International Workshop
Language in Social Interaction
LISI 2023

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Book of Abstracts

DISCOURSE MARKERS/INTERACTIVES

Keynote:

Two Ways of Coding: Sentence Grammar vs. Interactive Grammar

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The main concern of the presentation is with the distinction between two contrasting modes of structuring linguistic discourse. One mode, represented by sentence grammar, organized in a propositional format and having an analytic organization, focuses on conceptual communication about the world. The second mode, represented by interactive grammar, has a holophrastic organization and a focus on social communication. Having been treated in previous work as a fairly marginal part of language, interactive grammar is described as a distinct category that contrasts with sentence grammar both in its functions and its structural behavior (Heine 2023).

The distinction between two grammars exhibits, on the one hand, correlations with observations made in neurolinguistic studies on differential activity in the two hemispheres of the human brain. On the other hand, there are also noteworthy parallels to a similar distinction made in social psychology and sociology between two types of learning, reasoning, judgment, and remembering. The conclusion drawn in the presentation is that the two grammars have complementary functions and both are needed for successful communication.

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Two are Better than One:
Co-occurring Discourse Signals in Interaction

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Discourse relations can be signaled by a variety of linguistic means. While connectives and cue phrases are considered their prototypical markers (hereafter DMs), recent research shows growing interest in alternative signals such as lexical chains, syntactic parallelism or sentence mood (cf. the annotation of 'Alternative Lexicalizations' in the PDTB, Prasad et al. 2018, or the development of the RST Signaling Corpus, Das & Taboada 2018), as well as their interaction (Das & Taboada 2019, Hoek et al. 2019). These approaches are based on the annotation of predominantly non-interactional written discourse with corpora consisting of e.g. newspaper articles. This excludes DMs pertinent to language in interaction such as parenthetical markers containing direct hearer address.

In this paper, I will discuss German *siehst du / siehste* ('you see') in interactional discourse. As a visual/perceptual parenthetical, this DM is used in the context of reasoning processes. Erman (1987) ascribes English *you see* with an argumentative function making "the addressee accept [the speaker's] ideas and explanations" (1987: 117/118). For Brinton (2008), "*you see* serves as an explanation or justification for the preceding utterance" while also guiding the hearer's attention to the upcoming one (2008: 134).

In terms of discourse relations, such an epistemic causality corresponds to the relation(s) of Result or Justification (PDTB) or Consequence (Crible & Degand 2019); terminology depending on the framework. In line 1125 in the corpus example in (1), *siehste* marks BS's utterance as a justification for LB's utterance back in line 1119 that every family has this one relative filming everything.

(1) 1119 LB: ((schmatzt)) °h es gibt doch in jeder familie (.) in wirklich in jeder familie einen verwandten der (.) alle (.) familienfeiern mitfilmt [tauf]e (.) kommunion
('(smacks) In every – really every family there is [particle] one relative who films all family celebrations; baptism, communion')

[...]
1124 BS: (.) richtig beim bei mir is das mein onkel °h [[((lacht))]]
('true, in my family it's my uncle (laughs))

1125 LB: [**siehste**] (.) sach_ich doch gibt_s überall ('y'see, I told you [particle], they're everywhere')

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The goal of this paper is twofold: first, I argue that one of the uses of *siehst du / siehste* is indeed to signal a justification relation and that this relation involves reasoning at the epistemic and speech act levels. Second, I show that markers of the same relation(s) and level(s) are often found in the vicinity, resulting in their multi-marking, respectively. In (1), for example, the phrase *sach_ich* ('I told you') as well as the modal particle *doch* in line 1125 highlight the speech act level of the justification before repeating the claim (*gibt_s überall*, 'they're everywhere'). Among other speech act phrases and modal particles, German corpus data also reveal co-occurrence of *siehst du / siehste* with causal connectives or adverbs such as *deshalb* ('therefore') or *nämlich* ('namely/'cause').

Multi-marking of discourse relations is an important and interesting strategy for speakers to ensure that hearers do not miss or misinterpret their intended meaning in spontaneous spoken interaction.

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LANGUAGE & SOCIAL BEHAVIOR I: ALIGNMENT

Do Methods Matter?
Insights from Research into Entrainment and Autism Spectrum Disorder

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During an interaction, people tend to repeat or mimic each other's gestures, movements, and ways of speaking. As a result, the behaviour of two conversing interlocutors becomes more similar over time. This phenomenon is often referred to as entrainment, though other terms such as "alignment", "convergence", and "synchrony" are also used. The underlying psychological mechanism of this behaviour is debated. One of the major differences between the main theories is the extent to which they postulate that entrainment is automatic (Pickering & Garrod, 2004, 2013) or is mediated by social factors (Giles et al., 1991) or higher-order cognitive functions such as theory of mind (Clark & Murphy, 1982; Clark, 1996).

One way to shed light on the role of such social and cognitive factors in entrainment, is by comparing entrainment between neurotypical people, and people who may have social difficulties or theory of mind differences. An example of people who fit the latter two criteria, are individuals with autism spectrum disorder (ASD): ASD is associated with "unusual" social behaviours and it has been hypothesised that people with ASD exhibit theory of mind impairments (e.g. Baron-Cohen, 1985, 1997).

This talk will focus on entrainment in individuals with and without ASD, specifically at the lexical and prosodic levels. Both previous research and a novel study will be presented, and various methodological and theoretical considerations for studying entrainment in this population will

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be discussed. Finally, results of all research into entrainment in individuals with and without ASD will be compared, and used as the basis for a discussion: based on these findings, what can we conclude about the psychological mechanisms underlying entrainment? What does this mean for future entrainment research?

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Phonetic Convergence and Skin Temperature During Social Interaction

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One of the leading theories of speech adaptation — including linguistic con-vergence — is the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT; Gallois et al., 2005). CAT posits that interlocutors may converge (or accommodate) to each other depending on a number of interindividual and intergroup factors; they may also use convergence to manage the social distance between them. For example, the speakers' evaluations of each other in terms of their similarity or personal history may affect to what degree they linguistically accommodate or not to each other.

Naturally, two individuals' personal relationship also impacts the emotions they experience while in the presence of each other. There is an increasing body of research demonstrating how emotion influences facial skin temperature, with different regions of the face becoming warmer or colder, depending on emotional valence and, more importantly, degree of arousal (e.g., Ioannou et al., 2014; Salazar-López et al., 2015).

The present work investigates whether the degree of closeness between two interlocutors affects (1) the extent of phonetic convergence throughout the conversation, (2) changes in facial skin temperature, and (3) potential relationships between temperature change and phonetic convergence. For such, we collected acoustic and thermal imaging data from dyads of speakers who did not know each other and performed two conversational tasks: (a) answering a list of questions in a structured conversation and (b) a Diapix task (Baker & Hazan, 2011). The lists of questions in the first task differed for each set of speakers: half of the dyads discussed questions present in the Relationship Closeness Induction Task (Sedikides et al., 1999); the other half discussed impersonal, non-engaging questions. This way, the closeness between the interlocutors

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was manipulated. This presentation will discuss some preliminary findings of this study.

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LANGUAGE & SOCIAL BEHAVIOR II: TURN TAKING

How does Turn Taking Behavior Affect Conversational Interactivity?

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Conversation is a social activity that demands close cooperation of all parties involved. Interlocutors take turns to speak, usually without audible gaps or overlaps in between (Sacks *et al.*, 1974). Additionally, they give verbal and nonverbal feedback, the so-called backchannels, when they are not holding the turn (Schegloff, 1982; Yngve, 1970). Turn-taking behavior has been studied intensively from various aspects, from turn management to its projection mechanism (Levinson and Torreira, 2015; de Ruiter *et al.*, 2006), from the realization form of backchannels to their pragmatic functions (Heinz, 2003; Peters and Wong, 2014). Up to now, our knowledge about human conversation is primarily based on face-to-face interactions. Whether remote conversations using videoconferencing programs, such as Zoom, function the same way as in co-present situations is still less known. Hence, the current study will compare the interactivity of face-to-face and Zoom interactions with respect to several turn-taking behaviors. The conversational interactivity will be measured by the frequency of speaker transitions and the speech percentage per speaker during the dialogue. It will be investigated whether these two variables are influenced by the occurrences of backchannels, overlaps and interactive alignment, such as repetition and completion.

Turn-taking behaviour was analysed for the videocall subcorpus of Berlin Dialogue Corpus V2 (Belz *et al.*, 2021). Twenty native speakers of German who knew each other prior to the experiment participated in the data collection. They were asked to finish two spot-the-difference tasks, the so-called Diapix tasks using adapted pictures (Bullock and Sell, 2022), within 10 minutes in pairs under face-to-face and Zoom condition

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respectively. The 40 spontaneous dialogues were annotated using Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2022), with regard to speech turns, back-channels, gaps and overlaps (Sacks *et al.*, 1974; Heldner, 2011). In addition, repetitions (or lexical alignment, i.e. recycled use of certain words) and completion (completing the ongoing turn) were annotated in the corpus. The annotations were converted to an EmuR-Database (Winkelmann *et al.*, 2017) for analysis in R (R Core Team, 2022). In sum, approximately 6.7 hours of conversation recordings were analyzed.

On average, interlocutors switched turns about 17.6 times per minute when conversing face-to-face, more frequently than the 14.8 times in Zoom interactions ($t = 4.25$, $p < .05$). The speech percentage in co-present situation is slightly higher compared to Zoom situation, but the difference is not significant. We found a significantly positive correlation between the number of backchannels and the speech percentage of the partner, supporting the view that more backchannels can encourage the interlocutor to speak more. In face-to-face dialogues, the strategy of completion increases the speech percentage of the partner significantly ($N = 75, r = 0.32, p < .05$), but not in videocalls. Repetition contributes to partner's speech percentage only in Zoom situations ($N = 84$, $r = 0.33$, $p < .05$). Both repetition and completion have no effect on the number of turn changes. Interestingly, Zoom conversations are more balanced between the speech contributions of two speakers ($r = 0.42$), whereas there is usually a leading party in face-to-face situation ($r = 0.72$, $p < .05$). Furthermore, overlap occurrences correlate positively with the total speech percentage of a dialogue and speaker changes, indicating that overlaps can be seen as a signal of high interactivity in conversation rather than malfunctioned turn-taking. Overall, it can be concluded that interlocutors conversed more actively in face-to-face conversations than over Zoom.

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GRAMMAR IN SOCIAL INTERACTION

Social Meaning of Negative Concord in American English

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Negative concord (NC) refers to the phenomenon that the co-occurrence of multiple negations has the semantic meaning of one negation (*I didn't see nobody*). NC constructions in contemporary English are often taken as ungrammatical [2, 5], however, they appear in many non-standard varieties of English [8]. Sociolinguistic studies on the usage of NC found different patterns: while NC use is socially stratified in populations in Detroit and African American Vernacular English speaking adults and pre-adolescents, its use was shown to reflect in- and out-group dynamics in adolescents [4, 9, 3]. That is, NC does not only or always reflect **social categories** as in first and second wave sociolinguistics, but it can be used to establish a certain **persona** during a conversation, resulting in social meaning [1]. We are interested in the perceived social meaning of NC vs. its standard variant of negative polarity items (NPIs: *I didn't see anybody*), using a set of social meaning measures including those relating to 1) socio-situational parameters: socioeconomic status, education, and formality; as well as 2) persona: politeness, rebelliousness, coolness, friendliness, confidence, and warmth. Our hypotheses were the following: NC is associated with 1) lower (**H1**) socioeconomic status, (**H2**) education, (**H3**) formality, and 2) higher (**H4**) rebelliousness, (**H5**) coolness, (**H6**) friendliness, (**H7**) confidence, and (**H8**) warmth, but lower (**H9**) politeness in comparison to NPIs.

Design

Experiment 1 in American English (N=48, data collection ongoing) used a 1-factorial design with the factor NEGATION (NC vs. NPI). The 12 items and 29 fillers consisted of a con- sistent introduction sentence (S1) and the critical sentence (S2) (see (1)). Participants then rated nine qualities of the speaker on a 7-point Likert scale with labeled midpoint (undecided) and end- points (high/low socioeconomic status, high/low education, in/formal, im/polite, obedient/rebellious, un/cool, cold/warm, un/friendly, un/confident).

(1)   (S1) Somebody says:
        (S2) "I didn't have {no/any issues} so far."

Results. We computed separate ordinal models for the ratings of Q1-Q9 (see Figure 1); p-values were obtained using log-likelihood ratio tests. The preliminary results confirmed **H1** to **H4** and **H9**: socioeconomic status ($\hat{\beta}$=3.55, LR(1)=51.95, p<0.001), education ($\hat{\beta}$=6.31, LR(1)=43.16, p<0.001), formality ($\hat{\beta}$=4.92, LR(1)=49.25, p<0.001), coolness ($\hat{\beta}$=0.58, LR(1)=22.44, p<0.001), friendliness ($\hat{\beta}$=0.65, LR(1)=30.71, p<0.001), confidence ($\hat{\beta}$=0.65, LR(1)=26.78, p<0.001), warmth ($\hat{\beta}$=0.57, LR(1)=24.42, p<0.001), and politeness ($\hat{\beta}$=1.25, LR(1)=99.17, p<0.001) are rated significantly lower for NC than for NPI. Rebelliousness is rated as significantly higher for NC than for NPI ($\hat{\beta}$=-1.73, LR(1)=17.98, p<0.001).

Conclusion

The preliminary results showed that NC has a distinct social meaning differing from that of NPI constructions. Extending Experiment 1, we will conduct Experiment 2 manipulating a second factor of context (formal vs. informal) to tackle the social meaning of the NC vs. NPI alternation in different situational-functional settings [6, 7]. The results of both experiments will be presented at the workshop.
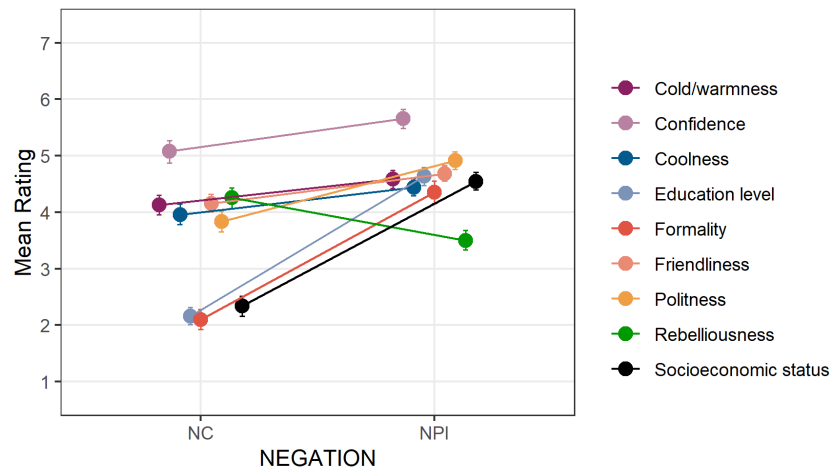

Figure 1: Mean and error bars of the ratings. The x-axis depicts the factor NEGATION with its levels negative concord (NC, left) and negative polarity items (NPI, right). The colors indicate the question.

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The Discourse-Anchoring of Root Participles and Closely Related Configurations

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The use of past participles in root configurations is a promising testing ground for investigations of the discourse-anchoring of distinct types of (seemingly) elliptical structures. We may distinguish four types of root participles (RPs) based on their speech acts. The paper will explore the different kinds of discourse-anchoring that these give rise to from an interaction-based perspective. We will then compare them to closely related non-participial counterparts and consider whether the distinct configurations are based on ellipses or may be shown to be dedicated (non-sentential) configurations, licensed in particular settings of social interaction.

Speech acts may be carried out without resorting to proper sentences: RPs as well as non-participial counterparts license directives, commissives, expressives and representatives.

(1) a. Hingesetzt!   Den Müll rausgebracht!
       down-sit.PTCP   *the trash out-take*.PTCP
       'Sit down!   Take out the trash!'

    b. Jetzt Abmarsch!   Ruhe bitte!
       now off-march.N   *silence please!* '
       'March off, now!   Silence, please!'

(2) a. Versprochen!   Abgemacht!
       promise.PTCP   *agree*.PTCP
       'I promise!   This is settled!'

    b. Promise! Deal!

(3) a. Bedankt!   Gecondoleerd!
       thank.PTCP   *condole*.PTCP
       'Thank you!   My condolences!'

    b. Thanks! My condolences!

(4) a. (Objection) overruled! Well done!
    b. Game over! All good!

These configurations are syntactically independent, but closely related to the discourse. The directive RPs in (1a) introduce an addressee who is supposed to immediately carry out the event and may appear overtly as a quantificational subject (*alle Schüler*). The commissive RPs in (2a) lack an addressee but are tied to the discourse with a null pronoun that relates to an at-issue proposition that the speaker commits to. The expressive RPs in (3a) allow the speaker to express a psychological state and include an implicit addressee (an internal argument, in contrast to dRPs). These may also be expressed overtly (*Je/Arjen gecondoleerd!*). This leaves the representative RPs in (4a), whose bare nominal argument anaphorically relates to a to-do that is already at-issue rather than introducing a new referent. This discourse anchoring is shared by non-participial counterparts. Additionally, the cases in (1)-(4) all combine with vocatives (say the proper noun *Rüdiger*) that direct the utterance to an addressee. However, these are independent of the root configurations (signaled by an intonational break), unlike the overt arguments that may appear in cases like (1a), (3a) and (4a).

There are sentential counterparts for eRPs (*Je wordt bedankt!*) and rRPs (*The objection is overruled!*), which suggests that these are ellipses. However, dRPs with quantificational subjects are non-sentential (*Alle aufgepasst!* vs. **Alle werden aufgepasst!* and *#Alle haben aufgepasst!*) (cf. Fries 1983: 237; Wunderlich 1984: 114fn15). The same holds for cRPs, which are not always interchangeable with clausal counterparts (cf. Ørsnes 2020: 363). This raises the question of whether non-participial cases also differ in whether they are non-sentential or elliptical: (4b) is also subject to D-deletion (*the game*) and has a sentential counterpart (*The game is over!*), while (1b) combines with quantificational subjects (*Jetzt*

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mal alle Ruhe bitte!) and lacks a clausal counterpart. This shows that RPs and their nominal counterparts are closely related, although it remains to be determined whether this carries over to cases like (2) and (3).

The present paper aims to investigate grammatical strategies employed to strongly tie expressions to a given discourse context. The distinct types of RPs and their counterparts rely on specific discourse ingredients and show that distinct linguistic means are employed in direct speaker-interaction. To fully understand the properties of these reduced configurations, it is vital to take into account the interactive context in which they are embedded.

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What is Not Said: The Case of Conditional Constructions

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Cross-linguistically speakers use a wide variety of morphosyntactic structures to express conditionality including subordination, juxtaposition, nonfinite protases, and noun phrases (e.g., Elder 2019; Montolío 1999). This work takes the expression of conditionality to be an emergent process that is shaped by the linguistic and social contexts, as well as by the interlocutor(s) (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001). The purpose of this talk is twofold. First, I present an empirically based inventory of CCs in Spanish. Second, I highlight the importance of what is not said in the expression of conditionality and underscore the significance of analyzing conditionality beyond the traditionally defined subject + predicate antecedent and consequent relation.

Methodology

The data comes from 32 speakers of Mexican Spanish who were presented with an opinion interview and a contextualized-situations task designed to elicit CCs. Based on previous research (e.g., Sweetser 1990; Elder 2019) a CC had to: (a) have a protasis and an apodosis implicitly or explicitly realized, (b) the protasis was a sufficient, but not necessary, condition for the realization of the apodosis, (c) the antecedent was uncertain (not known to be true) by the speaker, and (d) the construction could be replaced by an *if*-clause (regardless of tense-mood shift) and still retain a conditional meaning.

Inventory of CCs

A total of 977 CCs were identified, divided into 35 types, and grouped into three major categories: overt connectives ([1], 43% N=418), elliptical ([2],

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34% N=337), and juxtaposition ([3], 23% N=222). There were 15 overt connectives some of whose primary meaning was not conditional like *cuando* 'when', but which could yield a conditional interpretation via the manipulation of tense, aspect, and mood. Elliptical CCs take what was said in the previous discourse, by the speaker or by their interlocutor, as the antecedent. For instance, the only difference in the answers in (2) is the overt *if*-clause. Finally, juxtaposed CCs did not present any formal syntactic marker that indicated any semantic relation (3), rather, they had two adjacent clauses or phrases whose conditional meaning arose through a conversational implicature.

The interactive nature of conditionality
Speakers do in fact indicate conditional relations through the prototypical use of connectives and subject + verb clauses. However, more than half of the time (57%) they rely either on the previous discourse, given the nature of the task at hand (i.e., response elicitation), uttered by their interlocutor to complete their speech (i.e., elliptical conditionals [3]; see Ford [1993] for a similar case of causal clauses) or on the interlocutor to make the necessary conditional inferences. In example (3), for instance, the protasis *la marihuana* 'marihuaha' is unspecified (i.e., no verb phrase and no connective), but the speaker relies on the linguistic context clues of the situated interaction and expects the hearer to give it the interpretation of *if they legalize marihuana.* The current results align with previous studies that also question the relevance of the verb phrase for conversational interactions (e.g., Helasvuo 2001; Fox and Jasperson 1995). We also provide evidence to the fact that speech/communication is not an individual endeavor, rather it is the product of online social interaction.

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Examples and Figures

(1)   ...no sé pagaría a alguien y [*en dado caso que* no consiga a nadie]PROT [pues sí ya dejaría que se mueran] (41AP27H)
'...I don't know I would pay someone and [*in given case that* I don't get anybody [well yes I would let them die]APOD'

(2)   You can change one thing about your past, what do you change?

a) [yo <u>si</u> pudiera]PROT [sí cambiaría muchas cosas]APOD pero pues igual de todo se aprende
'[*If* I could]PROT [yes I would change many things]APOD but well one learns from everything'

b) [*elliptical*]PROT [pues sí cambiaría una que otra cosita]APOD pero muy personal
'[*elliptical*]PROT [well yes I would change one thing here and there]APOD but very personal'

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(3)   What do you think about the legalization of drugs?

quizás estoy de acuerdo en unos tipos de drogas pero creo como por ejemplo [*la marihuana*]PROT [*estoy de acuerdo*]APOD porque siento que habría muchos cambios en cuanto a los narcotraficantes... (41AP27H)

'maybe I agree in some type of drugs but I think that like for example [*marihuana*]PROT [I agree]APOD because I feel that there would be a lot of changes regarding drug dealers...'

Keynote:

Development of Sentence Adverbials:
Shifts Between Prototypical Positions

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A sentence adverbial (SA) indicates the attitudes of the speaker and/or speaker-hearer interaction. From the perspective of language interaction one may specify three positions for an SA, i.e., a clause-initial position (CI-position; e.g., **admittedly** *the motive of the law was good*), a clause-medial position between the subject and the main predicate (CM-position; e.g., *he is* **evidently** *right*), and occasionally a clause-final position (e.g., *they may have been sent to London* **possibly**).

Previous studies generally focus on SAs developed in a CI-position and have largely neglected SAs developed in a CM-position. The development of some SAs in English, Galician, German, Japanese, and Tibetan, together with the systematic development of mono-syllabic SAs

throughout the history of Chinese (see the following) indicate that the CM-position is also a prototypical position for the development of SAs.
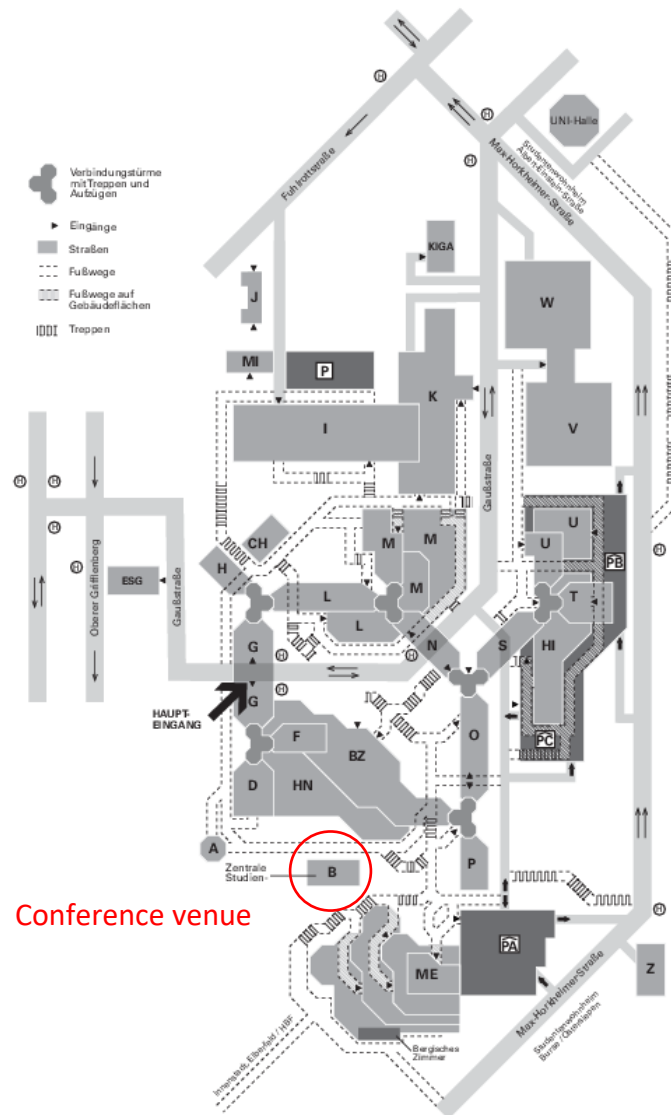
(1)   *Huángfà chuítiáo,* ***bìng*** *yírán zìlè.*
(黄发垂髫，并怡然自乐。)
'The elderly and the children, they **all** feel contented and happy.'
(365 CE – 427 CE, *Peach Blossom Spring* (《桃花源记》))

(2)   *Zhāngshēng* ***bìng*** *bùcéng rénjiā zuò nǚxù.*
(张生并不曾人家做女婿。)
'Mr. Zhang **on the contrary** never married into and lived with his wife's family.'
(1295 CE – 1307 CE, *Romance of the West Chamber*, Vol. V, Act IV (《西厢记·第五本·第四折》))

A conventionalized SA developed in a CI-position may later develop to occupy a CM-position (e.g., *the motive of the law was* **admittedly** *good*), and a conventionalized SA developed in a CM-position may later develop to occupy a CI-position (e.g., **evidently** *he is right*). In both cases, the change is not gradual but abrupt, and filling the gap is the primary driving force for the change to take place. I also re-examine the commonly accepted view that circumstance adverbials develop into SAs only in a CI-position.

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Plan: Campus Grifflenberg (Conference Venue)

Conference venue

How to get to the campus (green box "1")

1 Campus Grifflenberg

2 Campus Freudenberg

3 Campus Haspel

Source:
https://www.grafik.uni-wuppertal.de/de/downloads-allgemein/lageplaene/

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