

Topicality as prerequisite of Topic Drop? Evidence from rating studies on German

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Phenomenon & overview

Topic Drop

German as a "zero-topic but non-pro-drop language" (Huang 1984: 549) allows for **Topic Drop** (TD), i.e. the **omission** of exactly **one pre-verbal constituent** (S, O, Adv) in V2 sentences, esp. in (conceptually) spoken text types (Fries 1988).

 Δ kann die Verabredung leider nicht einhalten. Δ can the appointment unfortunately not keep. 'Unfortunately, (I) cannot keep the appointment.'

(FraC S1227)

Research questions

Is "Topic Drop" in fact Topic Drop?

► Is topicality a prerequisite for TD? (in terms of aboutness topic as "the expression whose referent the sentence is about", Reinhart 1981: 57; set through a preceding question (1) or through the grammatical function subject (2)(3)

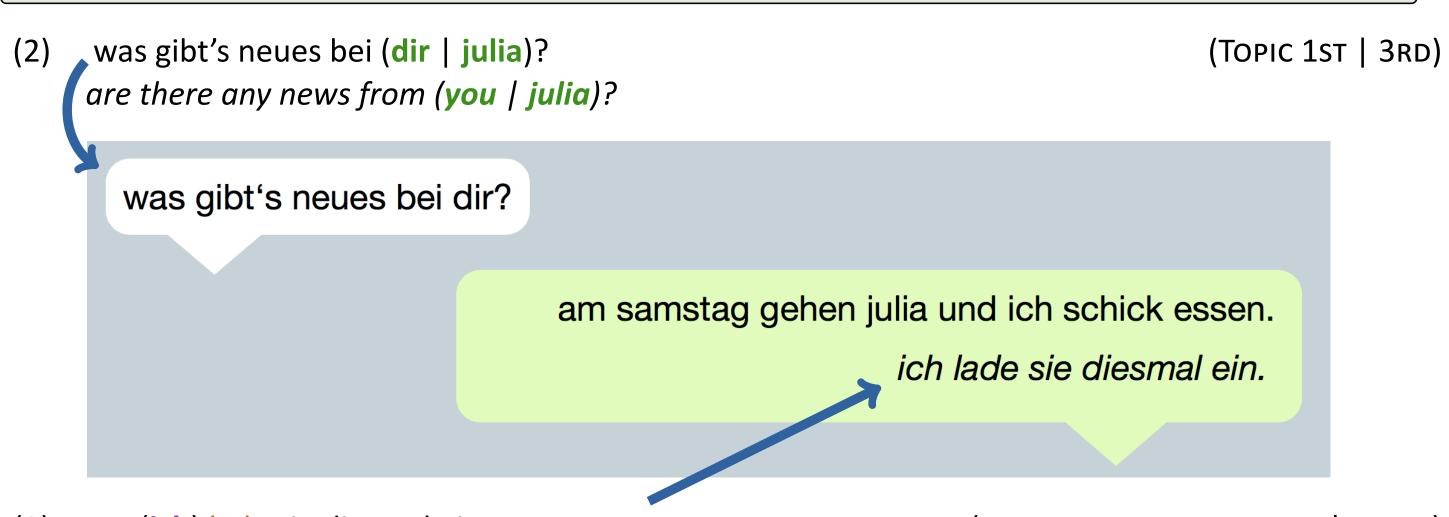
Why is 1st person TD predominant in corpora (Auer 1993, Frick 2017)?

- ► Morphological marking of verb form (see Auer 1993: 198)? (1st person with marked inflection for full verbs (1)(2) but not for modals (3))
- Predictability from context due to linguistic and extralinguistic factors?

Experiment (1): Full verbs & topic through question

2 x 2 x 2 (TOPICALITY X PERSON X OMISSION) within subjects design

- ▶ 24 items, 60 fillers, presented as text message dialogues
- ▶ 48 participants (Web-based: *clickworker*) rated acceptability of utterances like (3) on 7-point Likert scale (7 = fully acceptable)
- ► (Aboutness) topic is set through a **preceding question** (2)
- Morphology of full verb and object pronoun determine subject of (3)



- a. (ich) lade sie diesmal ein.
 - b. (sie) lädt mich diesmal ein. ((I) invite her | (she) invites me) this time.

(1ST PERSON, TOPIC: REAL. | OMM.) (3RD PERSON, TOPIC: REAL. | OMM.)

Person X Omission Topicality X Omission ed Rating **Topic** RealizedOmitted 3rd person not identical identical 1st person

Figure 1: Normalized acceptability ratings and 95% confidence intervals for Exp. 1.

Results & discussion

Analysis with linear mixed effects models (random intercepts for subjects and items and by-subject and by-item random slopes for Person; lme4 in R):

- **No significant** interaction between TOPICALITY and OMISSION \Rightarrow topicality without effect on TD or question inadequate method to set topic?
- ▶ **Significant** interaction between PERSON:OMISSION (χ^2 = 22.4, p < 0.001)
- \Rightarrow data is in line with **corpus findings** of Auer (1993) and Frick (2017) by revealing a preference for 1st person (pragmatic prominence of speaker?)

Experiment (3): Modal verbs & topic through subject

Experiment 2: Full verbs & topic through subject

Method

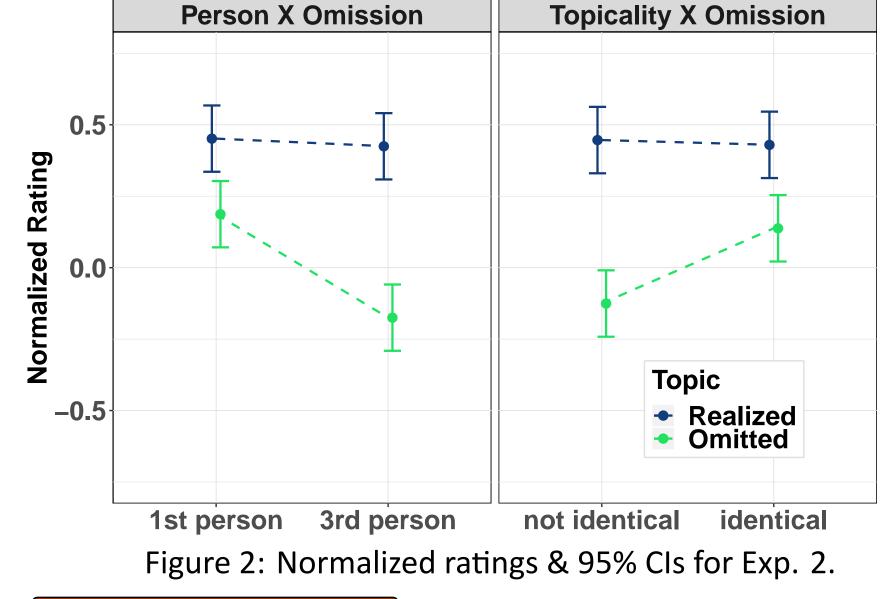
2 x 2 x 2 (Topicality x Person x Omission) within subjects design

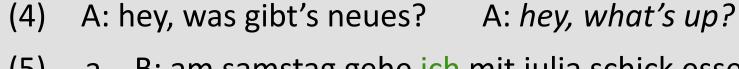
- ▶ 24 items, 60 fillers, 48 participants (*clickworker*), 7-point Likert scale
- ► Topic set through syntactic function as **subject** (5); **full verbs** (6a&b)

Method

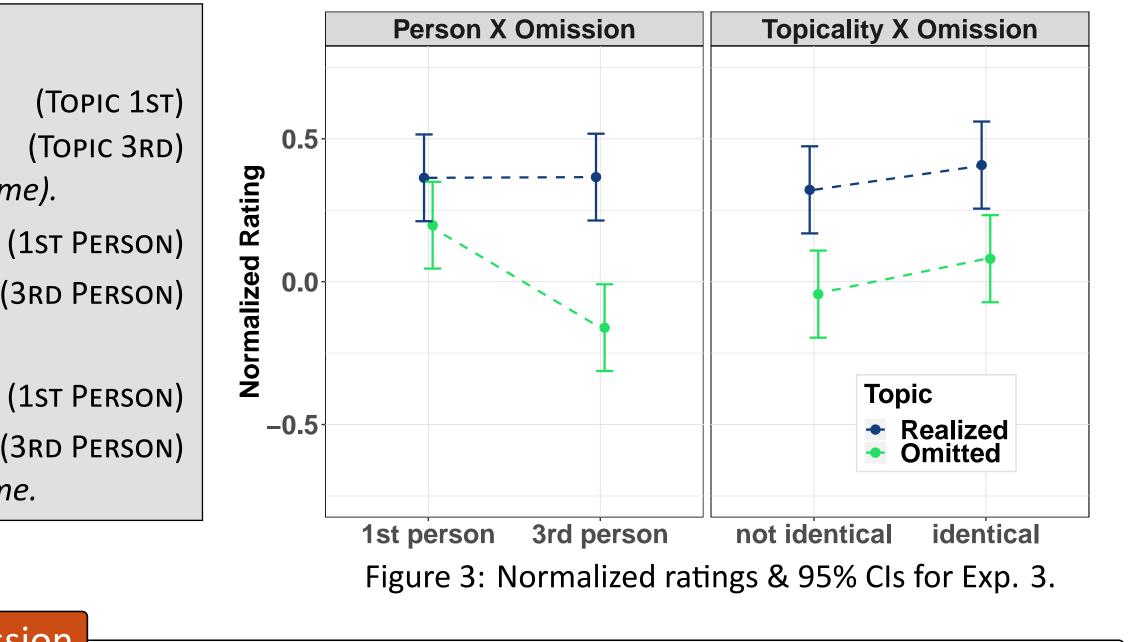
2 x 2 x 2 (Topicality x Person x Omission) within subjects design

- ▶ 24 items, 60 fillers, 48 participants (*clickworker*), 7-point Likert scale
- ► Topic set through syntactic function as **subject** (5); **modal verbs** (6c&d)





- a. B: am samstag gehe ich mit julia schick essen. (TOPIC 1ST) b. B: am samstag geht julia mit mir schick essen. (TOPIC 3RD) B: on saturday, (I dine out with julia | julia dines out with me).
- a. B: (ich) lade sie diesmal ein. b. B: (sie) lädt mich diesmal ein.
 - (1ST PERSON) (3RD PERSON) B: ((1) invite her | (she) invites me) this time.
- a. B: (ich) möchte sie diesmal einladen. b. B: (sie) möchte mich diesmal einladen.
 - (3RD PERSON) B: ((I) want to invite her | (she) wants to invite me) this time.



Results & discussion

Analysis with linear mixed effects models (random intercepts for subjects and items and by-subject and by-item random slopes for Person):

- **Replication** of the Person:Omission interaction ($\chi^2 = 13.93$, p < 0.001) ⇒ data confirm again **preference for 1st person**
- ▶ **Significant** TOPICALITY:OMISSION interaction (χ^2 = 9.76, p < 0.01) \Rightarrow data **support** role of topicality for TD (is topicality itself a prerequisite or is the topicalized element simply more **predictable** and, thus, more easily **recoverable**?)

Results & discussion

Analysis with linear mixed effects models (random intercepts for subjects and items and by-subject random slopes for Person and by-item random slopes for all 3 IVs):

- ▶ **Replication** of the Person:Omission interaction ($\chi^2 = 17.07$, p < 0.001) ⇒ data confirm **preference for 1st person** also with **modal verbs**, thus **disprov**ing Auer's (1993) explanation adducing morphological marking of the verb
- **No significant** Topicality:Omission interaction \Rightarrow **no** effect of **topicality** (because unlike in (2) verb form does not facilitate disambiguation?)

Conclusion

- **Topicality** seems **not** to be a **sufficient condition** for TD (influence only in (2)) \Rightarrow possible correlation with structural parallelism and subject continuation preferences (see e.g. Colonna et al. 2012 for pronoun resolution in German), and interaction with cues like morphological marking by facilitating disambiguation
- ► 1st person is preferred over 3rd with TD regardless of morphological marking (the cue "grammatical person" persists) \Rightarrow this rules out Auer's (1993) explanation and favors one based on predictability due to the speaker's prominence in the speech situation

Outlook

Further investigations to determine influence of extralinguistic cues and context:

- Modulate the context to modify the predictability of the omitted element
- Compare a discourse with one continuous topic to one with a lot of changing topics with respect to the influence of topicality on TD

Open question: Which process is involved in reconstructing the omitted element in Exp. 3 after the encounter of the object pronoun?

- disambiguation after having considered two or more alternatives?
- reanalysis after having pursued a wrong analysis (1st person as subject)?

Selected references: Auer, P. (1993). Zur Verbspitzenstellung im gesprochenen Deutsch. In Deutsche Sprache 23, 193-222. • Colonna, S.; Schimke, S. & Hemforth, B. (2012). Information structure effects on anaphora resolution in German and French: A crosslinguistic study of pronoun resolution. In Linguistics 50(5), 991-1013. • Frick, K. (2017). Elliptische Strukturen in SMS. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung des Schweizerdeutschen, Berlin / Boston. • Fries, N. (1988). Über das Null-Topik im Deutschen. In Sprache und Pragmatik 3, 19-49. ● Huang, C.-T. J. (1984). On the distribution and reference of empty pronouns. In Linguistic Inquiry 15, 531-574. ● Reinhart, T (1981). Pragmatics and linguistics: An analysis of sentence topics. In Philosophica 27(1), 53-94.