

The Context of Discontinuity: Syntactic and Information Structural Aspects of
Discontinuous Structures in Immediate Language Discourse in German

By

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Dedication

To Mom, Dad, and Becky.

Acknowledgments

As I write this section I am planning to leave the world of academia and venture into an as yet unknown career and lifestyle. I am unsure how what I have learned in the course of my studies will transfer to my future life. I am sure, however, that the academic pursuit of graduate school was a worthwhile endeavor. This pursuit has largely been one for the sake of knowledge alone. Sometime I have been ashamed to admit this fact, especially to those who criticize such pursuits as a waste of valuable resources. Thankfully, I have come to realize the value of the initially intangible benefits of this study. First, I have been afforded the rare opportunity to indulge the greatest desire of my personality to investigate a phenomenon ever and ever deeper. Second, I have been able to contribute in a small way to the discussion about the connection between language and human value. By investigating the discourse functional basis of a socially stigmatized language structure, like discontinuous pronominal adverbs in spoken-like German, I believe I have added to the evidence that we humans all share an uncanny functional knowledge of language and communication that stands independent from and sometimes resists formal education. The presence of this gift of language in each of us imbues all of us and our language varieties with respectability; thus, the content of all lexicogrammatically-expressed propositions should be considered seriously no matter who expresses them or how they are expressed.

I would now like to express my gratitude for all of the wonderful people who helped me to reach this dissertation milestone. First and foremost I would like to thank my advisor Mark Loudon, who allowed me the freedom to look beyond the

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Soli Deo Gloria

Madison, Wisconsin

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Abstract

This study examines the function of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in immediate language discourse in German from the perspective of information structure. First, I describe the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in contemporary German, e.g. *Da weiß ich nichts (da) von* lit. 'That I know nothing about that', as well as their historical development. Second, I discuss the concept of information structure as outlined by Lambrecht (1994) and justify my use of his framework over those of other scholars. Third, I formulate hypotheses regarding the effect information structure may have on the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German. I predict that truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs will appear only in clauses expressing topic-comment propositions where the initial element of the discontinuous pronominal adverb is a functional marker indicating clause topic and the final element is a grammatical marker indicating the object of the preposition. This final element, although syntactically separate from the initial element, is referentially identical with the initial clause topic marker.

In order to test my hypotheses, this study examines the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in audio recordings of immediate language discourse. Each instance of discontinuous pronominal adverb use is entered into a database and its apparent form and information structural characteristics, such as topic, focus, and proposition type, are noted. The data for my study come from the *Regionalsprache.de* (REDE) project at the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (DSA) at the Philipps Universität Marburg, Germany. Interviews on the topic of personal language use conducted with fourteen speakers from seven cities totaling close to

thirteen recording hours and yielding 149 tokens of pronominal adverbs, including 42 discontinuous pronominal adverbs, are analyzed.

The results of this study demonstrate that discontinuity need not be purely syntactic. Referential discontinuity, in which the same referent is indicated by syntactically separate elements, is also possible. Furthermore, the study of sentence structure can be aided by distinguishing among discourse types. For example, this study suggests that, while distance language discourse tends to feature integrative structures to support cohesion, immediate language discourse tends to feature aggregative structures, such as discontinuous pronominal adverbs, to promote coherence.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

To orient the reader to this dissertation I will present a description of each element of the title, *The Context of Discontinuity: Syntactic and Information Structural Aspects of Discontinuous Structures in Immediate Language Discourse in German*. While this title does not roll off the tongue very easily, it does capture all of the important concepts I will cover in this work. One method that helps me break down a dense piece of prose is, after I have read it once, to work from the end of the text backwards examining each part as I go.

So to begin with, the element *in German* recognizes that this dissertation was written in the context of doctoral studies in a department of German and the dataset consists solely of German language examples. Nevertheless, I hope and believe that the insights of this research will make their way far beyond German linguistics. I believe this because this study is not about German per se but rather about information transfer during spoken-like / “immediate language” discourse, which is the next title element to unpack.

As we will see below, this dissertation centers on a construction that is described by the *Duden Grammatik*, the standard reference grammar for German, as an element of spoken language (581); therefore, we will need a good foundation for what “spoken language” involves. For this task I have chosen Koch & Oesterreicher’s (1985, 1994, 2007) work on *Sprache der Nähe* (‘immediate language’) and *Sprache der Distanz* (‘distance language’). I appreciate Koch & Oesterreicher’s model because

it first takes the medium of communication into account before it describes the characteristics of “spoken language”, a distinction they trace back to Söll (1974).

Which medium communication is transmitted in does not necessarily change the style of the language. For example communication in the written medium of a letter can range from business correspondence, and therefore exhibit a typical written-like quality, to private correspondence between friends, and therefore exhibit a more spoken-like quality. The reverse is true of communication in the spoken medium: face-to-face discussions have a typical spoken-like quality while scientific presentations have a very written-like quality. With the characteristic of medium accounted for, Koch & Oesterreicher (1985, 1994, 2007) then concentrate on describing the spoken-like or written-like qualities, which they term “expressivity” following Söll (1974).

Since medium and expressivity do not indicate the same parameter, these researchers elect to use “immediate language” for more spoken-like utterances and “distance language” for more written-like utterances. They then identify a set of communication conditions that could be referenced to determine a discourse’s relative level of immediacy or distance. The conditions are defined by the end poles: dialogue/monologue, trusted partner/unknown partner, face-to-face interaction/separation of partners in time and space, free development of topic/ set topic, spontaneity/ reflectiveness, involvement/detachment, etc. (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985: 19-24). A researcher can combine the values of each of these parameters to help determine the overall degree of immediacy or distance in the

language present. Below is a graphic representing Koch & Oesterreicher's evaluation of the communicative parameters for a job interview.

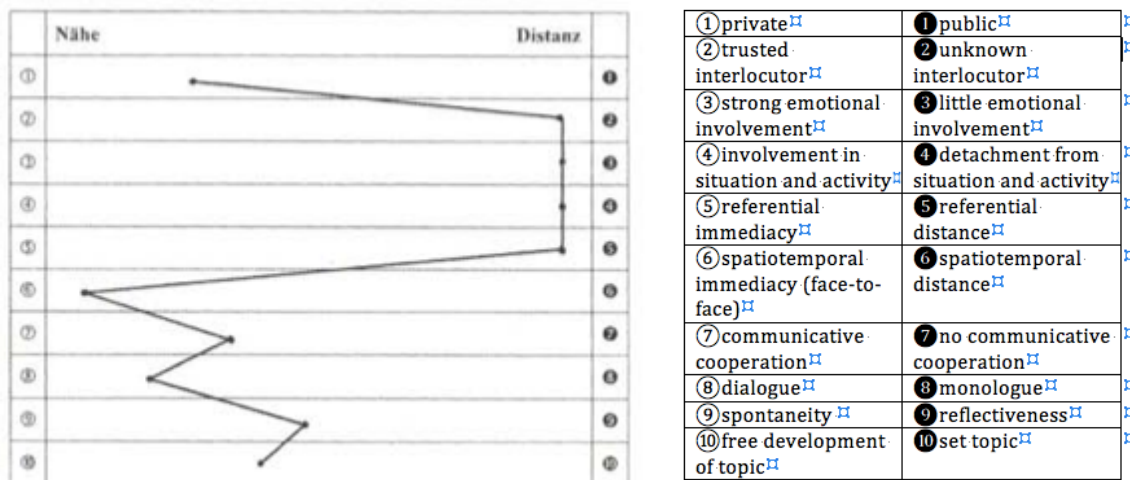


Figure 1.1 Communicative Parameter Values for a Job Interview (Koch & Oesterreicher 2007: 351-352, my translation)

In the diagram we can see that Koch & Oesterreicher (2007) rate a job interview mostly as an immediate language context with strong elements of distance language context due to the formality and more abstract quality of a business meeting. The situation context for the dataset for this dissertation will be similar to that of a job interview in that the speakers are also giving interviews; however these interviews are about the speakers use of dialect and standard language and are more informal. Thus, the communicative context obtains a higher degree of immediacy than a job interview. While Koch & Oesterreicher's model is perhaps more subjective than one would desire, it does provide a rough guide for determining if a context is more or less spoken-like, which helped inform the choice of a dataset (cf. 5.1 *Data Source*).

With the language of choice and the communicative context defined, let me quickly describe what discontinuous structures are and why they would be of

interest. According to the SIL (Summer Institute of Language) website, “Discontinuous constituents are constituents which are separated from each other by one or more intervening constituent, and considered either syntactically contiguous and unitary, or realizing the same, single meaning” (Loos et al 2003). To illustrate the first possibility, that discontinuous structures / constituents are separated by intervening material and yet are syntactically unitary, Loos et al (2003) draw on an example from Crystal’s *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*.

(1)

Discontinuous constructions or **constituents** are illustrated by the way the PARTICLE in some PHRASAL VERBS may be separated from the LEXICAL ELEMENT, e.g. *switch on* ⇒ ***switch the light on***, by the double negative system in some languages (French *ne . . . pas*, Welsh *nid . . . ddim*, etc.), or by the separation of auxiliary verb and main verb in question forms in English (e.g. *is he coming?*). (Crystal 2009: 147)

These examples are characteristic of what linguists are often referring to when they use the term discontinuity. However, the second possibility given by Loos et al (2003) for discontinuity describes two elements that are syntactically separate, i.e. not the same constituent, but convey the same semantics. An example of this type of discontinuous behavior is illustrated by what Ágel & Hennig (2006) refer to as “aggregative structures”, exemplified by the bolded sections in the following transcript from Ehlich & Redder (1994: 98-99) and simplified in terms of transcription in Ágel & Hennig’s reproduction of the text.

(2)

A: Wie sind Sie denn **darauf** gekommen? . . . **(Auf den) Elektrobereich?**
 ‘How did you get **into that?** ***Into the electronics field?***
 K: Ja, **mein Vater, der** hat früher, wo er . . . noch gelebt hat, da hatt er ja ()
 ‘Yeah, **my father, he** used to, when he was still alive, at that time he
 A: Hm

‘Hm’

K: viel mit Elektro gemacht . und zu Hause privat. Und da hab ich ihm immer
 ‘ did a lot with electronics and privately at home. And then I always helped
 K: geholfen
 him’

(Ágel & Hennig 2006: 25)

The bolded sections above are “aggregative” according to Ágel & Hennig (2006) because they are repetitious references to the same semantic element. The repetition in the clauses can be demonstrated by comparing them with non-repetitious integrative structures.

(3)

- a. *Aggregative:*
 Wie sind Sie denn **darauf** gekommen? .. (**Auf den**) **Elektrobereich?**
 ‘How did you get **into that?** ***Into the electronics field?***
 vs.
Integrative:
 Wie sind Sie denn **auf den Elektrobereich** gekommen?
 ‘How did you get **into the electronics field?**’
- b. *Aggregative:*
Mein Vater, der hat früher
 ‘**My father, he** used to’
 vs.
Integrative:
Mein Vater hat früher
 ‘**My father** used to’

(Ágel & Hennig 2006: 28)

Both the aggregative and integrative structures above have the same semantic meaning. The presence of two forms with the same meaning then begs the question: why are there two different forms? According to Ágel & Hennig (2006) the two forms exist because of the competing characteristics between more written-like / distance language contexts and more spoken-like / immediate language contexts. In the most prototypical of distance language contexts, the role of language producer

and language recipient are fixed, leaving the language producer time in which she can plan her utterances before producing them and therefore construct dense, integrative structures (Ágel & Hennig 2006: 22). For example, a linguist writing a journal article does not have to worry about immediate responses from a reader and therefore has the time to plan sentences that explain a complex idea in the limited amount of space allotted by the journal. In the most prototypical immediate language contexts, however, the roles of language producer and recipient are constantly up for grabs, forcing the language producer to plan and produce language at the same time and therefore she creates looser, aggregative structures (Ágel & Hennig 2006: 22). For example, a linguist discussing syntactic theories with another linguist can always have the floor taken away from her by her interlocutor and so the time to plan sentences to explain complex ideas is very limited and therefore she will create many separate structures that all point to her idea rather than distilling these clauses into a compact unit for the person in front of her. In other words distance language contexts lend themselves to more strongly cohesive texts while immediate language contexts lend themselves to more strongly coherent texts, where “cohesion establishes *local* relations between syntactic items” and “coherence has to do with the *global* meaning involved in what we want to express through our speech activity” (Mey 2001: 154). It is then the integrative constructions that allow us to create more cohesion, i.e. a dense text that needs to be interpreted, and aggregative structures that allow us to create more coherence, i.e. a looser, more repetitive text that needs little interpretation. While immediate language contexts demand more coherence and therefore nurture aggregative constructions, what exactly is

repeated to obtain coherence is controlled by the communicative purpose of the utterance. To understand communicative purpose, we must examine the *Information Structural Aspects* portion of the title.

Information structure is a level of analysis that concentrates on the linguistic production of the ideas underlying utterances. The choice of whether a person is reporting on an event or introducing an entity to a discussion, commenting on the event/entity, or identifying a particular event/entity will affect the form and intonation of sentence elements. For example, in the following dialogue the clause identifying a person is intoned differently and can be formed differently from the clause commenting on the person.

(4)

Q: Who ate the cookie?	
A (identifying):	HANS ¹ (ate the cookie).
Q: What did Hans do?	
A (commenting)	Hans/He ATE the cookie.

In the first case, the element *Hans* is a full noun and receives primary sentence stress while the rest of the sentence is more weakly intoned and optional. In the second case, *Hans* can be reduced to an unstressed pronoun, *ate* receives primary stress and the rest of the sentence is not optional. In chapter three of this dissertation I will describe the terms necessary for this level of study and how to employ them to describe utterances, especially those containing discontinuous constructions, one of which (discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German) will be described in chapter two.

¹ Words or syllable in this dissertation that are written in small caps receive primary or secondary sentence stress, measured loosely as syllables or words with the greatest relative loudness and duration in the clause.

Finally, the meaning of the term *context* in the title has at least two possible meanings. For one, *context* relates to the communicative contexts mentioned above, i.e. reporting, commenting, and identifying. As seen in the previous paragraph, these communicative contexts have a definite impact on how the propositional content of the sentence is expressed. Secondly, *context* refers to the larger discourse context in which an utterance is produced. A simple but important example, namely discourse context's effect on reference, indicates that discourse context can radically affect how listeners construe utterances. For instance in the following example, the referent of *it* in the final clause depends on what the previous clause topic was even though the final clause stands on its own grammatically.

(5)

Q: What are you going to do with the DOG and the CAT while you're away?

A: I'll leave the DOG with my PARENTS and it can stay OUTSIDE.

(Lambrecht 1994: 332-333)

In the example above, although both the dog and the cat are under discussion, *it* will only be construed as meaning the dog since the previous clause was also about the dog. In order to predicate something of the cat, another clause is required.

I will also argue in the course of this dissertation that there are some contexts in which pro-elements simply refer to a previously mentioned context in order to set the scene for the following utterance. Meanwhile, in other contexts some pro-elements are used to indicate the entity about which something is being predicated, as in the case above with the dog. There may also be contexts in which the pro-element is ambiguous and may perform both functions. Being able to distinguish between these three discourse contexts and the three communicative

contexts will shed more light on the phenomenon of certain discontinuous constituents.

1.1 Dissertation Overview

The objects of interest for this dissertation are discontinuous pronominal adverbs in regional varieties of modern German in immediate language discourse.. Examples of these discontinuous structures can be found following the continuous forms in example (7) below.

(6)

Continuous:

a. **Davon** weiß ich nichts.

that-of know I nothing

‘I don’t know anything about that.’

b. Ich weiß **davon** nichts.

I know **that-of** nothing

‘I don’t know anything about that.’

(7)

Discontinuous:

(Distance) Doubling:

a. **Da** weiß ich nichts **davon**.

that know I nothing **that-of**

‘I don’t know anything about that.’

b. Ich weiß **da** nichts **davon**.

I know **that** nothing **that-of**

‘I don’t know anything about that.’

(Distance) Splitting:

c. **Da** weiß ich nichts **von**.

that know I nothing **of**

'I don't know anything about that.'

d. Ich weiß **da** nichts **von**.

I know **that** nothing **of**

'I don't know anything about that.'

The discontinuous structures are widespread both in German dialects and in everyday regional varieties of Standard German. This ubiquity has been indicated by previous work (Fleischer 2002, Negele 2012). Previous work, e.g. Behaghel 1932, Elspaß 2005: 38-40, has also traced the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs from the literature of older stages of German to the golden age of Goethe and Büchner and on into the present. These previous works have also followed the stigmatization of discontinuous pronominal adverbs from the eighteenth century until today. Although these constructions are still considered nonstandard, especially by prescriptivists, their rich history, their use in related languages such as Standard Dutch, in both immediate and distance language discourse, and their persistence in German in the face of stigmatization indicate their legitimacy as a worthy object of linguistic study.

In the spirit of expanding linguistic knowledge, this dissertation will study the underlying motivations for the splitting and/or doubling of a single constituent, an area of research that has been left largely unexplored. As Fleischer states

“it is not possible for me, for example, to create hypotheses for the individual constructions in terms of the conditions of their appearance and to test these hypotheses: My material, which consists of single token sentences and (often

not very insightful) grammatical descriptions, does not provide enough for this [...]” (Fleischer 2002: 384, my translation).

The goal of Fleischer’s (2002) work was to document the usage of pronominal adverbs in their various forms in all of the major dialect areas of the German-speaking area in Europe. His rigorous work produced a clear picture of the usage of pronominal adverbs in German dialects. Negele’s (2012) work achieved similar results for non-dialectal, yet regionally colored German language. Therefore, this dissertation will take the next step to begin to clarify the conditions surrounding the appearance of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German. This work will also add to the broader discussions of language variation and language typology.

More specifically, the goals of this dissertation are twofold. First, I will use empirical language data in the form of audio-recorded interviews to determine what information structural conditions are at work when discontinuous pronominal adverbs appear. The field of information structure, which will be described more fully in chapter three, should prove useful since it takes the utterance’s communicative purpose and referential context into account when explaining sentence form, e.g. accents, use of pronouns, constituent ordering. Syntax and semantics, on the other, do not take context into account; thus, if they had been the keys to clarifying the conditions necessary for nonstandard pronominal adverbs, they should have been able to provide this clarification using the single, context-free tokens Fleischer (2002) mentions.

Second, since information structure incorporates both form (e.g. sentence accent) and communicative function (comment, identify, present), I will describe both the form and function of discontinuous as well as continuous pronominal

adverbs. Previously, the presence of discontinuous pronominal adverbs was determined based on syntactic means alone; however, I will argue that combining indicators from syntax, e.g. phonologically null constituents in syntactic slots, with indicators from information structure expressed using prosodic means, e.g. topical elements appearing as unstressed or phonologically null constituents, will provide a more robust description of pronominal adverbs in context. In order to argue for the usefulness of these additional indicators from information structure, I will need to clarify the relationship between prosody and information structural elements (e.g. prosodic prominence used to indicate clause-level focus / activation).

1.2 Chapter Overviews

In the next chapter I will describe discontinuous pronominal adverb structures in German. I will summarize previous work on these constructions in German dialects and in modern standard and regional German. I will conclude that these constructions have a long history of use as well as stigmatization, both of which carry into the present.

In chapter three, I will describe the most important aspects of the field of information structure that relate to the purposes of this dissertation. One of the most important is the set of three information structural relationships that can be expressed by a clause. We will see that one of these relationships, namely topic-comment relationships, provide the context necessary to produce the type of discontinuous structures exemplified by discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German.

In chapter four, I will synthesize the material on information structure and discontinuous pronominal adverbs to illustrate how they interact. The main point here will revolve around the idea that some sentence elements (*Satzglieder*) only express the semantic arguments of a clause, i.e. subject, predicate, objects, while other sentence elements, i.e. adverbials, express not only surrounding circumstances in the traditional sense, e.g. time, manner, place, but also surrounding circumstances in an information structural sense, e.g. what is the clause primarily about. As a quick example we can see a special information structural adverbial at the beginning of the following sentence.

(8)

As for Felix, he invited Rosa to dance with him.

(Reinhart 1981: 60)

In the example above, *he* marks the subject, *Rosa* marks the direct object, and *invited...to dance* marks the predicate. Along with *with him*, which is a typical adverbial describing in what manner Felix is inviting Rosa to dance, there is the adverbial *As for Felix* that indicates that he is the entity that this clause is about, just as Rosa would be in the clause *As for Rosa, Felix invited her to dance with him* (Reinhart 1981: 60). From this synthesis of such information structural considerations with the concept of discontinuous pronominal adverbs I will formulate hypotheses for the analysis carried out in this project, an analysis that is presented in chapter seven.

In chapter five, I will describe the methods I used to collect and analyze the data for this project. I will cover the considerations that went into choosing a data source, especially those relating to immediate language discourse, discussed above.

In addition, I will describe the classification categories for tokens and the method for assessing the information structural relationship present in a token

In chapter six, I will present an overview of the results from the data collection followed by analysis of these results. The number of clauses of each type found in the data will be presented along with several examples of each. The beginning of this chapter will thus provide the reader with a sense of the entire dataset. In the rest of the chapter I will make two arguments based on the hypotheses made in chapter four about the interaction between information structure and discontinuous pronominal adverbs as well as the analysis of the data from this study. First, I will argue that split and distance doubling pronominal adverbs are the result of the use of functional as well as grammatical markers by the speaker. Furthermore, I will make the case for combining syntactic analysis with information structural analysis to give a fuller picture of the purpose of nonstandard constructions. Second, I will argue that the analysis of discontinuous pronominal adverbs provides insight into the use of prosody for indicating information structural relationships. In addition I will posit a connection between syntactic structure and information structure that will bolster support for the reality represented by syntactic models.

In chapter eight, I will discuss the limitations to this study and the opportunities for future research that they present. As a conclusion, I will then suggest implications that the insights from this study can provide to the study of discontinuous constructions in German as well as information structure in general.

Chapter 2 Pronominal Adverbs

This chapter will contain background information about the grammatical structure of interest for this dissertation, namely pronominal adverbs in German. First, I will present a description of the currently observable forms of this structure. These forms include both a continuous, e.g. ***Davon** weiß ich nichts* 'I don't know anything **about that**', and several discontinuous forms, e.g. ***Da** weiß ich nichts **von/davon***. I will argue in the latter part of this dissertation that the discontinuous forms play an interesting role in spoken-like / immediate language discourse (Koch & Oesterreicher 1985). In the first section, I will report on the geographical distribution of the various discontinuous pronominal adverb forms. The use of different discontinuous forms in different regions has obfuscated the function of each element of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, an issue that will be clarified through the present work.

Second, I will relate the history of pronominal adverbs in German with a special emphasis on the origins of the discontinuous forms. This historical discussion will serve to establish the ancient provenance and therefore legitimacy of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German, which have been stigmatized as corruption of the language. Furthermore, the functional origins of *da* as a deictic element in pronominal adverb-like structures in older stages of German will help strengthen the claim of chapters three and four that these *da*'s serve to point towards the topic of a clause.

Third, in order to limit the scope of this dissertation to just pronominal adverbs, I will describe several constructions that are similar, but not identical in

form, to pronominal adverbs. This group includes several verbal constructions that contain discontinuity, often by virtue of appearing in the German verbal bracket, as well as preposition-like elements that are often part of the verbal complex rather than independent elements. Since these other constructions do not have the same makeup as pronominal adverbs they will be set aside rather than incorporated into an analysis of unlike elements. Let us now first focus on the true pronominal adverbs in the following section.

2.1 Synchronic Description of Continuous and Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

2.1.1 Continuous Pronominal Adverbs

Pronominal adverbs in German are created by combining the elements *da*, *hier*, and *wo* and a preposition, resulting in forms such as *dabei*, *dadurch*, *dafür*, *wobei*, *wodurch*, *wofür*, etc. with an extra *r* inserted before prepositions beginning with vowels (*Duden Grammatik* 1984: 356). These constructions usually replace a noun or an entire clause.

(9)

a. *Die Äpfel liegen auf dem Tisch / **darauf**.*

‘The apples lie/are lying on the table / **on it**’.

b. *Ich lächle zu Gerda hinunter ... **Dabei** beobachte ich Erna.*

‘I smile/am smiling down to Gerda. **While doing so**, I observe Erna.’

(*Duden Grammatik* 1984: 356-357 emphasis added, my translation).

This study focuses only on pronominal adverbs with *da* elements. Although other pronominal adverbs not using *da(r)*- but rather *hier* or *wo(r)*-could have been

included in my analysis, the use of *hier* is the least common and the use of *wo(r)*- leads to the creation of the more specialized interrogative adverbs (e.g. **Worauf** hast du Lust? ‘**What** are you in the mood **for**?’) and relative adverbs (e.g. *Er kocht etwas, worauf er großen Appetit hat.* ‘He is cooking something **which** he is really hungry **for**.’) (*Duden Grammatik* 2009: 579, emphasis added, my translation).

2.1.2 Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

Two interesting variations on this structure occur in German-speaking European countries. In the northern part of Germany, for example, split pronominal adverbs appear with pronominal adverbs whose prepositions begin with a consonant sound, e.g. *Da weiß sie nichts von.* ‘She knows nothing **about that**.’ (*Duden Grammatik* 2009: 581). In central and southern Germany as well as Austria and Switzerland, pronominal adverbs whose prepositions begin with a vowel appear to have two *da* elements, the second of which is contracted to *d-*, e.g. *darauf* → *drauf* → *dadrauf*; **Dadrauf** habe ich keine Lust. / Ich habe keine Lust **dadrauf** ‘I am not interested **in** (doing) **that**.’” (*Duden Grammatik* 2009: 581, my translation). Fleischer (2002) subdivides the doubled construction into “distance doubling” (*da ... drüber*) and “close doubling” (*dadrüber / da drüber*). One difference between these two types of doubling depends on the linear order of the elements, which can be represented as follows:

Prefield	Left Bracket	Middle Field	Right Bracket	Postfield
a) Da	habe	ich keine Lust drauf .		.
b) Ich	habe	keine Lust dadrauf .		
'I am not interested in (doing) that .'				

Figure 2.1 Distance Doubling and Close Doubling in Topological Field Model

In this dissertation I will set aside the phenomenon of close doubling as it is not a discontinuous constituent. For more information on close doubling, consult Fleischer (2002: 279-309; 327). Let us now turn from a structural description of distance doubling to a functional one. Namely, what is the nature of the first *da* in this construction? Why not just rearrange the clause to eliminate it: *Ich habe keine Lust drauf*. The answers to these questions lie in the fact that clauses are never uttered (written or even thought) in isolation. While there are instances where no “extra” *da* is needed, there are also communicative contexts in which this *da* is indeed required.

An early functional account of this structure was offered by Behaghel (1932: 249) and reiterated by Elspaß (2005: 41). Under this analysis, the initial *da*-element serves as a quasi-deictic marker at the left edge of a clause to refer back to previously mentioned information, while the utterance-internal element is a verbal complement that occurs optimally near the end of the sentence. To clarify this, let us take a look at a possible context for the constructed *Duden* example quoted above.

(10)

A: Möchtest du mit uns schwimmen gehen?
 Would you like to go swimming with us?

B: Nein, da habe ich keine Lust drauf.
 no that have I not-a desire for that
 No, I'm not interested in doing that.

The initial *da*-element in B's answer refers back to the previously mentioned material *mit uns schwimmen gehen* while the *d'* in *drauf*, in addition to referring back, helps complete the verbal complex *auf etwas Lust haben*.

Elspaß follows Behaghel in describing the initial *da* as “anaphoric,” yet he also describes it as “topical,” a term that Elspaß does not explicate in depth. As will be demonstrated in chapter three, the term *topic* has not always been used in a consistent manner. Nevertheless, I contend that Elspaß's observation is a critical one about the initial *da*-element in terms of explaining its function in immediate language (i.e. spoken-like, cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985, 1994, 2007) discourse.

Before exploring discontinuous pronominal adverbs on the level of individual conversations, I would like to present the geographical extent of their use. Fleischer's (2002) *Die Syntax von Pronominaladverbien in den Dialekten des Deutschen: Eine Untersuchung zu Preposition Stranding und verwandten Phänomenen* provides an extremely thorough account of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the dialects of German. The following maps from this work illustrate the geographical distribution of discontinuous constructions (coded in solid gray and diagonally striped gray) in German dialects around the year 1900. The black and white boxes in the map on the left in Figure 2.1 indicate the northernmost attestations of distance doublings whose prepositional elements are vowel-initial, marked by

black boxes, and consonant-initial, marked by white boxes. These boxes in the right map in Figure 2.1 indicate the southernmost attestations of distance splitting whose prepositional elements are vowel-initial and consonant-initial. The areas between these boxes are interpolated as areas of a mix of distance doubling, involving vowel-initial prepositional elements, and splitting involving consonant-initial prepositional elements.



Figure 2. 2 Geographical Distribution of Distance Doubling and Splitting with *da* in German Dialects around 1900. (Fleischer 2002: Maps 4 and 1)

Clearly, instances of discontinuous pronominal adverbs were present and robust enough in dialect grammars, Fleischer's main source of choice, and similar texts to be documented throughout a large portion of the German dialect area.

Similarly, the legitimacy of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the standard language, especially in immediate language contexts, was established by Negele's (2012) work *Varianten der Pronominaladverbien im Neuhochdeutschen: grammatische und soziolinguistische Untersuchungen*. Following the same scheme as Fleischer, Negele indicates the northernmost attestations of distance doubling in so-called "*Alltagssprache*" ('Everyday language', a term borrowed from Elspaß and Möller's online *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache* 'Atlas of Everyday German Language') and then interpolates that the areas in between attestations exhibit the same characteristics.

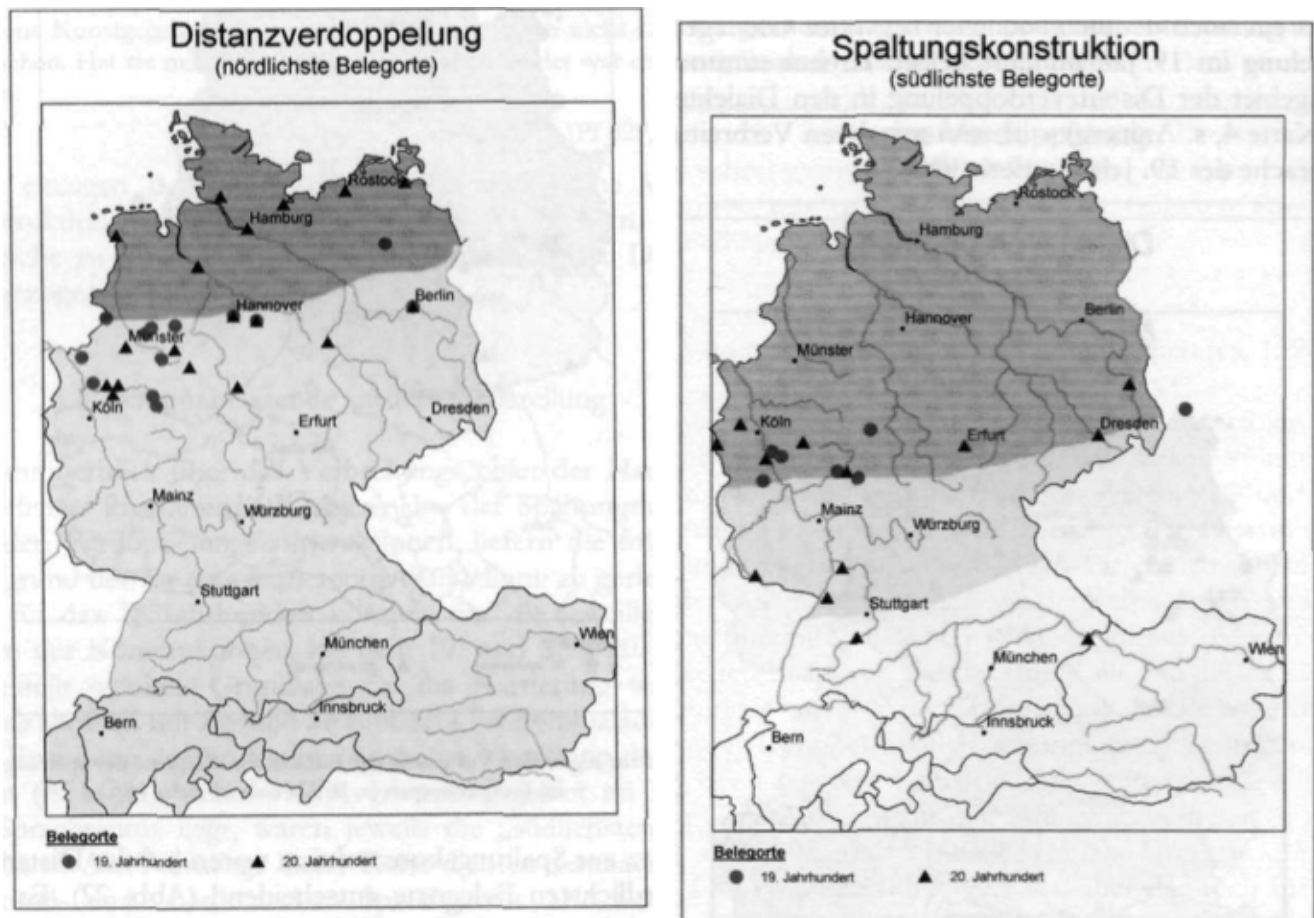


Figure 2.3 Geographical distribution of Distance Doubling in German Everyday Language in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Negele 2012:122)

In addition to following Fleischer's conventions, Negele also differentiates between the northernmost 19th-century attestations, coded as circles, and the northernmost 20th-century attestations, coded as triangles, in order to demonstrate what appears to be an expansion of distance doubling over time into the northernmost German-speaking areas.

Considering that Negele's data are drawn from three previously compiled immediate language discourse corpora (*Ágel & Hennig's Korpus*

Sprachstufengrammatik, Elspaß' *Korpus Auswandererbriefe*, and Pfeffer's *Korpus Umgangssprache*) that contain examples of distance doubling from the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, there is no doubt that discontinuous pronominal adverbs are a well-attested phenomenon in everyday German language.

2.2. Diachronic Description of Pronominal Adverbs

Considering the previous section's look at the diachrony of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, I would like to briefly discuss the diachrony of pronominal adverbs in general and how this history might inform this study's view of discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

Pronominal adverbs or at least pronominal-adverb-like structures have been a part of German since at least the time of Old High German (OHG) and its sister Old Saxon (OS). Examples of these elements can be found in the major texts from this era: *Isidor*, *Tatian*, and the *Heliand* (Fleischer 2008: 206). The cautious phrasing of "pronominal-adverb-like structures" expresses here that constructions existed at that time that had the function of current pronominal adverbs; however, the makeup of these structures was not necessarily the same as their modern equivalents.

In their earliest form in OHG, pronominal-adverb-like structures were made up of a local deictic element that indicated either location, DATIVE *dâr* 'there' and *wâr* 'where', or direction, ACCUSATIVE *dara* 'to there' and *wara* 'to where' (Paul 1919 [1968], III: 154). The *r* of these elements are in fact the origin of the *r* "inserted" into current pronominal adverbs with vowel-initial prepositional elements. Although syllable-final *r*'s after long vowels began to disappear starting in the late OHG

period, the *r*'s in pronominal-adverb-like constructions with vowel-initial prepositional-(like) elements remained, e.g. *dârane*, *dârinne* vs *dâbi*, *dâvor*, which Negele (2012) suggests was a strategy for avoiding a hiatus effect in the former that was not a possibility in the latter (8).

In addition to the partial loss of the *r*'s in the dative *dâr* and *wâr*, the situation of pronominal-adverb-like elements in OHG into MHG is confused in that the *a*-vowels in the two sets of deictic elements undergo analogy. Presumably due to the similarity in their function, the *â* of the dative set analogizes to the *a* of the accusative set. Negele (2012: 8) provides a visualization of this concept based on Paul's (1919) grammar in the following diagram.

OHG	Dat. <i>dâr</i> , <i>wâr</i> (Locational Adverb)	MHG	Dat. <i>dâ(r)</i>	}	<i>da(r)</i>
	Acc. <i>dara</i> , <i>wara</i> (Directional Adverb)		Acc. <i>dar(e)</i>		

Figure 2.4 Negele's (2012) representation of the collapse of dative and accusative adverbs (8)

Finally, Negele (2012) also highlights the fact that these first elements are only local deictic (9); therefore, they were not the more abstract *da*'s of today in clauses such as ***Davon*** *weiß ich nichts* 'I don't know anything **about that**'. On the other hand these pronominal-adverb-like structures could certainly perform the concrete functions of current pronominal adverbs.

The second element of these pronominal-adverb-like structures was also slightly different in that what is consistently described as a preposition in modern synchronic analyses of pronominal adverbs "can be referred to for the beginnings of German language history as having an adverbial character" (Negele 2012:9). Negele

(2012) bases this judgment both on Paul's (1919: 154) use of the terms *dem der Präp. entsprechenden Adverbium* 'the preposition-equivalent adverb' and the *präpositionelle Adverbia* 'prepositional adverbs' as well as the listing of *thâr + preposition-like element* alongside of *thâr + adverb-like element* in Karg-Gasterstädt and Fring's (1968-1997) OHG dictionary, such as *thâr ubari* 'darüber / above it' alongside *thâr obana* 'da oben / up there' (9). As we will see in the next section, even in modern German the form of these two structures, *da + preposition* and *da + adverb*, can cause confusion, e.g. *drin* vs. *darein*. In the case of OHG, however, the preposition-like elements could indeed be used in an adverb-like way.

The paleographic history of pronominal adverbs indicates that both pronominal-adverb-like constructions as well as their discontinuous analogs have been around either from the beginning of the German language and appeared throughout the following ages. Split pronominal adverbs have very definitely been around since OHG, as Behaghel (1932) indicates by quoting the 9th century Bavarian *Muspilli* line *dar pagant siu umpi* 'they fight over it [a man's soul]' (249). Many more examples find their way into other OHG, MHG, and ENHG texts. According to Fleischer (2008), "it becomes however increasingly difficult to furnish evidence of the construction for the periods of time after Luther" (215, my translation), i.e. time periods after the middle of the 16th century. Interestingly, in addition to appearing in main clauses, split-pronominal-adverb-like constructions appear very frequently or even more frequently in relative clauses than in main clauses. Russ (1982) comments on this special connection and offers evidence from the works of Hartmann von Aue that these structures appear more frequently in relative or

subordinate clauses than in main clauses (315-316). Baldauf (1982) also notes a large number of these constructions in relative clauses.

On the other hand, distance doubling pronominal adverbs appear later but also persist longer in written texts. Fleischer (2008) reports that his research traces their earliest use to “two manuscripts from the 14th century [... whose] text itself is dated to the second half of the 12th century” (218, my translation). Further, although used by such famous authors as Luther, Sachs, and Goethe, examples of distance doubling in text appear to remain sparse up to the 18th century, at which point they are stigmatized as wrong and base by the grammarians of the day (Fleischer 2008: 218-220). In addition, distance-doubling pronominal-adverb-like structures were often found in relative clauses, such as in the earliest attestation known to Fleischer (2008) in a work by Hans Sachs: “die würcz [...], **da** der hirsprey wirt gelb **darvon**” ‘the spice [...], **which** the millet porridge becomes yellow **from it**’. This dissertation will center only on discontinuous pronominal adverbs in main clauses; however, I will comment on the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in relative clauses in the last chapter and posit that relative clauses are a prime environment for interaction between discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structure, described in the next chapter.

With an understanding of what pronominal adverbs are and where they came from, I would like to address constructions that mimic but do not exhibit the same use or history as pronominal adverbs.

2.3 Structures Similar to but NOT Pronominal Adverbs

In examining pronominal adverbs, one quickly notices that there are many structures that look similar and behave similarly to pronominal adverbs. In the interest of precision, I would like to describe these structures and provide the reasoning for why they were excluded from this study.

2.3.1 Conjunctions and Set Adverbials Containing *da*-elements

One of the most frequently appearing groups of words to imitate pronominal adverbs is the set of conjunctions and certain adverbs that contain a *da*-element. Foremost among this group are the conjunction *damit* ‘so that’ and the adverb *darum* ‘therefore’. Below is a comparison of this set of words and pronominal adverbs.

Ich lerne Deutsch, **damit** ich mit meiner Oma sprechen kann.

‘I’m learning German **so that** I can speak with my grandma.’

vs.

Ich habe ein DaF-Lehrbuch. **Damit** lerne ich jeden Tag.

‘I have a German as a Foreign Language textbook. I study **with it** every day.’

Meine Oma spricht nur Deutsch, **darum** lerne ich diese Sprache.

‘My grandma only speaks German; **therefore** I am learning this language.’

vs.

Konjugation im Deutschen fällt mir schwer. Ich kümmere mich noch **darum**.

‘Conjugation in German is still difficult for me. I’m still working **on it**.’

In the examples above, the highlighted words in the first clause of each set have a fully independent semantic interpretation and function: X **so that** Y and X **therefore** Y. In contrast, the highlighted words in the second clause of each set depend on a constituent that they refer to, translated into English as *it*: **with it** and **on it**. Therefore, while these constructions mimic pronominal adverbs quite well, they can easily be differentiated from actual pronominal adverbs by substituting them with

equivalent conjunctions or adverbs that do not contain an outside referent. In the case of the words here, *damit* ‘so that’ can be replaced by *so dass* ‘so that’ and *darum* ‘therefore’ can be replaced by *deswegen* ‘therefore’, neither of which contains outside referents. The next group of words that contain *da*-elements and imitate pronominal adverbs will unfortunately not be so easy to distinguish from true pronominal adverbs.

2.3.2 Verbzusatz

According to the *Duden Grammatik* (2005), non-verb-based “elements from different parts of speech can be integrated into the predicate” (867, my translation). These non-verb-based elements include prefixes, so-called *Verbzusätze* ‘verb additions’, integrated phrases / collocations, which differ from each other in their level of integration into the predicate (Duden 2005: 867). In the case of *Verbzusätze*, the non-verbal element is only partially integrated and so instead of always appearing along with the verb in one unit, *Verbzusätze* can be appear separately from the rest of the verb, as in the case of words like *kennenlernen* ‘to meet, to get to know’, *teilnehmen* ‘to take part, to participate’, *aussprechen* ‘to pronounce, to utter’ (Duden 2005:867). What makes *Verbzusätze* difficult to analyze in terms of their relation to pronominal adverbs is that their partial integration into the verb also means that some of them “can appear both as a verb particle as well as a independent phrase” (Duden 2005: 867, my translation), of which the suspiciously pronominal adverb-like *dabeibleiben* is an example:

(11)

Stefanie wollte dabeibleiben.
 Stefanie wanted there-at-stay
 'Stefanie wanted to stay around'

Stefanie wollte [dabei] (bei der vorgennanten Sache) bleiben.
 Stefanie wanted that-at stay
 'Stefanie wanted to keep working at (the previously mentioned thing).'

In the first clause we have the partially integrated *Verbzusatz dabei* in *dabeibleiben* while in the second clause we have the verb *bleiben* accompanied by the independent constituent and pronominal adverb *dabei*. In order to deal with this ambiguity, Duden (2005) asserts that when these two elements are next to each other an integrated *Verbzusatz* will be stressed more strongly than the verb while an independent constituent will be stressed at the same level as the verb (868). This accent test as well as the difference in semantics illustrated above was used to separate out all of the actual pronominal adverbs in the data from the more integrated, semantically different *Verbzusätze*.

2.3.3 Pronominal Adverbs in Frame constructions

Another type of *Verbzusatz* construction not only imitates a pronominal adverb, but also includes an element of doubling, so that confusion with discontinuous pronominal adverbs may occur. This construction appears in clauses such as *Er ist von diesem Fest davongerannt* 'He ran away from this festival'. Two aspects of this construction clearly separate it from the pronominal adverbs that are the emphasis of this study. First, rather than having two pronominal *da*-elements, these constructions feature two prepositional elements. Therefore since there is a prepositional phrase expressing the adverbial for the clause, e.g. *von diesem Fest*

‘(away) from the festival’, the pronominal adverb-like element, e.g. *davon* in this example, is not acting as an adverbial but is part of the verbal complex, e.g. *davonrennen* ‘run in the opposite direction / away’. Second, this construction can be differentiated from the pronominal adverbs of this study in that while it can feature a doubling of prepositions this form “is, in contrast, impossible for a ‘true’ (adverbially used) pronominal adverb” (Fleischer 2002: 33, my translation), a point which Fleischer underscores with the following comparison of clauses.

(12)

a. Er ist *von diesem Fest davongerannt*.

He is from this festival away-run.

‘He ran away from this festival’

b. *Er hat *von diesem Fest davon* erzählt.

He has about this festival about-it told.

*‘He spoke about this festival about it.’

(Fleischer 2002: 33, ex. 54, 55)

This comparison indicates that the pronominal adverb-like constructions with doubled prepositions are in fact an epiphenomenon caused by the co-occurrence of an adverbial expressed by a prepositional phrase that happens to contain the same verb particle as the verbal complex. However, with an eye toward which element is “doubled” in a clause, separating these constructions from “true” pronominal adverbs is a straightforward process.

2.3.4 *her-* Verbs

Lastly, there are many directional verbs in German introduced by the prefix *her-* that can mimic pronominal adverbs. For example in the phrase

(13)

Da komme ich nicht ran
 there come I not on-it
 'I can't reach it'

it appears that we have an apparent splitting construction with the pronominal adverb *daran*. However, the verbal complex here is not *daran + kommen* but rather *herankommen* 'to reach' with an initial *da* acting as a presuppositional marker to help reference the entity/idea which cannot be reached. Duden (2009) explains, "Shortened forms [of verbs] that begin with *her-* [indicating motion out of or away] but carry the meaning of *hin-* [indicating motion into or toward] are especially common in the spoken language" (574, my translation). Since we are not dealing with true pronominal adverbs in this case, clauses of this type are ignored in this study.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter I have explored the structure and geographical spread of discontinuous pronominal adverbs as well as constructions that mimic pronominal adverbs. In section 2.1 I outlined the current characteristics of pronominal adverbs in German, both continuous and discontinuous. Afterwards I paraphrased Behaghel & Elspaß' explanation of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, i.e. have the initial *da* element refer anaphorically to the entity/idea that becomes the topic of the current clause. I then presented data from Fleischer (2002) and Negele (2012) to illustrate the well-documented nature and wide geographic spread of discontinuous

pronominal adverbs in German dialects and standard language, especially spoken-like / immediate language discourse. In section 2.2 I observed that the ancestors of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, which served both as adverbs and pronominal adverbs, date back to at least the time of Old High German and Old Saxon, with splitting constructions appearing earlier and distance doubling structures appearing later. The main takeaway from this section is that discontinuous pronominal adverbs have a long history of use in West Germanic languages that seems to be curtailed only recently but mainly in more written-like / distance language discourse in Standard German. In more spoken-like / immediate language texts, these constructions, as Negele (2012) illustrates, are in common use. In section 2.3, structures that are similar in form but functionally different from pronominal adverbs were presented, in order to clarify the scope of this dissertation by illustrating structures that are not a part of the current discussion.

In the next chapter we will explore the field of information structure, which will allow us to have a more detailed view of pronominal adverb structure. This detailed view of this construction will first allow us to unify the apparently different distance doubling pronominal adverbs and split pronominal adverbs under the same roof of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. Second, the use of information structural concepts will allow us to begin to explain why discontinuous pronominal adverbs have held on in spoken-like / immediate language discourse despite their stigmatization in more written-like / distance language contexts.

Chapter 3 Information Structure

In the previous chapter an explanation for the appearance of discontinuous pronominal adverbs was given by Behaghel (1932) and Elspaß (2005). In their approach these authors highlight the referential function of the isolated *da* element at the beginning of the clause. Elspaß' claim that what is being referred to by the *da*-element is "topical" will serve as the basis for this chapter. Since Elspaß leaves the definition of "topical" undefined, it is not clear what represents a topic and what relation a topic stands in relation to other linguistic concepts. I will suggest that definitions of topic and its related concepts, which will be useful in analyzing discontinuous pronominal adverbs, can be found at the linguistic level called information structure.

Information structure, which is similar to general pragmatics, yet its own distinct entity, deals with the effect context has on the morphosyntactic and prosodic form of an utterance. The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a thorough justification for information structure as a legitimate field or to compare different approaches to information structure. Instead, I will use one of the most thorough and widely cited works on information structure, namely Lambrecht's (1994) *Information structure and sentence form: topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*.² Reference will be made to other works as well; however, due to its emphasis on explaining the connection between information structure and sentence form, rather than arguing theoretical nuances

² At the time of writing Lambrecht (1994) is, when sorted for relevance, the top hit for "information structure" on Google Scholar and has been cited by 3,805 other works. The next most relevant hit is Erteschik-Shir's (2007) introductory text book *Information Structure: The Syntax-Discourse Interface* in the Oxford Linguistics series. In contrast, this book has been cited in only 381 other works.

about information structure, Lambrecht (1994) will be extensively cited in this chapter.

The main thrust of this chapter will be to explain how information structure contributes to linguistic form, in particular to the appearance of what I will term “functional markers”, such as the topic-indicating *da*'s of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. Furthermore, the information structural concepts of this chapter will help differentiate between references to the types of topics that can lead to the formation of “true” discontinuous pronominal adverbs from those that do not or lead to the formation of “apparent” discontinuous pronominal adverbs. With these goals in mind I will begin with the description of information structure as I employed it in my study.

3.1 Information Structure

Although one could certainly trace the roots of information structure back to ancient philosophers' thoughts on logic and language, the modern concept of information structure (IS) as a component of language has its origins in the Prague School of Linguistics and their concepts of *theme* and *rheme*, roughly “old” and “new” information. The Prague School in turn influenced those such as Halliday (1967) and Chafe (1976) who indicated that the terms “old” and “new” were insufficient and so began to map out more appropriate categories of information structure. In his article, “Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View”, Chafe gives definitions for the most important terms related to the “packaging” of information by a speaker based on the speaker's “assessment of what the addressee's mind is capable of at the time” (Chafe 1976:54). The speaker

wants to be understood and so presents information based on what she thinks the addressee knows already and what might be new (or partially familiar, long forgotten, etc.). One should also note that the speaker's understanding of the addressee's knowledge is constantly changing as both parties continue to exchange ideas; therefore, the phrase "at the time" emphasizes the speaker must have a second-by-second (or idea-by-idea) estimate of his interlocutor's state of mind.

Just as Halliday and Chafe introduced the concept of information structure by defining the major concepts involved, so too will I for this dissertation. However, instead of restating and explicating Chafe's (1976) understanding of information structural terms, I will orient my description of these terms based on Lambrecht's (1994) *Information structure and sentence form: topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*, which benefitted from almost two decades of refinement to the notions of Chafe and his predecessors.

3.2 Information and Proposition

The most general term I need to define from the field of information structure is, of course, the term *information* itself. Many words, sounds, and even body language communicate something of meaning. Such things as *Ouch!*, a mother bird's screeching at a runner passing by her nest, and a hug from a loved one all provide us with something meaningful, which could rightfully be called information. However, for the purposes of this study I will limit the use of the word *information* to only meaningful communication expressed via clauses, i.e. units of human language that contain at a minimum an inflected verb, or utterances that can be

reconstructed into clauses. For example, the one word response in the following question answer pair can be reformulated into a clause

(14)

Q: Who ate cookies?

A: HANS. => HANS ate cookies.

Although the entire clause is not required for an appropriate response, to the question, reformulating the answer into a clause will allow us to more easily analyze the information structure of the statement.

With the realm of linguistic clausal utterances as our starting point, let us turn to how Lambrecht (1994) describes what it means to inform someone of something. He states that

“by informing the hearer of some situation or state of affairs, the speaker influences the hearer’s MENTAL REPRESENTATION of the world. This representation is formed by the sum of ‘propositions’ which the hearer knows or believes or considers uncontroversial at the time of speech” (43)

This characterization of the term *inform* allows us to understand that clauses can be used to have an effect on the way another person experiences the world. Also, the clauses that represent the mental/informational units that are used on the addressee are called *propositions*.³

³ Despite the fact that the quote above implies that the addressee works directly with linguistic clausal units in her mental representation of the world rather than more general units of thought, which may or may not rely on language, Lambrecht makes clear that this part of the definition of information was a shorthand to more simply define the terms *inform/information*. He clarifies this by stating, “What a speaker assumes a hearer knows or takes for granted are strictly speaking not propositions but states of affairs, situations, events etc., i.e. the kinds of things which may be DENOTED by propositions. Since I know of no generally accepted simple term for the denotatum of a

The next term to more closely define then is *proposition*. Very simply, a proposition is an utterance that is able to denote “states of affairs, situations, events etc.” (Lambrecht 1994: 53). The aspect of this definition that I would like to emphasize is *denote*. Certainly, an utterance like *Ouch!* can connote that the speaker is in pain, but so too do the cries of a baby or the clenched teeth, red face and grimace of an adult. Denotation, on the other hand, will be reserved only for utterances in human language. Therefore, examples of propositional utterances are those such as *I stubbed my toe!* or *That hurts!* These types of clauses are then the ones we can use for information structural analysis.

One may critique the description of propositional clauses such as *That hurts!* as informational, i.e. implying that such a clause does not provide any more information than *Ouch!* and not as much information as the screeching of a mother bird. Again, this description does not disregard the meaningfulness of these other signals, simply that the term information is reserved for utterances. The impression that words like *that* in *That hurts!* are not very “informational” or in many cases even meaningful on their own is not a result of their information value in a clause but rather their *activation* level, which is the next term I will define.

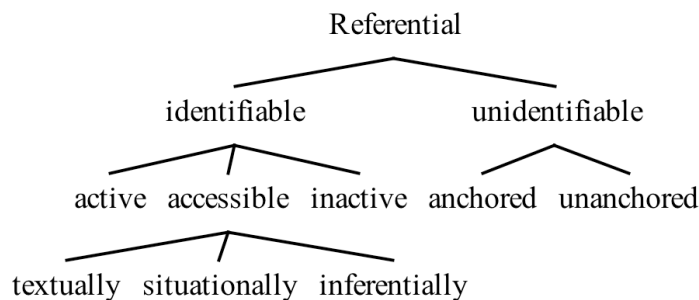
3.3 Activation and Common Ground

Activation for the purposes of this study is couched in terms of the “mental representation of the world” mentioned above that an interlocutor carries with her. More specifically, *activation* has to do with that part of the mental representation of the world shared by the interlocutors that deals with the current discourse. This

proposition, I will simply use the term ‘proposition’ ambiguously, making the distinction explicit in cases such as this where I fear confusion may result.” (Lambrecht 1994: 53)

shared current discourse mental representation⁴ is termed *common ground* by Stalnaker (1974) and contains all of the interlocutors shared ideas of the discourse.

When adding to the discourse via the addition of a new proposition, the constituents of the new proposition will vary in how strongly they refer to elements in the common ground. A taxonomy of this referential strength, which Lambrecht (1994) terms *activation (state)*, is given below in a diagram from Van Valin and LaPolla (1995:308), which incorporates the ideas of Prince (1981:237) and Lambrecht (1994: 109).



**Figure 3. 5 Typology of Activation for Referential Elements in Conversation
from Van Valin and LaPolla (1995: 308)**

In this chart the first major division is between identifiable and unidentifiable referents. Unidentifiable referents do not have any level of connection to the common ground and so fall outside of the activation state spectrum proper.

However, unidentifiable referents can either appear alone / “unanchored”, e.g. *a guy* in *Did you know: a guy once tightrope walked between the Twin Towers?* (during a

⁴ To be somewhat more exact, since interlocutors do not share this representation directly, e.g. like the position of pieces on a chess board, but rather indirectly in their separate minds, it is the shared *assumptions* about the other interlocutor’s “states of mind” and assumptions about the other’s assumptions about one’s own state of mind that count (Lambrecht 1994: 59-60).

conversation about sights in New York City), or alternatively they can be “anchored⁵ to some more identifiable referent, as in *a guy I know from school*” (Van Valin & LaPolla 1995: 200).

Following the branch of identifiable referents, we reach the activation spectrum proper: between *active* and *inactive*. A referent is active if it is the “concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment” (Chafe 1987: 22), or, in other words, if it is “the current center of attention of the speech participants” (Lambrecht 1994: 94). A quick example of an *active* versus a less active yet *accessible* concept appears in the following exchange.

(15)

Q: What are you going to do with the DOG and the CAT while you’re away?

A: I’ll leave the DOG with my parents and **the CAT can stay outside.**

(Lambrecht 1994: 332)

In the first clause of the answer, both the dog and the cat are active, i.e. they are the current center of attention, yet the speaker chooses to deal with just the dog at this time. Because of the speaker’s choice to deal with just the dog in the first clause, the cat in the second clause is less active in the common ground. Lambrecht demonstrates this fact by pointing out that “[i]f the NP *the cat* in the second clause were replaced by the anaphoric pronoun *it*, this pronoun would naturally be interpreted as referring to the already established topic of the preceding clause, i.e. the dog” (1994: 332-333). Therefore, in the second clause the referent of *cat* drops

⁵ “anchoring” here relates to the concept of “accommodation of presuppositional structure” (Lambrecht 1994: 65-73, 103-104, 278) and “topics derived from a hypertheme” (Erteschik-Shir 2007: 2-3 commenting on Daneš 1974)

down in activation state to “textually accessible”, i.e. the cat is not the current center of attention but is cited in the previous “text” of the discourse. Referents can also be accessible, as indicated in the taxonomy above, by being physically present and therefore “situationally accessible” or by being related to something physically or textually present and therefore “inferentially accessible” (cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1995: 200).

Last in the spectrum of activation state are, of course, *inactive* referents. In order to be completely inactive, a referent must be assumed to be “in the hearer’s long-term memory, yet not in his short-term memory (i.e. not in either the focus or periphery of consciousness)” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1995:200). An inactive referent is thus still assumed to be identifiable for the hearer, i.e. is not something that the hearer has never encountered before, but simply not a part of the common ground of the discourse as of yet. For example, in the example above about sights in New York, *Did you know: a guy once tightrope walked between the Twin Towers?*, although the referent of *a guy* was assumed to be not a part of the common ground, and therefore unidentifiable, the Twin Towers were definitely a part of the common ground of sights in New York City and therefore identifiable even if they were *inactive* because they had not been used in the discourse yet. For this reason, i.e. to differentiate between the terms *inactive* and *unidentifiable*, Lambrecht (1994) also uses Prince’s (1981) term *unused* because according to him “calling an item ‘unused’ implies more strongly that it is already stored in the addressee’s mind than calling it ‘inactive’”(107).

With this, we have explored the entire spectrum of identifiability and activation. This knowledge will allow us to better understand the form of constituents in the clauses analyzed in this study: activation state affects both the prosody as well as morphology of constituents. The aspect of this connection that will concern us most is the “only one-to-one correlation between a formal category and a cognitive state [... i.e.] the one between lack of prosodic prominence and/or pronominal coding and activeness” (Lambrecht 1994: 108). In short, unaccented and phonologically null elements as well as pronouns of all kinds indicate active referents.

In order to understand the syntactic form of the clauses analyzed in this study, we will need to understand the concept of *presupposition* as well as activation.

3.4 Presupposition, Information Structure vs. General Pragmatics

As indicated in the previous section, prosodic and morphological markers on constituents correspond with the activation state of their referents (e.g. unaccented constituents and pronouns always represent active referents, though the reverse is not always true) while the overall form of a clause is more closely associated with *presupposition*. According to Lambrecht (1994) a presupposition is “an assumption made by the speaker concerning the hearer’s state of mind [that] must have some actual manifestation in the grammatical or lexical structure of the sentence” (55). In other words, presuppositions are all of the ideas in the common ground, i.e. the speaker assumes the listener is more or less familiar with them, that the speaker

makes reference to in her clause. Let us analyze the following clause (based on Lambrecht 1994:55) to determine the presuppositions involved.

(16)

Q: How was your weekend? / What happened this weekend?

A: I finally unpacked the last of the boxes.

In this example the answer to the question involves several presuppositions. The word *finally* presupposes that “one would have expected the speaker to have [performed the action in question] at some earlier point in time” (Lambrecht 1994: 55). The words *the last of the boxes* presupposes the “addressee can identify [the boxes in question] designated by the definite noun phrase” (Lambrecht 1994: 55). The next presupposition, called a “consciousness presupposition” by Lambrecht is subtle. Since personal pronouns like *I* can be applied to any person, the speaker assumes that any time deictics like these are used “the addressee is aware of the referents of the pronouns [...] at the time these pronouns are uttered” (Lambrecht 1994: 56). For example if a speaker uses direct rather than indirect speech to quote someone (e.g. “My brother said ‘I’m doing well here in New Mexico’ “ instead of “My brother said he’s doing well in New Mexico”) then the speaker assumes the addressee will know the difference between that *I* and the *I* used for the speaker herself. Even more subtle is the last presupposition, called the “relevance presupposition”: “the proposition expressed by the sentence is construable as relevant information about the referent of *I*” (Lambrecht 1994: 56). This presupposition simply means that the information given by the clause indeed relates directly to the “unaccented” pronoun *I*. These are all of the information-

structurally relevant presuppositions involved in this clause. These are the things that the speaker believes the addressee takes for granted when construing a proposition represented by a clause in order to gain its informational content.

As a side note, this study only concerns itself with the term presupposition as it is used in information structure, and not as it is used in general pragmatics. Lambrecht (1994), commenting on a quote by Prince (1981:224), emphasizes that “information structure is concerned with the FORM of utterances in relation to assumed mental states of speakers and hearers” (3). Therefore an information structurally relevant presupposition has to appear somehow in the form of the utterance – information structure works through purely linguistic means to achieve changes in the hearer’s mind. On the other hand general pragmatics “is not so much concerned with grammatical structure as with the INTERPRETATION of sentences in relation to conversational settings” (Lambrecht 1994: 4). Said another way: general pragmatics deals with the relationship between language and meaning at large, which as I mentioned in chapter one can be expressed through human language as well as gestures, noises, etc. Information structure deals with the relationship between linguistic form (i.e. prosody, morphology, syntax, etc.) and information, which I limited in chapter one to units of meaning expressed using only human language. Thus, while the pragmatic presupposition in example (16) that the speaker moved into a different house or apartment is meaningful, it is not expressed anywhere in the form of the sentence and therefore has no bearing on how the sentence is expressed formally. Certainly, such pragmatics should not be ignored

when interpreting clauses; however they will not be necessary for this study, which focuses on the effect of information structure on sentence form.

3.5 Activation vs. Presupposition

In the last section I made a differentiation between information structure and general pragmatics in order to clarify the extent of this study. In a similar manner, I will make a differentiation in this section between activation and presupposition, two of the terms defined above, in order to clarify the internal structure of this study. In chapter five, we will see how these closely related but different terms need to remain separate in order to clearly identify the proposition type represented by a clause.

Both activation and presupposition seem to involve whether or not an element of a clause has been mentioned. By this line of reasoning, if an element was mentioned recently it is probably active in the minds of the interlocutors and, because it appears formally in a clause, it is presupposed. This thinking will be true for the most part. However, I will point out two cases where this logic breaks down so that we can have a better idea of these categories when identifying proposition types.

The first example involves a clausal constituent whose referent was mentioned very recently and is therefore definitely presupposed but the activation level of the referent is not completely active, as one might expect it to be. Here again I will use the dog versus cat example used above to explain activation.

(17)

Q: What are you going to do with the DOG and the CAT while you're away?

A: I'll leave the DOG with my PARENTS and **the CAT can stay OUTSIDE.**

(Lambrecht 1994: 332)

In the bolded clause in the example above, the speaker presupposes that her interlocutor can identify the referent of the definite noun phrase *the cat*, especially because her interlocutor brought up this referent in a question.⁶ As for the activation level of the referent of *the cat*, it has dropped from “active” to “textually accessible” because of the intervening clause about the referent of *the dog*. Therefore, an element can be both presupposed and yet less active, a fact that indicates the separate nature of presupposition and activation.

The second example involves a clausal constituent whose referent is indeed the “current center of attention” and therefore active but “unpredictable” / “non-recoverable” due to the presence of competing referents and therefore not presupposed.

(18)

Q: Where did you go last night, to the movies or to the restaurant?

A: We went to the RESTAURANT.

(Lambrecht 1994: 211, ex. 5.1')

In the answer to the question, the speaker presupposes / assumes the addressee knows the identity of *we*, the identity of *the restaurant*, that the speaker went somewhere, etc. The speaker cannot presuppose / cannot assume the addressee knows that the speaker went to the restaurant. The restaurant was, however, one of

⁶ The speaker, however, does not presuppose that her interlocutor will know that the cat in question can stay outside. This non-presupposed / “unpredictable” / “non-recoverable” (Lambrecht 1994: 212) part of the proposition is what will be called below the *focus* of the proposition.

two locations mentioned by the first interlocutor; thus, the restaurant is in the current center of attention and therefore at an activation state of active. In this way a referent can be both non-presupposed and active at the same time. Therefore, the terms *presupposition* and *activation*, while closely related, are not the same.

3.6 Assertion

Now that we have established what information, proposition, and presupposition are for information structure, we can describe the process of creating information. Information is created by a process called *assertion*. According to Lambrecht (1994), “To make an assertion is to establish a relation between a presupposed set of propositions [...] and a non-presupposed proposition, the latter being in some sense added to, or superimposed on, the former.” (57-58) For example, in the clauses from above *Q: What did you do this weekend? A: I finally unpacked the last of the boxes* the answer clause creates information by establishing a relation between the presupposed material, especially the referent of *I*, and the non-presupposed material, which in this case is the unpacking of a presupposed set of boxes. Another way to express this proposition informally is “Taking for granted what the speaker assumes the listener already knows about the referents indicated in her clause, the speaker has now unpacked the boxes in question (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 56). This is the process that is meant by the term *assertion* in this study.

Assertion will not refer in this study to the speech act theory usage of assertion meaning “expressed in DECLARATIVE as opposed to INTERROGATIVE, IMPERATIVE, or EXCLAMATIVE sentences” (Lambrecht 1994: 55). One can easily demonstrate that an imperative such as *Geben Sie mir den Stift!* give you-FORMAL

me-DATIVE the pen ‘Give me the pen!’ also contains an assertion in the information structural meaning: Taking for granted what the speaker assumes the listener already knows about the referents indicated in her clause, the speaker demands the pen in question from the listener. For this reason, this study will not take the type of speech act involved into question and will therefore not use the speech act meaning of *assert*.

3.7 Focus, Focus Domain

The crucial element in making an assertion is the non-presupposed / “unpredictable” / “non-recoverable” element that is called the *focus* of the proposition. In order to make the focus easier to identify, let us consider another of Lambrecht’s (1994) definitions of focus, namely “the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other” (Lambrecht 1994: 207). Using this definition, we can delimit the area of the focus from the rest of the asserted proposition.

(19)

Clause: [I finally [unpacked the last of the boxes.]_{Focus}] _{Asserted Proposition}

Underlying Proposition: [Taking for granted the presupposed propositions, the speaker has now [unpacked the last of the boxes in question]_{Focus}] _{Asserted Proposition}

Being able to clearly mark where the focus of the proposition is will prove critical in identifying the type of proposition. As a side note, since the clause representing the underlying proposition does not differ significantly from the underlying proposition

itself, I will simply use the clause as it is and mark where the focus of the proposition appears in that clause. This practice will also allow me to point out the formal indicators of the focus as it is expressed in a clause.

The use of these indicators is referred to by Lambrecht as “focus marking,” which he defines as “the formal mechanism for signaling a focus relation between a pragmatically construed denotatum and a proposition” (218). One common way of formally marking the focus of a proposition is to use prosodic prominence on a specific constituent in a clause representing that proposition. For the time being I will leave an exact definition for what determines prosodic prominence aside, other than that the speaker produces a constituent with greater “stress” than surrounding constituents through greater relative loudness or duration – of course other factors may contribute to this “stress.” Let us examine focus marking using the following example.

(20)

I heard that your motorcycle broke down?

My CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994: 223)

Here the speaker of the answer marks the focus of the proposition, *my car*, by placing prosodic prominence on the word *car*. Prosodic prominence is indicated by Lambrecht (1994) and in this study by placing a word or syllable in small caps. With this indicator along with knowledge of the discourse situation, one can analyze this clause as below.

(21)

[[My CAR]_{Focus} broke down.]_{Asserted Proposition}

Here the speaker presupposes that the listener knows something broke down and then identifies what broke down. The accent on *car* indicates that the speaker is setting up a relationship between the focus and the presupposition. We will call this relationship a focus-presupposition proposition below. While prosodic indication of focus is very common, especially in English and German, it is not the only way to indicate focus. According to Lambrecht (1994), “The focus of a proposition may be marked prosodically, morphologically, syntactically, or via a combination of prosodic and morphosyntactic means” (218). Translations of the clause above into other languages demonstrate this variability in focus marking.

(22)

[Italian] Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA. / E' la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta.

[French] C'est ma VOITURE qui est en panne.

[Japanese] KURAMA ga koshoo-shi-ta

(Lambrecht 1994: 223)

In French, not only does the word *voiture* ‘car’ receive pitch prominence, but the clause itself is clefted in order to separate out what would otherwise be a “non-isomorphic mapping between syntactic and semantic categories on the one hand [...] and syntactic and information structure categories on the other” (Lambrecht 1994: 232). That is to say, as it is in the English version, the VP *broke down* contains and conflates all of these features, a dispreferred structure from an information structural viewpoint.

The previous example also indicates that the focus of the proposition is not necessarily indicated by just one element in a clause. In the example above, one of

the most important propositions is *X broke down*, in which X stands for the non-presupposed focus. It is important to notice that X is not completed simply by inserting *car*, the word that receives pitch prominence in the clause, but rather the entire phrase *my car* or *my brother's motorcycle* or whatever identifies the referent meant by the speaker (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 215). For this reason the term *focus* refers not to the individual lexical item carrying prosodic stress or another marking, but rather to the referent of an entire syntactic phrase. Such syntactic phrases are called *focus domains*, which Lambrecht defines as “constituents whose denotata are capable of producing assertions when added to presuppositions” (Lambrecht 1994: 215). Above I mentioned that identifying the location of the focus of proposition would be important in determining what type of proposition it is. Here I would like to refine this statement by saying that identifying the dimensions of the focus domain, i.e. the size of syntactic phrase that represents the focus, will help determine the type of proposition. For example, two sentences representing two different propositions can have focus marking on the same lexical item.

(23)

Q: I heard your motorcycle broke down? A: My CAR broke down.

Q: What happened? A: My CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994: 223)

In the first case, the speaker of the answer is identifying what actually broke down. In the second case, the speaker of the answer is reporting an unknown event. These are clearly two different usages of formally identical clauses. However, if we consider that the most important presupposition in the first statement is *X broke*

down then we can see that the focus domain for this clause is the syntactic determiner phrase (DP) *my car*. In the second case, the speaker does not assume that the listener knows anything more than presuppositions of identity, i.e. *my* refers to the speaker and *my car* refers to the speaker's car, and presuppositions of relevance, i.e. the speaker's statement is relevant to what her interlocutor asked. Therefore, not only the phrase *my car* but the entire unit *My car broke down*, i.e. the largest, clause-encompassing syntactic unit known as a complementizer phrase (CP), is the focus domain of the clause marked by pitch prominence on *car*. Now that we can more easily identify focus domains in order to determine a clause's proposition type, let us examine the types of propositions that can be expressed.

3.8 Proposition Types / Focus Structures / Communicative Purpose

There are three types of propositions that can be expressed using clauses in human language. Lambrecht calls these proposition types *topic-comment*, *focus-presupposition*, and *thetic*. Each of these three propositions fulfills one of the three most basic "communicative functions, such as the function of commenting on a given topic of conversation [...], of identifying a referent [...], or of reporting an event or presenting a new discourse" (Lambrecht 1994: 222). Furthermore, these communicative purposes of these propositions are indicated at least partially in the forms of their clauses.

(24)

- a. Topic-Comment (Q: What happened to your car?) A: My car/It broke DOWN.
- b. Focus-Presupposition (Q: I heard your motorcycle broke down?) A: My CAR broke down.
- c. Thetic: (Q: What happened?) A: My CAR broke down.

(Lambrecht 1994: 223)

In the case of these three clauses we see that focus marking occurs on *down* in the first clause to indicate the focus domain *broke down*, which as we will see is the comment on the topic referent of *my car*. As we discussed above, the second and third clauses appear to be identical on the surface; however, closer investigation of their presuppositions reveals that while their focus marking is the same their focus domains are different. Let us now look at each these proposition types / communicative structures and their syntactic representations.

3.8.1 Topic-Comment

On a communicative level we introduce an idea, we identify an idea, or we comment on an idea. As introduction and identification of an idea do not usually require much time, we tend to spend most of our time in discourse commenting on the ideas that have been introduced or identified. For this reason topic-comment propositions are a very common type of proposition. Let us look more closely at our model topic-comment clause from Lambrecht (1994).

(25)

(Q: What happened to your car?) A: My car/It broke DOWN.

The main presupposition expressed in the answer clause, leaving aside the presuppositions of identity and relevance, is “[the] speaker’s car is a topic for comment X” (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 226). The assertion / creation of a topic-comment proposition is then made by adding the presupposition involving the topic to the non-presupposed / unpredictable / non-recoverable element of the proposition, which we called the *focus* above. In Lambrecht’s schematic, he signifies the assertion through an equation.

(26)

Presupposition: “speaker’s car is a topic for comment x”

Assertion: “x = broke down” (Lambrecht 1994: 226)

Unfortunately this expression of the assertion leaves us to mentally fill in the focus *broke down* to the presupposition. In order to improve readability, I will indicate assertions with a clause that indicates all parts of the presupposition. In order to mark the topic element, I will rely on Kuno’s (1972) *as for*- convention for indicating topics.

(27)

Presupposition: The speaker’s car is a topic for comment X.

Assertion: As for the speaker’s car, X = It broke down.

This *as-for convention* highlights the topic and ensures that the referent identified as a topic is actually a topic⁷. According to Lambrecht (1994), “It is worth observing, in this context, that the *as-for* phrase can ONLY be used in this topic-establishing

⁷ The extra consideration that the referent of the clause topic must appear in the comment, usually in the form of an unaccented pronominal, will help distinguish clause topics from discourse topics. These ideas will be discussed in section 6.3.

function” (152). For this reason, if another element is asserted into the *as-for* part of the assertion, a nonsensical clause for the context will result.

(28)

What happened to your car?

*As for breaking down, X = My car did.

Here, “breaking down” is not in the common ground and so referencing it as a topic for a further comment is not possible.

According to Lambrecht, another important point about topic-comment propositions is that their focus domains always represent the predicate of a clause, a claim that I disagree with and will argue against presently. Lambrecht even refers to topic-comment clauses as predicate focus structures, since he views the grammatical predicate as the element which is added to the presupposition; thus the predicate is the focus domain of the proposition (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 226). Lambrecht makes sure to note this in his schematic representations.

(29)

Sentence:	<i>My car broke DOWN.</i>
Presupposition:	“speaker’s car is a topic for comment x”
Assertion:	“x = broke down”
Focus:	“broke down”
Focus domain:	VP (Lambrecht 1994: 226, ex. 5.10')

By schematically representing the focus and the focus domain, we are able to check if a clause is a topic-comment clause or a focus-presupposition clause in the case that they both have focus marking on the same part of the predicate.

(30)

Why did Nixon appoint Carswell?

He was urged by MITCHELL. (Lambrecht 1994: 278)

We can take this answer clause and represent it schematically to see if *Mitchell* or *was urged by Mitchell* is the focus of the clause in this context.

(31)

Presupposition:	Nixon is a topic for comment X.
Assertion:	As for Nixon, (X =) he was urged by Mitchell.
Focus:	was urged by Mitchell

In this case, we see that the unpredictable element for this clause is not just the lexical phrase *Mitchell* but instead the full functional phrase *was urged by Mitchell*. The following syntactic tree structure below illustrates the size of the focus domain for topic-comment clauses in German. The structure itself is in the deep-structure configuration, i.e. before movement has occurred, so that the argument structure can be examined. The surface structure clauses that this deep-structure

configuration refers to are (Was hat Hans gemacht?) *Er/Hans hat die Kekse gegessen.*
 and (Was ist mit den Keksen?) *Hans hat sie/die Kekse gegessen.*

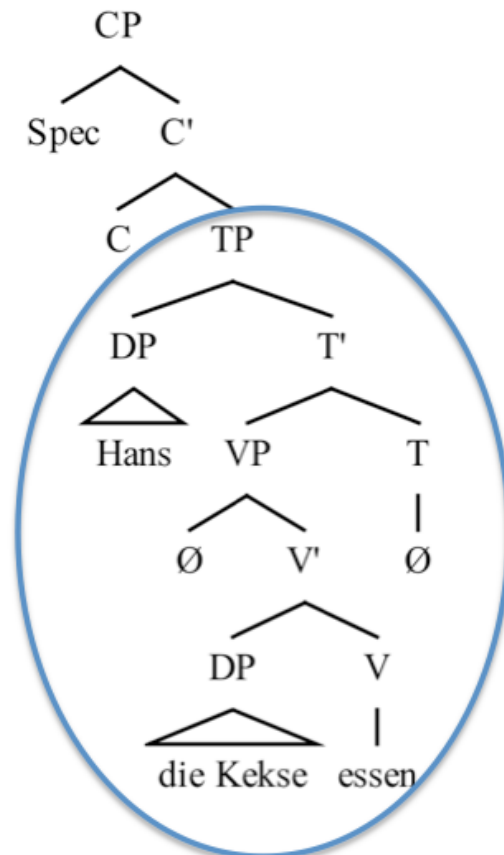


Figure 3. 1 Deep structure of a topic-comment clause with focus domain circled

The above diagram indicates that focus domain of topic-comment clauses is the TP of the deep-structure diagram.⁸ The size/scope of this focus domain will prove to be different for the other two proposition types. For example, so-called *focus-presuppositions*, which will be covered in the following section, identify single

⁸ Notice that Lambrecht indicated the focus domain as only the VP. I will discuss the implications of this difference in chapter six.

information structural arguments⁹ of a proposition, which are designated by lexical phrases, i.e. NP, DP, PP, and VP.

3.8.2 Focus-Presupposition

In focus-presupposition clauses, the most important presupposition, aside from presuppositions of identification or relevance, is an open proposition, which is a presupposition missing an information structural argument (Lambrecht 1994: 122). The schematic representation of a focus-presupposition then looks like the following.

(32)

Sentence:	[I heard your motorcycle broke down.] <i>My CAR broke down.</i>
Presupposition:	“speaker’s x broke down”
Assertion:	X = car
Focus:	“car”
Focus domain:	NP (Lambrecht 1994: 228)

I will also slightly modify this schematic representation. Again, since you cannot assert something without having both presupposed and non-presupposed elements, I would like to change the assertion line from an equation to a unit of meaning that includes all the parts of the proposition. Also, as I mentioned in section 3.7 above, the focus of this proposition is not just the word *car* but rather the entire phrasal unit *my car*, which could be replaced by other phrasal units including those that do not belong to the speaker such as *my brother’s motorcycle*. Therefore my schematic representations of focus-presupposition clauses will look like the following.

⁹ Lambrecht (1994) uses the term *argument* to refer to both syntactic arguments as well as adjuncts that represent pieces of a proposition. Furthermore, the other type of element making up propositions is called a predicate (Lambrecht 1994: 215). In this way he borrows very much from the vocabulary of semantics when describing information structural propositions.

(33)

Sentence:	[I heard your motorcycle broke down.] My CAR broke down.
Presupposition:	X broke down"
Assertion:	(X = The speaker's car) broke down.
Focus:	my car
Focus domain:	DP

Notice in this schematic that, as I mentioned above, I have also kept with the syntactic convention of referring to phrases that contain a determiner, i.e. articles, possessive pronouns, and personal pronouns, as determiner phrases (DP) (Abney 1987). With the help of this schematic we can differentiate focus-presupposition clauses from topic-comment clauses. *He was urged by MITCHELL*, the last example from the previous section, can be stated in two different situations: either as a response to a context where the speaker wants to comment on Nixon, a topic-comment clause, or when the speaker wants to identify who did the urging, as in the following exchange.

(34)

Who was Nixon urged by?
He was urged by MITCHELL. (Lambrecht 1994: 278)

Presupposition:	Nixon was urged by X.
Assertion:	Nixon was urged by (X = Mitchell).
Focus:	Mitchell
Focus Domain:	NP

In this case, the focus domain fits neatly around just the information structural focus *Mitchell* and thus this argument cannot be a comment on a topic and so we can label this clause a *focus-presupposition* clause. In a case though where a subject and not a part of the predicate is marked for focus, we have to differentiate between focus-presupposition clauses and our last type of clause,thetic clauses.

3.8.3 Thetic

In thetic clauses there are no presuppositions beyond the presuppositions of identity and relevance. In fact a thetic clause does not even need to contain presuppositions of identity or relevance as they can be uttered “out of the blue” without any reference to identifiable referents or any connection / relevance to the context. For this reason, Lambrecht represents a thetic clause schematically as having no presupposition, meaning no presupposition that might set it off as another type of proposition.

(35)

Sentence:	<i>My CAR broke down.</i>
Presupposition:	—
Assertion:	“speaker’s car broke down”
Focus:	“speaker’s car broke down”
Focus domain:	S (Lambrecht 1994: 233)

Notice that in the schematic Lambrecht refers to the entire clausal phrase as S. In keeping with more current syntactic conventions, I will designate this type of focus phrase as a complementizer phrase (CP), which as mentioned above is the functional phrase that combines all of the elements into a clause.¹⁰ Interestingly, because there is only a non-presupposed element of the proposition and this non-presupposed element makes up the focus, both the assertion and the focus of a thetic clause are the same.

¹⁰ That a CP, a functional phrase, is the focus domain of a thetic clause just as the TP, also a functional phrase, is the focus domain seems fitting as this leaves all of the individual lexical phrases (NP, DP, PP, and even VP) to be the focus domains of focus-presupposition clauses. Though the case of a VP being the focus of a focus-presupposition clause is not extremely likely, it is still possible even in simple conversations, e.g. *What did Ashley do with the coffee? She DRANK/TOSSED/SPILLED it.* Therefore, each of the proposition types has very distinct focus domains: CP or TP or LexicalP. I will discuss the implications of this finding in chapter six.

With the analysis ofthetic clauses, we have now explored all of the relationships possible on the clause-level of communication.

3.9 Topic-comment: Unaccented Pronominals as Preferred Topic Expressions

As mentioned above, I expect topic-comment clauses to be the most plentiful type of clause in the data and the type of clause that most easily makes use of pronominal adverbs; therefore, it makes sense to look at a more detailed aspect of these clauses, namely the form of their topics. According to Lambrecht (1994), “topics with active referents represent the cognitively preferred topic type because their interpretation normally requires no, or only minimal, processing effort on the part of the hearer in addition to the effort necessary to interpret the proposition about this topic” (Lambrecht 1994: 172). Lambrecht here lays out two steps for constructing and construing topic-comment propositions: 1. identify the topic 2. determine what is being predicated of that topic. If the topic is already identifiable, i.e. has a high activation level, then the speaker and listener can simply concentrate on what is being predicated of the topic. This notion is clearly illustrated by considering two versions of the opening lines of the same fairy tale.

(36)

There once was a wizard. He was very wise, rich, and married to a beautiful witch.

??A wizard once was very wise, rich, and married to a beautiful witch.
(Lambrecht 1994: 178)

Both of the examples above are acceptable from a syntactic viewpoint but the second example is highly questionable from an information structural viewpoint: the wizard is unidentifiable to the listener and yet the listener must now add a

predication to him. Lambrecht therefore proposes that interlocutors, especially in spoken language, follow the maxim “Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause” (185). This maxim results in what Lambrecht (1994) calls the Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role (PSRR), meaning “the lexical representation of a topic referent takes place separately from the designation of the referent’s role as an argument in a proposition” (185). Interlocutors follow the PSRR to make their online construction and construal of propositions easier. It is easier to separate out the steps of identification and predication into separate clauses, especially when one does not have the luxury of time and editing available to someone who is writing (Lambrecht 1994: 185). The PSRR thus reinforces that, as we discussed above, active topics are preferred from an information structural viewpoint.

In addition to knowing that active topics are information structurally preferred, it will also be helpful to know the form that active topics tend to take. Lambrecht (1994) posits that “[s]ince the normal grammatical correlate of activeness is lack of prosodic prominence, and since active referents are normally coded pronominally [...], the cognitively preferred topic expression has UNACCENTED PRONOMINAL FORM” (172). In order to justify this claim, let us consider the following set of topic-comment sentence from Lambrecht (1994: 137) that can be expressed using unaccented pronouns or unaccented nominal phrases.

(37)

How's your neck?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| a. ?My neck HURTS. | It HURTS. |
| b. ?Il colo mi fa MALE. | Mi fa MALE. |
| c. ?Mon cou il me fait MAL. | Il me fait MAL. |
| d. ?Kubi wa ITAL. | ITAL. |

I have added question marks to the first set of sentence to indicate their dispreferred informational status, which means that the second set of sentences “which contain pronominal or null subjects, would no doubt be more appropriate in most situations” (Lambrecht 1994: 137). For this reason, I will also consider unaccented pronominals as the preferred topic type. This group of expressions “includes free and bound pronouns, inflectional morphemes and null arguments” (Lambrecht 1994: 172). The inclusion of null arguments as part of the set of preferred topic expressions will prove useful as well as later in this study when I posit that phonologically null elements in the prefield of certain clauses with pronominal adverbs work as functional topic markers. For the moment, however, I would like to consider what a functional marker is and how it can be identified.

3.10 Functional Markers

In the following section I will explore the notion of information-structurally functional markers in clauses. Later in this study we will consider the distance doubling pronominal adverbs, e.g. **da** weiß ich nichts **davon**, which one might stigmatize by pointing out that the *da*'s are repetitive or “pleonastic.” However, doubled elements do not exist in language without some lexical or functional motivation. In the lexical realm we find words like English “man’s man”, which does not mean just any ordinary person of the male sex but one that also fulfills the

expectations and stereotypes of the cultural construction of the male gender. In the functional realm we find constructions that contain what appear to be doubled and therefore superfluous elements. Excellent examples of this are the multiple appearances of personal pronouns at the beginning of clauses in some Romance languages. Let us consider the following focus-presupposition clause from French from Lambrecht (1994: 175).

(38)

[Who(m) did you see?]	Je	t'ai	vu	TOI.
	I	you-have	seen	you.
		'I saw	YOU.'	

In this clause we have two elements, *t'* and *toi*, that both indicate a referent in the second person singular accusative. The first element, *t'*, is a cliticized and therefore unaccented pronoun. Thus, the *t'* is a perfect candidate for topichood and we might suggest that the cliticized pronoun is a functional topic marker while the free pronoun *toi* is a grammatical marker that indicates the direct object of the clause. However, because of the context indicated by the question and the prosodic accenting of *TOI*, we know that this is a focus-presupposition clause with a focus of *toi*. Therefore *t'* cannot be a functional topic marker because there is no topic.

Lambrecht suggests instead that the “*t'* functions here as an agreement marker of sorts, the object argument being *toi*” (Lambrecht 1994:175). Nevertheless, we see in this example that two elements that have the same referent can appear in the same clause due to at least one of the elements having an additional functional role. The existence of functional elements is now more apparent and I contend later in this

study that elements from the failed hypothesis prove true in German topic-comment clauses containing discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

With the close of this section, I have covered nearly all of the clause-level terms that will be needed for this study. In the next section I will discuss one particular aspect of relationships on the larger discourse-level of communication. This aspect is called *discourse topic* and it will be important in the analysis of the results of this study in order to explain my account of why some German speakers use both continuous and discontinuous forms of pronominal adverbs in their daily speech.

3.11 Discourse Topic

The following section relates to *discourse topic*, which is not strictly speaking a part of information structure proper. In fact, both Lambrecht (1994: 117) and Reinhart (1981: 54) expressly state that they spend little space discussing discourse topic because, as Lambrecht puts it, “[discourse topic] has more to do with discourse understanding and text cohesion than with the grammatical form of sentences.” In general, I agree with this assessment; however, text cohesion interacts with information structural activation level, which in turn can affect the grammatical form of sentences. To illustrate this point, I would like to consider an example involving German personal pronouns (Lambrecht 1994: 204).

(39)

Wenn er/der isst, macht er/*der so komische Geräusche.

‘When he eats he makes such funny noises’

This example indicates that the two sets of German personal pronouns in the third person, the “*der*-series” and the “*er*-series”, are somewhat but not completely interchangeable, a fact that we will see is due to topics in the wider discourse. Both the *er*-series (*er, sie, es, sie*) and the *der*-series (*der, die, das, die*) “may be accented, although accentuation is more common with the *der*-series” (Lambrecht 1994: 204), especially when the *der*-series is being used deictically to identify a referent. In the example above we are only dealing with unaccented pronominals, so both sets of pronouns seem equally likely to occur. However, “[a]s a general rule, pronouns of the *er*-series are used when a referent is active AND already topical, while those of the *der*-series are used when a referent is active but not yet an established topic” (Lambrecht 1994: 204). In the case of the first clause *Wenn er/der isst* unaccented pronominal adverbs are used, so even without a much wider context we can tell that the referent is active (see section 3.9 above on unaccented pronominals and activation). Without the wider context, we cannot tell if the male person has been made the topic of the discourse or the topic of an individual clause; therefore, either set of pronouns can be used. By the start of the second clause, however, we know that the male person has been the topic of a clause and/or the discourse topic or at least part of the discourse topic, e.g. the male person’s eating habits. For this reason, only *er* is information structurally acceptable as a pronoun indicating the male person as the topic of the second clause. Therefore, not only do clause-level factors affect the information structure of clauses, but so too do discourse-level factors. Now that we have seen how the broader notion of discourse topic can affect the

grammatical form of sentences, I will explore previous literature on discourse topic to determine how we might identify it.

One of the earliest works on discourse topic in a sense very similar to how we are using it here, van Dijk (1977), uses “topic of discourse” to mean what the discourse is “about” and yet recognizes that “aboutness at this more global level is again ambiguous” (119) as it was at the clause-level without the aid of the schematic representation. The example van Dijk gives here is that “a story may be about Romeo, about Juliet, about both, about a specific (forbidden or impossible) love or about certain political structures of the middle ages [sic!]” (1977: 119). Therefore, just as Lambrecht (1994) created a more reliable way to determine clause topic, we also need a more reliable way to determine discourse topic. Van Dijk suggests the straightforward possibility that the most often cited referent of individual clause topics might be the discourse topic (1977: 119). This possibility certainly seems plausible, especially when clauses are about concrete individuals and objects, for example, in the first section of the following fairy tale fragment in Enç (1986: 201), based on a similar text in Givón (1976).

(40)

Once there was a wizard. He was very wise, rich, and was married to a beautiful witch. He lived in a magnificent mansion by the lake, had forty-nine servants, and owned an impressive collection of rare books. Now the wizard, he was very ambitious. He had been planning for years to conquer the world and finally he was ready.

This text has a continuous discourse topic, which is referred to by every clause topic, and so finding the discourse topic of this text appears to be easy – the discourse topic seems to be the wizard.¹¹

Reinhart (1981) points out, however, that texts such as these are not the only texts and therefore finding the discourse topic via summation of clause topics is of little if any use. To support the view that there is fundamental difference between individual topic clauses and discourse clauses, she turns to a miniature text borrowed from Grice (1975). The follow example appears in a fictional letter of recommendation from a professor for one of her students (Reinhart 1981: 54).

Mr. Morgan is a careful researcher and a knowledgeable semiticist, but his originality leaves something to be desired.

In this case, although both clause topics refer to Mr. Morgan, to say that “Mr. Morgan” is the discourse topic of this text would be misleading since this phrase only conveys part of what is related in the text. Instead Reinhart (1981) suggests that the discourse topic of this text is something like “Mr. Morgan’s scholarly abilities” (54), a more specific characterization of the contents of the text. Therefore, our definition of discourse topic needs to be somewhat more precise than a summation of clause topics.

¹¹ Note, however, that even a simple text like this one, the discourse topic is not necessarily the sum of the clause topics. According to Enç (1986) the discourse topic of the first section of the story is not the wizard alone but a description of the wizard. Similarly the discourse topic of the second section is the wizard’s plan. In both cases the wizard is involved in the discourse topic but is not the entirety of the discourse topic. It would therefore be good to think of these discourse topic is terms of Van Oosten (1989) in which the discourse topic of the story connects to other discourse topics and individual clause topics, e.g. Discourse Topic 1: Wizard > Discourse Topic 2: Description of Wizard > Clause Topic: he.

A more sophisticated view of discourse topics and how they relate to clause topics is presented in van Oosten (1989). The author of this paper defines discourse topic as “a schema, scene or other semantic network previously evoked in the discourse and which is still ‘relevant’” (374) at the current point in the text. In using *schema* and *scene* van Oosten makes use of notions from semantic analysis. *Schema* in her paper refers to all of the actions surrounding a specific event, a concept also referred to as a semantic *script*. For example she works with a schema for an English and/or American tea-party with “concerns like the location of the hearer’s cup, getting tea, enjoying oneself, being sociable and polite, etc.” (van Oosten 1989: 374). The term *scene* in her paper appears to deal with all of the entities surrounding a certain location, a concept also referred to as a semantic *frame*. In relation to the tea-party scheme, the scene includes tea cups, saucers, teapots, cookies, linen table cloths, host, guests, etc. Therefore, discourse topic in this sense deals with interaction between context and interpretation and therefore the idea of discourse topic falls into the realm of general pragmatics.

In addition to locating the position of discourse topics in the field of general pragmatics, van Oosten (1989) also indicates how discourse topics may be structured. She posits that a text with different sentence topic can be recognized as a unit because the “discourse topic is, as it were, the umbrella which unifies the different sentence topics” (van Oosten 1989: 373). In this way, we do not have to

worry if not all of the sentence topics point to exactly the same referent because the pragmatic discourse topic covers them all and pulls them together.¹²

How exactly one can determine the discourse topic or discourse topic of text still remains unanswered. Nevertheless the knowledge that discourse topics are pragmatic in nature and their umbrella-like in form will be sufficient for the purposes of this study, which as noted before comes from a mainly information structural point of view.

3.12 Other Notable Works on Information Structure

In this chapter I have concentrated on the ideas of Lambrecht (1994). There has, of course, been other work done on information structure since Lambrecht's (1994) work. Some of the most important work offering alternative definitions of information structural terms include Erteschik-Shir (1997) for the term *topic* and Krifka (2008) for the term *focus*.

3.12.1 Erteschik-Shir (1997) on *topic*

Erteschik-Shir's (1997) definition of *topic* is almost identical to that of Lambrecht (1994) in that both of these authors rely on Strawson's (1964) tripartite description of *topic*.

topic

- a. The topic is what a statement is about.
- b. The topic is used to invoke "knowledge in the possession of an audience."
- c. "The statement is assessed *as* putative information *about its topic*." (Strawson 1964: 97 as summarized by Erteschik-Shir 1997:9)

¹² According to van Oosten discourse topics can also contain other discourse topics so that "[e]ach higher discourse topic regulates the succession of the discourse topics in the next lower level in a discourse which remains on topic" (373). Another illustrative way then to characterize discourse topics may then be as stacking dolls: the largest discourse topic encloses all of the smaller discourse topics, all the way down to the individual sentence clauses, which must be related to but may or may not be identical to a discourse topic.

Erteschik-Shir (1997) draws major theoretical conclusions based off of the third part of this description. In particular, she reiterates Strawson's (1964) notion that a semantic truth-value assessment must take place based on the statement's topic. This leads her to conclude that "every sentence must have a topic since if topics are the pivots for assessment it is crucial that every sentence have one" (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 10). Therefore, in the following situation, *the candy* must be interpreted as the topic according to Erteschik-Shir (1997).

(41)

Who ate the candy? THE CHILDREN ate the candy.
FOC TOP
 (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 14, ex. 12 c.)

In this way of thinking, *the candy* must take the information structural role of topic to account for why an answer like *THE CHILDREN ate the cake* is a non sequitur, i.e. it does not center around the original item under discussion, namely the candy in question.

Lambrecht (1994), however, rejects the notion that all clauses must have an aboutness-topic for two reasons. First, he underscores the fact that whether a statement is assessed as true or false depending on if its topic has a reference or not does not prevent the utterance from carrying information.

If later I find out that the proposition "The cat in the hat is back" was not true in the situation it was used, the representation of the cat being back may nevertheless linger in my mind. And this representation does not become false just because it does not correspond to the world as it is. It just becomes out dated. (Lambrecht 1994: 45)

Here, Lambrecht (1994) addresses two problems with requiring topics to have truth values. More superficially, imaginative utterances function both in fictional stories

and in playful, everyday communication. More functionally, unintentionally false utterances and lies still function and have a lasting mental impact even after the truth is revealed.

Second, even if one were to explain away imaginative worlds and false utterances, only one of the three proposition types deals with aboutness in the strict sense that a clause can only be about a previously established or pragmatically accommodated entity to which unpredictable information is added. Lambrecht illustrates this concept by placing the same sentence in three propositionally different contexts.

(42)

- a. (What did the children do next?) The children went to SCHOOL.
- b. (Who went to school?) The CHILDREN went to school.
- c. (What happened?) The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL!

(Lambrecht 1994: 121, ex. 4.2)

In this set of examples, only the first sentence adds unpredictable information, the focus element *went to school*, to a previously established entity, the topic element *the children*; therefore, strictly speaking, only the first sentence is about *the children*.

In contrast, example b. “is NOT to be construed as a statement about the children.

Rather its communicative function is to provide the referent solicited by the word *who* in the preceding question”(122). In other words, while sentence b. indeed makes reference to and involves the children, it is not about the children in the same way as sentence a. is about the children. In fact the children in example b is the focus that fulfills the unpredictable element of the underlying proposition *X went to school*.

One could make the argument, as Ertischik-Shir (1997) does, that *candy* is the topic of (41) and *school* is the topic of (42)b; however, by doing this one would ignore propositional content necessary to make an information structural examination. In both cases we can assume that the clause is about the candy and school, and therefore fulfill Strawson's (1964) first criterium for a topic. However, the candy and school are not the entirety of the "knowledge in the possession of an audience," the second Strawsonian criterium for a topic. Instead, full statements of what the clauses are about that takes into account all of what the audience has in mind, or can be accommodated, are *eating candy* and *going to school*, or more specifically, *X eating candy* and *X going to school*. The clauses are not just about the individual nouns but about an unknown someone or something interacting with those nouns. However, Lambrecht (1994) identifies a major problem with labeling *X eating candy* and *X going to school* as topics. From a semantic angle, "since 'X went to school' is semantically incomplete it cannot be said to have a referent, therefore, the asserted proposition cannot be construed as being ABOUT its referent" (Lambrecht 1994: 122). We cannot make claims about something if that something is not identified.

In a similar fashion (42)c, a clause expressing athetic proposition also lacks an aboutness topic. As stated above, thetic propositions include no presuppositions and therefore clauses expressing them contain only focus elements; therefore, there can be no topic elements. The ideas of *children*, *going*, and *to school* are all lacking from the context. In fact the idea that anything happened at all is not a part of the underlying proposition. Lambrecht (1994) states, "This connotation [that something

happened], which is created by the question, is merely a property of the discourse context, not a grammatical property of the sentence. It is due to discourse situation, not to a presuppositional structure” (227). There is no lexicogrammatical element, e.g. noun phrase, that indicates in the answer clause itself that something has happened. With clauses representingthetic propositions there is at most what Erteschik-Shir (1997) refers to as a “stage topic”, where stage is used “in the theatrical sense, the place where events appear before an audience” (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 26). Stage topics are not, however, what the clause is about but only what situation the clause referst to. For example in the clause *It is raining*, example (23)c in Erteschick-Shir 1997: 26, the clause is not predicating something of the rain but rather positing that at a the time and place of utterance rain is occurring. Since stage topics are not about an entity/situation, they should not be compared with aboutness topics.

In order to make good comparisons between what roles sentence elements play in expressing a proposition, it will be important to have a consistent definition of *topic*. If I were to compare the topics from topic-comment propositions to the “topics” of focus-presupposition propositions, I would inevitably draw either incorrect conclusions or correct conclusions for incorrect reasons. Therefore, I have chosen to use Lambrecht’s (1994) definition of topic as described above.

3.12.2 Krifka (2008) on *focus*

The basis for Krifka’s (2008) definition of *focus* differs from Lambrecht’s (1994) in the importance it attributes to what is not chosen as the unpredictable element of a proposition. Drawing on Rooth (1985, 1992), Krifka states that,

Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions. (Krifka 2008: 247)

In other words, he posits along with Rooth (1985, 1992) that foci occur anywhere a set of possible options exists that would change the meaning of a statement. In order to illustrate this method of locating foci, Krifka (2008) offers examples of foci in sentences representing topic-comment, focus-presupposition, andthetic propositions.

(43)

a. topic-comment

I built a St. Martin's lantern with my kids. First, I [built the BODY of the lantern with some CARDBOARD paper]_F.

(Krifka 2008: 251, ex 12)

b. focus-presupposition

A: Who stole the cookie?

B: [PETER]_F stole the cookie.

{STOLE(COOKIE)(X) | X ∈ PERSON}

(Krifka 2008: 250, ex 10, 11)

c. thetic

And then something strange happened. [A METEORITE fell down]_F.

(Krifka 2008: 251, ex 13 a)

Krifka (2008) claims that the focus marking in each clause indicates the element whose selection from a set of alternatives leads to the answer of an overt question, such as *Who stole the cookie?* (43)b, or covert questions, as in (43)a or (43)c, that the speaker is attempting to answer. In (43)a “the second clause leads to the accommodation of a question, *what did you do first*” (Krifka 2008:251) to which the speaker answers that she built the body of the lantern first as opposed to the base or the top of the lantern. In (43)c the question that begs to be answered is *What happened?* to which the speaker answers that a meteorite landed as opposed to an old friend showing up unannounced or anything else unexpected. Therefore the

focus element of an utterance is what drives discourse forward by completing propositions that can then be added to the current common ground between the speakers.

Krifka (2008) then takes the notion of focus and alternatives and applies it to situations where the set of alternatives from which the focus is chosen is overt. In the following example a topic-comment proposition in which the set of alternatives is named appears to have multiple foci.

(44)

A: What do your siblings do?

B: [My [SISter]_{Focus}]_{Topic} [studies MEDicine]_{Focus},

and [my [BROther]_{Focus}]_{Topic} is [working on a FREIGHT ship]_{Focus}

(Krifka 2008: 268, ex. 44)

In the example above one might expect only one focus, i.e. the job of each sibling, per clause. However, since the sibling to whom the speaker is adding information is contained in a set from which the speaker chooses an unpredictable element, Krifka (2008) chooses to notate this element as a focus element inside of a topic element. This notation, which coincidentally stems from Erteschik-Shir (1997), is referred to as f-structure or focus structure, which in turn is “an abbreviation for ‘topic-focus’ structure” (Erteschik-Shir 1997: 11) since these researchers assume an aboutness topic for every type of proposition.

Lambrecht (1994) rejects the notion that focus always involves contrast between a set of alternatives. Instead he labels the notion involving a set of alternatives as *contrastiveness*. He makes this distinction between focus and contrastiveness because focus is a binary concept, something is unpredictable or not, while contrastiveness is a scalar concept, something contrasts more generally

or more specifically with other elements. As an example, Lambrecht quotes Bolinger's (1961) characterization of contrastiveness.

In a broad sense, every semantic peak is contrastive. Clearly in *Let's have a picnic*, coming out of the blue, there is no specific contrast with *dinner party*, but there is a contrast between picnicking and anything else the group might do. As the alternatives are narrowed down, we get closer to what we think of as a contrastive accent. (Bolinger 1961:87)

In this example we can see that the clause *Let's have a picnic* contains a general contrast, i.e. picnic vs. other group activity, but the element *picnic* does not cover the entirety of the focus. Since the utterance is coming out of the blue, rather than as a focus-presupposition answer to the question *What should we do?*, this is a thetic clause that presents a wholly unexpected proposition; therefore the whole clause is in focus while only *picnic* or *have a picnic* is contrastive¹³.

For Lambrecht (1994) the concepts of focus and focus marking are “grammatical” in the sense that they are linguistic means to express what is unpredictable in underlying propositions (291). The concept of contrastiveness, on the other hand is not “grammatical”/ linguistic but rather “the result of the general cognitive processes referred to as ‘conversational implicature’” (Lambrecht 1994: 291). This description of contrastiveness places it squarely in the realm of Gricean pragmatics rather than information structure. For example, in (44) above the pragmatic context given by speaker A, i.e. “siblings” and not just “brother”, forces the speaker B to refer to multiple individuals in order to fulfill the maxim of

¹³ Krifka (2008) might respond that *Let's have a picnic* is in a set of alternatives with *Let's have a dinner party* and that this explains how focus in the sense of a choice between elements in a set of alternatives applies to this case. However, this set would also include anything that could be said out of the blue, such as *My back hurts!* or *Did you see the game last night?*, which obviously do not contrast in the way that Krifka (2008) intends. This is yet another reason why I prefer Lambrecht's (1994) definitions of focus and contrastiveness over those of Krifka (2008).

quantity, i.e. to be informative as possible, and at the same time the speaker needs to fulfill the maxim of manner, i.e. be as orderly as possible, by differentiating between the careers of each sibling.

On the other hand speaker B may have only one sibling, in which case the following situation could occur.

(45)

A: What do your siblings do?
 B: I only have a **BROther**,
 and he's a **psYCHOlogist**.

In this case, there is no contrastive effect because there is no one to contrast the brother with. Contrastiveness thus results not from the propositional context affecting form but rather pragmatic context affecting interpretation. Furthermore, Lambrecht (1994) has an explanation for what Krifka (2008) identifies as contrastive accents on *sister* and *brother* in example (44) that does not involve the use of focus. Let us look at an example similar to (44), namely (46), to see what Lambrecht (1994) means.

(46)

Q: What are you going to do with the **DOG** and the **CAT** while you're away?
 A: I'll leave the **DOG** with my **PARENTS** and the **CAT** can stay **OUTSIDE**.
 (Lambrecht 1994: 332, ex 5.90)

We might expect that *dog* and *cat* in the answer would be left unaccented since they are mentioned in the previous clause, thus making them textually accessible and therefore high on the scale of activation, see section 3.5 above, where constituents expressing these entities are usually left unaccented. However, Lambrecht (1994) indicates that unaccentedness is not the same as high activation, even though

unaccented constituents often indicate active referents and vice versa. Similarly, accentedness is not the same as focus marking, especially considering the other syntactic and morphological means of marking focus explored in section 3.7. Taking advantage of these overlapping but non-identical definitions, Lambrecht (1994) posits a universal view of sentence accents, which he states as the following.

(47)

THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF SENTENCE ACCENTS: A sentence accent indicates an instruction from the speaker to the hearer to establish a pragmatic¹⁴ relation between a denotatum and a proposition.

(Lambrecht 1994: 325, ex. 5.81)

In other words, the main sentence accents highlight what is unpredictable propositional information in a clause that the speaker can then identify as the focus, which is always unpredictable, or as the topic, when the previous topic is not continued and/or there are several active topics to choose from.

Therefore in the first clause of the answer in (46) both *dog* and *parents* are accented. *Dog* is accented because the speaker could be talking about the dog or the cat, which were both represented in the previous discourse, and the speaker wants to make clear that the dog alone is depicted as the relevant topic of the clause. Meanwhile, *parents* receives an accent because it is part of the focus, i.e. the unpredictable comment on the topic, namely *I'll leave it with my parents*. Therefore Lambrecht's representations of the information structure in (46) and (44) are the following.

¹⁴ The term *information structural* might be more accurate since this accent indicates either topic or focus.

(48)

(5')

As for the dog, [I'll leave [it]_{Topic} with my parents]_{Focus}

and as for the cat, [it]_{Topic} [can stay outside.]_{Focus}

(3')

As for my sister, [she]_{Topic} [studies medicine]_{Focus}.

and as for my brother, [he]_{Topic} [is working on a freight ship]_{Focus}

As we can see in

(48) Lambrecht's characterization of information structure is able to account for "contrastive" structures without resorting to multiple instances of topic and focus. In this way, he clearly limits information structural labels to propositional content and allows prosodic marking to be taken care of by a general cognitive principle, i.e. accent any information structural marker, focus or topic, if it is unpredictable.

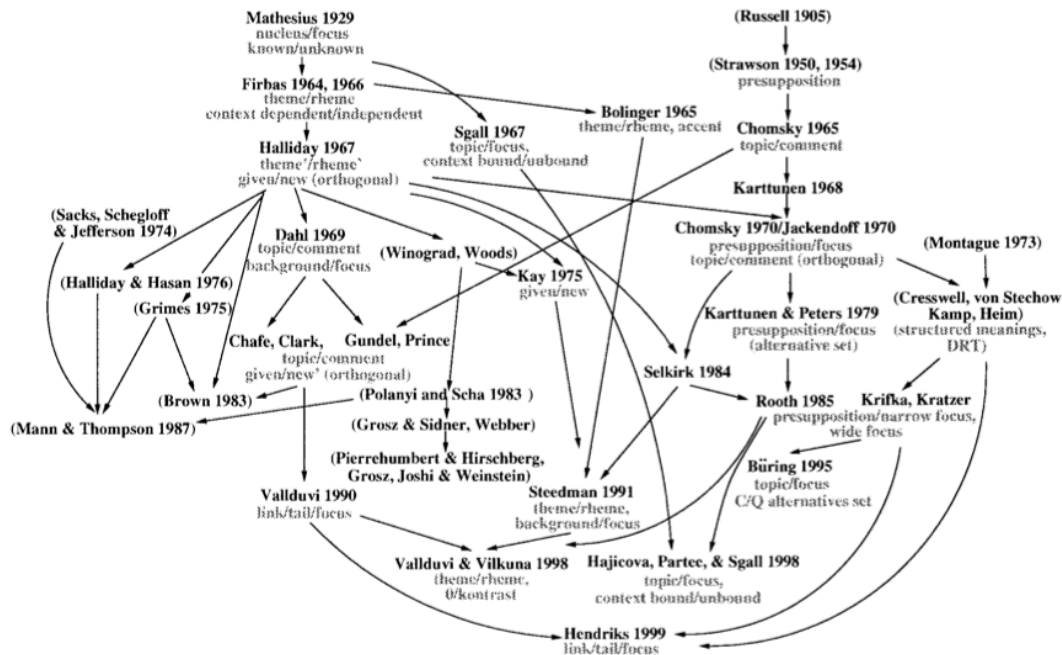
3.12.3 Summary of Other Notable Works on Information Structure

In this subsection I offered examples of alternative views on the main information structural terms, topic and focus, and reasons for using Lambrecht's (1994) definitions instead. In the case of topic, Erteschick-Shir (1997), like Lambrecht (1994), bases her definition on Strawson (1964). However, the two differ on the importance of the truth-value of a topic. I agreed with Lambrecht (1994) that determining the truth of a clause based on its topic is irrelevant since false claims and imaginary concepts can still be expressed as propositions represented by clausal utterances. Furthermore, aboutness topics appear only in clauses expressing topic-comment propositions. In the case of clauses representing focus-presupposition orthetic propositions, there is at most a so-called "stage topic", i.e. the speaker is generally referring to the current time and place. Thus, evaluating focus-presupposition andthetic propositions for their truth-value would involve using a different type of topic. It could be possible to overcome this discrepancy; however, this would be another theoretical hurdle to overcome for an already tenuous definition of topic.

In the case of focus, Krifka (2008) bases his definition of focus on Rooth (1985, 1992), which relies on the use of alternatives. However, as Lambrecht (1994)

points out, using alternatives to define focus is problematic for two reasons. First, an entity is either in focus, i.e. unpredictable, or not, but this entity could contrast more or less with more similar or less similar alternatives. Thus, focus, alternatives, and contrast do not always overlap. In fact, Lambrecht (1994) states that alternatives and the contrast they can create fall into general pragmatics while focus itself is a matter of information structure. Second, using the term focus to explain the contrastive effect produced by using alternatives results in mixing general cognitive concepts with information structural concepts. *Focus* and *topic* are best used in relation to the proposition structure underlying a clause, while *alternatives* and *contrastiveness* are best used with the cognitive principle of unpredictability in general.

As a final note, I also chose to use Lambrecht's (1994) conception of information structure in order to remain consistent with terminology in a field whose researchers use terms and definitions in a very heterogeneous way. This heterogeneity stems from the many different, parallel approaches to information structure developed sometime in isolation from one another. The following chart of information structural approaches from Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003 illustrates this diversity of approaches and their interaction with one another.



**Figure 3.2 Information structure terminologies and their dependencies
(Kruijff-Korbayová & Steedman 2003: 254)**

The works listed in Figure 3.5 and in the section above mostly represent work on defining information structure; however, the reader should also note that there are other important bodies of work on various aspects of information structure. One of the most important of these aspects is the precise interaction between prosody and information structure. A closer discussion of prosody fell outside of the bounds of this dissertation; however, several excellent works are available on this subject. Good starting points for information structure-prosody interaction in general include Ladd (1980) and Truckenbrodt (1995, 1999). For this relation in German, Féry (1993) is a seminal work.

3.13 Summary

In this chapter I have examined the most important features and terms of information structural analysis. In sections 3.1 to 3.4 I used information structure

instead of general pragmatics as a conceptual framework with which to view the idea of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. This decision was motivated by the fact that when dealing with discontinuous constructions we are not as interested in the relationship between context and interpretation – the realm of general pragmatics – as much as the relationship between context and form – the realm of information structure. We want to know what effect the speech situation has on syntax.

In sections 3.2 to 3.7 definitions for information structural terms were introduced in order to be able to describe discontinuous structures in information structural ways. These definitions were then applied in section 3.8 in order to illustrate that the form of some clauses can be similar, yet the function of their elements may be different. Such an observation will help us explain why some structures identified as discontinuous pronominal adverbs are in fact a combination of a scene-setting expression, i.e. an element expressing presupposed information unconnected to the pronominal adverb, and a pronominal adverb.

In section 3.9 I examined the activation level and form of topics and came to the conclusion that active, unaccented topic markers are the most preferable. This conclusion will be helpful in the next chapter when I discuss that the *da* or \emptyset elements present in discontinuous pronominal adverbs often represent active concepts and are often unaccented, thus making them very likely candidates for being topic markers in topic-comment clauses. In section 3.10 I explored the difference between doubled lexical markers, which indicate additional meaning for

sentence elements, i.e. subjects, objects, adverbials,¹⁵ and doubled functional markers, which indicate extra morphosyntactic or information structural meaning for a clause. I then posited that discontinuous pronominal adverbs can use a doubled functional marker, represented either by *da* or \emptyset to indicate the topic of a clause in topic-comment clauses.

Finally in section 3.11 I briefly explored the notion of discourse topic, which is produced in the pragmatic intersection between interpretation and context, i.e. what a unit of discourse is about given a particular situation. Furthermore, in a text there can be many discourse topics that fit inside one another and contain individual clause topics. This relationship is important for this study because reference can be made to discourse topics and a separate clause topic at the same time, which may lead to discontinuous-pronominal-adverb-like structure whose elements do not refer to the same topic and therefore are not truly discontinuous. The following chapter will contain a synthesis of the points made in this chapter about information structure with the points made about pronominal adverbs in the previous chapter, a synthesis that forms the basis for the empirical study in this work..

¹⁵ Semantic arguments here includes both ideas/entities that fulfill a thematic role (agent, experiencer, patient, etc.) as well as adverbials (e.g. time, place, manner, etc.).

Chapter 4 Synthesis and Hypotheses

Now that both the area of study, namely information structure, and the specific form of interest, continuous and discontinuous pronominal adverbs, have been described in the previous chapters, I will explore how these concepts relate. I will then take this synthesis of concepts and form hypotheses for what we might expect in the empirical data presented in the following chapters. The hypotheses will relate to the following questions. First, what is the relative frequency of discontinuous and continuous pronominal adverbs, or in other words, how often do we expect each of them to occur in immediate language discourse? Second, what is the relative frequency of discontinuous pronominal adverbs in each proposition type – are there some proposition types that are more conducive to creating discontinuous pronominal adverbs than others? Third, are there qualitative differences between the discontinuous pronominal adverbs of each type of proposition? However, before these questions can be answered we need to look at the synthesis of ideas from chapters 2 and 3 presented in the next section.

4.1 Synthesis

In the last two chapters there have been hints of overlap between the study of pronominal adverbs and the study of information structure. The first section of this chapter will be devoted to fleshing out these hints of overlap in order to prepare for the creation of hypotheses about pronominal adverbs based on information structural principles.

The first area of overlap I will address deals with the initial, unstressed pronominal elements *da* and \emptyset in discontinuous pronominal adverbs. I will inspect

several examples of clauses in which these elements do not perform the same function. I will come to the conclusion that the initial element of a discontinuous pronominal adverb can indicate a clausal topic or a scene-setting element or a combination of the two. In any case, if the initial element indicates clausal topic then the discontinuous pronominal adverbs will be truly discontinuous. If, however, the initial element is a scene-setting expression and a scene-setting expression alone, then an apparent discontinuity will occur where the individual elements do not indicate the same referent.

Second, I will argue that the initial element of a truly discontinuous pronominal adverb can be either an overt *da* or a phonologically null element that can be perceived in German as an empty preverbal slot. This phonologically null element is perceptible due to the verb second nature of German independent clauses, i.e. if nothing appears before a verb in an independent clause then there must be a soundless placeholder there. In any case, whether overt or covert, this first element can perform the function of marking the clause topic.

Third, I will take a side step to explain how the language typology of German fosters discontinuous constructions. Throughout its history German has incorporated several types of discontinuous constructions, so much so that researchers like Ronneberger-Sibold (1991, 1993, 2010) have claimed that the German language typology can now be characterized by this phenomenon. Thus, despite the various regional forms of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, e.g. split vs. distance doubling, all of these forms have in fact the same underlying structure. Furthermore, the various regional forms may be coalescing around a hybrid of

northern structures and southern structures so that eventually all discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German may have identical external form.

Fourth, prototypically discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German are portrayed as having a topic marker in the prefield of the clause even though this does not have to be the case. For example, *Da weiß ich nichts von*. ('I don't know anything about that') can also be expressed as *Ich weiß da nichts von*. I will turn to Lambrecht's description of an information structural principle, namely the Principle of Separation of Role and Reference, to explain why these multiple forms can exist.

Fifth, I would like to recognize that there are levels of topic or aboutness beyond those of the clause that need to be distinguished from clause-level topic in order to analyze discontinuous pronominal adverbs well. What an individual clause is about may differ slightly from what its matrix sentence is about and what this matrix sentence is about may differ slightly from what the paragraph is about and so on up to the level of the entire text. Therefore, it will be crucial for identifying truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs to differentiate a pro-form, i.e. the initial *da* or \emptyset , that refers to a referent that the clause is about versus a referent that portrays a more global topic to which the second element of the discontinuous pronominal adverb does not directly refer.

4.1.1 *da* in Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs as a Functional Marker

In the previous chapter I indicated that only topic-comment clauses have an element that can represent what is referred to in this study as a topic. Therefore in clauses such as the following constructed examples, only the first clause's *da* represents a topic.

(49)

Topic-Comment:

[Ünterstützt du das neue Gesetz?] Da habe ich kein PROBLEM mit.
 support you the new law there have I not-a problem with
 ['Do you support the law?'] 'I don't have a problem with it.'

Presupposition: *Da* 'the new law' is a topic for comment X.
 Assertion: As for the new law, X = I don't have any problem with it.
 Focus: The speaker doesn't have any problem
 Focus Domain: TP

Focus-Presupposition:

[Wer hat bei Monopoly gewonnen?] Da hat meine SCHWESTER gesiegt.
 who has at Monopoly won there has my sister won
 ['Who won at Monopoly?'] 'My sister was victorious.'

Presupposition: X was victorious in the game of Monopoly.
 Assertion: (X = The speaker's sister) was victorious in the game of Monopoly.
 Focus: The speaker's sister
 Focus Domain: DP

Thetic:

[Opa, erzähl mir, wie du Oma kennengelernt hast!] Da war es WINTER. ...
 grandpa tell to-me how you grandma got-to-know has there was it winter
 ['Grandpa, tell me how you met grandma!] At that time it was winter. ...

Presupposition: —
 Assertion: At that time it was winter.
 Focus: At that time it was winter.
 Focus Domain: CP

In the topic-comment example *da* indeed represents the topic of the clause, i.e. the new law, to which the speaker adds the comment that she has nothing against it.

In the focus-presupposition clause the *da* cannot represent a topic; however, it does represent presuppositional information just like the *da* of the topic-comment clause. This presuppositional element helps represent the presupposed open proposition that the focus element is being inserted into. Similarly, the *da* in the thetic clause helps set up the story, i.e. it will relate to the grandchild's desire to hear

about her grandparents meeting, without being directly commented on. Such elements are sometimes called “scene-setting topics/expressions” (Reinhart 1981: 75, Lambrecht 1994: 125). In order to disambiguate the topics of topic-comment clauses from scene-setting devices I will use Reinhart’s term “scene-setting expression.” This differentiation is especially important because scene-setting expressions can also appear in topic-comment propositions alongside of the actual topic to be commented on. The following example, based loosely on Lambrecht’s (1994: 121) example 4.2, illustrates this combination of topic and scene-setting expression.

(50)

(John war gestern sehr beschäftigt.) ‘John was very busy yesterday’

Da musste er vier Berichte schreiben. ‘He had to write four reports (then)’

Presupposition:	<i>er</i> ‘he/John’ is a topic for comment X.
Assertion:	As for John, X = he had to write four reports yesterday.
Focus:	had to write four reports yesterday
Focus Domain:	TP

In the example above the scene-setting element *da* refers back to the previous day; however, the topic of the sentence is actually *er*, referring to John. We will see in chapter seven how a scene-setting *da* can appear in the prefield of a clause with a continuous pronominal adverb to produce the effect of a distance doubling or splitting. Therefore, I will be careful to examine *da*’s for their function as scene-setting expressions in order to separate actual discontinuous pronominal adverbs from apparent discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

4.1.2 Null Element as a Functional Marker

In this section I will explore what may be considered a typical spoken-like / immediate language construction, namely a clause containing a subject and a pronominal adverb but no constituent in the prefield. The following example, from pilot data for this dissertation¹⁶, represents just such a clause.

(51)

I: können sie sich denn noch daran erinnern, ob sie schwierigkeiten gehabt haben beim erlernen des schriftdeutschen?

R3: nein, Ø kann ich mich nicht **dran** ERINNERN. also ich glaube NICHT.

'I: Can you remember, if you had difficulties in learning written German?

R3: No, I can't remember that. So...I don't think so.'

(R3_Interview 5:43, highlighting and accent added)

Presupposition:	Ø / <i>d'</i> 'that/ the speaker's difficulties in learning written German' is a topic for comment X.
Assertion:	As for the speaker's difficulties in learning written German, X = the speaker cannot remember them.
Focus:	"the speaker cannot remember"
Focus Domain:	TP

The topic of this clause, "the speaker's difficulties in learning written German", is identical to the referent of the *d'* in the pronominal adverb *dran*. This *d'* however may not be the element or at least not the main element that expresses the information structural topic of this clause. The motivation for this claim is the suspicious lack of an element in the prefield. The topological field model representation for this clause and a related clause from the same speaker in the same recording is the following.

¹⁶ The pilot data mentioned here comes from the *Regionalsprache.de* project from which the main data for this dissertation also come. A description of this data can be found in section 5.1 Data Source. The convention used for transcribing this data is to use all lower case letters and no punctuation except for brackets, "[]", to indicate where interlocutors speak at the same time, and parentheses, "()", to indicate uncertainty in transcription.

Pre-Prefield	Prefield	Left Bracket	Middle Field	Right Bracket	Postfield
Nein	∅	kann	ich mich nicht dran	erinnern	
'No I don't remember that'					
Nein	die	habe	ich in der Ausbildung	kennengelernt.	
'No, I met her during the training.'					

Figure 4. 1 Examples of Clause with Pronominal Adverb , Empty/Filled Prefield, and Subject

As these representations of the field model indicate, the words for *yes* and *no* in German are considered outside of the clause proper and appear in an interclausal field known as the pre-prefield. Therefore *nein* cannot be filling the prefield position. What about a dropped implied subject? Because of syncretisms in the verbal inflection paradigms, “pro-drop” in German sentences is almost always avoided in more written-like (distance-language) speech and only possible with certain pronouns in more spoken-like (immediate-language) speech. Moreover the subject pronoun *ich* actually appears in both of the clauses above. While German is not a pro-drop language it has been noted for featuring “pronoun zap” / “topic-drop” / “null-topic” (Ross 1982, Huang 1984, Fries 1988, Cardinaletti 1990 etc.). Although Ross and others do not necessarily share my adaptation of Lambrecht’s definition of *topic*, I believe that the first clause above is indeed an instance of what the others refer to as “topic-drop” / “null topic”.

The following factors indicate that this phonetically null marker in the prefield is indeed the dropped/null topic of the topic-comment clause at hand: 1. the speaker produces similar structures in which a *da* fills the prefield, 2. both phonologically null elements and unstressed pronouns like *da* appear on the spectrum for preferred topic markers.

The quick and intuitive way to illustrate that the phonologically null element in the prefield of the clause above is a topic marker is to compare it with a parallel clause from the same speaker in the same recording where a *da* appearing in the prefield acts as a topic marker.

(52)

I: und wie ist es mit den großeltern väterlicherseits gewesen haben sie auch regelmäßig mit denen zu tun gehabt

R3: die es die da habe ich auch zu tun gehabt **(3:12) ja aber da kann ich mich nicht dran erinnern** die sind (da) schon so früh gestorben

'I: And how was it with your grandparents on your father's side? Did you deal with them regularly? R3: They...it...I dealt with them. Yes, but I can't remember it ['what I did with them'] They died so early.'

(R3_Interview 3:12)

In this example, the same speaker in the same recording using the same subject and the same verbal phrase *sich erinnern + an*, 'to remember' expresses it once by a clause containing a prefield filled by a *da* and a simple pronominal adverb and a second time by a clause with an empty prefield and a simple pronominal adverb.

Here are the two clauses in a topological field model representation.

Pre-Prefield	Prefield	Left Bracket	Middle Field	Right Bracket	Postfield
ja aber	da	kann	ich nicht nicht dran	erinnern	
Nein	∅	kann	ich mich nicht dran	erinnern	

Figure 4. 2 Comparison of speaker R3's usage of pronominal adverbs.

The above representation indicates that these two clauses are identical in syntactic form except for the constituent filling the prefield. Not only are they nearly identical in syntactic form, they are also nearly identical in information structural form. The first clause, as schematically represented above, is a topic-comment clause whose

topic anaphorically refers to the referent of a constituent expressed previously in the text of the discourse. The second clause, which I will represent schematically below, is also a topic-comment clause whose topic anaphorically relates to the referent of a constituent expressed previously in the text of the discourse.

Sentence: ja aber da kann ich mich nicht dran erinnern

Presupposition: da/d' '(time spent with) the speaker's grandparents'
 Assertion: As for (time spent with) the speaker's grandparents, the speaker cannot remember it/them.
 Focus: *kann ich mich nicht dran erinnern*
 Focus Domain: TP

The above schematic representation confirms the information structural similarity of the two clauses. Thus, the last element to confirm is the identical functional nature of both a phonologically null constituent and an unstressed *da*.

What the most typical forms for topic, as well as foci, are is a well-studied matter in information structure. Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) took this previous research and combined Lambrecht's (1994) topic acceptability scale (i.e. active constituents are more likely to be topics / matters of current interest than inactive or unidentifiable constituents) with what the typical forms of each activation level are to produce "a scale of markedness relations between the form of a referring expression and its function as topic or focus" (205). This scale is reproduced below.

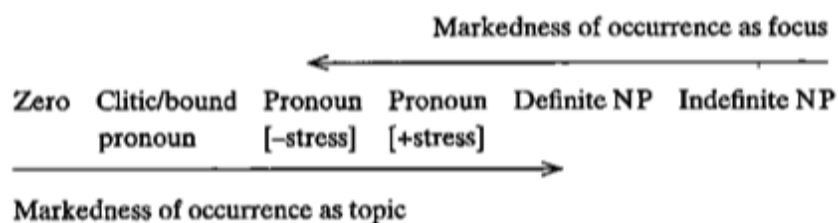


Figure 4.3 Coding of referents in terms of possible information structural functions (Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 205))

The term markedness as used in this scale means the level of information structural preference that each form has as a topic or focus: forms at the least marked end are information structurally very preferred, while forms near the most marked end, in the direction of the arrow, are information structurally dispreferred. In this figure then we can see that both zero coding, i.e. a phonologically null element, and an unstressed pronoun like *da* are the most preferred as representations of a clause's topic. Based on this analysis and the observation that the example clauses from this section are nearly identical both syntactically and information structurally, I will treat topic-comment clauses that contain subject expressions, empty prefields, and pronominal adverbs as identical to topic-comment clauses featuring discontinuous pronominal adverbs. In this way, the number of discontinuous pronominal adverbs to explore in the data will be increased beyond the obviously doubled/split pronominal adverbs that have been studied up to now.

4.1.3 Independence of Functional Markers and Grammatical Markers

Some discontinuous pronominal adverbs can feature not only a phonetically null functional topic marker but also, under certain conditions, a phonetically null grammatical marker. Let us consider the following example, also from the dissertation pilot data.

LERJUNG4: also ich kann ja wenn ich mich jetzt zum menschenrechte oder so was oder zu einer politischen situation oder so was äußern muss, dann kann ich das nicht auf platt. *LACHT* da bin ich halt wohl UNFÄHIG Ø-zu. das geht nicht, nee. (LERJUNG4_Interview 20:36)¹⁷

'LERJUNG4: So I really can('t)...when I have to talk about human rights or whatever or about a political situation...then I can't do that in Low German. *Laughs* I'm just probably incapable of it. That doesn't work...nope.'

Presupposition:	<i>da</i> 'speaking about political topics in Low German' is a topic for comment X
Assertion:	As for speaking about political topics in Low German, X = the speaker is probably just incapable of it.
Focus:	<i>bin ich halt wohl unfähig zu</i>
Focus domain:	TP

In the diagram above, based on the conclusions above about distance doubling from the previous section, I have posited that the *dazu* is not in fact split. Instead the initial *da*-element is a functional marker of the clausal topic and a null element is present where we expect the grammatical marker *da* in the pronominal adverb would stand.

4.1.4 Excursus: Typological Motivation for Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

Furthermore, I propose that there is a typological reason for the appearance of discontinuous constructions in German. As Trubetskoï (1939/1977) states, German belongs to the group of languages that favors clear structural boundaries (261). This preference for boundaries has been extended into larger theories of typology. Most notably Ronneberger-Sibold (1991, 1993, 2010, etc.) characterizes German as a "bracketing language." She asserts that German gradually incorporated more and more elements that signal the beginning and ending of linguistic units to the point that bracketing can be described as a guiding principle in the development

17

of German in many of its major linguistic areas. In addition to the syntactic delimiting influence of the left and right verbal brackets, brackets can be found in other areas. “In(morpho)phonology the well-known, so-called boundary signals of German, such as the glottal stop, final devoicing, and the like come to mind [...]. In morphology word forms of the type *Gebirge*, *Gekreische*, *gegeben*, whose derivational or inflectional elements enclose the word form like a bracket, stand out (Ronneberger-Sibold 1991: 233, my translation). For example, the glottal stop which precedes a vowel-initial syllable and the transition of final lenis sounds [b, d, g] to final fortis sounds [p, t, k] help define the edges of syllables or phonological words. In the latter case, the *Ge- -e* surrounding a noun or verb can mark that noun or verb as a collective, e.g. Berg ‘mountain’ + *Ge- -e* (+ sound changes) = *Gebirge* ‘a group of mountains’, while similar marking can mark a verbal element as a participle, e.g. geben ‘to give’ + *ge- -en* = *gegeben* ‘given’.

To stay with the first example, from phonetics/phonology, I would like to underscore the point that German sets boundaries even at the level of individual phonetic words by using glottal stops and final fortition to indicate these edges. The marking of phonetic words, i.e. those suprasegmental units that receive an accent, makes one recall the idea of isochrony, i.e. stress-timed versus syllable-timed languages, first formally set forth in the modern era by Pike (1945). The idea of stress-timed languages has been amended and extended in recent decades by those such as Auer (1993, 2001) so that they can now be characterized as “word

languages,” which optimize phonetic word boundaries over syllable boundaries¹⁸.

Optimizing phonetic word boundaries, so that the language is listener-friendly, means filling up slots in syllables so that word boundaries are easily recognizable.

For example, let us compare the words for *sock* in German, *Strumpf*, and Italian, *calzino*.¹⁹

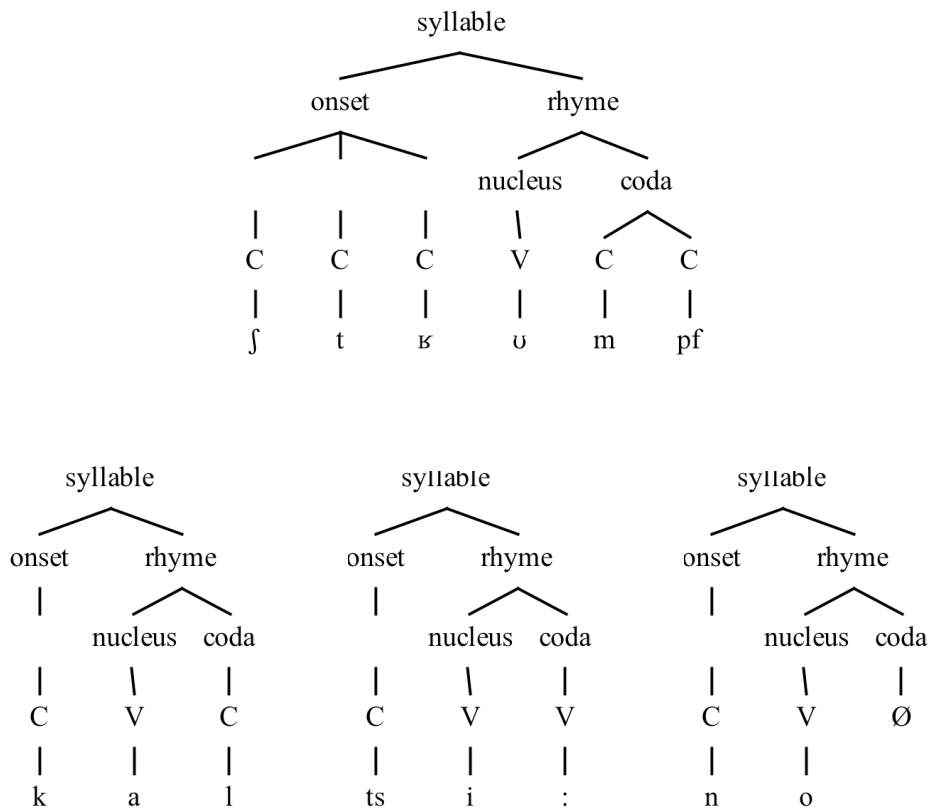


Figure 4. 4 Syllable structures for German *Strumpf* 'sock' and Italian *calzino* 'sock'

The phonetic word boundaries of German *Strumpf* are extremely clear in that it is a one-syllable word with all possible slots in the onset and coda filled. The possibility of this word bleeding into an adjacent word are extremely low, especially

¹⁸ “Word languages” stand at one end of the scale while “syllable languages,” which optimize syllable boundaries over phonetic word boundaries, stand at the other.

¹⁹ This example was brought to my attention by Renata Szczepaniak.

considering that *ft* is a disallowed final cluster and *mpf* is a disallowed initial cluster in German. Although *Strumpf* can build compound nouns, like *Strumpfhose* ‘panty hose’, it will not be misinterpreted in such combinations, e.g. **Stru.mpfhose* instead of *Strumpfhose*. On the other hand, the phonetic word boundaries of Italian *calzino* are much less clear. Here the phonetic word is multisyllabic and its second and third syllables end with vowels. Therefore, in combination with other words, misinterpretation could occur, e.g. *??calzinole²⁰ . donne* instead of *calzino . le . donne* ‘sock (n.) the women’. Thankfully, as this example indicates, discourse context almost always prevents these misinterpretations; however, the less clearly defined phonetic word boundaries of languages like Italian do place more burden on processing than the more clearly defined word boundaries of languages like German.

Returning to apparently split pronominal adverbs, we see a curious pattern in the types of pronominal adverbs that “split.” Northern German dialect descriptions include apparently split constructions involving pronominal adverbs whose prepositional elements begin with either a consonant, e.g. *da...bei*, *da...für*, *da...zu*, etc., or a vowel, e.g. *da...an*, *da...auf*, *da... über*, etc., (Fleischer 2002: 145-156). The same holds true for pronominal adverbs in Dutch, both standard and nonstandard, (cf. Donaldson 2008). In regiolectal northern German, however, split constructions involving pronominal adverbs with vowel-initial prepositions appear to be rare or marginal at best. For example, the maps below from Elspaß and

²⁰ *calzinole* is a nonsense word in Italian; however, it does follow the same phonotactic rules that allow words such as *debole* ‘weak’, *Ercole* ‘Hercules’, *regole* ‘rules’, etc.

Möller's *Atlas zur Deutschen Alltagssprache* indicate either no or very few judgments in favor of apparent splittings involving this type of pronominal adverb.

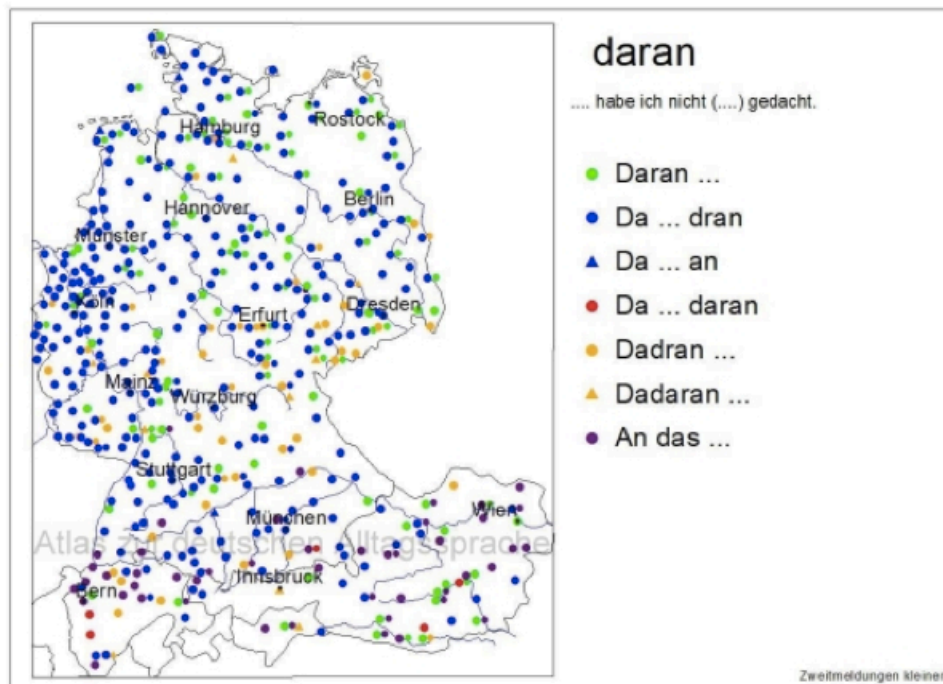
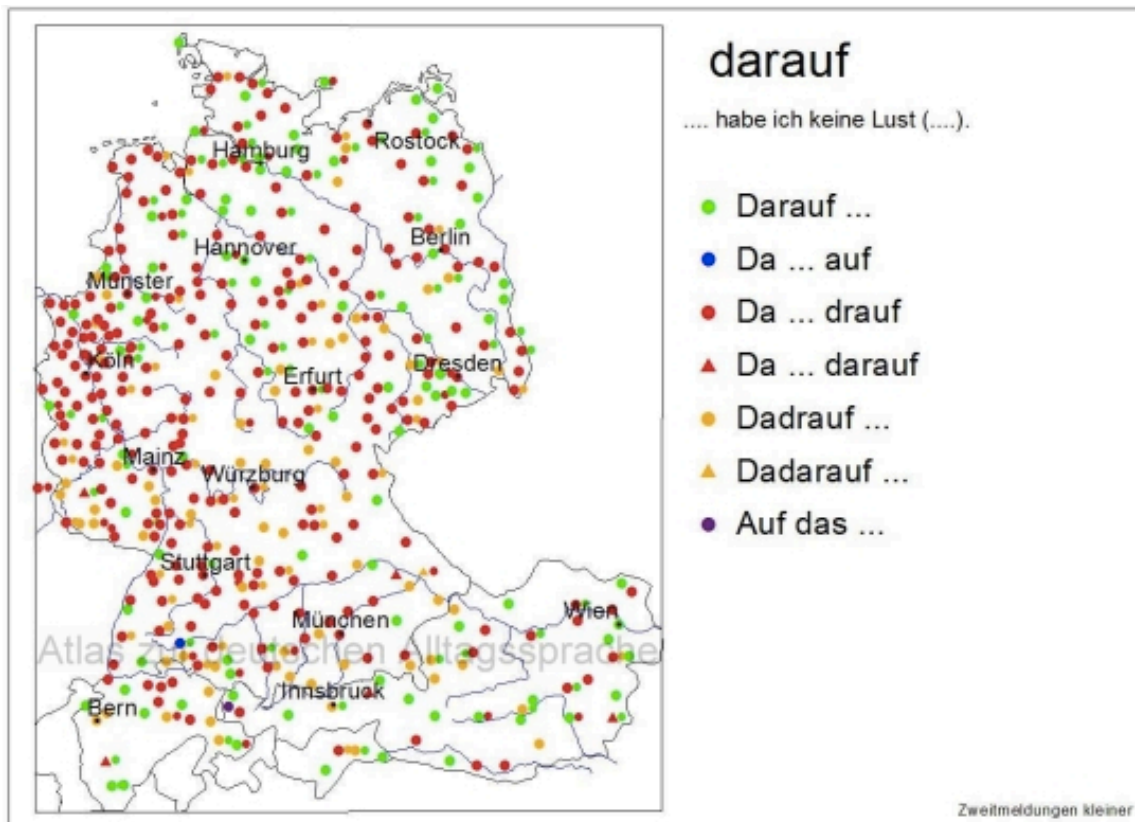
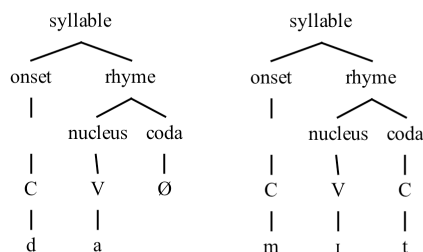


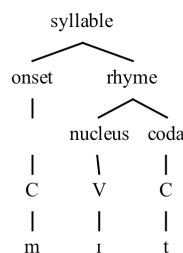
Figure 4. 5 Variants of *darauf* and *daran* in *darauf habe ich keine Lust* 'I don't have any desire to do that' and *daran habe ich nicht gedacht* 'I didn't think of that' (Elspaß & Möller)

I propose that one reason, and perhaps the main reason, for the lack of apparent splittings of pronominal adverbs with vowel-initial prepositional elements is due to the unclear boundaries produced by this construction. Whereas continuous pronominal adverbs and split pronominal adverbs with consonant-initial prepositional elements have clearly defined phonetic word boundaries, the left edge of a splitting involving a pronominal adverb with a vowel-initial prepositional element is unclear, and thus goes against standard and regiolectal German preference for bracketed constructions.

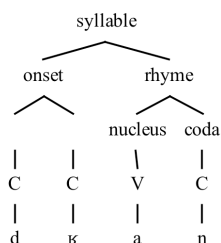
damit
CV.CVC



da...mit
CVC



da...dran
CCVC



BUT:
?da... an
ØVC

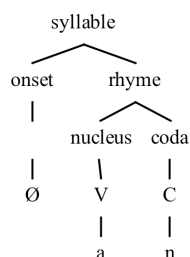


Figure 4. 6 Comparison of Standard and Split Pronominal Adverb Alternatives

The figure above illustrates the syllable / phonetic word structure of several types of pronominal adverbs. In the first case a pronominal adverb containing a consonant-initial prepositional element contains clear phonetic word boundaries with a consonant initial first syllable and a consonant initial and consonant final second syllable. Only the final vowel of the first syllable could cause this phonetic word to possibly be misinterpreted as a separate word or part of another word. In

the second and third cases presented in the figure above the one-syllable, consonant-initial and final phonetic words would never be misinterpreted. In contrast, in the fourth case a vowel-initial pronominal adverb without an initial *da* could easily be misinterpreted as the independent word *an* 'on' or a part of another word. I posit that German speakers avoid discontinuous pronominal adverbs with vowel-initial prepositional elements, like *an*, in favor of pronominal adverbs with an additional consonant, like *dran*, in order to avoid misinterpretation. For this reason, although one observes discontinuous pronominal adverbs like *da...ob* in Low German dialects, all German regiolects, including those in the north, use constructions like *da...dran*.

4.1.5 Variability in Functional Marker Placement

So far in this chapter we have examined discontinuous pronominal adverbs under the implicit assumption that they always consist of an unaccented pronominal serving as a functional presuppositional element in the prefield and a complex of grammatical marker and preposition in the middle field. However, both Fleischer (2002) and Negele (2012) indicate that another structural position for these elements is used. Negele (2012) states that in the token sentences from her data involving split pronominal adverbs a third of them were in the middle field (78), while from those involving distance doubling a pronominal adverb 25% of them were in the middle field. The following examples from the Pfeffer Corpus, and cited in Negele (2012: 79, 93), will give us a sense for these kinds of tokens.

Und denn haben wir wohl an die zweihundertfuffzig oder dreihundert Kieze in der Mark Brandenburg. Doktor Schall hatte sich **da** sehr **für** interessiert und hatte auch ein mitteldeutsches Vorkommen herangezogen, wo ich etwas Schuld dran war. [Pf 328, Ond, 1961]²¹

Schwesterchen probiert das denn auf Vatis Schoß aus. Da ist es denn sicherer. Mutti ist **da** auch nicht mehr so ganz **dafür**, weil das viel zu schnell und hastig um die Kurven rum geht. [Pf 292, Wnd., 1961]²²

In both of these cases, when the *da*-element of the discontinuous pronominal adverb does not occur in the prefield, it occurs at the beginning of middle field, also known as the Wackernagel Position in German. Indeed this pattern held true for Negele's data with the exception of cases in which not only the prefield was filled but all the Wackernagel Position, in which case the *da*-element was simply the next possible element (Negele 2012: 79, 93). We can further analyze the first token above from an information structural viewpoint by representing it schematically

Doktor Schall hatte sich da sehr für interessiert.

Presupposition:	da ,the 250-300 ,neighborhoods' in March Brandenburg' is a topic for comment X"
Assertion:	As for the 250-300 neighborhoods in March Brandenburg, X = Doctor Schall was very interested in them.
Focus:	Doctor Schall was interested.
Focus domain:	TP

²¹ And then we probably have around 250 to 300 Kieze [small groups of houses originally belonging to fishermen] in the District of Brandenburg. Doctor Schall was very interested in them and picked up on a central German occurrence, which I'm guilty of (pointing out to him).

²² 'Little sister tries that [the carnival slide] then on daddy's lap. It's safer that way. Mom is not so much for it anymore because it goes much to fast and hurriedly around the curves.' I believe this discontinuous pronominal adverb is the combination of a scene-setting expression *da* and a simple pronominal adverb *dafür*. Nevertheless it does help illustrate where the topic-marking *da* of a distance doubling pronominal adverb would be located.

This example is an especially good illustration of the difference between functional and grammatical markers. Grammatically, this clause is complete without the initial *da*: *Doktor Schall hatte sich sehr (da)für interessiert*. However, in the context of discourse, the topic marker appears in order to give a role to the preceding material to which the clause is referring, i.e. the 250-300 neighborhoods in March Brandenburg.

The presence of a topic marker in this example, despite its “unusual” location in the middle field, follows from Lambrecht’s (1994) Principle of the Separation of Reference and Role and/or the different characteristics of the prefield and middle field positions. According to Lambrecht,

Once a topic referent is pragmatically established, i.e. once the function of the topic expression is no longer to announce the topic referent but to mark its role as an argument in a proposition, there is no longer any functional reason for the topic to appear at the beginning of the sentence” (1994: 201).

In other words, if the reference of a clause’s topic is clear from the preceding material, as it is in the example above, the topic can simply be marked with an unaccented pronominal like *da* that can then be incorporated into a proposition.

Nevertheless, the topic is not completely free in terms of its location. Lambrecht goes on to explain that,

“For the preferred-topic expression it is functionally speaking more important to be in close association with the predicate than to appear in sentence-initial position, since it is the predicate that governs the semantic and syntactic relations in the clause. Unaccented pronominal topics therefore tend to occur in or near the position in which the verb itself occurs, i.e. towards the beginning of the sentence in verb-initial or verb-second languages and towards the end in verb final languages” (Lambrecht 1994: 201)

We thus expect that in a language like German the topic marker will appear in independent clauses either before or after the verb in second position. Indeed this is the case in the clause above – the *da* appears as expected in the Wackernagel Position immediately after the conjugated verb.

We should also note that the only unaccented pronominal topic marker possible in the middle field is an unaccented pronoun like *da*. Since the middle field of a clause can potentially have an unlimited number of constituents or no constituents, it would be impossible to sense the presence of phonetically null topic markers as we do when this marker inhabits the prefield. As an example of this, let us consider two of the previous example clauses as they fit into the topological field model.

Prefield	Left Bracket	Middle Field	Right Bracket	Postfield
Doktor Schall	hatte	sich da sehr Ø-für	interessiert.	.
Mutti	ist	da auch nicht mehr so ganz dafür		

Figure 4. 7 Topological model of discontinuous pronominal adverbs with *da* in middle field

In these examples we see that the *da* occurs in two different places: just after the Wackernagel Position at the beginning of the middle field and in the Wackernagel Position. There is no set position for the topic in the middle field and therefore no position it can leave unfilled so as to create a “topic drop”/ “null topic” there.

I would like to quickly address the proposal by Frey (2004) that there may be a set topic position in the middle field. He argues that the topic of a clause, when not moved to the prefield / specCP position, is placed just before / above the position where sentential adverbs (SADVs) are generated in the middle field (Frey 2004: 5). Represented in a tree structure, in which TP has been separated into two functional

phrases TP (tense phrase) and FP (functional phrase), the proposal looks roughly like the figure below.

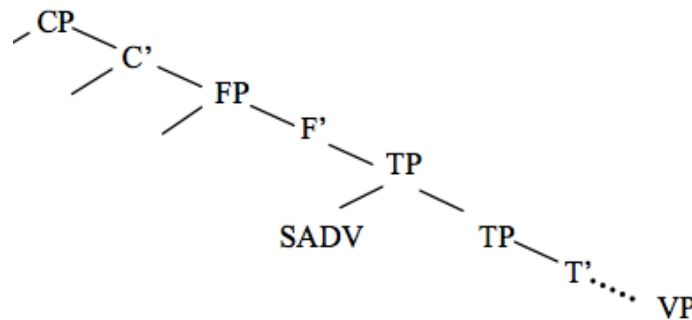


Figure 4. 8 Proposed Set Position of SADV and topic (in specFP) (Frey 2004: 35)

In this figure the set topic position would then be specFP. Such a position makes sense since both the topic and the SADV c-command the rest of the clause. Therefore the topic has scope over all of the clause, including the SADV, which fits with the idea that the topic is what the clause is all about. To make this concept more concrete, let us examine an example sentence that Frey (2004: 6) uses to make his claim.

Ich erzähle dir etwas über Maria.

I tell you something about M.

a. Nächstes Jahr wird Maria wahrscheinlich nach London gehen

next year will Mary probably to London go

‘Next year Mary will probably go to London’

b. #Nächstes Jahr wird wahrscheinlich Maria nach London gehen

The two possible continuation clauses indicate that the topic *Maria* has to go before the SADV *wahrscheinlich*, otherwise the SADV is read as a typical adverb that has scope only over *Maria*, i.e. Probably *Maria* (as opposed to someone else or no one) will go to London next year. Several other examples in Frey (2004) further strengthen this argument. However, even if one were to work out the logistics of how and why FP and TP should be separate functional phrases, a listener will not be

able to detect the presence of a phonetically null element in specFP they way she can detect the presence of a phonetically null element in specCP / prefield. This point can be made clear by comparing it to a parallel situation in the middle field where clauses have an equal number of arguments but the arguments appear in different positions.²³

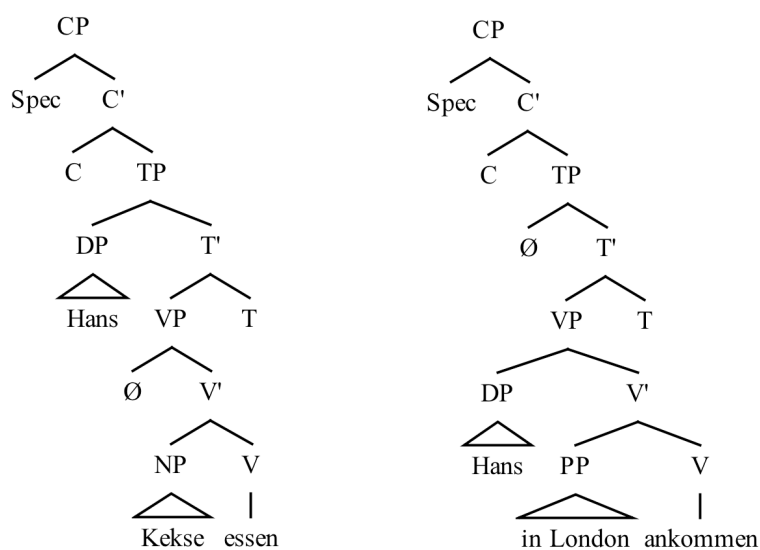


Figure 4.9 Deep Structures of Clauses with Agentive vs. Ergative Subjects

In the trees above we see that, although *Hans* is the subject of both clauses, in the first case the agentive *Hans* is base generated in specTP and the ergative *Hans* is base generated in specVP (Louden 2012). Let us now observe what happens when the structures are converted to surface form.

²³ 'Hans eats cookies.' 'Hans arrives in London'

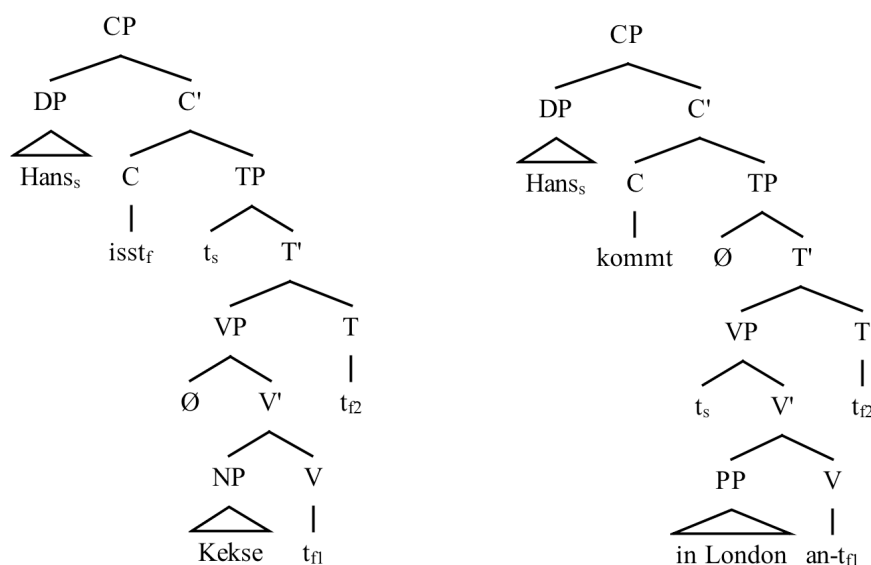


Figure 4. 10 Surface Structures of Clauses with Agentive vs. Ergative Subjects

The structures above when spoken or written, and therefore reduced to a linear form, appear to be almost exactly the same. Even if they are placed in the topological field model, there is no evidence of any difference in the middle field.

Prefield	Left Bracket	Middle Field	Right Bracket	Postfield
Hans	isst	Kekse		.
Hans	kommt	in London	an ²⁴	

Figure 4. 11 Clauses with Agentive vs. Ergative Subjects in Topological Field Model

In both clauses just one constituent appears in the middle field. However, in opposition to cases where the specCP/prefield is empty, e.g. *Weiß ich nichts von*, there is no sense of either the specVP in the first clause or the specTP in the second clause being empty in the middle field. For this reason, if speakers functionally mark topics in their clauses, they only have the option of using phonetically present

²⁴ Hans comes in London VerbParticle-on 'Hans arrives in London'

elements, which, as was argued above, are preferably unaccented pronominals like *da*.

Whereas the functional topic marker can appear in either the prefield or at the beginning of the middle field, and whereas the prefield can be filled with phonetically null topic marker, the question arises as to when the a topic marker is most suitable in the prefield position and when it is most suitable in the middle field position. This discussion will be taken up in the next section.

4.1.6 Change in Discourse Topic – Change in Functional Marker Position?

For the investigation of when a topic marker inhabits the prefield and when it may be placed elsewhere, I will suggest in this section that discourse topics, at the border between information structure and pragmatics, will help us. As we saw in the previous section, from a pure information structure standpoint, a topic marker's position is almost irrelevant as long as it is signaling that its referent is a topic. However, as the prefield is such a useful location for referencing previously discussed referents, it seems mysterious why the topic marker would ever relinquish this position, especially in German, which allows for subjects and other elements to appear post verbally. Therefore an explanation of this phenomenon would do well to contain an aspect of information structure. Discourse topics, as they were defined in chapter three, hold just such a position: they interact with individual clause topics but mostly respond to the needs of the wider text. To investigate what discourse topic might have to do with placement of functional topic markers, let us consider the following example from the pilot data for this dissertation.

I: wenn die platt sprechen klingt deren sprache so wie die der ältesten ja vielleicht bauern oder handwerker

LERJUNG4: ja ja also ICH sehe **da** keinen UNTERSCHIED **zwischen**²⁵

Preupposition:	da 'parents' Low German and oldest manual laborers' Low German' is a topic for comment X
Assertion:	As for the Low German of the speakers' parents and the oldest manual laborers, X = the speaker sees no difference between them
Focus:	the speaker sees no difference
Focus Domain:	TP

In this example, the discourse topic that the interviewer sets using a question is “the similarity between the Low German of the speaker’s parents and the oldest manual laborers.” Although the clause topic of the speaker’s response matches the original discourse topic, the speaker’s answer is actually more suitable for the discourse topic “the speaker’s opinion of the similarity between the Low German of the groups in question.” For this reason, I posit that the speaker uses an accented *ich* to reactivate himself as a referent and then places this at the beginning of the clause to indicate that his answer entails more than just a simple comment on the question’s topic. Such an analysis remains somewhat tenuous based on one piece of data; however, additional data from later in this study and in future work may uphold this or a similar analysis.

4.2 Hypotheses

Now that the area of discontinuous pronominal adverbs has been combined with information structural analysis, I will set forth several hypotheses for the patterns and results that I expect to see in the data for this study.

²⁵ I: Whenever they speak Low German, does their language sound like of the oldest...uh...perhaps farmers or craftsmen? LERJUNG4: Yes, that is... [them] I don’t see any difference between them.

4.2.1 Frequency of Continuous vs. Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

The first and simplest hypothesis is that continuous pronominal adverbs will be more common than discontinuous pronominal adverbs. Although I have spent a great amount of effort exploring the existence of functional markers, these markers do not appear with every use of pronominal adverbs; therefore, there must be specific functional reason why these markers appear.

4.2.2 Absence of Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs in Thetic Propositions

The second hypothesis is that clauses containing discontinuous or continuous pronominal adverbs are very unlikely to be thetic clauses. Thetic clauses, as defined here, have no special presupposition, i.e. anything they refer back to would at most be presuppositional/scene-setting expressions rather than the clause topic. They are also used communicatively to report events and present ideas outside of the common ground; thus, their main referents will tend not only to be inactive but also quite often unidentifiable. Therefore, referencing something that is already in the common ground by using a pronominal adverb seems unlikely.

4.2.3 Frequency of Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs among Propositions

The third hypothesis is that topic-comment clauses will be more common than focus-presupposition clauses. As noted in chapter three, the time necessary to introduce or identify an entity or event is minimal, while the time one can spend expanding on that topic can be quite long. Furthermore, topic-comment clauses are so archetypal that when Chafe (1976) describes them he says “it is likely that one of the main ways in which new knowledge is communicated—perhaps even the only way—is by identifying some particular as a starting point and adding to the

addressee's knowledge about it" (43-44). This quote suggests that topic-comment clauses are so common that focus-presupposition andthetic clauses may not even be recognized at first as ways of communicating information. Therefore I predict that the majority of clauses containing pronominal adverbs, not to mention any other clause, will be topic-comment clauses rather than focus-presupposition clauses orthetic clauses.

4.2.4 Qualitative Difference Between Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

The fourth hypothesis is that either topic-comment clauses only will be able to feature discontinuous pronominal adverbs while focus-presupposition clauses will not or there will be a qualitative difference in these propositions' use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. Topics, as defined here, are only found in topic-comment clauses and not in focus-presupposition clauses; therefore a topic marker can not appear in a focus-presupposition clause. This leads to only simple pronominal adverbs in focus-presupposition clauses. However, it may be possible for focus-presupposition clauses to employ scene-setting elements that may appear alongside simple pronominal adverbs. In this case the scene-setting element will share the presuppositional feature with topic markers; however, the scene-setting elements' referents will not necessarily match the pronominal adverb's referent. For this reason only topic-comment clauses should be truly discontinuous, because both of their elements will refer to the same referent, while focus-presupposition clauses will only be apparently discontinuous, since one of their elements will indicate a scene-setting element and the other element will indicate a separate referent.

4.3 Summary

In this chapter I explored several ways that information structure can be used to give insight and make predictions about the appearance of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. In section 4.1 I argued that *da* can act not only as a lexical presuppositional element, i.e. meaning *dort* ‘there’ or *insofern* ‘in this respect’ to refer to a shared idea in the common ground, but also as a functional presuppositional element. The function proposed for *da* was as a topic marker for clauses expressing topic-comment propositions, that is to help the speaker and listener indicate and identify what is being talked about. I then contrasted this functional use of *da* with its lexical use in focus-presupposition,thetic, and even topic-comment clauses where the topic was not indicated by a different element.

In subsection 4.1.2 I looked at evidence from phrases with empty prefields to set forth the idea that phonetically null elements, so-called “dropped” or “zapped” topics, were functionally equal to topic marking *da*-elements. The possibility of “dropping” the topic so that a phonetically null element stands in its place indicates that discontinuous pronominal adverbs may not be syntactically discontinuous, but rather only semantically discontinuous. In other words the *da* or \emptyset are topic markers that exist apart from pronominal adverbs; however, when their semantic content overlaps with that of the pronominal adverb and when that semantic content is the topic, then an apparently discontinuous syntactic structure appears – yet it is not the syntax that is discontinuous but rather the multiple marking of semantic content. This explanation helps resolve the issue of why speakers can use

both continuous pronominal adverbs and discontinuous “doubling” of pronominal adverbs in the same text.

In subsection 4.1.3 I set forth the view that just as a topic-marking *da* near the beginning of a clause could be expressed with phonetically null element in cases where it was in a high activation state, so too could a *da*- in a pronominal adverb be expressed as a phonetically null element under certain conditions, resulting in either a “split” pronominal adverb or a “lone preposition”. The certain conditions here, however, do not have to do with activation level but rather with the preferred form of phonetic words in German. In the related excursus to this subsection I outlined the idea of German as a bracketing language and word language that tends to optimize structures so that they have clear beginning and ending signals. The marking of these boundaries allows for both distance “doubling” and distance “splitting” with consonant-initial pronominal adverbs, e.g. ***Da weiß ich nichts Ø-von.*** ; ***Da weiß ich nichts davon.*** Here, both the pronominal adverbs (***von*** and ***davon***) and the clauses as a whole (***Da...von*** ; ***Da...davon***) have excellent boundary signals. There is however a difference in how mainly Northern speakers “drop” the *da* marking the object of the preposition, perhaps as a response to the semantic overlap with the initial topic-marking element. With vowel-initial pronominal adverbs, on the other hand, the marking of boundaries in German seems to require the maintenance of the object-marking element in the pronominal adverb. Both northern and southern speakers appear to use distance “doubling” exclusively (*Da denke ich nicht dran.* vs. **Da denke ich nicht an*).

In subsection 4.1.4 I outlined the reason given by Lambrecht (1994) for why a topic marker, like *da* or \emptyset in discontinuous pronominal adverbs, does not need to appear at the very beginning of a clause. This reason, termed the Principle of Role and Reference, is that identity of a topic is ideally announced first and then expounded upon; therefore, once the topic is announced, there is no need to place it first in the clause expounding on the topic. The result of this principle is that discontinuous pronominal adverbs may have multiple forms, e.g. *Da weiß ich nicht davon.* or *Ich weiß da nichts von.* Furthermore, the form with the topic marker appearing in the middle field, e.g. *Ich weiß da nichts von,* will not have a null topic marker as there is no special section of the middle field for it where its absence would be noticed, e.g. *??Ich weiß \emptyset nichts von.* Therefore, it appears that phonetically null topic markers can only appear in the prefield.

In subsection 4.1.5 I took up the question of the motivation for having multiple forms for discontinuous pronominal adverbs, i.e. why does the topic marker appear sometimes in the prefield and sometime in the middle field? Based off consideration of a suitable piece of pilot data and the idea of discourse topic, it appear that speakers can emphasize changes to the discourse topic using the prefield section of a clause while the clause topic remains the same.

In section 4.2, I took the considerations about discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structure from above and formulated several hypotheses about what I expected to find in empirical data. First, I hypothesized that continuous pronominal adverbs will be more common than discontinuous pronominal adverbs due to the fact that discontinuous pronominal adverbs appear to be formed by an

epiphenomenon of a topic marking pronoun appearing at the same time as pronominal adverb that refers to the same referent as the topic marking pronoun. Since these two factors do not always align, continuous pronominal adverbs are likely to be more often observed. Second, I hypothesized thatthetic clauses are unlikely to contain discontinuous pronominal adverbs as these clauses do not have an aboutness topic as defined in chapter three; thus, an aboutness topic marking *da* or null is unavailable to create a discontinuous pronominal adverb. Third, topic-comment clauses should be more common than focus-presupposition clauses since more time is spent predicating things of an entity than introducing that entity into the discourse. Foruth, discontinuous pronominal adverbs should either be only topic-comment clauses, the only type of clause that has an aboutness topic. If a focus-presupposition clause has a discontinuous pronominal adverb-like structure it should differ from topic-comment clauses with discontinuous pronominal adverbs in that the *da* or null pronoun should be a scene setting expression rather than an aboutness topic marker. In the following chapter I will present the data and methods I used to test the hypotheses.

Chapter 5 Method

In the previous chapters I described discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structural concepts as well as hypothesized what effect information structure has on the use of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. This line of thought has resulted in the idea that truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs are made up of an initial functional clause topic-marking element and a final grammatical prepositional object-marking element both of which point to the same referent. Truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs appear in immediate-language contexts, in which speech is planned and produced simultaneously thus increasing the need to make sure that both speaker and listener are clear on what is being referred to, i.e. there is a higher need for coherence than cohesion. Furthermore, I have argued that truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs appear in clauses expressing topic-comment propositions since only topic-comment propositions have an aboutness topic.

Thus, in this chapter I will detail my process for finding contexts that demonstrate truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs and how I differentiated truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs from apparently discontinuous structures. First, I will describe my choice of data source and why it provides solid immediate language discourse. Second, I will describe the practical matters of how I documented instances of pronominal adverb usage in my data source. As a part of this documentation I wanted to record the type of proposition underlying the clause of interest. Therefore, I needed a system to determine propositions type. The system I used involves recording prosodic prominence, focus domain and/or

communicative purpose. The description of this system will appear at the end of this chapter.

5.1 Data Source

With recent advancements in the digitization of audio and its availability via the Internet, more data sources for spoken language research are available now than ever before. Therefore, rather than expending time and resources on collecting another set of samples, I chose from several preexisting sources according to criteria necessary for this study.

5.1.1 Parameters / Criteria

The most basic criteria I had in mind when choosing between data sources was finding a source that typified the spoken-like, everyday, spontaneous, natural speech described by Koch & Oesterreicher's "immediate language" and/or Ágel & Hennig's "aggregative language", described in Chapter 1.

The language used in the data set should also reflect regiolectal language uses. I looked for a data source that contains regiolectal-like language in which no one speaks completely in dialect and no one speaks using pre-rehearsed standard language.

On a very practical level, I also searched for a data source that would provide a large number of pronominal adverb tokens. Although pronominal adverbs have the potential to appear in any speech register and text type in German, some texts lend themselves better to their use. For example a very standard weather report is unlikely to contain many or any pronominal adverbs due to its formulaic nature and condensed format. On the other hand a spoken narrative will tend to contain more

explanations, asides, etc. that will probably include some or many pronominal adverbs.

Also of importance was the criterion that the data source should be as contemporary as possible. The motivation behind this criterion was to help make this study relevant and relatable to the current situation in German language usage. Older data could have been used effectively; however, my interest is contemporary language.

Another criterion dedicated to making this study relevant to contemporary language usage was the attempt to find a data source that covered a very large geographic area. In this way, the analysis and conclusions made in this study represent real trends for German language at large and not just for German in a particular geographic area.

Last but not least was the criterion to have a data source containing high quality audio recordings. First, as I noted in chapter three, information structure in German can be conveyed not only through syntax but also through prosody. Therefore I needed a data source that would allow me to find the main sentence stress in individual clauses as the speaker intended them, rather than how I interpret them, for example, in a written document. Finally, I searched for a data source with excellent audio quality so that identity of individual words, e.g. *da* vs. *dann*, and therefore the analysis of clause meaning would be as accurate as possible.

5.1.1 Possible Data Sources

Currently, the most expansive and conveniently accessible source of audio data for the type of research needed for this study are the corpora available in the

Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch (DGD, 'Database for Spoken German') (dgd.ids-mannheim.de) hosted and curated by the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* in Mannheim (IDS, 'Institute for German Language').

These corpora, however, have certain drawbacks that made them less than ideal for use in this study. The EK corpus, Elicited Arguments between Mothers and Adolescent Daughters (*Elizitierte Konfliktgespräche zwischen Müttern und jugendlichen Töchtern* EK), which I used in a previous study, had the major drawback of extremely poor audio quality. Although this audio was transcribed completely, some of the audio was so unclear that many words were indecipherable and finding the placement of sentence accent was sometimes quite difficult. The Pfeffer corpus, which appears as one of the corpora featured in Negele's (2012) dissertation on pronominal adverbs is somewhat dated, based on recordings done in 1961 (*Deutsche Umgangssprachen: Pfeffer-Korpus* (PF ; III)). More troubling, however, is that the Pfeffer recordings do not necessarily reflect spontaneous, natural spoken language. In a notation of potential limitation in using this corpus, Negele (2012) notes, "If you look closer at the beginnings of the interview, you get to some extent the impression that the person being interviewed may have already thoroughly prepared for this conversation, which is why some interviews appear more like specialized presentations on a certain topic rather than being reminiscent of a spontaneous conversation" (Negele 2012: 49, my translation).

Given the limitations of the DGD corpora, I decided to search for another source of recordings that would better meet my research criteria. After personal correspondence with the staff of the *Forschungszentrum Deutscher Sprachatlas*

(DSA, 'German Language Atlas') at the *Philipps Universität Marburg*, I made arrangements for a research visit to Marburg. After consultation with Jürg Fleischer, author of the 2002 work on pronominal adverbs in the German dialects, and Roland Kehrein, co-director of the *regionalsprache.de* (REDE) project, I made the decision to work with the interview recordings made for REDE.

The REDE project has two main goals: 1) to create an online²⁶ informational system to study regional language and 2) to collect and add current empirical data to this system along with pre-existing regional language data (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 375). The new REDE data are sourced from several generations of speakers throughout the Federal Republic of Germany and cover a range of speech situations in order to capture a broad range of language registers. In order to achieve this type of balanced data makeup, researchers were sent to 150 cities representing all of the major German dialect areas as well as important transition zones between these areas (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 378). In each of these locations the team collected data from multiple informants. Older informants were chosen to fit the traditional criteria of dialect speakers, i.e. non-mobile, older, rural males (NORMs), with an age range of over 60 years old chosen as the operationalization of the term "older" (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 378). Younger speakers, aged 18 to 23 and at the highest level of secondary school or the beginning of a tertiary education, were chosen to represent the most progressive of speakers (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 378). According to Schmidt & Herrgen (2011), there is, however, no well-established set of criteria to characterize average, middle-aged speakers of a language; so the

²⁶ Although much of the REDE data is online, longer recordings are only available by directly contacting the REDE team.

researchers chose middle and upper-level police officers, a group that characterizes an in-between status in terms of age, education, and labor type, i.e. blue-collar vs. white-collar (378). With each of these speaker groups at each of the 150 locations, five to six communicative tasks were recorded.

The two free speech tasks produced by all of the speakers are central to my investigation: interviews and discussion with friends. At first I was drawn toward the discussions with friends, in which “the informants are recorded in one of the most informal situation possible, that is in conversation with local friends” (Kehrein 2012:76 my translation). This setting seems most appealing for finding the “unusual” discontinuous pronominal adverbs. However, pronominal adverbs did not appear as often as expected and the various topics, which the informants were allowed to freely choose, made comparisons between recordings difficult. For these reasons, the data for this research is based on the interviews about each informant’s “biography, language socialization as well as their judgment of their language competency, language use and opinions [about language]” (Kehrein 2012: 76, my translation). These recordings of course had the drawback of not being a typical conversation, “which limits the validity and comparability of their results” (Schmidt & Herrgen 2011: 379, my translation). However, they proved to be full of discontinuous as well as continuous pronominal adverbs and the similar topics surrounding language usage allowed for excellent comparisons between speakers.

In order to make the investigation of the REDE interviews manageable while maintaining a balanced geographical distribution, I chose a representative sample of the 150 REDE cities. In order to achieve this representation, cities in each of the

major dialect areas (Northwest and Northeast Low German, West and East Central German, and West and East Upper German) and in the transition zones between dialect areas were chosen. In doing this, I followed the model of Kehrein (2012), and so I explored the same group of seven cities that he did.

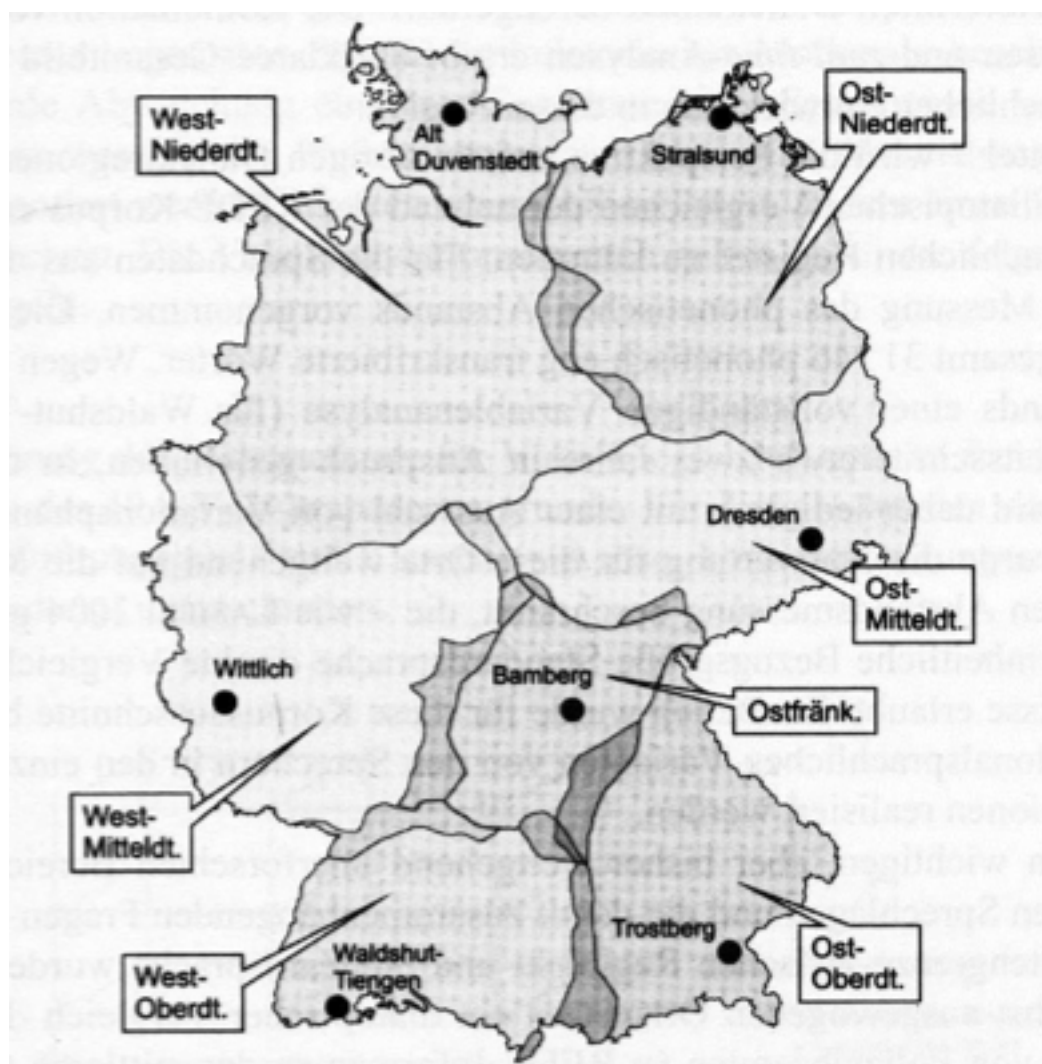


Figure 5. 1 Selected REDE Interview Locations Placed in Dialect Areas (Kehrein 2012: 77)

The map above indicates that two of the seven interview locations are in the historically Low German dialect areas in the very north of Germany while the other locations are located farther south in the Central and Upper German dialect areas.

In addition, I decided to limit my investigation of REDE interviews to those coming from the middle and younger generation speakers. This criterion served the dual purpose of limiting the amount of material to be investigated, while also limiting the amount of more dialect-influenced speech. As shown in Kehrein 2012, even though REDE interviewees all varied in their level of dialectal features across speech situations, at least in terms of their phonetics/phonology, some older speakers maintained a fairly high level of dialectal features during the somewhat more formal interview session (cf. 145). Therefore by eliminating the oldest generation from the data set I eliminated a major source of discontinuous pronominal adverb tokens that might be attributed to dialectal speech only.

Below is a table containing information about each informant and their interview. The table is ordered from northern to southern locations with eastern and central location appearing before western locations. Younger speakers' designations contain the word *jung* 'young' while the middle age speakers do not.

Speaker	City	Dialect Area	Interview Length (hh:mm:ss)	Interview Length (hours)	Continuous Tokens	Discontinuous Tokens	Total Tokens	Tokens per Hour of Interview
RD7	Alt Duvenstadt	West Low	00:46:17	0.77	4	5	9	11.67
RDJUNG1	Alt Duvenstadt	West Low	01:09:19	1.16	13	8	21	18.18
HST4	Stralsund	East Low	01:02:58	1.05	8	3	11	10.48
HSTJUNG1	Stralsund	East Low	00:58:03	0.97	4	1	5	5.17
WIT5	Wittlich	West Central	00:41:01	0.68	3	3	6	10.06
WITJUNG	Wittlich	West Central	01:03:31	1.06	7	3	10	10.27
BA1	Bamberg	East Franconian	00:53:41	0.89	7	1	8	11.70
BAJUNG2	Bamberg	East Franconian	01:02:19	1.04	12	3	15	14.17
DD4	Dresden	East Central	00:35:47	0.60	9	3	12	13.41
DDJUNG2	Dresden	East Central	00:58:24	0.97	11	4	15	14.44
WT1	Waldshut-Tiengen	West High	00:29:39	0.49	0	0	0	0.00
WTJUNG1	Waldshut-Tiengen	West High	00:45:45	0.76	14	3	17	22.30
TS2	Trostberg	East High	01:18:47	1.31	2	1	3	2.28
TSJUNG1	Trostberg	East High	01:07:19	1.12	13	4	17	15.15

Total Interview Length (hh:mm:ss)	Total Interview Length (hours)	Total Continuous Tokens	Total Discontinuous Tokens	Grand Total of Tokens	Median Tokens per Hour of Interview
12:52:48	12.88	107	42	149	11.68

Figure 5.2 Demographic Information and Pronominal Adverb Production Data for Speakers in the Current Study

In the table above we can see that the interviews vary in length from roughly a half hour to an hour and twenty minutes, which averages out to about fifty-five minutes per interview. Almost every speaker produced at least one discontinuous pronominal adverb and usually several continuous pronominal adverbs. The number of all tokens produced by speakers divided by the total length of the interview gives us a sense of the relative frequency of pronominal adverbs. The frequency of pronominal adverbs in this group varied widely from two per hour up to 22 per hour; however, the median average of this frequency indicates that these speakers produced roughly 13 pronominal adverbs per hour of interview. The following section will indicate how these pronominal adverbs, once found, were transcribed to include their surrounding contexts.

5.1.2 Transcription

After settling on the REDE interviews, I started identifying pronominal adverbs in existing transcriptions for one middle generation and one younger generation speaker in each of the seven sample cities. In cases where no transcription was available I transcribed each instance of continuous and discontinuous pronominal adverb using lowercase standard German orthography, the convention used for all REDE transcripts. However, when possible, I did attempt to transcribe elision of pronominal adverbs, e.g. *daran* 'on it' to *dran* 'on it', to more accurately reflect their pronunciation. The transcription of this elision was done in case pronominal adverbs behaved differently when elided than when not.²⁷

²⁷ I do not believe to have found any evidence of a difference in behavior based on elision; however the possibility was present and may indeed be relevant in ways I have not recognized.

The guiding principle in how much context I transcribed around a pronominal adverb token was to include enough material so that the immediate context of the token would be clear to a reader who had not listened to the entire conversation. In general I recorded roughly three to five clauses including the clause containing a pronominal adverb: one before the clause in question, the clause itself, and a clause after the clause in question. In the case of a short question-answer exchange as few as two clauses could be recorded. In instances where the immediate context was still not made clear by the surrounding clause I created short notes to accompany these tokens. In any case, however, more than the clause containing the pronominal adverb was recorded. Including the wider context was meant to avoid the single sentence examples that make insights about reference and information structure difficult at best.

5.2 Classification

Once tokens had been collected, I classified them using the database program FileMaker Pro. In addition to the notation of the recording in which it appeared, the speaker who uttered it, and the time of occurrence in the recording, each token's entry included the notation of several descriptive features. The first of these descriptive features that I listed was the form of the pronominal adverb, e.g. DoubledCloseMiddlefield *Ich habe dadran nicht gedacht*, so that all the possible variations of standard and nonstandard pronominal adverbs could be accounted for. These features could then be queried in order to help identify patterns between pronominal adverb types and proposition types.

Second, I noted what type of clause the pronominal adverb appeared in, e.g. declarative independent clause, declarative independent clause with embedding, dependent clause, etc. Clause type was noted because it influences not only the syntactic but also the pragmatic possibilities of the clause. For this study only declarative independent clauses were examined because these clauses allow for the syntactic examination of the topological model's prefield, which is often claimed to be important in matters of topic. The prefield, which can contain only one constituent in German, also permits the use of certain syntactic diagnostics, e.g. if a group of words counts as a single constituent then they will be able to fill the prefield. Other clause types may contain important insights; however they lack either a prefield position, e.g. relative clauses, or may not constitute complete propositions, e.g. *wh*-questions.

Third, I listed which preposition appeared in the pronominal adverb. As we saw in chapter two the initial sound of this preposition is a contributing factor to whether a pronominal adverb is split (i.e. initial consonants produce apparent splitting in the North, while initial vowels trigger apparent doublings in both the North and the South). In addition, the use of pronominal adverbs containing the preposition / adverb *mit* result in a widespread usage of apparent splitting (cf. Fleischer 2002: 156-158)

Fourth, I noted the placement of sentence stress in the clause. As we saw in chapter three, placement of prosodic prominence and the syntactic order of informational structural markers (i.e. topic and/or focus constituents) help identify the type of proposition present in the clause. How exactly these prosodic and

syntactic cues indicate the identity of proposition involved will be discussed later in this section.

Finally, I noted the type of proposition represented by the token. As opposed to the processes for noting the other information listed above, determining the type of proposition involves more than just visual or audio inspection of the clause in question. Instead the type of proposition at hand must be determined based on all of the following three criteria: location of sentence accent, use of the prefield and middle field, and use of the clause in its particular context. Using the characteristics of each proposition found in Lambrecht (1994), I created an algorithm for determining proposition.

In order to create this particular algorithm, I chose the most characteristic feature for any proposition type and then concentrated on ways to differentiate the remaining propositions types from each other. Lambrecht (1994) notes that in multiple languages, including English, Italian, French, and Japanese, “[thetic propositions /] sentence-focus constructions [...] have one crucial formal property in common: the marking of the subject as a NON-TOPIC, whether by prosodic, morphological or syntactic means” (234). This formal feature that works across languages thus became the starting point for the algorithm.

The algorithm proceeds in the following manner. First one determines if the subject is *formally* marked as a non-topic or not. If not, then the proposition expressed by the clause can only be a focus-presupposition or a topic-comment. This is so because, as just mentioned, thetic propositions need to have their subject

formally marked.²⁸ At this point, since both topic-comment and focus-presupposition clauses can in certain cases be formally identical, one determines using surrounding context if the *communicative purpose* of the clause is to identify a constituent or not.

(53)

a. [Why did he do that?] He was urged by NIXON.

vs.

b. [Who was he urged by] He was urged by NIXON. (Lambrecht 1994: 278),

If the clause does identify a constituent, as in part a. above, then the clause represents a focus-presupposition proposition, and if not, as in part b. above, then the clause represents a topic-comment proposition. Alternatively, one can differentiate between topic-comment and focus-presupposition clauses by determining the size of the focus domain: topic-comment clauses will have a functional TP as the focus domain, thus indicating the predicate as the unpredictable element of the proposition, while focus-presupposition propositions will have a lexical phrase (VP, PP, DP, etc.) as the focus domain, thus indicating an individual argument or adjunct as the unpredictable element of the proposition.

In the case that the subject is indeed formally marked,thetic propositions are returned to the mix and thus all three proposition types are possible. In order to the identify proposition types of clauses with accented subjects, let us consider that

²⁸ The major exceptions to this rule are constructions that contain dummy subjects. Lambrecht explains that in “English existential *there*-constructions” and “German and French presentational constructions which involve the dummy subject markers *es/il* only or mainly NPs with brand-new referents [TCOF i.e. unidentifiable referents] may occur” (Lambrecht 1994: 178). So these are grammaticalized structures that do not follow the prosody pattern in algorithm. Their unique structure alone indicates that they arethetic clauses.

topic-comment clauses are “minimally expressed [...] by prosodic prominence on an element of the predicate, marking the predicate phrase as the focus domain” (Lambrecht 1994:226). Therefore, if only the subject of a clause is formally marked then the only possible proposition types are focus-presupposition orthetic. To differentiate between these two, we can borrow the method from above where we determine if the *communicative purpose* of the clause is to identify a constituent or introduce an idea / report on an event. This second step can also be determined more formally by identifying the focus domain as the subject constituent alone, usually a DP/NP, or as the entire clause, the CP.

In the case that the subject as well as another clause element is formally marked, then topic-comment clauses return to this mix. This is so because “lack of prominence on the subject NP is not a necessary condition for predicate focus [/topic-comment propositions]. The topical subject of a predicate-focus [/topic-comment] sentence may be accented” (Lambrecht 1994: 227). On the other hand though, athetic clause is not possible in a clause with both the subject and another element formally marked. This is so because athetic clause is signaled not only by formal marking on the subject but also a lack of marking on the predicate (Lambrecht 1994: 310). At this point we have to decide between the topic-comment and focus-presupposition proposition types. Stated differently, since there are two formal markings, and “a single proposition cannot express two assertions, therefore it cannot have two foci” (Lambrecht 1994: 329), we must decide which formal marking is the focus and which formal marking is an activation marking (i.e. topic or activation – in narrow sense of the word – marking). I suggest checking to see if the

subject or the predicate is being marked because it is inactive (see chapter three on activation state) or not in the presupposition. Lambrecht refers to this state as “non-recoverable,” which he defines as “a relation which an addressee cannot be expected to take for granted, in one sense or another, at the time a proposition is verbalized” (Lambrecht 1994: 325). If the subject is recoverable then the focus must be on the predicate and therefore the clause forms a topic-comment proposition. On the other hand, if the predicate is not recoverable then the focus must be on the subject (a single constituent), which means that the clause forms a focus-presupposition proposition. Below is a graphic representation of the algorithm.

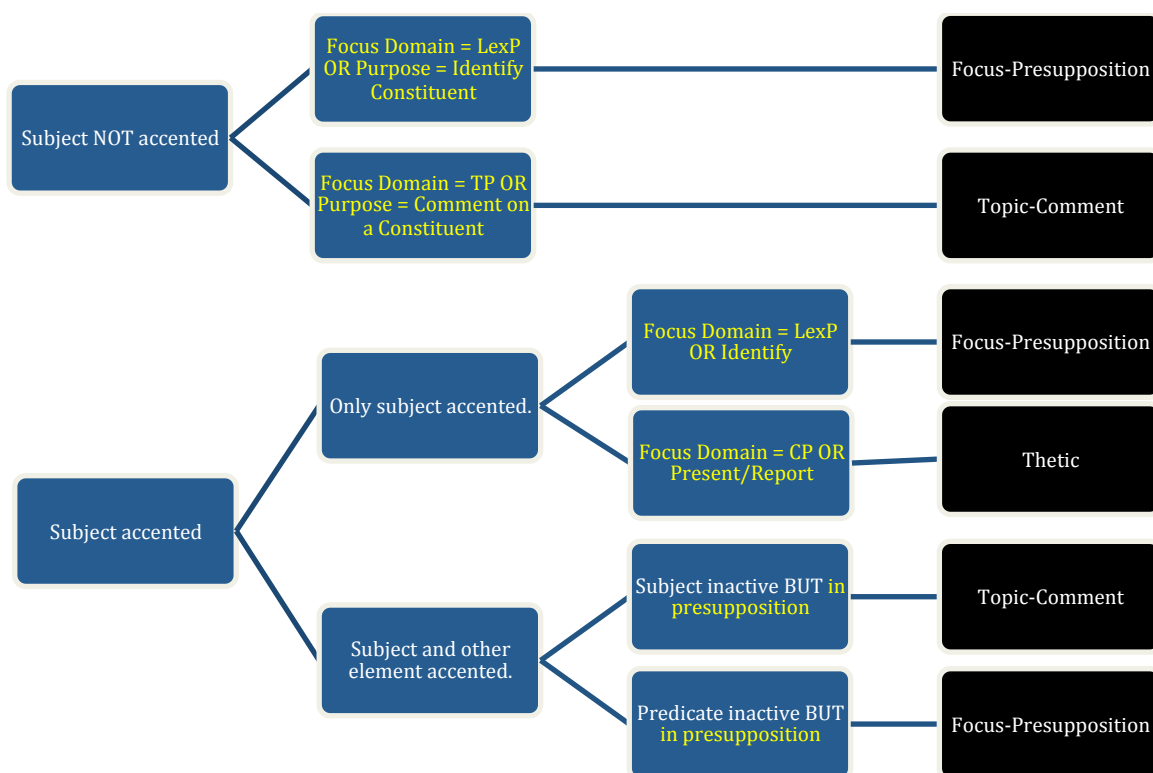


Figure 5.3 Flowchart for Determining Proposition Type from Prosody and Focus Domain / Communicative Function

5.3 Summary

In this chapter I have laid out my line of thinking for the selection and analysis of data for this work. In section 5.1 I indicated that the major

considerations for the selection of data consisted of including highly conversational or immediate-language discourse. This highly conversational type of discourse is needed since, as indicated by previous studies (e.g. Auer 2004, Elspaß 2005), discontinuous pronominal adverbs tend to appear only in more spoken-like language – as opposed to Dutch where they are accepted as both a spoken and written standard.

In section 5.2 an algorithm for determining the proposition type of a clause based on prosodic and focus domain cues was set forth. Determining proposition type using this algorithm allows a person to better interpret the functional uses of each element in the clause. The interpretation of the functional uses of these elements then allows a person to understand the form of the clause. For example, focus-presupposition clauses cannot contain topic-marking *da/∅* elements since there is no topic in these types of propositions; however, a *da* element here could represent a scene-setting expression. In the following chapter I will present the outcome of this type of analysis for my dataset.

Chapter 6 Results & Discussion

In this chapter I will present the results of an information structural analysis of the dataset described in chapter 5. In the first section I will provide overviews of what information structural qualities the tokens in this study exhibit. These overviews will include a look at the relevant characteristics necessary for answering the hypotheses about the interplay between discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structure that I formed in chapter 4. To be specific, the overviews will include the relative number of discontinuous versus continuous pronominal adverbs, the relative number of discontinuous pronominal adverbs for each proposition type, and the relative number of initial discontinuous pronominal adverb elements that represent clause topic markers as opposed to scene-setting expressions.

I will then discuss the relevance of the results presented at the beginning of this chapter for the study of both discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German as well as the field of information structure in general. As for the results' relevance to discontinuous pronominal German, I will first conclude that truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs appear only in utterances representing topic-comment propositions. Next, I will conclude that Behaghel's (1932) assertion that the initial element of discontinuous pronominal adverbs has anaphoric reference is false, despite being true in many particular instances. Then, I will conclude that the appearance of discontinuous pronominal adverbs depends on a combination of a topic-comment proposition type and a clause topic marker indicating the continuation of a clause or discourse topic as the clause topic for the current clause.

Following the discussion of the results' significance for the study of pronominal adverbs in German I will discuss these results' significance for information structure in general. I will first discuss the importance of differentiating between clause-level topics and discourse-level topics. While discourse-level topics can affect the expression of clause-level topics, e.g. in the case that they point to the same referent, they are different from clause-level topics. I will then discuss an interesting interaction between the information structural concept of focus and three levels of phrase structure postulated by mainstream generative syntax. I will illustrate how, when the arguments and adjuncts of a clause are represented in their deep structure positions, the area of focus for clauses representing

- focus-presupposition propositions covers only the lexical phrase that represents the focus.
- topic-comment propositions covers only the TP.
- thetic propositions covers the entire CP.

I will then conclude with a brief summary of the chapter.

6.1 Results

After the data had been analyzed according to the considerations of the last chapter, the number of each type of clause was counted in order to produce summary tables. The summary tables were designed to answer the hypotheses regarding the interaction between discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German and information structure. The first table below indicates the number of clauses featuring discontinuous pronominal adverbs versus those that feature continuous pronominal adverbs.

Total Number of Token Clauses Containing Pronominal Adverbs	149
Continuous pronominal adverbs	107
Discontinuous pronominal adverbs	42

Figure 6. 1 Number of Instances of Continuous Versus Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs in Data Set

This figure indicates that, at least in this data set, continuous pronominal adverbs are more common than discontinuous pronominal adverbs. However, at a 60% to 40% split of continuous to discontinuous, the discontinuous pronominal adverbs actually appear not to be that rare. For these reasons my first hypothesis of continuous pronominal adverbs appears to be confirmed, tempered by the notion that discontinuous pronominal adverbs may be more widespread than first thought.

The next table indicates the number of continuous and discontinuous pronominal adverbs for each proposition type.

Continuous	107	Discontinuous	42
Topic-Comment	93	Topic-Comment	41
Focus-Presupposition	14	Focus-Presupposition	1
Thetic	0	Thetic	0

Figure 6.2 Proposition Type among Continuous and Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs in Data Set

Figure 6.2 indicates that, at least in this data set, clauses containing either continuous or discontinuous pronominal adverbs are unlikely to be thetic clauses. This result does not mean that a thetic clause containing a pronominal adverb is impossible in discourse. Hypothetical examples, like *Damit hat alles angefangen: einem Schrei und dann Stille* 'With that it all began: a scream and then silence', are certainly possible in discourse but seem unlikely, especially due to their more written-like character.

Even less likely and probably impossible, though, is athetic clause containing a truly or apparently discontinuous pronominal adverb. As mentioned above, athetic clause lacks the presuppositional elements necessary for a truly discontinuous pronominal adverb. A scene-setting expression in an apparently discontinuous pronominal adverb in the context of athetic clause is unlikely. Such a scene-setting expression couldn't be presuppositional and thus would have to reference something in the current time and place of the speaker. For example, *Da [zeigt auf einen Baum] bin ich mal davon gefallen* 'There [pointing to a tree] I feel from there once' could be uttered out of the blue. However, in actuality this clause is a topic-comment clause with the topic identifiable due to being situationally accessible. Therefore, the evidence points toward a confirmation of the second hypothesis, namely thatthetic clauses are unlikely to contain continuous or discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

Figure 6.2 also indicates that, at least in this data set, topic-comment clauses are more common than focus-presupposition clauses orthetic clauses. In fact at 124 tokens or 80%, topic-comment clauses are not only the most common of the proposition types but also outnumber focus-presupposition by a ratio of almost 5:1. Therefore, the evidence seems also to be in favor of the hypothesis that topic-comment clauses are more common than focus-presupposition clause orthetic clause. This skewed ratio may be due to the amount of time and effort spent commenting on referents versus introducing or identifying them.

The right hand table in Figure 6.2 on discontinuous pronominal adverbs indicates that focus-presupposition clauses can indeed feature discontinuous

pronominal adverbs. Therefore, the hypothesis that discontinuous pronominal adverbs should be only topic-comment clauses appears not to be supported. However, the following figure indicates that there is a qualitative difference between topic-comment clauses that contain discontinuous pronominal adverbs and focus-presupposition clauses that contain discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

Proposition Type	Initial element = topic marker only	Initial element = topic marker & scene-setting expression	Initial element = scene-setting expression only	Initial element = topic marker; (Second element = NOT topic)
topic-comment	29	4	8	1 ²⁹
focus-presupposition	0	0	1	0

Figure 6.3 Summary of function of initial element of discontinuous pronominal adverbs by proposition type

In the figure above, I summarized the function of the initial element of the discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the dataset. Such judgments require close analysis of each token in terms of its referential and propositional context. For example in the following token the initial element of the discontinuous pronominal adverb is most likely only a topic marker and not a scene-setting expression.

(54)

E: müssen sie sich da besonders mühe geben {hochdeutsch auf der Arbeit zu sprechen} oder

RD7: nicht besonders mühe das ist bei mir ist das äh im laufe der jahre hat sich das ent entwickelt dass ist normal ist normale sprechweise also da muss ich mich nicht an mich an mich denken oder mich konzentrieren **da habe ich kein PROBLEM Ø-mit**

(RD7_Interview 17:28)

²⁹ BAJUNG2_Interview 34:21

The initial *da* in this case most likely refers to speaking Standard German in general rather than speaking Standard German at work, especially because the speaker says that Standard German has become his *normale sprechweise* ‘normal way of speaking’ rather than his way of speaking at the work place³⁰. This referential context, along with the propositional context that the speaker is commenting on the given entity of *speaking Standard German*, leads to analysis of the initial element as a topic-only element.

In the next example, also from the same speaker, the initial element of a discontinuous pronominal adverb only represents a scene-setting pronominal adverb and not the topic of the proposition.

(55)

RD7: äh der dialekt hat mir geholfen im praktischen berufsalltag also nach der ausbildung weil ähm wir mit allen bevölkerungsschichten zu tun haben und viele ältere bürger jenseits der sechzig auch viel landwirte mit denen wir auch viel sprechen über den notruf äh **da kriegt man da KRIEGT man schon ein anderes GEFÜHL Ø-für** es ist einfacher mit denen zu verhandeln (RD7_Interview 5:40)

The initial *da* in this case refers to having an understanding of dialect when receiving an emergency call from an older citizen. This *da* sets the scene, i.e. under the condition that one understands dialect, for the comment, i.e. that one has a different feel for it, about the topic, i.e. what older speakers are saying on the emergency calls.

By carefully considering each individual token in terms of its referential and propositional context and determining the functional purpose of each element of the

³⁰ I fully recognize the subjectivity of this judgment and would be open to a discussion on evaluating more “topic-only” initial elements as both topic element and scene-setting expression.

discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the way described above, I was able to determine if both elements made reference to the propositional topic or not. In cases where the first and second element made reference to the propositional topic I marked the token as “truly discontinuous”, as in the case of example (54) above. In cases where either the first or the second element did not make reference to the propositional topic, I marked that token as “apparently discontinuous”, as in the case of example (55) above. Below is a summary table of the discontinuous pronominal adverbs sorted into truly or apparently discontinuous tokens.

	Truly Discontinuous	Apparently Discontinuous
topic-comment	32	9
focus-presupposition	0	1

Figure 6. 4 Summary of discontinuous pronominal adverbs into truly and apparently discontinuous tokens

In the table above, one can see that most of the discontinuous pronominal adverbs from the dataset are truly discontinuous and represent topic-comment propositions. However, the table also indicates that not only is the discontinuous pronominal adverb representing a focus-presupposition an apparently discontinuous pronominal adverb, i.e. the result of the analysis of hypothesis four, but also that some topic comment propositions contain apparently discontinuous pronominal adverbs, like in example (55) above.

6.2 Discussion of Results' Impact on the Study of Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

6.2.1 Communicative Context of Truly Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

In addition to the uneven ratio of topic-comment sentences to focus-presupposition sentences, further bolstering the notion that discontinuous pronominal adverb structures most often express topic-comment propositions is a direct comparison of discontinuous topic-comment clauses and discontinuous focus-presupposition clauses. Let us first examine a typical example of a topic comment proposition expressed with a discontinuous pronominal adverb. In this example, the interviewer asks the younger speaker from Bamberg for clarification about a certain teacher who “tried/worked at” speaking Standard German, namely whether this trying was successful and unnoticeable or unsuccessful and resulted in a strained, artificial accent.

(56)

I: und die lehrerin die sich bemüht hat hochdeutsch zu sprechen würden sie jetzt sagen bemüht heißt dass sie hat es nicht richtig gesprochen oder hat sie schon (ein ein) reines hochdeutsch gehabt

BAJUNG2: ich kann es **ich kann mich da nicht mehr wirklich dran erinnern** ob die jetzt (also sie) hat auf jeden fall hochdeutsch gesprochen³¹ (BAJUNG2_Interview 11:06)

Subject: topic(al) > Purpose = Comment, Focus Domain = TP
=> topic-comment

³¹ I: And the teacher who made an effort to speak standard German – would you say now that made an effort means that she didn't speak it correctly or did she really have a...a pure standard German [accent]? BAJUNG2: I can it...I can't really remember (it), whether she really...in any case she spoke standard German.

Presupposition: *da/d* ‘whether the teacher spoke Standard German correctly or not’ is topic for comment X.

Assertion: As for whether the teacher spoke Standard German correctly or not, X = the speaker can’t remember this.

In the case above we notice how both the *da* and the *d'* refer to the question of “whether or not the teacher spoke Standard German well.” Because these two elements have the same referent, the *da* and *dran* behave in a sense as one unit. In another sense, seen in the functional topic marking of *da* and the grammatical prepositional object marking of *d'*, these two elements act independently and have good reason to be separate.

Now let us examine a typical example of a focus-presupposition proposition expressed with a discontinuous pronominal adverb. In the following example, the same younger speaker from Bamberg is describing the difference between how he speaks casually and how he speaks when he is contributing to a large group discussion.

(57)

BAJUNG2: wenn ich vor leuten sprechen soll oder vor leuten stehe dann versuche ich mich natürlich auch noch ein bisschen gewählter auszudrücken als wenn ich jetzt halt mit jemanden persönlich alleine spreche und ich meine man macht sich ja auch vorher übers vor leuten sagen etwas gedanken wie man das jetzt sagt **da DENKT man ja auch mehr drüber nach** aber da würde ich schon sagen dass ich gewählter mich ausdrücke.³²
(BAJUNG2_Interview 35:28)

Subject: topic(al) > Purpose: Identify, Focus Domain: VP
=> focus-presupposition

³² If I have to speak in front of people or get up in front of people then of course I try to express myself better than when I’m just talking personally to one person alone. And I think that you before speaking in front of people you think about how you’ll say that (that) you think about that, but I would say that I express myself more selectively in that case.

Presupposition: When speaking in front of a group you (not only choose your words more carefully) you also X more.

Assertion: X = think about (the content of your words)

In this case we have a clause that appears similar to the previous example's clause: both are "distance doubling pronominal adverbs." However, I would like to point out that the information structural function of the initial *da* in this example does not match that of the *da* in the previous example. In fact, since focus-presupposition clauses do not have topics, rather only "topical" items that are a part of the presupposition, the unaccented pronominal *da* in this example cannot have the same function. I would therefore like to suggest then that this *da* is a scene-setting expression of the kind discussed in chapter four. Notice also that the referent of this presuppositional does not match that of the *d'* element of the pronominal adverb, which does not refer to the type of situation (i.e. when speaking in front of a group) but to what is thought about (i.e. the content of your words). This mismatch will help us understand discontinuous pronominal adverbs below. In any case, I believe that "truly" discontinuous pronominal adverbs, which indicate the topic of a clause and whose elements both refer to the same as-topic-acting referent, are sometimes used to express topic-comment propositions, and that similar but different discontinuous pronominal adverbs are sometimes used to express focus-presupposition clauses.

With this connection between discontinuous pronominal adverbs and topic-comment structures in hand, let us return to analyze the explanation of discontinuous pronominal adverbs developed by Behaghel (1932)/Elspaß (2005).

“The PRO element *da*- is anaphoric and topical, therefore tends to stand at the beginning of a sentence” (Elspaß 2005: 41, emphasis added, almost word for word Behaghel 1932: 249)

The analysis presented in the previous section indicates that, even though he left the term *topical* undefined, Elspaß’ addition of this term to Behaghel’s original explanation appears to be thoroughly justified. A concept of *topic* is clearly at play in discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

6.2.2 Analyzing Anaphor Versus Cataphor in Discontinuous Pronominal Adverbs

We are left, though, with the question of what role direction or reference plays in the creation of a discontinuous pronominal adverb. In order to provide an answer, I queried my database for the number of anaphoric, cataphoric, and both anaphoric and cataphoric tokens among the discontinuous topic-comment clauses, which yielded the following results.

Discontinuous Topic-Comment	42
Anaphoric	32
Cataphoric	6
Both	4

Figure 6. 5 Breakdown of Discontinuous Topic-Comment Clauses by Proposition Type

The results presented in this table indicate, contrary to Behaghel’s assertion, that the pro-element *da* in a discontinuous pronominal adverb does not necessarily have to be anaphoric. In several cases, such as in the following example, the *da* appears to be truly discontinuous, i.e. there is reference made to a clause topic and both elements point toward the same topical referent, and cataphoric.

(58)

I: reaktionen auf hochdeutsch

HST4: gar nicht wir waren wir waren wir waren (im) wir waren immer **und da waren wir auch stolz drauf** wir waren immer die fischköpfe es war ja aufgeteilt _nichtwahr,ne_ es gab (w) wir waren die fischköpfe das andere waren die bouletten die berliner so und ich weiß gar nicht wie wir die sachsen und thüringer genannt haben

'I: Any reactions to your Standard German? HST4: Not at all. We were...we were...we were...in the... we were always...**and (that) we were proud of [the fact] that** we were always the "fish-heads" {i.e. people from the coast}. It was all separated out, you see, we were the fish-heads the others were the "meatballs" {a typical dish from Berlin} the Berliners, right, and I don't know what we called the Saxons and Thuringians.' (HST4_Interview 24:56)

Subject: topic(al) > Purpose: Comment, Focus Domain: TP > topic-comment

Presupposition : da / d' 'upcoming idea = the speaker and his northern colleagues were called the 'fish heads' " is a topic for comment X.

Assert: As for da / d' , X = "The speaker and his colleagues were proud of it."

Here the speaker clearly uses a topic marker cataphorically to express pride in something that he has not even mentioned yet. In this way the speaker gives a comment on a topic and then leaves the listener in suspense as to what the topic might be, that is what the speaker might be so proud of. The above table and example indicate that although the initial element of discontinuous pronominal adverbs do appear quite often with anaphoric reference, to rely on this factor as the sole explanation for discontinuity among pronominal adverbs is to lose the full picture of discontinuous structures. Thus, there must be more to the creation of discontinuous pronominal adverbs than anaphoric reference and placing anaphoric elements early in the clause. Therefore, in the next section I will explore the concepts surrounding *topic*, the explanatory force added by Elspaß, as a way toward determining the motivation for discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

6.3 Discussion of Results' Impact on the Study of Information Structure

Through the course of research for this project, I have discovered that the term *topic* is more complex than simply “what the clause is about,” however good this rule of thumb may be. Instead, as laid out in chapter three, I regard *clause topic* as the element of the clause that represents the presuppositional element of a topic-comment proposition that the clause is about. After reviewing my data, I have come to believe that not only this use of topic, i.e. on the clausal level, is important to examining discontinuous pronominal adverbs but also the notion of *topic* on the discourse-level, which I also defined in chapter three, is necessary.

6.3.1 Clarifying the Term *topic* on the Clause Level

As discussed in chapter three, the term *topic* has been used to signify several, often closely related concepts at both the discourse and clause-levels. The results presented in the previous chapter give us a better insight into both what topic is and on which linguistic levels it appears.

In order to find the clause-level topic, first determine the type of proposition involved using the algorithm/flow chart in chapter five. If it is a topic-comment clause, then a clause-level topic can be located. Tests can then be performed on candidates for topichood. In the “As for X ...” / “Was X angeht, ...” test (developed by Kuno 1972 and Gundel 1976) the topic candidate must logically complete the statements “As for X ...” / “Was X angeht, ...”. Since Lambrecht (1994) also specifies that a topic has to be lexicogrammatically present in the clause, the independent clause after the “As for X ...” / “Was X angeht, ...” statement must feature an element

referring back to the referent of the topic candidate exactly. Let us examine the simple English example, *I love lobster but fish is disgusting. I don't LIKE it.* Is the topic of the clause *I* or *it*?

(59)

Candidate 1: *I* 'the speaker'
 As for I, I really don't like it.
 Candidate 2: *it* 'fish'
 As for it/fish, I don't LIKE it.

The first candidate can be used in the independent clause as an element that refers back to the topic candidate in the *As for...* clause; however, the proposition in total does not make logical sense for the context; Topic: I, Comment: #I don't like it/?myself. The second candidate, however, contains both an element that refers to the topic and the clause creates a logical proposition; Topic: it/fish, Comment: I don't like it/fish.

Notice also that the *As for...* test with the inclusion of Lambrecht's consideration of lexicogrammatical expression of the clause topic also prevents confusion between clause topics and discourse topics. For example, in the clauses (based loosely on examples from Li & Thompson 1976), *I love lobster but fish is disgusting. I especially dislike TUNA.*

(60)

#As for fish, I especially dislike TUNA.

If we insert the discourse topic *fish* into the *As for...* clause then a logical statement is produced; however, I noted above that the clause topic must have the exact same referent as the topic in the *As for* clause, and *tuna* and *fish*, while related

hierarchically, are not interchangeable, i.e. all tuna are fish but not all fish are tuna. Furthermore, this clause fails the *As for...* test because it is a focus-presupposition clause (Subject = topical > Purpose: Identify, Focus Domain: NP > focus-presupposition). In the case of a focus-presupposition clause there will certainly be a discourse topic; however, as I defined it in chapter three, there will be no clause topic, a fact that is confirmed by my expanded form of the *As for...* test.

Now let us apply this test for clause topic to a case from my German data. In the following token there are two possible candidates for topichood in the bolded clause.

(61)

I: wie finden sie solche angebote?

RDJUNG1: [finde ich total] finde ich total cool finde ich echt richtig gut ich im nachhinein (be) habe ich auch gesagt mann warum habt ihr das nicht gemacht ich hätte echt ich finde das hat auch schon also plattdeutsch das hat auch hat auch **man kann auch was COOLES damit aufziehen** es ist ja schon eine sprache die teilweise auch leute einfach nicht mehr verstehen und wenn das dann schon wie eine fremdsprache ist.

'I: What do you think of such offerings [i.e. Low German classes for children]? RDJUNG1: I think they're, I think they're really cool. I think they're really good. I...in hindsight I've also said "Man! Why didn't you all do that [i.e. his parents and teachers]" I would have really...I also really think...So Low German...that has...that has...**one can do cool things with it**. It's really a language that to some degree people don't understand and when that's like a foreign language...' (RDJUNG1_Interview 16:31)

Both *man* and *da* are in the presupposition of the discourse, i.e. both 'a person' and 'Low German' have been established in this universe of discourse. Let us now insert these candidates into the *As for...* / "*Was X angeht, ...*test.

(62)Candidate 1: *man* 'a person'Candidate 2: *da* 'Low German'Was *man* angeht, man kann was COOLES damit aufziehen.As for *man* 'one', one can do cool things with it.Was *da* 'Plattdeutsch' angeht, man kann was COOLES damit aufziehen.As for *da* 'Low German', one can do cool things with it.

In the first case, *man*, does refer back to the topic in the *As for* clause; however, no logical comment is made. On the other hand, the referent of candidate two, Low German, appears on both sides of the *As for* test clause and a logical comment is made about Low German, i.e. that a person can do cool things with it.

The previous example also makes clear that defining topic as simply “the starting point of the proposition” and “what the proposition is ‘about’” can be misleading when examining propositions in detail. While “what the proposition is ‘about’” gives us the actual topic of *da*, meaning ‘Low German’, “starting point” can give the impression that *man* is the topic, i.e. starting with an individual, and adding information. Therefore, plotting the information from the clause into a Lambrechtian-style schematic provides a more accurate method that allows the linguist to take the full context of the proposition into account and to determine the topic, albeit through a more abstract process than asking the question “What is the starting point?” or “What is it about?”

6.3.2 Clarifying the Term *topic* on the Discourse Level

As can be surmised from my discussion of the term *topic* in chapter three, I disagree with those who conflate topic and discourse-level topics, e.g. Frascarelli

and Hinterhölzl (2007). I do believe that these types of topics are often closely related and indeed regularly overlap with each other in the manner outlined by Van Oosten (1985). However, the data from this project indicate that there is an important difference between these concepts.

An example of the sometimes overlapping nature of discourse-level and clause-level topics occurred when the middle-aged speaker from northern German Alt Duvenstadt discusses his use of dialectal speech in foreign countries and other parts of Germany.

(63)

I: ähm und welche erfahrung haben sie bezüglich ihres dialektes im ausland gemacht

RD7: habe ich nicht gebraucht äh was heißt nicht gebraucht **ich kam damit nicht KLAR)**

'I: Um, what experience do you have regarding your dialect in other countries?

RD7: Never needed it. Uh, what do I mean by "needed" ? **I couldn't get by with it.'** (RD7_Interview 7:20)

Here is the schematic for the bolded clause in question.

Subject: topic(al) > Purpose: Comment, Focus Domain: TP => topic-comment
 Presupposition: *da* 'Low German in foreign countries' is a topic for comment
 X

Assertion: As for Low German in foreign countries, X = The speaker was not able to make use of (it) successfully.

The topic on the clause-level is *da* 'Low German in foreign countries'. Looking for a topic on the discourse-level, which is aided by looking at the interviewer's question that the interviewee holds to in his answer, we discover that the discourse-level topic is also *Low German in foreign countries*. Therefore, in this case, both levels of topic refer to the same concept.

However, the first token contrasts with a very similar token produced

roughly 15 seconds later, indicating that the two type of topic need not overlap heavily.

(64)

es gibt ja noch an der an der westküste dieses friesische der friesische dialekt ... **Ø komme ich ÜBERHAUPT nicht Ø-mit KLAR** der hat also überhaupt keine ähnlichkeit mit dem plattdeutschen (RD7_Interview 7:35)

'there's also on the on the west coast this Frisian...this Frisian dialect. **I can't deal with it.** It bears absolutely no similarity to Low German'

Subject: topic(al) > Purpose: Comment, Focus Domain: TP => topic-comment

Presupposition: Ø 'the Frisian dialect' is a topic for comment X

Assertion: As for Ø, X = The speaker doesn't understand it / can't deal with it.

The clause-level topic in this token is *the Frisian dialect*. However, the discourse-level topic still connects to the broader idea of *using Low German in foreign countries (or other parts of Germany)*. Although this clause contains the same full verb and deals with very similar subject matter as the previous token, the clause-level topic and the discourse-level topic overlap only minimally.

6.3.3 Information Structure, Argument Structure, and Generative Syntax

In addition to the more or less expected results regarding pronominal adverbs and information structure, an unexpected result relating to generative syntax became clear during this research. In the course of making focus domain easier to identify, I recognized how each of the proposition types has its own focus domain size. Lambrecht (1994) clearly explains how a focus-presupposition proposition, which identifies a single semantic argument, has the smallest domain focus, namely the lexical phrase (NP, DP, PP, VP) that encompasses the syntactic constituent representing the semantic argument in question. An example of such a

clause of this type is [*Was isst Hans? / What is Hans eating?*] *Er isst KEKSE. / He's eating COOKIES.* We can represent the argument structure of this clause as the following deep-structure.

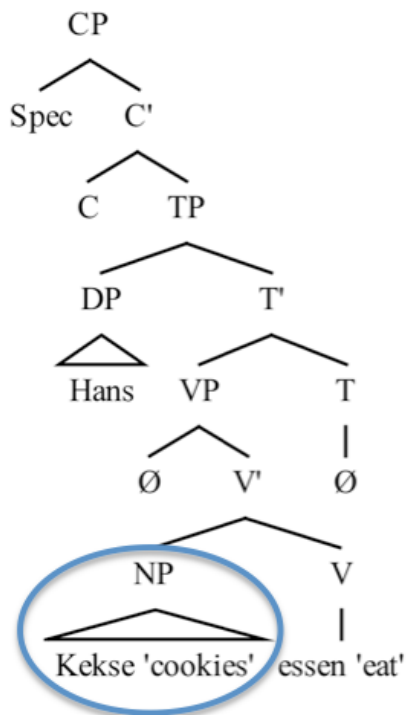


Figure 6. 6 Deep structure representation of *Hans isst KEKSE* 'Hans is eating cookies'

The figure above depicts the verb as a VP and its two semantic arguments *Hans* and *Kekse* as lexical phrases, a DP and an NP respectively. In the clause that identifies *Kekse* as the focus of the clause, i.e. *Hans isst KEKSE*, the focus domain is the circled NP, as this is the unpredictable portion of the proposition. The strength of this analysis is that it still functions if a clause containing this verb and these semantic arguments is created with a different focus domain, e.g. [*Wer isst die Kekse? 'Who's eating the cookies?'*] *HANS isst die Kekse* 'HANS is eating the cookies'. or [*Was macht Hans mit den Keksen? 'What is Hans doing with the cookies?'*] *Er ISST die Kekse.* 'He is

EATING the cookies'. In these cases the focus domain simply shifts from the NP *Kekse* to either the DP *Hans* or the VP *Kekse essen* 'to eat cookies'.³³

At the other end of focus domain size, Lambrecht (1994) indicates thatthetic clauses have a focus domain that encompasses the entire clause, which he signifies as S and I signify as CP. This focus domain makes sense because the clause as a whole introduces an entity or reports an idea. An example of this clause and its focus domain is [*Was ist passiert? 'What happened?'*] *Hans hat KEKSE gegessen!* 'Hans ate cookies!' [Hans has celiac disease and wheat-based cookies make him sick.]

³³ The fact that the VP *Kekse essen* 'eat cookies' has a presupposed element, *Kekse* 'cookies', as well as the non-presupposed *essen* 'eat' is unproblematic since the verbal phrase as a whole is not presupposed (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 217). The same situation applies to the presupposed element *my* in the DP *my car* in [*I heard your motorcycle broke down.*]. *My CAR broke down*. The opposite situation, a non-presupposed element in the topic of a topic-comment clause, however, is problematic since the topic should be a stable, known point of which something is predicated. In practice, though, pragmatic accommodation (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 65-73) can clear up most ambiguities.

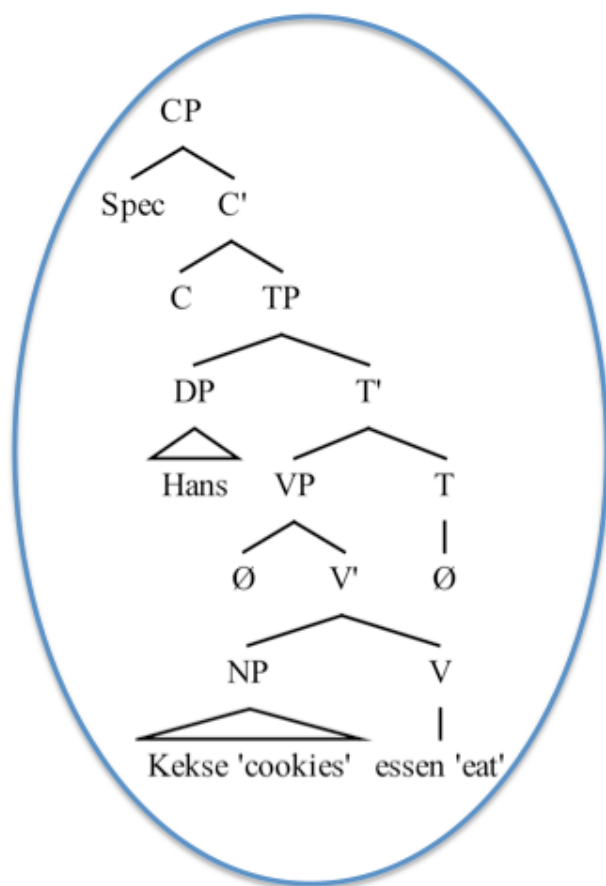


Figure 6. 7 Deep structure representation of *Hans hat KEKSE gegessen!* 'Hans ate cookies!'

This diagram indicates that the focus domain of the clause is the entire clause.

Nothing in this clause is presupposed.

Finally, and most critically, while Lambrecht indicates that the focus domain of topic-comment clauses is a VP (cf.1994: 226), working through many pieces of empirical data made it clear that the functional TP is a better representation of the focus domain in these cases. Let us consider the following permutation of our clause: [*Was macht Hans?* 'What is Hans doing?'] *Hans isst KEKSE*.

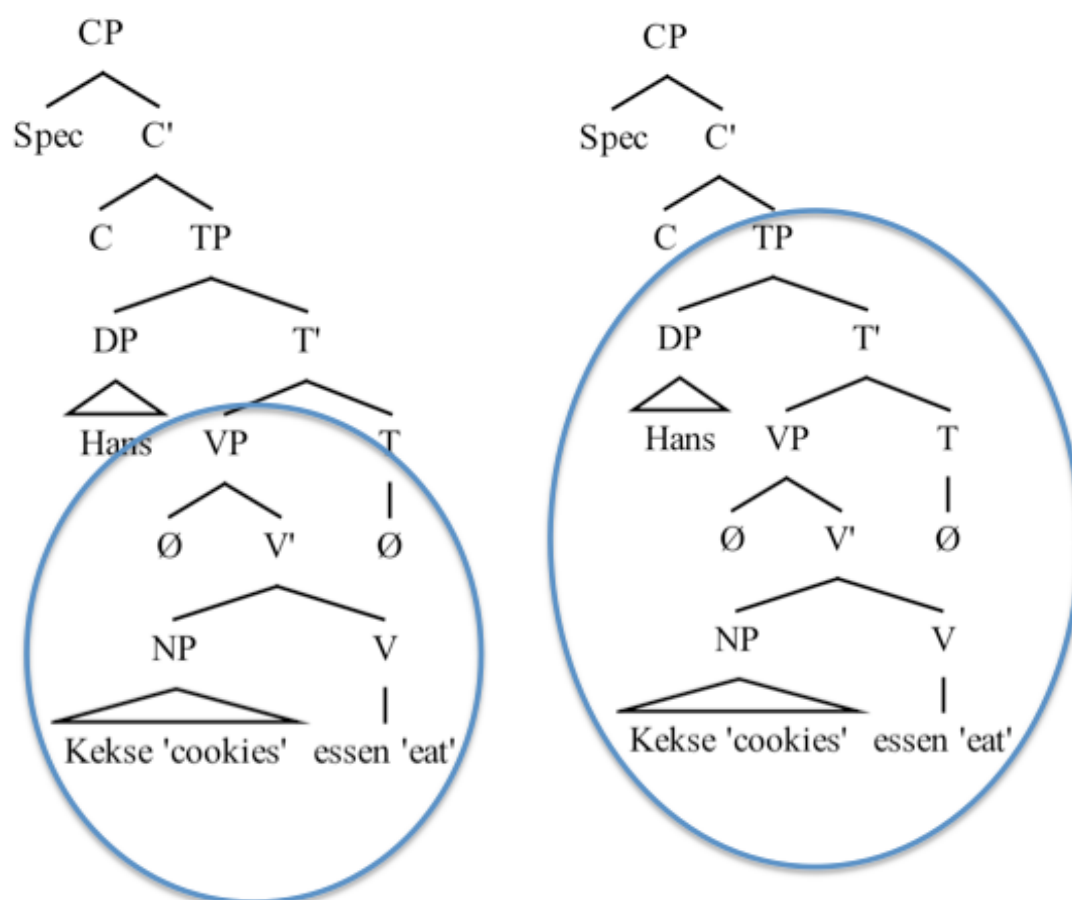


Figure 6.8 Deep structure representation of *Hans isst KEKSE*. 'Hans is eating cookies!' with Lambrecht's suggested VP focus domain vs. my suggested TP domain.

The left-hand tree in the diagram above indicates Lambrecht's (1994) thoughts about the focus domain for topic-comment clauses, while the right-hand tree indicates my proposal for the focus domain for topic comment clauses. Lambrecht's analysis has two problems. First is the fact that the focus domain for this clause

would be the same as the focus-presupposition clause [*Was macht Hans mit Keksen?* 'What is Hans doing with cookies?'] *Hans ISST Kekse* 'Hans is EATING cookies'. Therefore answering how these two clauses differ if their foci are the same may be tricky. This situation, however, is not especially problematic since their focus domains would be the same but their foci themselves would be different, i.e. [~~Kekse~~] *essen* vs. *Kekse essen*, as explained above the bracketed and deleted *Kekse* is in the focus domain but is presuppositional and therefore not part of the focus proper.

An actual problem occurs with Lambrecht's VP analysis, though, when one attempts to create a topic-comment clause with an object as a topic, such as [*Was ist mit den Keksen passiert?* 'What happened to the cookies'] *Hans hat Kekse gegessen*. 'Hans ate cookies' (He is always very hungry and ate them all). In this case, Lambrecht's VP focus domain, circled on the left in the diagram above, would not include the non-presupposed element *Hans* and therefore would misrepresent the location of the focus. Making the TP the focus domain, circled on the right in the diagram above, would take Hans into account as a part of the focus. The presupposed elements *essen* 'eat' and *Kekse* 'cookies' can, as noted above, unproblematically appear in a focus domain without themselves being the focus proper.

The result of my adjustment to Lambrecht's (1994) assignment of focus domains is, either luckily or crucially, that each proposition type is assigned a specific focus domain size. Focus-presupposition clauses have Lexical Phrases,thetic clauses have functional Complementizer Phrases, and topic-comment clauses have functional Tense Phrases as focus domains. These three categories of focus domains

also happen to be the only levels of phrases in the Minimalist Program – ignoring the problematic functional phrases discussed in section 4.1.5 Variability in Functional Marker Placement. That each proposition’s focus has scope over a different syntactic level appears to be meaningful, especially since the syntactic level associated with each proposition appears to be functionally motivated. Thetic clauses have scope over a CP focus so that they can introduce/report an entire clause. Focus-presupposition clauses have scope over individual lexical phrases so that they can identify these and only these constituents. Topic-comment clauses have scope over the functional tense phrase so that their comment on a topic can be any semantic argument of a verb, even if it is the VP-external argument located in specTP. The one-to-one association of the only three possible syntactic levels with the only three proposition types suggests that these syntactic levels are helpful not just in modeling syntax but they are helpful in modeling syntax because they are based in the reality of cognition.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the results of the analysis of the data set for this dissertation and discussed their relevance for the study of discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structure. In section 6.1 I presented the number of token clauses containing discontinuous pronominal adverb and subdivided these based on the presence of continuous or discontinuous pronominal adverb. This first analysis indicated that continuous pronominal adverbs are likely more prevalent than discontinuous ones in an interview setting like the one in this study. Next I presented the subdivision of continuous and discontinuous pronominal

adverbs into the three proposition types: topic-comment, focus-presupposition, andthetic. This second analysis confirmed thatthetic clauses, probably due to information structural reasons, are very unlikely to contain continuous or discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the immediate discourse setting of this study. Furthermore the second analysis indicated that, although discontinuous pronominal adverbs were more likely to be topic-comment clauses than focus-presupposition clauses, focus-presupposition clauses could contain discontinuous pronominal adverbs. However, the third analysis indicated that discontinuous pronominal adverbs in focus-presupposition propositions were only apparently discontinuous since their initial elements were scene-setting expressions rather than topic markers.

I then discussed the relevance of the results for the study of discontinuous pronominal adverbs. First, the results established that truly discontinuous pronominal adverbs, i.e. topic marker + pronominal adverb, are found only in topic-comment clauses. Meanwhile apparently discontinuous pronominal adverbs, i.e. scene-setting expression + pronominal adverb, can appear in any communicative context, even though such appearances remain rare in focus-presupposition andthetic clauses. Second the results confirmed Elspaß' (2005) claim that the initial element of a truly discontinuous pronominal adverb is indeed topical. This result was made more tangible through a detailed examination of individual discontinuous pronominal adverbs tokens in topic-comment clauses and focus-presupposition clauses.

Third, the results established the incompleteness of Behaghel's (1932) claim that discontinuous pronominal adverbs are anaphoric. Although, discontinuous pronominal adverbs in the dataset were often anaphoric several of them were also either purely or partially cataphoric.

In section 6.3 I discussed the relevance of the results for the study of information structure. Specifically, I illustrated the interrelated yet separate nature of clause-level topics and discourse-level topics. Clause-level topics are lexicogrammatically present in the clause while discourse-level topics are not – they can simply be available due to the wider context of the discourse. I also outlined an intriguing correspondence between information structure and generative syntax. In particular, I noted the connection Lambrecht (1994) made between the focus domain size of a clause and its underlying proposition type: clauses with CP-level focus domains arethetic clauses, clauses with VP-level focus domains are topic-comment clauses, and clauses with lexical phrase-level (NP, DP, PP, VP) focus domains are focus-presupposition clauses. I amended Lambrecht's conclusion by allowing topic-comment clauses to have TP-level focus domains. This move separates topic comment clauses from focus-presupposition clauses with VP-level focus domains where the verb is the unpredictable element. In this way, underlying proposition types can be determined through examining the focus domain size of a clause.

In the following chapter I will indicate possible implications of these conclusions for linguistics in general. Specifically, I will note the importance of tending to the effect that information structure, e.g. proposition type, and discourse

type, i.e. degree of immediate or distance language discourse, have on syntax and prosody. I will then identify the limitations of this study and how future research could capitalize on both its limitation and its insights.

Chapter 7 Implications, Limitations, Future Research

At the end of this dissertation I will connect the ideas of this work to wider linguistic inquiry. First, I will indicate how information structure can be of use in explaining both the referential discontinuity encountered in this study as well as syntactic discontinuity, which is what is often indicated by the term discontinuity. Second, I will indicate the limitations of this study and how these can be addressed. Finally, I will detail lines of research that can be followed now that the connection between information structure and syntax and prosody are clearer.

7.1 Implications

The original impetus for this research came out of an interest in the origins of syntactically discontinuous constituents based on the distance doubling and splitting pronominal adverb constructions found in German. It is certainly possible to create a syntactic model of how a person can have a unified pronominal adverb in D-structure and then a discontinuous pronominal adverb in S-structure. One example of this structure, found in Fleischer (2002), is achieved by “extraction of a phonetically full *da* from the SpecPP” (406, my translation) and can be illustrated in the following way.

$$da_i \dots [PP[_{\text{SpecPP}} t_i [P' [P^\circ [D^\circ da] [mit]]]]]$$

Figure 7.1 Syntactic diagram illustrating extraction of *da* from SpecPP to create distance doubling
Analyses such as this one let us know that there is linguistic “machinery” in place to handle discontinuous constituent. However, these analyses are unable to indicate why these constituents contain multiple elements. For this reason I turned to other

linguistic levels for insight and came upon information structure as a potentially fruitful source.

The main question that this dissertation has since been asking is “What does information structure offer that syntax does not?” The main answer offered is that information structure accounts for “pleonastic”/“redundant” constructions. Rather than a superfluous element caused by the uncertainties and reformulations of spoken-like language, an element such as *da* can carry a purely functional meaning. We can thus characterize these elements as information structural markers that help maintain coherence in a spoken-like text. Although not discussed in this dissertation, “redundant” elements can also produce modal meanings that emphasize emotional aspects of the statement (Weinert 1999, 2007, 2013).

Such considerations can then be taken into an account when exploring other languages that contain apparently doubled and/or discontinuous constituents. Doubled pronominal elements appear in certain Romance languages. In Italian, the use of such phrases as *A me mi piace...* ‘For me, I (would) like...’ is cited as an instance of “bad grammar.” In Castilian Spanish “redundant” personal pronouns appear as clitics attached to the finite verb in cases where the referent of the pronoun is already clear. At the very least, this dissertation indicates that studies into these phenomena would do well to look beyond the lexical nature of syntactic constituents.

The importance of discontinuous structures caused by information structural factors also extends beyond individual Indo-European languages to human language in general. Specifically, discontinuous structure relates to the typological division

made between so-called “configurational languages”, which “are said to be ordered in terms of constituents whose syntactic functions are determined by their placement in PS [phrase structure]”, and “nonconfigurational” languages, “[which] do not depend on PS for determining syntactic function” (Golumbia 2004: 2, 4). This typological division was first made by Hale (1978) and then more publicly by Chomsky (1981) and has since remained a classification for languages (Golumbia 2004: 4). This division, however, does not take into account internal language variation based on the level of immediate language in a discourse. Spoken-like structures, such as discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German, can have the quality of a feature from a non-configurational language. One example of such a discontinuous structure in a non-configurational language is the phenomenon of discontinuous NPs in Swampy Cree, an Algonquian language in Manitoba.

(65)

Nisto kî-kwâskohtiwak arîkidak
 three 3.PERF-jump.PLUR frog.PLUR
 ‘The THREE frogs jumped.’

(Reinholtz 1999: 208, ex. 12b)

Although no indication of prosody is given in the Swampy Cree example, Reinholtz makes clear in the English translation that such a structure places an accent on the word *nisto* ‘three’. Further, she comments that these structures “are characteristically found in contexts where it is appropriate to place special emphasis on a nominal modifier which forms part of a larger, containing NP, specifically when the modifier is seen to provide new and/or contrastive information” (Reinholtz 1999: 208). In other words, using the terminology of this dissertation, the NP is in the focus domain. Furthermore, the preferred communicative purpose of this clause

is “as a correction to someone who falsely reported TWO frogs to have jumped” (Reinholtz 1999: 208). Thus the clause-level purpose of the clause is not to provide more information about the topic of *frogs*, i.e. that they jumped, but rather to correctly *identify* the number of frogs that jumped. Thus, if we place this clause into our schematic alongside a German example of a focus-presupposition clause, we see the same information structural pattern.

(66)

<i>Nisto kî-kwâskohtiwak arîsak</i>	A: Zwei Frösche sind gesprungen.
three 3.PERF-jump. frog. PLUR	B: Nein, DREI Frösche sind gesprungen!
‘The THREE frogs jumped.’	‘The THREE frogs jumped’
Subject: Non-topic (Swampy Cree: marked syntactically); (German: marked prosodically)	
Accent: Only subject accented	
Purpose: Identify	
Presupposition:	X frogs jumped.
Assertion:	X = three (not two)
Focus Dom:	NP

The main difference between how these two languages express this statement is syntactic with possible prosodic marking accompaniment, in Swampy Cree, versus solely prosodic marking, in German, of the subject as a non-topic. Therefore, in this instance and most likely in other instances, both configurational and non-configurational languages are rule-bound; however, the rules are not always syntactic phrase structure rules.

Interestingly, many non-configurational languages are also languages that tend not to have extremely well-developed distance varieties. According to

Columbia “to some degree, the amount of contact with modern processes of standardization and most especially print mechanization correlate inversely with the ‘rule-boundedness’ and elemental discreteness of languages” (2004: 16). Therefore, nonconfigurational languages may be the result of having an immediate language variety whose aggregative structures are not challenged by integrative alternatives from a strong distance variety developed in the processes of *Ausbau/Verschriftlichung*³⁴. The result may then be a higher tolerance for aggregation/discontinuity in “non-configurational” languages than “configurational languages.” This solution would also help explain the existence of Auer’s (2004) non-dialectal, nonstandard structures: these aggregative and/or discontinuous structures appear in all regional varieties, especially in immediate language contexts, but do not appear in the standard variety (usually associated with the written, distance variety) because they violate standardizers’ preference for integrative structures / continuous constituents.

As a final note, the discontinuity displayed by split NPs in Swampy Cree is different from that of the discontinuity displayed by discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German. Swampy Cree split NPs are an example of syntactic discontinuity, i.e. a single syntactic constituent is disrupted for information structural reasons, e.g. to indicate the focus domain of a clause. Meanwhile, as noted at the beginning of this study, discontinuous pronominal adverbs in German are an

³⁴ This is not to say that non-configurational languages do not have a distance variety. All languages, even those without a tradition of writing, have a distance variety according to Koch & Oesterreicher. However, this distance variety, called “elaborated oral expressivity” in languages without writing, may not achieve the same level of integrative structures that a prototypical distance variety achieves (Koch & Oesterreicher 2007: 357)

example of referential discontinuity, i.e. two separate syntactic constituents with the same referent appear in a clause for one information structural and one grammatical reason, e.g. to indicate the clause topic and to indicate the object of a preposition. The differences in these types of discontinuity should be noted in order to ensure an accurate comparison among discontinuities of the same type.

7.2 Limitations

Several aspects of the research design that served to maintain the boundaries of this dissertation also limited the number and type of results. The most obvious limitation is the number of speakers whose speech was examined. Although the speakers reported on in this dissertation came from strategically determined locations (i.e. two speakers from one city in each of the seven major dialect areas of Germany), certainly more speakers from more areas could be sampled. Extending this sampling would help lessen the impact of any possible idiosyncratic patterns or misinterpreted results from any of the speakers. In most cases, the body of REDE data itself would allow for this because a second middle-aged speaker and sometimes, though not always, a second young speaker were interviewed from each city. Furthermore, as noted earlier, the REDE corpus consists of recordings from 150 total cities in Germany, so an expansion of the data set could be done using existing data. On a related note, although this dissertation did not focus on intergenerational differences in apparent-time usage of nonstandard pronominal adverbs, extant recordings from the oldest set of speakers could be included and compared with usage in the two younger generations of speakers.

In addition to increasing the sample size by adding individuals from different locations and generations, one could extend the scope of this project by examining the pronominal adverbs and information structure in the set of free discussion recordings, the so-called *Freundesgespräche* ‘conversations between friends’. Although, as I noted in chapter five, the *Freundesgespräche* produced fewer instances of pronominal adverbs than I wanted, the quantity of material once fully transcribed would certainly yield results. At that point, the resulting tokens could be compared with those from the interviews to produce some insight into the effect of register and context on pronominal adverb and information structural usage.

A final limitation created by the study design that I will mention is the exclusion of all clause types beyond independent declarative clauses. In collecting the data many potentially interesting clauses were inspected, such as question clauses by interviewers that contained discontinuous adverbs.

(67)

I: aber wie wäre das denn wenn sie irgendwann mal kinder haben **würden sie da WERT drauf legen** dass die dialekt lernen auch oder dass die besonders gut hochdeutsch können

‘I: But how would it be if you had children someday. **Would you place value on** them learning dialect as well or on being able to speak especially good standard German?’

(WTJUNG1_Interview 28:31)

(68)

I: nein nicht den dialekt sondern wenn jetzt jemand einen akzent hat also wenn er hochdeutsch spricht aber einen akzent hat **gibt es da irgendwie einen NAMEN für**

‘I: No, not the dialect, rather when for example someone has an accent, that is when he speaks standard German but has an accent. **Is there any sort of name for that?**’ (WTJUNG1_Interview 41:14)

Even with just these two clauses, there are potentially interesting clues about the information structure of questions as well as their use of anaphoric and cataphoric reference. The same holds true also for relative and other dependent clauses, which have been noted by Fleischer (2002, 2008), Negele (2012), and Duden (2009) to contain interesting uses of nonstandard pronominal adverbs.

(69)

RD7: die d-mark war ja eine währung die auch kulturellerbe irgendwo behütet hat wenn ich mir den fünfzigmarkschein nehme den alten fünfzigmarkschein **wo also fast fast die gesamte geschichte von WÜRZBURG drauf ist**

'RD7: The D-mark was really a currency that also in a way preserved cultural heritage. When I take the fifty mark bill, take the old fifty mark bill, **where almost almost the entire history of Würzburg is on it.**'
(RD7_Interview 29:30)

In addition, other relative clauses contain continuous and discontinuous pronominal adverbs that are used in ways very similar to those in independent declarative clauses.

(70)

HST4: aus hannover hatten wir da zwanzig **die sich auch immer damit schön (d) dargestellt haben** dass sie dann das beste deutsch natürlich sprechen und [so]

HST4: 'From Hannover we had twenty guys there, **who always presented themselves** as speaking, of course, the best German, and so on'
(HST4_Interview 24:56)

(71)

I: wie verwurzelt in Stralsund

HST4: ja hatte ich ja schon gesagt ich möchte hier gar nicht weg (et) es sei denn der beruf würde das erfordern *_nichtwahr,ne_* aber man hat hier gebaut das ist ja auch immer noch so ein hindernis **was nachher mit zu kommt** *_nichtwahr,ne_* also nein ich wenn man manchmal auch schimpft auf auf diese doofe verwaltung hier in der stadt aber eigentlich liebe ich die stadt (ich) möchte nicht weg

'I: How rooted are you in Stralsund?

HST4: Yeah, I said already that I'd rather not move away from here at all, except if my job would require it, right? But you have built her and that is such a barrier [to moving] **that comes along with it, right?** So, no, I ...even when you sometimes curse the stupid local government here in the city....but really I love the city. I'd rather not leave.' (HST4_Interview 1:01:16)

Now that we have a clearer picture of both discontinuous pronominal adverbs and information structure, I would like to revisit the idea from chapter two about relative clauses being a fertile environment for discontinuous pronominal adverbs. Relative clauses contain all of the factors needed for discontinuous pronominal adverbs: a relative particle is an obligatory element that has the function of indicating the topic of the relative clause, i.e. the antecedent of the relative clause.

(72)

- a. Das ist der Mann, der mich gesehen hat. 'That is the man who saw me.'
- b. Das ist der Mann, den ich gesehen habe. 'That is the man (who(m)) I saw.'
- c. Das ist der Mann, mit dem ich unterrichtet habe.

'That is the man with whom I taught.

In each case, no matter what grammatical case the antecedent is placed in in the relative clause, it always remains the topic of the relative clause.

(73)

- a. Assertion: As for the man, X = He saw me.
- b. Assertion: As for the man, X = I saw him.
- c. Assertion: As for the man, X = I taught with him.

It makes sense that relative clauses with their set functional topic marker would exhibit discontinuous pronominal adverb structures. Therefore, the historical written tokens and the contemporary oral tokens of discontinuous pronominal adverbs may be an indication that topic marking is a main motivation for discontinuous constituents.

Now that some groundwork has been laid for the study of nonstandard constructions on information structural basis, I believe researchers can begin to explore more variations on the theme of continuous and discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

7.3 Future Research

In addition to remedying the limitation of this study, there are also two courses of future research that are clearly connected to this dissertation. First, the word order of discontinuous pronominal adverbs appears to be variable. The question of whether the initial functional clause-topic marker of a truly discontinuous pronominal adverb appears in the prefield or middle field does not have an immediately visible solutions. According to Lambrecht (1994) a topic marking element can appear anywhere once its referent has been identified. Therefore, the answer to this question may have to due with more general word ordering rules and connect to the phenomenon of scrambling.

Second, close doubling pronominal adverbs were left entirely out of consideration for the purposes of this dissertation and its emphasis on discontinuity. However, let us examine one of the close doubling tokens, all of which are documented in the appendix.

(74)

DD4: aber ansonsten ja rede ich schon so wie mir das mau! gewachsen ist
 also ich weiß nicht **also es ist ich achte da drauf auch nicht** ich rede eben
 (DD4_Interview 13:30)

Here it appears that the speaker uses an initial functional discourse topic marker *da* 'how the speakers speaks' and a grammatical mark *d'* that serves as the object of the preposition *auf* and indicates the same referent 'how the speaker speaks'. However, such close doublings may also have to do with strengthening a phonetically weak *d'*. With a grand total of three close doublings, I do not feel confident about making any final conclusions until they can be compared with similar tokens.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter the implications, limitations, and future research opportunities from this study were outlined. In terms of implications this dissertation indicated that while syntax alone can tell us how a structure works, it sometimes takes other considerations to tell us why this structure exists. In the case of discontinuous pronominal adverbs, information structure in the context of immediate language discourse provided us with a functional reason, i.e. clause topic marking, for a structure. In addition I noted that discontinuity can take multiple forms, which should be considered separately. Nevertheless, the concepts of this

dissertation, built around referential discontinuity, may have analogues in the field of syntactic discontinuity.

Following the implications of the dissertation, I noted that several limitations were present in this study. First, the somewhat low number of tokens, which helped limit that scope of the research, could be increased using additional REDE data. Similarly the single immediate language discourse type of interview could be expanded to other immediate language discourse types, such as free speech offered in the *Freundesgespräche* in REDE. Finally, the fact that only declarative independent clauses were studied could be improved though investigating other clause types, especially questions and relative clauses, which also appear to be fertile environments for discontinuous pronominal adverbs.

In addition to alleviating the limitations of this study, other streams of future research were identified. In particular, the word order of discontinuous pronominal adverbs is an intriguing problem. What causes the initial functional clause topic-marker to appear sometimes in the prefield and sometimes in the middlefield? Such research could definitely extend into the larger question of scrambling. Another enticing line of research involves the continuous but non-standard pronominal adverbs referred to as close doubling. I indicate that appear to work like discontinuous pronominal adverbs, i.e. are semantically discontinuous, but future research is needed to confirm this point. This future research may involve investigating additional phonotactic factors that lead to a doubling effect.

7.5 Final Thoughts

At the end of this work, I would like to bring together not only the points of this chapter but also of the dissertation in general. Most basic of all is the core insight of Lambrecht (1994) that the term *information* as used in information structure identifies a process in which relationships between referents are created. Functional markers, indicating presuppositional content, serve as links in creating these relationships between referents. Functional markers, while all serving the purposes of relationship building, perform different functions based on whether they are used in topic-comment clauses, where they are topic markers or scene-setting elements; or in focus-presupposition clauses or inthetic clauses, where they are scene-setting elements.

Furthermore, I believe this dissertation has taken a step in recognizing the effect of information structural paradigms on syntactic structures. Irregularities in syntax become clearer in the light of knowing if elements such as *da* have an information structural function and therefore may differ from *da*-elements with pure lexical/grammatical/syntactic function.

I also believe the points brought up in this dissertation about clause-level and discourse-level effects can be used to understand better the interaction between these two levels. For example, if a clause receives an unexpected accent or change in word order based on what is known about its clausal information structure, then steps can be taken to look at the wider discourse in order to determine how the structure of the text is affecting an individual clause.

Finally, and perhaps most tentatively, I believe this dissertation could create a path for understanding “nonstandard” constructions and “non-configurational languages.” Since these constructions and languages are subject not only to the regularities of syntax but also of information structure, then looking closer at this interaction will produce a more harmonious characterization of them.

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Appendix: Tokens in Context

The following appendix includes all of the utterances that contain pronominal adverbs, both continuous and discontinuous, in the fourteen recordings that were examined for this study. As in the dissertation above, the utterances are transcribed using only lower-case letters, a convention of the REDE project. Main and occasionally secondary sentence accents are indicated by the appearance of the word or syllable in question in small caps. The only punctuation used in the transcriptions are brackets, “[]”, to indicate speech overlap, parentheses, “()”, to indicate best approximations of unclear words, parentheses with ellipses, “(...)”, to indicate no good approximation of unclear words was possible, and curly braces “{ }” to indicate meta-textual explanations by me, for example to explain an utterance that would require an unusually large amount of text or to explain a German-specific construction.

As for the layout of the appendix below, the tokens have been ordered by pronominal adverb continuity/discontinuity and geography. Discontinuous pronominal adverbs, which are the main interest of this study, appear first followed by continuous pronominal adverbs. As an aid to non-German-speaking readers, translations of all of the discontinuous and some of the continuous utterances have been given. Within the discontinuous and continuous sections northern speakers appear before southern speakers and western speakers appear before eastern speakers, i.e. Alt Duvenstadt (RD), Stralsund (HST), Dresden (DD), Wittlich (WIT), Bamberg (BA), Waldshut-Tiengen (WT), Trostberg (TS). A .csv file will also be attached to this work in order to provide more searchable access to the data.

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(5:40)

I: welche erfahrungen haben sie außerhalb des wohnortes im beuzg auf ihre sprache oder die sprache anderer gemacht also zum beispiel bei dem ausbildungsstudium bundeswehrzeit oder ähnliches

I: What experiences outside of your place of residence have you had in relationship to your language or the language of others, so for example during your career training, military service, or something similar.

RD7: äh der dialekt hat mir geholfen im praktischen berufsalltag also nach der ausbildung weil ähm wir mit allen bevölkerungsschichten zu tun haben und viele ältere bürger jenseits der sechzig auch viel landwirte mit denen wir auch viel sprechen über den notruf äh **da kriegt man da KRIEGT man schon ein anderes GEFÜHL Ø-für** es ist einfacher mit denen zu verhandeln

RD7: Um, dialect has helped me in my practical day to day life in my career, so after my training, because uh we deal with every social level including many older citizens over sixty and a lot of farmers whom we speak with during emergency calls uh through this **you get you really get a different feeling for (the local dialect)**. It's easier to deal with them.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition Ø 'what dialect speakers are saying during an emergency call'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'what dialect speakers are saying during an emergency call'

X / Focus =

you get a different feeling for (it) when you know the dialect

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'when you know the dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference Ø 'what dialect speakers are saying during an emergency call'

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusPrep

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(7:12)

I: ähm welche erfahrungen haben sie bezüglich ihres dialektes im ausland gemacht?

I: Um, what experience do you have regarding your dialect in other countries?

RD7: habe ich nicht gebraucht äh was heißt nicht gebraucht (7:20) **ich kam damit nicht klar** ich stieß dort ich england frankreich spanien äh selbst selbst die deutschsprachigen länder österreich oder schweiz kamen mit plattdeutsch nicht zurecht wobei das ist ja eine regionale geschichte ich wenn ich jetzt in schleswig in schleswig-holstein (7:35) **es gibt ja noch an der an der westküste dieses friesische der friesische dialekt... Ø komme ich ÜBERHAUPT nicht Ø-mit KLAR** der hat also überhaupt keine ähnlichkeit mit dem plattdeutschen

RD7: Never needed it. Uh, what do I mean by "needed" ? I couldn't get by with it. I ran up against in England, France, even German-speaking countries, Austria or Switzerland, couldn't cope with Low German. Although that is a regional thing. I..when I'm in Schleswig in Schleswig-Holstein **there's also on the on the west coast this Frisian...this Frisian dialect. I can't deal with it.** It bears absolutely no similarity to Low German.

Subject *ich 'I'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition Ø 'the Frisian dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'the Frisian dialect'

X /
Focus =

the speaker doesn't understand it / can't deal with it

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference Ø 'the Frisian dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference Ø- 'the Frisian dialect'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

I: Eher Hamburger Ecke als noch nördlicher?
 RD7: ja also hamburg ist für die (...) schleswigholstein wir haben relativ kleinen städte hier oben **da können die nicht so rasend viel Ø-mit ANFANGEN** aber hamburg ist für die ein begriff da wurde ich schon hin gesteckt doch

E: [Southerners guess you are from] more around Hamburg than somewhere more northern?
 RD7: Yes, because Hamburg is for them (...) Schleswig-Holstein we have relatively small cities up here, **which aren't really know to them**, but Hamburg is known to them. That's indeed where I've been placed.

Subject *die* 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'our relatively small cities in Schleswig-Holstein'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'our relatively small cities in Schleswig-Holstein'

X /
Focus =

Southerners can not really locate / recognize names of (them).

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 *da* 'our relatively small cities in Schleswig-Holstein'

Discontinuous Part 2

Ø 'our relatively small cities in Schleswig-Holstein' i'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

I: also sie hatten wahrscheinlich auch kinder in der klasse in der grundschule die da (16:08)

I: So you probably also had children in the class in elementary school who

RD7: wir haben ein zwei ja doch haben wir auch gehabt die mit plattdeutsch ausschließlich rein kamen äh **aber KINDER haben da kein PROBLEM Ø-mit** die lernen so was spielerisch die die konnten halt nicht schreiben das war halt äh das schreiben haben die gelernt mit dem gleichen status quo den wir hatten als als hochdeutschkinder sage ich mal vorsichtig äh und die sprache das haben die ich habe nie gemerkt dass die schwierigkeiten haben das haben die die konnten halt zweigleisig sprechen

RD7: We had one two, yes no, we also had some that came in with exclusively Low German, uh **but children don't have a problem with that.** They learn such things through playing. They they couldn't write of course. That was uh. They learned writing at the same time as us as Standard German children to put it cautiously, and as for the language, they...I never noticed that they had difficulties. They... they simply had two ways that they could speak.

Subject *Kinder* 'children'

Accented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition Learning a new language

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Learning a new language

X /
Focus =

Children do not have any problem with that.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'learning a new language'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference Ø- 'learning a new language'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

I: müssen sie sich da besonders mühe geben oder
 RD7: nicht besonders mühe das ist bei mir ist das äh im laufe der jahre hat sich das ent entwickelt dass ist normal ist normale sprechweise also da muss ich mich nicht an mich an mich denken oder mich konzentrieren (17:28) **da habe ich kein PROBLEM Ø-mit** dialekt reine dialektsprache ähm gibt es schon auf goldenen hochzeiten oder oder äh runden geburtstagen wo also tatsächlich ganze gesellschaften nur plattdeutsch sprechen

E: Does it take extra effort [to speak Standard German at work], or not?
 RD7: It's not extra effort. That's been for me it's uh in the course of the years that has developed that is normal, the normal way of speaking. In other words I don't have to think about myself about myself or concentrate. **I don't have any problem with it.** As for dialect, pure dialectal language, um that does occur at golden wedding anniversaries or or uh significant birthdays where entire gatherings of people speak only Low German.

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'using Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'using Standard German'

X / Focus = the speaker has no problem with it.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference *da* 'using Standard German'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference Ø 'using Standard German'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(9:42)

I: ist das dann dasselbe plattdeutsch was der opa spricht also hat die das gelernt hier oder ist das ein anderes was sie irgendwie aus ihrer heimat mitgebracht hat

RDJUNG1: also so viel plattdeutsch redet sie eigentlich gar nicht also sie mit uns und mit der familie und so redet sie eigentlich immer so also das ist würde ich auch sagen dass das immer nur teilweise so wörter oder sätze sind zum beispiel benutzt sie den namen von meinem vater sagt sie der heißt heinrich dann sagt sie hein einfach so so abkürzung oder weiß ich (irgendwie) einen spitznamen oder so sagt man auf auf plattdeutsch da sagt man das wahrscheinlich einfach und auch ja so (wenn sie mit dem) opa redet manchmal so ein paar sätze **aber da habe ich auch noch nicht wirklich drauf [geACHTET]**

I: Is that the same Low German that your grandpa speaks, that is, did she learn that here or is that a different one that she somehow brought with her from her home?

RDJUNG1: Well she actually doesn't speak that much Low German at all. That is, with us and with the family she always speaks so That is that's I would also say that it's always just in part just words or sentences. For example whenever she uses my father's name uh she says, his name is Heinrich, then she says Hein just like that like abbreviations or I don't know like a nicknames and such are said in Low German. That's just how it's done probably. And also yeah like when she's talking with grandpa sometimes like a few sentences, **but I really haven't ever paid attention to that.**

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the speaker's grandmother's use of Low German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the speaker's grandmother's use of Low German'

X /
Focus =

the speaker has never really paid attention to it

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'the speaker's grandmother's use of Low German'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'the speaker's grandmother's use of Low German'

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusSimpleMiddlefield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition bei

Token In Context

Translation

(14:31)

RDJUNG1: mein vater hat auch überlegt ob er mich in plattdeutsch dann aufzieht aber irgendwie hat es nicht gemacht finde ich auch ein bisschen schade muss ich sagen

I: wissen sie warum er es nicht gemacht hat

RDJUNG1: (...) die hat

I: haben ihre eltern das irgendwie mal erzählt?

RDJUNG1: ja die hatten mal überlegt und so was

und wollten auch aber dann haben sie es halt

einfach nicht konsequent einfach nicht

konsequent durchgezogen nicht die geduld

gehabt oder vielleicht auch einfach nicht die zeit

oder es ist natürlich **auch Ø muss man**

natürlich auch sich konzentrieren dabei

ständig [das haben so] hatten sie das gesagt

RDJUNG1: My father even thought about raising me in Low German, but somehow he didn't do it. I think it's a little sad, I have to say.

I: Do you know why he didn't do it?

RDJUNG1: (...) they had

I: Did your parents ever tell you that?

RDJUNG1: Yes, they had thought about it and all

and also wanted to but then they just didn't

consistently just didn't consistently do it. Didn't

have the patience or maybe simply not the time

or it's also of course **you have to of course also**

constantly concentrate while doing it. That's

what like that's what they said.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition Ø/da 'speaking dialect to children'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø/da 'speaking dialect to children'

X /
Focus =

Of course you have to also concentrate constantly when **doing it.**

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Ø 'speaking dialect to children'

Discontinuous Part 2

da 'speaking dialect to children'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusSimpleMiddlefield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(20:36)

I: wie gut war das hochdeutsch der lehrer?

RDJUNG1: [das ist] **kann ich mich KAUM noch dran erinnern** aber ich glaube eigentlich dass die lehrer die haben das alle normales deutsch geredet wie man halt mit (grundschul) grundschulkindern [redet] also nicht zu abgehoben aber auch nicht zu umgangssprachlich

I: How good was the teacher's Standard German?

RDJUNG1: [That's] **I can hardly remember that**, but I actually think that the the teachers they all spoke normal German the way you would like speak it to (elementaryscho) elementary school children, so not too formal but also not too colloquial.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø/d' 'the quality of the speaker's grade school teachers' Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø/d' 'the quality of the speaker's grade school teachers' Standard German'

X /
Focus =

the speaker can barely remember **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Ø 'the quality of the speaker's grade school teachers' Standard German'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'the quality of the speaker's grade school teachers' Standard German'

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(32:04)

RDJUNG1: wenn man mit denen auf (söm) auf so einem geburtstag ist wo eigentlich nur sage ich mal ausländer sind oder türken kurden und sonstiges und da war ich mit einem mit einem mit einem kumpel zusammen dort und sage ich mal die einzigen sage ich mal die einzigen deutschen und dann redet man natürlich schon total anders weil die reden ja auch also der die reden ja total umgangssprachlich und hey dicker was geht und so reden die ja **da muss man sich auch drauf EINSTELLEN können** wenn man da jetzt so von oben herab redet dann dann ist es einfach unfreundlich oder dann das kommt auch einfach nur affig dann ein bisschen rüber

RDJUNG1: Whenever you're with them (at li) at like a birthday party where actually just, let's say, foreigners are or Turks, Kurds, and others. And I was there together with a with a with a buddy and I'd say the only I'd say we were the only Germans and then of course you you speak completely differently because they also speak like the they speak completely colloquially and "Hey man, what's up?" and like that. They, yeah, **there you have to be able to adapt to that.** If you then speak like super formally then then it's just unfriendly or then it just comes across a little bit ridiculous.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da, d' 'the speaker's Turkish and Kurdish friends' colloquial speech'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da, d' 'the speaker's Turkish and Kurdish friends' colloquial speech'

X / Focus =

you have to adjust to **it** in a case like the birthday party.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da "the speaker's Turkish and Kurdish friends' colloquial speech' & situations with colloquial speech

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d'(rauf) 'the speaker's Turkish and Kurdish friends' colloquial speech'

Part 1 Type Both Clause Topic Marker & Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusSimpleMiddlefield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition neben

Token In Context

Translation

I: und was macht man da in der grundschule [(...)]?

I: What do you do there?

RDJUNG1: [das ist eine] das ist eine (integrations) da gibt es integrationsklassen integrationsschule und ich kümmere mich dann hauptsächlich das sind dann die so genannten (ikinder) sind dann immer so vier fünf in einer klasse und um die kümmere ich mich dann oder auch besonders um die härtefälle **Ø sitze ich dann DANEBEN die nicht still sitzen können** die ganze zeit zappeln

RDJUNG1: There are integration classes there... [at the] intergration school and I mainly take care of ... those are then the so-called "I-children"... there are always about four or five in a class ... and those are the ones I take care of then or especially the difficult cases ... **I sit next to them, the ones who can't sit still**, who fidget the whole time.

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition Ø 'the difficult children'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'the difficult children'

X / Focus = The speaker sits next to **them**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference Ø 'the difficult children' (anaphoric)

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference da 'upcoming idea = those who can't sit still' (cataphoric)

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(44:16)

I: gab es noch irgendwelche wichtigen einschnitte

RDJUNG1: [na es gab vielleicht (n)] na es gab vielleicht noch das vom fußball her dass wir (d) auch viele dänische schüler hatten also wir haben auch in eckernförde dänische schulen und dass man **da kommt man auch manchmal in kontakt Ø-mit (...)** sage ich mal und auch zur grenze hier [einfach oben]

I: Were there any other important events?

RDJUNG1: [Well there was perhaps (a)] Well there was also perhaps the influence from soccer that we (...) also had a lot of Danish students. So we have in Eckernförde {town name} a Danish school and that **you sometimes come into contact with that (...)**, so to speak, and also with the border here just above.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da/Ø* 'Danish students'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da/Ø* 'Danish students'

X /
Focus = one sometimes comes into contact with them.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous *da* 'Danish students'

Discontinuous Ø 'Danish students'

Part 1
Reference

Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(59:31)

I: oder unterschiede zum hochdeutsch zum beispiel {i.e. Wie unterscheidet sich der örtliche dialekt vom hochdeutschen}

RDJUNG1: die sprache hört sich gemütlicher an finde ich also das ist das rollt so ein bisschen mehr vor sich hin (...) und ich kann die (...) das ist alles so gemütlicher einfacher vielleicht ja ich würde sagen einfach nur wirklich gemütlicher und einfacher **man muss da nicht so wirklich drauf achten wie man das ausspricht** auch nicht so exakt auf den punkt genau und jedes wort richtig aussprechen sondern man kann das wie gesagt einfach mal vernuscheln oder einfach mal (I) einfach mal loslassen oder so

I: or differences to Standard German for example? {i.e. How does the local dialect differ from Standard German?}

RDJUNG1: I find that the language here sounds friendlier, like it's it just flows easily (...) and I can (...) It's all just friendlier, simpler. Maybe, yeah, I would say just really friendlier and simpler. **You don't have to concentrate on how you pronounce it.** Don't have to be so exact, exactly on point and pronounce every word correctly, rather you can, as I said, just mumble or just like simply let it out.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition when speaking the local dialect

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for when speaking the local dialect

X / Focus = you don't really have to pay attention to (upcoming idea)

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'when speaking the local dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference d'(rauf) 'upcoming idea = how you pronounce things'

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

I: und können die was mit anfangen also die sind jetzt noch eine ganze ecke jünger wie ist das da so {i.e. wie gut verstehen die grundschulkinder wörter auf platt}
 RDJUNG1: [ja] schwierig schwierig ist auch immer abhängig von den lehrern ob die darauf wert legen dass die das teilweise weil die zahlen können sie fast alle wenn man jetzt dritte vierte klasse weil die auch englisch haben [schon] dann können sie das auch schon aber ja so was wie _schmetterling,botterlicker_ das ist _schmetterling,botterlicker_ ist ist schmetterling und (1:04:34) **da wäre ich zum beispiel nie drauf gekommen** _schmetterling,botterlicker_ [schmetterling] und das (w) es ist immer mit bild daneben sonst hätte ich das auch nicht gewusst aber die kinder da die teilweise haben echt überhaupt keine ahnung

I: and can they understand that because they are a quite a bit younger. How is that? {i.e. How well do the elementary school children understand words in Low German?}
 RDJUNG1: [Mhm] that's tough tough. Also it always depends on the teacher whether they value that partly because they pretty much all know their numbers if they're in the third, fourth grade because they have also already had English. Then they can also do that already, but, yeah, something like *Botterlicker* that is *Botterlicker* means 'butterfly' and **I never would have come up with that.** *Botterlicker*,butterfly. And that (wa) there's always a picture next to it otherwise I wouldn't have known it either, but the children there they sometimes really have no idea.

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'the meaning of the dialect word for butterfly'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'the meaning of the dialect word for butterfly'

X /
Focus =

the speaker would never have come up with it.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'the meaning of the dialect word for butterfly'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference d'(rauf) 'the meaning of the dialect word for butterfly'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

I: und äh gab es mal irgendwelche reaktionen auf ihr hochdeutsch also von den sachsen von den thüringern

I: And uh were there ever any reactions to your Standard German, that is from the Saxons, from the Thuringians?

HST4: gar nicht wir waren wir waren wir waren (im) wir waren immer **und da waren wir auch STOLZ drauf** wir waren immer die fischköpfe es war ja aufgeteilt _nichtwahr,ne_ es gab (w) wir waren die fischköpfe das andere waren die bouletten die berliner so und ich weiß gar nicht wie wir die sachsen und thüringer genannt haben

HST4: Not at all. We were...we were...we were... in the... we were always...**and (that) we were proud of [the fact] that** we were always the "fish-heads" [i.e. people from the coast]. It was all separated out, you see, we were the fish-heads the others were the "meatballs" [a typical dish from Berlin] the Berliners, right, and I don't know what we called the Saxons and Thuringians.

Subject *wir* 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da / d'* 'upcoming idea = speaker and his northern colleagues were called the 'fish heads' "

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da / d'* 'upcoming idea = speaker and his northern colleagues were called the 'fish heads' "

X /
Focus =

The speaker and his colleagues were proud of **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference *da* 'upcoming idea =speaker and his northern colleagues were called the 'fish heads' "

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference *d'* 'upcoming idea = speaker and his northern colleagues were called the 'fish heads' "

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(51:57)

I: haben sie eine bezeichnung für diese sprechweise also die sie vorhin gesprochen haben bei (die) bei dieser übersetzungsaufgabe
HST4: ja dass dass ich ein paar brocken plattdeutsch kann mehr mehr ist nicht drin eine bezeichnung dafür

I: Do you have a name for the way of speaking, meaning the one that you just spoke during the during this translation task.

HST4: Yeah, that that I can speak a smattering of Low German. I don't have anything beyond that.

A name for that?

I: also so eine bezeichnung wie hochdeutsch oder plattdeutsch

I: That is a name like Standard German or Low German.

HST4: nein also das was ich was ich noch wiedergeben kann das würde ich das wäre vermessen da von plattdeutsch zu reden da [so ja]

HST4: No, that is to say, what I can express I would it would be presumptuous to call that Low German [so yes].

I: Exactly. That's why I'm asking for another name.

I: genau deswegen frage ich nach einer anderen bezeichnung

HST4: **[Yes] No, I don't have a name for that {1 second} that.**

HST4: (52:51) **[ja] nein da habe ich auch keine BEZEICHNUNG Ø-für {1 Sekunde} das**

Subject *ich 'I'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da 'language variety of just a few Low German words and phrases'*

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da 'language variety of just a few Low German words and phrases'*

X / Focus =

the speaker has no name for (it)

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference *da 'language variety of just a few Low German words and phrases'*

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference *Ø 'language variety of just a few Low German words and phrases'*

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(55:46)

I: und ähm das plattdeutsch was in schleswig-holstein gesprochen wird

HST4: **da habe ich ja nun GAR keine ahnung Ø-von**

I: And, uh, {how is the Low German Spoken in Stralsund different from} the Low German that is spoken in Schleswig-Holstein?

HST4: I have absolutely no knowledge of that.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the Low German that is spoken in Schleswig-Holstein'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the Low German that is spoken in Schleswig-Holstein'

X /
Focus =

the speaker has absolutely no understanding of (it.)

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'the Low German that is spoken in Schleswig-Holstein'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Ø 'the Low German that is spoken in Schleswig-Holstein'

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(18:35)

HSTJUNG: wenn ich mich richtig erinnere hatten wir da ein ein stück aufgeführt das durfte ich dann sogar so in der normalen sprechweise mit ein bisschen verstärkt sogar noch machen also halt diese normale sprechweise da war das dann eher egal **aber so bei anderen stücken da wurde dann doch schon drauf geachtet dass es auch richtig betont und auch von der aussprache her richtig war** aber bei dem anderen stück da war das auch wieder so frei von der leber

HSTJUNG: If I remember correctly, we performed a piece in which I was allowed to do in my normal manner of speaking including even a bit of amplification so like just the normal way of speaking. In that case it didn't really matter. **But, so, with other pieces proper intonation was paid attention to and also that the pronunciation was correct**, but again with the other piece it was just speaking freely.

Subject da 'there'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'upcoming information = that the intonation and pronunciation were correct'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'upcoming information = that the intonation and pronunciation were correct'

X / Focus = Attention was paid to **it** then / in those other cases.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 da 'in other pieces'

Discontinuous Part 2

d' 'upcoming information = that the intonation and pronunciation were correct'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition unter

Token In Context

Translation

(9:24)

I: deswegen habe ich nachgefragt mit den (Verst) oder ob es auch Verständnisschwierigkeiten gab mal die gab es dann im Urlaub ja

DD4: ja also da musste man dann schon weil auch immer bestimmte bezeichnungen zu ich sage mal zu bestimmten artikeln sind eben in dem einen bundesland so **und da versteht man hier in sachsen was ganz ANDERES drunter** die einfache bratwurst zum beispiel ist mir da untergekommen bei uns sagt man bratwurst als bratwurst das man auf das grill legt nicht wahr und ich weiß jetzt nicht wo es gewesen ist da wollte man mir für eine bratwurst den knacker geben

I: That's why I asked about the (diff) or whether there had ever been difficulties understanding. They happened during vacations, right?
DD4: Yes, that is in that case you really have to because {there are} always certain terms for, let me say, for certain articles they are one way in one federal state **and we here in Saxony understand that to be something completely different.** The simple bratwurst, for example, came up with me, here we say bratwurst for the bratwurst that you put on the grill, right? And I don't know where it was - someone there wanted to give me a knackwurst in the place of a bratwurst.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da / d' 'words that have different articles and different meanings in the different federal states'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da / d' 'words that have different articles and different meanings in the different federal states'

X /
Focus =

We here in Saxony may associate **them** with something completely different.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'words that have different articles and different meanings in the different federal states'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'words that have different articles and different meanings in the different federal states'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(20:58)

I: gibt es denn bestimmte anlässe, bei denen sie möglichst so hochdeutsch beziehungsweise. so dialektal wie möglich also dass sie sich in beiden extremen so mühe geben sprechen

DD4: also für das hochdeutsch gibt es sicherlich anlässe also das ist wie gesagt wenn man was es für eine veranstaltung ist zum beispiel da würde ich schon denken dass ich da da sehr stark bemüht bin hochdeutsch zu sprechen und dieses sächsisch weil es eben auch nicht für jeden so angenehm vielleicht zu hören ist nicht wahr **Ø gibt ja da unterschiedliche MEINUNGEN dazu** da würde ich schon versuchen oder so gut wie möglich hochdeutsch zu sprechen aber das gelingt mir nicht so weil da immer ein akzent dabei sein wird

I: Are there occasions in which you speak as close as possible to Standard German or as dialectally as possible, that is that you make an effort toward both extremes?

DD4: Well for Standard German there are surely occasions. So as I said, if you {depending on} what type of occasion it is for example I would think that I would try I'd strive very hard to speak Standard German and this Saxon accent, because it's really not so pleasant for everyone to hear, right, **there are different opinions about that**. In a case like that I would definitely try as good as I can to speak Standard German, but I won't really succeed at it because there will always be an accent there.

Subject Ø 'there (is/are)'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da,da- 'Sound of Saxon dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da,da- 'Sound of Saxon dialect'

X /
Focus =

There are different opinions about **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'Sound of Saxon dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference da- 'Sound of Saxon dialect'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(23:17)

I: ist es ihnen nicht wichtig dass ihre tochter
dialekt sprechen kann oder hochdeutsch
sprechen kann

DD4: nein also sie soll so reden wie sie sich wohl
fühlt wenn sie das bedürfnis hat da hochdeutsch
zu sprechen dann kann sie das gerne tun und
kann da auch kurse besuchen und sich trainieren
aber also ich wir LEGEN da keinen WERT drauf

I: Is it not important to you that your daughter be
able to speak dialect or be able to speak
Standard German?

DD4: No. She should speak in a way that feels
good to here. If she has the need to speak
Standard German then she can definitely do that
and can even take courses and train herself, **but,**
well, I we don't place any value on that.

Subject *wir* 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da, d' 'which language variety our
daughter uses'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da, d' 'which language variety our
daughter uses'

X /
Focus = the speaker and his wife do
not attach any importance to
it.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous da 'which language variety our
Part 1 daughter uses'

Discontinuous d' 'which language variety our
Part 2 daughter uses'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(8:32)

I: und die großmutter ähm aus dem rheinland die sie nur sporadisch kennengelernt haben wie hat sie gesprochen
 DDJUNG2: eher so dieses rheinländische sozusagen ein wenig kölnerisch schon aber **da kann ich mich nicht mehr genau dran ERINNERN** und ja kann ich auch jetzt nicht so genau sagen was das für eine sprache war

I: And the grandmother uh from the Rhineland, who you only got to know on a sporadic basis, how did she speak?
 DDJUNG2: More like this Rhinelandic, so to say, a little bit of a Cologne accent certainly but **I can't remember exactly anymore** and, yeah, I can't really say now what type of language that was.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da/d' 'Language that the speaker's grandmother from the Rhineland used'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da/d' 'Language that the speaker's grandmother from the Rhineland used'

X /
Focus =

The speaker can not exactly remember **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'Language that the speaker's grandmother from the Rhineland used'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'Language that the speaker's grandmother from the Rhineland used'

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type	DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield	Discontinuous
Reference Type	Anaphoric	Preposition auf
Token In Context		Translation
{16:11}		I: Were there any difficulties due to your upper Saxon dialect when you learned to read and write?
I: gab es denn da schwierigkeiten aufgrund dieses obersächsischen dialekts beim lesen oder schreiben lernen		DDJUNG2: Not with my own learning. No. No, up to fourth grade {but} then later perhaps someone might have said go ahead and try to speak a little Standard German-like and without an accent or also with emphasis of the vowels or. It always depends on the language in question if the consonants or the vowels should be accented. But at the beginning {of school} no. That was I also that that here it's um. Due to the fact that it's a rather provincial region, a rural region um you pay attention to that , I have to say, yes.
DDJUNG2: beim lernen selber nicht nein nein also bis zur vierten klasse dann später vielleicht wurde schon mal dann gesagt versuch doch noch ein wenig hochdeutscher dann zu sprechen und akzentfrei beziehungsweise auch halt schon mit betonung dieser vokale oder es kommt halt immer dann auf die jeweilige sprache drauf an wenn jetzt der konsonant oder der vokal betont werden soll aber am anfang nicht nein das war ich denke das ist auch hier ähm dadurch dass es eher eine dörfliche region ist eine ländliche region ähm {17:03} nimmt man da schon RÜCKSICHT drauf muss ich sagen ja		
Subject	<i>man</i> 'one'	Unaccented
Communicative Purpose	Comment	Focus Domain TP
Presupposition	da / d' 'speaking Standard German'	is/are a topic for comment X.
Assertion	As for da / d' 'speaking Standard German'	X / Focus = you really pay attention to it .
Proposition Type	Topic-Comment	
Discontinuous Part 1 Reference	da 'speaking Standard German'	Discontinuous Part 2 Reference d' 'speaking Standard German'
Part 1 Type	Clause Topic Marker	
Discontinuity	TrulyDiscontinuous	

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

{23:25}

I: und ähm im Umgang mit den Eltern hat sich da was verändert oder ist es genau dieses sächsisch geblieben was sie in ihrer vorschulzeit gesprochen haben

DDJUNG2: ähm konkret verändert hat sich eigentlich nichts aber ich achte mehr auf so die gegenseitige grammatik (r) grammatische richtigkeit muss ich sagen also der (geti) der genitiv ist dem dativ sein tod _nicht wahr, ne_ oder andersherum nein so rum dativ ist dem genitiv sein tod ja ähm **da ACHTE ich schon drauf äh dass** es also zum beispiel äh ich habe mal bei bei der fahrstunde

I: And, uh, in situations with your parents, did anything change there or did you continue with the exact same Saxon {dialect} as you did in the time before school?

DDJUNG2: Um, nothing concrete really changed, but I pay more attention to the like mutual grammar (c) grammatical correctness, I have to say, that is *The Gentive is the Death of the Dative*, right? Or the other way around, no, that way *{The} Dative is the Death of the Genitive* {a reference to a popular, mostly prescriptivist book about the German language}, yes. Um, **I do pay attention uh that** it Well for example, uh, once during a driving lesson...

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'upcoming idea'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion

As for

d' 'upcoming idea'

X /

Focus =

The speaker really pays attention to **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

da 'correct grammar'

Discontinuous

d' 'upcoming info = story about using correct grammar'

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(22:47)

I: wie wichtig ist ihnen dass die kinder wie die kinder sprechen ob die dialekt oder ob die hochdeutsch sprechen

I: How important is it to you that your children... how your children speak? Whether they speak dialect or Standard German?

WIT5: ja hochdeutsch ist schon schon wichtiger also **dieses dialekt da da würde ich keinen WERT drauf legen**

WIT5: Yes, Standard German is indeed indeed more important, and **this dialect here, I wouldn't put any value on it.**

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da, d'* 'dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da, d'* 'dialect'

X / Focus = The speaker wouldn't/doesn't attach any value to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous *da* 'dialect'

Discontinuous *d'* 'dialect'

Part 1 Reference

Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(2:07)
 I: wie ist es denn hier am ort wird hier zwischen hochdeutsch und platt noch so so eine weitere sprechweise gesprochen gibt es etwas dazwischen
 WITJUNG: bestimmt ja ist im prinzip vielleicht in die richtung wie ich das mache also dass ich dass man halt so so ein paar kleine wortfetzen vom platt einfach immer drin hat sage ich mal und nicht da exakt hochdeutsch spricht
 I: wie würden sie denn diese sprechweise nennen
 WITJUNG: (2:41) ja {5 Sekunden} keine ahnung ja ich weiß nicht **also {2 Sekunden} ja ich da gibt Ø ja keinen AUSDRUCK Ø-für**
 I: ist äh so eine so eine mischung
 WITJUNG: mhm

I: How is it here in the village? Between Standard German and dialect is there also an additional type of speaking spoken here? Is there something between them?
 WITJUNG: Certainly. Yeah, generally perhaps in the way that I speak, that is I, that you always have a few bits of dialect in there, so to speak, and don't speak exact Standard German.
 I: What would you call this way of speaking?
 WITJUNG: Yeah. {5 seconds} No idea. Yeah, I don't know. **Well {2 seconds} yeah I there's no name for it.**
 I: It's a kind of kind of mix.
 WITJUNG: Mhm.

Subject Ø/es 'Placeholder'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the way of speaking using Standard German and a few Platt words thrown in'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the way of speaking using Standard German and a few Platt words thrown in'

X /
Focus =

there is no expression for (it).

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'the way of speaking using Standard German and a few Platt words thrown in'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Ø-"the way of speaking using Standard German and a few Platt words thrown in"

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusSimpleMiddlefield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(21:05)

I: und wie sieht es weiter aus
 WITJUNG: ja also ich habe jetzt noch ein
 bisschen zeit bis oktober erstmal meine
 schlagzeugschüler jetzt aufgestockt auf
 zweiundzwanzig und dann nehme ich jetzt halt
 zusätzlich unterricht bei verschiedenen dozenten
 um mich dann im nächsten jahr also für nächstes
 jahr auf eine aufnahmeprüfung an einer
 musikhochschule vorzubereiten oktober komme
 ich dann zur bundeswehr als musiker auch und
 dann ja (es) sind ja nur noch sechs monate [und]
 (mal) gucken vielleicht verängere ich noch ein
 bisschen aber ich denke mal wird bestimmt cool
also Ø FREUE ich mich drauf

I: And what comes next?

WITJUNG: Yeah, well I still have a little time until
 October. First of all I've built up my drum students
 to twenty two and then I'm taking additional
 lesson with various teacher in order to prepare
 myself then for an entrance exam at a music
 college next year. October I'll also go to the army
 as a musician and then yeah it's just six months
 and then we'll see. Maybe I'll extend it a little bit,
 but I think it will defintiely be cool. **So I'm looking
 forward to that.**

I: Where is the music corps stationed?

I: wo ist das musikkorps stationiert

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø/d' 'Service in military band'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion

As for

Ø/d' 'Service in military band'

X /

Focus =

the speaker is looking forward
 to **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Ø 'Service in military band'

Discontinuous

d' 'Service in military band'

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(39:16)

I: und wie ist das wenn sie beispielsweise
jetzt zum zum äh kreiswehrrersatzamt oder wie
heißt die musturungsbehörde

WITJUNG: da war ich ja schon

I: genau wenn sie dahin gehen wie wie
sprechen sie da

WITJUNG: ja also ich habe mich da ganz
normal also ich bin da in meinem ding drin also
ich habe mich da jetzt nicht irgendwie auf die
speziell eingestellt sage ich mal ich habe die die
reden ja die waren ja ich war ja in trier

nichtwahr,ne [da ist] dieses
kreiswehrrersatzamt und also (wa) da war jetzt
auch keine sprachuntersuchung das war (39:58)
die haben da keinen WERT drauf gelegt ja (das
war)

I: und wie ist es allgemein in in öffentlichen
situationen

I: And how is it for example when you go to the to
the üh army district recruiting office or what is it
called? The military inspection office?

WITJUNG: I've been there already.

I: Exactly, whenever you go there how how do
you speak there?

WITJUNG: Yeah, well I acted completely
normally, that is I was doing my thing, so I didn't
specially adujust to them, so to speak. I just I
they they speak they I was of course in Trier,
right? There's this army district recruiting office
and well there wasn't any language examination
that was **they didn't value it**. Yeah that was...

I: And how is it in general in in public situations...

Subject *die 'they'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da / d' 'the way the speaker spoke'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da / d' 'the way the speaker spoke'

X /
Focus = the military examiners did not
attach any importance to it

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1
Reference da 'the way the speaker spoke at
the army district recruiting office'

Discontinuous Part 2
Reference d' 'the way the speaker spoke'

Part 1 Type Both Clause Topic Marker & Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(13:11)

I: ähm haben sie denn wie haben sie denn in ihrer kindheit selbst gesprochen haben sie da mit verschiedenen personen unterschiedlich gesprochen

I: Um did you, how did you yourself speak during your childhood? Did you speak with different people differently?

BA1: das kann ich nicht sagen nein unterschiedlich habe ich mit sicherheit nicht gesprochen ich habe mich da **da habe ich mir keine gedanken drüber gemacht** ich habe eigentlich gesprochen wie mir der schnabel gewachsen war so wie ich das eigentlich gehö- gehört habe so wie ich das übernommen habe

BA1: I can't say, no. I definitely didn't speak differently. I didn't then, **I didn't think about it then.** I just spoke naturally, like I had hear heard, like I had acquired.

I: So in dialect.

BA1: Rather more in dialect, yes.

I: also schon im dialekt

BA1: schon mehr im dialekt ja

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da/d' 'the question of whether I spoke differently with different audiences when I was a child'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da/d' 'the question of whether I spoke differently with different audiences when I was a child'

X /
Focus =

the speaker has not thought about **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'the question of whether I spoke differently with different audiences when I was a child'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'the question of whether I spoke differently with different audiences when I was a child'

Part 1 Type

Both Clause Topic Marker & Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(13:37)

I: welche rolle hat denn der dialekt in ihrer kindheit gespielt jetzt innerhalb der familie oder im freundeskreis

I: What roll did dialect have in your childhood, meaning inside your family or in your circle of friends?

BA1: **ich habe eigentlich da nicht so DRAUF gemerkt muss ich sagen** dass der große rolle gespielt hat so der dialekt ich habe es dann bloß dann extrem gemerkt wie ich diese zwei jahre von siebzehn bis neunzehn da in den münchener raum gekommen bin dass das ganz anders war dass diese leute da unten mich fast nicht verstanden haben also und ich auch teilweise äh schwierigkeiten gehabt habe was sie schon selber gesagt haben dies- manche sachen zu verstehen

BA1: **I didn't really pay attention to that**, I have to say...that it played that big of a roll, the dialect. I only really noticed during the two years when I was seventeen to nineteen when I was there in the Munich area that that was quite different, that the people down there barely understood me, and so I also uh had some difficulties, as you already said yourself these, understanding some things.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da/d' 'the role dialect played in the speaker's childhood inside of the family or in his circle of friends'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da/d' 'the role dialect played in the speaker's childhood inside of the family or in his circle of friends'

X /
Focus =

the speaker did not really take note of **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'the role dialect played in the speaker's childhood inside of the family or in his circle of friends'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'the role dialect played in the speaker's childhood inside of the family or in his circle of friends'

Part 1 Type

Both Clause Topic Marker & Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(50:25)

BA1: da denke ich viel zu finanziell ich bin bloß für jede karriere muss ich ganz ehrlich sagen bei mir muss unterm strich was rauskommen sonst rentiert sich das nicht dann mache ich da wagenwäsche wenn die keine äh leiterstelle mehr haben für mich dann mache ich so auf deutsch heißt wagenwä- **da so habe ich kein PROBLEM damit** für mich ist ganz wichtig dass ich zufrieden bin mit den leuten auskomme und äh soll mir auch spaß machen die arbeit aber es muss am ende was rauskommen

BA1: In this respect I think much too financially. I'm just for whatever career, I have to be completely honest, with me there has to be something at the bottom line otherwise it's not worth it. In that case I'll wash the cars if they don't have a leadership position for me then I'll wash cars, so to speak. **I don't have problem with that.** For me it's important that I'm satisfied, get along with the people, and, uh, it should also be fun for me, the work, but in the end something {/money} has to come out of it.

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da/da- 'the idea that the speaker would take a less prestigious job as long as it paid well'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da/da- 'the idea that the speaker would take a less prestigious job as long as it paid well'

X /
Focus =

the speaker does not have any problem with **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'the idea that the speaker would take a less prestigious job as long as it paid well'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

da- 'the idea that the speaker would take a less prestigious job as long as it paid well'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type	DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield		Discontinuous
Reference Type	Both		Preposition an
	Token In Context		Translation
I:	und die lehrerin die sich bemüht hat hochdeutsch zu sprechen würden sie jetzt sagen bemüht heißt dass sie hat es nicht richtig gesprochen oder hat sie schon (ein ein) reines hochdeutsch gehabt		I: And the teacher who made an effort to speak standard German – would you say now that made an effort means that she didn't speak it correctly or did she really have a...a pure standard German [accent]?
BAJUNG2:	ich kann es ich kann mich da nicht mehr wirklich dran erinnern ob die jetzt (also sie) hat auf jeden fall hochdeutsch gesprochen		BAJUNG2: I can it... I can't really remember , whether she really...in any case she spoke standard German.
Subject	<i>ich</i> 'I'		Unaccented
Communicative Purpose	Comment		Focus Domain TP
Presupposition	da 'whether the speaker's teacher spoke stilted or natural Standard German'		is/are a topic for comment X.
Assertion	As for da 'whether the speaker's teacher spoke stilted or natural Standard German'	X / Focus =	The speaker can't really remember.
Proposition Type	Topic-Comment		
Discontinuous Part 1 Reference	da 'whether the speaker's teacher spoke stilted or natural Standard German' (anaphoric)	Discontinuous Part 2 Reference	d' 'whether the speaker's teacher spoke stilted or natural Standard German' (cataphoric)
Part 1 Type	Clause Topic Marker		
Discontinuity	TrulyDiscontinuous		

Pronominal Adverb Type NullPlusSimpleMiddlefield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(34:21)

BAJUNG2: also so vor bis vor einem jahr hatten wir einen leiter quasi der nebenbei jura studiert hat und der dann in (s) um sitzungen ging also immer er hat dann immer sehr weit ausgeholt und sehr hochdeutsch auf jeden fall gesprochen **weil er das quasi als training für sein für seine wenn er dann mal rechtsanwalt wird oder so ähm hat er eben dafür als TRAINING angesehen** (oder) immer möglichst genau dargestellt was er jetzt sagen will das ist mir aufgefallen aber sonst wird da eigentlich nicht anders gesprochen

I: So about until about a year ago we had a leader of sorts who also studied law on the side and then in the (...) the meetings he always spoke very verbosely and definitely very Standard German **because he saw that kind of as training for his whenever he then became a lawyer or something like that, um, he just saw it {speaking at club meetings} as training for that {his future law career}** or always describing what he wanted to say in the most exacting way. That's what I noticed. But otherwise people don't speak differently.

Subject er 'he'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition Ø 'speaking at club meetings'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'speaking at club meetings'

X /
Focus = the former leader saw **it** as practice for his future law career.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Ø 'speaking at club meetings'

Discontinuous Part 2 da(für) 'his future law career'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

BAJUNG2: wenn ich vor leuten sprechen soll oder vor leuten stehe dann versuche ich mich natürlich auch noch ein bisschen gewählter auszudrücken als wenn ich jetzt halt mit jemanden persönlich alleine spreche und ich meine man macht sich ja auch vorher wenn man was vor leuten sagen muss gedanken wie man das jetzt sagt **da DENKT man ja auch mehr drüber nach** aber da würde ich schon sagen dass ich gewählter mich ausdrücke

BAJUNG2: If I have to speak in front of people or get up in front of people then of course I try to express myself better than when I'm just talking personally to one person alone. And I think that before you have to speak in front of people you think about how you'll say that **(that) you think about that**, but I would say that I express myself more selectively in that case.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition When you have to speak in front of a group you not only choose your words more carefully you X more.

Assertion When you have to speak in front of a group you not only choose your words more carefully you X more.

X /
Focus =

think (about choosing your words carefully)

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous Part 1 *da* 'when you have to speak in front of a group'

Discontinuous Part 2 *d'* 'choosing your words

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition nach

Token In Context

Translation

(37:27) I: wenn sie wenn sie hochdeutsch sprechen würden hätten sie denken sie dass sie {ihre nachbarn} nicht verstehen würden

I: If you if you spoke Standard German, would you have would you think that they {your neighbors} would'nt understand you?

BAJUNG2: _nee,nein_ ich glaube nicht mal dass sie ich (gl) sie würden mich wahrscheinlich schon verstehen aber von meiner einen nachbarin müsste ich mir auf jeden fall anhören es wie ich jetzt dann da spreche also die meckert gerne ein wenig rum und und ja also sie würde mich auf jeden fall verstehen **aber ich SEHE da jetzt auch kein bedürfnis danach HOCHdeutsch zu sprechen** ich spreche dann einfach so wie ich jetzt spreche bloß vielleicht noch ein bisschen mehr dialekt einfach weil es weil weil man halt weiß dass die person auch viel dialekt spricht und dann kann man das ja auch mehr raushängen

BAJUNG2: No, I don't think that they I (...) they would probably understand me but from my one neighbor I would definitely get an ear full about how I speak. She likes to complain a good bit and and yeah she would definitely understand me **but I don't see any reason there to speak Standard German.** I just speak like I'm speaking now, perhaps just with a little more dialect, simply because it because you just know that the other person also speaks dialect and then you can use it more.

Subject *ich 'I'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da(nach) 'upcoming information = to speak Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(nach) 'upcoming information = to speak Standard German'

X / Focus =

The speaker does not see any need for **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'when speaking to his neighbor'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

da(nach) 'upcoming information = to speak Standard German'

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(27:54):

I: okay und wie sprechen diese personen {die sie seit der frühesten Kindheit kennen} mit ihnen

I: Okay and how do these people {who you have known since your early childhood} speak with you?

WTJUNG1: das kommt darauf an manche sprechen mich hochdeutsch zurück an weil sie keinen dialekt sprechen und manche sprechen mich halt mit dialekt zurück

WTJUNG: That depends. Some speak Standard German back to me because that don't speak any dialect and some speak dialect back to me.

I: okay wovon hängt das ab

I: Okay. What does that depend on?

WTJUNG1: von den ich sage mal so wenn wenn die eltern zum beispiel jetzt bauern sind dann reden die meisten die kinder meistens auch hundertprozentig dialekt (28:15) **also da kann man eigentlich Ø-von ausgehen**

WTJUNG: On the...let me say it this way. If if their parents are farmers for example, then most of...the children most often speak one hundred percent dialect. **You can pretty much bet on it.**

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'the answer to the question of whether the local children of farmers speak dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'the answer to the question of whether the local children of farmers speak dialect'

X /
Focus =

one can safely assume (that).

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'the answer to the question of whether the local children of farmers speak dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Ø 'the answer to the question of whether the local children of farmers speak dialect'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type SplitPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(28:59)

I: würden sie sagen die {kinder / ihre theoretischen kinder} haben es aber einfacher wenn sie jetzt gleich hochdeutsch lernen oder ist das [nicht so dramatisch (...)]

I: Would you say that they {children / your theoretical children} would have it easier if they learned Standard German right away or is that [not so dramatic (...)]

WTJUNG1: ich denke mal das wird schon einfacher werden weil es sind ja auch manchmal die satzstellungen die man im dialekt nutzt dass die vom grammatikalischen her also dass die dann komplett falsch sind eigentlich

WTJUNG: I just that that it would indeed be easier because there are sometimes sentence structures that you use in dialect that they, from a grammatical point of view, well that they are actually completely wrong.

I: zum beispiel

I: For example?

WTJUNG1: ja **das kann ich jetzt kein beispiel Ø-für sagen** aber das sind so so sachen wie auch wörter zum beispiel #anderster# er ist #anderster# das gibt es ja eigentlich nicht er ist anders und nicht #anderster#

WTJUNG: Yeah, **I can't come up with an example at the moment** but there are such such things as well as words for example #differenter# he is #differenter# that just doesn't exist. He is different and not #differenter#.

Subject *ich 'I'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition das 'Sentence structures that one uses in dialect that are actually ungrammatical'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for das 'Sentence structures that one uses in dialect that are actually ungrammatical'

X /
Focus =

the speaker doesn't have any example of **them** at that moment.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference das 'Sentence structures that one uses in dialect that are actually ungrammatical'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Ø-für 'Sentence structures that one uses in dialect that are actually ungrammatical'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(45:24)

I: und das {die sprache / der akzent der berliner} war dann schwierig zu verstehen

I: And that {the language/accents of Berliners} was then difficult to understand?

WTJUNG1: ja also teilweise schon weil die auch anstatt gucken zum beispiel #kieken# und und #kopp# und so zeug **da muss man erstmal DRAUF kommen was das für eine bedeutung hat**

WTJUNG1: Yeah, at least in part because for example they {say} #kieken# {'to look'} instead of gucken {'to look'} and and #kopp# {'head', dialectal} and things like that. **You first have to come up with what that means.**

I: okay aber umgekehrt waren da jetzt keine

I: Okay but in the opposite direction there were any

WTJUNG: nein also man hat ja auch bewusst mit denen hochdeutsch geredet

WTJUNG: No. That is, I consciously spoke Standard German with them.

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da/d' 'Words produced with a Berliner accent'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da/d' 'Words produced with a Berliner accent'

X / Focus = one first has to figure out d' 'upcoming information = what those words mean'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'when speaking with a Berliner'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference d' 'Words produced with a Berliner accent'

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(48:16) TS2: [ja] ja weil ich muss sagen ich habe es auch dick wenn ich alles zweimal sagen muss das darum darum geht das bei mir automatisch ob das der andere ob sich mein gegenüber auch die mühe macht sagen wir mal auf mein auf mein niveau zu kommen das **da achte ich nicht drauf** das interessiert mich auch nicht

TS2: Yeah, yeah because I have to say I get fed up whenever I have to say everything twice. That because of that because of that it goes automatically with me. If the other if the person across from me also makes the effort to, let's say, come to my to my level. **That, I don't pay attention to that.** It doesn't interest me either.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'whether the other person tries to adjust to the speakers' regiolect/dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'whether the other person tries to adjust to the speakers' regiolect/dialect'

X /
Focus =

I don't pay attention to **that**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'whether the other person tries to adjust to the speakers' regiolect/dialect'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'whether the other person tries to adjust to the speakers' regiolect/dialect'

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(22:42) sich bemühen (ohne um!)

I: wie war das denn zu hause hat sich da im laufe der jahr etwas an der sprechweise ihrer eltern sich geändert

I: How was it then at home? Did anything in your parents way of speaking change over the years?

TSJUNG1: ja am anfang haben sie sich eben also wo ich noch kleiner war haben sie sich immer bemüht dass sie hochdeutsch reden also immer dass ich das lerne und **jetzt wo sie wissen dass ich das könnte da ACHTEN sie da glaube ich jetzt nicht mehr drauf** da reden sie jetzt halt einfach so normal ohne sich groß äh also (23:04) ohne groß drauf zu achten wie spreche ich jetzt was aus (oder/sondern) einfach dahin

TSJUNG1: Yeah. At the beginning they really that is when I was younger they always tried to speak Standard German, all the time so that I would learn and now that they know that I can **they don't pay attention anymore I don't think.** They just speak normally without really, uh, that is without really paying attention to "how am I speaking?" but rather just as it comes out.

Subject

sie 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da, d' 'regarding the parents' attempt to always speak Standard German around their son"

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da, d' 'regarding the parents' attempt to always speak Standard German around their son"

X /
Focus =

the parents don't pay attention to **it** anymore.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

da 'regarding the parents' attempt to always speak Standard German around their son"

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'regarding the parents' attempt to always speak Standard German around their son"

Part 1 Type

Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

TrulyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(23:11)

I: bis in welches alter würden sie denn sagen, dass Ihre eltern auf die äh aussprache besonders geachtet haben also in der vorschulzeit als sie ihnen viel vorgelesen haben haben sie gesagt

I: Until what age would you say that your parents, uh, paid special attention to your pronunciation? So in the time before school began, you said, when your parents read a lot to you...

TSJUNG1: ja kindergarten und dann ich glaube die ersten zwei drei jahre auch noch so also da waren (s...) sie **meine eltern die waren immer (eher) sehr dahinter** dass ich was lerne auch in der grundschule **und (23:39) ja da (werden) sie (es) auch noch drauf geschaut haben** und vierte klasse und seit ich jetzt da bin glaube ich (wüssten) sie dass es schon geht dass ich reden kann einigermaßen und vielleicht auch schon vorher

TSJUNG1: Yeah kindergarten and then I think the first two, three year as well. So they were (...) they my parents were always rather very much in support of me learning things even in elementary school, and yeah they'll have definitely paid attention to it. And fourth grade and since then they know that it's going, that I can speak relatively well and maybe already a little before that.

Subject sie 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'the speaker's language use'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'the speaker's language use'

X /
Focus = the parents will have paid attention to **it** at that time {kindergarten to third grade}

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference da 'at that time {kindergarten to third grade}'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference d' 'the speaker's language use'

Part 1 Type Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledPrefieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(48:07)

TSJUNG1: weil vorstellungsgespräche da stelle ich halt so was vor wo man da sitzt dann sitzt man im anzug gegenüber und der redet dann und erwartet dass (man sich) in deutsch dass es überall verstanden wird ausdrücken kann oder in englisch wenn es [auch ist] oder **und da muss ich mich auch konzentrieren DRAUF dass** ich auf dem seine Fragen die ja immer (-----) fragen oder blöd gestellt sind oder so dass ich da irgendeine antwort finde mit der er zufrieden ist

TSJUNG1: because interviews I imagine something like you're sitting there and then someone is sitting across from you in a suit and he speaks and expects you are able to express yourself in German that can be understood everywhere or in English if that's also relevant or **and in cases like that I have to concentrate on** somehow {answering} his questions which are always (...) questions or phrased stupidly or something, so that I find an answer that he is satisfied with.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'upcoming info = finding answers to the interviewer's questions that the interviewer is satisfied with '

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

d' 'upcoming info = finding answers to the interviewer's questions that the interviewer is satisfied with '

X /
Focus =

I have to concentrate on **that**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

da 'in cases like that'

Discontinuous

d' 'upcoming info = finding answers to the interviewer's questions that the interviewer is satisfied with '

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity

ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledMidfieldPlusMidfield

Discontinuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(51:04)

I: wie ist das denn wenn jemand sie auf ihre äh sprache anspricht finden sie das gut oder finden sie das eher unangenehm

I: How is it when someone comments on your language? Does that feel good or do you find it to be more uncomfortable?

TSJUNG1: **ja Ø kommt DA wieder drauf an wer das tut** wenn jetzt irgendjemand ist auf den ich einen guten eindruck machen will oder so und dann sagt er ja so wie du redest da versteht man dich ja überhaupt nicht kommst (du) aus bayern oder der findet das dann schlecht und dann (-----) eher unangenehm

TSJUNG1: **Yeah, that depends on who does it.** If it's someone who I want to make a good impression on or something and then he says, "The way you talk - nobody can understand you at all. Are you from Bavaria?" or he thinks its bad and then (...) more uncomfortable.

Subject Ø 'Placeholder'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition Ø 'whether the speaker finds people addressing his language as good or uncomfortable'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'whether the speaker finds people addressing his language as good or uncomfortable'

X / Focus =

that depends (on who does it).

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference Ø 'whether the speaker finds people addressing his language as good or uncomfortable'

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

d' 'upcoming info = who does it'

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity ApparentlyDiscontinuous

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledCloseMidfield

Continuous - Nonstandard

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(13:30)

I: wie oft sprechen sie auf die woche verteilt
dialekt so gut wie sie ihn können unter punkt drei
bitte {Bezieht sich auf Fragebogen}

DD4: also den rein sächsischen dialekt den
würde ich schon fast hinten ansetzen wenn wenn
man das das dresdener [den den dres(*dener*)
den dresdner (*den also*)] na gut den spreche ich
eigentlich immer aber das das [rein _nichtwahr,
ne_] so gut wie ich ihn und das gibt sicherlich
auch mal momente wo man sage ich mal
vielleicht mit einem anderen dialekt spricht in in
bayern oder so was dann bemüht man sich
natürlich nicht unbedingt so so stark zu sächseln
aber ansonsten ja rede ich schon so wie mir das
maul gewachsen ist also ich weiß nicht **also es
ist ich ACHTE da drauf auch nicht** ich rede eben
und das einzige wenn man wie gesagt mit einem
anderen dialekt kommuniziert dass man dann
sagt gibt man sich wenigstens mühe dass man

(13:30)

I: How often per week do you speak your dialect
as well as you can. Under question three, please.
{Referring to questionnaire}.

DD4: So pure Saxon dialect I would probably
place at the back. If if you (include) the
Dresdener the the Dres(*dener*) the Dresdener
then well I speak that almost all the time, but the
the pure (dialect), right, as well as I can speak it.
And there are certainly moments when you, let
me say, are speaking perhaps with someone who
speaks another dialect in Bavaria or something,
then of course you try not to speak with a heavy
Saxon accent. But the rest of the time I just
speak as I normally do. **That is I don't pay
attention to it.** I just talk and the only when you
as I said communicate with someone from
another dialect that you then say you make at
least an effort to

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da/d' the speaker's own language
usage'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da/d' the speaker's own language
usage'

X /
Focus = The speaker doesn't pay
attention to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 da 'the speaker's own language
usage'

Discontinuous Part 2 d' 'the speaker's own language
usage'

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type Clause Topic Marker

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledClosePrefield

Continuous - Nonstandard

Reference Type Both

Preposition um

Token In Context

Translation

(15:15)

BA1: weil du musst ja jedes wort im prinzip auswerten was es genau heißen soll weil äh wenn ich jetzt sage ich mal mitlese dann sehe ich das wort und dann komme ich mit aber wenn die da gemacht oder irgendwas drinsteht dann muss ich auch erst mal schauen oder geändert oder wie die (0:15:28) **das ich meine die schreiben das ja ganz anders hin und dadrum ist es eigentlich meinen eltern beziehungsweise meiner mutter gegangen** dass ich mich äh der mehr der hochdeutschen sprache widme dass ich das auch richtig hinschreibe ja

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition

It was X that my parents or rather (more accurately/importantly) my mother really cared about.

Assertion

It was X that my parents or rather (more accurately/importantly) my mother really cared about.

X /
Focus =

da (previous info = avoiding spoken-like language in writing; upcoming info = the speaker writing correctly)

Proposition Type

Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type DoubledCloseMidfield

Continuous - Nonstandard

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(53:31)

I: also das ist jetzt keine frage des verstehens in erster linie sondern das ist eine frage äh dass dass sie es amusant finden

TSJUNG1: ja wenn ich es nicht verstehe und das thema ist wichtig würde ich halt nachfragen und ihn vielleicht bitten dass er etwas mehr hochdeutsch spricht dass ich ihn verstehen kann oder mich entschuldigen dafür dass ich das jetzt nicht verstehe und wenn das jetzt ein unwichtiges thema oder so ist und der einfach redet (53:56) **dann könnte ich dadrüber LACHEN** und sagen ja rede ruhig weiter ich verstehe zwar nichts aber egal

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da/d' "the way a dialect speaker is speaking '

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da/d' "the way a dialect speaker is speaking '

X /
Focus =

I could laugh about **that**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type PrepAloneMidfield

Continuous

Reference Type

Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(38:02)

I: wieso versuchen sie da {e.g. beim Arzt, wenn Sie einen Behördengang machen} nicht ganz ins hochdeutsche rein zugehen als zum beispiel wenn sie mit dem professor sprechen
 HSTJUNG1: na ja weil da ist es dann weniger so dass ich von dieser person noch so in zukunft vielleicht noch ein bisschen abhängiger bin als vom professor bei dem arzt das ist dann so eine sache da geht man dann mal einmal oder so in einem halben jahr hin oder **auf eine behörde HAT man so viel nicht mit zu tun** aber (38:33) gerade beim professor da kann das dann auch so sein dass mit den dann aller halbe jahre oder gerade wenn man in der fachschaft ist ein bisschen häufiger mit zu tun hat und da sehe ich es hier schon eher als wichtiger an mit ins hochdeutsche rein zu gehen als bei anderen wenn es arzt ist behörde oder anderen institutionen

I: Why do you not try to go into as much Standard German there {e.g. at the doctor's, when you are making a trip to government offices} as for example when you're speaking with your professor.

HSTJUNG1: Well because in a case like that it's less likely that I will be as dependent on this person in the future as {I will be} on the professor. At the doctor's, that's a case where you go in one time or so every half year and **you don't really have that much to do with government offices** but precisely with the professor it's possible that {you} deal with him then every half year or, especially if you are in the department's student association, you deal with him a bit more frequently. And that's where I see it as more important to go into Standard German than with other, whether it's the doctor, a government office, or other institutions.

Subject

man 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

eine Behörde 'government office'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

eine Behörde 'government office'

X /
Focus =

you do not really have much to do with **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference NA

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference NA

Part 1 Type NA

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type PrepAloneMidfield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

53:34

I: und wie leicht fällt es ihnen von ihrem ihrer hochdeutsch mit dem regionalen akzent ins platt zu wechseln

WITJUNG: äh leicht also da habe ich jetzt keine schwierigkeiten denke ich mal (53:39) also jetzt hier bei so sachen wo ich mich jetzt echt bemüht habe extrem wie möglich [das platt] reinzubringen muss man schon ein bisschen drin sein ja aber wenn man mal drin ist dann läuft das (54:01) also **da ist jetzt sonst eigentlich kein PROBLEM Ø-mit**

I: und wenn sie jetzt vom vom platt ins hochdeutsche reinwechseln...

I: And how easy is it for you to switch from your your Standard German with regional accent into dialect?

WITJUNG: Uh, easy. That is I have no difficulties I think. Well now with things like where I really tried, as exteme as possible to bring in dialect, you really have to be a little bit in the right frame of mind. Yeah whenever you're in the right frame of mind, then it works. That is, **there isn't other any real problem with it.**

I: And now if you switched from from dialect into Standard German...

Subject *da* 'there'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition Ø 'switching from regional German to Low German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'switching from regional German to Low German'

X / Focus =

There is otherwise no problem with (it) [once you're warmed up].

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference NA

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference NA

Part 1 Type *da* in phrase *da sein* 'there is/are'

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type PrepAloneMidfield

Continuous

Reference Type DirectReference

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(9:44)

BA1: da wo jetzt der berliner ring ist da waren viele gärtner haben da draußen ihre felder gehabt das die ganzen wenn sie da rüber schauen bloß in diese richtung schauen das ist also da äh in dem bereich da war nichts gestanden da war alles brachland die müssen so auch in den achtziger jahren haben wir da ist die polizei erst da hingezogen das waren alles felder **die** schon viel verändert die schulen das ist alles neu

I: (...)

ja ja da war noch nichts da sind erst dann die äh vorher so

(10:17)

BA1: die hochhäuser sind auch erst gebaut worden zwischen fünfundsiebzig und achtzig **DA sind entsprechend ein paar Ø-von** DAS sind schon wieder ältere häuser dort drüben aber der bereich da das waren alles felder gewesen

BA1: There where now the Berliner Ring is, there were many gardeners that had their fields out there. That the whole. If you look over there in this direction just look in this direction so that's um in that area, nothing stood there. That was all fallow land. They have to. So in the eighties we had, that's when the police first moved here, that was all just fields. Those. Already changed a lot. The schools, that's all new.

I: (...)

BA1: Yeah, yeah, there wasn't anything there yet. Only then the uh before... so the high-rise buildings were only built between seventy five and eighty. **There are a few of the ones in question.** Those on the the other hand are older buildings over there. But that area, that all used to be fields.

Subject *da* 'there'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition X are a few of those [skyscrapers built between 1975 and 1980]

Assertion X are a few of those [skyscrapers built between 1975 and 1980]

X / Focus =

X = *da* 'there / those buildings (with a pointing gesture)'

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous NA

Discontinuous NA

Part 1 Reference

Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type *da* in deictic 'there / here'

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type PrepAloneMidfield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

I: würden sie das {sprachliche schulung für notrufe} dann für sinnvoll halten im rahmen der ausbildung

I: Would you consider that {language schooling for emergency calls} then sensible in the context of training?

BA1: nein also ich würde sagen äh eigentlich nicht wichtig beim in der wo es in der äh als leiter einsatzzentrale ähm machen ja das meistens überwiegend da die funker und äh jetzt wenn ja alles zusammengelegt wird gibt es ja extra leute die nur den notruf bedienen (39:55) **dann habe ich sowieso nichts mehr Ø-mit zu tun** aber man muss natürlich (39:59) weil es kommt ja nicht allein jetzt darauf an den notruf entgegenzunehmen jetzt sondern man muss ihn auch bewerten können was tatsächlich ist weil kann ja nicht bei jedem der wo hineinschreit es brennt es brennt dann gleich einen ganzen zug feuerwehr ausschicken

BA1: No, that is, I would say, uh, not really important during in the which it in the, uh, as head of the operations center, uh, the radio operators do the majority of that and uh now whenever everything is merged, there will actually be extra people that only serve on emergency calls. **Then I won't have anything to do with it anyway**, but of course you have to because it doesn't just depend now on answering the emergency call. You also have to be able to evaluate what is actually going on. Because you can't send an entire fleet of fire trucks out every time someone shouts fire fire.

Subject *ich 'I'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition Ø 'emergency calls'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø 'emergency calls'

X /
Focus = as soon as departments are combined the speaker won't have anything to do with **them**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

I: ähm und welche erfahrung haben sie bezüglich ihres dialektes im ausland gemacht

RD7: habe ich nicht gebraucht äh was heißt nicht gebraucht **ich kam damit nicht KLAR** ich stieß dort ich england frankreich spanien äh selbst selbst die deutschsprachigen länder österreich oder schweiz kamen mit plattdeutsch nicht zurecht wobei das ist ja eine regionale geschichte ich wenn ich jetzt in schleswig in schleswig-holstein es gibt ja noch an der an der westküste dieses friesische der friesische dialekt komme ich überhaupt nicht mit klar der hat also überhaupt keine ähnlichkeit mit dem plattdeutschen

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(mit) 'using Low German in foreign countries'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(mit) 'using Low German in foreign countries'

X /
Focus =

the speaker was not able to make use of **it** successfully.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(20:06)

I: Ist es Ihnen wichtig, dass Tochter
Dialekt/Hochdeutsch sprechen kann?

RD7: hochdeutsch wird ja sowieso in der schule
gelernt ist ja für den für eine berufsausbildung ist
es ist es normal ähm ich würde es als ein stück
heimatverbundenheit bezeichnen das der dialekt
auch gepflegt wird also zumindest das sie es
versteh **drauf lege ich schon wert**

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'the speaker's daughter
understanding dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

d' 'the speaker's daughter
understanding dialect'

X /
Focus =

the speaker does value **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

(31:01)

RD7: ja sie haben ihr eigenes dinge gemacht ob
das jetzt politik oder äh ausländerpolitik ist ob
das einwanderungsgesetzte sind ob das
währungsreform ist ob das wirtschaftliche
verträge sind sie sind ein ganzes stück weit
autark geblieben **und Ø haben dadurch
irgendwo ihre ihre nationalität auch äh
BEHALTEN**

Subject Ø / sie 'they = the Swiss'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da* 'doing own thing in terms of
politics'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'doing own thing in terms of
politics'

X /
Focus =

they maintained their
nationality through **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(32:14)

I: Die Dänen sind nicht dabei?

RD7: die dänen meine ich sind noch nicht dabei die haben es nicht gemacht nein die haben ja auch gegen maastricht gestimmt dann wurde diese diese volksabstimmung ja irgendwo zur farce die haben ja dann so oft abgestimmt bis die dänen irgendwann genervt waren und haben gesagt bei der vierten abstimmung ok dann machen wir es halt bevor wir noch mal zum zur wahlurne laufen müssen ähm aber das sind ja alles demokratische akte auch die schweiz viel die durch volksabstimmung volksentscheide diese plebiszitären geschichten die demokratie wirklich leben (32:48) **ich will damit nicht SAGEN dass man über jeden pi pa po ABstimmen soll** aber es sind ja es sind ja doch int interessen wo das volk irgendwo beteiligt ist und zwar ganz extrem nicht nur als verbraucher oder konsument

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the idea that Switzerland lives out direct democracy with, for example, referenda'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the idea that Switzerland lives out direct democracy with, for example, referenda'

X /
Focus =

the speaker doesn't mean to imply with **it** that every little thing should be voted on.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(8:08)

RDJUNG1: ja mein opa der redet eigentlich auch
 nur noch plattdeutsch weiß [nicht] stimmt ich
 habe ihn glaube ich noch nie was (a) wirklich
 richtig was anderes reden hören ob er es nicht
 kann ich glaube der möchte das einfach nicht
 oder **der GEHT davon aus dass wir das alle
 VERSTEHEN**

Subject *der* 'he = the grandfather'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *der* 'the speaker's grandfather'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *der* 'the speaker's grandfather'

X /
Focus =

he assumes *da(von)*
 'upcoming idea = that the
 speaker's family all
 understand the grandfather's

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
 Part 1
 Reference

Discontinuous
 Part 2
 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(16:31)

I: wie finden sie solche angebote?

RDJUNG1: [finde ich total] finde ich total cool

finde ich echt richtig gut ich im nachhinein (be)

habe ich auch gesagt mann warum habt ihr das

nicht gemacht ich hätte echt ich finde das hat

auch schon also plattdeutsch das hat auch hat

auch **man kann auch was cooles damit**

aufziehen es ist ja schon eine sprache die

teilweise auch leute einfach nicht mehr verstehen

und wenn das dann schon wie eine

fremdsprache ist

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da(mit)* 'it = Low German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(mit)* 'it = Low German'

X /
Focus =

one can do cool things with **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(23:57)

I: unterschied zwischen pausen und unterricht?

RDJUNG1: (un) unterricht ja auf jeden fall also der unterricht ist ja auch immer ein eindruck (de) den der lehrer von einem erhält und das ist ja so also sage ich mal wie jetzt wenn jetzt der arbeitgeber irgendwie einen eindruck von einem erhält und wenn man da diskutiert dann kann man natürlich nicht auf eine und ernst genommen werden will kann man natürlich auf nicht auf einer ebene diskutieren wo man sagt jo das finde ich voll finde ich voll bescheuert schockt gar nicht das argument weil das voll bescheuert ist das kann man natürlich nicht sagen muss man schon vernünftig diskutieren sonst nimmt einen ja keiner ernst und **das ist der UNTERSCHIED dazu sage ich mal** in den PAUSEN (d) kann man ja reden wie man möchte das ist vollkommen egal aber im unterricht da muss man sich schon zeigen das man das auch kann sich vernünftig auszudrücken

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition das 'in class you have to speak with reason otherwise no one will take you seriously'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for das 'in class you have to speak with reason otherwise no one will take you seriously'

X /
Focus =

that is the difference between da 'class and breaks'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition aus

Token In Context

Translation

(26:01)

I: spielen sie im verein

RDJUNG1: [genau] ich habe seit ich fünf bin
spiele ich fußball im [verein] habe erst in
brekendorf gespielt dann (...) bin ich nach (schl)
[nach schleswig] gewechselt und da hatten wir
auch in schleswig bei wir haben regionalliga
gespielt und so norddeutschland und wir hatten
spieler aus aus flensburg kiel aus hier aus allen
umgebungen [aus] husum aus allen regionen
schleswig holstein deshalb kamen halt alle
zusammen und da hat man halt alle möglichen
sprüche und sachen auch mit[gekriegt und
**Daraus] hat sich auch Daraus hat sich auch
sehr aus herausgebildet die sprache glaube
ich auch [dass es] die geprägt hat**

Subject *die Sprache* 'the language'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition X led to the development of the
language {among the soccer
players in the club}

Assertion X led to the development of the
language {among the soccer
players in the club}

X /
Focus =

da(raus) ['contact with players
from all around the northern
German regions]

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(28:05)

I: eigene sprechlage durch die schule verändert?

RDJUNG1: durch den schulbeginn also jetzt den den den das erste schuljahr oder

I: ja nicht so konkret das erste

RDJUNG1: also ich sage mal so (d) bei der oberstufe fing das an stark zu prägen dass man sich mit personen anders unterhält ich (v)

vielleicht HÄNGT auch wahrscheinlich damit

zusammen dass man dann aus der

pubertären phase vielleicht auch dann

irgendwann mal raus ist oder der

hochpubertären phase

Subject

Ø 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'that = the fact that when the speaker reached the *Oberstufe* he really noticed that you speak differently with different people'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'that = the fact that when the speaker reached the *Oberstufe* he really noticed that you speak differently with different people'

X /
Focus =

that probably has to do with **da** 'upcoming idea = that at some point around then you leave puberty behind

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(30:18)

I: wurde mehr auf ausdrucksweise geachtet?

RDJUNG1: [nein] nein das (glaub) [nein das glaube ich (n) nein ich glaube einfach] dass sie dass sie weniger achten mussten desto älter man wurde **je älter man wurde mussten sie WENIGER drauf achten was sie sagen** weil man das einordnen konnte [wann es] angebracht ist und wann nicht also also (30:41) als ich kleiner war haben sie noch mehr drauf geachtet dass man normal so das ist in ordnung oder so redet man nicht oder so darf man nicht reden und aber je älter man wurde (haben die) desto umgangssprachlicher wurde es

Subject sie 'they = the parents'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'upcoming info = what the children said' '

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'upcoming info = what the children said' '

X / Focus = the older you became the less they had to pay attention to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(30:18)

I: wurde mehr auf ausdrucksweise geachtet?

RDJUNG1: [nein] nein das (glaub) [nein das glaube ich (n) nein ich glaube einfach] dass sie dass sie weniger achten mussten desto älter man wurde je älter man wurde mussten sie weniger drauf achten was sie sagen weil man das einordnen konnte [wann es] angebracht ist und wann nicht also also (30:41) **als ich kleiner war haben sie noch mehr drauf geachtet dass man normal so das ist in ordnung oder so redet man nicht oder so darf man nicht reden** und aber je älter man wurde (haben die) desto umgangssprachlicher wurde es

Subject *sie* 'the parents'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *d'* 'upcoming idea: whether the speaker used Standard German''

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *d'* 'upcoming idea: whether the speaker used Standard German''

X / Focus =

the speaker's parents paid even more attention to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition um

Token In Context

Translation

(36:12)

I: was machen sie da?

RDJUNG1: [das ist eine] das ist eine
(integrations) da gibt es integrationsklassen
integrationsschule und ich kümmere mich dann
hauptsächlich das sind dann die so genannten
(ikene) sind dann immer so vier fünf in einer
klasse und um die kümmere ich mich dann oder
auch besonders um die härtefälle sitze ich dann
daneben die nicht still sitzen können die ganze
zeit zappeln die rum schreien die sich dann auch
manchmal hauen im sport oder sonstiges (36:35)
[und dann] bin ich immer mit dabei begleite die
und auch im sportunterricht komm ich dann mit
und mache dann da mit und weil die dann auch
sofort meistens wenn sie irgendwas nicht
hinkriegen dann wegschmeißen und ausrasten
und dann bin ich halt da und helfe denen ja und
das und (36:48) **darum KÜMMERE ich mich** und
nachmittags betreue ich die noch bei
hausaufgaben [(hilf)] und so was

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da(rum)* 'the kids with
learning/social differences who
might misbehave, especially when
frustrated'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(rum)* 'the kids with
learning/social differences who
might misbehave, especially when
frustrated'

X /
Focus =

The speaker takes care of
them.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(40:20)

I: reaktion auf ihr deutsch?

RDJUNG1: das war eigentlich ganz witzig wir haben eigentlich viel rum gealbert dort und dann haben wir haben die auch (v) glaube ich auch viel gesagt dass wir dass wir so ein so ein schon so ein so ein schmuddeldeutsch sprechen [das wäre so] als wenn da irgendwie das sagt man ja auch viel wenn man so so (...) dänisch oder plattdeutsch ist wie wenn man eine heiße kartoffel im mund hätte oder so was so und das wir so ein so ein so ein das ist ja [kein richtiges] deutsch das ist ja so ein schmuddeldeutsch [mit so einem slang] das ist ja nicht richtig **aber wir haben uns darüber und über unterHALTEN dass es einfach auch unterschiede unterschiede gibt so** und #in hamburg den typen mit ja ja nein# und so was wenn man da am hafen ist oder so was auch in kiel reden die auch teilweise so und ja das (...)

Subject *wir* 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'upcoming info = the fact that there are simply differences (in language)'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'upcoming info = the fact that there are simply differences (in language)'

X /
Focus =

The speaker and his colleagues discussed **it** over and over.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(44:39)

I: sprechen die deutsch?

RDJUNG1: [ja die können auch perfekt] nein die können (du) ganz normales deutsch **und können halt einfach noch dänisch dazu** das ist der vorteil und sind halt auf dänischen schulen

Subject Ø / die 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da(zu)* 'German (language)' is a topic for comment x

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(zu)* 'German (language)' is a topic for comment x

X / Focus =

They {the Danish students} can speak Danish in addition to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(53:02)

I: region erkannt?

RDJUNG1: nein das [konnte er nicht erkennen]
nein das konnte er nicht erkennen [aber ich habe
mit] kollegen mal **ich habe mit einem kollegen
jetzt von der zivildienstschule drüber
gesprachen** und der war in italien im urlaub
meinte der eine lehrer und da waren auch so
eine deutsche gruppe nur so was und da war so
eine eine frau mit der er sich unterhalten wollte

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'the idea of a person figuring out
where you come from based on
your accent'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

d' 'the idea of a person figuring out
where you come from based on
your accent'

X /
Focus =

the speaker spoke with a
colleague of his at the school
where he is working now for
his year of service about **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Part 1

Reference

Discontinuous

Part 2

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition neben

Token In Context

Translation

(1:04:08)

I: und können die was mit anfangen?

RDJUNG1: ja schwierig schwierig ist auch immer abhängig von den lehrern ob die darauf wert legen dass die das teilweise weil die zahlen können sie fast alle wenn man jetzt dritte vierte klasse weil die auch englisch haben [schon] dann können sie das auch schon aber ja so was wie _schmetterling,botterlicker_ das ist _schmetterling,botterlicker_ ist ist schmetterling und (1:04:34) da wäre ich zum beispiel nie drauf gekommen _schmetterling,botterlicker_ [schmetterling] und das (w) (1:04:39) **es ist immer mit BILD daneben sonst hätte** ich das auch nicht gewusst aber die kinder da die teilweise haben echt überhaupt keine ahnung

Subject es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da(neben) 'the Low German word' is a topic for comment x

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(neben) 'the Low German word' is a topic for comment x

X / Focus =

There is always a picture next to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(1:08:35)

I: was kommt nach dem zivildienst?

RDJUNG1: [ich ja ich] wollte jetzt aber erst
(nochm) wollte erst nochmal ins ausland nach
australien erst mal ein visum beantragen jetzt
nächste woche mal kucken wie das läuft und
sonst wollte ich eventuell lehramt studieren
grundschullehramt grund und
[hauptschullehramt] und das geht nur in flensburg
oder in hamburg und **dazu mache ich jetzt den
sporteignungstest noch** oder ich gehe halt nach
kiel aber dann wäre es halt gymnasiallehramt
und das ist abhängig ob es dann blöde
fächerkombination gibt ist halt nur genau

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da 'the speaker's applications to
universities'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'the speaker's applications to
universities'

X /
Focus =

I'll be taking the aptitude test
for athletics for **them**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(14:01)

I: also sie meinen sie hat sich das über die jahre angeeignet gab es dann grund für dass sie mehr hochdeutsch gesprochen hat

HST4: na allein schon sicherlich weil wir kinder da waren und ja dass dass auch ich ich vermute mal dass auch im im beruflichen umfeld nicht mehr alle dem plattdeutschen so mächtig waren

(14:27) dass sie dadurch auch mehr oder weniger gezwungen war *_nichtwahr,ne_* also uns gegenüber war das schon sehr bewusst (14:35)

davon gehe ich mal aus weil wie gesagt gerade dieses plattdeutsche und dieses verschlucken und und und andichten (f) führt natürlich dann nachher beim hochdeutschen zu schwierigkeiten so wie sie schon vorhin sagten bisschen dass man das nicht richtig schreiben kann *_nichtwahr, ne_*

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'idea the speaker's mother was almost forced to speak Standard German with children because she used and encountered Low

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'idea the speaker's mother was almost forced to speak Standard German with children because she used and encountered Low

X /
Focus =

the speaker assumes **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition nach

Token In Context

Translation

(15:10)

I: interessen freundeskreise während der schulzeit

HST4: ja wir (war) wir hatten ja also bis bis zum bis zur vierten klasse ja bis zur vierten klasse gab es bei uns ja noch diese schülerbeschäftigung das nannte sich hort so das heißt vormittags bis um bis zum mittag (w) war unterricht und im anschluss gab es dann die schulspeisung **und danach (15:45)** damit die kinder sich nicht selbst überlassen sind **konnte man bis sechzehn uhr den hort besuchen**

Subject man

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition A child could go to X until 4PM [so that she / he wouldn't be left alone].

Assertion A child could go to X until 4PM [so that she / he wouldn't be left alone].

X / Focus =

the afterschool program

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(20:22)

HST4: und da habe ich dann drei jahre meine armeezeit aber auch in dieser region nämlich oben auf der schönen insel rügen in saßnitz
nichtwahr,ne ja man gönnt sich ja sonst nichts
nichtwahr,ne ja war dort an der grenzübergangsstelle und und habe dort mehr oder weniger ja die fähren bewacht die nach schweden rüber gefahren sind weil das war ja also grenzübergangsstelle deswegen weil als DDR bürger durfte man ja nicht ins kapitalistische ausland ausreisen und um auch gewissen fluchtversuchen vorzubeugen war das eben alles eingezäunt und nur wer einen gültigen reisepass hatte beziehungsweise ein seefahrtsbuch der dann eben auf der fähre dort gearbeitet hatte der durfte dann passieren und alle anderen mussten draußen bleiben und konnten gucken **und dafür waren wir dann eben zuständig _nichtwahr, nicht_**

Subject *wir* 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da* 'making sure that people who did not have proper authroization stayed off the ferry' i

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'making sure that people who did not have proper authroization stayed off the ferry' i

X /
Focus =

we were responsible for **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

(34:04)

I: neue kreise interessen durch
berufseinstieg

HST4: nein weniger weil das ist auch wieder
typisch für die für die ehemalige DDR die kinder
hat man früh bekommen karriere war war nicht
so der der also sicherlich bei einigen schon aber
die stand nicht im vordergrund im vordergrund
stand eigentlich die die beziehung die familie früh
die kinder bekommen sie noch mit relativ mit
relativer leichtigkeit großziehen worüber man
heute sehr froh ist das muss ich auch mal sagen
nichtwahr,ne heute sind sie erwachsen und
man ist trotzdem noch bilde ich mir ein jedenfalls
ein kernig und ja das war eigentlich und **dadurch**
hat sicherlich der freundeskreis ein bisschen
geleitten _nichtwahr,ne_ dass dass man die
beziehung da hat schleifen lassen weil die familie
eben vorrang hatte _nichtwahr,ne_

Subject der Freundeskreis 'circle of

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition Due to X the speaker's network of
friends suffered.

Assertion Due to X the speaker's network of
friends suffered.

X /
Focus =

DA(durch) 'the emphasis
placed in the GDR on starting
a family early and raising the
children.

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(45:22)

HST4: sie meinen jetzt wenn wir wenn wir
personen zur vernehmung da haben [die zeugen]

I: die meine ich

HST4: und beschuldigten

I: gibt es da unterschiede

HST4: **nein das früher hat man dazu**

BÜRGERNÄHE gesagt also das gebietet ja
eigentlich schon der anstand dass man sich
dementsprechend auch aufführt und selbst der
beschuldigte man weiß ja noch lange nicht was
was hat ihn eigentlich zu der tat getrieben
deswegen ist er ja nun kein unmensch oder kein
kein _nichtwahr,ne_ also da mit dem wird auch
ganz vernünftig und im im hochdeutschen
gesprochen

Subject man 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da(zu) 'how police officers spoke
and acted toward citizens'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(zu) 'how police officers spoke
and acted toward citizens'

X /
Focus = one called it *Bürger Nähe*
'closeness with the citizens'.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition gegen

Token In Context

Translation

(49:18)

I: sollten dialekte staatlich gefördert werden
 HST4: ich habe ja vorhin gesagt ich bin da ein
 banause **und also ich hätte nichts dagegen**
 (ich) ich ich (sa) sage jetzt bewusst nicht ich
 würde das begrüßen aber wenn man meint dass
 man diesen dialekt als als eben diesen dialekt
 (f) fördern und pflegen möchte und die kinder
 haben da interesse ja mein gott warum nicht
 nichtwahr,ne dann sollen sie es tun

I: Should dialects be supported by the state?
 HST4: I said before that I'm not really interested
 in that, **and so I wouldn't have anything
 against it!** I...I...I... sa I'm consciously not saying
 that I would welcome it but if you think that you'd
 like to support and take care of this dialect and
 the children are interested, yeah, my God, why
 not, right? Then they should do it.'

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'State funding/support of
 dialect projects"

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'State funding/support of
 dialect projects"

X /
 Focus =

he speaker wouldn't have
 anything against **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(53:33)

I: also was unterscheidet das plattdeutsche von anderen regionen in denen plattdeutsch gesprochen wird oder was unterscheidet es vom hochdeutschen

HST4: tja also unterschiedung zum hochdeutschen was ich vorhin auch schon erwähnt habe ist eigentlich dass ja dass viele viele endungen und und gerade auch (...) die klare abgrenzung zwischen mir und mich das das wird mehr oder weniger verschluckt endungen verschwinden gänzlich das plattdeutsche wirkt in vielen nuancen oder wie man das ausdrücken mag einfacher als das hochdeutsche ich will nicht (unbes) unbedingt sagen gewöhnlicher das das möchte ich gar nicht aber aber es wirkt einfacher und (wei) gerade weil eben vieles verschluckt oder weg genuschelt werden kann **ja NEIGT man eventuell auch dazu dass das hochdeutsche so ein bisschen die richtige sprechweise zu verdrängen {4 Sekunden} so**

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da(zu) 'upcoming idea = allowing aspects of the simpler Low German to influence and take over your Standard German"

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(zu) 'upcoming idea = allowing aspects of the simpler Low German to influence and take over your Standard German"

X /
Focus =

it's possible that one also tends toward it.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(58:54)

I: außerhalb stralsunds

HST4: [nein also] also ich ich vermute mal dass dass das im im küstenbereich und **damit MEINE ich sogar auch schleswig holstein und so weiter und so fort** dass es da überhaupt keine schwierigkeiten geben würde das vermute ich schon mal also

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the term coastal area'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the term coastal area'

X /
Focus =

the speaker means even
Schleswig-Holstein and so on
and so forth.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(33:03)

I: bewusster wechsel der sprechweise bei unterschiedlichen gesprächspartnern

HSTJUNG: **na ja KOMMT immer drauf an in welcher situation das ist** wenn es so eine bekannte runde ist wo man sagt okay die leute kennt man da bleibt man dann doch schon in seinem normalen ton drinnen und kommt teilweise kommt es immer aufs alter an also bei gleichaltrigen da ändere ich nicht so die sprache aber wenn ich dann schon ein paar ältere also gerade an der uni wo man schon so denken kann okay zumindest mit einem wissenschaftlichen mitarbeiter oder professor da gehe ich dann doch schon so ins hochdeutsche teilweise rein aber auch selbst wenn es eine gemischten gruppe ist aus studenten und professoren da bleibe ich dann schon bei meiner normalen sprache

Subject

Ø 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'it' = whether the speaker changes from his typical speech to more standard-like German with particular groups

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'it' = whether the speaker changes from his typical speech to more standard-like German with particular groups

X /
Focus =

that depends on d' (upcoming ideas = about different audiences)

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(39:56)

I: ist es angenehm oder unangenehm wenn jemand auf ihr sprache reagiert

HSTJUNG: KOMMT drauf an in welcher FORM also (40:11) wenn er äh darauf anspricht aus welcher region ich komme wenn er schon gleich einordnen kann (40:20) da sage ich mal ist dann so ein bisschen heimatstolz schon noch mit dabei dass man dann so sagt ja okay man merkt aus welcher ecke du kommst

Subject

Ø 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'it = whether the speaker finds someone commenting on his speech as pleasant or not'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'it = whether the speaker finds someone commenting on his speech as pleasant or not'

X /
Focus =

it depends on d' 'upcoming idea = in which form the comment comes'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(57:15)

I: warum nicht im südlichen raum
 HSTJUNG: ja das hat mir der sprache zu tun
 also war einmal zwei wochen so im südliche bei
 süddeutschland so den raum villingen
 schwennigen da unten bei meiner tante die
 wohnt in trossingen ja das war so ich sage mal
 für urlaub ganz schön aber dahin ziehen nein
 weil das war auch bis zum schluss bei meiner
 tante so dass man dann gesagt hat ja okay **sie
 würde sich auch eigentlich EHER drüber freuen
 wenn sie wieder HOCH ziehen könnte** als da
 unten bleiben weil mit der sprache und mit der
 region ist es anders und anstrengender und ja

Subject

sie 'she'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

sie 'she = the speaker's aunt" is a
 topic for comment X

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

sie 'she = the speaker's aunt" is a
 topic for comment X

X /
 Focus =

she would actually look
 forward to d' 'upcoming idea =
 if she could move back up
 north'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(16:35)

I: Wurden Sie schon mal aufgrund ihres Hochdeutchs in bestimmte Gegend eingeordnet?

DD4: na das ist möglich weil ich ich bin selbst auch nie so bestrebt reines hochdeutsch oder so da muss ich mir wirklich mühe geben **und dann muss der ANLASS dazu sein** und und das werde ich auch mit sicherheit nicht über einen längeren zeitraum durchhalten

Subject der Anlass 'the occasion'

Accented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da(zu) 'speaking pure Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(zu) 'speaking pure Standard German'

X /
Focus =

There must be an occasion for **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition in

Token In Context

Translation

(27:15)

DD4: also ein ein streifenbeamter draußen im im
revier der sieht den präsidenten wenn er glück
hat einmal im jahr ich sehe den aber regelmäßig
und ich spreche auch regelmäßig mit ihm **ich
wäre wie soll ich sagen also sicherlich mich
darin befleißigen nicht so so runterzurasseln
so so absolut zu sächsln** sondern wirklich ein
ein gutes deutsch zu sprechen

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(rin) 'upcoming idea = not to
speak in pure dialect but rather to
speak good German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(rin) 'upcoming idea = not to
speak in pure dialect but rather to
speak good German'

X /
Focus =

the speaker would certainly
strive for it.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

(9:16)

I: sächsich wie das der großmutter und großtante

DDJUNG2: mehr oder weniger ja also es gibt

da nur sehr geringe unterscheide weil die

vertrauensebene ja eine andere ist ähm **dadurch**

könnte man schon sagen dass es da

minimale unterschiede gibt

(9:40)

beziehungsweise bei der oma noch dass ja äh

dort dieser einfluss durch dieses äh ursächsisch

das die bauern und handwerker gesprochen

haben noch dabei war da war das noch ein wenig

stärker vertreten

Subject man 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition Due to X one could indeed say that there are minimal differences there ['between the language of the speaker's grandmother or

Assertion Due to X one could indeed say that there are minimal differences there ['between the language of the speaker's grandmother or

X /
Focus =

the level of trust [between the speaker and his mother, as opposed to that between him and his grandmother or great

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

(15:06)

I: warum mit schuleintritt mehr hochdeutsch gesprochen

DDJUNG2: weil ich sagen würde ähm man wird ja auch sprachlich immer gefördert durch durch äh auch dann mit beginn der fremdsprache kommt eine intensivere förderung dazu und alles was man ja vorliest das ist ja alles hochdeutsch geschrieben

(15:32)

also ich habe nie einen text in einem lehrbuch gelesen der jetzt auf dialekt basis eines dialekts geschrieben war ja **und ähm dadurch entwickelt sich natürlich mehr (...) ja dann schon die die die hochdeutsche sprache**

Subject die hochdeutsche Sprache

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition Due to X there was an increase in Standard German usage.

Assertion Due to X there was an increase in Standard German usage.

X /
Focus =

da(durch) 'the reasons mentioned above: language prep through learning foreign languages and reading all

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition nach

Token In Context

Translation

(17:08)

I: bei mitschülern schwierigkeiten beobachtet

DDJUNG2: nein also wie gesagt von der ersten bis zur vierten klasse nicht ähm danach kann man das ähm **danach würde ich SAGEN GAB es mal so einen AUSREIßER wo es** dann einmal sehr kritisch wurde weil er auch ich weiß gar nicht wie das genau zusammenhing aber er hatte noch ich glaube ein elternteil das kam aus russland und der hat es dann nur das sprechenlernen von einem einzelnen elternteil erlernt und da gab es dann mal sachen wo schon gesagt wurde dann unterbrochen wurde jetzt versuche das deutlicher und klarer zu artikulieren aber sonst nein nicht

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da(nach) 'the fourth grade'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(nach) 'the fourth grade'

X /
Focus =

after it the speaker would say...

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(20:07)

I: verständigungsschwierigkeiten zwischen DDJUNG und mitschülern aus anderen regionen deutschlands

DDJUNG2: nein **nein würde ich erklären** **damit dass** ein ein bestimmtes level an hochdeutsch spricht jeder und das versteht auch jeder

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition

The speaker would explain the fact that there are no communication difficulties between students from different regions of Germany due

Assertion

The speaker would explain the fact that there are no communication difficulties between students from different regions of Germany due

X /
Focus =

da 'upcoming info = everyone speaks and understands a certain amount of Standard German'

Proposition Type

Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(23:25)

I: sprache mit den eltern seit schuleintritt verändert

DDJUNG2: konkret verändert hat sich eigentlich nichts aber ich achte mehr auf so die gegenseitige grammatik (r) grammatische richtigkeit muss ich sagen also der (geti) der genitiv ist dem dativ sein tod oder andersherum nein so rum dativ ist dem genitiv sein tod ja ähm da achte ich schon drauf äh dass es also zum beispiel äh ich habe mal bei bei der fahrstunde jemanden unterbrochen der mir was erklären hat weil er die ganze zeit von wir fahren jetzt auf die nein warte mal warten sie mal wie war das bei die parkplätze war das so und so ich sage aber die parkplätze gibt es nicht es gibt nur bei den parkplätzen so (24:18) **und ja genau darauf ACHTE ich verstärkt muss ich sagen** ja genau

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da(rauf)* 'use of Standard German grammatical forms' is a topic for comment X

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(rauf)* 'use of Standard German grammatical forms' is a topic for comment X

X /
Focus =

the speaker has been paying increasingly more attention to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(35:11)

I: viel dialekt in ihrer generation gesprochen?

DDJUNG2: ähm immer weniger immer weniger
aber das hängt größtenteils (auch) mit der
öffentlichkeit zusammen dass man natürlich gut
und und und äh mit einer bestimmten qualität
halt präsentieren will also sowohl freunden oder
so gegenüber als auch erwachsenen und ähm **ja**
das ist denke ich mal würde ich auch die
HAUPTgründe dafür sehen.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø / das 'younger people wanting to
present a certain level of language
/ social value to their friends and
adults '

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø / das 'younger people wanting to
present a certain level of language
/ social value to their friends and
adults '

X /
Focus =

The speaker sees **them** as
the main reasons for *da(für)*
'the steady decrease in use of
dialect among people of

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(38:56)

I: ähm wie finden sie das denn selbst wenn ihr
gesprächspartner regionalen akzent hat oder
dialekt spricht

DDJUNG2: also ich finde es eigentlich
grundsätzlich gar nicht so schlecht weil man
erstmal weiß dass man ähm eine bestimmte
region oder eine andere mentalität vielleicht auch
ist ja oft damit verbunden ähm dass das
vorhanden ist ähm und es zeigt auch ein
stückweit so eine identifikationsfunktion (39:18)

ähm ja also grundsätzlich habe ich damit

kein PROBLEM. Es sollte halt nur in den
angemessenen Situationen äh passieren.

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'when other dialects/accents
are spoken'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'when other dialects/accents
are spoken'

X /
Focus =

the speaker does not have
any fundamental problems
with **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Part 1

Reference

Discontinuous

Part 2

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(6:08)

WIT5: ich wüsste nicht dass ich mal richtig
altricher platt gesprochen habe also richtig ur
reines

I: weil das heißt weil weil im endeffekt im
kindergarten dann schon das das

WIT5: **kindergarten und schule da wurden wir
mehr oder weniger dazu auch dazu er ERZOGEN
äh hochdeutsch zu SPRECHEN** und man hat sich
angeglichen

Subject *wir* 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da(zu)* 'upcoming information = to
speak Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(zu)* 'upcoming information = to
speak Standard German'

X /
Focus =

The speaker and his
classmates / siblings were
more or less taught to do **it** in
kindergarten and elementary

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(9:55)

I: nie situation, dass leute sie nicht verstanden haben

WIT5: nein in der schule nicht aber das war ganz interessant weil meine schwester die ist in wuppertal wohnhaft und hat auch geheiratet und eine tochter die hat auch mittlerweile ist sie schon älter und hat einen freund mitgebracht also wer dann mal wenn der mal bei uns in der runde familienfeier saß der kam ja auch aus dem bereich äh lütringhausen da also der hat nicht viel mitbekommen von unseren gesprächen der konnte nicht der konnte den gesprächen kaum folgen muss man wirklich sagen ja selbst selbst mir nicht **aber das kann vielleicht daran LIEGEN dass ich ein bisschen undeutlich spreche hier und da**

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition das 'that = the fact that the speaker's niece's boyfriend didn't understand anyone, even the speaker'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for das 'that = the fact that the speaker's niece's boyfriend didn't understand anyone, even the speaker'

X /
Focus =

that could be due to *da(ran)* 'upcoming information = the fact that the speaker doesn't speak clearly here and there.'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(0:24:50)

I: warum

WIT5: gut als polizist muss man erstmal ähm häufig versuchen die leute zu überzeugen und auch mit äh ja sie überzeugen halt zu einem bestimmten verhalten zu bringen äh das muss natürlich auch entsprechend dann rüberkommen ohne ohne überheblich wirken zu dürfen und äh **damit fährt man einfach in dem beruf auch am BESTEN** indem man die leute spüren lässt dass dass man einer von ihnen ist in dem sinn

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da(mit)* 'the fact that a police officer has to convince people to behave in a certain way without appearing arrogant' i

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da(mit)* 'the fact that a police officer has to convince people to behave in a certain way without appearing arrogant' i

X /
Focus =

that is your best bet for doing well in this profession.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(28:30)

I: gehört sprechweise zur atmosphäre?

WIT5: **kommt ja auch drauf AN worum es geht**

sage ich mal es gibt ja leute die kommen über den notruf haben aber eher ein alltägliches problem die man dann trotzdem im notruf dann erstmal abwickelt äh und äh das ist natürlich eine andere situation als wenn ein hektischer unfall gemeldet wird

Subject

Ø 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'whether the type of language used is important to the emergency call'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'whether the type of language used is important to the emergency call'

X /
Focus =

it depends on d' 'upcoming idea = what the emergency call is about'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Part 1

Reference

Discontinuous

Part 2

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(32:21)

I: genauso bei suizidversuchen?

WIT5: das geht natürlich auch ein bisschen in den bereich **aber ich denke bei suizidversuchen kommt es auch häufig drauf AN äh um wen es sich handelt** wenn das wirklich einer ist der auch noch einem mit platt begegnet dann wird man eher zugang zu ihm bekommen wenn man auch auf einer ebene mit ihm dialektal spricht statt wenn man dann mit hochdeutsch da anfa anfängt äh ihn zu überzeugen von seinem tun abzulassen

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

es 'it = the usefulness of speaking to the person in Low German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

es 'it = the usefulness of speaking to the person in Low German'

X /
Focus =

it often depends on *d'*
'upcoming info = who the person involved is'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition gegen

Token In Context

Translation

(34:28)

I: immer wieder anrufende, verwähler

WIT5: ja ist klar da kann ich ja auch anders werden ist klar das das ist aber aber normal dem einen oder anderen muss man auch mal richtig bescheid sagen dass es nicht so geht wenn man am telefon beleidigt wird von einem **dann dann wird man sich wahrscheinlich auch irgendwo dann äh DAGEGEN halten** aber es gibt halt ja es gibt nun mal auch kollegen die von ihrer persönlichkeit her dann schon äh ja eher negativ rüberkommen ganz einfach sprachlich klar das mal aber wir gehen immer vom vom normalbürger aus und äh dem muss man natürlich höflich und zuvorkommend entgentreten ist nun mal so

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'repeat callers / pranks on the emergency line'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'repeat callers / pranks on the emergency line'

X /
Focus =

at some point a person will defend herself / himself against **them**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(0:40:33)

I: erfahrungen mit norddeutschen?

WIT5: gut ich war mal oben in hamburg mal eine woche **aber sonst habe ich bisher an und für sich weniger ERFAHRUNG damit (0:40:41) um mir ein urteil damit erlauben zu können** ich kenne halt nur die paar bekannten von meiner schwester und das ist halt ein ganz anderer menschenschlag noch mal wie wie unsereins hier

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(mit) 'northern Germans'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(mit) 'northern Germans'

X /
Focus =

other than a one-week trip to Hamburg that one time, the speaker doesn't have much experience with them.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(1:36)

WITJUNG: man sagt zum beispiel auch einfach
so ja geht klar oder da hinten das und da würde
jetzt keiner sagen dahinten ja dahinten kann man
auch sagen **aber kommt halt drauf AN**
situationsbedingt vielleicht oder mit wem man
jetzt spricht

Subject

Ø 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'it = whether you would use a
regional or Standard German form
of dahinten'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'it = whether you would use a
regional or Standard German form
of dahinten'

X /
Focus =

it depends on d' 'upcoming
info = the situation or the
person you are talking to'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition zwische

Token In Context

Translation

(2:53)

WITJUNG: gibt da keinen ausdruck also es gibt ja nicht viel anderes (0:02:56) gibt ja **nur ein bisschen dazwischen** zwischen altricher platt und hochdeutsch oder so aber es gibt ja jetzt nicht noch eine extra sparte wo man sagt das da ist altricher urigplatt und das ist altricher bauernplatt oder so das gibt es nicht

Subject Ø 'there (is/are)'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da "upcoming info = the Altrich dialect and Standard German"

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da "upcoming info = the Altrich dialect and Standard German"

X /
Focus =

there is just a little between **them** {i.e. there aren't many levels between the two varieties}

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(7:56)

WITJUNG: und da haben die lehrer uns auch auf die finger geguckt dass wir da jetzt nicht platt reden **also ich kann mich noch gut daran ERINNERN dass** es öfters auch vorgekommen ist das jemand in der schule dann fünf oder fünfundfünfzig und so was [gesagt hat] _nichtwahr, ne_ und dann haben die lehrer direkt gesagt nein wie heißt das richtig und so [_nichtwahr,ne_] und das hat eigentlich das platt dann so verdrängt durch die schule

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'upcoming information = teachers correcting students who used dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'upcoming information = teachers correcting students who used dialect'

X /
Focus =

the speaker still remember **it** well.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(9:11)

I: war der schulbeginn ein bedeutender einschnitt

WITJUNG: ja ja ist ja muss ja also in der sprache meinen sie jetzt

I: allgemein

WITJUNG: ja **man hat sich schon drauf**

GEFREUT damals also klar (naja) ist ja schon ein lebensabschnitt [denke ich] ja

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'the beginning of school'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'the beginning of school'

X /
Focus =

you looked forward to *it* back then.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(12:31)

I: hatten sie mühe das hochdeutsche zu erlernen

WITJUNG: (...) ich weiß es nicht ich hatte anfangs in der fünf probleme in deutsch was aber jetzt eigentlich nicht beim lesen oder so was war sondern eher diktate also ja nein ich glaube das war die die rechtschreibung ja **doch da also die rechtschreibung hat ja schon was damit zu tun** ja also man hat natürlich versucht in den anfängen das hinzuschreiben was man hört oder wie man das kennt ja

Subject die Rechtschreibung 'spelling'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'the speaker's difficulties in fifth grade with German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'the speaker's difficulties in fifth grade with German'

X / Focus =

The spelling conventions did indeed have something to do with **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(29:53)

I: wie leicht fällt der wechsel

WITJUNG: ähm **ich habe damit eigentlich**

kein PROBLEM also relativ gut also hier in der

region sind die die platt kann man eigentlich

relativ gut verstehen das (ist eher) für mich

leichter wie bairisch platt oder so was

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'switching between Standard German and dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'switching between Standard German and dialect'

X /
Focus =

he speaker has no problem with **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Part 1

Reference

Discontinuous

Part 2

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Both

Preposition zu

Token In Context

Translation

(32:22)

I: warum der versuch platt zu sprechen
 WITJUNG: weil man da nicht auffallen möchte
 man möchte nicht jetzt mit seinem hochdeutsch
 da irgendwie als was was besseres oder als was
 gehobeneres da dastehen **ja also das wird
 schon mal leicht dazu (interpre) INTERPRETIERT**
 dass man (oh) der feine herr spricht nur
 hochdeutsch (oder) was es da jetzt für sachen
 gibt ja also man versucht sich da schon den
 leuten anzupassen und dann ja

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *das* 'that = speaking Standard
 German at family reunions'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *das* 'that = speaking Standard
 German at family reunions'

X /
 Focus =

one might interpret that as *da*
 'upcoming info = the fine /
 refined / pretentious young
 man only speaks Standard

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
 Part 1
 Reference

Discontinuous
 Part 2
 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(35:37)

I: wie bezeichnen sie ihre außerfamiliäre sprechweise

WITJUNG: ja **ich habe mir noch nie eine wirkliche BEZEICHNUNG dafür AUSgedacht** sage ich jetzt mal ganz ehrlich aber ich weiß es nicht [also das (ist) eigentlich]

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(für) 'the language variety the speaker uses outside of his family'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(für) 'the language variety the speaker uses outside of his family'

X /
Focus =

the speaker has never thought of a term for **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

I: mit dem sie am ehesten platt reden
 WITJUNG: ja gut das sind jetzt die brucher kollegen hier oder halt die kollegen aus trier
 nichtwahr,ne (halt) mehr musikerkollegen und bei denen versucht man sich so ein bisschen anzupassen und mit denen kann man auch platt reden ja
 (38:37)

I: bei den altrichern nicht
 WITJUNG: naja in meinem alter jetzt hm **ja Ø kommt einfach drauf AN** also es gibt schon ein paar _nichtwahr,ne_ mit denen mit denen wann sehe ich die ja also mit denen (die) ich platt rede mal am wochenende wenn ich jetzt irgendwo weggehe oder so dann trifft man sich schon mal

Subject

Ø 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø 'it = whether the speaker can speak dialect with colleagues from the city of Altrich'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø 'it = whether the speaker can speak dialect with colleagues from the city of Altrich'

X / Focus =

that depends on *d'* 'upcoming info = which people the speaker meets, especially when going out on weekends'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(49:13)

I: wo liegen unterschiede zwischen ihnen und ur-altrichern

WITJUNG: ja also eingessener altricher die die ältere generation die die hat das wirklich in fleisch und blut drin ja also (49:33) die kennen das nur so Ø **sind damit aufgewachsen** und mit denen will ich mich da überhaupt nicht messen also den unterschied wird man bestimmt hören ja

Subject

Ø 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'the local dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'the local dialect'

X /
Focus =

The oldest residents of Altrich grew up with **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(52:42)

I: wie bezeichnen sie ihre sprechweise

WITJUNG: **ja ich versuche damit im prinzip
größtmöglich soziales umfeld von mir
abzudecken mit der sprache** und äh wie ich das
jetzt bezeichnen würde sprache mit
größtmöglichem nutzen oder nein

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(mit) 'language variety between
dialect and Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(mit) 'language variety between
dialect and Standard German'

X /
Focus =

The speaker is trying to cover
the largest possible social
area with **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition um

Token In Context

Translation

(14:39)

I: ähm hat sich denn mit ihrem schuleintritt etwas an ihrem sprachverhalten verändert

BA1: wie ich in die realschule gekommen bin danach hat sich schon etwas geändert

I: also zur grundschule noch nicht

BA1: zur grundschule nicht so **(14:53) es ist ja hauptsächlich meiner mutter ist es hauptsächlich darum gegangen dass ich nicht schreibe wie ich spreche** weil dann wäre ja was ganz anders rausgekommen

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition

It was mainly X that was important to my mother.

Assertion

It was mainly X that was important to my mother.

X /
Focus =

da 'upcoming info = that the speaker didn't write like he spoke'

Proposition Type

Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(31:07)

BA1: mein sohn ist zum beispiel der kleinste ist in der bank der äh sag du kannst doch nicht so in der bank so ein kunde so den kannst du doch nicht so saudumm da anreden da musst du da dich ein wenig gewählter ausdrücken das sage ich auch oder der eine sohn der ist jetzt halt lehrer der steht (?) das sind jetzt ja unterschiede der spricht schon ganz anders das sind schon welten also wir sagen jetzt zu mir we- wenn ich unterhalten tu also äh da sage ich immer der kann gar nicht von mir sein so äh nein so so extrem ist das jetzt nichtwahr der mittlere ist ja wieder ganz anders **das kommt auch drauf an mit was für leuten der zusammenkommt glaube ich das macht auch viel aus**

Subject *das* 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *das* 'that = how each person (e.g. the speaker's sons) speaks'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *das* 'that = how each person (e.g. the speaker's sons) speaks'

X /
Focus =

That depends also on *d'* 'upcoming information = what type of people he gets together with'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(31:44)

I: aber sie haben ihre kinder Kinder schon im dialekt erzogen oder war es ihnen in der erziehung wichtig dass sie hochdeutsch sprechen

BA1: nein ich habe sie eigentlich im di- **ich habe NICHT so drauf gemerkt** am diese aufgabe habe ich eigentlich der schule übertragen bin natürlich immer äh ich habe zu den kindern genau so gesagt wie meine eltern gesagt haben du musst dich anders ausdrücken weil sonst schreibst du das falsch hin

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'which language the speaker raised his children in'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

d' 'which language the speaker raised his children in'

X /
Focus =

The speaker didn't really notice **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

I: würden sie das [sprachliche schulung für notrufe] dann für sinnvoll halten im rahmen der ausbildung

BA1: nein also ich würde sagen äh eigentlich nicht wichtig beim in der wo es in der äh als leiter einsatzzentrale ähm machen ja das meistens überwiegend da die funker und äh jetzt wenn ja alles zusammengelegt wird gibt es ja extra leute die nur den notruf bedienen (39:55) dann habe ich sowieso nichts mehr mit zu tun aber man muss natürlich (39:59) weil **es kommt ja nicht ALLEIN jetzt darauf an den notruf entgegenzunehmen** jetzt sondern man muss ihn auch bewerten können was tatsächlich ist weil kann ja nicht bei jedem der wo hineinschreit es brennt es brennt dann gleich einen ganzen zug feuerwehr ausschicken

Subject es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'upcoming idea = answering the emergency call'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'upcoming idea = answering the emergency call'

X / Focus =

that is not the only thing that matters.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(40:17)

BA1: weil wenn ich jetzt nur als beispiel einen geisterfahrer habe dann rufen zehn mann an wenn einer anruft und es melden sich dann ni- kurze zeit später nichts mehr **dann kannst davon ausgehen dass möglicherweise einer versucht hat bloß jetzt in die autobahn reinzufahren** oder er äh wollte irgend- bloß einen falschen notruf absetzen

Subject Ø/du 'you'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da 'upcoming info = possibly someone just attempted to drive onto the autobahn or just wanted to make a fake emergency call '

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da 'upcoming info = possibly someone just attempted to drive onto the autobahn or just wanted to make a fake emergency call '

X /
Focus =

You can assume **that**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(19:08)

I: mhm wurden denn gab es (denn)
verständnisschwierigkeiten oder wurden mal
drüber witze gemacht oder so bezüglich des
dialektes

BA1: ja da ist mit sicherheit teilweise auch wenn
es na nicht aufgepasst hat und hat dann mal
irgendwo voll sprachge- sprachgebrauch
gebracht irgendein wort oder irgendein satz äh
wo die anderen nicht verstanden haben wo es
ein wenig wo es amüsantes gewesen ist **dann ist
ja sind (schon)drüber schon WITZE gemacht
worden** das ist richtig ja

Subject

Witze 'jokes'

Accented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

d' 'a person's use of dialect that
others did not understand'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

d' 'a person's use of dialect that
others did not understand'

X /
Focus =

there were indeed jokes made
about **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(5:39)

I: würden sie sagen dass das was ihre
großeltern gesprochen haben so der wirklich
tiefste reinste bamberger dialekt gewesen ist

BAJUNG2: nein ich glaube der ist dann auch
schon leicht verändert gewesen **meine MUTTER**
erzählt davon dass MEINE uroma also/quasi
noch viel schlimmer gesprochen hat aber ich
habe das nicht mehr miterlebt also

Subject meine Mutter 'my mother'

Accented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'upcoming information = the
speaker's great grandmother
spoke an even more extreme
version of the Bamberg dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'upcoming information = the
speaker's great grandmother
spoke an even more extreme
version of the Bamberg dialect'

X /
Focus = the speakers mother says
that.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(6:53)

BAJUNG2: und mein bruder der quasi zwischen meinem großen und mir ist der mittelgroße quasi der spricht ziemlich hochdeutsch **meine mutter sagt immer das liegt daran** dass er bis zum kindergarten fast nicht geredet hat und dann im kindergarten quasi sprechen gelernt hat und dass da wahrscheinlich die erzieherinnen mit ihm sehr viel hochdeutsch geredet haben das sagt sie ob das jetzt wirklich so stimmt das kann ich nicht [beurteilen]

Subject

das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

das 'that = the fact that the speaker's next oldest brother speaks pretty much only Standard German'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

das 'that = the fact that the speaker's next oldest brother speaks pretty much only Standard German'

X /
Focus =

The speaker's mother always says it depends on *da* 'upcoming info = that the brother barely spoke until

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePostfield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition vor

Token In Context

Translation

(11:00)

I: die hat dialekt gesprochen

BAJUNG2: **die hat auf JEDEN fall mehr dialekt gesprochen als die lehrerin davor**

(11:06)

I: und die lehrerin die sich bemüht hat hochdeutsch zu sprechen würden sie jetzt sagen bemüht heißt dass sie hat es nicht richtig gesprochen oder hat sie schon (ein ein) reines hochdeutsch gehabt

BAJUNG2: ich kann es ich kann mich da nicht mehr wirklich dran erinnern ob die jetzt (also sie) hat auf jeden fall hochdeutsch gesprochen ob (sie es) ob das jetzt aufgesetzt war oder quasi ihre natur war das weiß ich nicht

Subject *die 'she'*

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *die 'she = the speaker's fourth grade teacher"*

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *die 'she = the speaker's fourth grade teacher"*

X /
Focus =

She definitely spoke more dialect than the teacher before her.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(31:27)

I: wie leicht fällt es ihnen denn sich auf die jeweiligen äh jeweiligen gesprächspartner einzustellen

BAJUNG2: mm **also wenn das KOMMT drauf an** wenn jemand jünger als ich ist (31:35) dann habe ich damit kein problem weil dann gebe ich quasi den ton an ähm wenn jemand älter als ich ist dann versuche ich mich dann schon ein bißchen anzupassen (31:54) aber ich habe da auch keine probleme damit wenn ich merke dass er sehr ja ich weiß nicht wie man das nennt also hier so sehr (ge) wenn man sehr (ges) wenn er gestochen redet so hoch dann dann versuche ich mich da schon anzupassen

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition das 'how easy it is for the speaker to adjust to his interlocutor' is a topic for comment X

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for das 'how easy it is for the speaker to adjust to his interlocutor' is a topic for comment X

X /
Focus =

that depends on d' 'upcoming information = the age of the interlocutor'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(31:27)

I: wie leicht fällt es ihnen denn sich auf die jeweiligen äh jeweiligen gesprächspartner einzustellen

BAJUNG2: mm also wenn das kommt drauf an wenn jemand jünger als ich ist (31:43) **dann habe ich damit kein PROBLEM** weil dann gebe ich quasi den ton an ähm wenn jemand älter als ich ist dann versuche ich mich dann schon ein bißchen anzupassen (31:54) aber ich habe da auch keine probleme damit wenn ich merke dass er sehr ja ich weiß nicht wie man das nennt also hier so sehr (ge) wenn man sehr (ges) wenn er gestochen redet so hoch dann dann versuche ich mich da schon anzupassen

Subject *ich* 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor'

X /
Focus =

the speaker doesn't have any problem with **it** if the other person is younger than him.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(31:27)

I: wie leicht fällt es ihnen denn sich auf die jeweiligen äh jeweiligen gesprächspartner einzustellen

BAJUNG2: mm also wenn das kommt drauf an wenn jemand jünger als ich ist (31:35) dann habe ich damit kein problem weil dann gebe ich quasi den ton an ähm wenn jemand älter als ich ist dann versuche ich mich dann schon ein bißchen anzupassen (31:54) **aber ich habe da auch keine PROBLEME damit** wenn ich merke dass er sehr ja ich weiß nicht wie man das nennt also hier so sehr (ge) wenn man sehr (ges) wenn er gestochen redet so hoch dann dann versuche ich mich da schon anzupassen

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(mit) 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(mit) 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor'

X /
Focus =

The speaker doesn't have any problems with **it** .

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

da 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor when speaking with an older person'

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

da 'adjusting language to suit interlocutor when speaking with an older person'

Part 1 Type

Both Clause Topic Marker & Scene-setting Expression

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(36:23)

I: sprechweise in nachbarschaft

BAJUNG2: in meiner nachbarschaft also da wird schon noch gut dialekt gesprochen also auf jeden fall mehr als so ungefähr wie bei meinen großeltern **das liegt aber auch** daran dass ich recht ältere nachbarn habe aber die sprechen noch ungefähr so wie meine großeltern dialekt also noch gut auf jeden fall

Subject das

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition 'the fact that the people in the speaker's neighborhood speak a lot of dialect'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for 'the fact that the people in the speaker's neighborhood speak a lot of dialect'

X /
Focus =

that is due to *da* 'upcoming info = the fact that he has a good deal of older neighbors'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition von

Token In Context

Translation

(41:38)

I: warum

BAJUNG2: weil ähm weil es einfach sachlicher wirkt es wirkt ähm **es wirkt als hätte man mehr Ahnung davon was man spricht** weil wenn man dialekt spricht spricht dann ist man meistens so ja da wirkt man halt wie ein bauer manchmal kann ich mir jetzt vorstellen also dass man eigentlich ja wenn jemand wirklich krass dialekt spricht dann sage ich zu dem auch du bauer also das meine ich jetzt nicht böse zu ihm und das weiß er

Subject man 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da* 'upcoming topic/information = what a person is saying'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'upcoming topic/information = what a person is saying'

X /
Focus =

{when one uses Standard German it appears} as if one has more knowledge of it.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type	SimpleMiddlefield	Continuous
Reference Type	Cataphoric	Preposition auf
Token In Context		Translation

(44:24)

I: wäre das ihnen denn unangenehm oder fänden sie es gut wenn sich jemand auf ihre sprechweise ansprechen würde

BAJUNG2: ähm ich glaube das käme auf die situation drauf an wenn mich (44:38)
angenommen ein LEHRER würde mich drauf ansprechen dass ich doch dialekt spreche dann fände ich das vielleicht nicht so angenehm

Subject	ein Lehrer 'a teacher'	Accented	
Communicative Purpose	Identify	Focus Domain	LexP
Presupposition	Assuming X would bring up <i>d'</i> (upcoming information = that the speaker is indeed speaking dialect).		
Assertion	Assuming X would bring up <i>d'</i> (upcoming information = that the speaker is indeed speaking dialect).	X / Focus =	teacher
Proposition Type	Focus-Presupposition		
Discontinuous Part 1 Reference		Discontinuous Part 2 Reference	
Part 1 Type			
Discontinuity			

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

I: häufige differenz zwischen bayern und franken

BAJUNG2: ja das stimmt

I: sprachlich sehen sie das nicht so

BAJUNG2: nein es gibt da auch also das ist ja keiner von uns hat einen grund irgendwie sauer auf bayern zu sein oder andersrum das ist aber einfach so wenn es drauf ankommt dann sind wir halt gegen bayern so sprachlich finde ich das jetzt überhaupt nicht schlimm also meine mutter hat auch freundinnen die aus südbayern kommen also wie die gegend wirklich heißt aus schwaben meine ich ich weiß es nicht südbayern die sprechen auch ziemlich stark dialekt und dadurch (47:57)

die kommen uns ab und zu mal besuchen also einmal im jahr oder so und **dadurch kriegt man das dann doch mit wie der dialekt so ist** und ich war das war von kindheit an gewohnt und das ist mir nie so fremd vorgekommen

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition The speaker keeps up and is accustomed with what the Bavarian dialect is like through X.

Assertion The speaker keeps up and is accustomed with what the Bavarian dialect is like through X.

X /
Focus =

da(durch) "Southern Bavarian, dialect speaking friends of the speaker's mother visiting the speaker's

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(56:36)

I: und äh gibt es denn in bamberg eine
bezeichnung dafür wenn man hochdeutsch mit
mit regionalem akzent spricht

BAJUNG2: (56:45) _nein, nee_ **dafür wüsste
ich jetzt keine äh bezeichnung**

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *da* 'standard language with
regional accent'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da* 'standard language with
regional accent'

X / the speaker has no term for it.
Focus =

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(2:26)

I: okay mhm und gibt es noch irgendwelche anderen bezeichnungen

WTJUNG: _nee, nein_ eigentlich wenn dann sag ich bauerndeutsch dazu

(2:36)

I: ja oder wie sagen hier die anderen leute wie nennen die das

WTJUNG: ja eben **mir fehlt jetzt grad der begriff dafür** aber kann sein dass mir das noch einfällt

Subject *der Begriff dafür* 'the term for

Accented

Communicative Purpose

Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition

The speaker knows the concept but can't remember the X

Assertion

The speaker knows the concept but can't remember the X

X /
Focus =

the term {for a language variety between dialect and Standard German}

Proposition Type

Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(5:56)

WTJUNG: ja bei meinem opa is es nicht so extrem der redet eher noch so bayrisch zwischendrin aber das ist ja weil er aus bayern kommt oder geboren ist dort

I: und hat der sich auch hier irgendwie ein bisschen angepasst

WTJUNG: ja klar

I: also merkt man da auch dass er jetzt so ein bisschen

WTJUNG: ja **es kommt auch drauf AN** wenn er jetzt mit den älteren leuten hier von hier redet dann redet er den dialekt wo wir hier sprechen und wenn er mit den verwandten oder so was die auch aus bayern da sind dann redet er balrisch

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

es 'whether one notices that the speaker's grandfather has a Bavarian accent'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

es 'whether one notices that the speaker's grandfather has a Bavarian accent'

X /
Focus =

it depends on *da* {upcoming info = if he is talking to older locals or relatives from Bavaria'}

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition vor

Token In Context

Translation

(9:18)

I: und das war dann aber erst so ab der siebten klasse

WTJUNG: ja so ungefähr

I: und davor

WTJUNG: **davor** habe ich eigentlich auch da habe ich NUR dialekt geredet eigentlich

Subject ich

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da(vor) 'seventh grade'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(vor) 'seventh grade'

X /
Focus =

the speaker spoke only
dialect before **that**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition durch

Token In Context

Translation

(9:53)

I: wie war das war das irgendwie ein sehr krasser einschnitt

WTJUNG: nein da waren die texte ja auch simpler und es hat sich halt dann langsam gesteigert vom schwierigungsgrad her wie man sich formulieren musste **und ähm das hat sich dann DA durch eigentlich ergeben dass ich eher hochdeutsch geredet habe da ich eh schon eine recht schlechte rechtschreibung habe**

(10:11)

I: ja und wie haben die lehrer gesprochen in der schule

WTJUNG: das war unterschiedlich es kam drauf an die älteren lehrer die haben dialekt geredet und die jüngerer die jetzt gerade von der universität oder so gekommen sind und und frisch frische lehrer geworden sind die (ha)ben eigentlich alle hochdeutsch geredet

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition X was the basis for the fact that the speaker ended up speaking more standard-like German

Assertion X was the basis for the fact that the speaker ended up speaking more standard-like German

X /
Focus =

DA(durch) 'upcoming info = the speakers bad spelling {i.e. since the speaker had bad spelling, he believed he could

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(9:53) ???

I: wie war das war das irgendwie ein sehr krasser einschnitt

WTJUNG: nein da waren die texte ja auch simpler und es hat sich halt dann langsam gesteigert vom schwierigungsgrad her wie man sich formulieren musste und ähm das hat sich dann dadurch eigentlich ergeben dass ich eher hochdeutsch geredet habe da ich eh schon eine recht schlechte rechtschreibung habe

(10:11)

I: ja und wie haben die lehrer gesprochen in der schule

WTJUNG: das war unterschiedlich **es kam drauf AN** die älteren lehrer die haben dialekt geredet und die jüngeren die jetzt gerade von der universität oder so gekommen sind und und frisch frische lehrer geworden sind die (ha)ben eigentlich alle hochdeutsch geredet

Subject es

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition es 'how the teachers in the school spoke'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for es 'how the teachers in the school spoke'

X / Focus =

it depended on d' 'upcoming info = whether a particular teacher was old or young'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(13:07)

I: ja okay und wie war das mit mitschülern aus anderen ortschaften hatten die vielleicht auffällige unterschiede in ihrem dialekt dass es da irgendwie verständigungsschwierigkeiten gab

WTJUNG: ja **das kommt jetzt darauf AN** wir hatten einen in der klasse der ist irgendwo von von stuttgart oder so oben runtergekommen und der hatte halt schwäbisch geredet und das war halt schon anders ähnlich aber anders

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *das* 'that = whether there were any difficulties understanding students from other areas'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *das* 'that = whether there were any difficulties understanding students from other areas'

X /
Focus =

That depends on *da* 'upcoming info = where the other students came from'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(14:36)

WTJUNG: ja also das meiste (...) war dann eigentlich wo die zeit gekommen ist wo die bewerbungsgespräche gekommen sind also da habe ich mich dann wirklich gezwungen quasi hochdeutsch zu reden

I: war das schwierig

WTJUNG: es ging teilweise schon

I: ja

WTJUNG: aber im allgemeinen es ging eigentlich **weil man hat sich ja auch so schon darauf EINGestellt vom vom schulunterricht** und da hat man auch schon teilweise also so bewerbungsgespräche simuliert in der klasse und da hat man auch schon hochdeutsch gesprochen

Subject man 'one, you'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition *da'* 'using Standard German in interviews'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *da'* 'using Standard German in interviews'

X /
Focus =

you already prepared for **it** through school.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition vor

Token In Context

Translation

WTJUNG: ja ein teil aus der schule also nein
eigentlich war ich nie mit wirklich mit welchen aus
meiner klasse unterwegs obwohl doch klar
natürlich ja nein das ist jetzt ein kompletter
freundeskreiswechsel gewesen nachdem ich mit
der schule fertig war **und davor war ich
eigentlich vier jahre nur mit welchen aus
meiner KLASSE unterwegs** doch

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Identify

Focus Domain

LexP

Presupposition Before completing school the
speaker hung out with X.

Assertion Before completing school the
speaker hung out with X.

X /
Focus =

only a few people from his
grade.

Proposition Type Focus-Presupposition

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(24:48)

I: und ist das dann der dialekt den auch die älteren sprechen oder ist der unterschiedlich

WTJUNG: ein bisschen ein bisschen deutscher würde ich sagen also ein bisschen hochdeutscher aber aber auch schon **es kommt natürlich darauf an** aber sie reden eigentlich schon relativ krass den dialekt ja

I: worauf kommt es an

WTJUNG: ja die allgemeine redensart und wie sie die ausdrücke machen also #da sind wir ans fest gegangen# zum beispiel sagen die und nicht wir sind an das fest gegangen und so zeug also man merkt es schon

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

es 'it = whether the dialect of the younger speakers is similar to that of the oldest speakers'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

es 'it = whether the dialect of the younger speakers is similar to that of the oldest speakers'

X /
Focus =

It depends on d' 'possible upcoming info = how individuals speak and what expressions they use'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(27:54):

I: okay und wie sprechen diese personen mit ihnen

WTJUNG: **das kommt darauf AN** manche sprechen mich hochdeutsch zurück an weil sie keinen dialekt sprechen manche sprechen mich halt mit dialekt zurück

I: okay wovon hängt das ab

WTJUNG: von den ich sage mal so wenn die eltern jetzt bauern sind dann reden die meisten die kinder meistens auch hundertprozentig dialekt (28:15) also da kann man eigentlich von ausgehen

Subject

das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

das 'that = how others speak to the speaker" is a topic for comment X

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

das 'that = how others speak to the speaker" is a topic for comment X

X /
Focus =

It depends on *d'* 'upcoming information = whether they speak dialect or not'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(31:57)

I: okay sind sie schon mal zum beispiel im urlaub auf ihre sprache angesprochen worden obwohl sie hochdeutsch gesprochen haben also hat da mal jemand gemerkt an ihrem hochdeutsch trotzdem wo sie herkommen

WTJUNG: **also angesprochen drauf wurde ich NICHT** aber ich denke mal das ich trotzdem noch ein bisschen anders rede als irgendjemand der jetzt von grund auf hochdeutsch gelernt hat

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'the speaker's language / accent'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'the speaker's language / accent'

X / Focus = the speaker has not been spoken to about **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePrefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition über

Token In Context

Translation

(34:31)

I: ja gibt es irgendwie dialekte die sie ja angenehmer finden

WTJUNG: **darüber habe ich mir eigentlich noch nie GEDANKEN gemacht** aber ich würde fast fast behaupten der dialekt der in karlsruhe gesprochen wird der gefällt mir irgendwie also ich könnte den jetzt auch nicht nachmachen oder so aber der gefällt mir einfach offenburg

Subject ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition da' 'which dialects the speaker finds to be more pleasant'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da' 'which dialects the speaker finds to be more pleasant'

X /
Focus =

The speaker has never thought about **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(44:41)

I: okay und gibt es auch orte oder regionen wo sie auf keinen fall hinziehen würden

WTJUNG: naja **es kommt drauf AN** nach berlin würde ich natürlich auch gerne aber das ist halt so riesig (44:51) und kommt dann auch drauf an in welches viertel man da zieht

Subject es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition es 'it = whether or not the speaker would move to particular places'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for es 'it = whether or not the speaker would move to particular places'

X / Focus =

it depends on d' 'upcoming information = size of the city, type of neighborhood'

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(44:41)

I: okay und gibt es auch orte oder regionen wo sie auf keinen fall hinziehen würden

WTJUNG: naja es kommt darauf an nach berlin würde ich natürlich auch gerne aber das ist halt so riesig (44:51) **und kommt dann auch drauf an in WELCHES viertel man da zieht**

Subject

Ø/es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

Ø/es 'it = whether the speaker would move to a city, e.g. Berlin'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

Ø/es 'it = whether the speaker would move to a city, e.g. Berlin'

X /
Focus =

It also depends on d' 'upcoming information = which neighborhood the speaker moved to'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition an

Token In Context

Translation

(31:57)

I: wie fanden sie das dann wenn sie dann dann als bayer immer wieder erkannt worden sind sofort hat sie das gestört fanden sie das gut

I: What do you think of that? When you were always recognized immediately as a Bavarian? Did that annoy you? Did you like that?

TS2: ja es da muss ich differenzieren es gibt es gibt leute die die einfach gesellig sind die da wo du sagst **der hat jetzt eine mordsFREUDE dran** und der dem macht das spaß und der unterhält sich jetzt auch gerne mit dir

TS2: Yes, it in that case I have to differentiate. There are there are people who who are just friendly, someone who you'd say **he gets a kick out of it** and it's fun for him and he likes talking with you.

Subject

der 'he'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

der 'a certain type of person'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

der 'a certain type of person'

X /
Focus =

he really enjoys it (hearing regional language varieties)

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous NA

Discontinuous NA

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type NA

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(1:04:59)

I: finden sie denn dass dialekte staatlich gefördert werden sollten

I: Do you think that dialects should be supported by the government?

TS2: (_nein, na_) **Ø bin dafür dass GAR nix gefördert wird** weil die fördererei bringt nichts (lacht) nein es soll einfach ja man soll die leute ein so lassen wie sie sind einfach nicht keine umerziehung aber auch umgedreht keine förderung oder schon förderung aber halt eine ideelle förderung dass man sagt ihr sollt eure sprache behalten ihr sollt euch nicht umstellen

TS2: No, I'm for absolutely nothing being supported because this whole support business is pointless. No, it should just be, yeah, you should leave the people just as they are, right? Simply, no retraining but also no government support or support but simply a fostering of ideals so that they say you should hold onto your language, you shouldn't change.

Subject

Ø/ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da 'upcoming idea = not financially supporting anything'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da 'upcoming idea = not financially supporting anything'

X /
Focus =

the speaker is for it.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous NA

Discontinuous NA

Part 1
Reference

Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type NA

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition nach

Token In Context

Translation

(30:54)

TSJUNG1: und sie {Freunde aus Bayern, die nach Sachsen umgezogen sind) haben auch erzählt ähm dass das am anfang ziemlich doof war wo sie weil sie sind ja in den sommerferien umgezogen und Ø **mussten (dann) danach in die schule gehen** und sie haben gesagt ja sie verstehen den lehrer so schlecht ja (er) redet so komisch mit die (sch...) S was sie da haben und so und das verstehen sie nicht und das ist doof aber mittlerweile geht es

TSJUNG1: and they {friends from Bavaria that moved to Saxony} also said, uh, that at the beginning it was pretty dumb when they because they moved during the summer break and **then after that had to go to school** and they said they don't understand the teachers well. Yeah he speaks with the (sh...) S that they have there et cetera and they don't understand and it's dumb but in the meantime it's okay.

Subject Ø/sie 'they'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition Ø/sie 'they'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for Ø/sie 'they'

X /
Focus = **they** had to go to school after it {the summer break}

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous NA
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous NA
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type NA

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(31:47)

TSJUNG1:

also es ist wahrscheinlich genau dasselbe dass die älteren das so gelernt haben das so gelernt haben weil sie gedacht haben ja im umkreis von zwanzig kilometern versteht mich jeder das reicht und na ja bei den jüngeren ist es halt jetzt nicht so weil **die mittlerweile glaube ich äh legen auch die älteren mehr WERT drauf** dass man sie überall verstehen kann einigermaßen

TSJUNG1:

Well it's probably the same thing: that the older people learned it that way because they though yeah everyone within a twenty kilometer radius understands me and well with the young people it's not like that anymore because **in the meantime, I think, everyone, even older people, place importance** on being able to be understood to some degree everywhere

Subject *alle* 'everyone'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition die älteren 'older people'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for die älteren 'older people'

X /
Focus =

they place more value on it
{upcoming idea = being able
to be more/less understood
everywhere} }

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition mit

Token In Context

Translation

(34:35)

I: und wenn eben leute die dieses urbairisch noch sprechen dann in der stadt normal kommunizieren dann geben sie sich ein bisschen mühe nicht ganz so bairisch zu sprechen

TSJUNG1: denkt man ja

I: äh haben sie da eine bezeichnung für
TSJUNG1: ja das ist halt dann ich würde sagen das ist dann normale sprechweise hier bei uns so und ähm es gibt halt welche die reden das so normal da gibt es welche die müssen sich anstrengen weil sie kein deutsch richtig können und dann gibt es die die müssen sich anstrengen weil sie sonst halt jedes zweite wort bairisch aussprechen würden also das können sie (d...) **bei uns glaube ich kommt man damit auch gut durch** weil das weil man das in der regel schon versteht

I: And when people that do still speak this deep Bavarian communicate normally in the city, do they then make an effort to speak not quite so Bavarian-like?

TSJUNG1: That's the thought, yeah.

I: Uh, do you have a name for that?

TSJUNG1: Yeah that's just then I would say that's like the normal way of speaking around here and uh there are people who speak that on a normal basis. There are others who have to make an effort because they can't speak proper German and then there are those who who have to make an effort because otherwise they would pronounce every other word in a Bavarian way mean they can (...) **around here I think you can even get by with that** because normally people do understand that

Subject *man* 'one'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da(mit) 'a language variety in which every other word is Bavarian'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da(mit) 'a language variety in which every other word is Bavarian'

X /
Focus =

one can also get by with **it** in our area

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePostfield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(36:32)

I: wie ähm würden sie das dann einschätzen mit ihrer sprechweise wechseln sie die je nachdem mit wem sie sich unterhalten

TSJUNG1: na ja so direkt nicht **wenn ich halt es merke ja ich wäre schief angeschaut dafür dass ich so rede** dann (wär...) so wechsele ich halt so dass ich mit dem einigermaßen anpasse und oder wenn ich merke man versteht es nicht aber so wenn ich jetzt mir nicht denke dann glaube ich rede (ich) einfach ohne mich ohne drauf zu achten wie ich rede

Subject

ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

ich 'the speaker'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

ich 'the speaker'

X /
Focus =

he is being looked at oddly for 'upcoming idea = that the speaker is speaking in a Bavarian like way'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(37:02)

I: das heißt sie wechseln wenn nur bewusst ihre sprechweise

TSJUNG1: würde ich jetzt schon sagen weil **in der regel konzentriert man sich ja nicht DRAUF wie man redet** oder wie man (jetzt) wörter ausspricht und wenn man (halt) merkt dass der andere der gegenüber das nicht versteht oder wenn er sogar nachfragt dann muss man sich (halt) korrigieren

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition d' 'upcoming idea = how one speaks'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'upcoming idea = how one speaks'

X /
Focus =

one does not usually concentrate on **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(44:33)

I: ähm das heißt am stammtisch würden sie dann auch bewusst versuchen bairischer zu sprechen

TSJUNG1: mhm

I: als sonst

TSJUNG1: ja denke ich mal schon weil ja (es) es kommt jetzt drauf an was wenn das so (ein) alt älterherrstammtisch ist dann auf jeden fall weil die dann alle bairisch reden und da denke ich mal (44:50) ja da will ich jetzt dazugehören denke ich mal dass ich (das) so immer denken würde und beim stammtisch von uns wenn wir zusammensitzen da reden wir dann auch so (-----) (45:00) **und ähm ACHTEN jetzt nicht so drauf** was man genau sagt und wie man das ausspricht und (da) ist es eigentlich egal

Subject \emptyset / wir 'we'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition d' 'upcoming idea = what exactly one says and how one pronounces that'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'upcoming idea = what exactly one says and how one pronounces that'

X / Focus =

we don't really pay attention to **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(48:49)

I: wie ist denn wenn sie jetzt aufs amt gehen
sprechen sie da auch hochdeutsch oder geben
sie sich da besonders mühe hochdeutsch zu
sprechen

TSJUNG1: (_nee,nein_) **das kommt jetzt drauf
AN auf (welches) amt** bei uns in der gemeinde
da ist es egal die verstehen alles (auch/aber)
wenn ich jetzt was weiß ich (so)

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition d' 'upcoming idea = which
government office {you go to}

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for d' 'upcoming idea = which
government office {you go to}

X /
Focus =

That {i.e. if you try to speak
more Standard German or
not} depends on **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(52:01)

I: und wie ist das wenn sie auf wenn wenn ein zum beispiel ein einheimischer sie auf auf ihre hochdeutsch anspricht

TSJUNG1: ja dann ähm glaube ich würde ich mal versuchen ihm zu beweisen dass ich auch bairisch reden kann **und das kommt jetzt drauf AN** wie gut oder wie genau der ist ob ich dann oder sagt ah hah okay geht oder so was ist denn das kannst (du) vergessen weil so richtig profi-bairisch sprechen kann ich nicht aber ich glaube so dass ich durchkomme das passt schon

Subject das 'that'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain TP

Presupposition *das* 'that {i.e. whether the speaker tries to prove his dialect skills}'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for *das* 'that {i.e. whether the speaker tries to prove his dialect skills}'

X / Focus =

that depends on it {upcoming idea = how good or exact the dialect of the native speaker is}

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous Part 1 Reference

Discontinuous Part 2 Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(53:31)

I: also das ist jetzt keine frage des verstehens in erster linie sondern das ist eine frage äh dass dass sie es amusant finden

TSJUNG1: ja wenn ich es nicht verstehe und das thema ist wichtig dann würde ich halt nachfragen und ihn vielleicht bitten dass er etwas mehr hochdeutsch spricht dass ich ihn verstehen kann **oder mich entschuldigen dafür dass** ich das jetzt nicht VERSTEHE und wenn das jetzt ein unwichtiges thema oder so ist und der einfach redet dann könnte ich dadrüber lachen und sagen ja rede ruhig weiter ich verstehe zwar nichts aber egal

Subject

Ø/ich 'I'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

da(für) 'not understanding'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

da(für) 'not understanding'

X /
Focus =

I would apologize for **it**.

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimplePostfield

Continuous

Reference Type Anaphoric

Preposition für

Token In Context

Translation

(1:00:25)

I: wie leicht fällt es ihnen denn vom bairischen ins hochdeutsche zu wechseln

TSJUNG1: also wenn ich jetzt länger bairisch gesprochen habe dann glaube ich hat man das jetzt erstmal drin ein _bisschen, bissel_ und (brau...) muss man ein _bisschen, bissel_ konzentrieren wenn man jetzt wieder in die situation kommt wo man richtig hochdeutsch sprechen muss und so von der normalen sprache wenn ich jetzt weiß o jetzt muss ich hochdeutsch sprechen dann glaube ich geht das einigermaßen (1:00:55) **und man muss sich halt konzentrieren dafür** und dann am anfang vor allem und dann glaube ich äh kriegt man das wieder rein kurzzeitig und dann geht das

Subject *man* 'one, a person'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition da [speaking Standard German]

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for da [speaking Standard German]

X /
Focus =

one has to, like, concentrate in order to do **it**.

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(1:06:59)

I: fühlen sie sich sehr verwurzelt in garchingeng

TSJUNG1: (...) ich habe noch nie irgendwoanders gewohnt oder gelebt und ich glaube wenn ich jetzt wegziehen müsste würde ich das schon vermissen im ersten moment **und dann kommt es eben drauf AN** wie gut es mir da gefällt wo ich bin ob sich das legt oder eben nicht denke ich mal

Subject es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition es 'whether I would miss Garchingeng'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for es 'whether I would miss Garchingeng'

X /
Focus =

it would depend on *d'* {upcoming information = 'how much I liked it where I was and whether or not it

Proposition Type Topic-Comment

Discontinuous
Part 1
Reference

Discontinuous
Part 2
Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity

Pronominal Adverb Type SimpleMiddlefield

Continuous

Reference Type Cataphoric

Preposition auf

Token In Context

Translation

(44:33)

I: ähm das heißt am stammtisch würden sie dann auch bewusst versuchen bairischer zu sprechen

TSJUNG1: mhm

I: als sonst

TSJUNG1: ja denke ich mal schon weil ja (es) **es KOMMT jetzt drauf an** was wenn das so (ein) alt älterherrstammtisch ist dann auf jeden fall weil die dann alle bairisch reden und da denke ich mal ja da will ich jetzt dazugehören denke ich mal dass ich (das) so immer denken würde und beim stammtisch von uns wenn wir zusammensitzen da reden (wir/mal) dann auch so (-----) und ähm achten jetzt nicht so drauf was man genau sagt und wie man das ausspricht und (da) ist es eigentlich egal

Subject

es 'it'

Unaccented

Communicative Purpose

Comment

Focus Domain

TP

Presupposition

es 'whether the speaker speaks more Bavarian or more Standard German at the *Stammtisch*'

is/are a topic for comment X.

Assertion As for

es 'whether the speaker speaks more Bavarian or more Standard German at the *Stammtisch*'

X /
Focus =

that depends on d' 'upcoming idea = what the audience members are like'

Proposition Type

Topic-Comment

Discontinuous

Discontinuous

Part 1

Part 2

Reference

Reference

Part 1 Type

Discontinuity