her, and she has become an incredibly cherished friend for us both.

For this collection, we have blended (some of) Caroline's professional achievements with her passion for birds. If there is one thing that linguists can surely agree on, it is that there ought to be more space to incorporate birds in research, whether it is research into avian communication, better terminology (such as the 'Obligatory Condor Principle', 'Final Duckvoicing', and the 'Starling Hierarchy' for help with defining syllables), and — though we admit this is a long-shot and/or one for the future — co-authorship. In the spirit of being more inclusive to bird-life, we created some word clouds of Caroline's research in the shape of birds. Below are Caroline's five most-cited articles (according to Google Scholar, 2019) as a hummingbird, Caroline's book 'Intonation and Prosodic Structure' as a kiwi, and her work on Phonological Agreement as a duck. Perhaps this will go some way to alleviate some of the deficiency in the field regarding birds. We admit that despite the benefits gained with the avian aesthetics, the narrative of Caroline's research is lost a little in this medium, but at the very least, we hope it will make Caroline smile.



Figure 1: Caroline's most-cited articles

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Aligning focus in Stockholm Swedish

Sara Myrberg

1. Introduction

Féry (2013) argues that one important prosodic correlate of information structural focus is alignment of the focused constituent to some prosodic constituent, usually an ι . She formalizes this generalization in a family of Optimality Theoretic constraint called ALIGN-FOCUS (1) (Féry 2013:691).¹

(1) ALIGN-FOCUS

- a. ALIGN-FOCUS R, ι -PHRASE R (ALIGN-FOC- ι -R):
Align a focus with the right boundary of an intonation phrase.
- b. ALIGN-FOCUS R, ϕ -PHRASE R (ALIGN-FOC- ϕ -R):
Align a focus with the right boundary of a prosodic phrase.

Féry's (2013) proposal contrasts with several previous proposals, which assume that prosodic prominence is the only or primary correlate of information structural focus. Féry argues that prominence does not suffice to describe the prosodic expression of focus in the world's languages, and that alignment is to be seen as a focus marker in its own right, independent of prominence. Further, Féry assumes that foci can be sorted into a hierarchy where some are more likely than others to be "realized with a marked syntactic or prosodic structure" (Féry 2013:689).

Féry (2013) shows how ALIGN-FOCUS plays a role in the tonal grammars of an impressive number of language types. Among these are West Germanic languages like German and English, where one important piece of evidence for alignment of focus consists of the well-described deaccenting of post-focal areas, referred to as a type of *indirect alignment* by Féry (2013:716ff). Deaccenting happens only to the right of a focus, not to the left, and therefore results in an asymmetry between pre- and post-nuclear areas.

In this short paper, I discuss a (relatively small) dataset, which suggests that Stockholm Swedish provides additional evidence for the existence of an ALIGN-FOCUS constraint. Belonging to the North Germanic languages, Stockholm Swedish shares several

¹ Féry's family of ALIGN-FOCUS constraints also include constraints that align focus with left edges of ι 's and ϕ 's. For the purposes of the discussion in this paper, these constraints will not be relevant, and they are thus omitted in (1).

properties with West Germanic in terms of the prosodic expression of focus. Among these shared properties is the post-focal deaccenting and the asymmetry between pre- and postnuclear areas (indirect alignment). However, in addition to the indirect alignment, Stockholm Swedish has a boundary tone L%, which optionally appears after a focus.

The dataset discussed here was previously presented in Myrberg (2013). It indicates that L% occurs more often with stronger foci than with weak ones. This cannot be accounted for with only a constraint requiring the focus to be prominent (cf. e.g. Truckenbrodt 1995, Féry & Samek-Lodovici 2006, Féry 2013, Myrberg & Riad 2016 for discussion of constraints requiring focus to be expressed as prosodic prominence.) I therefore propose that the distribution of L% provides additional evidence for the need of an ALIGN-FOCUS constraint.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the prominence contours and the boundary L% in Stockholm Swedish. Section 3 summarizes the most important aspects of an experiment previously presented in Myrberg (2013). Section 4 contains a short summary and discussion.

2. The Stockholm Swedish tonal grammar

Stockholm Swedish has two degrees of prominence, which are usually assumed to be categorically distinct. They will be referred to here as big and small accent, respectively (cf. Bruce 1977, Myrberg & Riad 2015). In addition to the tonal distinction between big and small accent, Swedish has a lexical distinction between two tonal patterns referred to as accent 1 (acute) and accent 2 (grave) (e.g. Riad 2014). The tonal realizations of the two prominence categories are provided in Table 1.²

Table 1. Tonal contours in Stockholm Swedish (cf. Myrberg & Riad 2015)

	tone accent 1	tone accent 2
big accent (head of φ)	L*H	H*LH
small accent (head of $\omega_{\max}$)	HL*	H*L

The big accent will be central to the discussion in the current paper. The small accent will be less relevant, and will therefore not be further discussed. The big accent is head of φ and (by projection) it is also the head of ι , i.e. the *nuclear accent*, defined as the rightmost big accent in ι (Myrberg & Riad 2015). The distribution of big accents in relation to both syntax and information structural categories is in many ways directly comparable to that

² In tone accent 2, the big accent has an alternative association pattern that appears in words with multiple stressed morphemes, such as compounds and some derivations: H* L*H. See e.g. Riad 2014 for detailed descriptions of this pattern.

of pitch accents in the West Germanic languages (cf. e.g. Selkirk 1984, Féry 1993, Myrberg 2010).

Like in West Germanic languages, each focus must obligatorily contain one nuclear accent (head of ι), usually on the last word of the focused constituent. The appearance of the nuclear accent on the final word of the focus results in post-focal areas with no big accents whenever the focus is non-final in ι . There may be additional big accents to the left of the intonation phrase head (*prenuclear accents*) but not to the right of the focus (*postnuclear accents*), cf. the indirect alignment mentioned in section 1.

In addition to the tonal contours in Table 1, Stockholm Swedish has H% or L% boundary tones at the right edge of the intonation phrase.³ L% is the most commonly used boundary tone at the end declaratives as well as questions.⁴ In the next section I present data which suggests that the L% is part of the prosodic realization of some foci.

3. The distribution of L% in relation to focus type

This section gives a review of an experiment which was published in a proceedings article from the conference *Fonetik*, held i Stockholm in 2013.

3.1 Experiment

Informants read target sentences as in (2) from a laptop screen. The interesting aspect of these target sentences is that they can have nuclear accent on the subject, instead of sentence finally. This makes it possible to compare the prosodic realization of an all-new focus with the realization of a non-final narrow focus. The informants were recorded with the built-in microphones of an Edirol-05. There were ten different target sentences, five of which had an accent 1 subject word (2a), and five of which had an accent 2 subject (2b).

(2) Target sentences

a. accent 1 subject

¹**Hummern** har kokat färdigt.

lobster-the has boiled ready.

b. accent 2 subject

²**Havren** har kokat färdigt.

³ There is also an edge phenomenon at the left edge of the intonation phrase, the so-called initiality accent. This will not be relevant to the current discussion, see e.g. Myrberg (2013), Myrberg & Riad (2015) for discussion.

⁴ Rising contours are mainly used with continuation intonation in Stockholm Swedish (cf. Myrberg 2010).

oat-the has boiled ready.

Each target sentence was read in combination with three different context questions (3), inducing all-new focus (3a), narrow focus (3b) and corrective focus (3c), respectively. Each combination of the two target sentences (2) and the three context questions (3) were repeated three times, yielding a set of 90 sentences. Six female speakers of Stockholm Swedish read the entire sentence set, resulting in a total dataset of 540 sentences.

(3) Context questions

- a. inducing all-new focus

Varför ringer äggklockan ute i köket?

why rings timer-the out in kitchen-the

‘Why is the timer ringing in the kitchen?’

- b. inducing narrow focus

Vad har kokat färdigt?

what has boiled ready

‘What is done boiling?’

- c. inducing contrastive focus

Har äggen kokat färdigt?

have eggs-the boiled ready

‘Are the eggs done boiling?’

The sentences were semi-automatically annotated by the author using *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2013). Three measures will be of interest to the current article (4).

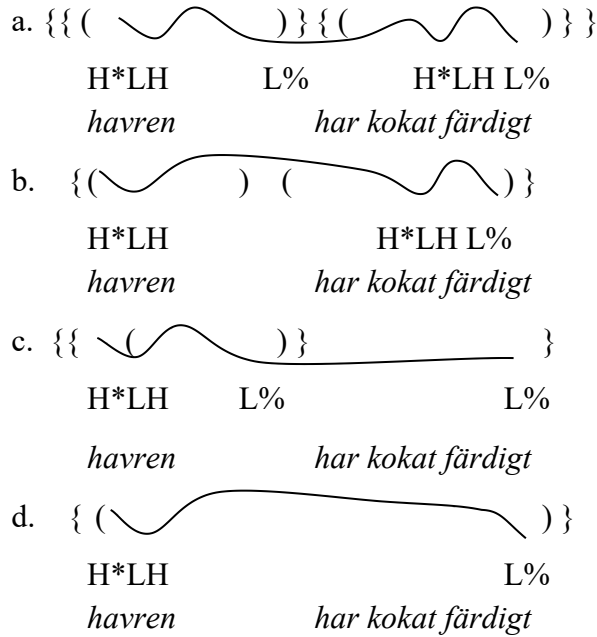
(4) Data annotation

- a. The maximum f0 in the subject was measured (corresponding to the second peak of big accent 2: H*LH and the only peak in big accent 1: L*H).
- b. The minimum f0 between the highest point and word end was measured (corresponding either to a L% or to the middle of the plateau connecting the big accent on the subject and an accent in the verb phrase (5b,c)).
- c. The author made a subjective judgement on whether there was a L% boundary tone after the subject, or whether there was a plateau there (the subjective judgement could to some extent be validated by the f0 measure described in (4b)).

3.2 Results

The results reveal four possible prosodic patterns with which the sentences in (2) can be realized. These patterns are illustrated in (5a-d) with tone accent 2 subjects. The patterns are directly translatable to the sentences with tone accent 1 subjects, except that the initial peak due to H* is absent in tone accent 1.

- (5) Possible prosodic structures of the sentences in (3) illustrated with tone accent 2 subjects. {...} represents ι -brackets. (...) represents ϕ -brackets. In Tables 1 and 2, the prosodic contour for each structure is drawn.



Importantly for the following discussion, in patterns (5a) and (5c), the subject is directly followed by a L%, meaning that the subject is contained in its own ι . In (5a), the verb phrase, too, forms its own ι , and thus contains a big accent. Note that (5a) is only felicitous with all-new focus. In (5c), the subject is followed by an extrametrical area with maximal prosodic words directly dominated by the ι . In patterns (5b) and (5d), the subject is not followed by a L%, meaning that the subject is contained in the same ι as the verb phrase.

Interestingly, accent 2 subjects (2b) are followed by an L% more often in the narrow and contrastive conditions, than in the all-new condition. Patterns (5a) and (5c) are thus less common in the all-new condition ($6.3 + 3.7 = 10\%$) than in the narrow condition (16.8%) or the contrastive condition (17.5%). A Chi-square test shows a significant effect of focus type in relation to the presence of a L% (χ^2 -squared = 10.5484, $df = 2$, $p = 0.005122$). For the accent 1 subjects, a L% is almost always inserted after the subject (patterns 5b and 5d are virtually unattested). Hence, no effect of focus can be seen for the accent 1 subjects. I assume that the reason for this difference between tone accent 1 and 2 subjects is due to the difference in the complexity of the tonal contour. For the tone accent 1 subjects, there is only ever a single peak in the word, thus leaving ample space for the L%. For tone accent 2 subjects, on

the other hand, there are two peaks in the word, making the insertion of another target L% difficult due to lack of space. In tone accent 2, therefore, the L% is only inserted when strongly required by an independent factor, such as the ALIGN-FOCUS constraint.

Table 2. Number of occurrences for the patterns in (5), in the all-new, narrow and contrastive conditions.

	subject has tone accent 1 (3a)			subject has tone accent 2 (3b)		
	100%=267			100%=268		
	all-new	narrow	corrective	all-new	narrow	corrective
pattern (5a)	17.6% (47)	-	-	6.3% (17)	0.3% (1)	-
pattern (5b)	1.5% (4)	-	-	10.1% (27)	-	-
pattern (5c)	13.9% (37)	33.7% (90)	33.3% (89)	3.7% (10)	16.8% (45)	17.5% (47)
pattern (5d)	-	-	-	12.7% (34)	16.4% (44)	16.0% (43)

It can be mentioned that there are also other correlates to the distinction between all-new focus on the one hand and the narrow and contrastive foci on the other hand. The highest point in the subject is higher in the narrow condition than in the all-new condition, for both tone accent 1 and 2, and the fall from the highest point to the L% is larger. I refer the reader interested in the details of these results to Myrberg (2013).

4. Summary and discussion

This short paper has pointed out a phenomenon, which I believe provides additional support to the argument for the ALIGN-FOCUS constraint developed by Féry (2013). The higher probability of aligning narrow and contrastive focus with an L% boundary tone in accent 2 words suggests that Stockholm Swedish has an optional alignment phenomenon which can be used as a prosodic correlate of focus, in addition to the obligatory deaccenting (a type of indirect alignment) described for the West Germanic languages (Féry 2013:716). The fact that stronger narrow and contrastive foci are realized with L% more often than the weaker all-new focus is in line Féry's assumption that stronger foci are more likely than weaker ones to be "realized with a marked syntactic or prosodic structure" (Féry 2013:689).

For accent 1 subjects, near-obligatory insertion of L% was observed, cf. Table 2 and patterns (5a,c). We may assume that this near-obligatory insertion reflects a general preference for the low floor which follows after L% as in (5a,c), over plateau formation as in (5b,d). Tone accent 1 leaves sufficient space for L%, as its big accent contour has only one single peak. The L% can thus be easily inserted to avoid a plateau and L% insertion in accent 1 words therefore happens independent of how strong the focus is.

However, in a subject with accent 2, there are two tonal peaks, and it is not effortless to insert another tonal target L% due to lack of space for the realization of another tonal fall inside the word. Therefore, in a word with accent 2, the L% is not inserted unless called for, e.g. by ALIGN-FOCUS.

A formal account of the facts described here remains to be developed, and a number of issues remain to be understood. One of these issues is how ALIGN-FOCUS can simultaneously explain both the obligatory deaccenting (indirect alignment), which is observed both for West Germanic languages and for Stockholm Swedish, and the optional L% insertion described here. One possibility may be that ALIGN-FOCUS constraints apply separately to foci of varying strength. Working out these issues lies beyond the scope of this paper.

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L2 Dynamic Localization among German and English Speakers or How Caroline Féry Patiently Taught me about Intonation

Mary Grantham O'Brien

Did you hear about Caroline Féry?
She agreed to join forces with me.
She taught me intonation
while we worked on localization.
Grateful to her I'll always be!

Early on in my career a colleague told me that anyone who wants to do serious work on German intonation needs to work with Caroline Féry. Thus, as a young assistant professor preparing for her first sabbatical, I wrote to Caroline to ask if I could spend one month working with her in Potsdam. Remarkably she agreed, and in that month as well as the months and years that followed, I learned from Caroline what it means to study intonation. (Caroline did not teach me to write limericks. Unfortunately, I have to take complete responsibility for my lack of poetic talent.)

Caroline's foundational work on German intonation, *German intonational patterns* (1993), provided me with a clear and coherent guide for my first forays into the topic. Her collaborative work with colleagues laid the path for me to understand information structure (IS) and to undertake with her a few studies looking at the extent to which second language (L2) learners of German are able to make use of intonational cues to IS. In this work, I learned about basic notions like *given* and *new*, *broad focus* and *narrow focus* as well as more specific ones like *relational scaling* and *downstep*.

Our primary collaborative work involved an investigation of the cues to information structure produced by L2 speakers of English and German (O'Brien & Féry, 2015). We used the dynamic localization task in the *Questionnaire on Information Structure* (Skopeteas et al., 2006) to determine which morphological, syntactic and prosodic cues speakers utilize to mark given and new information in their first and second languages. While we weren't surprised with some of our findings (e.g., evidence of a subject-first strategy among native speakers of English in both English and German, a given-before new strategy among native speakers of German, more nativelike L2 performance among

more proficient native speakers of English, and high variability in L2 pitch accent production), a few of our findings were unexpected. For example, we discovered that native speakers of English tended to use definite articles when items were first introduced, in spite of the fact that previous research predicted otherwise (Féry et al., 2010). In addition, we found solid evidence that participants in both groups produced utterance-final rises. It remains to be seen whether this is due to the task (i.e., the production of a series of similar utterance types, which may have encouraged list-like intonation) or the fact that participants were less certain when they produced utterances in their L2.

In addition to her latest book, *Intonation and prosodic structure*, much of Caroline's solo work, including, but certainly not limited to her 2005 "Laute und leise Prosodie" and her 2008 "Information structural notions and the fallacy of invariant correlates" continue to serve as touchstones for me as I make my way as a researcher and as I mentor up-and-coming scholars.

Anyone who has worked with Caroline will note that she is not only highly collaborative, but she is also incredibly generous with her time and her ideas. I cannot express how grateful I am to have had the opportunity to receive such unselfish mentorship!

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A critical view of Metrical phonological analysis of Hindi stress

Pramod Pandey

1. Introduction

Word-stress in Hindi has been a controversial topic, having received diverse treatments, such as Kelkar (1968), Sharma (1969), Ohala (1977), Pandey (1989), Hayes (1995) and Pierrehumbert & Nair (1996), among others.

In the present paper, I begin with arguing that the apparently different patterns are in fact bound by one core pattern and that the differences between them are explainable. I then attempt to argue that the metrical phonological rule of stress in Hayes (1995), based on Fairbanks (1981), is problematic from the points of view of its parameters. I end with broaching the line of analysis in the OT paradigm presented in detail in Pandey (2019).

2. Hindi word-stress pattern

In a programme for generating phonemic representations of Hindi words for use in browsers, Pandey (2014),¹ argues that there exist two main varieties with regard to word-stress pattern in Standard Hindi- Standard Formal Hindi (SFH) (e.g. Kelkar 1968) and Standard Colloquial Hindi (SCH) (e.g. Hayes 1995, Pierrehumbert & Nair 1996). The main difference between the two styles lies in two features. One is the optional deletion of internal and word-final schwa. The other is the rule of word-final vowel lengthening in the Colloquial Standard, a phenomenon noted since Whitney (1889) (e.g. Pandey 1989, Pierrehumbert & Nair 1996). Formal Standard Hindi maintains the vowel length difference (between /i u/ and /i: u:/). Of the two features, only the latter is of consequence for word-stress.

The consequence of the difference in the underlying representations of words with regard to word-final vowel length can be seen in (5) below.

¹ The programme converts Hindi words in Devnagari script into two levels of representations, phonemic and prosodic, using IPA. The programme can be downloaded from

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|------------|------------|--------------|
| (1) | a. | FSH | CSH | Gloss |
| | | 'pəti | pə'ti: | husband |
| | | ə'pitu | 'əpitu: | but |
| | b. | (i) 'ʃətru | 'ʃətru: | enemy |
| | | 'pa:ɳini | 'pa:ɳini: | (a name) |

Note that whereas the difference in vowel length affects the stress pattern in (5a), it does not in (5b). The crucial point to note here is that given the different underlying forms, the patterns in both the varieties, FSH and CSH, make a consistent whole, notwithstanding stylistic variation.

While the common core stress pattern in Hindi is describable by one set of rules. The set of rules predict both the FSH as well as the CSH varieties. As the difference between them is that of underlying representations, it is of no consequence in the statement of the core stress rule.

There is one exception, however, to the core stress pattern. This is disyllabic words of LH type. These have been described as L'H pattern in Kelkar (1968) and as 'LH pattern in Hayes (1995), based on Fairbanks (1981). Pandey (1989) shows that LH words have variable stress- ['LH] as well as [L'H].

3. Standard Hindi Core stress pattern

We assume a three degree distinction in the weight of syllables for Hindi-Urdu:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------|-------|------------|
| (2) | Light | Heavy | Superheavy |
| | CV | CV: | CV:C |
| | | CVC | CVCC |

The rule with the subrules is stated informally as follows: Given the facts regarding the role of underlying length of final vowels affecting stress placement in Hindi, but the stress pattern remaining the same, I give below the Standard Hindi core stress pattern rule below.

(3) Standard Hindi core stress pattern rules

- a. A superheavy syllable is stressed in all positions.
- b. A heavy syllable is stressed non-finally, when not followed by a stressed syllable or when it is the heaviest syllable.
- c. A light syllable is stressed if followed by a light syllable and not preceded by a heavy/ superheavy syllable.

- d. In disyllabic words of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable, either one of them is stressed.
- e. End Rule is variable; it can be placed initially or finally.

The description of stress in Pandey (1989) includes discussion of all these subrules, but fails to put them in a core pattern rule. Besides, it left the interdependent role of rhythm and quantity in Hindi unexplained.

The stress patterns illustrating the subrules are given below.

- (4) a. Examples for the pattern in (4a):

Words	Stress
əs'ba:b	H 'S
pər'wərdə'ga:r	H 'H L 'S
're:z'ga:ri:	'S 'H H

- b. Examples for the pattern in (4b):

su'ca:ru	L 'H L
ru'ka:ja:	L 'H H
'sa:rika:	'H L H
ro: 'za:na:	H 'H H
ka:'ri:gəri:	L 'H L H
'ko:i:	'H H

- c. Examples for the pattern in (4c):

'pəti	'L L
sə'miti	L 'L L
pi'pəriyaa	L 'L L H
----- ²	
'durgəti	'H L L
'ʃa:ntənu	'S L L

- d. Examples for the pattern in (4d):

kəla:	L 'H ~ 'L H	'art'
kəməl	L 'H ~ 'L H	'lotus'

² The dashed line is to separate the examples for the different conditions specified in the rule.

- e. Examples for the pattern in (4e)
- | | |
|------------|-------------------------|
| 'ənu'məti | 'L L , L L ~ 'L L , L L |
| 'inqi'la:b | 'H L , S ~ , H L 'S |
| 'ro:z'qa:r | 'S , S ~ 'S 'S |

4. Metrical Analysis of Hindi stress

Let us look at the foot construction rule of Hayes (1995:165), reproduced below.

- (5) a. Foot construction Form moraic trochees from right to left.
 Degenerate feet are allowed in strong position.
- b. Foot extrametricality Foot $\rightarrow$ <Foot> / _____]_{word}
- c. Word Layer construction End Rule Right

Which aspects of the data are at variance with (5)? We discuss them briefly one by one.

(a) Foot Construction.

- (i) Moraic trochees from right to left

The rule accounts for a majority of the data. Where there is no moraic trochee, it is explained in terms of (a) extrametricality of the final heavy syllable and (b) clash resolution of the non-final heavy syllable, as, for example in [ro: 'za:na:].

There is difficulty with regard to the directionality of stress clash resolution. In [ro: 'za:na:], the syllable to the left of the stressed syllable loses stress. But in ['durgəti], the syllable to the right loses stress.

- (ii) Degenerate feet are allowed in strong position. This explains initial stress in LH words, e.g. ['kəla], but not in the variable stress on the final syllable in LH words, e.g. [kə'la].

(b) Foot Extrametricality.

Foot extrametricality is motivated by the pattern in (6):

- (6) [('L L) (H)] ['məhila:]
 [('H L) (H)] ['sa:rika:]

However, for parses as in (7), Foot extrametricality must be blocked for final superheavy syllables, apparently arbitrarily:

- (7) [('L H) (S)] ['musəl 'ma:n]
 [('H L) (S)] ['inqi 'la:b]

Besides, parses such as the ones in (8), must again be treated as exceptions to Foot Extrametricality.

- (8) ['L L] ['pəti]
 [L 'L L] [prə'gəti]

(c) Word layer construction

The End Rule is variable in Hindi; t can be Initial or Final, as shown in (4a) above.

5. L H Disyllabic words

Disyllabic words have been described to have different patterns in the FSH (Kelkar, Sharma) and in CSH (Hayes) varieties.

- (9) SFH SCH
 kəla: L 'H 'L H 'art'

In CSH, however, both the patterns have been noted (Pandey 1989:49). These are also found in the speech of the author, a native speaker of Standard Hindi.

For the pattern in (9), it would be necessary to add an optional stress rule 10):

(10) Standard Hindi Disyllabic Optional Rule

In disyllabic words of a light syllable followed by a heavy syllable, either one of them is stressed.

If we incorporate (10) into (5a-c) in order to have a single rule statement, we find that the modifications add to its complexity. Consider the modified version of (3) in (11) below:

(11) Standard Hindi Core Pattern Rule-tentatively modified

- a. A superheavy syllable is stressed in all positions.
- b. A heavy syllable is (i) *optionally stressed finally in disyllabic words*, and (ii) non-finally, when not followed by a stressed syllable or when it is the heaviest syllable.
- c. A light syllable is stressed if followed by a light syllable and not preceded by a heavy/ superheavy syllable *or followed by a heavy syllable in disyllabic words*.

In order to avoid the complexity, the rule for the LH disyllabic pattern must be kept as a separate subrule, as in Rule (3d).

Given the informal Rule (3) and the metrical stress rule (5), we have a situation where a reanalysis of the Hindi stress pattern is necessary.

There is another important reason for a reanalysis of Hindi stress system. In a programme on the learnability of stress in world languages, , Heinz (2007) found Hindi stress system,

based on Kelkar (1968) and rule (5), to be unlearnable, along with eight other stress systems among the stress systems exhaustively described in the literature (e.g. Hayes 1981, Halle & Vergnaud 1987, Hayes 1995, Hyde 2002, Gordon 2002)

A generalization that Heinz found valid for all the recalcitrant cases is that the analyses on which they are based make use of the Extrametricality device. Pandey (2019) shows that a reanalysis within the Optimality Theory paradigm fully explicates the subrules (a)-(e) of the core stress rule (3). For lack of space, I cannot go into the details of the reanalysis presented there. However, the general line of the OT analysis proposed argues for the following.

a. The Hindi foot type is a syllabic trochee, not a moraic trochee. The ubiquitous stress on superheavy syllables is on account of the generally held assumption (see e.g. McCarthy 1979, Prince 1983, Hayes 1995) that a superheavy syllable consists of a heavy + light syllable. Féry (1996) proposes this generalization in the form of a metrical constraint $\text{THREEMORAS} = \text{TWOGRIDMARKS}$ to account for final stress on superheavy syllables in German (e.g. [_i vita' mi:n] *vitamin*).

(12) $\text{THREEMORAS} = \text{TWOGRIDMARKS}$

Trimoraic syllables project two grid marks.

(Or: A grid mark is projected from maximally two moras.)

The constraint applies without exception to stress on superheavy syllables in Hindi.

b. The syllabic trochee applies wherever two syllables show a perfect fit between rhythm and quantity, e.g. [sə'miti] and [ro: 'za:na:]. The fit lies in the left syllable being strong and the strong syllable of the foot being equal or greater in weight in relation to the weak syllable.

c. Wherever there is mismatch between the strong and the weak syllables forming a perfect trochee with regard to rhythm and quantity, the two factors of rhythm and quantity pull in different directions. Quantity wins when there is scope for letting the foot shift leftward, e.g. 'durgəti [(durgə)ti]. In the absence of a scope for movement, as in a disyllabic LH word, either of the factors wins, giving variable stress. e.g. ['kəla:] ~ [kə'la:] . There is initial stress when the constraint on rhythm (TROCHEE) is higher in ranking, and there is final stress when the constraint on quantity (WEIGHT-TO-STRESS PRINCIPLE) is variably higher in ranking than TROCHEE ['kəla:] [(kəla:)] ~ [kə'la:] [kə(la:)].

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Caroline: Schwarz auf weiss

Alla Paslawska

Viele Menschen treten in unser Leben ein. Genauso viele treten daraus schnell hinaus. Manche hinterlassen jedoch sehr bildhafte Spuren, die das Leben zu einem ereignisvollen Film machen. Zu solchen Menschen zählt bei mir Caroline Féry.

Caroline hat mir Schreiben beigebracht – Computerschreiben. Aber mein Verhältnis zu ihr ist so, als ob sie mir wirklich das Schreiben beigebracht hätte. Das hat sie in ein Paar Minuten geschafft. Sie hat auf die Einschalte-Taste des Computers hingewiesen und gesagt: „Darauf musst du drücken“. Alles andere verläuft wie bei einer Schreibmaschine.“ Und das hat tatsächlich funktioniert.



Von Caroline habe ich gelernt, gemeinsame Aufsätze zu schreiben. Ein ukrainisches Sprichwort besagt: „Ein Kopf ist gut, aber zwei Köpfe sind besser“. Wir haben sogar einen dreiköpfigen Aufsatz geleistet (Vielen Dank, Gisbert!). Am Ende bleibt nicht nur ein schöner Aufsatz, aber auch Kenntnisse von anderen Köpfen.

Mit Caroline habe ich unglaubliche Geschichten erlebt. Eine davon fand auf einem Markt statt, wo wir einkaufen waren. Ein Mann hat vor unseren Augen einer Marktfrau ein geschlachtetes Huhn gestohlen. Während ich vor Empörung und Aufregung erstarrte, lief Caroline hinter dem Mann nach und packte ihn beim Kragen. Da erstarrte ich zum zweiten Mal – vor Angst um sie. Aber die Geschichte ging für alle bis auf das Huhn gut aus.



Caroline zeichnet sich durch eine rücksichtslose Ehrlichkeit aus – eine Eigenschaft, der man heutzutage, wo alles mehrdeutig und verschwommen zu sein tendiert, nur noch selten begegnet. Umso mehr freut man sich Caroline unter Freunden zu haben, denn dank solchen Menschen weiß man, dass Schwarz immer noch Schwarz und Weiß immer noch Weiß ist.

Greetings

Vieri Samek-Lodovici

Dear Caroline,

I am really happy for having been given the opportunity of adding these greetings of mine to the celebratory collection for your valedictory. I hope you don't mind if I do not spend too many words praising your outstanding research on prosody and the massive contribution you have made to generative linguistics through the years.

Instead, I would like to send you a personal thank you, for the important role you have played in my career (and, doubtless, countless others!). The time I spent in Potsdam and Berlin, thanks to your invitations in the early noughties, is still very vivid in my memory. It gave me an opportunity to think about my research thanks to the inquisitive yet sympathetic questions I was asked by you and the other colleagues and friends in Potsdam and Berlin. Many of the issues I started considering then, I went on researching in the following years, and eventually led to my 2015 book. I am also grateful for the Language article we co-authored, which still today is my most cited publication. It is also particularly dear to me, as discussing it together and writing it was very enjoyable.

I also really deeply appreciated, already then and even more now, how welcoming and kind you have always been. I will never forget the time you and Gisbert took me to a Techno disco in Berlin well into the night: and this was the very day I had arrived in Berlin! I was surprised, as I had never had an occasion where work and fun were mixed together so quickly and directly, but I also thought you and Gisbert were really cool! In later visits, we had quieter activities, like bird watching on the German-Polish border, but the coolness never wore off. I've often told myself I should do the same with people visiting me here in London, but I never pulled it off so well as you did.

I am really very happy I had the opportunity to meet you, and the privilege to work with you. I hope to meet you soon again many more times.

Vieri

Greetings

Elisabeth Selkirk

I'm very grateful to Caroline for the many provocative and useful exchanges we've had over the years about the prosodic representation of sentences and its relation to phonetic interpretation, to syntactic structure, and to meaning. The first time I met Caroline was sometime in the 80's in Konstanz, where she was a Ph.D student. I recall that it was focus that we talked about during my visit there. In the early 90's she and Ede came with their kids as year-long visitors to Amherst, where we got to know each other better, both personally and linguistically. We had many heated discussions about the analysis of intonation in English, while in the background she was writing her excellent book on German intonation. In subsequent years I've had many occasions to engage with Caroline's published work in areas of common interest, and opportunities to meet with her personally and professionally, during her times as a faculty member and researcher in Tübingen, then in Potsdam/Berlin, and, finally, in Frankfurt. Of particular importance to me was the long period in which she co-directed the SFB research project on information structure with Manfred Krifka in Berlin/Potsdam, which provided multiple occasions for scholars in the field to engage with each other directly on the many contentious issues involved. This project had a theoretical depth and a crosslinguistic reach which was unparalleled. My own thinking and writing, some of it in collaboration with Angelika Kratzer, has benefitted enormously from contending with the ideas and results coming out of the research carried out by Caroline and her collaborators.

I hope Caroline is very satisfied with her enormously fruitful life as a linguist so far, now that she is about to embark on what she is likely to consider a permanent sabbatical. She is doubtless also likely to include more bird-watching in her life. One daydream of mine is to accompany her on a bird-watching trip in some new and interesting territory, where she would be willing, the daydream goes, to teach me the basics—listening for a bird, locating it amongst the branches or grasses, grasping its essential features before it moves out of sight—and would provide wonderful companionship.

Lisa Selkirk

Objects Trouvés¹

Wolfgang Sternefeld (gen. Pas de loup)

Ziel meines Beitrags ist ausgleichende Gerechtigkeit: Neben den bekannten Ede-Sätzen aus den Schriften Arnim v. Stechows (“Ede isst Pizza” etc.) gibt es nämlich nicht minder bedeutsame Caroline-Beispiele, die dem Vergessen zu entreißen und in den ihnen gebührenden Zusammenhang zu stellen hier mein Anliegen ist.

An erster Stelle wäre die Semantik des Namens selber zu nennen. Prototypische referentielle Ausdrücke (sog. R-Ausdrücke) werden in [5] anhand von Beispielen wie “Ede” eingeführt (wen wundert’s), aber auch—and hier besonders hervorzuheben—anhand von Nominalphrasen wie “die kleine Frau aus Brüssel, die wir alle so bewundern” (S. 261). Dass es sich hierbei um Caroline Féry handelt, ist semantisch eindeutig; dass mit “Caroline” stets *unsere* Caroline gemeint ist, lässt sich darüber hinaus zweifelsfrei anhand der semantischen Regel aus [3] (S. 24) nachweisen:

(4-3) c. $\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Caroline}] \rrbracket = \text{Caroline Féry}$

Damit befindet sich Caroline in Gesellschaft einer Reihe von weiteren *dramatis personae* aus dem Werk Arnim v. Stechows, deren Identität anhand nachweisbarer Regeln der oben gezeigten Art (s. ebd.) sowie anhand von sorgfältiger historischer Rekonstruktion (durch Verfolgung Kripke’scher Kausalketten) eindeutig festgestellt werden konnte und zu denen Caroline eine *de re*-Beziehung hatte, also eine *acquaintance*-Relation unterhielt. Eine kleine Auswahl der Ergebnisse dieser Forschung habe ich im oben vorgegebenen Format hier zusammengestellt:

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Ria}] \rrbracket = \text{Ria de Bleser (Linguistin)}$

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Wolfgang}] \rrbracket = \text{Wolfgang Klein (Linguist)}$

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Alla}] \rrbracket = \text{Alla Paslawska (Linguistin)}$

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Wladimir}] \rrbracket = \text{Arnim v. Stechow (der Autor selbst)}$

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Senta}] \rrbracket = \text{Senta Trömel-Plötz (Feministin)}$

$\llbracket [_{NP} \text{Luigi}] \rrbracket = \text{Luigi Pesaro (Gastwirt) u.v.a.m.}$

Über Carolines Leben erfahren wir bekannte und vielleicht auch bisher unbekannte Details. So lesen wir in [5] S. 109:

¹ Ein herzlicher Dank für hilfreiche Korrekturen geht an Cecile Meier.

- (9) (i) *Ede und Caroline_i wohnen in der Mainaustraße. Sie_i haben ein Kind.*
(ii) *Ede und Caroline wohnen in der Mainaustraße_i. Dort_i wohnen vor allem reiche Leute.*

(9)(i) war zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung des Buches (1988) überholt: bemüht man Grice'sche Maximen und versteht *ein* als *genau ein*, so steht diese Aussage im Widerspruch zu der Tatsache, dass ein zweites Kind schon im Dezember 1985 das Licht der Welt erblickte. Wurden also für das Buch uralte Skripte recycelt oder hat die Drucklegung des Werkes so lange gedauert? Ich verbürge mich hier für letzteres.

Wie aber kam es überhaupt zu einer gemeinsamen Wohnstatt? Aufschluss hierzu gibt:

- (1) *Ede_j seems [t_j to admire Caroline]* (ebd. S. 263)

In diesem Zusammenhang ist der Begriff der Kette relevant: Keinesfalls hat sich Caroline hier an Ede gekettet, vielmehr bildet Caroline eine eingliedrige Kette und als solche eine ganz unbewegte Frau. Gänzlich ohne Bewegung blieb es bei beiden auch noch in (9):

- (9) *Ede_i wants [e_i to marry Caroline]* (ebd. S. 265)

Denn hier muss *e_i* ja PRO sein. Bewegter wird es nun schon mit:

- (22) (i) **the man [OP_i [t_i loves Caroline]]* (ebd. S. 387)

Allerdings wurde hier unzulässig bewegt und ein intervenierender hohlköpfiger Operator hat sich dazwischen geschoben; solche Elemente haben aber in diesem Kontext nichts zu suchen. Glücklicherweise scheint dieses Hindernis doch irgendwie beseitigt worden zu sein und sich der Mann (*the man*) qua syntaktischer *reconstruction* dem Objekt wieder angenähert zu haben.

Im Fortgang der Ereignisse erfahren wir dann alles Mögliche über Haus, Garten, Küche und Karriere, z.B. dass "(151) Ede seine Frau den Tisch abräumen ließ ([1]" S. 139) oder dass Arnim am 15.6.2004 um 16:30 "Caroline Petersilie schneiden sah" ([3] S. 149). Neben solchen Banalitäten wird aber auch Carolines Hobby gewürdigt:

- (96) *Caroline observed more birds than Arnim did [VP Δ]* ([4] S. 2230)

Ausführlich semantisch analysiert wird auch ihre weitere Karriere. Zu "Caroline wurde Professorin" heisst es in [2] S. 25²: "Professor is a stage-level predicate. If it is defined for each interval, the sentence must be an achievement." Wenn auch der *Satz* vielleicht kein *achievement* ist, so ist doch das, was Caroline geleistet hat, um Professorin zu werden, ein großartiges *accomplishment*.

Einige Informationen erhalten wir auch über ihre semantische Rolle (*agens*, *patiens*, *recipient*) im Kontext ehelicher Harmonie ([5] S. 79):

- (16) *Caroline überreicht Ede einen Bierhappen*

² Zitiert nach: <http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/~astechow/Aufsaeetze/Bonomi.pdf>

und

(18) (ii) Ede überreicht der Caroline einen Bierhappen.

Aber Vorsicht, die semantischen Rollen sind in diesen Sätzen grundverschieden: feinsinnig wird beobachtet, dass “Geber und Rezipient die Rollen vertauscht” haben (ebd.)! Ob das gut gegangen ist?

In Bezug auf Carolines bewegtes Leben deutet sich schon der Umzug in die Kalkreuthstraße an (wir übergehen die Zwischenstation in der Tübinger Kurzen Straße):

(18) a. Caroline kann in Berlin sein ([2] S. 25)

Allerdings geht es hier weniger um Carolines Umzug (Ede überführte das Auto und Caroline fuhr mit dem Zug) als um die Hypothese, dass das Modalverb *können* einen unsichtbaren Begleiter in Form eines Futurooperators mit sich führt, vergleiche:

(18) b. *Caroline kann gestern in Berlin sein ([2] S. 25)

Während mit dem Umzug dann letztlich alles geklappt gehabt hat, schien es in Konstanz bei Arnim zu Hause etwas merkwürdig zugegangen zu sein (s. [3] S. 63): “Alla, Bertha und Caroline verstecken sich in meiner Wohnung, die sehr klein ist. Die einzigen Orte, wo man sich verstecken kann, sind der Schrank, in den nur eine Person passt, und die Küche, in die zwei Personen rein gehen.” Und so kommt es dann zu dem atomaren Satz (7-1) (als *cis* abgekürzt), dass nämlich

(7-1) e. Caroline im Schrank ist (*cis*) aber auch dazu, dass

(7-5) Caroline₁ [nicht [t₁ im Schrank ist]]

Jedenfalls muss sie sich bewegt haben, um *nicht* im Schrank zu sein (dann ist sie in der Küche und schneidet Petersilie). Was immer Caroline in den Schrank getrieben hat, . . .

(26) (iii) Ede versucht [PRO Caroline zu beruhigen] ([5] S. 116)

Nachweise

[1] Arnim von Stechow. Syntax und Semantik. In Arnim von Stechow and Dieter Wunderlich, editors, *Semantik. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*, S. 90–148, Berlin, 1991. Walter de Gruyter.

[2] Arnim von Stechow. Temporally opaque arguments in verbs of creation. In Bruno Cechetto and Genaro Chierchia, editors, *Festschrift per Andrea Bonomi*. CSLI Publications, Ithaca, New York, 1999.

[3] Arnim von Stechow. Schritte zur Satzsemantik. Unveröffentlichtes Buchmanuskript, Teil 1, Fassung vom 26.10.2006. <http://www.sfs.uni-tuebingen.de/~astechow/Aufsaeetze/SchritteI.pdf>, 2006.

[4] Arnim von Stechow. Syntax and Semantics: an overview. In Maienborn, von Heusinger, and Portner, editors, *Semantics (HSK 33.3)*, S. 2173–2223. de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, 2012.

- [5] Arnim von Stechow and Wolfgang Sternefeld. *Bausteine syntaktischen Wissens*. Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen, 1988.

Von sprachlichen und nicht-sprachlichen Lücken

Thomas Strobel & Helmut Weiß

Da in der Frankfurter Linguistik nach der Emeritierung von Caroline Féry fachlich wie persönlich eine große Lücke entstehen wird, widmen wir unseren Beitrag zum Sammelband anlässlich ihrer Abschiedsvorlesung dem umfassenden Thema Lücken – wenn auch hier eher im Sinne von sprachlichen Lücken bzw. Defektivität. Dies tun wir nicht zuletzt deshalb, weil Caroline selbst, zusammen mit Gisbert Fanselow, ebenfalls bereits etwas dazu beizutragen hatte. So behandeln die beiden in Fanselow & Féry (2002a, 2002b) Fälle von absoluter Ungrammatikalität oder *Ineffability* in der Grammatik, womit Fälle von Ungrammatikalität ohne alternative Ausdrucksmöglichkeit gemeint sind (cf. auch Hetzron 1975 und Pesetsky 1997). Zwar handelt es sich hierbei primär um ein theoretisches Konzept bzw. ein formales Problem der Optimalitätstheorie, welche die Nicht-Existenz solcher Fälle vorhersagt, die diskutierten empirischen Domänen umfassen aber unter anderem auch Phänomene, die auf morphologische und syntaktische Lücken hinweisen.

Von Lücken in der Grammatik zu sprechen, ist wie der Grammatikbegriff selbst ambig: Nach dem hier intendierten Verständnis als Systemlücken und Regelkonflikte sind in der Grammatik keiner Sprache alle logisch möglichen Konstellationen vollständig und/oder widerspruchsfrei geregelt, was von „realistischen“ Grammatikmodellen sowie der Grammatikografie berücksichtigt werden muss (Reis 1979, 2017), ohne dabei die Annahme grammatischer Lücken als „Ausrede für ‚schlechte‘ Grammatikschreibung“ (Vogel 2009) zu missbrauchen.

Einige Lücken sind – etwa aus semantischen Gründen – erwartet, beispielsweise die fehlende Pluralfähigkeit von Massennomina (mit Ausnahme eines Sortenplurals), der fehlende Komparativ und Superlativ bei absoluten Adjektiven wie *tot* (und die ersatzweise Verwendung von Graduierungen wie *mausetot*), die nicht vorhandene 1. und 2. Person bei Impersonalia oder die Unmöglichkeit einer Imperativform im Präteritum. Andere, arbiträre Lücken hingegen lassen sich nicht durch allgemeine Beschränkungen oder Prinzipien erklären.¹ Dies gilt nicht nur für lexikalische Lücken wie bei der

¹ Dennoch müssen auch solche Lücken keineswegs idiosynkratisch sein. Bei näherer Betrachtung finden sich durchaus phonologische (etwa phonotaktische), morphologische und/oder syntaktische oder auch pragmatische Gründe (Implikaturen), die eine Erklärung für bestimmte Restriktionen liefern (siehe unten

unvollständigen Wortfeldstruktur *hungrig* : *satt* = *durstig* : ?? (siehe unten) oder dem fehlenden Hyperonym für *Onkel* und *Tante*, sondern auch für grammatische Lücken wie im Falle des Flexionsverhaltens einiger komplexer Verben, die bezüglich ihrer Trennbarkeit oder Analyse als komplexes vs. simples Verb nicht nur Doppelförmigkeit (*geschlussfolgert/schlussgefolgert*, *dankzusagen/zu danksagen*) und/oder widersprüchliche Flexionsparadigmen (*er notlandet* vs. *notgelandet*, *notzulanden*; *ich staubsauge* vs. *staubgesaugt/gestaubsaugt*, *staubzusaugen/zu staubsaugen*) aufweisen, sondern auch defektive Paradigmen (Vermeidung v. a. finiter Formen von *bausparen*, *bergsteigen*, *segelfliegen*, *seiltanzen*, *schutzimpfen* oder *zweckentfremden* sowie beim vieldiskutierten *uraufführen*: *Wir uraufführen das Stück*/**Wir führen das Stück urauf*/**Wir aufführen das Stück ur* vs. *uraufgeführt*, *uraufzuführen*; cf. hierzu neben Fanselow & Féry 2002b u. a. Becker & Peschel 2003, Peschel 2004 und Hausmann 2006). Hochgradig defektiv sind ferner Verben wie *radebrechen*, *willfahren* oder (*hat*) *auserkoren*, (*ist*) *verschollen* (cf. Reis 2017). Paradigmatische Lücken finden sich wohl in allen Sprachen (cf. u. a. die Beispiele in Fanselow & Féry 2002b sowie Reis 2017): Im Deutschen scheint es keine Präteritumform (mehr) von *schinden* zu geben (*Caroline* ??*schindete*!??*schund*!??*schand ihre Studierenden mächtig*, im Gegensatz zur einwandfreien Perfektform (*hat*) *geschunden*), im Englischen ist die Bildung von Vergangenheitsformen der Verben *to abide*, *to bespeak*, *to dive*, *to for(e)go* oder *to grandstand* problematisch, im Französischen sind Verben wie *fire* ‚braten‘ und *clore* ‚schließen‘ betroffen, die im Indikativ Präsens nicht in der 1. und 2. Person Plural vorkommen (**nous frions*/**vous friez*, **nous closons*/**vous closez*), im Spanischen und Portugiesischen hat etwa das Verb *abolir* ‚abschaffen‘ ein defektives Paradigma im Präsens (Indikativ und Konjunktiv) usw. Zum Auffüllen solcher Lücken wird häufig Suppletion genutzt. Defektivität kann außerdem nicht nur Verben betreffen, sondern ebenso Substantive (Singulariatantum wie *Gold*, *Obst* oder *Vernunft* und Pluraliatantum wie *Leute* oder *Ferien*), Pronomina (fehlender Genitiv bei den Indefinita *man/einer* und *alles*, Lücken bei den Interrogativa *was* im Dativ und pronominal gebrauchtem *welch*-mit *s*-Genitiv; cf. Gallmann 1997, Hoffmann 2009) und Adjektive (fehlende Komparationsfähigkeit etwa bei *zweifach* im Gegensatz zu *einfach*).

Syntaktische Lücken zeigen sich im Deutschen unter anderem in der Ungrammatikalität eines Genitivs bei alleinstehendem Nomen ohne vorangehendes flektiertes Artikelwort oder Adjektiv (*der Konsum* *(*frischen*) *Wassers*, *sich* *(*jeglichen*) *Widerstands enthalten*, *innerhalb* *(*größerer*) *Städte*; cf. Gallmann, u. a. in Duden 2009, zur sog. Genitivregel und entsprechenden Ersatzkonstruktionen wie der *von*-Periphrase), bei der fehlenden Koordinationsfähigkeit des Relativpronomens (**Da ist der Mann, der und seine Frau*

sowie z. B. Weiß 1999, 2017). Insbesondere Sprachwandel kann (vorübergehend) zu Lücken und distributionellen Beschränkungen führen (im Standarddeutschen aktuell etwa bei der Grammatikalisierung des *am*-Progressivs: *Caroline ist* (das/ein Buch) *am L/lesen*) und des Dativpassivs: *Das Auto bekommt den Motor repariert*, *Ich bekomme geholfen*).

gestern vorbeigekommen sind, christianlehmann.eu: Lücken in der deutschen Grammatik) oder auch bei Adjektiven (bzw. adjektivisch verwendeten Partizipien, aus Adverbien abgeleiteten Adjektiven etc.), die nur attributiv (*das hiesige/dortige Recht* vs. **das Recht ist hiesig/dortig*, *der amtierende Präsident* vs. **der Präsident ist amtierend*), und solchen, die ausschließlich prädikativ verwendet werden können (z. B. *egal*, *okay* oder *plemplem* – für eine Liste siehe *grammis*: Adjektiv –, aber inzwischen: *²Die zue(ne) Tür²*). Besonders intensiv werden hier Probleme der Verbalkongruenz im Numerus und in der Person bei komplexen (*Eine Menge Bücher steht/stehen in Carolines Regal; Caroline, aber auch Ede, kommt/kommen zur Party*) und koordinierten Subjekt-Nominalphrasen (*Ich oder du *kann/*kannst/²können kommen; Ich und ihr *irre/*irrt/*irren *uns/*euch/*sich/*mich*) diskutiert (Fanselow & Féry 2002b, Reis 2017).³ Solche Konflikte sind im System selbst angelegt und damit irremediabel.⁴ Lediglich durch Synkretismen entstehen (vermeintlich?) grammatische Konstruktionen (*Wir oder ihr *werden/*werdet das Rennen gewinnen* vs. *Wir oder sie werden das Rennen gewinnen*)⁵ – oder wie Reis (2017) es formuliert: „Nur bei morphologischem Glück kommt es auch zu ‚grammatischen Illusionen‘“, wobei eben nicht alle akzeptablen Äußerungen notwendigerweise auch grammatisch sein müssen (zum Konzept der grammatischen Illusionen cf. Haider 2011). Synkretismen retten ebenso die bei freien Relativsätzen möglichen multiplen Kasusanforderungen (*Was Caroline gefällt, mag ich auch* vs. **Wer/*Wen Caroline gefällt, mag ich auch*), was einen weiteren von Fanselow & Féry (2002a, 2002b) angeführten Fall von Unaussprechlichkeit darstellt.

² Cf. Günter Eich, *Versuch mit Leibniz*: „Hinter der zuen Tür wohnt Leibniz, habe ich mir sagen lassen.“

³ Die Probleme verschärfen sich sogar noch in Dialekten mit flektierten Komplementierern: *bair. Wenn(st)* (2.SG) *du und da Ede noch Frankfuat kemmts* (2.PL), *miassts* (2.PL) *unbedingt vorbeischaung*.

⁴ Unlösbare Kongruenzprobleme treten auch beim Genus auf, sei es durch zwei miteinander konkurrierende Auslöser für Genus-Kongruenz (*Unser gemeinsamer Arbeitgeber, die Universität Frankfurt, die/der uns zusammengebracht hat*), sei es aufgrund von (fehlender) Genus-Kongruenz zwischen Subjekt und Prädikativum bei Personenbezeichnungen und eventuellen Unklarheiten bei superlativischen Ausdrücken (*²Maria ist der beste Tänzer* vs. *Maria ist die beste Tänzerin*, Fanselow & Féry 2002b, oder auch *²Caroline Féry ist mein Lieblingsprofessor* vs. *Caroline Féry ist meine Lieblingsprofessorin* bei der intendierten Lesart: unter allen weiblichen wie männlichen Tänzerinnen und Tänzern bzw. Professorinnen und Professoren).

⁵ Selbst hier scheint es jedoch Abstufungen bezüglich der betroffenen synkreten Formen bzw. unterschiedlichen Merkmale zu geben: Während Fälle wie *Wenn wir oder sie nach Frankfurt kommen* mit einem Unterschied in der Person, aber gleichem Numerus akzeptabel sind, scheint **Wenn er oder ihr nach Frankfurt kommt* aufgrund eines Unterschieds sowohl in der Person als auch im Numerus deutlich schlechter zu sein (cf. Albright & Fuß 2012).

Fanselow & Féry (2002a, 2002b) versuchen, sprachliche Bereiche zu ermitteln, in denen *Ineffabilities* auftreten, und solche, die dagegen immun sind. Dabei fällt auf, dass von ihnen viele Problemkomplexe diskutiert werden, die auch in der Zweifelsfallforschung zentral sind, insbesondere defektive oder widersprüchliche Flexionsparadigmen, Kongruenzprobleme in Numerus, Person und Genus, konfligierende Kasusforderungen, „Koordination als Komplikation“ (Klein 2004) etc. Es stellt sich daher die Frage, in welchem Verhältnis Unaussprechlichkeit und sprachliche Zweifelsfälle stehen, die seit Klein (2003) als „sprachliche Einheit[en]“ definiert sind, „bei [denen] kompetente Sprecher (a.) im Blick auf (mindestens) zwei Varianten (a, b ...) in Zweifel geraten (b.) können, welche der beiden Formen (standardsprachlich)⁶ (c.) korrekt ist (vgl. Sprachschwankung, Doppelform, Dublette). Die beiden Varianten eines Zweifelsfalls sind formseitig oft teildentisch (d.) (z. B. *dubios/dubiös, lösbar/löslich, des Automat[s]/des Automaten, Rad fahren/rad fahren/radfahren, Staub gesaugt/staubgesaugt/gestaubsaugt*)“ (cf. ausführlicher auch Klein 2018 sowie Strobel 2018). Während bei *Ineffability* keine Option akzeptabel scheint (Ungrammatikalität ohne Alternativen), wird/werden(?) bei sprachlichen Zweifelsfällen häufig mehr als eine oder sogar alle Varianten akzeptiert (und ggf. eine davon präferiert). Dennoch können auch *Ineffabilities* Anlass zu Zweifeln geben – eben aufgrund der Alternativlosigkeit –, sofern es sich im Einzelnen überhaupt um ein salientes Phänomen handelt. Darüber hinaus können beide zu gradierter Grammatikalität führen (zur Gradienz in der Grammatik allgemein siehe auch Fanselow, Féry, Vogel & Schlesewsky 2006). Das gilt nicht nur für die koexistierenden Varianten grammatischer Zweifelsfälle, die ihre Ursache beispielsweise in noch nicht abgeschlossenen Sprachwandelprozessen, Sprachkontakt und Varietätenvielfalt („innersprachliche Mehrsprachigkeit“) sowie Lücken oder Widersprüchen im System haben (cf. Strobel 2018). Auch Bereiche mit *Ineffability* sind eng mit unsicheren bzw. vagen Grammatikalitätsurteilen verbunden, denn – wie Fanselow & Féry (2002a) feststellen – „[e]in Ungrammatikalitätsurteil für die Form F ist dann scharf, wenn eine alternative grammatische Form F' zum Ausdruck der relevanten phonologischen Repräsentation, Bedeutung etc. gefunden werden kann. Ein ‚scharfes‘ Urteil zu F abzugeben würde also implizieren, den Kandidaten F' identifiziert zu haben, der F aus dem Rennen geworfen hat“. „Absolute“ Ungrammatikalität bedeutet also, dass sich kein Kandidat findet, der besser bzw. optimal wäre, dass es jedoch durchaus Fälle von abgestufter oder relativer Grammatikalität geben kann.

So besteht nach Fanselow & Féry (2002a, 2002b) beispielsweise Unsicherheit im Urteil bei der Frage, was das Ergebnis der Kombination von *Monat* oder *Europa* mit dem Diminutivsuffix *-chen* sei. In Fällen der Diminutivbildung, in denen der umgelaute

⁶ Es ist keineswegs klar, ob Zweifelsfälle wirklich auf die Standardsprache beschränkt sind (etwa wegen deren Normierung und Schriftlichkeit, der damit einhergehenden längeren Planungszeit, dem höheren Reflexionsgrad etc.) oder ob es nicht auch in Dialekten zu Zweifeln kommt.

Vokal wie bei [?]*Monätchen* und [?]*Europächen* nicht den Hauptakzent trägt, entspricht hier einem an sich grammatischen Input kein wohlgeformter Output. Die Anwendung einer morphologischen Regel führt zu einem (nahezu) inakzeptablen Ergebnis, weil der phonologische Output offenbar nicht wohlgeformt ist. Dennoch finden die genannten Formen – neben nicht-umgelautetem [?]*Monatchen* bzw. [?]*Europachen* – eine höhere Akzeptanz als die Bildungen **Mönatchen* und **Mönätchen* bzw. **Euröpachen* und **Euröpächen*.

Eine Sprache bzw. ihre Sprecher mögen auf Diminutivformen von *Monat* oder *Europa* verzichten können, aber es gibt auch Fälle mit größerer Systematik bzw. Reichweite. Ein solcher Fall liegt im Bairischen (der *native language* der beiden Autoren sowie von Gisbert Fanselow, des häufigen(?) Koautors von Caroline) vor, wo eine in anderen Varietäten des Deutschen sehr produktive Wortbildung aus vergleichbaren Gründen ausgeschlossen ist. Im Standarddeutschen ist das verbale Präfix *be-* immer noch sehr produktiv (Meibauer et al. 2002: 60), sodass sogar Entlehnungen aus dem Englischen *be(-)*präfigiert werden können, wie folgender Internetbeleg zeigt:

Der User kann ab sofort bei folgenden Seiten das Angebot von jedem Gerät aus optimal „besurfen“⁷

In einem auffälligen Kontrast dazu sind *be*-Präfigierungen im Bairischen überhaupt nicht produktiv (Weiß 2005, 2017). Es gibt zwar vereinzelte Bildungen wie *bhoitn* ‚behalten‘, *bsedzn* ‚besetzen‘, *bšaisn* ‚bescheissen‘, *bšdein* ‚bestellen‘ oder – ganz aktuell – *bsoffane Gschichdn*, diese Formen sind jedoch längst lexikalisiert. Es existieren aber weder die meisten der im Standard üblichen Bildungen wie *bedrohen*, *beklatschen*, *belügen* oder *bemühen*, noch können Neubildungen produziert werden. Der Grund dafür ist offensichtlich, dass die Anwendung der Wortbildungsregel {*be-* + Verb} zu einem phonologisch nicht wohlgeformten Output führen würde. Das liegt daran, dass im Bairischen regelhaft Schwa-Tilgung bei Präfixen wie *be-* (oder *ge-*) vorgenommen wird, was dann unzulässige, da schwer zu artikulierende Konsonantencluster wie *bd* (daher **bdachen*) oder *bg* (**bgrünen*) ergeben würde.

Nicht nur die Grammatik ist manchmal defektiv, auch im Lexikon gibt es Lücken – und sogar noch viel mehr (Lehmann 2016). Der Grund für die ‘Unaussprechlichkeit’ bestimmter Konzepte liegt nicht immer auf der Hand. Man denke nur an den Versuch, eine von manchen Sprachbenutzern offenbar als eklatant empfundene Lücke im Lexikon des Deutschen zu schließen, der vor gut 20 Jahren unternommen wurde (vgl. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sitt>). Damals wurde in einem Wettbewerb, an dem sogar die Dudenredaktion beteiligt war, ein Wort für den Zustand des Nicht(-mehr)-durstig-Seins gesucht. Der Gewinner war das Wort *sitt*, das heute schätzungsweise mindestens

⁷ <https://www.deutsche-handwerks-zeitung.de/responsive-websites-im-handwerks-channel-ein-absolute-muss/150/4152/354806>.

99,99% der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung noch nicht bzw. nicht mehr kennt. Diese lexikalische Lücke scheint also doch nicht so gravierend zu sein – und linguistisch ist sie sicher auch nicht so interessant.

Ganz anders gelagert ist in dieser Hinsicht der Fall der folgenden Lücke. Indefinitpronomen im Skopus der Negation können in manchen, aber bei weitem nicht allen Sprachen (Weiß 2002) selbst negiert sein. Solche N-Wörter sind zum Beispiel *niemand* oder *nichts* und sie können in Sprachen mit *negative concord* (NC) zusammen mit der Negationspartikel auftreten, ohne dass sie sich gegenseitig aufheben. Bairisch ist eine NC-Sprache, wie Sätze wie *I han mid neamd ned gschmadsd* oder *Dea is mid nix ned z'frim* zeigen.

N-Wörter existieren nicht in allen Sprachen: Sie fehlen zum Beispiel im Hindi, das bei Indefinitpronomina nur zwischen zwei Formen unterscheidet, die den englischen *some*- und *any*-Formen entsprechen, *no*-Formen kennt es aber nicht (Weiß 2002).

N-Wörter (in einem engeren Sinne) bestehen aus einem Bestandteil, der auf die Negation zurückgeht. So ist *niemand* (ahd. *nioman*) zusammengesetzt aus *ni* ‚nicht‘ + *io* ‚je‘ + *man* ‚jemand‘ (Jäger 2008). Eigenartigerweise scheint es nun aber in keiner Sprache der Welt ein Wort wie **nall-* zu geben, das (vereinfacht dargestellt) aus *nicht all-* besteht (Weiß 1999: 827 f.). Erstaunlicherweise gibt es in der Semantik, obwohl diese Lücke bekannt ist (Westerstahl 2012), kaum Erklärungsversuche dafür. Eine Ausnahme bildet Horn (1989: 256), der die Lücke damit zu erklären versucht, dass **nall-* kommunikativ überflüssig sei:

“In any situation in which I possess (and am known to possess) complete knowledge, and in which that knowledge is (and is known to be) relevant to you, I can convey that information to you via a proposition containing one of the three values *all*, *some* (implicating *some not*, *not all*), or *none*. The fourth value (**nall* = *not all*, implicating *some*) is functionally (although not logically) expendable.”

Da aber auch *n*-Wörter nicht in allen Sprachen vorkommen (Weiß 2002), könnte man folgern, dass auch diese Ausdrücke funktional nicht absolut notwendig sind – die entsprechenden Sprachen sind kommunikativ schließlich ja nicht weniger leistungsfähig. Sie kommen aber trotzdem in manchen Sprachen vor, was man deshalb für **nall-* eigentlich auch erwarten müsste. Horns (1989) Argumentation kann daher keine ausreichende Erklärung für das universelle Fehlen von **nall-* sein.⁸

Sprachliche Lücken sind eine Spezies, die auf allen sprachlichen Ebenen vorkommt. In der Biologie – Caroline als passionierte Vogelbeobachterin wird das sicher wissen – wird eine nicht an ein bestimmtes Biotop gebundene, in verschiedenen Lebensräumen

⁸ Morphologisch spricht übrigens nichts gegen eine Bildung wie *nalles*, das es im Althochdeutschen tatsächlich auch gab, allerdings in der Bedeutung ‘überhaupt nicht‘ (Jäger 2008).

auf tretende Tier- oder Pflanzenart als Ubiquist bezeichnet. Sprachen funktionieren trotz dieses Ubiquisten. Die Lücke, die Caroline in der Frankfurter Linguistik hinterlassen wird, wird sicher eminent sein und eine große Einschränkung bedeuten. Daher wünschen wir uns einen allmählichen Übergang – und Caroline alles nur erdenklich Gute, ja sogar Beste für ihre weitere Zukunft!

Literatur

Hier ist eine weitere Lücke.

(Die Angaben können jedoch bei Interesse bei den Autoren angefordert werden.)

Paradigm uniformity and exceptions to post-schwa nasal deletion in Dutch

Ruben van de Vijver

When I started doing experimental work, Caroline reminded me that I am a theoretical phonologist as well. And even though my experimental papers have theoretical implications, I want to reassure her that I haven't forgotten my background. This squib deals with exceptions to post-schwa nasal deletion in Dutch. I argue that these exceptions can be explained grammatically, and this has consequences for the explanation of exceptions and, as exceptions are a type of variation, for the role of variation in grammar (Kügler, Féry & van de Vijver, 2009).

Exceptions have been dealt with by means of lexical diacritics (Zonneveld, 1978) or lexically specific constraints (Pater, 2004, 2006). Others have argued that exceptions can be captured by grammar without recourse to diacritics or rules or constraints (Finley, 2010; Zuraw, 2000). In this squib, I'll argue that exceptions to post-schwa nasal deletion in Dutch are best analyzed as a grammatical paradigm uniformity effect.

Paradigms are sets of word forms that share morphological properties; for example all forms of the lemma <lopen> 'walk' that share the morphological feature [+present tense] form a (sub)paradigm (Blevins, 2016). The word forms in a paradigm are often adjusted to one another, such that they are more similar; this effect is known as paradigm uniformity (Albright, 2010; Hall, 2005; Hall & Scott, 2007). I will argue that paradigm uniformity is crucial in explaining exceptions to post-schwa nasal deletion in Dutch.

In Dutch [n] is almost never pronounced after [ə] (Booij, 1995). The noun *muís* [mœys] 'mouse' has the plural [mœyzə], written as *muizen*, or a singular such as *kuiken* [kœykə] 'chicken'. Pronouncing the plural with [n] sounds very affected, or suggests that the speaker wants to repair a misunderstanding of the final sound on the part of the listener (van Oostendorp, 1997). There are, however, a few cases where a post-schwa nasal is always pronounced. If a verbal stem ends in a [ən]-sequence, the post-schwa n is pronounced. For example, the first person singular of the verb *tekenen* [tekənə] 'to draw' is *ik teken* [ɪk tekən] 'I draw', not *[ɪk tekə] (Booij, 1995).

This state of affairs, nasals are deleted after schwa except in verbal stems, has been explained with a rule that has a diacritic (Booij, 1995; Gussenhoven & Jakobs, 2005; Zonneveld, 1978) (see rule (1)). The diacritic states the exceptional cases.

(1) $n \rightarrow \emptyset_X/\emptyset$

Condition: $X \neq$ Verbal stem

In addition to the fact that the rule is just a restatement of the problem, it does not cover all exceptions. Gussenhoven & Jakobs mention two nouns that are exceptions to rule (1): *heiden* [hɛidən] ‘heathen’ and *christen* [krɪstən] ‘christian’. If the rule in (1) does not explain, or even describe, the exceptions to nasal deletion, how could we explain them?

In all cases in which nasal deletion is blocked there are paradigmatically related word forms that still have the nasal: the plural form of the present tense verbs, such as *wij tekenen* [vɛi tekənə] ‘we draw’, and the plurals of the nouns: *heidenen* [hɛidənə] ‘heathens’ and *christenen* [krɪstənə] ‘christians’. These plural forms provide evidence for the learner that the stem ends in a nasal; evidence that is under threat for the tendency to delete nasals after schwa. These plural forms, then, contain most contrastive material and, as a result, they serve as the base for all word forms in the paradigm (Albright, 2010; Hall & Scott, 2007). Faithfulness requirements between the base and word forms associated with it protect the post-schwa nasal from deletion. If the base of the paradigm does not contain a [ən] sequence, post-schwa nasal deletes, which is why [n] is deleted in [mœyzə].

In short, exceptions to post-schwa nasal deletion have been analyzed as cases of paradigm uniformity. This analysis of nasal deletion connects it with cases of paradigm uniformity in many other languages, provides a grammatical analysis of exceptions and variation and suggests that word forms in paradigms are associated with each other in the mental lexicon (Vijver & Baer-Henney, 2019). Moreover, I hope that you enjoyed reading this squib, Caroline. I certainly enjoyed working with you!

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Great Thanks

Bei Wang

In 2004, I flew from Beijing to Potsdam, starting my work as a coordinator at “SFB632: Information Structure” under the supervision of Caroline. She was like my sunshine, making my life so colorful and warm. In those three years, I was influenced by her sharpen and widen views on research. I was impressed by her efficiency and leadership. I was touched by her warmness and kindness. Discussions in her office, lunches in the Mensa, dinners at her home, bird-watching in the field, swimming in the lake, and the SFB workshops, etc. ... all of these are just like yesterday. I cannot be more grateful for all I’ve learned from her. It is wonderful that our collaboration and friendship continue after I settled down in Beijing. Her visits in Beijing not only strengthened my research, but also brought new ideas to scholars and students here. Her great work on information structure and prosody-syntax interface certainly build up a good foundation for the future studies. For her, leaving Frankfurt will be another new start. I wish her a happy and healthy life in the future! Our friendship and our collaboration will be going on and on!!! It is such a warming feeling that she is never far away.

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Caroline 2012 Beijing



Caroline, Bei, Yukai, 2015



***Als ob*-mirative clauses: A novel sentence type in younger speakers' variety of German**

Malte Zimmermann

There is ample evidence for the emergence of a novel sentence type with special syntax and special interpretation in the register of younger speakers of German. The new construction type is attested with speakers up to the age of at least 25, and it does not appear to be regionally restricted, as it is found both with speakers in the area of Berlin/Brandenburg and in Franconia. Strikingly, speakers' intuitions regarding meaning, use conditions, and grammaticality or acceptability in context are stable across and within individuals. This suggests that the new sentence type is already robustly grammaticalised with younger speakers of German, and that it is a commonly used feature of this variety of German.

The new sentence type, illustrated in (1), is used for the expression of state of affairs that, despite being accepted as true, are nonetheless surprising to the speaker. Its function is to make explicit the corresponding speaker-mirativity. (1) can be felicitously uttered in response to a preceding statement to the same effect (i.e. that there is a new sentence type).

- (1) *Als ob es im Deutschen einen neuen Satztyp gibt!*
as if it in.the German a new sentence type gives
'Man, there's a new sentence type in German!'

In this squib, I will first give an informal approximation to the meaning of such *als ob*-miratives, to be followed by a comparison to more conventional counterfactual *als ob*-clauses as found in denial moves, and a brief discussion of the use condition of *als ob*-miratives. After a discussion of the syntactic status of *als ob*-miratives and some semantic constraints, the squib concludes with a brief analytical sketch.

MEANING (INFORMAL): The main semantic contribution of freestanding *als ob*-clauses with sentence-final verb is the expression of speaker-mirativity. In addition, as indicated by the English paraphrase in (1), they often express heightened emotional involvement, somewhat comparable to non-integrated *man*-sentences in English (McCready 2008).¹

¹ Unlike with sentence-initial instances of non-integrated *man*, information on speaker attitudes towards the prejacent does not appear to be an obligatory meaning component, pending further empirical scrutiny. Nor do *als ob*-miratives serve to express increased intensity along some scalar dimension, as does integrated

(2) is another constructed example, illustrating the most typical use of *als ob*-miratives as responsive discourse moves: in uttering (2B), speaker B acknowledges the truth of A's assertion, thereby updating the mutual common ground (Stalnaker 1974), but at the same time she registers that this information is unexpected, or surprising to her. Often, such responsive discourse moves involve ellipsis of the given material, that is, the prejacent proposition that is the target of mirative marking, cf. (2B').

- (2) A: Hör mal! Paula B hat eine 3 geschrieben!
 'Listen! Paula B has scored a 3!'
 B: *Als ob Paula B eine 3 geschrieben hat!* B': *Als ob!*
 As if Paula B a 3 scored has as if
 'Man, Paula B has scored a 3!'

The following naturally occurring example is drawn from a smartphone chat of Mila's about the burning of Notre Dame. It also involves ellipsis (and an additional emphasis marker 'wtf'):

- (3) M: Kann sein, dass sie komplett abbrennt. Einer der Nebentürme ist schon eingestürzt.
 'Perhaps she will burn down completely. One of the side towers has already collapsed.'
 F: *Wtf als ob*
 Wtf as if
 'Wtf. Man (it has collapsed)!'

Once again, F's response does not cast doubt on the truth of M's preceding statement and cannot be used for rejecting it. This sets *als ob*-mirative clauses apart from another kind of free-standing *als ob*-clause, illustrated in (4), which is contained in the structural repertoire of more conservative speakers (including the author) and younger speakers alike:

- (4) a. A: Listen! I think Paula B has scored a 3!
 B: *Das kann nicht sein! Als ob Paula B eine 3 geschrieben hätte.*
 'Impossible! As if she had scored a 3.' ⇒ Paula B didn't score a 3.

initial *man* (McCready 2008). This is evidenced, for instance, by (3F) and (5a), which do not involve a scalar degree predicate. For want of a better alternative, we will keep paraphrasing *als ob*-miratives with *man*-sentences.

- b. Malte to Tilman:

Als ob St. Pauli gewinnen würde.

‘As if St. Pauli would win.’ $\Rightarrow$ St. Pauli will not win ☹

Same as their English counterparts, such counterfactual *als ob*-clauses typically serve the blocking of CG-update with the prejacent proposition, as indicated by the presence of counterfactual subjunctive morphology on the verb.

USE CONDITIONS: *Als ob*-miratives can be felicitously uttered in responsive (mirative) acknowledgments of previous assertions, as shown in (2) and (3) above. But they can also occur discourse-initially – on the discourse condition that the meaning of the prejacent be grounded in the utterance context (Clark 1992). In this case, grounding relies on extralinguistic perceptual evidence; cf. (5ab):

- (5) a. A (pointing to the sky) to B:

Als ob die Kraniche schon wieder da sind!

as if the cranes already back are

‘Man, the cranes are already back!’

- b. A to B (both sitting in the sun):

Als ob es so warm ist!

as if it so warm is

‘Man, it’s so hot!’

With responsive utterances such as (2) and (3), in contrast, grounding is guaranteed by the previous commitment of the discourse interlocutor to *p*. Grounding thereby effects immediate CG-update with *p*. This direct effect on the CG is somewhat comparable to the function of discourse moves of acceptance in Stalnaker (1978), or to the updating of CG with *p* from the *projected* CG, or without first placing *p* there (Farkas & Bruce 2010). *Als ob*-miratives are not run-off-the mill assertions, then!

The discourse-initial instances of *als ob*-miratives in (5) somewhat resemble sentences with the German discourse particle *ja* in all-new utterances, cf. (6), in which *ja* likewise in need of extralinguistic grounding (Kratzer 1999, Kaufmann & Kaufmann 2012):

- (6) *Die Kraniche sind ja schon wieder da!*

‘Look, the cranes are already back!’

Crucially, though, the particle *ja* is illicit in responsive discourse moves such as illustrated in (2) and (3) above, indicating that the particle and *als ob*-miratives come with different use-conditions; see Schneider (2016) for an account of *ja* which does not require for the prejacent *p* to be grounded, and which accounts for the infelicity of *ja* in (2’A):

(2') A: Paula B (only) scored a 3.

B: #Paula B hat ja eine 3 geschrieben.

Paula B has PRT a 3 scored

As for *als ob*-miratives, the use condition that the prejacent *p* be part of the CG prevents them from occurring as answers to questions (7ab) (again in parallel to *ja*-utterances), but also from being used as discourse-initial utterances in the absence of a joint CG (7c):

(7) a. A: What grade did Paula B get in the exam?

B: #Als ob Paula B eine 3 hat!

‘Man, Paula B scored a 3!’

b. A to B on the phone: How’s the weather over there?

B: #Als ob es so warm ist!

‘Man, it’s so hot!’

c. A to B in whatsapp text message:

#Als ob es hier so warm ist!

‘Man, it’s so hot here!’

NON-EMBEDDING: Turning back to the novel variety of *als ob*-miratives, apart from the obligatory indicative mood there are no additional constraints on the person specification of verb and subject: *Als ob*-clauses can also occur with 1st/2nd person subjects (8ab) and with impersonal passive constructions (8c):

(8) a. *Als ob ich einen Wiedehopf gesehen habe!*

‘Man, I just saw a hoopoo!’

b. *Als ob Du Muscheln ißt!*

‘Man, you eat mussels!’

c. *Als ob hier getanzt wird!*

‘Man, there are people dancing here!’

Moreover, even though mirative *als ob*-clauses are verb final, thereby exhibiting the most characteristic property of embedded clauses in German, they do not seem to be embedded. Crucially, the complex complementizer *als ob* cannot be selected for by typical mirative matrix predicates such as *surprise* or *not expect* (9a), which require a *that*-complementizer (9b). The only matrix predicates selecting for embedded *als ob*-clauses are verbs like *scheinen* ‘seem’, but the full embedding structure in (10a) has a weaker meaning than the free-standing *als ob*-mirative (10b):

- (9) a. **Ich bin überrascht/ habe nicht erwartet,*
 I am surprised habe not expected
als ob hier Eisvögel brüten.
 as if here kingfishers breed
- b. *Ich bin überrascht/ habe nicht erwartet, dass hier Eisvögel brüten.*
 ‘It surprises me / I did not expect that there are kingfishers breeding here.’
- (10) a. Caroline to Gisbert:
Es scheint so, als ob hier Eisvögel brüten.
 ‘It seems as if there are kingfishers breeding here.’
- b. *Als ob hier Eisvögel brüten!*
 ‘Man, there are kingfishers breeding here!’

Crucially, whereas (10a) is infelicitous in the face of direct (perceptual) evidence as to the kingfishers’ breeding, thereby mirroring the behaviour of the English epistemic modal *must* (von Fintel & Gillies 2010), (10b) is unspecified for evidentiality. It can therefore be used on the basis of direct and indirect evidence alike – as long as the speaker is committed to the truth of the prejacent. We tentatively conclude, then, that *als ob*-miratives are unembedded matrix clauses with verb-final syntax, same as verb-final *ob*-interrogatives (Zimmermann 2013) in (11a) and verb-final *wh*-exclamatives (e.g. d’Avis 2013) in (11b):

- (11) a. *Ob es hier (wohl) Kraniche gibt?*
 ‘What do you think, are there any cranes hereabouts?’
- b. *Wie viele Kiebitze hier auf den Weiden brüten!*
 ‘How many lapwings there are breeding on these meadows!’

There is additional evidence that *als ob*-miratives are free-standing main clauses with initial complementizer and final verb: they can constitute the main clause of counterfactual conditionals, as indicated in (12a), and, even more tellingly, in the synonymous (12b). In either case, the surprise is not directed at the conditional relation as such (which follows from general grading rules), but at the record negative grade tied to Vs extremely poor performance:

- (12) Context: Viktor made an incredible number of mistakes in a spelling exam:
- a. *Als ob Viktor eine 8- hätte, wenn es diese Note gäbe!*
 as if Victor an 8- had if it this grade existed

- b. *Wenn es diese Note gäbe, als ob Viktor eine 8- hätte!*

if it this grade existed as if Victor an 8- had

‘If this grade existed, man, Viktor would have scored an 8-!’

Finally, *als ob*-miratives cannot occur embedded under negation or in conditional antecedents, as illustrated in (13). Again, this suggests that they are indeed matrix clauses with an unembeddable semantic contribution at the speech act level.

- (13) a. **Es ist nicht der Fall, als ob hier Eisevögel brüten.*

it is not the case as if here kingfishers breed

INTENDED: ‘It’s not the case that that (surprisingly) kingfishers are breeding here.’

- b. **Wenn als ob hier Eisevögel brüten, mache ich mir eine Notiz.*

if as if here kingfishers breed make I me a note

INTENDED: ‘If (surprisingly) kingfishers are breeding here, I will make a note’

SEMANTIC CONSTRAINTS: *Als ob*-miratives exhibit focus sensitivity. Correspondingly, the target of surprise will vary depending on the locus of focus pitch accent. In (14a), the surprise is about the identity of the jostler (not about the jostling of Finn as such). In (14b), it is about the identity of the one jostled:

- (14) a. *Als ob VICTOR Finn angerempelt hat*

- b. *Als ob Victor FINN angerempelt hat.*

as if Victor Finn jostled has

‘Man, Victor jostled Finn!’

There are also constraints on the non-occurrence of certain modal or mirativity markers: *Als ob*-miratives are infelicitous with explicit future marking, cf. (15a) vs (15b) (notice that the context satisfies the conditions for the use of the futurate *gonna*-construction, Copley 2009).

- (15) Context: Ten minutes before the end of the match, St. Pauli is four goals ahead.

- a. **Als ob St. Pauli gewinnen wird.*

as if St. Pauli win will

- b. *Als ob St. Pauli gewinnt.*

as if St. Pauli wins

‘Man, St. Pauli’s gonna win!’

It seems that (15a) is out because the surprise expressed by the *als ob*-mirative is directed at the inertial or stereotypical modal content of the clause, namely that the world is such that St. Pauli will win given the circumstantial facts, which – being stereotypical – is fully

expected. In (15b) by contrast, St. Pauli is presented as involved in an extended now-event of unexpected winning.

In the same vein, *als ob*-miratives cannot contain at-issue (high degree) markers of mirativity, such as the adverbials *total* ‘completely’ and *überraschenderweise* ‘surprisingly’, cf. (16). The scalar particle *sogar* ‘even’ with not-at issue mirative meaning (Karttunen & Peters 1979), by contrast, is licit in *als ob*-miratives (17):

(16) A to B (both sitting in the sun):

?**Als ob es total/überraschenderweise warm ist.*

as if it total/surprisingly warm is

‘Man, it’s completely/surprisingly hot.’

(17) *Als ob sogar Victor bestanden hat.*

as if even Victor passed has

‘Man, even Victor passed the test!’

The effect of the adverbials in (16) feels redundant to younger native speakers’ ears, and it appears that the mirativity cannot be directed at clauses with an at issue specification of mirativity. This is different in (17), in which the mirativity expressed by the scalar particle is not-at issue. This is reminiscent of other sentential configurations in which the same meaning component is expressed at different semantic levels, as is the case with pondering *schon eher* and epistemic *wird wohl* in (18ab) (Zimmermann 2018, DeVeaugh-Geiss 2016), and possibly also with exclusive operators in exhaustive clefts in (18c) (Velleman et al. 2012):

(18) a. *St. Pauli ist schon eher eine gute Mannschaft.*

‘St. Paulis rather a good team (alright).’

b. *St. Pauli wird wohl gewonnen haben.*

‘St. Pauli will have won.’

c. *Es ist nur Claudius, der nichts abgegeben hat.*

‘It’s only Claudius that didn’t hand in anything.’

Notice, finally, that surprise adverbials are licit in *als ob*-miratives when the surprise expressed by sentence type can be meaningfully constructed as being directed at the surprise expressed by the adverbial. The following example illustrates:

- (19) CONTEXT: The Klintworths are known as extremely organized, and they never visit anybody without previous notice. Today, things are different and the two of them surprisingly show up at the Bredehöft farm. Whilst Herr and Frau Bredehöft see the two approaching through the window, Herr Bredehöft comment to his wife:

Als ob Klintworths überraschenderweise zu Besuch kommen.

as if Klintworths surprisingly on visit come

‘Man, the Klintworths are there without previous notice!’

ANALYSIS: The semantic analysis of *als ob*-miratives must account for the facts in (20):

- (20) i. Speaker-mirativity
 ii. Focus-sensitivity, cf. (14).
 iii. Use conditions: p must be grounded; cf. (2), (3), (5a).
 iv. Unembaddability; cf. (13ab).
 v. Only marginal occurrence with adverbials of surprise; cf. (16) vs (19).
 vi. Co-occurrence with scalar particles; cf. (17).

AS the expression of emotional speaker attitudes towards the prejacent appears to be a side effect of *als ob*-miratives (see FN1), we will not adopt the McCready-style analysis of non-integrated *man* in terms of expressive (attitudinal) meaning. A more promising alternative would appear to be to analyse the complementizing complex *als ob* in *als ob*-miratives as an overt spellout of Krifka’s (1995:227) emphatic assertion operator EMPH. The semantic representation in (21) is slightly altered in order to capture the fact that emphatic assertions in this sense are standard assertions that do not effect direct CG-update. This is achieved by having the proposition B(F) update the speaker’s commitment set CS_S rather than the CG (Gunlogson 2002). The use conditions are given in (21i,ii), where $p <_{CG,S} q$ says that proposition p is less likely than q relative to the information in the CG according to speaker S.

(21) $EMPH(<B,F,A>)(CS_S) = CS_S \cap B(F)$; defined iff

- i. for all $F' \in A$: $CG \cap B(F) <_{CG,S} CG \cap B(F')$
 ii. $CG \cap B(F) <_{CG,S} \cap \{CG \cap B(F') \mid F' \in A\}$

According to (21), an *als ob*-mirative will be felicitous iff, according to the speaker, (i.) “the assertion actually made is less likely in the [CG] than any alternative assertion” with different focus alternatives (21i); and (ii.) the assertion actually made is less likely in [CG] than the conjunction of all alternative assertions” (21.ii) (Krifka 1995: ibid.). It is condition (21.ii) that makes the content of the *als ob*-mirative truly surprising.

With the analysis in (21), the properties in (20i), (20ii), (20iv), and (20vi) follow directly, on the additional assumption that the scalar particle *sogar* in (17) makes the emphatic or mirative meaning component explicit (Krifka 1995:227, ex.39a). (20v) also falls out, as

surprise is more often directed at the state-of-affairs content of the prejacent proposition than at its evaluation as surprising; cf. (16) vs (19) above. Moreover, the analysis of mirative *als ob* as an emphatic assertion operator correctly predicts that strong NPIs such as *überhaupt* or *gar* ‘at all’ are licensed in its scope of, just as in the scope of covert EMPH in Krifka (1995: 226ff.):

- (22) a. Mara: There was nothing to eat at all at the party!
 Mila: *als ob es da gar nichts zu essen gab!*
 as if it there at.all nothing to eat gave
 ‘Man, there was nothing to eat at all!’

What the analysis in (21) does not yet account for is the obligatory grounding in the discourse context (20iii): Unlike Krifka’s emphatic assertions², *als ob*-miratives cannot be used discourse-initially (without extra-linguistic grounding, Clark 1992), nor can they serve as answers to questions. We therefore propose the following variant of (21) (which is ironically enough closer to Krifka’s original formalization. The difference to (21) is that assertion of the grounded information of the *als ob*-mirative will automatically update the CG, instead of CSs. The additional mirativity presuppositions are the same as above.

- (23) EMPH(<B,F,A>)(CG) = $CG \cap B(F)$; defined iff (21.i) and (21.ii)

The workings of (23) are illustrated for (5a) and (14a) in (24a) and (24b), respectively:

- (24) a. [[5a]] is defined iff
- i. for all $F' \in \{\lambda w. \text{the cranes are not back in } w\}$: $CG \cap [\lambda p.p](\lambda w. \text{the cranes are back in } w) <_{CG,S} CG \cap [\lambda p.p](F')$
 - ii. $CG \cap \lambda w. \text{the cranes are back in } w <_{CG,S} CG \cap \lambda w. \text{the cranes are not back in } w$
- b. [[14a]] is defined iff
- i. for all $F' \in \{x: x \in HUM \wedge x \neq Victor\}$: $CG \cap [\lambda x. x \text{ shoved Finn}](Victor) <_{CG,S} CG \cap [\lambda x. x \text{ shoved Finn}](F')$
 - ii. $CG \cap [\lambda x. x \text{ shoved Finn}](Victor) <_{CG,S} \cap \{CG \cap [\lambda x. x \text{ shoved Finn}](F') | F' \in A\}$

² Crucially, sentences in which the strong NPI *überhaupt* is licensed by the covert emphatic assertion operator can be used as all-new assertions with no contextual grounding (ia), and also in answers to questions (ib):

- (i) a. *Ich war gestern auf einer Party und habe ÜBERHAUPT nichts gegessen!*
 ‘I was at a party yesterday, and had nothing to eat at ALL!’
 b. Q: What did you eat at the party? A: *Überhaupt keine Blutwurst, sondern nur Tofuburger.*
 ‘No black pudding at all, but only tofu burgers!’

It seems, then, as if contemporary German shows a tendency for making the hitherto silent emphatic assertion operator (Krifka 1995) explicit in the form of a novel sentence type, albeit with slightly altered use conditions. We will leave for another occasion the further investigation of this phenomenon and other speech act-related phenomena in emerging varieties of German, such as the emphatic *Ich schwör*-construction. *Als ob das Paper jetzt schon 7 Seiten lang ist!*

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