Patterns of Repetition in Language Use

University of Leipzig, 15th/16th January 2018

Programme and Abstracts

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Programme

Monday, January 15th 2018

12.30–13.00   Welcome

13.00–14.00   *Keynote*
Jannis Androutsopoulos (Hamburg)
Repetition and contrast in digital interaction: evidence from multilingual social networking

14.00–14.15   Break

14.15–15.00   **Gerrit Kentner (Frankfurt am Main)**
From the phrase level down to the segmental tier: reduplication and repetition is pervasive in German

15.00–15.45   **Samuel Felder (Leipzig)**
Recurring language patterns in Swiss German WhatsApp chats. An analysis of individual and group-specific preferences

15.45–16.30   Break

16.30–17.15   **Mathilde Guardiola (Marseille)**
Contribution of other-repetition in alignment and affiliation

17.15–18.00   **Malte Rosemeyer (Leuven), Scott Schwenter (Ohio)**
Echoic affirmative responses in Brazilian Portuguese

18.00–18.15   Break

18.15–19.15   *Keynote*
Isabelle Buchstaller (Duisburg-Essen)
Individual patterns in language use across the life span

19.30   Conference dinner at the restaurant Michaelis

Tuesday, January 16th 2018

09.00–10.00	*Keynote* **Martin Salzmann (Leipzig)** What doubling can tell us about grammar
10.00–10.30	Break
10.30–11.15	**María Victoria Pavón Lucero (Madrid), Avellina Suñer Gratacós (Girona)** Verb repetition strategies in temporal subordination
11.15–12.00	**Franziska Stuntebeck (Zürich)** Repetition patterns in argument drop
12.00–13.30	Lunch break
13.30–14.15	**Tanmoy Bhattacharya (Delhi), Gourashyam Singh Hidam (Delhi)** Looks can be deceptive: Doubling and repetition in Meeteilon
14.15–15.00	**Silvia Natale (Bern)** Left dislocations in Italian
15.00–15.30	Coffee and Farewell

Abstracts

Repetition and contrast in digital interaction: evidence from multilingual social networking

Jannis Androutsopoulos, Hamburg

In this talk I examine the choice and negotiation of linguistic resources in semi-public interactions among networked speakers/writers. The term repetition thereby refers to the uptake of linguistic choices by one or more previous participants, whereas contrast refers to a diverging linguistic choice, which establishes a pattern of code-switching (Auer 1995) by indexing some sort of pragmatic contrast that is relevant to participants of an ongoing interaction. Patterns of repetition and/or contrast are commonplace in online networks that bring together people with different linguistic repertoires. Such networks instantiate what media scholars have termed "context collapse", i.e. the coexistence of people with different social relationships in one virtual network (Marwick/boyd 2011). Research shows that context collapse can lead to a constant negotiation of language choice in which repetition and contrast become pragmatically salient resources for interaction management, relationship work and display of networked selves (Androutsopoulos 2014a, Seargeant et. al. 2012, Papacharissi 2011). This talk empirically examines social networking timelines of multilingual young people of Greek-German and Taiwanese-German background (Androutsopoulos et al. 2013). A scheme for the analysis of repetition and contrast in networked interactions is developed, its backbone being the relationship of individual linguistic choices to initiating and responding moves in digital interaction as these are instantiated with the affordances of the social networking platform. In initiating moves, participants design their audience for a particular contribution by tailoring their language choice to a specific part of their collapsed audience. In responding moves, members of the networked public align with (i.e. repeat) or diverge from (i.e. contrast) the initiating language choice, thereby contextualizing respective interactional stances. I show how aligning and diverging linguistic choices are linked to transnational social relationships and also draw a connection to the notion of sociolinguistic change (Androutsopoulos 2014b) by arguing that understanding language choice in networked interaction is key to explaining the spread of *lingua franca* English in social media.

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Looks can be deceptive: Doubling and repetition in Meeteilon

Tanmoy Bhattacharya, Delhi
Gourashyam Singh Hidam, Delhi

In this paper, we demonstrate that a mere 'surface-y' understanding of doubling phenomena can be misleading. In particular, we take up a Sino-Tibetan language of Northeast India, Meeteilon, to show that especially in the domain of the well-known phenomenon of 'double definiteness', looks can be deceptive, as far as doubling of particles representing definiteness are concerned. By way of this demonstration, we also show that repetition is an entirely different phenomenon from doubling.

In Meeteilon, we will show that there are several instances of more than one formative being present in a sentence. The constructions we investigate are: conjunctive particle; person marking in body-parts, kinship and others; reciprocals and reflexives; verbal, Wh-, and Demonstrative doubling. However, not all occurrences are a case of doubling. In particular, we will argue that Wh- and Demonstratives do not display cases of syntactic doubling in Meeteilon. However, the matters are not always as simple, for example, taking the example of conjunctive particles, we note a difference between the conjunctive (-*ne*) and additive (-*su*) on the one hand, and the associative (-*gə*) on the other, where the latter can be deleted only after topicalization (see 1-3):

(1)   John-(*ne)   memča-ne   school-də   lɑk-e
       John-Conj   Memcha-Conj   school-Loc   come-Perf
       'John and Memcha came to school'
(2)   John-*(su)   memča-su   school-də   lɑk-e
       John-also   Memcha-also   school-Loc   come-Perf
       'John also and Memcha also came to school.'
(3)   John-di   memča-gə   lɑk-kəni
       John-TOP   Memcha-with   come-Fut
       'As for John, he will come with Memcha' (in pair)

If the above are typical cases of doubling, the following are cases of repetition, as they do contribute to the meaning:

(4)   kəna   tum-mì   (5)   kəna   kəna tum-mì
       Who   sleep-Prog   Who   who   sleep-Prog
       'Who is sleeping?'   'Who all are sleeping?'

Similarly is the case with Demonstrative doubling. There are two types of demonstratives, proximal -*si* and distal–*du*; these are exemplified in (6,7):

(6)   əsi-gi   čiŋ-si   (7)   ədu-gi   kɑr-du
       this-Gen   mountain-this   that-Gen   car-that
       'this/the mountain'   'the/that car'

The demonstratives and their reduced forms match, and on surface, it seems that mixing of the types is not allowed. However, probing further, it is found that a mixture of proximal and distal demonstrative is possible:

(8) əsi-gi   mə-čɑ-du   (9) ədu-gi   mə-čɑ-si
     this–Gen   3-child-that   that-Gen   3-child-this
     'that/the child of this (3P)'   'this child of that (3P)'

The distinctness of the definite particles can be illustrated by adding a noun with the first one in these examples. In (10,11), the addition of a proper noun shows the difference between the two. Moreover, the presence of the first demonstrative is optional but the one after the head noun must be obligatory.

(10) čɑwbi-si-gi   mə-čɑ-si   (11) čɑwbi-du-gi   mə-čɑ-du
      Chaobi-this-Gen   3-child-this   Chaobi-that- Gen   3-child-that
      'This child/ the child of Chaobi'   'That child/ the child of Chaobi'

Thus, the two demonstratives play different semantic roles, which imply that one is not a copy of the other. The presence of the genitive marker *-gi* between the two demonstratives is another reason to claim that the demonstrative belong to two separate zones of the DP.
It is thus shown that the so-called 'double-definiteness' of Meeteilon is not really a case of doubling of definiteness but rather a combination of deixis and definiteness. Towards this end, the paper proposes a DP structure of Meeteilon, based on Bhattacharya (1999) for Bangla (Bengali), which derives deixis and obligatory definiteness through a combination of Agree, EPP-driven movement and head movement.

Individual patterns in language use across the life span

Isabelle Buchstaller, Duisburg-Essen

This talk explores the question to which extent changes across the life-span of the individual speaker replicate ongoing changes in the community. In order to explore the extent to which the speech of the individual matches community-wide patterns, I explore a small panel sample of six speakers recorded in 1971 and again in 2013 in in the urban community of Tyneside in the North East of England. The analysis relies on two variables differentiated by the level of linguistic structure at which they are situated: The realisation of (t) as well as the expression of stative possession. The notion of what constitutes a change in speaker grammar is a contentious one and my talk explores the comparability of results yielded by different heuristics commonly employed in empirical linguistics. The results are complex yet consistent across the two variables: A sub-set of speakers participate in or indeed replicate community-wide patterns across their life-span. But while the unstable behaviour of these speakers across their life-span provides support that our internal grammar can and indeed does change across the life-span (McKenzie 2014), ongoing work needs to model in more detail the factors that condition the extent to which speakers replicate patterns in the community that surrounds them. The results suggest that the kind of scaling up and down between individual and community grammars (Meyerhoff and Klaere 2017) addresses the important question of how variation in the individual is related to variation in the community (Guy 1980).

Recurring language patterns in Swiss German WhatsApp chats. An analysis of individual and group-specific preferences

Samuel Felder, Leipzig

Private computer-mediated communication generally seems to bear a potential for rapid developments of idiosyncratic or group-specific language patterns (cf. Rowe 2011). In the Swiss German WhatsApp chats which are the object of analysis of the present study this potential is reinforced by a number of factors: First, there are no clear norms or rules yet for the use of many of the graphic and linguistic features which are considered typical for CMC (e.g. emojis, grapheme repetitions) (cf. Bieswanger 2013, Dürscheid 2016). Second, there is no orthographic standard for writing in Swiss German which leads to considerable variation in how the different Swiss German dialects are represented in writing (cf. Felder 2015, Müller 2011, Siebenhaar 2006). Third, the (often youthful) chatters in some cases extend their repertoire by using terms or writing patterns which are typical for social media environments (such as the hashtag # or references to memes).

On that background, I address the question of how individual or group-specific preferences for patterns on different language levels (lexis, spelling, use of emoticons) emerge and become established over the course of a chat. This general question is connected to the thematic field of repetitions in two ways: On the one hand, patterns of repetition can be found over longer periods of time when individuals (and possibly their chat partners) keep repeatedly using a particular language feature. On the other hand, where several participants in a chat make use of a feature, there might be instances of short-term accommodation where the use of that feature by one participant triggers the use of the same feature by another participant in a message which follows shortly after.

Using the Swiss German data in the corpus of the project "What's up, Switzerland?", computer-assisted methods are applied to find idiosyncratic and group specific language patterns. In a first step, these patterns are analysed on a quantitative level, looking for instances of long-term accommodation and trying to detect when a specific feature starts being used regularly. In a second step, qualitative interaction analyses are applied to gain some insights into how these features are used communicatively and how their repeated use over longer periods as well as in instances of short-term accommodation might contribute to establishing a particular meaning or function.

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Contribution of other-repetition in alignment and affiliation

Mathilde Guardiola, Marseille

Introduction: In interaction, it is very frequent that participants repeat what other participants have said before. This study proposes to spot the sequential environment in which repetition occurs in a conversational corpus, to describe the forms of other-repetition, and to identify the functions they carry in the interaction. This study is led in a more general project concerning convergence in conversation, and consequently linguistic similarity.

Method: A software was built in order to find strings of words that could be repetitions, which were then sorted by two experts, allowing to get a collection of 950 other-repetitions. Then, the experts annotated them in pragmatic functions (taking into account, positive reply, negative reply, confirmation request [Perrin et al 2003]). A sequential analysis was then led, in order to highlight the context of occurrence and the interactional functions of these lexical repetitions. Moreover, even if mostly lexical repetition has been analyzed, gestural and prosodic repetitions have also been explored.

Data: The CID – Corpus of interactional data – is a conversational-like corpus, in which participants tell unusual stories and professional conflicts. This corpus has been previously annotated by experts from several domains of linguistics: the present study uses these annotations, such as transcription, morpho-syntactic categories (lemmatization), gesture, prosody.

Results: The association of the software we have built and of the fine grained analysis allowed to determine what kind of units participants repeat and how they modify them when they do. Moreover, this study highlights the contribution of repetition phenomena to the achievement of interactional goals, through alignment and affiliation. Indeed, the participants display their alignment and/or affiliation thanks to linguistic similarity (including repetition). However, repetition can also be used (in some specific sequential environment) as a display of misalignment or disaffiliation. These cases are also crucial because they forbid the too common conception of interactional convergence as equal to linguistic similarity.

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From the phrase level down to the segmental tier: reduplication and repetition is pervasive in German

Gerrit Kentner, Frankfurt am Main

Textbooks on German morphology dismiss reduplication as unsystematic (Barz, 2015); however, recent years have seen a surge of research covering various patterns of reduplication or repetition in German (see e.g. Finkbeiner 2012, 2014; Freywald 2015; Kentner 2017). These studies suggest that reduplication/repetition applies at different levels of grammatical description (word, compound, phrase) and attest to the regularity and pervasiveness of the phenomenon.

(1) Levels of reduplication/ repetition
    a. Phrase-level: X-and X-reduplication (Finkbeiner 2012)
    b. Compound-level: Total reduplication (identical constituent compounds, Finkbeiner 2014, Freywald 2015)
    c. Word-level: Rhyme- and ablaut reduplication (Kentner 2017)

This paper is a contribution to this line of research, focusing on two, hitherto largely ignored, patterns of repetition, viz. syllable and consonantal repetition. Both cases provide further evidence for the importance of reduplication/repetition in German word structure.

Syllable repetition is a case of prosodic morphology whereby a source form is truncated to a CV syllable which is lighter than a minimal word and which, in order to establish wordhood (Saba Kirchner 2010), gets reduplicated (*Luise* → [lu] → [lulu]). This process invariably results in a disyllabic trochee and is strictly constrained by segmental content: Neither affricates, glottals [ʔ][h] or rhotics [r] may occupy the C-position (*Zacharias* → *[tsa] → *[tsatsa]; *Ina* → *[ʔi] → *[ʔiʔi]; *Hartmut* → *[ha] → *[haha]; *Robert* → *[ro] → *[roro]). Also, this kind of reduplication fails to apply with rounded front vowels (*Lydia* → *[ly] → *[lyly]; *Hoeneß* → *[hø]→ *[høhø]). Syllable repetition is commonly used in the formation of hypocoristic names. It differs from another reduplicative process used for the same purpose, viz. rhyme- or ablaut-reduplication (Kentner, 2017) (*Udo* → *Udopudo*) which results in considerably longer words.

While the cases of reduplication/repetition looked at so far (cases in (1) and syllable repetition) may be considered regular and systematic morphological processes, **consonantal repetition** is purely lexical and thus unproductive (and sometimes ungrammatical, Domahs et al. 2009). What is meant by consonantal repetition here is CVC(V)-roots that exhibit two identical consonants (e.g. [to:t], [pʊpə], [kakə]). Although not morphologically complex, I argue that, by virtue of the repeated consonant, these structures often signal expressive content in addition to the core meaning of the word. The expressive content is most obvious in roots like *Kacke* [kakə] 'shit', but even common nouns like *Pappe* 'carton' carry expressive meaning (a somewhat vague connotation of sub-standard) when compared to the more formal synonym *Karton*. This intuition is backed up by an analysis of a lexicon of German roots (> 6000 entries) which will be presented in detail. I propose that the various reduplicative patterns, their different grammatical origins notwithstanding, are united by their signaling expressive meaning. They are therefore comparatively frequent in, and characteristic of, informal registers.

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Left dislocations in Italian

Silvia Natale, Bern

The recent history of Italian is characterized by processes of restandardization which gave birth, amongst others, to a new variety, the so-called neo-standard Italian (Berruto 20). This variety involves especially in its oral form "the acceptance of features in earlier times considered as non-standard in formal and educated speech" (Cerruti et al. 2017). A common syntactical construction in neo-standard Italian is left dislocation which represents a marked structure as the constituents of a dislocated phrase follow a different order with respect to the unmarked SVO structure. It covers an informative function as it places a theme in a center of interest as illustrated in the following example[1]. In sentences displaying left dislocation, one constituent of a phrase is anticipated and followed by a resumptive pronoun as in the following example.

I	*giornal-i*	*l-i*	*legg-o*
ART. DEF.M. PL	*newspaper-PL*	*PRO. CL. 3. OBJ-M.PL*	*read-PRES. 1SG.*
The	*newspapers*	*them*	*(I) read*

Left dislocations are characterized by a pattern of repetition as the resumptive pronoun repeats the dislocated constituent in an anaphoric way (Berruto 1985). Constructions of this kind are very frequent in spoken Italian where communicative aspects often prevail with respect to syntactical aspects (Milano 2005). The aim of this study is to analyze to what extent left dislocations are used in WhatsApp communication and draw a comparison between spoken and "digitated" Italian.

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[1] The example is taken from Berruto (2017:40).

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Verb repetition strategies in temporal subordination

María Victoria Pavón Lucero, Madrid
Avellina Suñer Gratacós, Girona

This paper is intended to provide a compositional analysis of some constructions with verb repetition, (1), used to encode temporal subordination.

(1) V1 (Comp) V2 (V1 = V2)

These strategies are attested in Creole Languages like Haitian Creole, (2), and Berbice Dutch, (3), as well as in Classical Spanish (late fifteenth century – first half of seventeenth century), (4):

(2) Rive   a   Jan   rive,   Mari pati. (Lefebvre 1998: 369)
     Arrive DET   Jan   arrive Mari leave
     'As soon as Jan arrived, Mari left'
(3) Di   drai   wat ju   drai-tɛ,   o   kut- tɛ   ju.(Kouwenberg 2013)
     DET turn around REL 2SG turn around-PFV 3SG catch-PFV 2SG
     'As soon as you turn around, it catches you'
(4) Al   volv-er   que   volv-ió   Monipodio, entraron con él
     dos mozas, (…) [*CORDE*: Cervantes, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, 1613]
     To+DET come back-INF   COMP   come back-PAST-3SG   Monipodio,…
     'As soon as Monipodio came back, two girls entered.'

Our purpose is to account for the similarities and differences between the Creole structures in (2)-(3) and the Classical Spanish ones in (4). Similarities have to do, firstly, with the fact that both Creole and Classical Spanish constructions express immediate succession between subordinated and main event. Additionally, in both cases, temporal subordinate sentence precedes main sentence. Furthermore, there is only one single argument structure associated to the complex V1 (comp) V2.

As for the differences, in the aforementioned Creoles, verb repetition is the only possible strategy to express immediate succession in temporal subordination, whereas in Classical Spanish these structures coexist with similar constructions without repetition, which have persisted until Contemporary Spanish. Moreover, in Creole Languages only the verbal root is repeated, whereas in Classical Spanish, the duplicated root serves as a mere support for verbal morphology, with no contribution to the global meaning of the subordinate clause.

The analysis of diachronic data allows us to argue that verb repetition in temporal clauses, (4), appeared in Classical Spanish taking advantage of a gap in the system, since the temporal connectives with an immediate succession interpretation (*una vez que*, 'once…', *así que,* 'so', *tan pronto como*, 'as soon as', etc.) were consolidated only in eighteenth century (Octavio de Toledo y Rodríguez Molina 2008). Consequently, the structures with repetition declined and finally disappeared.

The main contribution of our paper is to provide an analysis in compositional terms which allows us to examine more accurately different devices of repetition of verbal forms in temporal subordinates. According with this approach, we demonstrate that the repetition of verbal root in Classical Spanish, (4), is not an instance of *reduplication*, but one of *doubling* (Barbiers 2008; Alexiadou 2010; Bosque & Gallego 2011), given that it doesn't make any contribution to the meaning of subordinate sentence.

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Echoic affirmative responses in Brazilian Portuguese

Malte Rosemeyer, Leuven
Scott Schwenter, Ohio

Portuguese and Galician are the only Romance languages whose system of positive response to polar questions can be classified as a consistent *echo system* (Urbano et al 1993; Kato & Tarallo 1992; Armstrong 2008). In Brazilian Portuguese, the canonical response to a polar question is to repeat the verb of the question, as in (1). Speakers can opt to modify the response by either adding the subject personal pronoun before (2) or the polar particle *sim* 'yes' after the repeated verb (3). While the use of *sim* alone is virtually non-existent, *isso* 'that's right' constitutes a competing construction (4).

(1) HEL: […] *isso aqui é pra divisão?*
          'Is this here for division?'
     LUC: *é*
          'It is'
(2) *MAR: […] *agora cê entendeu a confusãozinha que deu?*
          'Do you now understand the confusion caused by this?'
     *ELI: *eu entendi*, *é isso mesmo*
          'I understand, that's it'
(3) ANT: […] *ô W., N. tá perguntando se dá p' cê olhar a garganta do T.?* […]
          'W., N. is asking you if you could take a look at T.'s throat?'
     WIL: *dá sim*
          'Yes, I can'
(4) *COJ: […] *ea chegou agora*
          'She has arrived now'
     *JAD: *isso, cabou de chegar agora, né*
          'That's right, she has just arrived, right'

To our knowledge, only one study (Armstrong 2008) analyzes the pragmatic differences in the usage of these constructions. She argues that the use of the four constructions is governed by (a) the beliefs of the speaker of the utterance referred to by the affirmative response and (b) the degree to which there exists evidence for the utterance referred to by the affirmative response in discourse. Thus, speakers reinforce their canonical responses with preposed subject pronouns (2) or a postposed *sim* (3) when responses are unexpected, on the basis of their assumptions regarding the beliefs of the speaker of the previous utterance and the type of evidence for this utterance. In contrast, the use of *isso* is used to ratify previously asserted information. Armstrong does not however provide qualitative or quantitative evidence for her analysis.

Our study offers a quantitative analysis of the discourse functions of the response types in (1)–(4) in a corpus of spontaneous spoken conversations in Brazilian Portuguese. We analyze in particular the pragmatic value of repetition in affirmative responses. Crucially, however, we show that affirmative responses in Brazilian Portuguese are not necessarily echoic, as in (5), where *é* 'is' is used to echo the previous verb *foi* 'was'.

(5) *BRU: *foi o quê, o Mussolini que proibiu de usar o tratamento formal "Lei", nũ foi?*
          'It was what, Mussolini who prohibited the use of the formal address term "Lei", right?'

> *TOM: *é, não, porque o "Lei" nũ é de origem italiana; é de origem anglo-saxônica*
> 'It is, no, because the "Lei" is not of Italian origin, it is of Anglo-Saxon origin'

We hypothesize that (a) echoic affirmative responses are more elaborate in counterexpectation contexts because there is a greater need for emphatic assertion and (b) the non-echoic marker *é* has been conventionalized as a marker of neutral affirmation, specifically in contexts in which no reply is required. We test the accuracy of these assumptions by analyzing the precise relationship between the affirmative response and the previous utterance in terms of (a) the speech act of the previous utterance (question or declarative?), (b) the expectedness of the response and (c) whether or not the response is echoic. Our study thus adds to the overall topic of the workshop by specifically addressing the question of which aspects of repetition are central in interaction.

Doubling in morphosyntax – and what it tells us about grammar

Martin Salzmann, Leipzig

Doubling in morphosyntax is a priori unexpected since it seems to involve redundant material. Consider the following Brabantish example with subject doubling (from Barbiers 2008):

(1) Zij   heeft zij   daar niks   mee te maken.
     she.STR has   she.STR there nothing with to do
     'She has got nothing to do with it.'

In this example, the subject is expressed twice, which seems superfluous given that the same meaning can, in principle, be expressed without doubling (at least in languages without obligatory doubling). Thus, doubling is in conflict with both the semantic principle of compositionality (according to which every constituent should contribute to the meaning of a complex expression) and syntactic economy principles (which penalize superfluous steps in structure building).

In my talk I will first provide an overview of doubling phenomena in the languages of the world; as we will see, morpho-syntactic doubling is pervasive in language and occurs in all parts of the clause (within the noun phrase, the verb phrase and at the clausal level). Then, I will try to classify the various phenomena that have been argued to involve doubling. As we will see, the phenomena do not constitute a homogenous class. One can roughly distinguish at least the following types: (A) agreement(-like) phenomena (e.g. possessor doubling, negative concord, perhaps parasitic participles), which involve feature transfer/licensing relationships between two (or more) independent elements (i.e. both components are necessary to obtain a well-formed structure); (B) phenomena where one constituent occurs multiple times (in identical or sometimes in reduced form) in different parts of the clause (wh-doubling, pronoun doubling, verb doubling); it is generally assumed that they reflect the location of the syntactic object at various steps of structure building; (C) phenomena bearing similarities to anaphoric relationships (left-dislocation, clitic doubling, resumption, R-pronoun doubling), where a pronominal element occurs in the regular argument position, while its antecedent generally occupies a more prominent discourse-related position. As we will see, this kind of doubling usually conveys additional semantic/pragmatic information that is absent in non-doubling structures. In the last part of my talk, I will discuss syntactic proposals that have been advanced to deal with the different types of doubling, including feature transfer by means of Agree (e.g. for negative concord), spell-out of multiple chain links (e.g. Nunes 2004f or wh-doubling), and big constituent splitting (e.g. Aoun et al. 2001 for resumption). What most of these analyses have in common is that they make structures and processes visible that are covert in languages without doubling. In other words, doubling is by no means redundant but rather a fundamental part of grammar and therefore also provides insights into the nature of languages without doubling.

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Repetition patterns in argument drop

Franziska Stuntebeck, Zürich

My talk aims to shed light on the conditions for the *repetition of verbal argument omission* in the most wide-spread form of non-standard electronic writing – WhatsApp messages – in French and Italian. This empirical study is based on a corpus of WhatsApp messages from Switzerland (http://www.whatsup-switzerland.ch), a type of electronically written data that show the preceding and following context of (dropped) arguments, thus allowing to identify the D-linking properties of omitted elements.

I will provide robust empirical evidence for the inverted proportionality of topic accessibility and the amount of morphological material used to encode the topic. Following Givón (1983, 2017), I will show that the closer the antecedent, the higher the accessibility of the topic and the fewer the material with which it is encoded. Interestingly, the use of zero does not only occur once, for one given topic, but also for a topic chain, and this in French, a non null-subject language without object drop in most varieties (Huang 1984: 532f., Haspelmath 2001: 1500f.).

(1) Fr.: A: T'   arrives   à me trouver l'   échiquier politique allemand$_i$ pck
           You.2SG manage.PRS.2SG to me find.INF the   spectrum   political   German   because
           je   galère   à   Ø$_i$ trouver
           I   struggle.PRS.1SG   to   Ø   find.INF
           ′Do you manage to find me the German political spectrum because I struggle to find Ø.′
     B: Miracle je   viens   de   Ø$_i$ trouver
        Miracle I   come.PRS.2SG   from Ø   find.INF
        ′Miracle I just found Ø.′

First, the author of (1) introduces the discourse referent *l'échiquier politique allemand* 'the German political spectrum' which is subsequently referred to by a zero object, instead of the clitic pronoun le 'it', and referred to again by zero in the directly following message. This is an instance of *argument drop repetition*: After the topic has been introduced, it is highly accessible for the author and its communication partners, so that no material is needed for mutual understanding, if the message taking up the topic follows immediately its first introduction and zero anaphor. Inversely, the farther away the first mention of the topic and the first zero anaphor is, the lower its accessibility and the more morphological material is needed:

(2) Fr.: A: J' ai   commencé un ppx$_i$ […] Je t' envoie   ça ajd   si
           I have.PRS.1SG begin.PTCP a   ppt   […] I   you send.PRS.1SG that attach.PTCP when
           j' Ø$_i$ ai   fini (13:17)
           I Ø   have.PRS.1SG   finish.PTCP
           'I started a Powerpoint presentation […] I send that to you attached when I finished Ø.'
     B: Je viens   de   regarder ton   ppt$_i$ […] (22:16)
        I come.PRS.1SG from   see.INF   your ppt
        'I just looked at you Powerpoint presentation.'

In (2), the author mentions the topic *un ppx* 'a ppt' for the first time and immediately reprises it by zero, because it is close enough to be very accessible. But, nine hours later, the topic of the former conversation is no longer accessible and must be explicitly reintroduced. The temporal distance from the explicit mentioning of the topic referent, reflected as spatial distance in the WhatsApp chats, is the main constraint for argument drop and its repetition,

and we will try to pin down more exactly the nature and dimensions of this 'textual distance' (Givón 1983, Halliday/Hasan 1980: 142).

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