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Los Angeles

A Contrastive Analysis of the German Particles *eben* and *gerade*:  
Underlying Meaning and Usage in German Parliamentary Debate

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Germanic Languages

by

Patricia Ann Wiley

2018

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2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Contrastive Analysis of the German Particles *eben* and *gerade*:  
Underlying Meaning and Usage in German Parliamentary Debate

by

Patricia Ann Wiley

Doctor of Philosophy in Germanic Languages

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Robert S. Kirsner, Co-Chair

Professor Olga Tsuneko Yokoyama, Co-Chair

This dissertation critically compares the two German focus particles *eben* and *gerade*. It has been repeatedly noted in the relevant literature that the two display an intriguing yet challenging near-synonymy. However, factors motivating this relationship have not been sufficiently explained to date. This study argues that the particles' ostensible partial overlap is systematic and non-trivial in nature and that it can be explained by positing two distinct speaker motivations for uttering each particle to mark a constituent in a sentence: While the particle *eben* marks a constituent as conform-to-expectation, *gerade* marks a constituent as counter-to-



expectation. Each marking is prompted by the discourse situation: If there is (extra)linguistic evidence that the interlocutor is inclined to select the same constituent as the speaker for completing a sentence, then *eben* is the appropriate marker. Alternatively, if no contrary evidence exists, *eben* may still be the appropriate marker. In the absence of favorable evidence, the speaker relies on assumptions about human communicative strategies and biases for arriving at the constituent choice matching the speaker's and may still be prompted to utter *eben*. Conversely, the speaker utters *gerade* to mark a constituent as counter-to-expectation when there is (extra)linguistic evidence that a different constituent is more likely to be selected, or has been selected. Alternatively, if at least no (extra)linguistic evidence exists that the identical constituent is selected, assumptions about human communicative strategies and biases for arriving at a different constituent choice as the speaker's prompt the use of *gerade*. The hypothesis is supported by two analyses: a minimal pair analysis employing substitution, elimination, and continuation tests as well as a synchronic, large-scale corpus-based analysis of syntactico-semantic features that frequently occur as the particles' constituents. The former is employed to do away with compartmentalized interpretation suggestions for the particles, contaminated by adjacent elements, and suggests the underlying meanings of the particles to interact with said elements in generating the interpretations. The latter analysis presents a selection of syntactico-semantic features with which each particle frequently occurs in natural language and offers new insights on their functions based on interactions with *eben* and *gerade*.

The dissertation of Patricia Ann Wiley is approved.

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2018

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## List of Abbreviations & Symbols

### Minimal Pair Analysis

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AKK	accusative
DAT	dative
PP	past participle
sing.	singular
pl.	plural
?, ??, *	increasing degrees of unacceptability
¬	negative

### Corpus

PP	<i>Plenarprotokolle</i> ‘plenary protocols’ (title of corpus used)
R1	(constituent) to the immediate right of the focus particle
L1	(constituent) to the immediate left of the focus particle
NEG	negation; particularly the negation particle <i>nicht</i>
PBB	Parliament of Brandenburg, seat in Potsdam
PBE	Parliament of Berlin, seat in Berlin
PBR	Bundesrat of Germany, seat in Berlin
PBT	Bundestag of Germany, seat in Berlin
PBW	Parliament of Baden-Württemberg, seat in Stuttgart
PBY	Parliament of Bavaria, seat in Munich
PHB	Parliament of Bremen, seat in Bremen
PHE	Parliament of Hesse, seat in Wiesbaden
PHH	Parliament of Hamburg, seat in Hamburg
PMV	Parliament of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, seat in Schwerin
PNI	Parliament of Lower Saxony, seat in Hannover
PNO	Parliament of Lower Austria, seat in St. Pölten
PNW	Parliament of Northrhine-Westphalia, seat in Düsseldorf
PRP	Parliament of Rhineland-Palatinate, seat in Mainz
PSH	Parliament of Schleswig-Holstein, seat in Kiel
PSL	Parliament of Saarland, seat in Saarbrücken
PSN	Parliament of Saxony, seat in Dresden
PST	Parliament of Saxony-Anhalt, seat in Magdeburg
PTH	Parliament of Thuringia, seat in Erfurt

### German Parties

B90/Grüne	<i>Bündnis 90/Die Grünen</i> ‘Coalition ‘90/The Green Party’
CDU	<i>Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands</i> ‘Christian Democratic Union of Germany’
FDP	<i>Freie Demokratische Partei</i> ‘Free Democratic Party’
LINKE	<i>Die Linke</i> ‘The Left’
NPD	<i>Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> ‘National Democratic Party of Germany’
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> ‘Social Democratic Party of Germany’

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## 1. Introduction

The introductory chapter provides an overview over the object and goal of the study at hand, presents the hypothesis brought forth for the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*, and gives an outline of the dissertation's overall structure.

### 1.1. Object of Inquiry and Goal

This dissertation critically addresses and further pursues the observation in particle research that the two German particles *eben* and *gerade* display an intriguing relationship of unresolved near-synonymy. The goal is to offer a concise explanation of the particles' underlying meanings that reveals the systematic nature of this quasi-synonymy from a functional linguistic perspective, hence taking into account human communicative strategies and biases.

German particles have been the object of systematic scholarly interest in Germany for close to fifty years, thanks to the Pragmatic Turn and the rise of communicative approaches to linguistic analysis. Early on, taxonomies were created and particles were described in isolation, in comparison to other non-particle members of the particle inventory within the language, and also in comparisons across languages. While the body of particle research is vast and still growing, some observations about their functions and relationships still represent elusive and challenging blank spots on the map of the particle landscape. It has been noted time and again in the literature on particle research that the two particles *eben* and *gerade* seem to be able to replace each other quite often but the conditions have not been made clear. To date, the exact nature of this near-synonymy has not been explained to satisfaction though it has been frequently acknowledged. Scholars who have put forward this suggestion have noted in the same breath that the context surrounding

the utterances with particles appears to play an important role and should be taken into consideration to a greater degree than has been done so far.

Thus, the components of the study at hand are quite simple to identify: a hard-to-grasp problem, and a proposed approach. The step still to be undertaken is that of execution; providing a solution by taking the larger context<sup>1</sup> surrounding the particles into consideration. In keeping with the goal of identifying a speaker's motivation for using *eben* or *gerade*, the study is informed by the Columbia School Linguistics approach to functional linguistics. Additionally, a number of notions discussed particularly in Chapter 4 are informed by Yokoyama's (1986) Transactional Discourse Model (TDM henceforth). Both functional approaches center on the human factor and examine human strategies and biases in communication, which allows this study to uncover a more systematic nature to the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*.

## 1.2. Hypothesis

The respective uses of *eben* and *gerade* are based on two differing motivations on the part of the speaker for marking a constituent within a sentence and accordingly two different signals to the hearer. Before moving on any further, we will briefly present the terms and concepts of 'marking' and 'constituent' as they are understood in this study.

---

<sup>1</sup> The term 'context' is not used as a technical term that is part of a particular theory but rather to describe linguistic and extralinguistic elements within and outside of the sentence in which the particle is embedded, i.e. the *Äußerungssituation* 'speech situation'. Linguistic elements may include words, phrases, sentences or prior utterances by the speaker or interlocutor; extralinguistic elements may include the human strategies and limitations discussed in Chapter 3 as well as different types of knowledge that the speaker and the hearer are known, or presumed, to have.

To describe what *eben* and *gerade* do to other elements in a sentence, the terms surrounding the notion of markedness<sup>2</sup> are employed. The notion of markedness goes back to the Prague School and was first developed for phonology (Trubetzkoy 1989) and inflection (Jakobson 1939) and has since been extended and evolved to other linguistic dimensions. The general idea is that something is ‘added’ to an already existing phenomenon (see Hentschel 1998:18-19), which entails more effort on the part of the speaker and a motivation that justifies that kind of additional effort. This applies to the use vs. non-use of particles.

In this study, the term ‘constituent’ refers to the syntactic unit most closely associated with the particle, in analogy to Dimroth’s (2004) *Bezugskonstituente*. Other terms describing this unit include focus (Jacobs 1982), *Fokuskonstituente* (Auwera 1984; Dimroth 2004), and idiosyncratically *Skopus* in Altmann (1976, 1978). That unit can be a syllable, word, part of a (complex) phrase, phrase, or entire sentence (see Pasch et al. 2003:576). It is the element within the sentence that is semantically (see Jacobs 1983:10-11, 18) and/or syntactically (Altmann 1978:22) most affected by the particle.<sup>3</sup>

In order to illustrate the idea that each particle use is based on different motivating factors in the speech situation and that each particle expresses a different signal to the hearer, let us consider the following sentence containing the particles *eben* and *gerade*:

---

<sup>2</sup> Above all, they include ‘marking’, ‘(un)marked’, and ‘marker’.

<sup>3</sup> Section 2.4.2 describes the syntactic and semantic areas of a focus particle and the focus of a focus particle.

- (1) *Karl hat gerade/eben [uns]<sup>4</sup> um Hilfe gebeten.*  
 Karl has PARTICLE [us] for help asked-PP.

‘Karl asked precisely us for help.’ / ‘Karl asked us of all people for help.’

In sentence (1), the focus particles *eben* and *gerade* each mark the constituent *uns* ‘us’ in a grammatically correct and natural sentence. Before moving to the differences, we will briefly address what *eben* and *gerade* have in common: *Gerade* and *eben* signal to the hearer that the element *uns* ‘us’ is to be understood as the focal point of the sentence, that is, that the marked constituent is the element in the sentence to which the hearer should direct his/her attention. That means *uns* becomes a particularly noteworthy ‘variable’ for completing the sentence function *Karl hat X um Hilfe gebeten* ‘Karl asked X for help’, with X serving as a placeholder for the uttered constituent as well as potential alternatives.

In the particle-less version *Karl hat uns um Hilfe gebeten* ‘Karl asked us for help’, there is no such lexical signal to the hearer to pay particular attention to the constituent *uns* within the sentence. The hearer is at liberty to focus his/her attention on any element or is at liberty to not ‘zero in’ and rather regard the sentence as a whole. Intonation can help single out an element as particularly noteworthy, as well, but will not be incorporated in this study. The particles *gerade* and *eben* are somewhat linked to intonation, narrowing down on which element in the sentence the addressee should focus their attention.

Crucially, particles do something more than intonation: They signal the speaker’s additional assumptions about the constituent. These assumptions center on the speaker’s hearer’s likeliness of selecting the marked constituent that the speaker

---

<sup>4</sup> Square brackets ‘[]’ indicate the delimitation of a focus particle’s constituent. For a more detailed discussion on the notion of constituents, see section 2.4.2

has in mind and the way it relates to the rest of the sentence and the communicative context. It is regarding this assumption that the two particles differ. Thus, the hypothesis in this study is as follows:

I) When *eben* marks a constituent, it signals that this constituent is conform-to-expectation to the hearer (or the speaker). Its use is motivated by two conditions: Either there is evidence in the discourse situation prompting the speaker to know or assume that the hearer chooses the same constituent to complete the sentence, or there is at least no evidence to prompt the speaker to know or assume the contrary, namely that the hearer prefers a different constituent.

II) When *gerade* marks a constituent, it signals that this constituent is counter-to-expectation to the hearer (or the speaker). Its use is motivated by two conditions: Either there is evidence in the discourse situation prompting the speaker to know or assume that the hearer chooses a different constituent to complete the sentence, or there is at least no evidence to prompt the speaker to know or assume the contrary, i.e. that the hearer selects the same constituent as the speaker.

A speaker is thus prompted to mark a constituent with the respective particle depending on factors in the (extra-)linguistic context and this marking in turn has varying effects on the discourse. In the following, the preceding conditions and subsequent effects brought about by each particle are briefly discussed and illustrated by means of the sample sentence.

A marking with *eben* typically occurs when there is explicit evidence in the preceding context that the hearer chooses the same constituent that the speaker has in mind. This happens for example, when these constituents have already been explicitly mentioned and in addition to being mentioned have been explicitly agreed upon by the hearer. Thus, their significance for the validity of the complete sentence is not at issue as far as the speaker is concerned. Applied to the sample sentence above, a speaker would be prompted to use *eben* to mark *uns* if, for example, the speaker and the hearer had previously discussed that Karl had gotten lost on a campus and had needed



directions and the hearer had volunteered the assessment “Ihr kennt euch ja sehr gut auf dem Campus aus” ‘You know your way around campus very well’. The hearer has thus made an utterance showing that the referents of *uns* knowing their way around campus is complementing information to the information that Karl looked like he needed help and therefore indicates that s/he is primed to choose *uns* as a variable to fill in sentence (1) which is about to be uttered by the speaker.

Even if the constituent to complete the rest of the sentence has not been expressly mentioned in the preceding discursive context, the speaker may still be prompted to utter *eben*. For example, when the relationship between the constituent and the rest of the statement (or statements) is easy to infer, that is, the speaker can be reasonably confident that the hearer’s communicative strategies will encourage him/her to at least not to make a choice that deviates from the speaker’s. In Columbia School linguistic terms, *eben* is prompted by a low inferential complexity, that is, a relative ease of processing the available knowledge to arrive at the correct constituent. Applied to the sample sentence, this would be the case if the speaker had first explained that Karl was wandering a deserted university campus and looking really lost, then looking around and seeing only the referents of *uns* standing around. Before uttering sample sentence (1), the speaker can assume that, although the hearer has not volunteered the referents of *uns* as candidates and thus showed that s/he is currently having them in mind like before, all the prior information like the fact that the campus was deserted, that Karl looked like he was seeking help, and that only the speaker and his/her companions were nearby quite easily lead to *uns* ‘us’ being the candidate up for selection. After all, common knowledge would not likely lead the hearer to consider

that Karl would ask a nearby tree or bulletin board for help rather than the live referents of *uns*.

As a consequence, *eben* often marks constituents (words, phrases, etc.) that are reiterated in a conversation. The marking with *eben* typically highlights refreshers, making explicit a perceived common ground between speaker and hearer from which the conversation can advance. That means that textlinguistically, the particle contributes to the cohesion of a text by reinforcing anaphoric links as well as consequential/resultative<sup>5</sup> relations between the preceding discourse and the sentence with the marked constituent. A marking with *eben* does not signal that there is a new development or unexpected perspective to be imparted by the speaker, and *eben* is more frequently used to refer to the subject matter per se rather than to how the speaker evaluates his/her own utterance. In the first scenario described for sample sentence (1), there is a case of reiteration of the referents in which the hearer supplies information that is reiterated by the speaker, and in the second scenario in which the speaker describes the deserted campus, the resultative action is that the candidates in question are being asked for directions.

A sociological effect of the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* is that, in a dialog, marking a constituent as conform-to-expectation with *eben* appears more diplomatic and face-saving<sup>6</sup> than a marking with *gerade*. In a sufficiently ambiguous

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<sup>5</sup> Lütten observes that the modal particle *eben* evokes a common horizon (1977:249) but she does not incorporate an explanation of a speaker's motivation for such an evocation. She also describes a 'concluding function' of *eben* without going into further detail (1977:353). A significant caveat of her example sentence is that it also includes the resultative conjunction *so dass* 'so that' which by itself can also be ascribed that same concluding function. A contamination of her suggestion for *eben* by that conjunction is not addressed.

<sup>6</sup> Loosely based on the sociological notion introduced by Goffman (1967), we understand the term 'face' as an individual's feeling of dignity or self-worth. A 'face threat' is a threat to that feeling of dignity. See also Brown & Levinson (1987) on politeness.

situation, in which the interlocutor<sup>7</sup> has not made a constituent choice explicit, a benevolent speaker may be prompted to mark a constituent of a sentence as conform-to-expectation with *eben* to signal that the speaker assumes the hearer already had the correct pieces of information leading him/her to choosing the correct constituent at some point but has perhaps not fully articulated it.

In contrast to *eben*, a marking with *gerade* typically occurs when constituents have not been previously mentioned, for example, at the beginning of a speaker's contribution or, if they have, they were expressly disagreed upon or called into question in the preceding context. Consequently, as far as the speaker is concerned, the significance of the speaker's chosen constituent for the validity of the complete sentence is at issue. To illustrate this, if the speaker had told the interlocutor that Karl was going on vacation and he was looking for someone to take care of his dog, and if the interlocutor had reacted by blurting out "Ich hoffe, er hat nicht euch gefragt! Euch würde ich niemals etwas anvertrauen, was mir viel bedeutet. Ihr seid komplett unzuverlässig" 'I do hope he did not ask you! I would never entrust anything to you that means a lot to me. You are completely unreliable', then the hearer has given evidence that s/he clearly not consider the referents of *uns* as appropriate candidates to complete sample sentence (1) above. Due to this utterance, the speaker is made aware that the constituent *uns* within sentence (1) will obviously come as a complete surprise to the interlocutor. After all, the interlocutor has made clear that s/he considers the speaker and his/her companion unreliable. The relevant knowledge is

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<sup>7</sup> In this study, the individual uttering the sentences containing the particles will be referred to as the 'speaker' and the individual engaging in dialog with or listening to the speaker will be referred to interchangeably as the 'hearer', 'interlocutor', or—particularly in Chapter 5—as 'audience (member)', without reference to any particular theory.

that it requires reliability to watch someone's dog. In this case in which the speaker and the companion are candidates that are expressly at issue for the completion of the sentence, the speaker is prompted to mark *uns* with *gerade*, as a constituent that is counter-to-expectation to the interlocutor.

Alternatively, there may be pieces of information in the preceding discourse that may be assumed to lead the hearer to choose a constituent different from the one the speaker has in mind, even though the interlocutor has not made an explicit remark like above. It may simply be inferentially easier for a hearer, based on the information available, to select a different constituent than to select the constituent the speaker has in mind. In the case of our sample sentence, if the speaker had told the hearer that Karl had looked really lost but had also described that in addition to the speaker and his/her companion, an Incoming Student Mentor with a 'Got a Question?' sign was sitting at a nearby stand, then the conclusion the hearer may more likely draw (without saying so) is that the mentor is a good candidate to be asked for help. Simultaneously, it is less likely for the hearer to consider the referents of *uns* as the best candidates to be asked for help, that is, arriving at the choice of *uns* as the constituents to complete the sentence under the new conditions requires more processing effort on the part of the hearer, given the awareness of an ostensibly better-suited candidate. If it nevertheless happens that the speaker and his/her companions were still asked for help, despite the New Student Mentor being present, the speaker is prompted to utilize *gerade* to mark *uns* in sentence (1). This marker is uttered when the speaker has knowledge or has reason to assume that alternative constituents, like the New Student Mentor, are in the air that may put the selection of the uttered constituent 'at risk' and thus have to be blocked.

Instances in which *gerade* rather than *eben* is used also include exophoric references, that is, references to the speaker's evaluation of the subject matter in the discourse situation. In the latter instances, the speaker has no grounds to assume that the hearer can look into his/her head, therefore expressions of speaker evaluation occur more frequently with *gerade* (see section 5.3).

With regard to textlinguistic environments, *gerade* is often used to mark constituents as a gateway to reinterpreting an aspect of the conversation (a word, statement, etc.) and bringing in new information to be imparted by the speaker. In the case of Karl asking the referents of *uns* for help rather than the New Student Mentor, the speaker could add after the sample sentence that the New Student Mentor looked really grumpy whereas the speaker and his/her companion(s) looked friendlier and made eye contact. Supplying such additional information constitutes a greater effort on the part of the speaker and is uttered to justify Karl's seemingly odd choice.

The sociological effect of uttering *gerade* in a dialog is that it appears more combative and face-threatening than a marking with *eben*. It was already mentioned above that the utterance of *gerade* can be a necessary reaction to an observed active disregard of the 'correct' information and resulting 'wrong' constituent choice. Beyond that, in sufficiently ambiguous situations in which the interlocutor has not made explicit either a matching or diverging constituent choice, the effect of the counter-to-expectation marking has strategic value: especially discourse-initially or when addressing issues that are intrinsically clear and agreed-upon based on common knowledge, a marking with *gerade* can signal the 'playful' assumption that the hearer would make an incorrect choice based on his/her knowledge. This gives the speaker a chance to provide additional information in support of the selected constituent.

Moving away from dialogs, the speaker may also be prompted to utter *eben* or *gerade* to signal how the speaker's own expectations were either maintained or changed. The former is accomplished with the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* and the latter with the counter-to-expectation marker *gerade*. In the deserted-campus scenario, all the factors lead to the speaker and his/her companion(s) anticipating that they would be approached by Karl. Conversely, with the New Student Mentor present, it may have come as a surprise to the speaker him-/herself that s/he was approached with a request for help. Thus, in contrast to *eben*, which is more often found in situations in which events have unfolded in a predictable fashion, *gerade* occurs more typically in environments in which a new development or perspective is expressed in the unfolding discourse situation.

### **1.3. Description of Study**

The methodology employed to determine the meanings and effects of the particles is eclectic. For one, the hypothesis is tested in a minimal pair analysis of *eben* and *gerade* in isolated sentences. This testing allows for a minute teasing-apart of the differences between the particles and to construct contexts that further illustrate the particles' underlying meanings and at the same time reveal contaminations that have affected suggestions for individual interpretations of the particles.

This canonical method, which offers a high degree of control over the tested environment is supplemented by a synchronic corpus-based study, incorporating in-depth qualitative analyses of macro-level data. This supplement makes very large contexts available to analysis and makes visible such distribution patterns and affinities of the particles that would otherwise have gone undetected. We thus gain insight into the ways in which speakers *do* frequently use the particles.

This study is a contribution to German particle research as well as the synchronic linguistics of the German language. It presents a functional approach to *eben* and *gerade*, connecting their use to speaker motivation, particularly the knowledge or assumptions speakers have about the hearers' knowledge. This knowledge informs their choice of either constituents that match the utterance or those that diverge from it. The approach helps resolve the often-observed quasi-synonymy that has been a mystery in German particle scholarship for decades. The following section provides an overview of this work's conceptual structure.

#### 1.4. Outline of Dissertation Structure

Following the introductory chapter, the hypothesis presented above is situated within a scholarly context in the second chapter. Chapter Two includes an overview of the evolving status of particles over the centuries and a short presentation of the body of particle research in German. The conceptual challenges that particles pose for research, language acquisition, instruction, and translation given their specific features, cross-linguistic differences, and native speaker awareness are presented. A more 'self-made' challenge to the research on particles are the various labels that have sprouted in attempts to create taxonomies of these particles. The final section of Chapter Two is dedicated to a more targeted discussion and critique of the very few works that have addressed and compared the focus particles<sup>8</sup> *eben* and *gerade* specifically. The critique will address the limits of the analyses that have been fashioned so far and elucidates how the hypothesis transcends some of these limitations.

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<sup>8</sup> For the purpose of this study, the term 'focus particle' will be used simply on the basis that it is the most frequently used term and the group of particles associated with it is the largest (cf. section 2.4.2).

Chapter Three presents the theoretical framework informing the study at hand. It includes a presentation of the Columbia School Linguistics framework and a description of how it relates to other functional approaches to linguistics. The typical objects of study, basic concepts, and guiding questions informing functional approaches vis-à-vis formal approaches to linguistics as well as sample studies are discussed. The chapter highlights the benefits of the Columbia School's incorporation of the human factor and its examination of macro-level discourse to the study at hand. Links are also drawn to the meaning minimalist approaches to German particle research. An elaboration on the merits of the eclectic methodology that is being employed is also added.

Chapter Four presents a minimal pair analysis of *eben* and *gerade* in isolated sentences, including substitution, elimination, and continuation tests. The tests call into question the various limited and seemingly unrelated interpretations that have traditionally been suggested for *eben* and *gerade* and have been perpetuated in some of the scholarship in a too uncritical fashion. Tests are administered to prove that these interpretations are not inherent to the particles but rather concrete and singular pragmatic effects of the underlying function of the particles in interaction with very specific syntactic elements and contexts. All suggested interpretation will ultimately be related to the underlying meaning in the hypothesis, creating a common thread among what seems unrelated. The underlying meaning of *eben* will also be presented as a means of unifying the multitude of particle subtypes that have been created thus far without any apparent benefit such as a comprehensive understanding of the particle.

Chapter Five contains the quantitative and qualitative syntactico-semantic analyses of the selected corpus data, namely the written plenary protocols of German



parliamentary debates in 2011. They are made available to the public by each of the sixteen German state parliaments as well as the German *Bundestag* (Lower House of the German Parliament) and *Bundesrat* (Upper House of the German Parliament). The characteristics of the study's data and the motivation for their selection are presented, as are the data preparation process including the testing procedures necessary for the development of a morphologically tagged and regionally balanced database optimized for the purposes of this study. The chapter also contains an investigation into the possibility of a dialect-geographical distribution of *eben* and *gerade* determine whether dialect is a distributional factor. The findings indicate that a dialectal distribution does not exist. It is also dedicated to a presentation of the corpus data used.

The qualitative analyses of Chapter Five take a closer look at each distribution pattern and, by drilling deeper, show how the characteristics of the larger syntactico-semantic structures and contexts in which the particles are each frequently embedded are natural complements to the particles' underlying meanings conformity-to-expectation and counter-to-expectation posited above. Illustrative discussions include the predominant use of *eben* with negations and adversative constructions, the difference in quality of causal connections marked by *gerade* vs. *eben*, and the predominant use of *gerade* to mark spatial and temporal expressions. The interactions of the particles and the complex structures identified in the in-depth analyses illustrate how some traditional notions about the complex syntactic constructions can be relativized or refuted just as much as extant suggestions for the particles' interpretations. For example, the traditional description of adversative clauses as correcting information and the contradicting descriptions of the causal marker *weil* can be contributed to thanks to their interactions with the two particles.

'Conform-to-expectation', the Conclusion provides a summary of the findings and fashions a research outlook based on observations made in the course of this study. The latter includes the question of whether the suggested relationship of the particles' underlying meanings may have grammaticalized from their associated non-particle word types (adverbs, adjectives) over time. Additionally, given the complex argumentative structures in which the particles each frequently occur, colostruational analyses also present a potential path of exploration, further teasing apart the nature of complex adversative and causal sentences. Finally, the question of how to adequately translate *eben* and *gerade* given their underlying meanings should be pursued in future research. The macro-structures identified in the corpus-based analyses as well as the systematic incorporation of context in the minimal pair analysis show promise for conducting surveys in the future and establishing a statistically more sophisticated development based on the observations in the study at hand.

## 2. Literature Review

For a contextualization of this study, and before approaching the mysterious relationship of *eben* and *gerade* in the analyses, we have to address a number of foundational questions that are significant for this endeavor. Most importantly, it has to be discussed how to define a ‘particle’, what the scholarly provenience of, and justification for, the variety of terms describing ‘particles’ is, and what has been posited so far about the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*.

After a brief historical sketch of the evolving status of particles and of the different phases and concentrations of particle research, a critical discussion of the existing labels and associated functions of particles is presented. It will be argued that the multitude of labels assigned to particle groups has not been entirely beneficial, albeit an inevitable result of both the challenging nature of the words and the attempt to create a homogeneous group of words that can be subjected to scientific investigation. The difficulties resulting from the variety of labels will be critically evaluated. After that, we turn to the posited relationships of *eben* and *gerade*; the few works that have dealt with the two particles specifically be discussed in more detail. These works include Altmann (1976, 1978) and König (1991a-c). Their existing theories of the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* will be critiqued and related to the hypothesis put forth in this study. A summary concludes this foundational chapter.

### 2.1. Historical Sketch: The Evolving Status of Particles

Since they were first described (though not yet systematically investigated) roughly one hundred and forty years ago, particles have undergone a formidable image change from shunned stylistic imperfections to heavily investigated words essential to the communicative context of utterances.

From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, particles in the German language were at best ignored by prescriptive linguists and at worst they were decried as stylistic flaws (see Hentschel 1986:1). Many a derogatory term was initially coined for these words that did not have an apparent semantic meaning: Besides unnecessary “Flickwörter” ‘patching words’ (Reiners 1944:282; Riesel 1963:448) they were also referred to as “Füllwörter” ‘filling words’, “farblose Redefüllsel” ‘colorless speech fillers’ (Lindqvist 1961:24), or even as parasitic “Läuse in dem Pelz unserer Sprache” ‘lice in the fur of our language’ (Reiners 1944:282)—terms that indicate the disdain for words that were judged to be useless symptoms of ‘bad style’.

The attitude toward particles gradually changed starting in the 1960s and ‘70s. The Pragmatic Turn and emerging approaches such as Speech Act Theory, presented in works such as J. L. Austin’s *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) and J. R. Searle’s *Speech Acts* (1969) (see Brünjes 2014:8; Helbig 1988:5; Werner 1997:8), as well as the advent of Communication Theory placed the communicative purpose of language use at the center of investigations (Weydt 1981:45). The focus of investigations into language shifted from its structural properties and permutations to speakers using language: Which actions did they carry out and which communicative goals did they pursue when uttering language? Due to this change in perspective, particles began to be investigated from a more favorable perspective by pioneering and prolific scholars such Krivonosov, Abraham, Weydt, Helbig, Hentschel, Altmann, and König, to name a few.

## **2.2. Phases and Foci of Particle Research**

The particle research ensuing in the 1960s and 1970s can be roughly divided into three phases with different concentrations: The first, beginning with the Pragmatic

Turn in the 1960s, was still heavily informed by Structuralist notions and primarily sought to establish a closed system of particles and to carve out their syntactic features; the second phase, beginning in the 1990s, increasingly focused on cross-linguistic and translation-based analyses of particles; and a third, extended phase of investigations into teaching German particles to learners of German as a Second/Foreign Language has spanned the decades since the 1970s.

A great number of early scholarly works focuses on syntactic aspects, which positions the particle can occupy and the type of sentence in which the particle can occur (e.g., in Krivonosov 1977; n.d.; Lütten 1977; Altmann 1978). Particularly in the initial phase until the 1980s, particle research centered on creating taxonomies of modal particles (cf. Krivonosov 1977) and we can still see some outgrowths of these efforts to establish a ‘paradigm’ of particles today (e.g. Brünjes 2014). Depending on the sentence types in which they can occur, different meanings are posited for the particles, at times several different meanings for a single particle, as is the case with *eben* (see section 4.7 below).

Since the advent of research focusing on particles, these predominantly small words have also been intriguing subjects for cross-linguistic comparisons and translation-based investigations. It was understood that particles did not constitute a linguistic universal: Some languages have large particle inventories while others do not, particle inventories varied in size and their use in frequency (see below). Based on notion such as the *tertium comparationis*<sup>9</sup> and functional equivalence in translation

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<sup>9</sup> The notion of *tertium comparationis* ‘the third [part] for the comparison’ as a quality or feature that two entities have in common and based on which they can be compared has been fruitful for a multitude of fields such as law, physics, and poetry, to name a few, but its significance for translation studies is of particular relevance here. Scholars of translation studies have developed the notion that what is translated is not the ‘word’ but the ‘message’,

(Nida 1969), numerous works have sought to determine these underlying universal effects particles (or other linguistic features) had in texts in the source language and thus gain insights into which particles (or other linguistic features) best replicated those effect in the target language.<sup>10</sup> Appendix 7.3 provides an overview of works that have contrasted German particles with particles or related features in other languages.

A number of scholars also approached the challenge of how to teach modal particles (of German) to non-native speakers. Some authors have developed teaching concepts (Jiang 1994; Liedke 1995; May 2000; Möllering 2004; Montag 2014; Rösler 1982, 1983; Weydt 1983), at times for individual particles or small groups (Baunebjerg 1981; Becker 1976; Kemme 1979; Kötz 1984; Zaka 1999), others have carried out longitudinal studies of particle acquisition in learners of German as a foreign language (Cheon-Kostrzewa 1998; Mihalič & Petrič 2011; Paneth 1981; Zolina 2007).

Diachronic perspectives on particles are offered by Hentschel (1986), Autenrieth (2002) and Molnár (2002), the latter two approaching particles from a Grammaticalization-theoretical perspective. The relationship of particles, information structure (and intonation) has also been pursued more recently (see Dimroth 2004; Moroni 2010a; 2010b; Sudhoff 2010). Dimroth (2004), for example, problematizes the established notion that ‘focus particles’ always mark that element within a sentence that represents the new information—the ‘focus’. She narrows her investigation to the

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i.e. what is *meant* (= *das Gemeinte*) rather than what is said. By determining what an expression means in the source language, translation scholars determine the *tertium comparationis* and based on that can find an equivalent expression in the target language that means the same thing (cf. Koschmieder 1965:101-115).

<sup>10</sup> Krivonosov briefly discusses the possibility of developing linguistic ‘algorithms’ for machine translation that help determine the functional equivalents of German modal particles in other languages (1977:313).

particles *auch* ‘also’, *nur* ‘only’, and *sogar* ‘even’ which she considers main representatives of their subgroups. Like many scholars, she frequently calls attention to the discrepancy between a wide-spread awareness that the context surrounding sentences with particles plays an important role for uncovering the interaction between particles and their constituents and the lack of action resulting from such an awareness (2004: 8; 9; 19-20; 76; see also Helbig 1988:14).

All works have either proposed or distributed varying suggestions on how to define particles. As we will see below, this endeavor is far from easy and it has yielded a multitude of suggested labels, groupings, features, and interrelations of particles.

### 2.3. What are Particles?

We have seen in the sections above that the status of particles and the foci of research have shifted throughout the decades. We will now take a look at the product of the prolific German particle research and in doing so reflect on one of the most basic and simultaneously most contested questions to be addressed: ‘What are particles?’ Despite an ever-growing body of literature, a concise and perhaps even cross-linguistically valid understanding of the exact nature of particles continues to be a challenging task due to intra- and interlinguistic differences, as well as the difficulty of attributing a concrete (semantic) ‘meaning’ to them. We will turn to the scholarship that has attempted to answer the question ‘What are particles?’ by means of classification and sub-classification, and feature assignment.

Particles are frequently, though not unanimously, identified as a feature of (colloquial) spoken<sup>11</sup> language (Brünjes 2014:1; Helbig & Helbig 1995:7; Krivonosov

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<sup>11</sup> Helbig (1981:8) disputes this claim, arguing that the frequency of particles is not a matter of social status of the speaker, nor does it constitute the difference between spoken and written

1977:302; Lütten 1977:1; Lütten 1979:31). Spoken language, due to its transient and spontaneous nature, is not as frequently recorded and available to analysis as written language, though there is an observable trend toward preparing more and more data from spoken language. Simultaneously, platforms such as YouTube make immense amounts of data available by the minute. We can get an idea of this by comparing the amount of text stored and processed in corpora by the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*: The German Reference Corpus included 42.4 billion tokens of written texts (Cosmas II 2017), while the largest German database of spoken language, the *Datenbank für Gesprochenes Deutsch (DGD)* ‘Database of Spoken German’<sup>12</sup> comprised 9.6 million tokens in its transcribed files in the year of 2017 (DGD 2017)—a ratio of approximately 4,400:1 of written vs. spoken tokens available for analysis.

The complexity of defining ‘particle’ also stems from the fact that their use and inventories vary across languages. This poses challenges for learning a foreign language, translating spoken or written texts, or even establishing cross-linguistically sound functional equivalences of particles. Regarding inventories and use, it can be noted that not every language utilizes particles to the extent to which others do, for example, German, Dutch (and other continental Germanic languages) or Japanese—some languages may resort to other linguistic means such as conjunctions, modes, syntactic variations or intonation patterns to express that which is expressed by

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language, but rather it is only a matter of closeness, that is to say whether the speaker is directly addressing a specific interlocutor or whether the speaker is addressing one or many unspecified addressees (e.g., potential readers) from a temporal and spatial distance. Hentschel acknowledges a difference in distribution between spoken and written language, but also argues that the closeness between interlocutors, the familiarity with the location in which the interlocutors are situated, as well as the frequency of interaction between interlocutors may be factors influencing particle frequency in German (1986:10).

<sup>12</sup> This sketch uses the IDS’s own designations for spoken and written language, as used on their website.



particles (see Waltereit 2006). What it is that particles do is also extensively discussed in the scholarship and will be presented in the sections on classification below. The differences in inventories and use renders them rather impossible to define as a linguistically universal feature, though they may be one of many non-universal, language-specific means of a universal communicative need on the part of all human speakers.

Particles also constitute those parts of speech that are the most difficult to learn for speakers of other languages (see Helbig & Kötz 1981:7), all the while mastering the natural use of particles in a foreign language is considered a sign of near-native proficiency and texts that are artificially stripped of them sound odd to the native informant's ear (Weydt et al. 1983:13; Helbig 1988:13; Franck 1980:18-20). The inter-linguistic difficulties do not stop here: Particles are vexing problems in the translation process—between languages in which the frequency of particle use is high and which have a larger inventory, and those that do not. For example, continental Germanic languages are rich in particles whereas Romance languages are not (Waltereit 2006:ix). In the translation process from a particle-rich to a particle-poor language, it is challenging to find an alternative linguistic feature that conveys what a single German particle conveys, though suggestions have been made what the equivalents of that-which-particles-convey can be. For example, Waltereit (2006) suggests the following linguistic features/strategies to express what the German modal particle *ja* expresses: the particle *quand même* 'nonetheless' in French, prosody in Portuguese, and syntactic right-dislocation in Italian. The converse process is no easier, since translators may have to find a way to 'fill in' particles to render a native-like frequency in the particle-

rich target language texts. As noted earlier, this problem has spurred many scholarly works attempting to identify commonalities across languages.

To illustrate the difference in frequency, counts of particle use in German and French have determined that out of every 100 words used 13 are particles in German and 7 are particles in French (Weydt 1969:4); a particle use ratio of approximately 2:3 for French vs. German. Even with sizable particle inventories in both languages, there is seldom a perfect match between the function of a single particle of Language A and one of Language B. For example, translating German into Japanese is not an easy feat, since a complete correspondence of one particle's function to another's is not automatically given (see Werner 2002). In the same vein, if the frequency of particle use is almost identical, as is the case in German with 13% and Czech with 12.6% (Nekula 1996:89), that does not automatically suggest an ease at finding equivalent particles. Finally, even within a single language, scholars seldom agree on the exact size and makeup of the particle inventory, as will be illustrated further below.

Besides the inter-linguistic troubles that these *Flickwörter* 'patching words' may cause the discerning scholar, native speakers, too, have great difficulty describing what a particle in their respective language 'means' because when we think of 'meaning' we often think of lexical meaning (Helbig 1988:13; 1995:8). Simply paraphrasing or defining a presumed lexical content of a particle, such as one would define the noun 'house', the adjective 'blue', or the verbal infinitive 'to work' is impossible to achieve; their meaning is too opaque and quite different from the 'canonical' parts of speech exemplified above. While native speakers of particle-rich languages use them very frequently, they are not aware of the exact contribution of the particles to their utterances. Nonetheless, as Helbig notes, the particles' intangible meaning should not

lead one to believe that they are unimportant for communication (1988:12-13). We see that particles have posed a challenge to translators, language learners, native speakers, and linguists alike.

With all these ‘complaints’ about the difficulties associated with particles, a counter-weight discussion of their ‘positive’ and intriguing functions is in order. What do speakers *do* when using particles? Particles are said to express essential communicative nuances (Helbig 1988:12), to create a particular conversational ‘climate’ (Weydt et al. 1983:13). They are said to steer a conversation, anchor it within the interactional context, express how interlocutors relate to each other, and which reactions they expect from one another (Helbig 1988:13). By using them, speakers express their views on what is being said or on the communicative situation (Kärnä 1983:85). They modify a statement partially semantically and partially pragmatically (Helbig 1988:24), and the modification as well as the modified element vary according to the suggested particle subclass. The intertwining of particle classifications and their functions is so prevalent and pervasive that it cannot be omitted.

#### **2.4. Extant Particle Classifications**

A matter that lies at the core of and simultaneously constitutes the biggest obstacle to finding an answer to the question ‘What are particles?’ is the wide array of terms and classifications that have been suggested in the past few decades. Particle inventories and classifications, it appears, do not only vary strongly by language, but also by author and scholarly work. The classifications stem from the early goal of defining particles as a closed group that can be the object of scientific investigation and can ideally be distinguished from other word classes by means of features shared only among the members. This notion of a closed group and features that define

particles in terms of what they are not (see section 2.4) is strongly influenced by Structuralist notions in which the linguistic sign is contrasted with other signs by stating what it is not; i.e. its opposition to other signs in the system (see de Saussure 1986:118, 120). In the scholarship on German particles, these small words are frequently—though not always<sup>13</sup>—divided into subgroups including modal particles, focus particle, etc. Terminology for each of these will vary—both in German and when these terms are translated into other languages. Albrecht astutely notes that in the literature on particles, there is no agreement on the inventory nor the use of particles (1977:20), however, at the very least there is agreement on the necessity for a category called ‘particle’ (Werner 1997:8, 9). While this study does not set out to propose a unified model that will solve the complexity of categories and labels once and for all—desirable as that may be—it is necessary to understand that the difficulty of relating even only two concrete particles like *eben* and *gerade* to each other is closely related to the systemic complexity of proposed concepts.

Classifications are most frequently based on morphological, semantic, and syntactic criteria (see Thurmair 1989:7) and each criterion invariably leads to variations in the makeup of the groups. In the following, the discussion is structured according to the traditional labels and sub-structured according to the linguistic dimensions named above.

### 2.4.1. Modal Particles

The first and most prominently discussed subgroup of ‘modal’ particles is referred to as *Modalpartikeln* (in Abraham 1986; Abraham & Leiss 2009; Bastert 1985;

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<sup>13</sup> Dalmas (1990, 1992) who does not further modify the term ‘particle’.

Fabricius-Hansen et al. 2002; Thurmair 1989; Weydt 1977; etc.) or *modale Partikeln* (Krivonosov 1977) in German. It is also the group that is assigned the largest number of additional names. The other very frequent term used is *Abtönungspartikeln* (Dahl 1988a, 1988b; Doehl 2000; Weydt 1969; Burkhardt 1982, 1994; Rombouts 1982; Wolski 1986; Hentschel 1986; Zifonun et al. 1997; Hentschel & Weydt 2003; Engel 2009). The term *Abtönungspartikel* is difficult to translate and used to do the particles' 'nuancing' effect on utterances justice: It was created in analogy to the production of colors, in which gradation of a color by mixing it with white is referred to as *Abtönung* (Müller 2014:5), a 'weakening of the color's intensity'. Müller states that the term is quite misleading, given that not all particles have a 'weakening/attenuating' effect (2014:5).

Less frequently, modal particles are referred to as *Satzpartikeln* 'sentence particles' (Hartmann 1975:233; Asbach-Schnitker 1975; 1977; Helbig 1988:28), *emotional-expressive Partikeln* 'emotional-expressive particles' (Erben 1973), *Einstellungspartikeln* 'attitude particles' (Doherty 1985), *kommunikative Partikeln* 'communicative particles' (Rath 1975), *illokutive Partikeln* 'illocutive particles' (Helbig & Kötz 1981), *Existimatoren* (Diewald 2007:118), or *Verknüpfungspartikeln* 'connecting particles' (Becker 1976:6). The group of modal particles is frequently considered a subset of discourse particles<sup>14</sup> which is said to be less universal and more specific to individual languages (Waltereit 2006:3).

The most notable terminological competition exists between the terms *Modalpartikel* and *Abtönungspartikel*, though additional relationships also emerge

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<sup>14</sup> The terms and concepts 'discourse particles' and 'discourse markers' will not be further pursued, as this study focuses on the particles of the German language only, not cross-linguistic universals. For further insights on discourse particles, the reader is referred to Abraham (2017:242), and Waltereit (2006:3-7); see also Fischer & Drescher (1996); and Fischer (1998; 2000; 2006; 2007).

when perusing the scholarship: Some scholars use the terms synonymously, as noted in Waltereit (2006:1). Waltereit himself treats *Modalpartikeln* as subset of *Abtönungspartikeln* and the latter in turn functionally as a subset of *Abtönungsformen*, and formally a subset of discourse particles (2006:18). Not all scholars agree to the latter sub-classification (see Fraser 1999, Hansen 1998) on the grounds that *Abtönungspartikeln*, in contrast to discourse particles, are language-bound rather than universal. Generally, the question whether modal particles and discourse markers should be treated as one category, several categories, or as ordered hierarchically to each other is still highly controversial (see Diewald 2013:19-20).

The labels presented above are associated with morphological, syntactic, and semantic features attributed to the particles.<sup>15</sup> Depending on the features that scholars suggest for the group, the sizes of inventories vary. Some scholars have argued that modal particles are a subclass of adverbs (see Abraham 1991; Jacobs 1991; Zimmermann 2004), others, such as Struckmeier (2014), have argued against this sub-classification. As we will see below, the result of varying inventories and sets of characteristics is less a homogeneous, closed system of particles than a ‘spectrum’ of words in which core (‘prototypical’) members display more of the suggested characteristics and peripheral members less. An overview of the features that have been suggested in a selection of frequently cited works is presented in the following table:

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<sup>15</sup> Schlieben-Lange (1979:307) has even sub-classified particles based on dialect, according to the area in which they are used: She investigated particles of the ‘Munich urban dialect’ which she considers constitutive of a ‘small paradigm’ among particles. See also Klotz (2003), and Blume (1988) on the northern German particle *man*.

Table 1 - Features Suggested for Modal Particles in German Scholarship (Selection)

Suggested Particle Feature / Work	Hentschel (1986)	Weydt (1969)	Krivonosov (1977)	Lütten (1977)	Helbig & Helbig (1995)	Meibauer (1994)	Brünjes (2014)	Gutzman (2010)	Thurmair (1989)	Abraham (1991a; 2017)
uninflecting		x	x		x	<b>x</b> <sup>16</sup>		x	x	x
morphological brevity				x						
express meaning of one referent (vs. conjunctions)			x		x					
unstressed (with exceptions) <sup>17</sup>	x		x	x				x <sup>18</sup>	x	
optional					x	x		x	x	
wide scope (= sentence)					x	x		x	x	
cannot be coordinated (with <i>und</i> )						x		x		
can be combined						<b>x</b>		x	x	
cannot be asked for <sup>19</sup>		x	x		x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x	x

<sup>16</sup> Meibauer (1994:30) judges the boldface features to be ‘uncontroversial’ and the others as ‘problematic’ (31).

<sup>17</sup> Scholars have taken either of two approaches toward stressed particles: either those elements that can be stressed should be excluded from the particle category or there is a rule-based distribution between stressed and unstressed particles, in which case stress-bearing items are not excluded from the category (see Doherty 1985 66-72; Meibauer 1994:118-119; Thurmair 1989:110-111; see also Kwon 2005:86-87 on *doch*). There is no consensus on this matter. At any rate, a distinction from focus particle solely based on stress is impossible.

<sup>18</sup> Gutzmann specifies the exceptions by asserting that modal particles can merely not bear the primary (= sentential) stress (2010:2).

<sup>19</sup> For example, in a question reacting to the statement *Es ist eben Sommer* ‘It is *eben* summer’, the particle cannot be the target of a content question such as *Wie ist es Sommer?* ‘How is it summer?’ - *\*(Es ist) eben (Sommer)*. ‘(It is) *eben* (summer).’ The only manner in which modal particles can become the targets of questions is if metadiscursive questions are asked, for example, *Was ist das Wort, das du zwischen ‘ist’ und ‘Sommer’ benutzt hast?* ‘What is the word you used between ‘is’ and ‘summer?’

cannot be modified or expanded						X		X		
cannot be negated			X		X	X	X	X	X	
dependence on sentence type	X					X		X		
modify illocution									X	
occur only in syntactic middle field				(x) <sup>20</sup>		(x) <sup>21</sup>		X	X	X
occur between theme and rheme / precede rheme			X			X		X	X	X
contact position to verb, intonatory unit				X						
not truth-conditional <sup>22</sup>					X		X	X	X	X
not sentence equivalents / single-word utterances			X		X					X

<sup>20</sup> In Lütten this is generalized as ‘positional restrictions and accordingly distributional characteristics’ (1977:169).

<sup>21</sup> Meibauer (1994:29) specifies this and argues that modal particles cannot stand in the syntactic front field by themselves but that they can occur in the syntactic front field in content questions when attached to the question word he also states that they cannot occur in the syntactic postfield. Nonetheless, he states that this criterion is the most important in distinguishing modal particles from other word classes (32). If one considers it possible for modal particles to be able to appear in the front field that one feature less to distinguish them from focus particles.

<sup>22</sup> Non-truth-conditionality means that a modal particle added to a sentence will not change a speaker’s evaluation of that sentence as true or false based on observation. For example, saying *Im Sommer schneit es nie* ‘It never snows in the summer’ can be evaluated as true by a speaker if s/he makes the observation that there is indeed never snow in the summer, and can be evaluated as false, if s/he observes that there is after all snow in the summer. Adding *eben* does not change these truth conditions in the resulting sentence *Sommer schneit es eben nie* ‘It never *eben* snows in the summer’, whereas replacing *Sommer* with *Winter* would change the truth conditions of the resulting sentence based on the identical extralinguistic observations above.



not independent syntactic elements			x		x	x			x	
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Though some slots are empty, that does not mean that scholars necessarily disagree with the feature (unless indicated in a footnote). Rather, it means they have not expressly mentioned such features. Even so, the table illustrates a tremendous variation in the number of features that scholars have found worthy of considering as defining characteristics of particles. The variation depends on scholars' particular investigations, their affiliations with each other, and gained insights and refinements of characteristics over time. The problem is that the features that are the most widely applicable to particles will invariably also include non-particle word classes, and those that are less generally applicable exclude units that are typically considered particles.

In some cases, the variation is also due to a possible hierarchical ordering of features which are dependent on each other. For example, if modal particles are not considered independent syntactic elements (*satzgliedwertig*), this feature is hierarchically superordinate to and explains several other features in one stroke: they cannot be asked for, negated, modified or expanded (e.g., with intensifiers like *sehr* 'very'), or coordinated. The lack of negatability distinguishes modal particles from some (though not all) focus particles (see Poljakova 2000 on *sondern*).

The most agreed-upon feature, it appears, is the fact that modal particles are uninflecting, although this feature also casts the widest net, which results in the category including junctors (conjunctions, subjunctions, adjunctors), adverbs, prepositions and numerals (Zifonun et al. 1997:56). It is therefore the next logical task of most scholars to distinguish the particles from these other uninflecting word

classes. Prepositions, numerals, and adverbs have a concrete lexical meaning, modal particles do not, which distinguishes them from these and other traditional word groups, and affiliates them more closely with conjunctions, prepositions, or articles. To create a further distinction from conjunctions, modal particles are said to associate with only one referent (= sentence) rather than linking two or more. Some authors refer to particles as *Synsemantika* 'synsemantics' as opposed to *Autosemantika* 'autosemantics' because of their lack of lexical meaning (see Krivonosov 1977:242; Lütten:1977:26-27; Brausse 1988a, 1994; Abraham 1991:5;). This also explains why the majority of characteristics above are expressed in negative terms: particles are contrasted with traditional parts of speech, which renders explanations of what particles are not and what they do not or cannot do.

Modal particles can be further distinguished from conjunctions, and also from adverbs if one accepts that they cannot stand in the syntactic front field<sup>23</sup> by themselves (Meibauer 1994:35). Scholars do not agree on this (see Weydt 1969:67 vs. Thurmair 1989:26). If accepted, this feature must be taken with a grain of salt, because some particles can in fact be positioned preceding the conjugated verb in second place in a main clause, but with a change in meaning. This has led to a subdivision into a Group A, the 'true *Abtönungspartikeln*', which cannot do this without a change in meaning, that is, an interpretation of the lexeme in first position as a different kind of particle or word type, and a Group B, *abtönungsfähige Partikeln*, which can precede the

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<sup>23</sup> According to the topological field model (see Wöllstein 2010), the syntactic middle field in German is the area between the position occupied by the conjugated verb in second place (V2) and its uninflected verbal complements (such as participles, infinitives, etc.) in a main clause. The former constitutes the *linke Satzklammer* 'left bracket' and the latter the *rechte Satzklammer* 'right bracket'. The left and right sentence bracket create the verbal frame (*Satzrahmen, Satzklammer*). Elements preceding V2 are positioned in the front field or prefield, *Vorfeld*, elements following the right sentence bracket are located in the postfield (*Nachfeld*).

finite V2 without a change in meaning (Hentschel 1983:46; Helbig 1988:26). A resulting generalization states that modal particles can be positioned quite flexibly in the syntactic middle field.

It is also claimed that modal particles cannot occur as isolated utterances or sentence-initially. This feature is violated by the modal particle *eben* and ‘solved’ yet again by assigning *eben* to the group of ‘reply particles’ (*Antwortpartikeln*) in addition (see sections 4.6 and 4.7).

In order to balance out the ‘negative’ and primarily syntactic features above, we will next turn to the ‘positive’ features, which coincide strongly with the—no less challenging—semantic descriptions of particles that have been undertaken. Scholars have frequently related the modal particle functions to any of the following ‘entities’ in a discourse situation: the speaker, the hearer, the subject matter uttered, and the communicative situation in which speaker and hearer are situated.

The modal particles’ proposed functions are to express the speaker’s evaluation of (Dalmas 1992; Lütten 1977:168), or attitude toward, what s/he says (see Weydt 1969:68; Dahl 1988a, 1988b; Meibauer 1994:11; Autenrieth 2002). The speaker’s attitude toward what is said is considered one type of expressing modality, which is why they are referred to as modal particles. Other types of expressions include modal verbs, sentence adverbs, intonation, etc. Krivonosov states that in spoken language, intonation and modal particles are expressions of subjective-modal meaning, but that particles are an additional and synsemantic means contributing to this expression (1977:309). He further states that intonation as an expression of subjective-modal meaning does not have to be as precise or ‘convincing’ when modal particles are

present (309).<sup>24</sup> Palmer discusses a mere five German modal particles—*ja*, *doch*, *denn*, *schon*, and *wohl*—and argues that they appear to be “comments on the proposition rather than opinions about it” (1986:46).

Modal particles are also said to integrate an utterance into the communicative situation, organize a dialog (see Thurmair 1989:18-19; Willkop 1988), make the dialog coherent (Aijmer 1996:422), or modify the speech act (see Koch & Oesterreicher 1990; Jacobs 1991; Lindner 1991). They can conjoin sentences to form larger texts or relate the utterance to the larger situational context (Franck 1980; Koch & Oesterreicher 1990; König/Requardt 1990; Fischer 2000), signal a speaker’s view of the addressee(s), such as shared beliefs or anticipated (Helbig & Helbig 1995:10),<sup>25</sup> or a speaker’s and a hearer’s relationship (Hinrichs 1983:274-275). They can also affect politeness (Held 2003; Klotz 2003; Duch-Adamczyk & Pozlewicz 2012). In summary, these ‘positive’ suggestions state that particles convey something about the speaker, or the speaker-hearer-relationship, or the speaker’s assumption about the hearer, or the speaker’s attitude toward an utterance, or about the relationship between utterance and the surrounding context, or even affect the surrounding context.

Waltereit notes that there is a considerable discrepancy in specificity between the formal (syntactic) and functional (semantic/pragmatic) attributes of modal

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<sup>24</sup> Krivonosov does not explicitly refer to it but this characteristic appears to be explainable by the principle of economy of effort (see Chapter 3): If there are several signals expressing the subjective-modal meaning, then their combined hints to the hearer add up which renders a high precision of one of them less necessary. Van Heuven makes an analogous observation of the ‘optionality’ of intonation when there is a co-occurrence of phonological markers and lexico-syntactic means indicating sentence types in Dutch (2017:28-29).

<sup>25</sup> Helbig (1988) also provides a detailed overview of the pragmatic functions that have been posited for modal particles in the relevant literature. Functions include expressing attitude, regulating attitude, defining situations, indicating or modifying illocutions, steering conversations or having interaction-strategic functions (56-63).

particles: While the formal ones are very specific to particular languages, which renders particles typical for such languages, the semantic/pragmatic ones are not particular to any languages nor even to the word type 'particle' (2006:2-3).

To summarize this section on features, the elusive particles, actually difficult to pin down in terms of tangible lexical, morphological, or syntactic features, become true multitaskers when it comes to their communicative effects. Unfortunately, neither their negatively articulated syntactic features nor their all-encompassing communicative effects are helpful for a concise understanding and not least because they vary from scholar to scholar. As far as the members of this group are concerned, variations will naturally occur as the result of the different posited features (and accommodated violations) above. In Table 2 below, a selection of the different membership rulings by scholar is presented. The 'x' markings indicate membership, empty spaces non-membership.

Table 2 - Overview of Membership in 'Modal Particle' Category by Author (Selection)

Included as Modal Particle / Work	Pasch et al. (2003)	Hartmann (1998)	Brünjes (2014)	König (1997)	Weydt (1969)	Krivonosov (1977)	Lütten (1977)	Helbig (1988:36)	Hentschel (1986)	Zifonun et al. (1997:1209)
<i>aber</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b> <sup>26</sup>	x	<b>x</b> <sup>27</sup>	x	x	<b>x</b> <sup>28</sup>
<i>ach</i>							x			
<i>also</i>						x	<b>x</b>			
<i>auch</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>bloß</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>da</i>							x			
<i>dabei</i>							x			
<i>denn</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>doch</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>eben</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>eh</i>										x
<i>eigentlich</i>		x	x	x	<b>x</b>		x		x	x
<i>einfach</i>	x	x	(x)	x	<b>x</b>		x	x	x	x
<i>erst</i>		x	(x)	x		x	x		x	x
<i>etwa</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>fein</i>			(x)							
<i>freilich</i>							x			
<i>ganz</i>			(x)							
<i>gerade</i>			(x)		x	NO	x			
<i>glatt</i>			(x)							
<i>gleich</i>			(x)							
<i>halt</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>ja</i>	x	x	x	x	<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>(ein)mal</i>	x	x	x		<b>x</b>	x	<b>x</b>	x	x	x
<i>man</i>										x
<i>nämlich</i>							x			
<i>nicht</i>						x	x			x

<sup>26</sup> Weydt refers to the particles in boldface as the 'important' particles (1969:25), for which he analyses the distribution.

<sup>27</sup> Lütten (1977) conducts a 'meta-study' of Krivonosov, Weydt, Arndt and Schwanzer and compiles a list of *partikelfähige Wörter* 'words that are able to be particles' (179). The particles marked in boldface are those that most of the authors approve of (180); those in regular font are only mentioned by one author each (181).

<sup>28</sup> Burkhardt (2001:56) adds the following items to Zifonun et al.'s (1997) list: *schließlich, schlicht, irgendwie, natürlich, allerdings, freilich, dabei, immerhin, natürlich, zufällig, langsam, gleich, hübsch, übrigens, so, sowieso, gefälltig, fein, and jetzt.*

<i>noch</i>						X	X			
<i>nun</i>		X				X	X			
<i>nun mal</i>				X			X			
<i>nur</i>	X			X	X	X	X		X	X
<i>richtig</i>							X			
<i>ruhig</i>		X	(X)		X		X		X	X
<i>schon</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
<i>so</i>							X			
<i>sogar</i>							X			
<i>überhaupt</i>										X
<i>vielleicht</i>	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X
<i>wieder</i>			(X)							
<i>wohl</i>		X	X	X	X		X		X	X

The parentheses around the ‘x’s for some particles in the Brünjes (2014) column indicate that she considers them to be peripheral members, whereas particles without parentheses are considered core members. By peripheral she means that the items’ particle function is not as far advanced as that of core members (2014:84), thus adding a diachronic perspective and the notion of a functional cline. We see above that the membership varies greatly by author. This is a result of the applicability of the features suggested by the authors further above and also of the consideration of these features as mandatory for the particle class.

While there is no denying that the particles’ features are difficult to pinpoint and impossible to generalize, the varying approaches to observed violations of posited features—either by casting items out of the particle group, or creating subcategories, or even positing functional clines and advances in the development of particle functions—has done little to deepen the understanding of this word class. We observe a similar variation in the labels, features, and membership of the focus particle subclass presented below.

### 2.4.2. Focus Particles

The group of focus particles, which is the second most frequently researched group, also carries a variety of names: They are referred to as *Fokuspartikeln* ‘focus particles’ (König 1991a, b; Dimroth 2004; Sudhoff 2010), *Gradpartikeln* ‘degree particles’ (Altmann 1976, 1978; Jacobs 1983) and *Rangierpartikeln* ‘ranking/switching particles’ (Clément & Thümmel 1975:83)—each term highlighting a specific quality of the particles, which Dimroth (2004:12) summarizes: as *Fokuspartikeln*, their interaction with the information structure of an utterance is highlighted, as *Rangierpartikeln*, their ability to be placed in a variety of positions within the sentence is emphasized (see also Altmann 1976:1), and as *Gradpartikeln*, their ability to imply a ranking of possible candidates is emphasized. Each author focuses on a specific linguistic dimension when assigning these labels, be it information-structural, syntactic, or communicative. Pozlewicz (2011) uses the term *Operatorpartikeln* ‘operator particles’. These different labels do not necessarily apply to the same groups. For example, König’s group of *Fokuspartikeln* is larger than Altmann’s group of *Gradpartikeln*, as Table 4 below illustrates. The two German terms are even used in relation to each other: Poljakova (2000) uses the term *Fokuspartikeln* as umbrella term and *Gradpartikeln* as a sub-classification of the former, specifically including members such as *sogar* ‘even’. She argues that the members she determines for the subgroup *Gradpartikeln* are not suited to bear the sentence accent and can also not be in the scope of a negation particle.

Thus, several terms exist next to each other without being congruent or used in a consistent manner. As with the group of modal particles, we are again confronted with a variation of group size, labels, and group relationships that are primarily



tailored toward complementing a particular aspect of a study or a characteristic of the focus particle that is to be examined and only secondarily to create order. The result is a kaleidoscope of terms and concepts with variable relationships to another (depending on author and/or work), which, we argue, has been an obstacle to a more comprehensive understanding of particles.

What is more, the same authors that use one term may also use another, depending on the work. For example, besides *Fokuspartikeln*, König also refers to them as *logisch-inhaltliche Partikeln* 'logical-content-related particles' in his German work (1977a:115), and 'logical' or 'scalar' particles in an English contribution (König 1981b:107). The terms 'logical particles' and 'scalar particles' are reflective of scholars' claims that unlike modal particles, focus particles have a semantic meaning and can also affect a constituent (*Fokuskonstituente*) that is smaller than the sentence rather than to the entire sentence (Helbig 1988:37; 1995:10). Additionally, the English term 'scope particle' highlights the particles' influence on a particular area within a sentence (Dimroth 2004:12).

As with modal particles, we find a number of additional sub-classifications beside the one established by Poljakova (2000) with regard to *Grad-* and *Fokuspartikeln*. König subclassifies focus particles as 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' (1977b:68; 1981:107), that is, particles that include other hypothetical values into a consideration for the completion of a sentence and those that exclude other values from consideration. Poljakova classifies *Fokuspartikeln* and *Gradpartikeln* into 'additive', 'restrictive'<sup>29</sup>, and 'scalar' particles (2000:n.p.). Altmann initially subclassifies

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<sup>29</sup> She uses the German particle *nur* 'only' as an example of a restrictive particle, which König counts among the group of 'exclusive' particles.

*Gradpartikeln* into ‘quantifying’ and ‘scalar’ particles (1976:1; see also Rombouts 1982:81; Helbig 1988:44). These subclassifications will be briefly addressed below.

Degree particles of the quantifying group create a quantifying relationship between the extant constituent and hypothetical alternative constituents of the same type. For example, in the sentence *Auch Schokoladeneis schmeckt gut* ‘Chocolate ice-cream, too, tastes good’, the focus particle *auch* ‘too’ indicates that the statement at hand is true as much as an equivalent statement differing from the one at hand just in the constituent of the focus particle, namely the ice-cream flavor. The resulting implication is that the statement ‘x tastes good’ is equally true for the flavor vanilla. The scaling group of degree particles assigns the constituent a rank on a scale in relation to other hypothetical constituents and gives information on the direction of the scale.<sup>30</sup> In the sentence *Sogar Schokoladeneis schmeckt gut* ‘Even chocolate ice-cream tastes good’, the focus particle *sogar* ‘even’ indicates that the statement at hand is true, but that an equivalent statement differing from the one at hand only in the constituent of the focus particle (the ice-cream flavor) is more likely to be true and that the constituent ‘chocolate ice-cream’ occupies a low rank on the scale of great-tasting ice-cream flavors. This means that *sogar* indicates that the scale is oriented upward.

The according group memberships in the quantifying and scalar subgroups do not always have to be mutually exclusive. Jacobs (1983:7) addresses this overlap with his example *Luise war im Urlaub nur in Spanien* ‘Luise was only in Spain during her holidays’ in which *nur* ‘only’ can implicate the quantifying interpretation that Luise

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<sup>30</sup> Poljakova (2000) explains how scales can be objective, subjective, and context-dependent.

was in no other country besides Spain or the scaling interpretation that Spain is a rather ordinary destination compared to other countries.

Like in the previous section, a table summarizes the features expressly mentioned in the definitions of ‘focus’ particles:

Table 3 - Features Suggested for Focus Particles in German Scholarship (Selection)

Work / Suggested Particle Feature	Helbig (1988)	Altmann (1978)	Jacobs (1983)	König (1989)	Dimroth (2004)	Zifonun et al. (1997)
can be stressed						
refer to a smaller-than-sentence constituent	x			x		
can be embedded in a phrase		x	x			
primarily logical/semantic function	x			x		x
not truth-conditional	x					
add scalar interpretation	(x)	(x)				
no restrictions concerning speech act or sentence type	x	x	x			
similar to negation particle (syntax, scope)	x		x		x	
variable syntactic relationships with one constituent	x	x	x	x		x
constituent can carry sentential stress	x		x	x	x	x
variable syntactic position; sentence-initial position possible (with constituent)	x		x	x		(x) <sup>31</sup>

As was the case for modal particles, an empty slot does not automatically indicate that the author disagrees with a feature but rather that it is not explicitly mentioned and therefore no comment can be made regarding the author’s position in the matter. We

<sup>31</sup> Zifonun et al. consider *noch* and *schon* exceptions and state that they can occupy the front field by themselves (1997:57).

can infer from the table above that there are some aspects that focus and modal particles share, for example, that they do not change the truth conditions of a statement, that they are somewhat flexible with regard to their syntactic position, and that they occur across sentence and/or illocution types. Comparing the features with those posited for modal particles, we do have to take note, however, that some of them are equally not generalizable. For example, the fact that focus particles can bear the sentential stress does not completely distinguish them from modal particles because, as was previously discussed, some modal particles can be stressed (with or without a change in meaning). The same applies to the possibility of occupying the sentence-initial position—some modal particles, it is argued, can indeed occupy the sentence-initial position, therefore this feature does not distinguish one kind of particle from the other with certainty.

One of the most frequently mentioned and most widely agreed-upon differences between the two particle types is the size of the constituent, which is typically smaller than a sentence in the case of focus particles.

Depending on whether they accept the varying characteristics above, different authors include different particles among the focus particle category, as is illustrated by the following table:

Table 4 - Overview of Membership in 'Focus Particle' Category by Author (Selection)

Works / Focus Particle Members	Altmann (1978:7)	Jacobs (1983:2; 240)	Helbig (1988)	König (1991a:15)	Zifonun et al. (1997)
<i>allein</i>	x			x	x
<i>annähernd</i>			x		
<i>auch</i>	x	x			

<i>auch nur</i>				X	
<i>ausgerechnet</i>	X	(X)		X	X
<i>ausschließlich</i>	X	X		X	
<i>beinahe</i>			X		
<i>bereits</i>				X	X
<i>besonders</i>				X	Int
<i>bloß</i>	X	X		X	X
<i>circa</i>					X
<i>eben</i>	X	(X)		X	
<i>ebenfalls</i>	X			X	
<i>ebenso</i>	X				
<i>einzig (und allein)</i>	X			X	X
<i>erst</i>				X	
<i>fast</i>			X		X
<i>ferner</i>	X				
<i>gar</i>				X	
<i>genau</i>	X	(X)		X	
<i>gerade</i>	X	(X)		X	
<i>geschweige denn</i>				X	
<i>gleich</i>				X	
<i>gleichermaßen</i>					
<i>gleichfalls</i>	X			X	
<i>höchstens</i>					X
<i>insbesondere</i>	X	(X)		X	
<i>lediglich</i>	X	X		X	X
<i>mindestens</i>					
<i>nahezu</i>			X		X
<i>nicht</i>		X			
<i>(nicht) einmal</i>	X			X	X
<i>noch</i>				X	X
<i>nur</i>	X	X		X	X
<i>rein</i>			X		
<i>schon</i>				X	X
<i>selbst</i>	X	X		X	
<i>sogar</i>	X	X		X	X
<i>ungefähr</i>			X		
<i>vor allem</i>	X	(X)		X	X
<i>wenigstens</i>	X	(X)		X	
<i>ziemlich</i>			X		Int
<i>zumal</i>				X	
<i>zumindest</i>	X	(X)		X	

We can discern from Table 4 above that König's list is the most extensive of those presented. He even states that the group of focus particles comprises "at least" the

members in the table (1991a:15). Naturally, alongside such a variation in membership there are also arguments justifying why some of the members are counted and others are not. Jacobs (1983) provides only a non-exhaustive list, so no statement can be made about whether or not those particles not marked by an 'x' are included. However, he does make a distinction among those that are expressly included in the list: Jacobs strongly considers some members of Altmann's *gerade* group (*gerade, genau, eben, ausgerechnet, vor allem, insbesondere, wenigstens, zumindest, noch, schon*) not to be counted as members of *Gradpartikeln* but rather expressions that mark the 'relevance focus' (1983:240) of other expressions. He expresses his doubts that his Montague-based analysis can be applied to this group. Their questionable membership is indicated by parentheses. Zifonun et al consider some particles *Intensitätspartikel* 'intensity particle' (1997:56), indicated by 'Int'. Pasch et al. (2003) do not agree with Helbig's (1988) inclusion of the focus particles *annähernd, beinahe, fast, nahezu, rein, ungefähr, ziemlich*. They refer to them as 'quantifying-qualifying units' and, like Zifonun et al. (1997), count them among the *Intensitätspartikeln* since they can only combine with adjectives and adverbs, not with nominal phrases.

It becomes apparent that each time a new term and a new group of particles with a set of specific characteristics is established, exceptions, additions, and relativizations must be made, which calls into question the usefulness of the labeling and classification endeavor. Given the variety of classifications, subclassifications, and characteristics, some inconsistencies are bound to emerge. The particles *eben* and *gerade* illustrate these inconsistencies: Helbig (1988) assigns both *eben* and *gerade* to the quantifying group of focus particles (1988:44). By contrast, Altmann takes the initial taxonomy of *Gradpartikeln* one step further and subdivides the subclass of

scalar particles into four groups, the *nur*-, *auch*-, *sogar*-, and *gerade*-Gruppe (including *gerade* and *eben*), named after one respective focus particle representative of its subgroup (1978:7). Altmann's approach is discussed in more detail in section 2.5, where we focus on the relationship he suggests for *eben* and *gerade*. This labeling of *eben* and *gerade* as quantifying (or scalar) focus particles in turn stands counter to König's suggestion that *eben* is an exclusive particle (see section 2.5.2), a particle that excludes other values from consideration entirely. Helbig does not appear to be bothered by the irreconcilability between the suggestion that *eben* and *gerade* allow for an interpretation that quantifies a selected constituent in relation to another and the suggestion that at least *eben* excludes other values because he refers to König's (1977b, 1981b) suggestion of an exclusive label for *eben* himself (see 1988:45). Even more confusing, in a joint work with Buscha, Helbig makes a 180 degree turn and subsumes both *eben* and *gerade* among the subclass of highlighting-exclusive degree particles (2013:423).

We will continue to use the term 'focus particle'. The choice is unrelated to the investigations into the relationship of focus particles and information structure which argue that focus particles frequently have the focus/rheme/comment as their constituent. Rather, it is the most frequently used term to designate such particles that mark a constituent usually smaller than a sentence and signal to a hearer to 'focus' in the sense of 'concentrate', and are a lexical means to signal "the center of the speaker's interest" (Kirsner 1983:241). We make no judgments as to any additional members of the focus particle group.

With the respective labels and features of the two largest particle groups covered, we turn to the most notable difference between them: The typically smaller

size of the constituent. It is necessary to distinguish three different notions that relate the focus particle to its smaller-than-sentence constituent. Those notions include ‘focus’, ‘scope’ as well as the ‘syntactic’ and the ‘semantic area’. Unfortunately, this terminology, too, has been subject to some idiosyncrasies and disagreements as we will see below.

Jacobs’s (1983) treatment of the four notions is very systematic and frequently cited. The following passages will rely on his work as a foundation and relate other scholars’ concepts and designations to it. Jacobs defines the syntactic area as those elements that are c-commanded<sup>32</sup> by the focus particle (1983:8). That means the elements are located within the syntactic area of a tree diagram that, viewed from the bottom, is dominated by the same node as the focus particle (ibd.). Frequently, that means that the phrase that is the syntactic area of the focus particle is ‘introduced’ by it (1983:123). Jacobs defines the semantic area, or ‘scope’ (the term is also used by Meibauer 1994:40 and König 1991a, b), as the part of the sentence that is relevant for the representation of the meaning contribution of the particle (1983:10); that part of the sentence with which the focus particle associates more closely than other elements (1983:11). Poljakova (2000) calls the semantic area *Fokusdomäne* ‘focus domain’. Jacobs defines the focus of the focus particle as the element within the scope that is highlighted by accent and is “semantisch besonders betroffen” ‘semantically particularly affected’ (1983:10; see also Meibauer 1994:38-39). In rough terms, the semantic area is that which is semantically affected by the focus particle—or at the very least more affected than any other element in the rest of the sentence and

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<sup>32</sup> Jacobs draw on Chomsky’s Extended Standard Theory and develops a Montague Grammar as a formal analysis of the syntax and semantics of the three representative degree particles *nur*, *auch*, and *sogar*.



describes the ‘perimeter’ within which the focus particle can take effect. The focus is that element within the semantic area which is particularly affected and signifies an entity that is related to other, presupposed<sup>33</sup> entities of the same semantic type that may be invoked in a certain way depending on the meaning of the particle (1983:239). Dimroth calls the focus ‘constituent’ (*Bezugskonstituente*) and states that it can only be determined through the context (2004:9). Altmann idiosyncratically and singularly refers to the focus as ‘scope’ (1976).

Means to determine the scope of the focus particle are the particle’s position, the position of sentence accent, or constructing a continuation of the sentence with a contrasting sentence (i.e. the context that Dimroth mentions), but neither of these in isolation is sufficient (Helbig 1988:43). The various prosodic and syntactic manners in which the focus particle and its constituent interact are presented in detail in Pasch et al. (2003:577-578). The challenges of determining the limits of the scope are discussed in Poljakova (2000). In most instances, the particle is not accented and precedes its constituent (see also Jacobs 1983:5; Altmann 1978:22) though there are exceptions. For example, in the sentences taken from Jacobs (1983:6), the semantic area is all that is encompassed by square parentheses—our perimeter of potential action—, whereas the focus is that element within the semantic area that is accented, indicated by the capitalization on the primary syllable.

- (2) Luise zeigte der Polizei nur [ein Bild von PEter].
- (3) Luise zeigte der Polizei nur [ein BILD von Peter].

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<sup>33</sup> ‘Presupposed’ is understood here as ‘tacitly assumed beforehand’.

In both sentence (2) and (3), the scope of the focus particle *nur* ‘only’ is [ein Bild von Peter]. In sentence (2), the focus of *nur* is *Peter*, and in sentence (3), the focus of *nur* is *Bild*. This can be tested with continuations. In (2) and acceptable continuation is *kein Bild von Anton* ‘no picture of Anton’. We see that *nur* has an effect on *Peter*; it relates Peter to a different hypothetical entity that is semantically similar or a member of the same set—in this instance, an individual by the name of Anton. In sentence (3), the only acceptable continuation would be a phrase such as *nicht sein Zimmer* ‘not his [Peter’s] room’, a hypothetical entity related to *Bild*, by virtue of being another entity within the set of things that belong to Peter.

### 2.4.3. Additional Classifications

Apart from modal and focus particles, which constitute the two most well-researched groups, there is a variety of additional groups and/or labels that should not go unmentioned in the following non-exhaustive discussion. Briefly mentioning them further illustrates the complexity of classifications and memberships, as some authors create groups hierarchically with respect to each other, and single particles are assigned varying numbers of memberships depending on the author. The additional groups include: *Steigerungspartikeln* ‘increasing particles’/*Gradmodifikatoren* ‘degree modifiers’ like *außerordentlich* ‘extraordinary’, *weitaus* ‘by far’, etc. in Helbig (1988:29) and Thurmair (1989:16-17); they are also referred to as *Intensivpartikeln* ‘intensive particles’ in Nekula (1996:3) and *graduierende Partikeln* ‘calibrating particles’ in Schmidt (1985:241). Helbig & Buscha subdivide this category into *Intensifikatoren* ‘intensifiers’ which strengthen a characteristic, like *äußerst* ‘extremely’ or *sehr* ‘very’ and *De-Intensifikatoren* ‘de-intensifiers’ which weaken a characteristic, like *ziemlich*

'quite' or *fast* 'almost', and some members which can do both depending on the context like *ganz* 'completely/quite' (2013:423-424).

Asbach-Schnitker (1977) considers *wohl* a *Satzpartikel* 'sentence particle' which is not to be confused with sentence equivalents. In addition, there are *Vergleichspartikeln* 'comparing particles' such as *als* 'than', *wie* 'as', which are also frequently categorized as conjunctions or prepositions (see Kwon 2005:1; Helbig 1988:29; 1995:10). The latter categorization is contested and brought about the particle category to begin with. Helbig & Buscha consider them *Adjunktionen* 'adjunctions', that is, connecting words (2013:424).

The small set of *Antwortpartikeln* 'reply particles' also referred to as *Satzpartikeln* 'sentence particles'<sup>34</sup> (see Helbig & Buscha 2013:424) such as *eben*, *schon*, *doch*, *ja*, *nein*, *genau*, are related to modal particles. The necessity to establish them as a separate category is based on some specific characteristics only they display, such as being able to be uttered in isolation as a reply to a previous utterance (Helbig 1988:49). Thurmair (1989:18-19), in accordance with Willkop (1988), refers to *Antwortpartikeln* as *Gliederungspartikeln* 'structuring particles' for their dialog-structuring (or 'steering') function and the fact that they constitute reactions rather than replies to questions. Duden uses the similar term *Gliederungs- und Rückmeldungssignale* 'structuring and feedback signals', which, together with *Antwortpartikeln* 'reply particles' are considered are part of the superordinate group of *Gesprächspartikeln* 'conversation particles' (1995:372). Some authors resolve this by further subdividing reply particles by means of the type of prior contribution to which they constitute acceptable follow-ups: One subgroup can be used to answer Yes/No-questions, the other subgroup,

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<sup>34</sup> This term *Satzpartikeln* describes different particles from Asbach-Schnitker's term above.

including *eben*, is only acceptable as a reaction to a previous statement (see Helbig & Buscha 2013:424).

*Negationspartikeln* ‘negation particles’, which are often related to *Gradpartikeln* (Helbig 1988:49; Jacobs 1983:20; 244), are also subject to classification difficulties. This subgroup often includes inflecting words like *kein-* ‘no’ or *niemand-* ‘no one’, though inflection is accepted as the paradigm feature of particles. Regardless, Clement/Thümmel argue that at least the local negation—which is accomplished by the inflecting negated indefinite article *kein-* and by a *Sondernegation* with *nicht* ‘not’—should be counted among the functions of *Gradpartikeln* (1975:135-137) due to their smaller-than-sentence scope.

Further, there is the singular *Infinitivpartikel* ‘infinitive particle’ *zu* ‘to’ whose sole function is forming the grammatical ‘*zu*-infinitive’ construction in German. As such it does not convey anything about a speaker’s attitude or the communicative situation (see section 2.1) nor does it modify the sentence semantically. It is also not optional like many other particles, as its elimination renders ungrammatical sentences.

*Interjektionspartikeln* ‘interjection particles’ or simply *Interjektionen* ‘interjections’ such as *ah!*, *nanu!*, are added by Helbig (1988) and Hentschel & Weydt (2003), though Helbig subsequently labels them *scheinbare Partikeln* ‘ostensible particles’ (Helbig & Buscha 2013:424), arguing that they are sentence equivalents rather than particles because they cannot be syntactically integrated.

Brausse (1987:110) adds the categories *Temporalpartikel* ‘temporal particle’ or *temporale Gradpartikel* ‘temporal degree particle’ (1994:100) for items such as *erst* ‘only’, *noch* ‘still’, and *schon* ‘already’, which are traditionally counted among temporal

adverbs. Helbig & Buscha (2013:424) argue these items do constitute a semantically clearly structured field but generally behave like degree particles.

Zifonun et al. (1997) count units such as *allerdings* 'however', *freilich* 'certainly', *trotzdem* 'despite', etc. among *Konnektivpartikeln* 'connective particles', which are classified as adverbs by Pasch et al. (2003:37). With the multitude of classifications and boundary-drawing we observe once again, it comes as no surprise that some members of the particle category end up in several subcategories and there is no consensus on where and how to draw the lines.

#### 2.4.4. Classificatory Challenges and 'Polyfunctional' Particles

As we have already addressed above, a number of particles can occupy more than one particle group or subgroup, for example, *eben* can serve as what is commonly referred to as 'modal' particle, 'focus' particle, and 'reply' particle (see section 4). The latter is a quite misleading term, however, given that it cannot serve as an answer to a Yes/No-question,<sup>35</sup> unlike its polyfunctional counterparts *ja* or *vielleicht*, which are also assigned to the modal and reply particle groups.

The particle *denn* is another example of a polyfunctional particle. The difference is that it is counted chiefly among the modal particles, but it has two different meanings that depend on whether the particle itself is stressed or not. That is also the case for the particles *doch* and *schon*, which have an accented and an unaccented variant. These latter particles and their classification as 'modal' illustrate the previously discussed observation that either the claim that modal particles are

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<sup>35</sup> To work around this problem, Weydt et al. (1983) refer to this function of *eben* as "kommentierender Ein-Wort-Satz" 'commenting one-word sentence' (163).

unaccented is not generally applicable or that these particular stressed variants must be counted among other particle groups.

This brings us back to the notion that there may be some core members in a particle group that fulfill more of the suggested characteristics and peripheral members that fulfill less of them. We are rather dealing with a spectrum of characteristics, or prototypical features than with a closed, homogeneous group. It is possible that the polyfunctionality can be resolved by conducting a diachronic analysis and thus discovering that, what seems to be polyfunctionality in a snapshot in time, is really a developmental cline as they are posited by Grammaticalization-theoretical approaches (e.g., Autenrieth 2002).

One way of addressing the classificatory challenges of *eben* in particular is to posit the conform-to-expectation signal across the particle subclasses. The ambiguities are presented in section 5.1.2 and a description of *eben* based on its underlying meaning is presented in section 4.7.

The difficulty of classifying items within the particle categories is not the only challenge. Almost all particles, *eben* and *gerade* included, have non-particle counterparts, as well.<sup>36</sup> This circumstance becomes relevant when having to determine the word type in untagged corpora. Both *eben* and *gerade* can occur as adjectives, adverbs of various kinds, and particles. Weeding out attributive adjective forms can be done with ease on a morphological basis due to the inflecting morphology we find on German adjectives but not on the other word types. Predicative adjectives do not inflect but can also be eliminated based on their comparatively more concrete

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<sup>36</sup> Altmann (1979) uses the word *selbst* 'even/independently' to discuss the ambiguities and polyfunctionalities of particle/non-particle homonyms.

semantics. The distinction of adverb vs. particle function can be a little more challenging in some cases. The testing procedure and sample tests are discussed in more detail in section 5.1.2.

As the descriptions above have shown, defining a particle or any subcategory is already difficult and controversial enough, let alone relating it to an equivalent foreign-language counterpart. Even with sub-classifications that have been put in place, relevant characteristics are not always sufficient in ascribing a particle to a certain group, for example, stress is not a hard-and-fast marker for a focus particle, when present, vs. a modal particle, when absent (Helbig 1988:25). In fact, separating focus and modal particles based on intonation has been called insufficient (Machate 1996:97-98). Additionally, the ability of a modal particle to be in first position preceding the finite verb is not true for the whole group, though it happens to be for the modal particle *eben*. It is even more treacherous to claim that particles within the same language and the same subgroup can be mutually replaceable, which has been suggested for *eben* and *gerade*. What we are confronted with is a self-made problem of attempting to neatly categorize linguistic units that nonetheless evade such categorization. We agree with Otheguy, who succinctly attacks this tendency of labeling:

Little is gained by simply giving [...] items unilluminating labels [...]. These labels tell us nothing about the semantic contribution that these forms make to the communication of messages when handled by a human being exercising his intelligence. Our understanding of why and how the forms of a language are used the way they are can only come when these two all-important factors are kept in mind: That the forms of a language—all of them—are signals with a semantic content—with a meaning—and that they always—in all utterances—respond to the intelligent manipulation of the human user of the language. (1980:11; author's emphasis, PAW)

Departing from the more general difficulty of labeling and classification presented above, we now turn to the more specific challenge of relating the two particles *eben* and *gerade* to another. Their claimed relationships in German particle literature are discussed below.

## 2.5. The Relationship of *eben* and *gerade* in Particle Scholarship

*Eben* and *gerade* are an odd couple. These polyfunctional signifiers span the same grammatical categories—adjective, adverb, and particle. They also express aspects from the same semantic domains: spatial information as adjectives, spatial, temporal, or quantifying information as adverbs, and as focus particles they mark constituents in a sentence to signal that these are particularly noteworthy elements within a sentence. Yet, with all these similarities they have not been granted an equal amount of attention in the literature on particles. This section will address the facts that a) significantly more attention has been given to *eben* than *gerade* owing to a generally more prolific scholarship investigating modal particles than focus particles, and that b) the near-synonymy was often noted but never pursued in any serious attempt to resolve the particles' puzzling relationship.

While the German literature on particles is vast, the majority focuses on the group of modal particles, to which *eben* but not *gerade* belongs. Some authors circumvent the different labels and rather create a spectrum of more or less 'prototypical' particles. For example, Lütten does include both *eben* and *gerade* in her comparatively extensive list of 32 words that have 'the potential of being particles' ("Partikelfähigkeit") (1977:179) but presents *gerade* as a more marginal case (1977:180-181). Similarly, Brünjes remarks that *eben* belongs to the 15 core members of modal particles, whereas *gerade* belongs to the group of nine members whose modal function



is not as advanced (2014: 84). Lütten's reasons for not counting *gerade* as a prototypical member are that a) it is too morphologically sophisticated, b) it occurs less frequently than other particles, or c) *gerade* occurs less frequently as a particle than a non-particle (1977:180-181). None of these reasons is sufficient as far as the data of this study are concerned: The morphological ambiguity of *gerade* can be resolved with tests quite well and both the overall frequency observations for *gerade* in this study as well as its particle vs. non-particle ratio are not confirmed by the data: The lexeme *gerade* occurs approximately one third more frequently than *eben* (see Table 26) and in two-thirds of the tagged data points, *gerade* is a particle which equals the particle/non-particle ratio of *eben* (see Figure 3 and Figure 4) and shows a dominance of particle over non-particle occurrence.

It is mostly in research centering on focus particles or in dictionary-type approaches to particle description (e.g., Helbig 1988; König, Stark & Requardt 1990) that we find a more substantial discussion of the two in conjunction. For example, Helbig (1988) suggests four sub-classifications for *eben* including the degree particle (*Gradpartikel*) *eben*<sub>3</sub>. He specifies the grammatical entities that are typical constituents of *eben*<sub>3</sub>, which can precede or follow its constituent. Typical constituents include groups of substantives, prepositional phrases with quantifiers/number words, demonstratives, possessives, or adverbs, *eben*<sub>3</sub> is usually unaccented but its constituent is accented. *eben*<sub>3</sub> is described as 'exclusive' and 'emphasizing', functions that it shares with two other focus particles: It "hebt das Bezugsglied in besonderer Weise hervor (=gerade, genau)" 'emphasizes the constituent in a special way (=gerade, genau)' (122). The particle is further said to establish an 'intensified validity' ("verschärfte Gültigkeit"), of Grice's Maxims of Quantity and Quality and thus disallows

a crossing of values downward or upward, or an indefiniteness (1988:122, 123; see also Nekula 1996:49).

What Helbig like Altmann (1978:7; 153) means by an intensified validity of Grice's Maxims of Quality and Quantity is that the validity of the sentence is particularly applicable to the constituent that is marked by the focus particle. Hence, if a focus particle marks a constituent, that marking signals that the rest of the sentence completed with this constituent is particularly valid (though other hypothetical candidates may also serve as completions that render valid sentences). This is further illustrated and paralleled by Helbig's description of the focus particle *gerade*: It is said to be "[i]nklusiv und hervorhebend, hebt das Bezugsglied in besonderer Weise hervor, signalisiert, daß die Argumentation in besonderer Weise vom Zutreffen des Satzes auf das Bezugsglied abhängt - ohne daß andere Bezugsglieder ausgeschlossen werden - (= *eben<sub>3</sub>, genau*)", 'inclusive and emphasizing, emphasizes the constituent in a special manner, signals that the argument depends in a particular way on the application of the sentence to the constituent - without excluding other constituents - (= *eben<sub>3</sub>, genau*)' (154).

Helbig's posited disallowance of a crossing of values downward or upward appears to relate to König's (1977b:68; 1981:107) description of *eben* as an exclusive particle, i.e. that no other candidate is taken into consideration. His example is *Eben 7 Stunden war er in Berlin* 'Eben 7 hours was he in Berlin'. In the example, no alternative number of hours than the one expressed is implicated.<sup>37</sup> With regard to a restriction of

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<sup>37</sup> In this regard, *eben* differs from *sogar* 'even' or *nur* 'only'. Using *sogar* in Helbig's (1988) sample sentence would implicate that it is somehow remarkable that an individual was in Berlin for 7 hours, and more remarkable that having been there for any lesser amount of time. Using *nur* in the sentence would implicate that 7 hours is at the lowest end of a scale of the possible

indefiniteness, Helbig means an indefiniteness of the article in the constituent as in his example \**Eben* einen Mann habe ich getroffen ‘*Eben* a man did I meet’ (123). A similar example is discussed in the review of Altmann (1976, 1978) below. To conclude, Helbig states that it is challenging to come up with an overarching meaning (124) but then attributes a meaning like ‘unchangeable’ or ‘precisely’ to all functions of *eben*.

Helbig & Buscha provide a subclassification of degree particles into five different groups: (1) *restriktiv-exklusive*, (2) *koordinativ-inklusive*, (3) *heraushebend-inklusive*, (4) *heraushebend-exklusive*, and (5) *temporale* (2013:423). They consider both *eben* and *gerade* members of group (4), the overall membership of which corresponds to Altmann’s *gerade* group.

Lütten also addresses the similarity of the two words in her dissertation: “[man kann] auch eine gewisse Nähe zu den Verwendungsweisen von EBEN feststellen [...]; im adjektivischen Bereich besteht ebenfalls zwischen EBEN und GERADE eine Beziehung. [...] Es mag sein, daß auf Grund dieser Ähnlichkeit auch im Bereich der abgeleiteten oder veränderten Bedeutungen Überschneidungen bestehen” ‘One can discern a certain proximity to the uses of EBEN [...]; in the adjectival area there is also a relationship between EBEN and GERADE. [...] It may be that, based on this similarity, there are also intersections in the derived or altered meanings’ (1977:262). While she provides examples that show the overlap and divergence, she does not arrive at a comprehensive explanation for this divergence of the two, rather resorting to speculations (ibid. 263-264). For *eben* as a modal particle, Lütten states that it can

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amount of time spent in Berlin and constitutes the minimum number of hours in an upwardly oriented scale.

relate to ostensible factualness and a 'shared horizon' between speaker and hearer (1977:249).

Cárdenes-Melián mentions *gerade* (only in passing) when discussing *eben*: "Somit scheint problematisch, in einer Erklärung der Funktion von *eben* davon auszugehen, dass seine kommunikative Funktion von dem Ausdruck *gerade* in gleicher Weise erreicht werden könnte." "Therefore, it seems problematic to assume that its communicative function can be equivalently attained by *gerade*." (1997:150; author's emphasis, PAW). He continues to grapple with the relationship of the two in the following passage, pointing out that a substitution of one by the other is indeed not always possible:

Die kommunikative Funktion [der] *eben*-Verwendung wird häufig dadurch erklärt, dass die Gradpartikel das Bezugsglied in besonderer Weise hervorhebt, im Sinne der Ausdrücke *gerade* oder *genau* (vgl. z.B. Helbig 1990). Griesbach (1986) setzt ihre Bedeutung in Sätzen wie „Das war nicht *eben* freundlich von dir, wie du geantwortet hast“ mit der von *nicht gerade* gleich (S. 158). Danach lässt sich die Funktion von *eben* [...] zunächst so paraphrasieren, dass der Sprecher [...] mit *eben* die Besonderheit des Bezugsgliedes (das deiktische *das*) markiert.

'The communicative function of [the] use of *eben* is often explained by stating that the scalar particle emphasizes the referent in a special way, in the sense of the expressions *gerade* or *genau* (cf. e.g. Helbig 1990). Griesbach (1986) equates its meaning in sentences such as „That was *nicht eben* ['not exactly'] friendly of you, how you replied.“ with those of *nicht gerade* ['not exactly'] (p. 158). Based on this, the function of *eben* [...] can initially be paraphrased in a way that the speaker [...] wants to mark the distinctiveness of the referent (the deictic *das*) with *eben*.' (1997:149; author's emphasis, PAW)

He lists an emphatic and deictic function of *eben* but remains vague by stating that *eben* can be used *im Sinne* 'in the sense' of *gerade* and *genau*. Citing the example by Griesbach, he adds that in some sentences, *gerade* can replace *eben* in its 'emphasizing' function. While he states that the emphatic function ("die erwähnte

Hervorhebung”) is still present in his examples and *eben* is equivalent in the sentences, he does not explain why in some instances a substitution is no longer possible and concludes that maybe the two are, in fact, not equivalent. We observe that the difficulty in determining the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* is often noted, but never pursued to a point where it could be resolved.

The same disregard for the intricacies of the *eben/gerade* relationship can be found in instructional material (cf. Harden & Hentschel 2010:97, 163). Baunebjerg at least admits to an appealing relationship (and adds *genau* to her discussion), but does not go into sufficient detail, either:

Offensichtlich lässt sich *eben* in einigen Kontexten durch *gerade*, in anderen durch *genau* ersetzen, wogegen *gerade* und *genau* nicht austauschbar sind. Mit anderen Worten: *gerade* und *genau* scheinen innerhalb des Bedeutungsspektrums der drei Partikeln zwei Außenpositionen einzunehmen, d.h. semantisch eine spezifischere Eigenbedeutung zu haben, wogegen *eben* eher eine neutrale Mittelposition einnimmt.

‘Apparently, *eben* can be replaced by *gerade* in some contexts and in others by *genau*, whereas *gerade* and *genau* are not mutually replaceable. In other words: *gerade* and *genau* seem to occupy marginal positions within the semantic spectrum of the three particles, that is they seem to have a more specific, particular meaning, all the while *eben* occupies a more neutral position in the middle.’ (1981:198)

While Baunebjerg acknowledges that *eben* and *gerade* are apparently not synonymous, albeit overlapping, she does not elaborate on what she defines as the ‘semantic spectrum’ and what the two extreme positions of *gerade* and *genau* constitute.

We will now turn to a discussion of the collated works of two authors whose research centers on the group of focus particles and who have also attempted to resolve the relationship of *gerade* and *eben* in various degrees of detail.

### 2.5.1. Discussion of Altmann

Altmann is much-cited for his work *Gradpartikelprobleme* (1978), based on his dissertation *Die Gradpartikeln Im Deutschen* (1976). Only in the later work does Altmann analyze *eben* and *gerade*, and conjointly rather than contrastively as part of the same degree particle subgroup, the *gerade* group.<sup>38</sup> Members include *eben* and *gerade* as well as *genau*, *ausgerechnet*, *vor allem*, *insbesondere*, *wenigstens*, and *zumindest* (1978:7). Altmann presents separate syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic analyses of these four different subgroups. Regarding their function, he claims that they are used to emphasize, imply a weak non-identity-relationship, and highlight the constituent in a special way (1978:7).

In the syntactic analysis of the particles, Altmann establishes distribution rules by testing isolated sentences for grammaticality. Altmann's analysis on syntactic interactions of the particle groups with constituents establishes a body of regularities that are applicable to all four subgroups, though some 'irregularities on the fringes' (72) are detectable. Among the regularities, he observes that particles cannot stand to the left of the finite verb in verb-first constructions like the imperative form or yes/no-questions, and not to the right of a finite verb in verb-last constructions<sup>39</sup> (25; 39; see also Jacobs 1982:4). Additionally, they can be positioned within a nominal phrase if

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<sup>38</sup> In the earlier work, he investigates the *nur*, *auch*, and *sogar* groups of focus particles. The groups include the following members:

- *nur*-Gruppe: *nur*, *bloß*, *lediglich*, *allein*, *ausschließlich*, *einzig*, *einzig und allein*
- *auch*-Gruppe: *auch*, *ebenfalls*, *ferner*, *ebenso*, *gleichfalls*
- *sogar*-Gruppe: *sogar*, *selbst*, *nicht einmal*

<sup>39</sup> For example: \**Gerade gehst du heute Abend aus?* 'Gerade are you going out tonight?' or \**Eben mach das Fenster zu!* 'Eben close the window!' or *Ich weiß, dass es spät ist gerade.* 'I know that it is late gerade.' The latter clause with *gerade* would be interpreted not as ungrammatical, but rather *gerade* will be understood as an exbraciated temporal adverb, in the sense of 'I know that it is late - right now.'

that whole phrase is the particle's constituent (36; 53).<sup>40</sup> Another regularity is that the focus particle typically precedes its constituent (22; see also Jacobs 1983:5), but that it can also less frequently directly follow it. Altmann observes that the latter condition is rarely the case for *eben* (1979:355).

While the syntactic analysis of degree particles reveals some distributional patterns, it does not offer a distinction between the individual members of the *gerade*-Gruppe since the patterns are shared among all of them. Altmann (1978) acknowledges that in many instances, the properties of the *gerade*-Gruppe members depend on the context in which the utterance is embedded and a syntactic cause for distributional characteristics cannot be detected (17; 26; 33).

As a result of his focus on syntactic properties, Altmann accumulates a number of 'idiosyncrasies' he lists for each focus particle of the *gerade* group (72-76). He predicts that perhaps at a later point, these 'mysteries' may be revealed as pragmatic patterns and may then become explainable; he warns to not brush them aside as peripheral phenomena and acknowledges the potential of future research to uncover regularities in what seem odd exceptions:

Andererseits können hier aber auch Bereiche vorliegen, deren Gesetzmäßigkeiten nur noch nicht erkannt worden sind, die aber vielleicht das Argumentationsfeld der Zukunft abgeben. [...] Deshalb wird im folgenden auch die Überlegung leitend sein, ob es sich bei bestimmten Distributionslücken und Besonderheiten wirklich nur um syntaktische Idiosynkrasien handelt, oder vielleicht doch um nicht erfaßte oder erfaßbare semantische und pragmatische Regularitäten.

'On the other hand, there could be regularities that have not been uncovered, yet, but may constitute the foundation for future argumentation. [...] For that reason, the guiding deliberation spanning the following section shall be whether particular distributional gaps

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<sup>40</sup> For example: *Leider kann ich [in eben diesem Zeitraum] nicht an dem Treffen teilnehmen.* 'Unfortunately, I cannot join in on this meeting [in *eben* that time period].'

are indeed just syntactic idiosyncrasies or perhaps semantic and pragmatic regularities that have not yet been captured or are not capturable.' (1978:72-73)

As idiosyncrasies for *gerade*, Altmann remarks that no restrictions regarding syntactic constituents were detectable, but that (as mentioned above) the particle more commonly precedes than follows its constituent (1978:73). For *eben*, Altmann detects the most idiosyncrasies out of all *gerade* group members but problematizes this observation by stating that informants' acceptability judgments of the sentences varied greatly (74). The absence of context must have contributed to that variation. The examples in Chapter 4 will show that adding context can significantly change the acceptability of the sample sentences. To illustrate this, additions are made to Altmann's problematic sentences below.

According to his observations, *eben* is unacceptable in nominal phrases if a) the noun of that phrase, rather than the determiner, is the constituent (typographically indicated by spacing in the original) and b) if the determiner is an indefinite article. He illustrates this with the following examples:

(2-295) \*Eben das G e g e n t e i l ist wahr. (\*Eben the o p p o s i t e is true.)

(2-298) \*Eben e i n e m Mann wird geholfen, der [es am meisten braucht; PAW]. (\*Eben a/o n e man is being helped who [needs it the most].')

Sentence (2-295) can indeed become acceptable if sufficient context is added, such as the following anecdote: *Markus war nicht sicher, ob Michaela gut Auto fährt und die Führerscheinprüfung besteht, aber sie hatte keinen Einzigen Fehlerpunkt und hat das Auto perfekt parallel eingeparkt. Die Fahrlehrerling hat ihr sogar ein Kompliment gemacht. Somit lässt sich sagen: Eben das G e g e n t e i l ist wahr. Michaela kann gut*



*Auto fahren.* ‘Markus was not sure whether Michaela would be a good driver and pass her driving test, but she did not make a single mistake and parallel-parked perfectly. Her driving teacher even complimented her. It goes to show: Eben the opposite is true. Michaela is a good driver.’

Altmann’s (1978) sentence (2-298) with the accented indefinite article *einem* ‘a’ is already unacceptable without the particle, given the relative clause that Altmann uses as a continuation.<sup>41</sup> (It also remains unacceptable if the particle is substituted with *ausgerechnet*, *eben*, and *genau*.) This original unacceptability can be attributed to the incompatibility of the indefinite article *einem*, which expresses that the man is not specific, and the subsequent relative clause, which describes that unspecific man in detail. This constitutes a violation of the principle of economy of effort: Why further describe an entity that is unspecific? Alternatively, *einem* can also be interpreted as a quantifier, meaning ‘a single/one’, in which case the only acceptable focus particle is *genau*, because the entailment is that there is a number of men who all need help and exactly one of those men is being helped. *Gerade/Eben* are only acceptable as adverbs, meaning ‘barely/merely’ if *einem* is to be interpreted as a quantifier. It comes as no surprise that acceptability judgments varied in Altmann’s survey: This sentence in isolation is far too ambiguous for informants to judge it with certainty.

Altmann also lists definite articles as unacceptable sentences in some cases.

(2-299) \*Eben d e r Mann kann uns helfen. (\*Eben t h e / t h a t man can help us.)

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<sup>41</sup> In the original, Altmann uses the continuation on a prior sentence and then resorts to using three dots to indicate that the continuation is to be repeated (1978:74). It is added here in square brackets.

We have to counter the input from Altmann's informants on (2-299): This sentence is perfectly acceptable in a context such as *Du erinnerst dich doch noch an den Mann, den wir gestern kennengelernt haben. Eben d e r Mann kann uns helfen. Er ist Sozialarbeiter!* 'You do remember the man we met yesterday. Exactly t h a t man can help us. He is a social worker!' An example parallel to (2-295) is the following sentence:

(2-296) \*Eben die T ü b i n g e r blieben ohne Chancen. (\*Eben the T ü b i n g e r s remained without chances.)

Aber: Eben d i e Tübinger blieben ohne Chancen, die sich an Demonstrationen beteiligt hatten. (Eben t h o s e Tübingers remained without chances who participated in the protests.)

Sentence (2-296) indeed appears odd, but becomes more acceptable with added context:

(4) Bei dem Freundschaftsturnier kamen Teams aus vielen baden-württembergischen Städten zusammen: Heidelberg, Reutlingen, Stuttgart und Tübingen. Die Heidelberger waren wegen ihrer Vorjahresperformance die Favoriten. Bei den Reutlingern und Stuttgartern war man sich nicht sicher. Das Tübinger Team ging aufgrund von Spielerverletzungen deutlich benachteiligt ins Rennen. Daher überraschte das Ergebnis wenig: ?Eben die T ü b i n g e r blieben ohne Chancen (und verloren das Turnier).

'Many teams from cities in Baden-Württemberg convened for a friendly tournament: [Teams from] Heidelberg, Reutlingen, Stuttgart, and Tübingen. The Heidelbergers were the favorites due to their performance in the previous year. Things were not sure with the Reutlingers and Stuttgarters. The Tübingers participated with a handicap due to players' injuries. Therefore, the result was not surprising: ?Exactly the T ü b i n g e r s remained without chances (and lost the tournament).'

In the example above, context was created that allows for a natural contrasting of *Tübinger* vis-à-vis other demonyms. However, the sentence still does not become fully natural. It would be more natural to simply omit the particle, the reasons for which are

unclear at this point. This may be an issue of providing the hearer with too much precision which, just like too little precision, can become inferentially complex. This is related the first part of Grice's Maxim of Quantity "Make your contribution as informative as required [...]" (1975:45). Since there is so much preliminary information conducive to singling out the Tübingers as the team that will be without chances of winning the tournament, singling them out with the focus particle and thus contrasting them with the other teams may be just too much signaling.<sup>42</sup> In fact, the accent on Tübinger by itself (with the particle omitted) appears excessive and unnatural. The wider scope of postverbal *eben* as a modal particle and no accent on the demonym are more acceptable.

As far as the marking of determiners is concerned, Altmann does not explicate this, but it is noticeable in his samples that particularly in those instances in which the referent is further specified, for example, by means of a subsequent relative clause like in sentence (2-296), the determiners do become acceptable constituents (with the exception of the clash between the indefinite article and the relative clause discussed in example (2-298)). A compilation of his additional examples can be found below:

(2-297) Eben d e m Mann wird geholfen, der es am meisten braucht. ('Eben t h e man is being helped who needs it the most')

(2-303) Einer Tochterfirma eben d e s j e n i g e n Bauunternehmers Georg Hubmann, dem aus Staatsareal Bauplätze zugeschlagen werden sollten. ('A subsidiary company of

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<sup>42</sup> It was addressed earlier that if several linguistic features express the same signal, each feature does not have to be as precise (cf. Krivonosov 1977:309; van Heuven 2017:28-29). Perhaps we are dealing with a case of excess precision here. This is pure speculation and in need of further investigation.

*eben* t h e contractor Georg Hubmann to whom construction sites from the state territory were supposed to be awarded.’)

Based on the hypothesis, we argue that (2-297) expresses a relationship between helping and needing help that is conform-to-expectation, that is, if one embraces the concept of charity and justice, one would normally expect that person to be helped who is in greatest need thereof. For (2-303), we imagine a context in which the contractor (*Bauunternehmer*) vis-à-vis other contractors is not at issue, but rather the constituent *desjenigen* ‘of that... who’, a compound demonstrative, cataphorically refers to more information on the contractor. A use of *gerade* can be prompted if the relative clause in interaction with some preceding context made the contractor a counter-to-expectation candidate for completing the elliptical first clause of the complex sentence in (2-303) like in the following, fleshed-out example:

Der Zuschlag für die Bauplätze in Flussnähe wurde der XYZ AG gegeben. Einer Tochterfirma *gerade* d e s j e n i g e n Bauunternehmers Georg Hubmann, dem aus Staatsareal Bauplätze zugeschlagen werden sollten. Der Zuschlag sowohl der Bauplätze in Flussnähe als auch derer aus dem Staatsareal führt zu einer illegalen Monopolstellung des Firmenkonglomerats Hubmanns.

‘The building sites close to the river were awarded to XYZ AG. A subsidiary company of *gerade* t h e contractor Georg Hubmann to whom construction sites from the state territory were supposed to be awarded. Awarding both the building plots close to the river and those from the state territory gives Hubmann’s corporate conglomerate an illegal monopoly on building plots.’

In the example above, the information that being awarded too many plots of land can lead to an illegal monopoly (irrespective of whether this is possible or not) and the information that the contractor was awarded building plots from the state territory support the expectation that he is not a candidate who will be awarded more building plots in a world in which illegality is typically undesirable. The fact that it is one of

Hubmann's subsidiary companies that was awarded plots close to the river is marked as counter-to-expectation to accommodate this discrepancy between any company that might rather be chosen in keeping with legal constraints and the actual company that was awarded the land.

Altmann also lists possessive adjectives as less acceptable constituents; according to him, pronouns are also generally unacceptable, except for some accusative and dative cases (*mich, dir, dich*).

(2-302) ?Eben d e i n e Mitarbeit brauchen wir. ('?We need eben y o u r participation.')

(2-304) \*Eben e r wird gesucht. (\*Eben h e is being looked for.')

(2-305) \*Warum eben i c h? (\*Why eben I?')

(2-306) \*Eben m i r muß das passieren. (\*This has to happen to eben m e.')

The unacceptability is not necessarily a matter of word type. This is where Altmann's purely syntactic analysis reaches its limits. As with many of the examples, the scarcity of context appears to be part of the problem. (2-302) becomes acceptable as soon as we add information beforehand: *Du hast das letzte Projekt wirklich super vorangebracht! Und deine Excel-Kenntnisse sind sehr gut. Eben d e i n e Mitarbeit brauchen wir. Das neue Projekt erfordert viel Arbeit mit Tabellen* 'You advanced the last project greatly. And our skills with Excel are great. Eben y o u r contribution is what we need. The new project requires a lot of work with tables.' Sentences similar to (2-304)-(2-306) are discussed in more detail in section 4.4.

Altmann's examples (2-307) and (2-308) are generally too underspecified, i.e. reduced to mere 'particle + constituent' examples, to tell whether they are generally unacceptable or not.

(2-307) \*Eben e r / s i e / e s ... (\*Eben h e / s h e / i t ...')

(2-308) \*Eben m i r / m i c h / d i r ... (\*Eben m e-DAT /m e-AKK / y o u-DAT')

It should be added at any rate, that a general unacceptability does exist for all particles combining with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular neuter personal pronoun *es* 'it'. This incompatibility may be due to the inability of *es* to bear sentential stress. The discussion in section 4.1, particularly of examples (b) and (b'), shows that it is possible for the other two personal pronouns to be accented in certain contexts, but those contexts typically involve human referents of the pronouns. Testing an example of what is traditionally referred to as 'dummy it', for which even the English translation is unacceptable, sentence (5) illustrates this restriction:

- (5) \*Eben/\*Gerade [es] *regnet*.  
PARTICLE [it] rains.  
'\*Precisely it is raining.'

Kirsner, discussing the English counterpart of the sentence without particle (1983:241-242), argues that there is no real participant in focus and the description is rather that of a backgrounded action. So, the incompatibility of the focus particle with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular personal pronoun *es* 'it' appears to have cognitive reasons. It is unlikely that a speaker and interlocutor are concerned with selecting either this completely unsalient non-entity or another hypothetical unsalient alternative, particularly since the 'it<sub>1</sub>' that brings about the rain has no alternative 'it<sub>2</sub>' that could also accomplish that. The notion of egocentricity explains this incompatibility. As Kirsner states, "humans seem to find themselves more 'interesting' than inanimates or abstractions" (1983:243) and it appears that this abstraction of an 'it' to a process is the reason for the incompatibility with any particle for that matter. Therefore, it is not

surprising that neither particle is acceptable. Concluding his discussion of these idiosyncrasies, Altmann says:

Die Beschränkung innerhalb der Gruppe der Pronomina auf Pronomina im Akkusativ (außer erste Person) sowie auf Demonstrativpronomina ist mir völlig unerklärlich. In allen inakzeptablen Versionen sind *ausgerechnet* und *gerade* akzeptabel. *Genau*, das in der Bedeutung *eben* am nächsten kommt und es an jenen Positionen ersetzen kann, wo *eben* nur in anderen Funktionen möglich ist oder zumindest Funktionsambiguitäten aufweist, provoziert ebenfalls schwankende Akzeptabilitätsurteile.

'The restriction within the group of pronouns to pronouns in the accusative (except the first person) as well as to demonstrative pronouns is completely inexplicable to me. In all unacceptable versions, *ausgerechnet* and *gerade* are acceptable. *Genau*, which is closest to *eben* in meaning and can replace it in positions where *eben* is only possible in other functions or at least displays functional ambiguities, also provokes variable acceptability judgments.' (1978:75)

Additionally, the restrictions that Altmann observes with regard to the co-occurrence of *eben* + *weil* is disconfirmed by the corpus data (see section 5.3). The sentences used by parliamentary representatives are natural and acceptable, and considering the hypothesis, the motivation for this co-occurrence can also be explained.

Only briefly does Altmann mention the elusive semantic relationship of *eben* and *gerade* at the very end of his monograph, when sub-dividing the *gerade*-Gruppe even further: He indirectly compares and contrasts *eben* and *genau* in the first subgroup with *gerade*, *ausgerechnet*, *vor allem*, *insbesondere*, *wenigstens*, and *zumindest* in the second (138-144). His final remarks regarding *gerade* are the following: "Der Zweck dieser Partikel ist vielmehr, sehr unklar gesprochen, die Hervorhebung der Fokuskonstituente, der Hinweis, daß die Argumentation in besonderer Weise vom Zutreffen des Satzes auf die Fokuskonstituente abhängt; dadurch gerät *gerade* in große Nähe zur Interpretation von *genau* bzw. *eben*, ohne sich

allerdings völlig mit ihnen zu decken” “The purpose of this particle is, in very inexact terms, the emphasis of the focus constituent, the hint that the argument is particularly dependent on the applicability of the sentence to the focus constituent; because of that, *gerade* strongly approximates the interpretation of *genau* and *eben*, without however being completely congruent with them’ (153; author’s emphasis, PAW).

This paragraph is the most explicit remark on the semantic relationship of *eben* and *gerade*, but it is also the culmination of this short discussion. Once again, it becomes clear that there is a need to close this gap. Altmann does address an essential feature of *gerade*, namely that the argument is particularly dependent on the applicability of the constituent (vs. other constituents) but does not explore this thought further.

As articulated in the hypothesis, the study at hand presents a pragmatic approach to understanding the relationship between *eben* and *gerade*, which has been disregarded so far. We argue that *gerade* marks constituents as counter-to-expectation and *eben* marks constituents as conform-to-expectation and that this explains distributional differences such as those discussed above as pragmatic patterns rather than syntactic idiosyncrasies. The addition of context to some of the ostensibly unacceptable isolated sentences has proven the value of incorporating the human factor, and has also revealed unacceptabilities independent of a particle’s presence in a sentence.



## 2.5.2. Discussion of König

König's work on focus particles<sup>43</sup> is prolific and often cited alongside Altmann's. Within this concentration on focus particles, he also suggests an explanation of the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*. In his monograph *The Meaning of Focus Particles: A Comparative Perspective* (1991a), he compares German to English focus particles and includes samples from 70 additional languages. The particles *eben* and *gerade* are not at the center of his analysis but are frequently mentioned.

As previously mentioned, he suggests that focus particles can be subdivided into two groups of 'inclusive' and 'exclusive' particles<sup>44</sup>—*gerade* belonging to the former and *eben* to the latter (see also 1977b:68; 1981:107). Inclusive particles are defined as including some alternative candidates as possible insertions for the variable that completes the sentence function, that is, the use of particles like *gerade* implicates that other alternatives may replace the element that is in focus (1991a:33). Conversely, exclusive particles implicate that none of the alternatives under consideration satisfies the truth condition of the relevant sentence (1991a:33). This subcategorization, when compared to subcategorizations by other scholars, renders a number of inconsistencies, as was discussed in section 2.4.2.

While his entire two subgroups cannot be discussed in detail here, at least regarding *eben* and *gerade* we run into the problem that the motivation for including or excluding hypothetical alternatives to the chosen constituent and thus uttering one or the other particle is not explained. Is the satisfaction of truth conditions an

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<sup>43</sup> See Table 4 for a full list of items he considers focus particles.

<sup>44</sup> König counts *auch*, *gerade*, *insbesondere*, *noch*, *schon*, *zumal*, *selbst*, *geschweige denn*, and *sogar* among the inclusive particles and *ausgerechnet*, *bloß*, *eben*, *erst*, *genau*, *lediglich*, *nur*, and *ausschließlich* among the exclusive particles (1991b:33).

objective fact or the speaker's interpretation? Under which discursive conditions is a speaker prompted to include or exclude alternatives? With regard to *eben* and *gerade*, we argue the following: For *gerade*, alternatives may be under consideration, precisely because the speaker knows or is prompted by the context to assume that the hearer is selecting a constituent diverging from his/her own. Thus, alternatives have to be taken into consideration if the speaker is to properly adjust his/her utterance to this possibility. The speaker is prompted to make clear that a seemingly unlikely candidate in the hearer's mind (if at all) is the one the speaker favors. S/he therefore has to acknowledge and provide for the fact that the speaker and the hearer are not 'on the same wavelength' and thus respond to the consideration of alternative values that is in the air. This consideration of more values requires more effort on the part of the speaker and the marking in turn signals that there is a discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's constituent choice and thus the hearer's expectations are not met.

Compared to this, *eben* functions differently: It does not signal to the hearer to relate its referent to any other possible candidates. But *eben*, like *gerade*, does not generate the inclusion or exclusion autonomously—the context does, and the context motivates the speaker's utterance of either focus particle as a reaction. *Eben* is the result of either an explicit agreement by the hearer to a constituent or of a reasonable assumption, based on an assessment of the discursive context and extralinguistic factors at hand that the hearer will readily select the same constituent as the speaker. Thus, it is not communicatively necessary to take other alternatives into consideration.

This entire human factor and the fact that the context motivates the apparent ‘inclusion’ or ‘exclusion’ of alternative candidates is missing from König’s suggestion.<sup>45</sup>

While König’s initial subdivision of focus particles discussed above is sensible, his subsequent analysis (1991b) of a smaller group of focus particles stops short of a satisfactory explanation of speaker motivation when using a specific item from this group. He dedicates an entire article to the four focus particles *eben*, *gerade*, *ausgerechnet*, and *genau*, stating that there is a strong correlation between the syntactic and semantic properties of the four. In particular, they can serve as “amplifiers” (17) and “downtoners” (ibid.), but only in combination with predicates that can be ordered along a scale (30). Now, König discusses *eben* and *gerade* as indeed interchangeable: “The basic function of these elements is to emphatically assert the identity of two values in two different propositional schemata and that some additional properties of these elements derive from the fact that such an emphatic assertion of identity is only necessary and relevant in certain contexts” (12-13; author’s emphasis, PAW). But König remains vague; he does not explain in more detail what he means by “some additional properties” or “certain contexts.” König (1991c) then even backtracks on the earlier grouping of *eben* and *gerade* among inclusive and exclusive particles and states:

[Es sei] an dieser Stelle noch angemerkt, daß es auch Fokuspartikeln gibt, die sich nicht klar zu einer der beiden Gruppen zuordnen lassen.

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<sup>45</sup> While a discussion of suprasegmental features is generally omitted in this discussion, we want to briefly add that the two lexemes differ in the number of their syllables which has a bearing on the ratio of unstressed to stressed syllables word-internally: While the unaccented syllable of *gerade* is ‘-de’ constitutes a third of the word, the unaccented syllable ‘-ben’ in *eben* constitutes 50% of the word. If we accept these basic characteristics as relevant to human cognition in speech, we may be able to say that *gerade* is intrinsically better suited to ‘hit the hearer over the head’ with information than *eben*. This may also explain the occurrence of *eben* as a modal particle which cannot bear the sentence accent. All these deliberations are purely speculative, however.

Es sind Partikeln wie z.B. *eben*, *genau*, *gerade*, deren Funktion nicht darin besteht, relevante Alternativen für die Besetzung der Variablen in der Satzfunktion ein- oder auszuschließen, sondern die Identität zweier Werte in zwei verschiedenen Propositionen zu assertieren. (König 1991c:33)

‘[It shall be] mentioned at this point that there are also focus particles that cannot unambiguously be associated with one of the groups. Those are particles such as *eben*, *genau*, *gerade*, whose function does not consist in including or excluding relevant alternatives for the filling of variables in the sentence function, but rather to assert the identity of two values in two different propositions.’

In his discussion, König analyses the two particles consistently as a pairing (17-19) in contrast to other particles. This does do their actual dynamic relationship justice because they are not contrasted with each other, but much rather eliminates the potential of the notions of inclusivity and exclusivity he presents in his other contributions.

Paradoxically, König frequently argues for particles’ high dependence on context: “The selection of alternatives is highly context-dependent. The set of alternatives brought into play by uttering a sentence with a focus particle are the ones that happen to be under consideration in a situation. Their selection may thus depend on a variety of contextual factors” (1991b:35).<sup>46</sup> Counter to his own assertion, he never gears his analysis toward the context accordingly. About the perpetual call for context, Dimroth adequately remarks: “So wird in der reichen semantischen Literatur zu Fokuspartikeln oft bemerkt, daß der Kontext eine wesentliche Rolle spielt, ohne daß

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<sup>46</sup> He also states: “Focus [...] particles are extremely context-dependent, vague, and subjective in their meaning and it is all too easy to mistake a specific aspect of the context for the meaning of the particle itself. To capture this context-dependence, vagueness and subjectivity poses serious problems for any semantic theory” (1991b:4-5). While his assessment that one should not mistake contextual meaning for the general particle meaning is certainly justified, as will be elaborated upon in Chapter 4, it is precisely the context that allows for a differentiation of particles. Their affinity with particular complex constructions and information status help further decipher their differences, as is shown in the corpus-based analyses in Chapter 5.

dies jedoch konkret auf die Verhältnisse im vorausgehenden Diskurs angewandt würde” ‘Thus, in the large body of semantic literature on focus particles it is often noted that the context plays an essential role, without applying this [insight] to the conditions in the preceding discourse’ (2004:9).

Conducting such an analysis reveals that the two particles are interchangeable only in very specific instances in which other, stronger factors such as negation, which can change the truth condition of a sentence, appear to override the nuanced signals the particles convey.

## 2.6. Summary

In this chapter, a historical sketch has revealed that particles were originally shunned as symptoms of bad style, but with the emergence of the Pragmatic Turn their image improved and they became widely researched. Initially, scholarship focused on creating taxonomies and establishing closed groups of particles that could be investigated. The organization and labeling of particles varies according to the respective theory presented by the scholars, reflecting the difficult-to-grasp nature of particles. For the study at hand, the term ‘focus particle’ was selected simply because it is the most commonly used term.

We have also assessed what has been suggested in the scholarship on particles about the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* in particular. A critical examination of Altmann (1978) and König (1991a, b, c) has revealed that both authors deem additional context necessary to further tease apart *eben* and *gerade*, though neither of them acts on that observation. Particularly with regard to idiosyncratic unacceptabilities involving *eben* it was shown that it is precisely this lack of context that renders unacceptable sentences and vice versa.

Neither of the two authors pursues the question of what motivates the use of each particle and what communicative strategies they serve. What applies to particles in general also applies to the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* in particular: Their quasi-synonymous relationship has been noted time and again, yet often been dismissed with a call for the incorporation of ‘more context’. Yet, whereas Altmann, König and others call for more context, we will see below, upon testing suggestions of meanings brought forth by practical grammars (Chapter 4) that context in the past has also been treacherous to attempts of describing *eben* and *gerade*. With the conclusion of this foundational chapter we have created a context for presenting the analyses at hand. The following chapter presents the theoretical framework that informs the analyses of the particles *eben* and *gerade*.

### 3. Theoretical Framework

Research that focuses on particles is often informed by a confluence of various approaches rather than by a dedicated ‘Particle Theory’ in its own right, as Helbig observes (1988:15). Particles were originally excluded from Structuralist or generativist analyses, which changed in the 1960s, when interest in these small uninflectible words practically exploded. Even then, the Pragmatic/Communicative Turn engendered rather a multitude of approaches such as Text Linguistics, Conversation Analysis, etc. that asked different questions about the functions of particles and provided different exploratory paths and insights. This heterogeneity is not to be deplored because it reflects the formidable challenge that the vague, multifunctional, hard-to-grasp particles present and it shows that dealing with them can be a fruitful endeavor for any theoretical approach. At times, scholars will resort to conducting ‘multimodal’ analyses of particles (cf. Hentschel 1986) within one study to do their multifunctionality justice.

Likewise, this investigation of *eben* and *gerade* is guided by the theoretical framework of Columbia School (‘CS’ henceforth) Linguistics and employs a macroscopic, corpus-based analysis as is traditionally carried out by CS linguists. In addition to that, the study employs minimal pair analyses as well as a dialect-geographical investigation, both of which are not commonly carried out within the framework of CS. While CS approaches typically steer clear of isolated sentence analyses and favor larger contexts, the smaller environments prove to be beneficial due to the controlled manipulation of sentential elements and the orderly teasing-apart of the particles’ possible and impossible occurrences. As such, this study presents an eclectic methodological approach to articulating the various facets of the

relationship of *eben* and *gerade*. The corpus-based analyses in Chapter 5 return to following the CS's analytical traditions more faithfully.

The articulation of this study is also greatly informed by concepts and notions established in Yokoyama's (1986) TDM, such as impositions, metinformational exchanges, matters of current concern, and the maintenance vs. the change of a speaker's perspective. These notions elucidate the knowledge-related dynamics between speaker and hearer and will be presented in more detail in the respective sections (particularly Chapter 4) in which they are formative to the explanations of *eben* and *gerade*. When we consider a speaker's strategies in using a linguistic item in communication, we can attempt to look into his/her head and determine which assumptions prompt the speaker to proceed in a certain manner. This is made possible with the notions from Yokoyama's TDM.

The Columbia School Linguistic Theory, a functional, sign-based approach to linguistics, was founded by William Diver with the goal of creating a systematic approach to explaining linguistic phenomena by taking into consideration the 'human factor'—a speaker's communicative strategies, psychological and cognitive biases and limitations, and motive when making an utterance. Typically, a CS linguist will ask "What motivates a speaker of [language x] to say [y]?" (CS About 2017:n.p., author's emphasis, PAW; see also Contini-Morava 1995:3-4). It is exactly the question of motivation that helps elucidate the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*. What has not been sufficiently focused on in German particle research is the speaker's motivation, the question *why* and for which communicative *purpose* a speaker may be prompted to utter one particle rather than another. The array of communicative strategies and human limitations that prompt the use of a particle in the wider context have been



skirted to date. The theoretical framework of CS Linguistics is the foundation for the argument brought forth that the relationship between *eben* and *gerade* can be explained by their underlying meaning, marking a constituent as conform-to-expectation or marking it as counter-to-expectation.

The school has established itself in counter to approaches of formal linguistics that have viewed grammar as autonomous from semantics—the dimension for which the formalists did not claim any responsibility—and have argued that syntactic rules alone generate the output of grammatical sentences. By contrast, in the CS Linguistics framework, the relationship of syntax and semantics is viewed as co-dependent: Syntax can be driven by semantics and the artificial “choking off” (Diver 1995:100) of any dimension of information is viewed as not conducive to solving a linguistic problem. CS Linguistic Theory, as a sign-based approach, posits that grammar and lexicon *both* bear meaning, and that the underlying unit of cognition is not a structure with rules and permutations, but rather the linguistic sign, a signal-meaning pair much akin to Saussure’s (1916 [1986]) *signe linguistique* ‘linguistic sign’, which is unique to its respective language.

With regard to Saussure’s dichotomy, the CS approach seeks to follow the well-established principle ‘one meaning-one form’, rather than lists of meanings for one form, arguing that the “most efficient communicative instrument is one in which there is a one-to-one correspondence between the signaling units and the things signaled” (Contini-Morava 1995:8). This Structuralist principle of biunique meaning-form relations was started in the Prague School of Linguistics and is a basic tenet of many functional approaches. It states that meanings and forms tend to correspond one-to-one. The principle is linked to four subordinate principles, namely: 1) the same forms

should not have different meanings in different contexts, 2) the same meaning should not be carried by different forms, 3) a single form should not have separate meanings simultaneously, and 4) a single meaning should not be carried by two or more forms in succession (Matthews 2007:n.p.). As Jakobson puts it: “It is improper not only to keep apart that which from the linguistic point of view belongs together, but also to combine, artificially, that which from the linguistic point of view is separate” (2011:62). The meaning maximalist (see discussion below) approach we observe in practical grammars allows too much of the surrounding context to contaminate the particle’s meaning descriptions and is thus prone to falling into the traps of subordinate principles 1) and 4).

The principle of ‘one meaning-one form’ is the common ground of many sign-based schools. In fact, Contini-Morava describes in great detail how the CS Linguistics approach has a significant common ground with the Prague School and with the Guillaumian School of the Psychomechanics of Language as well as how the three approaches differ from another (1995:3-22).<sup>47</sup> To mention only a few points from her comparison, the schools differ somewhat in how they view the relationship of lexicon and grammar (15), how they relate to Saussure’s concepts of *langue* and *parole*, and in their perspective on the notions of synchrony and diachrony (16).

The CS is the most verbal advocate of taking into consideration the human factor (cf. Contini-Morava 1995:17), that is, human limitations, biases and, most notably, communicative strategies that are not necessarily inherent to language but shape language because humans use it for their goals and purposes. The other two

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<sup>47</sup> Contini-Morava also refers to Tobin 1987, 1999, and Gvozdanović 1995 for additional discussion.

schools also present similar notions to the human factor, but not to the same extent as CS Linguistics. According to Contini-Morava, Jakobson's notion of iconicity in language vs. de Saussure's arbitrary sign can be seen as an early incorporation of the human factor, and the psychological principle of 'autopoiesis' as well as Guillaume's notion of operative time also reach beyond the communicative function of language to incorporate the speaker as a factor (1995:15). The notion of communicative strategies and related concepts in CS Linguistics (Contini-Morava 1995:19), however, do not have parallels in the other schools. The notion and notation of exhaustively subdivisible systems and the oppositional relationships as they are used to illustrate the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* in this study, are unique to CS Linguistic approaches.

CS, in contrast to the Prague School, does not intend to establish linguistic universals (Contini-Morava 1995:20), though some semantic substances, such as the CS DEIXIS, have been found to apply to a variety of languages such as Dutch, Swahili, Japanese, etc. (ibd.). Since we are dealing with a pair of particles that are unique to German and, as was briefly discussed, are nearly impossible to translate into other languages, we are not making any claims as to the universality of the hypothesis here presented and adopt the CS perspective on universals.

CS does not seek to establish general definitions of notions such as 'noun', 'adjective', etc. whereas this is given more attention in the other two schools according to Contini-Morava. As was discussed above, the multitude of labels and particles and the attempt at establishing a part of speech different from the traditional ones can be quite counterproductive to the description of the two particles *eben* and *gerade*. As an alternative, we suggest a stable underlying meaning and variable concrete messages resulting from an interaction with additional elements in the sentence and with the

communicative context as the features that most efficiently describe the relationship of *eben* and *gerade*.

CS Linguistics is particularly focused on studying the interaction of “meaning and the ‘macro-level’ discourse” (Contini-Morava 1995:24), even considers it “essential” (Huffman 2006:54) and is therefore ideally suited for dealing with the complex structures identified in Chapter 5 in which *eben* and *gerade* are commonly situated. The analyses in Chapter 5 take into consideration debates spanning entire agenda items in the plenary sessions of the German parliaments.

The goal of studies within the CS framework is to determine the identity of meaning-signal pairs in language use and to explain them in terms of a language user’s creativity and other human factors mentioned above, rather than force an explanation of structures driven by formulae. Hence, ‘syntax’ in the sense of autonomous ‘mechanical’ permutations is not posited by CS Linguists. García argues that what is referred to as ‘syntax’ is simply a product of the interaction of meanings, inferential routines, iconicity, and avoidance of inferential complexity (2009:7, 9, 13-14, 21). With that said we move from the similarities among a few functional linguistic approaches to the criticisms of formal approaches to linguistics.

One criticism directed at the generative notion of the AUTOSYN hypothesis; the notion that syntax is autonomous and not functionally motivated is that it does not account for negative or positive exceptions of theoretical grammatical output (García 2009:1-2). That means that some syntactic combinations, though theoretically perfectly grammatical, do not occur whereas others that are theoretically ungrammatical do occur. This includes Baker’s Paradox, that is, the question how children learn to avoid the combinations that are plausible but unacceptable (2009:2). García states that

“[i]dentifying what is actually amiss in the rejected combination would probably require detailed lexical analysis, something not generally viewed as part of the autonomous syntactician’s task; ungrammaticality at some level is thus generally taken for granted, cf. Pinker [...]” (2009:4). She goes on to explain that if negative occurrences “appear to be arbitrary, it is only because syntax itself is assumed to be self-contained, and the semantic effects of symbol-combination, in interaction with context, are ignored as irrelevant” (2009:8). “Being understood to reflect communicative/informative intentions (Sperber and Wilson 1986: 29), signals require interpretation (Keller 1995: 113-18 et pass.): the addressee must figure out why a particular signal has been produced in a given context” (García 2009:12-13). “The Hearer must integrate the new information evoked by the Speaker’s sparse hints with his own background knowledge [...] and draw from the whole a contextually coherent conclusion [...]” (2009:13).

Syntax in the sense of German word order phenomena and the proximity relationships of the focus particles to their constituents is nonetheless discussed, as these relationships are significant to distinguishing focus from modal particles (section 2.4.2). In these discussions, ‘syntax’ is not used as a technical term within a particular theory<sup>48</sup> but rather as the description of said motivated relationships and motivated distributional phenomena within a sentence.

By taking an approach that incorporates the human factor and relates concrete messages conveyed by linguistic signs to underlying systems, the CS Linguistic approach is powerful because it overcomes the problem of being confronted with

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<sup>48</sup> For example, Chomsky (1965).

phenomena that ostensibly do not conform to established rules and therefore have to be learned as exceptions (see Langacker 1987:42), and called idiosyncrasies.<sup>49</sup>

One example of how the CS approach can establish a neat order to an apparently “capricious” (Diver 2012:87) linguistic phenomenon is the resolution of the ostensibly inconsistent use of the Homeric Greek dual number by Diver himself. Diver proves that this ‘inconsistency’ is owed to the positing of preconceived rules rather than analyzing what is said in the language. In the case of the Greek dual, Herbert Weir Smyth’s (1956) normative, a priori theory determines that the dual is used in with natural pairs such as shoulders, eyes, etc. and thus provides a preconceived notion of what the dual is without considering whether evidence from the language itself actually supports this claim (Huffman & Davis 2012:86)—and in fact, it does not. Natural pairs are sometimes expressed in the dual and sometimes in the plural number. Diver provides a powerful and comprehensive analysis informed by the language use itself that resolves the ‘inconsistencies’ observed in Homeric Greek. He establishes the notion of the communicative structure of oppositions, particularly the “Opposition of Inclusion” and “Exclusion” (2012:89-95). The former is expressed in a number system that allows a speaker of Greek to either attribute a plurality with more or with less precision, depending on the speaker’s creative needs. In other words, the Greek plural number also includes entities of two, and it is therefore up to the speaker to either use the more precise dual or less precise plural number to describe pairs. The Greek number system stands in contrast to the Sanskrit system, which employs an “Opposition of Exclusion” (89) in which the plural excludes entities of two, granting a

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<sup>49</sup> This compartmentalization, as found in Altmann’s (1978) description of *eben* and *gerade* among other focus particles, was critically discussed in section 2.5.1, where isolated starred sentences were invariably marked as idiosyncratic.

hypothetical Sanskrit speaker only one option and therefore less creative license in describing pairs. As Diver cleverly phrases it: “When Homer uses the dual, he is trying to tell us something. It would well behoove us to listen” (2012:99).

This example illustrates that it is much more concise to find out the underlying human motivations for making utterances than it is to break these utterances down into lists of numerous ostensibly unrelated atomistic descriptions of the particles’ functions-in-sentences. These individual functions are prone to be highly dependent on the surrounding environment such as other elements in the sentence and factors in the discursive context. We critically confront and deconstruct the ‘lists’ approach in entries of German dictionaries describing various interpretations of *eben* and *gerade* (see Chapter 4). In keeping with the CS Linguistic tradition, we posit underlying meanings of *eben* and *gerade* in our hypothesis, namely marking a constituent respectively as conform-to-expectation or counter-to-expectation.

The underlying meanings are the raw material that contributes to inferring concrete messages in specific contexts. In such specific contexts, additional grammatical and/or lexical meanings signaled by other signal-meaning pairs (i.e. elements or structures in a sentence) as well as the extralinguistic context give the hearer an accumulation of hints to leap to a specific conclusion, that is, the message that the speaker intends the hearer to receive. The underlying meanings by themselves remain unchanged across contexts and should not be confused with the concrete messages, i.e. contaminations from the context that do not hold up when additional signal-meaning pairs are manipulated.

Two notions of human strategies in communication that have frequently served as explanatory tools within the CS approach to linguistics are ‘inferential complexity’

and the 'economy of effort'. Ellen Contini-Morava (1995) states that inferential complexity, "the perceptual problem of signal recognition, iconicity, and ease of processing" (13) is to be avoided in speech and can show how some distributions are not arbitrary. (The avoidance of) Inferential complexity has been utilized by CS scholars to explain linguistic—frequently syntactic—phenomena. Studies that discuss inferential complexity include García (1975), Kirsner (1976, 1979, 1983, 1985), van Putte (1988), Zubin & Köpcke (1985): García uses the notion to explain distribution patterns of the Spanish pronouns *le* and *lo*, Kirsner (1976) argues for inferential complexity as the superior of two mechanisms to explain the use of the so-called pseudo passive vis-à-vis the regular passive in Dutch, van Putte (1988) discusses word order phenomena in Spanish, and Zubin & Köpcke (1985) discuss the order of grammatical cases in German.

Contini-Morava (1991) has shown that the distribution of the Swahili auxiliary *kuwa* 'to be' signals to speakers the difficulty in achieving orientation. She asks: "[W]hat discourse/processing factors lead speakers to express information explicitly rather than leaving it to be inferred by the hearer from background knowledge, narrative conventions, or other pragmatic clues?" (278). She investigates a verb sequence that has hitherto been described as a compound tense of Swahili. Contini-Morava argues that the combination of the auxiliary *kuwa* 'to be' + main verb is in fact not to be considered a compound tense, but rather a collocation of verbs and that *kuwa*, rather than being an auxiliary, is a marker of event discontinuity, which is used by a speaker in communicative contexts in which a switch of perspective may not be obvious. Contini-Morava presents evidence that the use of *kuwa* is reserved for "for situations in which the normal inferential strategies for integrating a verb with its



context cannot be depended on” (294). A similar discourse discontinuity is observed in environments in which *gerade* is embedded. Conditions of discourse discontinuity include the contribution-initial position of utterances with *gerade* and therefore the lack of a previous mention of a constituent as well as jumps between uttering content and uttering explicit evaluations of that content. Finally, they include a prior calling-into-question of a constituent at hand, which makes the speakers selection regardless harder to process, since the speaker has basically already eliminated that option.

Regarding inferential complexity, Kirsner states: “Although it is true that human beings can jump to conclusions from sketchy data, it is to be expected that situations or events that are objectively less usual will be less easily and less readily inferred than those that are more normal in everyday experience” (1983:243; author’s emphasis, PAW). He continues: “The linguistic consequence of this state of affairs is that it should take more information—either more meanings and/or more precise meanings—to communicate a complicated or less obvious message than to communicate a simple one. Conversely, the fewer and/or less precise the meanings the speaker offers, the more likely the hearer should be able to infer a ‘simple’ or ‘obvious’ message.” The instances in which the selection of a constituent is less usual and less easily inferred will prompt a marking with *gerade* whereas more usual, easily inferred constituents are marked with *eben*. We see, the approach of CS to explain linguistic phenomena in terms of the human factor and consider grammar and lexicon to be linked is informative to the study at hand.

The notion of inferential complexity proves fruitful for the analyses below because it establishes a link between the observed complex syntactic patterns in which *eben* and *gerade* are frequently embedded and how these structures can be decoded by

a hearer. Ellen Contini-Morava (1995) defines inferential complexity as a “psychological explanation of syntactic phenomena” (13) as the “perpetual problem of signal recognition, iconicity, and ease of processing” (13), on other words, how easy it is for the hearer to ‘get’ the message by putting in inferential effort. Contini-Morava states that the distributional facts that fall into this category are not arbitrary: they can be explained either in terms of semantics [...] or pragmatics” (14). While interlocutors tend to avoid inferential complexity, it may at times be necessary for conveying what it is that speakers want to convey or for re-orienting a hearer who has unintentionally misinterpreted or intentionally disregarded information. Whenever that is the case, hearers can fall back on markers to guide them. In the case of *gerade*, it is used to ‘warn’ the hearer of a statement that will run counter to their expectation or require more effort on the hearer’s part to be properly decoded.

Bearing this in mind, the affinity of *eben* and *gerade* to their respective complex syntactic structures and specific semantic elements can be explained: If inferential complexity cannot always be avoided in discourse, which may lead to the hearer interpreting statements and their relationships in a way that differs from what the speaker has intended, for example, choosing a different constituent than the speaker has in mind (see section 5.3), it is helpful to utilize a marker that signals to the hearer the divergence in choices due to the potential challenges that decoding an inferentially complex utterance presents. Although the particles do not resolve the inferential complexity of an utterance, their utterance is prompted by the assumed or observed inferential complexity of a situation and by the assumption whether the hearer will reasonably arrive at the same constituent choice the speaker has in mind or not.

The notion of inferential complexity is closely connected to the notion of economy of effort and the minimax principle, which also reflect the use and functions of *eben* and *gerade*. The principle of economy of effort states that speakers and hearers strive to make minimal effort in a conversation and still have maximal communicational gain. From a speaker's perspective that means that applying more precision than necessary to an utterance will be avoided when conveying information that is easy to infer (Diver 1995:44; 79; Contini-Morava 1995:17). We see this in artificial scenarios in which uttering *gerade*, though the constituent choice should be clear from the surrounding context, is inappropriate and creates connotations of combativeness (see, e.g. example (49) in section 4.6).

Conversely, more precision is needed when conveying information that is presumably more difficult for a hearer to infer. For a hearer, more precise information makes it less complex to infer the intended message, but thanks to inferential strategies, hearers are well-equipped to take the potentially sparse information a speaker provides.<sup>50</sup> They can take underlying meaning and the immediate context in which it is presented, and with the help of real-world knowledge, the context, socio-cultural conventions, human psychological biases, other extralinguistic factors, develop inferential patterns (Contini-Morava 1995:5) and the ability to jump to conclusions to arrive at the message that is relevant to them in the communicative situation.

That message is ideally the one the speaker wants to convey. In other words, inference mediates the relationship between imprecise underlying meanings and

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<sup>50</sup> This Cooperative Principle goes back to Grice (1968:45).

context-specific messages (Contini-Morava 1995:17). That should not mean that providing more information than necessary to a hearer never happens. In fact, providing more information than necessary and thus flouting the conversational Maxim of Quantity established by Grice (1968:45) implicates that there is a reason justifying that comparatively greater effort in providing additional information. This applies to the use of *eben* and *gerade*. Examples will illustrate that, particularly in ambiguous discourse-initial situations and when expressing ostensible truisms,<sup>51</sup> including *gerade* to mark an element of these truisms allows for a speaker to be impositional<sup>52</sup> and opens up the path for providing more information the speaker regards as relevant in the respective discourse situation (section 4.1).

The following diagram illustrates the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* within a system of EXPECTEDNESS in accordance with the CS-style notation:

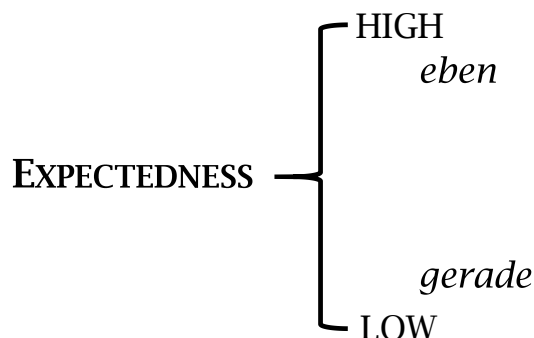


Figure 1 - *eben* and *gerade* in a System of Expectedness

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<sup>51</sup> A truism here is understood as a statement expresses facts that are considered commonplace, self-evident, undoubted, and thus too obvious to be mentioned.

<sup>52</sup> The notion of impositions was established by Yokoyama (1986) and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. In essence, an imposition is a speaker's misassessment of a communicative situation in which s/he assumes that some knowledge is located in the hearer's area of current concern which the speaker is in fact not thinking about in the moment of the speaker's utterance (59).

In this system of expectedness, *gerade* is used to signal the LOW EXPECTEDNESS of a constituent, i.e. that the speaker's choice of a constituent is counter-to-expectation and *eben* is used to signal HIGH EXPECTEDNESS of a constituent, i.e. that a constituent is conform-to-expectation.

The particles *eben* and *gerade* are not only compared to each other but are frequently compared to two additional focus particles, *ausgerechnet* and *genau*. König (1991b) exclusively addresses these four particles which, according to him, display strong correlations of syntactic and semantic properties. Jacobs (1983:40) counts the four and a few additional particles as expressions of a relevance focus which he considers a separate group from the larger group of *Gradpartikeln*. Altmann briefly considers the possibility of a dialectal variation or varying degrees of speaker involvement when using either *gerade* or *ausgerechnet* (1978:153). Pozlewicz states that *eben* can be substituted with *genau* and *gerade* can be replaced with *ausgerechnet* and *eben* (2011:99; 108). Baunebjerg also claims a substitutability of *eben* with either *genau* or *gerade*, but a non-substitutability of *gerade* and *genau* and she suggests that *eben* occupies a middle ground on a spectrum in which it overlaps with *gerade* and with *genau* at the more extreme points, respectively (1981:198). Taking these observations into account and combining them with our working hypothesis, an expanded system of expectedness may look like Figure 2 below:

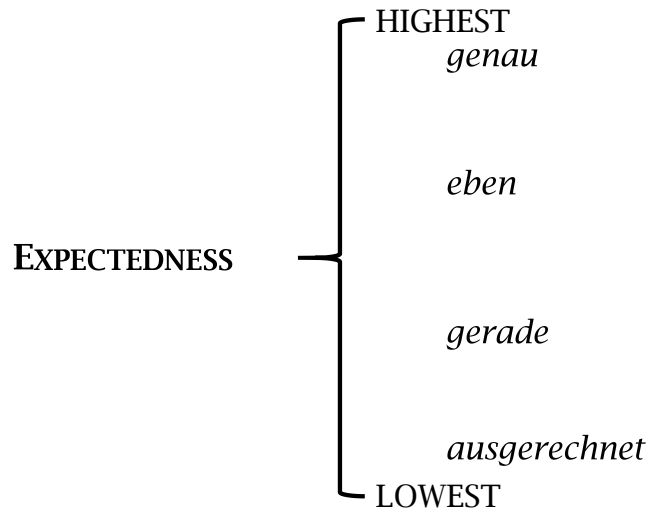


Figure 2 - *Eben, gerade, genau, and ausgerechnet* in a System of Expectedness

The figure shows us a system of EXPECTEDNESS and a scale ranging from HIGHEST to LOWEST. Along this scale, the four particles *ausgerechnet*, *gerade*, *eben*, and *genau* are arranged. We suggest that *ausgerechnet* is the marker signaling the LOWEST EXPECTEDNESS and *genau* the HIGHEST, and *eben* and *gerade* occupy the contested middle ground. While *eben* and *gerade* can mutually replace each other at times, as can *ausgerechnet* and *gerade* or *eben* and *genau*, the replaceability appears to reach its limits when one item on the scale is skipped. That means that *gerade* typically cannot replace *genau*, nor *ausgerechnet* *eben* and vice versa without a substantial change in what is signaled to the hearer. It is after all a substantial difference if an entity's expectedness is high or low.

Beside the four individual particles, their combinations also present intriguing data. It was observed in the corpus data that the focus particles *eben* and *gerade* can be combined—as *eben gerade* or *gerade eben*. Based on the diagram illustrating the arrangement of the two particles, we speculate that could relate to the individual particles in two ways: the *eben/gerade* combinations occupy the middle ground

between *eben* and *gerade* on the spectrum of EXPECTEDNESS. This assumption is informed by a similar observation made by Parrott about the combination of the Russian particles *že* and *ved'* (1997:228-235). It would then have to be investigated in a future study whether there is a difference in the expectedness expressed by each *eben gerade* and *gerade eben*, respectively. Alternatively, the combinations can simply be more emphatic than individual particles in which case their relation to *eben* and *gerade* will also have to be determined. To incorporate a cross-linguistic assessment, Baunebjerg identifies a Danish particle combination that she considers a particularly well-suited translation of the combination *gerade eben* (1981:200). Beside the combinations of *eben* and *gerade*, the combination *eben genau* is acceptable, whereas the converse combination *\*genau eben* is not, nor are *\*gerade ausgerechnet* and *\*ausgerechnet gerade* let alone any combinations of particles that are not adjacent to each other within the system of EXPECTEDNESS. It may be the case that the combination *eben genau* occupies the middle ground between *eben* and *genau* just as the *eben /gerade* combinations occupy the middle ground between *eben* and *gerade*. Future research should investigate why some combinations are unacceptable despite the fact that individual particles can replace each other and test whether the particle combinations occupy a middle ground between the individual particles or whether a different factor, such as Altmann's suggested speaker involvement, is at play in the cases of combinations. Questionnaires can pinpoint the limits to substitutions and add statistical weight to the preliminary speculations we offer here.

Most importantly, the figure above suggests that *ausgerechnet* and *genau* constitute the extreme points in this system of EXPECTEDNESS and there is no ambiguity about the fact that they are not well-suited to mutually replace each other which the

authors mentioned above have pointed out. The two ‘extreme’ particles do not pose a challenge to the extent that do *eben* and *gerade* when it comes to their differentiation. In this study, we will focus on the most challenging ‘middle section’ of the diagram above—the difficult relationship of the individual particles *eben* and *gerade*.

An approach to particle research that is akin to CS Linguistics is the *bedeutungsminimalistische* ‘meaning minimalist’ investigation of the particles *eben* and *gerade*. The meaning minimalist approach to particle research is elaborated upon by Posner (1979; see also Brünjes 2014:9). In this approach, scholars attempt to find a single, underlying meaning that spans, and interacts with, all functions and contexts of the word in question to create various concrete messages (Brünjes 2014:9, Posner 1979:380). This approach to particle research has been favored by Weydt, Thurmair (1989), Autenrieth (2002), Hentschel & Weydt (2003), and Abraham (1991b). The basic tenets are shared by CS Linguistics, which posits an underlying meaning of linguistic units that can bring about differing concrete messages in human communication (cf. Diver 1995). At the other end of the spectrum, meaning maximalist (*bedeutungsmaximalistischer*) approach to particle research is favored by Helbig & Helbig (1995), Helbig & Kötz (1981), and Gornik-Gerhardt (1981). In this branch, the focus lies on the multitude of functions of the words in question without a relationship to a single, underlying meaning.<sup>53</sup> The study at hand more aligned with the meaning minimalist approach. The approach is more faithful to the principle of Occam’s razor (cf. Abraham 1991b:208): Finding the fewest assumptions about the linguistic unit at hand is more manageable than settling for a great number of diverse

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<sup>53</sup> Langacker (1987:369-382) would also object to this approach, which posits entirely different items without any connection. His perspective on polysemy incorporates a hierarchy of more abstract, or schematic, higher-level nodes that can become more specific on lower-level nodes.



explanations. It also eliminates unwieldy explanatory ‘white noise’ on a case-by-case basis that results in typologies, lists—and inevitably exceptions that cannot be appropriately accounted for; the infamous ‘miscellaneous’ category. Abraham (1991b) eloquently provides three reasons in support of a meaning minimalist approach: Firstly, it is simply not plausible to assume that what was once one lexeme<sup>54</sup> has split into several different lexemes even though an abstract relationship between the two is still noticeable. Therefore, one should not attempt a distinct listing of several lexemes unless it can be shown that no derivational reconstruction is possible (1991b:208). The analysis at hand shows that synchronically, links are indeed possible between word types, specifically between the different particle labels that have been suggested for *eben*. Not only is a meaning minimalist approach with short descriptions more concise, but also beneficial to applied fields such as translation studies and foreign language instruction. In both fields, complex labeling impedes arriving at an acceptable solution quickly, be it the translation of a meaning or the natural use of an expression in the foreign language classroom.

The following chapter is dedicated to minimal pair analyses of sentences containing each particle. The high control over the environments allows for an illustration of which conditions in the contexts prompt the use of *eben* and when they prompt the use of *gerade*.

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<sup>54</sup> i.e. the physical and mental representation in the speaker’s lexicon.

#### 4. Minimal Pair Analysis

In this chapter, isolated sentences<sup>55</sup> containing *eben* and *gerade* will be examined in a minimal pair analysis. If the syntactic elements are identical and the position of the two focus particles is also identical, then differences in the interpretations can be attributed to the differences in the focus particle resulting from substitution tests. The acceptability judgments are made by the author of this study who is a native speaker of German. Future investigations should incorporate questionnaires with judgments by native speakers, but the acceptability tests must be modified from previous forms (e.g., Altmann 1978) in order to move beyond ostensibly inexplicable judgments of isolated sentences.

For purposes of disambiguation, rather than using the term ‘meaning’ when referring to the particles’ properties as suggested by the dictionary entries, we will use the term ‘interpretation’ in a non-technical sense. ‘Interpretations’ are understood as the overall concrete impression that a unit-within-an-utterance creates in a hearer, based on the interaction of each particle’s underlying meaning, in the CS sense, with

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<sup>55</sup> This outline of uses does not include exhaustively all sentence and illocution types. The notion of illocution/illocutionary acts goes back to J. L. Austin (1962) and J. R. Searle (1969). According to Austin, the locution/locutionary act is that which is said and the illocutionary act is that which is meant. In the paradigm example ‘Can you pass me the salt?’ what is uttered is a question (locutionary act) and what is meant (illocutionary act) is a request to pass the salt. As far as *eben* and *gerade* are concerned, there is no difference in acceptability of their possible syntactic positions. The limitations to grammaticality were addressed in section 2.5.1, for example, the particles cannot occur in imperatives or purely informational questions, nor in the syntactic postfield. For studies incorporating various sentence/illocution types, the reader is referred to Krivonosov’s dissertation, which focuses on the distribution and syntactic position of modal particles in various sentence types. Hentschel (1986:204-230) has investigated each sentence type and provides a great number of examples. Abraham (1991b) also conducts a thorough syntactic investigation to answer the question where the particles’ illocutive force comes about, then concludes by stating: “The result of the syntactic chapter is admittedly somewhat meager in that the questions addressed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 have not been answered satisfactorily. It is my suspicion that an answer will not lie within syntax or any type of non-referential, correlational semantics, but within some type of pragmatics” (249; author’s emphasis, PAW).

the (mostly semantic) properties of the other elements in the sentence as well as with the context beyond the sentence. This understanding aligns closely with Fabricius-Hansen's use of the term 'interpretation' in a non-technical sense: "[Es handelt] sich um Interpretationen durch den Sprachbenutzer, d.h. um den letzten Endes psychischen Prozeß, durch den die-/derjenige, die/der einen Satz-im-Kontext hört oder liest, diesem einen Sinn zuordnet" "[These are] interpretations on the part of the language user, i.e. ultimately the psychological process by which s/he who hears or reads a sentence-in-context attributes a sense to it' (1986:24). In addition, the particle-bearing sentences will be contrasted with particle-less versions in elimination tests. This helps determine which elements the particles affect in what manner in relation to the rest of the sentence and the context.

The analysis provides insights into four aspects regarding the particles: the relationship of suggested particle functions and sample sentences; the various labels assigned to the lexeme *eben*; the relationship of the particles' presence to their absence in a sentence; and the relationship of *eben* and *gerade* to each other, particularly variations in their distribution.

First, it will be shown that functions that have been traditionally suggested for the particles in both German dictionaries and particle scholarship are in fact pragmatic effects resulting from the particles' interaction with other elements in their syntactic environments, not underlying meanings inherent to the particles that are applicable to a wide array of sentences and illocutions types. By deliberately manipulating the sentences in question, it will be proven that many suggestions of how *eben* and *gerade* work are in fact contaminations from specific syntactic elements and contexts akin to the concrete messages in CS Linguistics. These messages are not generalizable for all

environments but were presented as such. To do away with this contamination, we suggest the particles' underlying meanings put forth in the hypothesis and argue that their interaction with the respective specific environments results in the variety of interpretations, or, as García expresses it, that “meanings are contextually transmuted into interpretations” (2009:20).

Second, the underlying meaning suggested for the lexeme *eben* helps consolidate a larger number of particle labels and overlaps between these labels. The hypothesis provides a singular, abstract, underlying meaning to explain the resulting suggested particle functions within acceptable sentences without the contaminations from concrete syntactic and contextual environments.

Third, sentences containing *eben* and *gerade* differ from particle-less sentences in certain semantic/pragmatic nuances: When a particle is positioned in proximity to a constituent, that constituent becomes marked. The marking signals to the hearer that special attention is to be paid to the constituent and its relationship with the rest of the sentence and the surrounding context: That constituent becomes the anchoring point of question-answer pairs and the hook on which to form an argument. More specifically, this marking concerns the speaker's knowledge or assumptions about the hearer's knowledge and constituent choice.

*Eben* and *gerade* cannot always mutually replace each other without unacceptable results due to the difference in signal to the hearer, as presented in the hypothesis. While the observation that there is no complete equivalence between *eben* and *gerade* is not new, we will apply the hypothesis from section 1.2—outlining the speaker's motivation for uttering each particle—to explain *why* and under which conditions the mutual replaceability is unacceptable, and which factors appear to make

a replaceability possible (see section 4.2 below). This helps illustrate that the distribution of the two is non-trivial, that is, not a random and unmotivated distribution as encountered in instances of stylistic free variation.<sup>56</sup> For the reader's convenience, the hypothesis brought forth in this study is reiterated below:

I) When *eben* marks a constituent, it signals that this constituent is conform-to-expectation to the hearer (or the speaker). Its use is motivated by two conditions: Either there is evidence in the discourse situation prompting the speaker to know or assume that the hearer chooses the same constituent to complete the sentence, or there is at least no evidence to prompt the speaker to know or assume the contrary, namely that the hearer prefers a different constituent.

II) When *gerade* marks a constituent, it signals that this constituent is counter-to-expectation to the hearer (or the speaker). Its use is motivated by two conditions: Either there is evidence in the discourse situation prompting the speaker to know or assume that the hearer chooses a different constituent to complete the sentence, or there is at least no evidence to prompt the speaker to know or assume the contrary, i.e. that the hearer selects the same constituent as the speaker.

Typically, the conform-to-expectation or counter-to-expectation signaling to the hearer will occur in dialogs like the parliamentary debates we use as data. There are also instances in which the speaker may be engaged in a narration of events and expresses whether previously held expectations were maintained or changed throughout events in the narrative. Examples of each will be discussed in the course of this chapter.

The functions of *eben* and *gerade* commonly suggested in German dictionaries and in the scholarship on particles will guide the chapter structure: The functions and sample sentences in the Duden (2007) entries inform the sub-sections in which examples are presented and discussed. In the isolated sentence analyses, the sample sentences from the Duden (2007) entries on *eben* and *gerade* are adapted

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<sup>56</sup> Zubin understands stylistic free variation as instances in which “[i]nformants report no consistent semantic difference associated with the alternation in form” (1975:170).

orthographically to reflect their nature as sentences (e.g., through capitalization and punctuation). Square parentheses mark the constituents of the particles. The symbols ‘?’, ‘??’, and ‘\*’ mark increasing degrees of unacceptability as judged by the author. The type of unacceptability can be syntactic or semantic and will be discussed in the paragraphs surrounding the sentence in question.

We will examine these suggestions in the literature and check them for validity one by one. The goal is to show how all the individual unconnected suggestions of *eben* and *gerade* are the result of the particles’ underlying meanings interacting with particular elements in specific contexts. The disadvantage of enumerating lists is that they cannot adequately serve to outline a speaker’s motivation in a communicative situation in a manageable and concise manner. It is much more efficient to assume that a single, underlying meaning of a word is closely connected to a—perhaps abstract—communicative desire/impulse on the part of the speaker, which can result in several different concrete messages in speech (cf. Diver 1995). The abstract meanings of *eben* and *gerade* are less prone to infelicitous contaminations by context, yet, in interactions with different concrete environments, they bring about concrete functions and pragmatic effects.

In order to limit the scope of this investigation, it is necessary to forgo examinations of suprasegmental elements such as stress or intonation. The idea that there is a close connection between particles, prosody, and information structure has been investigated in a great number of works (e.g., Krivonosov 1965; Altmann 1978; Jacobs 1983; Dimroth 2004; Moroni 2010a, b; Sudhoff 2010) to which the reader is referred. Presenting the many possibilities of stress placement in each sample sentence would veer the study into a direction too far removed from its central question—‘what

is the semantic/pragmatic relationship of *eben* and *gerade*?' Furthermore, for the sake of simplicity, we will employ the principle of maximal closeness to focus (see Jacobs 1983:86), meaning we will by default assume that the constituent is the unit directly preceding or following the focus particle rather than a unit further removed, unless there is a strong indication to the contrary. We will now turn to the functions stipulated for *eben* and *gerade* in the Duden dictionary. For *gerade*, we find the following entry:

<sup>3</sup>gerade, (ugs.:) <sup>2</sup>grade <Partikel; unbetont> [zu <sup>2</sup>grade]: 1. drückt eine Verstärkung aus, weist mit Nachdruck auf etw. hin: g. das wollte ich ja; g. er sollte ruhig sein; g. Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung. 2. drückt Ärger, Verstimmung o. Ä. aus: ausgerechnet: warum muss g. ich das tun?; g. jetzt wird sie krank. 3. (ugs.) schwächt eine Verneinung ab, mildert einen Tadel o. Ä.: ich verdiene nicht g. viel; du hast das nicht g. professionell ausgeführt; sie ist nicht g. fleißig. (2007:674)

<sup>3</sup>gerade, (colloquial) <sup>2</sup>grade <particle; unstressed> [on <sup>2</sup>grade]: 1. expresses an intensification, refers with emphasis to something: g. that is what I wanted; g. he should be quiet; g. children need a lot of affection. 2. expresses anger, annoyance or similar: *ausgerechnet*: why do g. I have to do this?; g. now she is getting sick. 3. (colloquial) weakens a negation, attenuates criticism: I do not g. make much money; you did not g. execute that in a professional manner; she is not g. hard-working.'

The entry for *eben* presents the following interpretations:

<sup>3</sup>eben <Partikel; unbetont>: 1. verstärkt eine [resignierte] Feststellung, fasst bestätigend Vorangegangenes zusammen: er ist e. zu nichts zu gebrauchen; das ist e. so; du hättest ihn e. nicht ärgern sollen. 2. verstärkt eine Aussage, eine Behauptung; <sup>4</sup>gerade, <sup>2</sup>genau: e. jetzt brauchen wir das Geld; das e. nicht! 3. schwächt eine Verneinung ab: sie war nicht eben freundlich (war ziemlich unfreundlich) zu ihm; er ist nicht e. (nicht gerade) ein Held. (2007:442)

<sup>3</sup>eben <particle; unstressed>: 1. strengthens a [resigned] statement, summarizes what was previously said in a confirmatory: he is e. not useful for anything; that is e. so; you should e. not have angered him. 2. emphasizes a statement, a claim; <sup>4</sup>gerade, <sup>2</sup>genau: e. now we need the money; that e. not! 3. weakens a negation: she was not e. friendly (was quite unfriendly) to him; he is not e. (not gerade) a hero.'

The suggestions from the two entries can be summarized in a table:

Table 5 - Suggested Interpretations for *eben* and *gerade* in Duden (2007)

Suggested Function / Particle	<i>eben</i>	<i>gerade</i>
Emphasis/intensification	X	X
Emphasis of resignation	X	
Summary & confirmation of previous statement	X	
Expressing anger/annoyance		X
Weakening negation	X	X
Attenuating criticism		X

Table 5 above illustrates that two of the six interpretations are shared by *eben* and *gerade*: ‘emphasis/intensification’ and ‘weakening negation’. The two interpretations appear to be mutually exclusive, since ‘emphasis’ typically means adding something, whereas the expression ‘weakening negation’ typically means taking something away. How can the same focus particles affect an emphasis of some elements whereas they affect a weakening of negation? We will show below that the term ‘weakening’ is not representative of the actual syntactic and semantic interaction of *eben* and *gerade* and the negation particle *nicht*.

In addition to the shared interpretations, the two particles are each also attributed with individual ones. *Eben* is said to express resignation and to summarize/confirm a prior statement. These two functions represent a speaker’s ‘weak stance’: In both instances, the speaker’s utterances describe an external circumstance ‘as is’ without superimposing the speaker’s attitude or voice on them. By contrast, those functions attributed to *gerade* represent a speaker’s ‘strong stance’: When expressing anger/annoyance and attenuating criticism, the speaker voices his/her own perspective and superimposes a strong subjective filter on the matters at hand.



These two clusters can be naturally connected to the respective signals of *eben* and *gerade*. When a speaker confirms/summarizes a prior statement or expresses resignation about a matter, then the pieces of knowledge from the prior statement or the matter about which the speaker is ‘resignating’ by uttering *eben* are conform-to-expectation. The speaker refers to preexisting pieces from the discourse situation rather than adding his/her own personal take on them and presents them ‘as is’ to him/herself or to an interlocutor. When a speaker expresses annoyance or (attenuated) criticism, s/he makes a subjective contribution to/evaluation of the subject matter at hand that is not necessarily inferable from the preceding discourse situation since that evaluation originates in the speaker’s own mind. This subjective ‘commentary’ can be counter-to-expectation to the hearer.

For the time being, this insight from the suggested interpretations above shall be left to simmer and will be addressed again when applied to each individual interpretation suggested in the dictionaries. We now examine each of the suggested particle interpretations in more detail, following the sequence of presentation in the Duden (2007) entries.

#### **4.1. Suggested Interpretation 1: Emphasis**

One of the shared functions of *eben* and *gerade* is ‘emphasis’ (Duden 2007:442, 674; see also Wahrig 2006:407, 601<sup>57</sup>; Kempcke 2000:247, 399; Altmann 1978:7, 153; Cárdenes-Melián 1997:149-150). Lütten states that both *eben* and *gerade* intersect in a

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<sup>57</sup> Wahrig (2006) does not list a separate ‘focus particle’ category for the two entries but rather lists all the functions discussed in this chapter in the ‘adverb’ category. There is an *Abtönungspartikel* category for *eben* (407). Kempcke et al. (2000) list a separate *Gradpartikel* category.

'specifying' function (1977:358) and extends that function to *genau* (261).<sup>58</sup> The following sample sentences are provided in the Duden (2007) entries:

(6)

*gerade*

- (a) *Gerade* [das]<sup>59</sup> wollte ich ja.  
PARTICLE [that] wanted I PARTICLE.

'I wanted just that.'

- (b) *Gerade* [er] sollte ruhig sein.  
PARTICLE [he] should quiet to-be.

'He of all people should be quiet.'

- (c) *Gerade* [Kinder] brauchen viel Zuneigung.  
PARTICLE [children] need much affection.

'Children in particular need a lot of affection.'

*eben*:

- (d) *Eben* [jetzt] brauchen wir das Geld.  
PARTICLE [now] need we the money.

'It is now that we need the money.'

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<sup>58</sup> She uses the isolated sentence *Gerade das ist auch meine Meinung* 'Gerade that is also my opinion' to illustrate this point. No further context is provided. This sentence is very similar in structure to sentence 6(a), so we assume that her 'specifying' function is equivalent to the posited 'emphasis' interpretation by other authors.

<sup>59</sup> Jacobs (1983:20) and Dimroth (2004:85) assert that *das* 'that' is not new information and that the particles—counter to frequent statements in the scholarship (Gibbon 1998:89; Machate 1996:94; Nekula 1997:49), do not have to associate with (or 'mark', or 'direct', or 'select') the new information/comment/rheme in a sentence. This ostensible contradiction can be resolved by applying Yokoyama's (1986) seven types of different knowledge: In the example above, *das* constitutes referential knowledge, i.e. knowledge of a code assigned a bundle of qualities that a referent represents to the speaker (1986:9). Simultaneously, *das* is also the specificational knowledge needed to fill in the partially unspecified propositional knowledge [[I wanted something]] (1986:11). In the latter case, *das* is new information. The same applies to *das* in sentence e) and *er* in sentence b). Yokoyama's model shows how both author groups' suggestions are justified and do not necessarily have to contradict each other. Information can be old and new depending on what type of knowledge it is associated with (1986:142).

- (e) [*Das*] *eben* [*nicht!*]  
 [that] PARTICLE not!

‘Not that at all!’

As a concise and practical dictionary, Duden (2007) provides no definition of ‘emphasis’. Across linguistic disciplines, numerous definitions of emphasis have been suggested. However, these definitions diverge greatly and, similar to the scholarship on particles, there is little agreement on the concept. Thus, the elimination tests carried out below will serve to articulate what ‘emphasis’ may mean applied to the focus particles *eben* and *gerade*, based solely on comparisons of sentence variants in which the particles are present with those in which they are omitted.

With that in mind, there is a considerable caveat about the sentences selected: The particles are not the only means of creating what is called emphasis. For example, the anaphoric demonstrative pronoun *das* ‘that’ can be found in sentences (a) and (e)<sup>60</sup> and the syntactic inversion (i.e. non-canonical syntactic position) of elements can be found in sentences (a) and (d), and potentially (e).<sup>61</sup> Sentences (b) and (c) are the exceptions; they contain no additional elements expressing emphasis.

<sup>60</sup> Sentence (e) is indeed so ambiguous that either *das* ‘that’ or *nicht* ‘not’ could be the constituent of *eben*. This can only be determined through context. We will consider both options.

<sup>61</sup> The sentence “Das e. nicht!” ‘This e. not!’ is an ellipsis missing the verb and, depending on the syntactic role that was intended for *das* ‘that’, it is also missing a direct (accusative) object. The sentences below were completed with the elements that are potentially missing.

- e<sup>1.1</sup>) *Das* (will ich) *eben* *nicht!*  
 That-AKK want I PARTICLE not  
 ‘I don’t want *eben* that!’
- e<sup>1.2</sup>) (*Ich* will) *das* *eben* *nicht!*  
 I want that-AKK PARTICLE not  
 ‘I don’t want *eben* that!’
- e<sup>2</sup>) *Das* (geht) *eben* *nicht!*

Based on the sample sentences presented by Duden (2007) above, it cannot be determined with certainty whether the suggested emphasis is really owed to the function of the particle, or whether indeed the emphasis is brought about in the demonstrative pronouns, or the non-canonical sentence-initial position of the constituents, or if it is a combination of all features combined. The sentence selection is not ideal, that is, sufficiently diverse or unambiguous for proving the suggested function. Therefore, the sentences will have to be modified to eliminate these additional factors.

To cancel out the other potential emphasis features, the sentences are rearranged to a default word order and the demonstrative pronouns are replaced with personal pronouns. Syntactic elements are added to the ellipsis (e) with *eben* to render it a complete sentence and word order changes are then made in the same fashion. Since the original example is an ellipsis there is a possibility that *es* is the subject of an intransitive sentence or the direct (= accusative) object of a transitive sentence. Therefore, two versions are created: the intransitive versions span clusters (e<sup>1</sup>) to (e<sup>4</sup>) and the transitive versions span clusters (e<sup>5</sup>) to (e<sup>7</sup>).

Focus particles can typically precede or follow a constituent, indicated by their position respective to the square brackets delimiting the constituent. We also add acceptability judgments. In a last step, we eliminate *gerade* and *eben* from the sentences and the variants with rearranged word orders, presented in the right

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That-NOM    goes    PARTICLE    not  
 'This does not *eben* work!'

If *das* 'that' is intended to be a direct object, the word order can be default (SVO) or accusative-first, as in sentences a) and a'). If *das* 'that' is intended to be a subject, the word order is default.

column, to determine whether the presence/absence of *eben/gerade* prompts any difference in acceptability and to determine the effects.

Table 6 - Sample Sentence Reordering and Particle Elimination Tests

<i>eben/gerade</i> Present	<i>eben/gerade</i> Eliminated
(a) <u>Gerade</u> [das] wollte ich ja. <sup>62</sup>	Das wollte ich ja.
(a <sup>1</sup> ) Ich wollte ja <u>gerade</u> [das].	Ich wollte ja das.
(a <sup>2</sup> ) ?Ich wollte <u>gerade</u> [das] ja.	Ich wollte das ja.
(a <sup>3</sup> ) *Ich wollte ja <u>gerade</u> [es].	*Ich wollte ja es.
(a <sup>4</sup> ) *Ich wollte <u>gerade</u> [es] ja.	Ich wollte es ja.
(b) <u>Gerade</u> [er] sollte ruhig sein.	Er sollte ruhig sein.
(c) <u>Gerade</u> [Kinder] brauchen viel Zuneigung.	Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung.
(d) <u>Eben</u> [jetzt] brauchen wir das Geld.	Jetzt brauchen wir das Geld.
(d <sup>1</sup> ) Wir brauchen <u>eben</u> [jetzt] das Geld.	Wir brauchen jetzt das Geld.
(d <sup>2</sup> ) Wir brauchen das Geld <u>eben</u> [jetzt].	Wir brauchen das Geld jetzt.
(e) Das <u>eben</u> nicht!	Das nicht!
(e <sup>1.1</sup> ) ??[Das] <u>eben</u> (geht) nicht! (e <sup>1.2</sup> ) *Das <u>eben</u> (geht) [nicht]!	Das (geht) nicht!
(e <sup>2.1</sup> ) ?[Das] (geht) <u>eben</u> nicht! (e <sup>2.2</sup> ) Das (geht) <u>eben/halt</u> [nicht]!	“”
(e <sup>3.1</sup> ) *[Es] <u>eben</u> (geht) nicht! (e <sup>3.2</sup> ) *Es <u>eben</u> (geht) [nicht]!	Es (geht) nicht!
(e <sup>4.1</sup> ) Es (geht) <u>eben/halt</u> nicht! (e <sup>4.2</sup> ) *[Es] (geht) <u>eben</u> nicht! (e <sup>4.3</sup> ) Es (geht) <u>eben</u> [nicht]!	“”
(e <sup>5.1</sup> ) ?[Das] <u>eben</u> (wollte ich) nicht! (e <sup>5.2</sup> ) *Das <u>eben</u> (wollte ich) [nicht]!	Das (wollte ich) nicht!
(e <sup>6.1</sup> ) (Ich wollte) das <u>eben/halt</u> nicht! (e <sup>6.2</sup> ) ?(Ich wollte) [das] <u>eben</u> nicht! (e <sup>6.3</sup> ) (Ich wollte) das <u>eben</u> [nicht]!	(Ich wollte) das nicht!
(e <sup>7.1</sup> ) (Ich wollte) es <u>eben/halt</u> nicht! (e <sup>7.2</sup> ) *(Ich wollte) [es] <u>eben</u> nicht! (e <sup>7.3</sup> ) (Ich wollte) es <u>eben</u> [nicht]!	(Ich wollte) es nicht!

<sup>62</sup> Sentence (a) also includes the modal particle *ja*. Weydt (1969:31) states that *ja* is used to implicate that there is agreement about the matter uttered in the sentence between the speaker and the hearer. König (1997:69-70) states that *ja* implicates the strength of an assumption and the status of its evidence and can be based on background knowledge of speaker and hearer or shared observations of a situation.

In Table 6, the word order of the sentences with particles (left column) is changed to default in sentences (a), (d), and (e)—sentences (b) and (c) are already in default word order. In addition, demonstrative pronouns, where present, were substituted with personal pronouns in the (a) and (e) cluster. The resulting relevant sentences with default word order and no other lexical markers of emphasis are (a<sup>3</sup>), (a<sup>4</sup>), (b), (c), (d<sup>1</sup>), the (e<sup>3</sup>) cluster, the (e<sup>4</sup>) cluster, and the (e<sup>7</sup>) cluster.

When comparing the particle-bearing sentences with the particle-less variants, we note that the constituents marked by the particles indeed remain the elements to which the hearer's attention is directed, even when they are moved to their canonical position and substituted with elements that are not inherently emphatic (like demonstratives). This differs from the variants in the right column, in which the particles have been eliminated.

The changes in the (a) cluster affect acceptability: A combination of the focus particle and the personal pronoun *es* 'it' is unacceptable, as is the particle-less variant of (a<sup>3</sup>), in which *es* is positioned in the sentence-final position due to which it becomes the most notable element. The particle-less variant of (a<sup>4</sup>) is the only version that does not result in *es* becoming particularly noteworthy and thus is the only acceptable version. Analogous to our earlier evaluation, we argue that the forced salience of *es* in the sentences, whether it is brought about by the focus particle or by a non-canonical syntactic position, is incompatible with the general tendency for personal pronouns to not be accented. Accent is, however, one of the possible features of focus particle constituents (cf. Table 3).<sup>63</sup> Personal pronouns are normally not emphasized due to their nature as stand-ins for previously identified entities. Previous identification may

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<sup>63</sup> cf. also to the accented elements in Jacob's (1983:6) examples, no. (2) and (3) in this study.

have happened linguistically, by mention of a noun or noun phrase, or extralinguistically by the discourse situation. If the personal pronouns are emphasized, however this would suggest that the referents were in fact unidentified until the utterance of the personal pronoun, which brings about the paradox and the unacceptability.

Sentence (b) is already in default word order. The difference between the particle-bearing and particle-less variants of (b) is that *gerade* marks *er* as the specific element in the sentence to pay attention to. No such lexical hint is given in the particle-less variant and as a result, no element stands out and a reader can make a choice of which element to focus on, if at all.

The (a) and (b) clusters offer a differentiated perspective on Altmann's (1978:74) proposed 'idiosyncrasies' of *eben* discussed in section 2.5.1. It was shown that the unacceptability of the neuter third person singular pronoun *es* is not only unacceptable in combination with *eben* but also with *gerade*. We tied this incompatibility to the notion of egocentricity.

The same observation of emphasis effects seen above also applies to the difference between the particle-bearing and particle-less variants of (c): With *gerade* in the sentence, *Kinder* 'children' is marked as the element of the sentence to pay most attention to; without *gerade*, no element of the sentence stands out in particular. Similarly, in the (d<sup>1</sup>) sentence variants, *eben* signals to the hearer to focus on *jetzt* 'now' whereas once that lexical signal is eliminated, no such signal is provided to the hearer in the particle-less sentence.

In the intransitive (e) versions, two syntactic permutations must be taken into consideration—(e<sup>3</sup>) and (e<sup>4</sup>). The focus particle can theoretically occupy various positions with respect to its constituent (typically preceding but also following it) and is considered a single unit with that constituent. That means that sentence clusters (e<sup>3</sup>) and (e<sup>4</sup>) are in canonical word order although the respective positions of *eben* and *es* or *nicht* ‘not’ vary. We also get the same saliency differences as with the other sentences above: The saliency of the constituent *es* (or *nicht*) is lexically made explicit by the particle, and there are no such saliences in the (two identical) particle-less versions.

More notably, the placement of *eben* affects the acceptability of the sentences: While (e<sup>3.1</sup>) with *eben* postposed vis-à-vis its constituent *es* is not acceptable, some sentences from (e<sup>4</sup>) are acceptable on two conditions: either if *eben* is interpreted as a modal particle like in (e<sup>4.1</sup>) with a wide scope or if the constituent of the focus particle *eben* is *nicht* like in (e<sup>4.3</sup>), since the distance to *es* in the sentence-initial position is greater than the distance to *nicht*—see Jacobs on the *Prinzip der maximalen Fokusnähe* ‘principle of maximal closeness of focus’ (1983:86). Similar to sentence (e<sup>4</sup>), sentences in (e<sup>7</sup>) are acceptable if *eben* is interpreted as a modal particle (e<sup>7.1</sup>) or as a focus particle with *nicht* as its constituent (e<sup>7.3</sup>). In the latter instances, *eben* signals about *nicht* that it is the element in the sentence to which hearer should pay the most attention.

To summarize, after having eliminated other elements in the Duden (2007) sample sentences that can bring about emphasis and having compared the particle-bearing with the particle-less sentences (Table 6), it was confirmed that *eben/gerade* ‘emphasize’ a constituent, if one understands emphasis as a lexical signal to direct the hearer’s attention to the respective marked constituents. In the sample sentences,



those are *es* in (a), *er* in (b), *Kinder* in (c), *jetzt* in (d), and *es* or *nicht* in (e). In the particle-less sentences, the hearer is at liberty to choose to pay attention to any element of each sentence or none more than the others (assuming there are no suprasegmental signals). Secondly, we noted an effect on acceptability when both focus particles combined with the neuter third person singular pronoun *es*.

With that said, the particles differ from other means of emphasis in that they do more than just directing the hearer's attention to the constituent. For example, while *das* 'that' refers to the preceding context in a grammatical way by acting as a placeholder for the lexically more explicit expression to which it refers, *eben* and *gerade* add a semantic/pragmatic aspect to the sentences, namely the speaker's knowledge or assumptions about the hearer's regard for the constituent marked by the focus particles. In contrast to other means of emphasis like word order changes and the use of demonstrative pronouns, the particles signal to the hearer that something about the marked constituents, as they complete the rest of the sentence, is remarkable, not merely that they are remarkable. The particles highlight the selected constituent in relation to hypothetical alternative constituents that are semantically similar or associated members of a set and could theoretically be chosen to complete the respective sentences and render them valid.

Specifically, in sentence (a), *gerade* puts *das* in relation to another, presupposed entity that the speaker could have theoretically wanted. In sentence (b), *er* is so noteworthy because another individual could have hypothetically been considered to complete the sentence 'should be quiet', but *gerade* signals that the rest of the sentence applies particularly to *er* and its associated extralinguistic referent. In sentence (c), *gerade* signals the rest of the sentence, 'need a lot of affection', applies

particularly to *Kinder* even though other hypothetical entities could also fill that slot and make the sentence valid. In sentences (d) and (e) with *eben*, a tacit selection process is also undertaken: *jetzt* and *das*, or *nicht*, are marked as particularly notable elements for the completion of their respective sentences, with other hypothetical replacements in mind.

So far, *eben* and *gerade* do seem to have a lot in common. They mark constituents in a sentence and due to that marking signal to the hearer that the speaker has a particular relationship of these constituents vis-à-vis hypothetical constituents in mind. What is the difference between the two? The substitution tests below illustrates that *eben* and *gerade* signal diverging assumptions or knowledge about an interlocutor's selection of a constituent to complete a sentence and render it valid. In Table 7 below, the original sentences are in the left column the versions with switched particles in the right column.

Table 7 - Sample Sentences with Substituted Particles

Original Sentences		Sentences with Substituted Particles	
(a)	Gerade das wollte ich ja.	(a')	Eben das wollte ich ja
(b)	Gerade er sollte ruhig sein.	(b')	?Eben er sollte ruhig sein. <sup>64</sup>
(c)	Gerade Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung.	(c')	?Eben Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung.
(d)	Eben jetzt brauchen wir das Geld.	(d')	Gerade jetzt brauchen wir das Geld.
(e)	Das eben nicht!	(e')	Das gerade nicht!

<sup>64</sup> As far as the incompatibility of *eben* + personal pronoun is concerned, we suggest that only the signal of *gerade* has sufficient pragmatic weight, marking such a personal pronoun as counter-to-expectation, to override the general tendency of some personal pronouns to avoid emphasis, but not enough to override that tendency in the neuter third person singular pronoun *es*, particularly if *es* designates an unsalient, inanimate referent. We have discussed the case of the 'dummy it' in section 2.5.1.

Comparing (a) with (a'), both particles render isolated sentences acceptable. Yet, the undertone of the sentence changes when substituting *gerade* with *eben*. In variant (a), the speaker's confirmation of wanting *das* 'that' has the connotation of an admonition or correction. This is not the case in the variant with *eben*, which is ostensibly more confirmatory or positively reassuring. Additional context helps illustrate this subtle difference in the functions of *eben* and *gerade* and creates limits to their mutual substitutions.

Suppose that *das* refers to a bottle of apple-flavored water, the extralinguistic entity that the interlocutor is handing to the speaker after the speaker has asked the interlocutor to fetch some flavored water. In one scenario, that interlocutor accompanies the gesture of handing over the bottle by saying *Orange war aus* 'They were out of orange'. By uttering the sentence, the interlocutor conveys that his/her first choice was to get the speaker orange-flavored water. The full statement could be "They were out of orange-flavored water, so I got you whatever other flavor was available. This one is... apple." Such an utterance is informed by the fact that the interlocutor believes the speaker truly prefers orange flavor to any other flavor and that the apple flavor that was available is less desired by the speaker in the discourse situation. The interlocutor might have picked the apple-flavored water because it still satisfies some of the characteristics the speaker is known/assumed to have wanted, namely a) water and more specifically b) water that is flavored. In this scenario, water with the wrong flavor still appears to be a better option than returning to the speaker empty-handed. Due to the interlocutor's utterance, the speaker has been presented with evidence that the interlocutor believes the orange flavor as the hypothetical alternative is a better fit and that the interlocutor's intention was to procure the flavor

s/he deemed preferable. The apple-flavored water is presented to the speaker because it represents, in the interlocutor's mind, the least inappropriate option out of hypothetical alternatives (such as getting nothing, lemonade, or Dr. Pepper, etc.) but the interlocutor defends a seemingly inferior choice by explaining the status of the preferred orange-flavored water, possibly in an attempt to appease the speaker.

Looking at the bottle of apple-flavored water, the speaker can utter two different responses, depending on whether s/he truly prefers apple-flavored water or orange-flavored water. If the speaker preferred apple-flavored water, the appropriate response of the speaker is (a) *Gerade das wollte ich ja*. The particle *gerade* points more insistently to the apple-flavored water bottle, signaling that the constituent diverges from the interlocutor's choice and correcting the speaker's inferred reasoning of the interlocutor '[speaker] actually prefers orange to apple-flavored water'. The speaker's internal thought process following both the interlocutor's utterance and non-verbal action can be described as follows: 'It has become apparent to me that you think I do not want this apple-flavored water as much as the orange-flavored water you talked about, which you seem to have wanted to obtain initially, but as a matter of fact I do want this apple-flavored water that you are presenting to me'. *Gerade* signals that the apple-flavored water presented is a choice that is counter-to-expectation to the hearer who was concerned with orange-flavored water.

If the speaker uttered *eben* to mark the constituent *das* in the reaction to the interlocutor's utterance 'They were out of orange', that would signal to the interlocutor that the speaker and the interlocutor agree that the orange-flavored water, with which the interlocutor is more concerned, is preferable and that both the speaker's and interlocutor's views on the constituent are congruent. The speaker's internal thought

process can be described as follows: 'It has become apparent to me that you think I do not want this apple-flavored water as much as the orange-flavored water you talked about, which you seem to have wanted to obtain initially, and indeed I prefer the (unavailable) orange-flavored water'. The marking with *eben* signals that the speaker's constituent choice is conform to the interlocutor's expectation.

The use of the different particles even has an effect on the extralinguistic referent of *das*: In the first sentence, *gerade + das<sub>1</sub>*, refers to the counter-to-expectation extralinguistic referent apple-flavored water, in the second sentence, *eben + das<sub>2</sub>*, refers to the alternative, conform-to-expectation referent orange-flavored water. This is presented in a condensed manner in Table 8 further below.

In a slightly modified scenario, the interlocutor hands the bottle of apple-flavored water to the speaker, saying *Ich war nicht sicher, was du wolltest, also habe ich Apfelgeschmack geholt* 'I wasn't sure what you wanted, so I got you apple flavor'. In this instance, the interlocutor gives no evidence that s/he thinks of another flavor as preferable to the apple-flavored water. The interlocutor also presents the speaker with the bottle, which is the ultimate result of a selection process in which this flavor was deemed the best choice. The speaker is thus presented with evidence that the interlocutor may not have been entirely sure which one to pick, but ultimately went through the effort of buying the apple-flavored water. If it is incidentally the flavor the speaker indeed likes, the speaker's thought process can be described as follows: 'It has become apparent to me that you were not exactly sure whether I want apple-flavored water, but you opted for it and are presenting to me now. As a matter of fact, I do want this apple-flavored water'. The appropriate response of the speaker is (a') *Eben das wollte ich ja*, 'Eben that (=apple-flavored water) is the one I wanted' because there is no

explicit evidence available for the speaker to assume that the interlocutor has a different flavor in mind. After some guess work, the interlocutor apparently came to the ‘correct’ conclusion, as far as the speaker is concerned, that this flavor may be the best choice. Given all this effort on the interlocutor’s part, using *gerade* would be inappropriate. It would signal the speaker’s assumption that the interlocutor was really concerned with a different flavor, despite verbal and physical evidence on the contrary, and would mark *das* (= apple-flavored water) as counter-to-expectation when the discourse situation explicitly renders it conform-to-expectation.

Suppose now that during the interlocutor’s second utterance, the speaker had rather been thinking about orange-flavored water. That entails that the speaker disprefers or does not even want apple-flavored water at all. The interlocutor has not even considered that option in this second scenario, bringing the apple-flavored water and talking only about it, thus having made an incorrect choice in the speaker’s view. The verbal and physical evidence points to the interlocutor’s concern with a constituent that the speaker does not agree with. Now, the appropriate response is *Gerade das wollte ich nicht* ‘*Gerade* that (= apple) is the one I did not want’,<sup>65</sup> signaling once again that the speaker’s and the interlocutor’s concerns with constituents and their associated extralinguistic entities diverge. The speaker’s thought process may have been: ‘It has become apparent to me that you were not exactly certain whether I want apple-flavored water but ended up getting this particular flavor anyway, and it is the one you are presenting to me now. But as a matter of fact, I dislike apple-flavored

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<sup>65</sup> We are maintaining the two external referents as constituents for consistency but it would also be perfectly acceptable for the speaker to utter *Das* (=apple-flavored water) *wollte ich gerade nicht!* ‘That wanted I *gerade* not!’ In this case, the negation particle and therefore the negative polarity is marked as counter-to-expectation, which still conveys the message that the interlocutor got something about the underlying statement ‘speaker wants apple-flavored water’ wrong.

water, i.e. disprefer apple flavor, an option which you do not appear to have considered'. Since the interlocutor was thinking about the apple-flavored water present, s/he was not at all considering that it would be the best candidate to complete the statement 'speaker does not want x'. The speaker possesses the additional knowledge that apple-flavored water is in fact the best constituent to fill in the sentence 'I do not want x', a piece of knowledge that the interlocutor has apparently been missing because s/he ultimately made an effort to procure the apple-flavored water. The two different scenarios and two different possible reactions, depending on the speaker's preference, can be broken down in a table:

Table 8 - Flavored Water Scenario #1 Overview

Interlocutor Utterance	Speaker Reaction Possibility 1	Speaker Reaction Possibility 2
„Orange was out“ → concern with orange flavor	wants apple <sub>1</sub> flavor: → <i>gerade das<sub>1</sub></i>	wants orange <sub>2</sub> flavor: → <i>eben das<sub>2</sub></i>
“I was not sure, so I got you apple” → concern with apple flavor	wants apple flavor: → <i>eben das<sub>1</sub></i>	does not want apple flavor: → <i>gerade das<sub>1</sub> + nicht</i>

We can see in the overview in Table 8 above that when the speaker and interlocutor are concerned with the same constituent (and its associated external referent), the use of *eben* marks the constituent as conform-to-expectation, signaling that the speaker and the hearer had the same idea about the constituent within the sentence. If the interlocutor shows signs of being more concerned with an alternative constituent, *gerade* is the appropriate marker of a counter-to-expectation constituent, signaling that there is a discrepancy between the speaker's and hearer's knowledge inventories and resulting constituent selections. Additionally, *das* can refer to the present or the absent extralinguistic entities. *Eben* and *gerade* in combination with *das<sub>1</sub>* and *das<sub>2</sub>* create the four distinct reaction scenarios.

With regard to (b) vs. (b'), the acceptability of the isolated sentence with *gerade* is higher than with *eben*. Altmann notes that there is a general incompatibility of *eben* with pronouns but refers to this as an idiosyncrasy that remains to be further explored (1978:74). We have already seen in the modifications in Table 6 that there is an incompatibility of both focus particles with the neuter third person singular personal pronoun *es* 'it'. Why is it that in this sample sentence with *gerade* and the masculine third person singular personal pronoun *er* is acceptable but *eben* is not?

A possible discourse situation, in which this sentence could be uttered, would be an instance, in which the person referred to (the extralinguistic referent of *er* 'he') is already known to speaker and interlocutor, and is already speaking. We will assume for illustration purposes that the speaker is a keynote speaker ('lecturer' henceforth) at a conference. That means, prior to this keynote being given, someone has made the decision that *er* will be the individual to give the keynote, which entails that the decision-maker found the individual should be the one delivering it, likely because the decision-maker found him particularly qualified or esteemed. In the scenario, there are also audience members who came to listen to this lecturer. These audience members, prior to the utterance of our speaker, must have made a tacit selection that this individual is the one they want to listen to—after all they are present. Finally, their listening to the lecturer in the moment just before our speaker utters the sentence is also a tacit permission to the lecturer to speak.

Thus, there is no immediate linguistic or extralinguistic evidence that other individuals present also think that the lecturer should be quiet, like our speaker does. There is non-verbal evidence (lecturer is speaking, audience listening) for the speaker to assume that what other individuals present are thinking is not that *er* would be the



best constituent to complete the sentence 'should be quiet'. Therefore, the counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* is uttered by the speaker. Uttering this sentence to counter assumed opinions by other individuals creates the possibility for the speaker to subsequently express his/her opinion, that is, share pieces of knowledge with the presumably 'ignorant' listeners as to why *er* 'he' is in fact the 'correct' candidate to complete the sentence 'should be quiet'.

Using *eben* to mark the constituent in this utterance is not acceptable. It would signal that the speaker uttering the sentences assumes that the other individuals present have some pieces of knowledge that prompts them to share the speaker's opinion that it is particularly the lecturer to whom the rest of the sentence 'should be quiet' applies, i.e. that *er* is the conform-to-expectation candidate to complete the sentence. This is not possible, since in the moment of speaking, our complainer is confronted with a prior chain of decisions that has resulted in the lecturer speaking (and others listening) and no one has given any indication that they may disapprove of the keynote speaker in the same manner as our speaker.

If a group of audience members had been whispering statements of their disapproval of the lecturer or of the content of the lecture, rolling their eyes, etc., then including *eben* in the statement would be more acceptable, though a sentence with *eben* as a modal particle is still more natural than with *eben* as a focus particle, for example, by uttering *Er sollte eben ruhig sein* 'He should just be quiet'. This distinction between the modal and the focus particle is secondary to the distinction of the focus particles *eben* vs. *gerade*. The distinction of the focus and the modal particle *eben* comes into play when there is room for evaluating the particular keynote speaker's vis-à-vis other hypothetical keynote speakers' suitability for the keynote (focus particle

use) and it is agreed that he specifically should be quiet or whether the entire statement that he should be quiet is uttered as conform-to-expectation (modal particle use).

Equally, when substituting *gerade* with *eben* in sentences (c) and (c'), the latter isolated sentence is less acceptable than the former, though in this specific example, the use of *gerade* has greater discourse-strategic benefits, particularly at the beginning of a discourse situation. Assuming this statement is uttered discourse-initially, the speaker has only other aspects to rely on such as extralinguistic clues or common knowledge. Based on such common knowledge, the speaker has more freedom to just assume that hearers typically already possess in their knowledge inventories the proposition 'Children need a lot of affection'. Yokoyama's distinction between a vast discourse-initial and non-discourse-initial utterances determines a vast array of options for the former (1986:73-118) and a limited number for the latter (119-140). The greater freedom and flexibility of making a discourse-initial utterance is owed to the fact that speakers have not been presented with a prior utterance and the associated communicative obligation to tailor their utterance to that prior utterance (though other restrictions may apply).<sup>66</sup>

Suppose statement (c) is uttered by a presenter at a conference, as well. By uttering *Gerade Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung* the speaker signals 'I am making the (playful) assumption that you all think of other demographic groups than children right now, but I am telling you it is in fact children who need a lot of affection'. This provocation—which is possible given that there are no discourse conditions rendering

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<sup>66</sup> For example, conditions that have to be met in order for specificational knowledge to be relocated to an interlocutor discourse-initially (Yokoyama 1986:82); see further below.

*gerade* unacceptable—marks the constituent as counter-to-expectation and thus opens up the possibility for the speaker to continue by providing additional information, for example, new research or new facts that firmly establish children as the entity that the speaker thought all along was best suited to complete the sentence ‘need a lot of affection’. *Gerade* is an acceptable marker, since there is no prior evidence at the beginning of the speaker’s lecture indicating that his/her audience agree with (c) about to be uttered. The speaker can indeed assume that no relevant pieces of knowledge relevant to the lecture are active in the audience’s mind, yet.

By contrast, using *eben* would signal that the speaker assumes that hearers share knowledge that prompts them to select the correct constituent *Kinder* to complete the sentence *brauchen viel Zuneigung* ‘need a lot if affection’ and therefore, the selection of *Kinder* as constituent is conform-to-expectation. Such a marking just reinforces inherent truism of the statement ‘Children need a lot of affection’ and renders a continuation with additional facts superfluous, because it signals that everyone already agrees on this conform-to-expectation constituent and the validity of the complete sentence. An agreement would entail that everyone already possesses relevant knowledge conducive to the ‘correct’ constituent selection. It is fairly safe to say that no presenter wants to convey facts that have been long established (if not for the sake of repetition or a refresher used as a segue, etc.). A sentence with *eben* would be acceptable on two conditions: It is uttered to conclude a discussion in which no explicit evidence was presented that anyone would disagree to the statement ‘Children need a lot of affection’, and even more appropriate, it contains *eben* as a modal particle with a wide scope over the entire agreed-upon statement.

As was seen in the flavored water examples above, if there was an explicit disagreement between a speaker and an interlocutor on the status of *Kinder* as a constituent, then *gerade* would be the only acceptable choice and *eben* would be unacceptable, like in the example below:

- (7) A: *Obdachlose sind die Demographie, die am verletzlichsten und einsamsten ist. Sie insbesondere brauchen viel Zuneigung.* 'The homeless are the demographic that is the most vulnerable and alone. They in particular a lot of need affection.'  
- B: *Nein, gerade/\*eben [Kinder] brauchen viel Zuneigung. Die sind noch im Wachstum und müssen emotional reifen.* 'No, gerade/\*eben [children] need a lot of affection. They are still growing and have to mature emotionally.'

In exchange (7) above, there is no ambiguity about A's constituent choice, as B has linguistic evidence of A selecting a different *Obdachlose* 'homeless', a constituent other than *Kinder* to complete the sentence 'need a lot of affection'. In a non-discourse-initial utterance with such conditions, the use of *eben* is unacceptable. Similar to the ambiguous discourse-initial utterance above, the use of *gerade* also blazes the trail for more information to be added that makes this sentence and the constituent *Kinder* 'children' more valid than the interlocutor's sentence.

We can discern from the examples above that speakers are unambiguously prompted one way or the other when there is sufficient evidence that interlocutors are preferring or dispreferring the constituent that the speaker has in mind. Additionally, the particles serve a strategic use in a sufficiently ambiguous situation in which the speaker has no evidence that the hearers are indeed favoring the same constituent to complete a sentence, but equally no evidence that hearers are leaning toward a different constituent to complete the sentence. This is the case, for example, at the beginning of discourse situations, because they constitute the grey area for the mutual substitution that has been challenging to the investigations of the two particles so far.

Then the particles can signal a conform-to-expectation constituent or a counter-to-expectation constituent, but only the latter justifies the subsequent addition of information more, because it can be a playful provocation as a signal that the constituent choice is counter-to-expectation to the interlocutor and subsequently has to be backed by the cooperative speaker.

In sentence pair (d) and (d'), *eben* and *gerade* respectively mark the constituent *jetzt* 'now' in an acceptable manner, similar to sentence pair (a) and (a'). Moving away from speaker-hearer interactions, the following example will illustrate how *eben* and *gerade* can also signal a change or a maintenance of the speaker's own perspective: *Eben* signals that the speaker had certain expectations of a constituent that were ultimately confirmed, and *gerade* signals when they are ultimately contradicted. The notion of the distinction of perspectives within the speaker him-/herself is addressed by Yokoyama (1986) in relation to word order phenomena in Russian (which, like German, is a free word order language) and also proposed by her with respect to the Russian coordinating conjunction *a* (1990). Yokoyama (1990) states that *a* is uttered by the speaker when the speaker realizes there is an incongruity between the two connected sentences (whereas the conjunction *no* is uttered when the speaker wants to prevent the hearer from making a wrong assumption).

Suppose the speaker is telling a friend about recent action s/he took with a certain amount of money, namely that s/he invested it in a ten-year savings plan, and continues with the following anecdote:

- (8) Vor zwei Monaten haben wir unser Geld in einem Zehn-Jahres-Sparplan angelegt. Dann hat sich Maya das Bein gebrochen und wir haben eine riesige Krankenhausrechnung bekommen. Gerade/\*Eben [jetzt] brauchen wir das Geld!  
'Two months ago, we put our money in a ten-year savings plan. Then Maya broke her leg and we got a huge hospital bill. Gerade/\*Eben [now] we need the money.'

In this monolog, the speaker explains a turn of events that has led him/her to re-evaluate the significance of the timing for needing money. What the speaker does not express but what is implicated is the knowledge that placing the money in the savings plan meant it was not going to be available at any point in time during the next ten years, including *jetzt* 'now'. The speaker did put the money in the savings plan, which means the speaker assumed s/he would not need the money at any point before the lapse of the period, including 'now'. However, the accident and resulting hospital bill have changed the speaker's knowledge inventory such that s/he moved from not expecting that 'now' would be the point in time at which money was needed to realizing that 'now' is in fact the point in time at which money is needed. This change prompts the use of *gerade*, marking 'now' as counter-to-expectation to the speaker him-/herself.

By contrast, if events logically follow from previous events and the speaker's earlier expectations are confirmed, *eben* is the acceptable choice, like in the following example:

- (9) Vor zwei Monaten haben wir überlegt unser Geld in einem Zehn-Jahres-Sparplan anzulegen aber das ist schon eine lange Zeit und wir haben uns dagegen entschieden, falls mal was ist. Dann hat sich Maya das Bein gebrochen und wir haben eine riesige Krankenhausrechnung bekommen. Eben/\*Gerade [jetzt] brauchen wir das Geld.  
'Two months ago, we considered putting money in a ten-year savings plan but that really is a long time and we decided against it in case we should need it. Then Maya broke her leg and we got a huge hospital bill. Eben/\*Gerade [now] we need the money.'

In this scenario, the speaker decides against putting money into a ten-year savings plan, expressing that it is a long time and that is the reason for deciding against it. As

before, the speaker does not explicitly state it but is aware and implicates that putting the money in a savings plan means it would not be available for a long time. This awareness has informed the speaker’s decision against the savings plan, thus keeping the money available in case it was needed at any point in time before the lapse of that ten-year period, including ‘now’. The accident and resulting hospital bill have singled out a time in the speaker’s knowledge inventory, namely ‘now’, as the conform-to-expectation constituent completing the sentence ‘we need the money’ from a set of possible times before the lapse of a ten-year period that were all tacitly expected to complete the sentence. This specification prompts the use of *eben.*, marking ‘now’ as conform-to-expectation point in time. In this instance, it was the speaker’s own expectation that was confirmed.

In ellipses (e) and (e’), both particle options appear possible due to the scarcity of other elements in the sentence. The ellipsis can be completed to resemble negative versions of sentences (a) and (a’), from which follows the same line of argument presented in detail above. Examples (e) and (e’) will therefore be condensed in a slightly modified table:

Table 9 - Flavored Water Scenario #2 Overview

Interlocutor utterance	Speaker reaction possibility 1	Speaker reaction possibility 2
“Orange was out” → concern with orange flavor	does (indeed) not want apple <sub>1</sub> flavor: → <i>eben das<sub>1</sub> + nicht</i>	does not want orange <sub>2</sub> flavor: → <i>gerade das<sub>2</sub> + nicht</i>
“I was not sure, so I got you apple” → concern with apple flavor	does not want apple <sub>1</sub> flavor: → <i>gerade das<sub>1</sub> + nicht</i>	does want apple <sub>1</sub> flavor: → <i>eben das<sub>1</sub></i>

In the first box (upper left) in Table 9, the speaker can confirm the hearer’s tacit assumption that the speaker does not want apple (and implicate that s/he rather wants

a different flavor) by uttering *Eben das<sub>1</sub> wollte ich nicht* ‘Indeed, I did not want *eben* that (= apple)’. Or the speaker can contradict the hearer’s concern with the orange-flavored water by uttering *Gerade das<sub>2</sub> wollte ich nicht* ‘Actually, I did not want *gerade* that (= orange)’. In the second scenario in which the hearer focuses on the apple-flavored water, the speaker can contradict that focus by saying ‘Actually, I did not want *gerade* that (= apple)’. The fourth option cannot be expressed by sentence (e’), since, to confirm the speaker’s selection of apple as the constituent that corresponds to the speaker’s choice (lower right), *nicht* has to be eliminated from the sentence, for example, *Eben das wollte ich (ja)*. ‘*Eben* that (= apple) is what I *ja* wanted’. It is the counterpart to the sentence in the (a) and (a’) comparison in Table 8, to which *nicht* had to be added in the box on the lower right.

What we have seen in the exchanges or monologs above are hypothetical contexts that can be constructed around the sentences to render natural responses with *eben* or with *gerade* and distinguish when either of them is acceptable, and also identify sufficiently vague conditions under which the particle use becomes strategically beneficial to introducing additional information the speaker wants to share with interlocutors.

To summarize, in this section we have investigated the widely disseminated suggestion that a function of *eben* and *gerade* is emphasis. By de-skewing the sample sentences that included additional elements creating emphasis and then contrasting the particle-bearing variants with versions in which the particles had been eliminated, we were able to confirm that *eben* and *gerade* emphasize a constituent in a sentence if ‘emphasis’ applied to the particles means signaling that special attention is to be paid



to the marked constituent and that the constituent can therefore become the anchoring point of further discussion.

A marking with *eben* signals the speaker's knowledge or assumption that the hearer also chooses the constituent uttered by the speaker to complete the sentence. This use is prompted by the presence of evidence in the preceding discourse leading the speaker to know that the hearer readily selects the same constituent. Additionally, as long as there is no evidence of the hearer actively disregarding the constituent despite 'better' knowledge in the speaker's view, *eben* can also be uttered to signal the speaker's assumption that the hearer selects the same constituent as the speaker. *Eben* thus constitutes a gentle nudge to the hearer to take note of the constituent as conform-to-expectation.

Matters are different for *gerade*. It signals the speaker's assumption that the hearer selects as the constituent another entity that is a member of the same set as the speaker's uttered constituent rather than the constituent the speaker selects and utters. Several factors can prompt a marking of a constituent with *gerade*: Either there is explicit evidence that the hearer favors a different (hypothetical) candidate—perhaps the hearer even goes so far to disregard pieces of information that would lead specifically to the selection of the speaker's constituent. Alternatively, if at least there is no evidence that the hearer will choose the constituent the speaker has in mind, a use of *gerade* may be prompted. In contrast to the gentle nudge signaled by *eben*, *gerade* is a marking affects combative undertones, given its marking of a constituent as counter-to-expectation.

Most of the scenarios above presented rather unambiguous cases in which the use of *eben* or *gerade* was prompted or respectively restricted by explicit evidence of

an agreement or disagreement on a constituent's role for the completion of a sentence. The gray area revolves around instances in which there is no clear evidence either way of what the hearer is likely to select in the specific discourse situation (e.g., at the beginning of a discourse situation). This can lead to a quasi-provocative effect of *gerade*, as in the example (c) and (c') with *Kinder* 'children' above. Marking a constituent as counter-to-expectation although the bare proposition *Kinder brauchen viel Zuneigung* should typically be part of the interlocutor's common knowledge and, as objectively usual knowledge in CS linguistic terms, constitutes a truism. Such an impositional discourse-initial statement better clears the path for supplying additional information that justifies the speaker's selection.

The notion of imposition was established by Yokoyama (1986) and refers to a speaker's placing a knowledge item in a hearer's set of current concern (59), that is, determining what the hearer is thinking of in the moment the speaker begins the utterance. In the situation above, the speaker places the implied, partially specified propositional knowledge [[Someone needs a lot of affection.]] in the hearer's current concern, which enables the speaker to supply the missing specificational knowledge that completes this propositional knowledge, namely *Kinder* (see Yokoyama 1986:81-82; 104). What is more, the speaker marks this constituent as counter-to-expectation, thus signaling 'Since you are already thinking that someone needs a lot of affection. let me tell you: This may come as a surprise to you, but it is children that need a lot of affection. (I'll enlighten you why that is)'.

Finally, the majority of scenarios above dealt with the interaction of speaker and hearer preferences of a constituent, but there is also the option of the speaker signaling a change in his/her own selection of a constituent. *Gerade* can signal that an

expectation the speaker him-/herself had was betrayed and led to a change in perspective about a constituent completing a sentence. *Eben* can signal that the speaker's own expectation was confirmed and a prior perspective maintained. We will now turn to the next shared interpretation suggested for *eben* and *gerade*.

#### 4.2. Suggested Interpretation 2: Weakening Negation

The next suggestion of the particles' effects is that they weaken a negation (DUDEN 2007:442; 674; Kempcke 2000:247, 399; see also Pozlewicz 2011:98; Engel 2006:228; Helbig 1988:123). This is the other of the two features the two particles *eben* and *gerade* are said to share.

Since there is no explanation by Duden (2007) what is meant by 'weakening negation', we will attempt to tease apart the relationship between the negation particle *nicht*, the particles *eben* and *gerade*, and the respective attributes *blau* and *sportlich* from the sample sentences below to determine how this effect comes about. At any rate, the perspective that Duden (2007) presents by labeling the phenomenon a weakening of negation is that the focus particles affect the negation particle. It would follow that *nicht* is the constituent of the particle, and not vice versa. If that is truly so, then the question arises why the negation particle would not be positioned in the more canonical and more acceptable position<sup>67</sup> to the immediate right of the focus particle in the sample sentence.

Pozlewicz (2011) lists the 'weakening negation' function of *eben* (98). However, she suggests *gerade* in combination with *nicht* to be both an 'intensifier' (108) and claims that *gerade* weakens a negation. This is a contradiction that cannot be

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<sup>67</sup> See Altmann (1978:73) on the lesser acceptability of postposing the particle vis-à-vis its constituent and Jacobs (1983:9) on the higher frequency of a preposed particle.

explained by the sample sentences on which she bases this claim: For the former function, she presents her example no. 79 “Die gegenwärtige Weltwirtschaftskrise macht der Regierung ihre Aufgabe *nicht eben* leichter” ‘The current economic crisis does not *eben* make the government’s task easier’ (167). For the latter, she presents her sample sentence no. 157: “Die Tracht war für die weltliche Feier gedacht und ist über und über mit bunten Metall- und Glasperlen bestickt. Auf dem Kopf trug man einen *nicht gerade* leichten Schmuck, gegen den sich das Kopftuch der türkischen Frau geradezu wie ein Hauch ausnimmt” ‘The costume was intended for a secular celebration and is covered with colored beads of metal and glass. On one’s head one wore a *nicht gerade* lightweight headdress, compared to which a Turkish woman’s headscarf appears minimalist’ (172).

Engel’s (2006) general suggestion how the particles interact is more accurate in our view. He defines the function of *nicht eben* as “eine geringfügige Abweichung von der Eigenschaft, die sie zugleich hervorhebt” ‘a slight deviation from the characteristic which it simultaneously highlights’ (228) He goes on to add that *nicht eben* can be used as an ironic manner of denying the characteristic within its scope, in which case it denotes the opposite of that characteristic (228). We disagree that irony is a feature inherent to *nicht eben*; rather the effect of irony arises from the interaction of the particle sequence with the extralinguistic context.

- (10) *Teilnehmer X* ist nicht *eben/gerade* [*sportlich*].  
 Participant X is not PARTICLE [athletic].

‘Participant X is not exactly athletic.’

If sample sentence (10) containing *nicht eben* were uttered in reference to a participant who had performed absolutely horribly or whose physique excluded the attribute

‘athletic’, irony would be a possible interpretation. The ironic effect is owed to the discrepancy between the ‘slight deviation’ from athletic uttered and the immense deviation from athletic observed. If the participant’s performance had been simply mediocre, irony is not a necessary interpretation. Nonetheless, we find Engel’s general description of *nicht eben* as a ‘slight deviation’ from an attribute to be more accurate than the suggestion of ‘weakening negation’ that is more frequently offered. We argue that, rather than the focus particle affecting the negation particle, the converse is true. The detailed argument will be presented below by means of a sample sentence created in analogy to the suggestion by Duden (2007). A variant with an inverse negation/focus particle sequence is also added for comparison.

- (11) *Die Wand soll nicht gerade/eben [blau] werden.*  
 The Wall shall not PARTICLE [blue] become.

‘The wall shall be (painted) not exactly blue.’

- (12) *Die Wand soll gerade/eben [nicht] blau werden.*  
 The Wall shall PARTICLE [not] blue become.

‘The wall shall be (painted) exactly not blue.’

By uttering sentence (11), a speaker expresses a wall color that cannot be described as a precise or ‘true (100%) blue’. In the sentence, *nicht* ‘not’ has scope at least over *gerade* which in turn has scope over ‘blue’. The overall effect is that the preciseness of the blue quality (or quantity) of the intended wall color is modified: By negating that it has to be *gerade* blue, the acceptability of what quasi-blue color ranges qualify is broadened. As a result, a color that has some discernible portion of blue in it may be used as wall color even if it’s blue content is less than 100%. In sentence (12), by contrast, the speaker expresses that the wall shall be exactly not blue. In this sentence,

the possible wall color options exclude blue categorically, without making a distinction between ‘true’ blue and ‘quasi-blue’ because making the distinction is superfluous in light of the categorical exclusion. This implicates that any other color that somehow is considered blue will not be on the wall. Expressed in analogy to the CS concepts of oppositions of inclusion and exclusion, the expression *nicht + eben/gerade blau* still includes the color thus described within a system of blues, whereas the expression *eben/gerade + nicht blau* excludes the designated color from a system of blues.<sup>68</sup>

The difference between the two sequences can be tested with two contexts within which the acceptability of each sentence above is evaluated. In this context, A and B discuss what color a mutual friend wants to paint her walls, and they have differing knowledge regarding the matter:

I) A: *Anja will die Wand blau streichen.* - B: [...] *Anja hasst blau. Die Wand soll rot werden.* ‘Anja wants to paint the wall blue. - B: [...] She hates blue. The wall shall be red.’

II) A: *Anja will die Wand blau streichen.* - B: [...] *Anja hat gesagt, sie soll ‚meeresfarben‘ werden, also eher blaugrün als blau.* ‘Anja wants to paint the wall blue. - B: [...] She said it will be ‘ocean-colored’, so more of a blueish-green than blue.’

In context I), A states that Anja wants to paint the wall blue and B retorts that Anja hates blue and the wall is actually supposed to be red. In context II), B’s color suggestion is not a contradiction but rather a deviation from A’s statement and is still

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<sup>68</sup> This is not an objective determination but rather a subjective one depending on an individual’s color perception. Some people may consider a shade of purple *nicht gerade blau*, accepting that it contains portions of blue, whereas others will consider that same shade of purple *gerade nicht blau*, i.e. a different color.

located within the realm of blue. Inserting each of the two sentences from above into the positions marked by the square brackets renders the following acceptabilities:

Context	Inserted Sentence
I)	???(11)
	(12)
II)	(11)
	???(12)

We see in the table above that in a strong context excluding blue categorically as an optional wall color, sentence (11) is not an acceptable insert. The reasons are outlined in the particle elimination tests below and are concerned with the principle of economy of effort. Conversely, in a statement that intends to relativize the blueness of a color without excluding that color entirely from the system of blues, sentence (12) is not acceptable.

As a result, it should be said that Duden's suggestion that the particles 'weaken a negation' simply describes the overall result in a sentence containing the exact combination '*nicht* + *gerade/eben* + attribute', but the inference that *nicht* is in some way affected by the particles is erroneous. The observation above can also be applied to the suggestion that *gerade* attenuates criticism (see section 4.3), since the underlying structures of these criticisms are always '*nicht* + *gerade* + flattering attribute' which is a subset of the structure discussed here.

This teasing apart of the mechanics, that is, the respective scopes of elements over other elements has implications for the claim of synonymy of *eben/gerade*. The hierarchy of elements having scope over other elements is such that the negation particle affects the focus particles which in turn affect the attribute. The effect of the negation particle *nicht*, which changes the truth conditions of the sentence by changing

its polarity, appears to be much stronger than the nuanced signals of the particles. The particles do not change the truth conditions when added to a previously particle-less sentence (see Table 6 above).

This circumstance renders it difficult to pinpoint a functional difference between the two particles when in the scope of the negation particle *nicht*, and it explains why the ‘weakening negation’ feature is suggested as a shared characteristic of the two particles. For example, Griesbach et al. posit an equivalence of *nicht eben* and *nicht gerade* in sentences such as “Das war nicht eben freundlich von dir, wie du geantwortet hast” ‘That was not exactly friendly of you, how you replied’ (1986:158), in which *eben* is said to be replaceable by *gerade* without any ostensible difference.

The deliberation whether an element is affirmed or denied appears to be more impactful to a discourse situation than the subtle signal to the hearer how to interpret the role of a marked element for the rest of the sentence and the surrounding context. Thus, we will depart from the relationship between *eben* and *gerade* in the scope of the negation particle *nicht*, aware that the one matter that was analyzed in more detail were the mechanics of the ill-termed ‘weakening negation’ function of the particles.

If the overall effect of both particles’ interaction with a negation particle and an attribute is a weakening of negation, what happens if the particles are omitted? We will now turn to the elimination test and note that in combination with the negation particle *nicht*, the effect that the particles have on a sentence is more than adding a nuance.

In contrast to cluster (6) in the preceding section, the difference between a particle-bearing and a particle-less sentence affects the sentence’s logic. The sentence



*Teilnehmer X ist nicht sportlich* 'Participant X is not athletic' is a statement about the participant's absolute lack of athleticism, whereas the version with the particle is a matter of gradation,<sup>69</sup> that is, it only excludes the possibility that the participant is athletic in absolute terms, but it does not specify how much less than 'absolutely athletic' the participant really is. This concerns only the comparison of the simple negated sentences without and with the particles. The added nuance of gradation can be tested by adding an adversative<sup>70</sup> construction with *nicht...*, *sondern...* 'not..., but rather...' to check for the acceptability of continuations, like below:

- (13) Teilnehmer X    *ist*    *nicht*    *sportlich*,  
 Participant X    is       not       athletic,  
  
*sondern*        *unsportlich*.  
 but rather       unathletic.

'Participant X is not athletic, but rather unathletic.'

In the 'not..., but rather...' sentence above, the mutually exclusive attributes are *sportlich* 'athletic' and *unsportlich* 'unathletic'. Logically, an individual cannot be athletic and unathletic at the same time, as they represent two mutually exclusive extreme points on a spectrum. As such, sentence (13), which contains two clauses in an

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<sup>69</sup> This discussion is based on a very unidimensional, scalar context. It may very well be uttered when a mother asks a coach "Do you think she'll make the team?" and the coach responds by saying "She's not *eben/gerade* [athletic] (, but she has true team spirit and tries very hard)." In this response, several different qualities are enumerated. They aspects that the coach considers conducive to a player's being admitted to the team. In the coach's assessment, the individual s/he talks about falls short of meeting the athleticism requirement which can indeed be evaluated on a scale. Yet, the coach considers other qualities that are conducive to admitting someone to a sports team such as team spirit and drive and thus an utterance including a scalar evaluation with *nicht gerade* can be integrated into a multifactorial evaluation. We discuss a similar enumeration of ostensibly different traits connected as members of a larger set in example (22) below.

<sup>70</sup> The term 'adversative' for *nicht...*, *sondern...* constructions is used by Helbig & Buscha 2013:396). Duden (1995:391; 393) uses the terms 'restrictive' and 'adversative'.

adversative relationship, is acceptable and natural. The element that is negated in the first clause of the adversative sentence cannot be contained in the second clause. For example, it would be unacceptable to say *\*Er ist nicht sportlich, sondern sportlich* ‘He is not athletic but rather athletic’. We note that the acceptability of an adversative sentence changes when the particles are present:

- (14) ??Teilnehmer X    *ist*    *nicht*    *eben/gerade*    [*sportlich*],  
 Participant X    is    not    PARTICLE    athletic,  
  
*sondern*            *unsportlich.*  
 but rather            unathletic.

‘??Participant X is not really athletic, but rather unathletic.’

The variation with the particles in (14) above is unacceptable because it violates both logic and the principle of economy of effort. Unlike ‘not athletic’, ‘not quite athletic’ is not an extreme point on a spectrum, but rather a point ranging somewhere on the spectrum where it excludes the attribute ‘(absolutely) athletic’ and is underspecified for how closely it approximates ‘unathletic’. The same applies to ‘unathletic’—it also excludes the attribute ‘(absolutely) athletic’.

Mutual exclusivity is only possible if there is no intersection between two attributes. However, ‘not really athletic’ and ‘unathletic’ intersect in that they both include the attribute ‘–absolutely athletic’, that is, the range on the part of the scale in which there are varying degrees of lack of athleticism. Apart from logic, sentence (14) also violates the principle of economy of effort. If the speaker wants to express that the participant is unathletic, s/he does not have to go through the trouble of saying the participant is ‘not really’ athletic first, which is a weaker expression of ‘–absolutely athletic’ and therefore redundant as soon as the more extreme expression of

‘-absolutely athletic’ is uttered. We will now turn to the next suggested meaning, which is a special case of the suggested ‘weakening negation’ interpretation applied to *gerade*.

### 4.3. Suggested Interpretation 3: Attenuating Criticism

Like *eben*, *gerade* is attributed with interpretations of its own. According to Duden (2007:442; 674), *gerade* can be used to attenuate criticism (see also Griesbach 1986:158), as illustrated in the two sentences below:

- (15) *Du hast das nicht gerade [professionell] ausgeführt.*  
You have that not PARTICLE [professionally] executed-PP.

‘You did not execute that in exactly a professional manner.’

- (16) *Sie ist nicht gerade [fleißig].*  
She is not PARTICLE [hard-working].

‘She is not exactly hard-working.’

In addition to the examples for *gerade*, a sentence in the *eben* entry is equivalently constructed and would also qualify as ‘attenuating criticism’, though that function is not explicitly suggested for *eben*:

- (17) *Sie war nicht eben [freundlich] zu ihm.*  
She was not PARTICLE [friendly] to-PREP him-DAT.

‘She was not exactly friendly to him.’

Sentence (15) denies that an individual’s actions are professional, sentence (16) denies that an individual is hard-working, and (17) denies an individual’s demeanor was friendly. All three sentences can indeed be uttered to express criticism. But is ‘attenuating criticism’ inherent to *gerade* (or *eben*)? What exactly is the relationship

between *gerade/eben* and the rest of the sentence that ultimately creates the impression that a speaker is ‘attenuating criticism’?

There are several problems with that suggestion, partly based on the sample sentence selection again: All the examples include the co-occurrence of *nicht* + focus particle + flattering attribute.<sup>71</sup> Interactions of the focus particles with the negation particle *nicht* ‘not’ were already discussed in detail in the previous section.

Below, it will be shown that this function can only be stipulated for sentences that include this exact co-occurrence of syntactic elements. The expectation is that by manipulating the two elements other than the focus particles, the ‘attenuating criticism’ effect will be eliminated. Two separate tests are carried out: In a substitution test, the flattering adjectives *professionell* ‘professionally’, *fleißig* ‘hard-working’, and *freundlich* ‘friendly’ are replaced with their semantic opposites. In an elimination test, the particle is omitted to determine the effect.

- (18) *Du hast das nicht gerade [unprofessionell] ausgeführt.*  
You have that not PARTICLE [unprofessionally] executed-PP.

‘You did not exactly execute that in an unprofessional manner.’

- (19) *Sie ist nicht gerade [faul].*  
She is not PARTICLE [lazy].

‘She is not exactly lazy.’

- (20) *Sie war nicht eben [unfreundlich] zu ihm.*  
She was not PARTICLE [unfriendly] to him-DAT.

‘She was not exactly unfriendly to him.’

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<sup>71</sup> In this subsection, the term ‘flattering’ will be used for the attributes in order to disambiguate from the notion of syntactically/logically ‘positive’ polarity. ‘Attribute’ refers to the description of an entity in a sentence, which is syntactically realized by an adverb in sentence (18) and predicative adjectives in sentences (19) and (20).

The substitution with semantically opposite attributes results in sentences (18)-(20) above. These utterances do not express attenuated criticism. Rather, they negate the absoluteness of unflattering traits, like we have seen in the section above. Saying, for example, *Sie ist nicht gerade faul* 'She is not exactly lazy' excludes only the attribute 'absolutely lazy', the extreme point of a hypothetical spectrum between being absolutely hard-working and absolutely lazy but like in the previous section it does not specify how far removed the attribute is from 'absolutely lazy'. Uttering such a sentence creates the possibility for the speaker to continue with a differentiated assessment:

- (21) *Sie ist nicht gerade [faul], aber sie*  
 She is not PARTICLE [lazy], but she  
*stürzt sich auch nicht freiwillig auf jede Hausarbeit.*  
 hurls herself also not voluntarily onto every chore.  
 'She is not exactly lazy, but she also does not jump to complete every chore voluntarily.'

In sentence (21) above, the speaker makes a more differentiated assessment of someone's level of industriousness, expressly excluding the lowest point on the spectrum of industriousness in the clause with the particle and excluding the highest point in the second clause in a more indirect manner. The second clause, describing how she does not jump to complete every chore, implies that the speaker considers completing chores a sign of industriousness and therefore relevant addition to the assessment. Similar continuations can be constructed for the next two examples, though in these instances the speakers do not oscillate between extreme points on one (unidimensional) scale only:

- (22) *Du hast das nicht gerade [unprofessionell] ausgeführt.*

You have that not PARTICLE [unprofessionally] executed.

*Allerdings warst du noch etwas unsicher.*  
However were-2nd.sing you still somewhat unsure.

'You did not exactly execute that in an unprofessional manner. However, you were still a little unsure.'

In sentence (22), the speaker assesses someone's performance by dividing it into remarks on the professional/unprofessional spectrum in the first clause and remarks on the secure/insecure spectrum in the second clause. Both can be taken into consideration as set members relevant to an evaluation of someone's overall performance in a business meeting, for example. The positive aspect of the performance for the speaker is that an action was carried out 'not exactly unprofessionally'. However, the subsequent sentence mentions insecurity, which is relevant to the speaker because it is either a sign of unprofessionalism in the narrower, more unidimensional sense or more broadly a negative aspect of the overall performance. Thus, two aspects are weighed against each other that can be subsumed under a category labeled 'signs of good/bad performance'. We find the same type of weighing in the next sentence, as well.

(23) *Sie war nicht eben [unfreundlich] zu ihm.*  
She was not PARTICLE [unfriendly] to him-DAT.

*Jedoch hat sie ihn nicht zum*  
However has she him-AKK not to-the

*Ausgang begleitet.*  
exit accompanied-PP.

'She was not exactly unfriendly to him. However, she did not see him out.'

In sentence (23), the speaker cancels out the possibility that an individual was (absolutely) unfriendly to someone. However, the second part of the assessment mentions that she did not accompany someone to the door, which, the speaker may find relevant to mention because it is a sign of ‘good behavior’, just like being friendly to someone is, and it offsets the positive assessment in the first sentence. Thus, both aspects can be related to each other as two of an accumulation of traits that may be labeled ‘signs of good behavior’ and like above each can be evaluated on a scale.<sup>72</sup>

In sentences (22) and (23), the speaker follows the negation of the absoluteness of unflattering attributes (*unprofessionell, unfreundlich*) with an additional assessment that offsets the negation of the unflattering attribute. Given the difference between the sentence variants with flattering vs. unflattering attributes, it is more comprehensive to say that the combination *nicht* + focus particle + [attribute] is a speaker’s avoidance to commit to assessing an individual with regard to the marked attribute in absolute terms. That avoidance and ‘unspecific’ evaluation of a characteristic may be compensated for a cooperative speaker by providing more information in the respective second clause that adds more dimension to the evaluation and alleviates the avoidance of specificity in the first clause by implicating that a larger or more general set of traits is under (tacitly) consideration. At any rate, the substitution test proved that the particles’ suggested function of ‘attenuating criticism’ is limited to the co-occurrences ‘*nicht* + particle + flattering attribute’ only and not inherent in the focus particles.

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<sup>72</sup> The ‘scale’ for the latter is only includes two, the syntactically/logically positive and negative variants.

Above, the attributes were manipulated. Like before, the negation particle *nicht* affects the two particles, so no discernible difference can be observed between the particle uses. As a next step, we will eliminate the negation particle *nicht* from the original sentences (15)-(17) and insert both particle options into the slots (the original particle from the sample sentences precedes the ‘new’ particle option in the interlinear versions below). This manipulation renders the following sentences:

(24) *Du hast das ?gerade/(??)eben [professionell] ausgeführt.*  
 You have that PARTICLE [professionally] executed.

‘You did execute that in a professional manner.’

(25) *Sie ist ?gerade/(??)eben [fleißig].*  
 She is PARTICLE [hard-working].

‘She is indeed hard-working.’

(26) *Sie war (??)eben/?gerade [freundlich] zu ihm.*  
 She was PARTICLE [friendly] to him-DAT.

‘She was indeed friendly to him.’

All sentences in isolation are rather unacceptable, and those sentence variants with *eben* as a focus particle more so than those with *gerade*. If *eben* were interpreted as a modal particle with a wide scope over the entire sentence, the sentences are acceptable.<sup>73</sup> For this reason, the ‘??’ are placed in parentheses, they apply to the focus particle interpretation only. The less frequent combination of focus particles with adjectives was already observed in Altmann (1976:53) who remarks that more typically

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<sup>73</sup> This can be tested by substituting *eben* with *halt/nun einmal*, which renders acceptable sentences, but these sentence variants would have to follow an interlocutor’s previous utterance in order to be completely natural. They cannot be discourse-initial utterances.



*eben* and *gerade* mark prepositional or nominal phrases. Nonetheless, it is possible to construct contexts that render the sentences above acceptable. We execute this for sentence (26) as our representative case, beginning with the *gerade* variants and then moving on to the *eben* variants.

The *gerade* variant becomes acceptable under two conditions: either in a dialog the speaker utters the sample sentence to express disagreement with a hearer's prior statement on the constituent or the speaker first utters an expectation of the constituent and then utters the sentence to indicate that a subsequent observation ultimately originated a constituent counter to the speaker's original expectation. Regarding the first scenario, let us assume that two interlocutors are observing the interaction between two individuals and A is making a remark about the unfriendliness of the female:

- (27) A: *Sie hätte freundlicher sein können.*  
 She could-have friendlier to-be to-be-able
- B: *Sie war \*eben/gerade [freundlich] zu ihm.*  
 She was PARTICLE [friendly] to him-DAT.
- Sie hat sogar die Tür aufgehalten!*  
 She has even the door open-held-PP

A: 'She could have been friendlier.' - B: 'She was friendly to him. She even held the door open all right!'

In the reply in sentence (27), B objects to the evaluation by A. B describes the female as in fact friendly. The marking with *gerade* signals that this attribute is counter-to-expectation. It is prompted by B's observation that A is concerned more with the female's unfriendliness. B's assumption is that the hearer does not possess, or has disregarded, knowledge that should have resulted in the attribution of the interaction

as ‘friendly.’ B’s assumptions can be described as follows: ‘You describe her as unfriendly. You may have observed something that prompted this conclusion or you may have ignored aspects that call your utterance into question. I, on the other hand, have observed her holding open the door for him. Holding doors open is an act of friendliness. Thus, I think she was in fact friendly toward him.’ B supplies this information that justifies this counter-to-expectation attribution, namely the observation that she held the door open for the other person. This confronts A with knowledge s/he may have not have known or may have actively disregarded.

In example (27), *eben* is not acceptable. A marking with *eben* would signal that the constituent ‘friendly’ is conform-to-expectation when there is already explicit evidence that A has described the female as relatively unfriendly. Therefore, the use of *eben* is blocked in this particular scenario.

The scenario above involves two individuals who have expressed differing opinions. It is also possible for the speaker him-/herself to change perspectives, similar to example (c) in section 4.1 above. The speaker may begin with one expectation and then, due to additional observations, arrive at a different assessment with a counter-to-expectation constituent:

- (28) B: *Sie war \*eben/gerade [freundlich] zu ihm.*  
 She was PARTICLE [friendly] to him-DAT.
- Sie hat sogar die Tür aufgehalten!*  
 She has even the door open-held-PP
- Und ich dachte, da gibt es Drama.*  
 And I thought-1st.sing. there gives it drama.

‘She was actually friendly to him. She even held the door open! And I had thought there was going to be drama.’

The speaker expresses an assessment of the interaction between the female and the male as ‘friendly’, marking the attribute with *gerade* to signal that it is counter-to-expectation. The speaker then provides additional information, namely that she held the door open for him, which the speaker regards as a sign of friendliness. After that, the speaker elaborates on his/her original expectation, namely that there was going to be drama between the two observed individuals. The speaker associates drama between individuals with acts of unfriendliness toward another. Although this is the speaker’s last utterance in the little narrative, in the course of events it was the speaker’s original assumption indicated by the past tense of *dachte* ‘thought’. In the narrative, it constitutes an afterthought, but the signal to the hearer at this point was already that ‘friendly’ was a new, counter-to-expectation insight to the speaker him-/herself. Based on the first sentence uttered, the hearer can already understand that the attribution ‘friendly’ was a new development. The last utterance provides some specificity about what the speaker’s original expectation was. The observation that the door was held open is the event that changed the speaker’s perspective.

In this section, we have investigated the suggestion that *gerade* (and possibly *eben*) attenuate criticism and have pinpointed this function solely to the co-occurrence ‘*nicht* + focus particle + flattering attribute’. The substitution test with semantic opposites of the original attributes has shown that more generally speaking, the speaker avoids making an assessment in absolute terms. We maintain that, since *nicht* has scope over the two focus particles, it is difficult to detect a difference between the two. The elimination of *nicht*, however, has rendered sentences similar to those in section 4.1, in which the constituent is marked as either conform-to-expectation (*eben*)

or counter-to-expectation (*gerade*) in accordance with conditions that encourage or block the use of the respective particle.

#### 4.4. Suggested Interpretation 4: Expressing Annoyance

The second interpretation attributed only to *gerade* is expressing annoyance: “2. drückt Ärger, Verstimmung o. Ä. aus: *ausgerechnet*: warum muss g. ich das tun?; g. jetzt wird sie krank” ‘2. expresses irritation, disgruntlement or similar: *ausgerechnet*. Why do *g[erade]* I have to do that?; [*Gerade*] now she gets sick.’ (DUDEN 2007:674). We use the examples provided to discuss whether *gerade* is the element that expresses annoyance or whether additional aspects exist that prompt this interpretation. To that end, we will first substitute the other elements in the sentence and then eliminate *gerade* to test the effects.

- (29) *Warum* *muss* *gerade* [*ich*] *das* *tun*?  
Why must PARTICLE I that do?

‘Why do I of all people have to do this?’

- (30) *Gerade* [*jetzt*] *wird* *sie* *krank*.  
PARTICLE now becomes she sick

‘Now of all times she gets sick.’

Both sentences (29) and (30) can indeed be expressed by an annoyed speaker. But is the function of ‘expressing annoyance’ inherent to *gerade*? We have to take note of the particular environments in which *gerade* is embedded in both sentences. As often, this interpretation can be attributed to other elements of the sentences of which *gerade* is a part, as well.

In sentence (29), the annoyed nature of the question is also brought about by the modal verb *müssen* ‘to have to’, which expresses obligation. If the interlocutor has

previously asked a question such as *Räumst du bitte die Spülmaschine aus?* ‘Will you please unload the dishwasher?’, the use of *müssen* in (29) makes explicit the speaker’s perspective that this is an obligation. The speaker does two more things by replying with a question. First, s/he is exercising resistance to that request, asking for a justification rather than immediately carrying out the action. This deviates from the interlocutor’s expectation. As Yokoyama states: “When A utters a directive, A expects it to be fulfilled and A also expects B to know that” (1986:128; cf. 48). Additionally, when asking (29), the speaker does not ask a purely informational question like ‘What time is it?’ In fact, the focus particles *eben* and *gerade* cannot be placed in purely informational questions.

Parrott describes the true nature of questions like the one above in her analysis of the Russian discourse particles *že* and *ved’*: She explains that they are not informational questions, because in informational questions the speaker typically asks for information the hearer supposedly possesses (1997:223). This observation is founded on Yokoyama’s notion of metinformational knowledge and metinformational exchanges: Metinformational knowledge includes knowledge of the discourse situation and knowledge of the hearer’s general knowledge and current concern, which is necessary for the transmission of information (1986:13). On occasion, metinformational knowledge can itself become the target of information-seeking, for example, when a speaker utters the question “What are you thinking about?” (14). Metinformational exchanges are not sufficient for satisfying an informational goal (54) but rather for “checking whether the channel works” (15) or pointing out that there was some ‘cross-wiring’ in the communication process (58). In the instance above, the speaker presses the hearer to explicate that information to make the request more

justified in the speaker's view because the speaker does not really believe in the truth value of the underlying proposition 'I have to do it' (cf. Parrott 1997:197). Rather, as Parrott phrases it, "In a metinformational question, the speaker utters the *wh*-question for effect: s/he usually possesses the knowledge formally requested by the *wh*-word" (1997:223). The question can be paraphrased either as the directive 'Tell me why you had me of all people in mind' or as the assertion 'I want to know why it is me of all people you had in mind.'

Since the request preceding sentence (29) was uttered by an interlocutor with a concrete idea of who should carry out the task—the speaker—and that idea to be signaled as at issue, the appropriate choice for the speaker to mark the anchoring point of the discussion is *gerade*. By using *gerade*, speaker signals that the constituent *ich* (which refers to speaker as extralinguistic entity) in the underlying directive or assertion is a counter-to-expectation choice, i.e. *gerade* marks *ich* as the (surprising) constituent within the sentence 'tell me why you had X in mind' or 'I want to know why X should do that' when this choice was initially not at question for the interlocutor.

The observations can be traced as follows: Based on the request directed at our speaker, the interlocutor's tacit decision prior uttering the request must have been 'the speaker should empty the dishwasher'. This decision may have been the conclusion of other bits of potentially relevant knowledge such as 'the speaker has not done any chores today' or 'the speaker usually likes this chore best', etc. The decision, and the resulting directing of the question at our speaker (rather than anyone else), implicates that the interlocutor does not expect that 'speaker should empty dishwasher' will be at issue.

The speaker's knowledge, by contrast, is 'not speaker should empty the dishwasher'—perhaps as a product of other bits of conflicting relevant information, for example, 'speaker already did it yesterday' or 'Bruno has not done any chores, he should do it'. This conflicting relevant information, in the speaker's view, overrides the information the hearer has and thus makes 'not speaker should empty out the dishwasher' the more valid complete sentence and therefore justifies the directive or assertion the speaker expresses by uttering the *why*-question.

If the speaker is cooperative,<sup>74</sup> s/he will divulge reasons why not s/he is a good candidate for emptying the dishwasher, i.e. those other bits of potentially relevant knowledge s/he feels are not available to, or were actively disregarded by, the interlocutor and have prompted the 'incorrect' selection. Such pieces of information can include: 'I already did it yesterday, but my brother did nothing. You seem to not know that. That is why you concluded I was a good person to carry out the task. However, I know for a fact that my brother did not do any chores yesterday. Ideally, chores are distributed equally, so in order for that to happen, I am in fact not a good candidate to empty out the dishwasher'. To be sure, the actual reply would only contain the most vital information that the interlocutor is missing from the speaker's view, and the remaining connections will be left for the hearer to make: *Warum muss gerade ich das tun? Bruno hat gestern gar nichts gemacht!* 'Why do *gerade* I have to do that? Bruno did nothing yesterday!'

In a variant of the sentences above, we will make a few modifications to provide evidence that 'annoyance' is indeed not inherent in *gerade* but rather a pragmatic effect that emerges as a combination of *gerade*'s counter-to-expectation marking with

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<sup>74</sup> 'Cooperative' is understood as described in Grice's Cooperative Principle (1968:45)

the other elements of the sentence and/or with the larger discourse situation. Below, we substitute the modal verb and add a continuation:

- (31) *Warum darf gerade [ich] das tun?*  
Why may PARTICLE [I] that to do?  
*(X hat doch mehr Erfahrung.)*  
*(X has PARTICLE more experience.)*

'Why am I of all people allowed to do that? (X does have more experience, after all.)'

In sentence (31), the speaker asks an interlocutor to justify the selection of the speaker to carry out a task, for example an interview. This question is another covert directive or assertion addressed at the interlocutor to elaborate on the choice, and the anchoring point on which that elaboration should hinge is *ich* 'I'. This time, however, the speaker is using the modal verb *dürfen* 'to be allowed to'— replacing the element signaling obligation with one signaling permission. In the continuation, the speaker explains why s/he asks for a justification and divulges knowledge s/he assumes the interlocutor does not possess (or has disregarded), which explains the marking of *ich* as counter-to-expectation: In the speaker's mind, another possible candidate ('X') should have been selected for the task because that candidate has more experience. The connecting knowledge<sup>75</sup> in the speaker's mind is: 'The nature of the task at hand requires someone with experience. X has more experience than the speaker, hence X would be a better suited candidate for that task.' Thus, the proposition underlying the request the interlocutor makes is '[Speaker] may carry out the task' and it is contrasted

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<sup>75</sup> The term 'connecting knowledge' here refers to the pieces of information that, step by step, lead the speaker from the interlocutor's statement (or action) to the speaker's utterance. Thus, the connecting knowledge is that knowledge that motivates the speaker's utterance. The expression 'relevant knowledge' is also used in this sense.



with the speaker's view 'Not [speaker] may carry out the task'. This signaling of a contrast is accomplished with the counter-to-expectation marker *gerade*.

If *gerade* expressed annoyance, it would not be an appropriate element in sentence (31) above, given that the overall tone of the sentence supplemented with the continuation is one of interest in the selection process, or perhaps even a sly manner of fishing for compliments. Additionally, the task appears to be reserved for someone more seasoned, hence being a task of privilege. The counter-to-expectation marking is a more universally applicable explanation than the suggested 'annoyance' interpretation once accompanying elements are exchanged and the connotations manipulated.

Moving on to example (30), we find that the same explanation applies to the sentence in which the speaker comments on someone's illness. The constituent of *gerade* is *jetzt* 'now', so *gerade* is the lexical signal to the hearer that *jetzt* is a particularly noteworthy element within the sentence, the anchoring point for the discourse on which attention should be focused. In the isolated sentence (30), the information is too sparse to be certain about a speaker's annoyance, but the circumstance of 'her' being sick today could indeed be interpreted as annoying to the speaker, given the appropriate context. For example, if the utterance was continued with ..., *dabei wollten wir gleich unsere Präsentation halten* '... when we actually wanted to give our presentation soon', annoyance is a plausible connotation, since the plans of giving a presentation are falling short and the partner's being sick is to blame for that.

While the continuation above confirms an annoyance connotation, there is also the possibility that *jetzt* is simply an unexpected time to coincide with another event.

Below, the second example is modified with a continuation that blocks the annoyance connotation:

- (32) *Gerade* [jetzt] wird sie krank, wo sie  
 PARTICLE [now] becomes she sick, where she  
  
*doch* Geburtstag hat und wir ihr einen  
 PARTICLE birthday has and we for-her-DAT a  
  
*Kuchen* gebacken haben.<sup>76</sup>  
 cake baked-PP have

‘Now of all times she gets sick(, when it’s her birthday and we’ve baked her a cake.)’

In sentence (32), the speaker no longer expresses annoyance at the fact that someone is sick at a particular time, but rather expresses compassion for a missed opportunity on the part of the ill person, given that it is their birthday at that time and they could have enjoyed a cake but are now ill. This shows that the annoyance interpretation cannot be generalized.<sup>77</sup>

Rather, what the added context shows is that something occurred that was not originally expected by the speaker. The speaker baked a cake in anticipation of the friend’s birthday today, expecting that this birthday cake would be presented to the friend in a face-to-face meeting. The speaker did not possess the knowledge of the friend’s being sick and therefore absent, so the confrontation with that fact prompts

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<sup>76</sup> In this example cluster, all sentences adding more information are placed after those in which the particle is embedded. It is possible to have them precede those sentences, as well, for example: “X hat mehr Erfahrung. Warum darf gerade ich das tun?” ‘X has more experience. Why am I of all people allowed to do that?’ Regardless, *gerade* still signals to the hearer that *ich* a counter-to-expectation constituent completing the rest of the sentence in light of the information in the context.

<sup>77</sup> Unless the speaker had a horrible personality and was indeed complaining that all the effort that went into baking the cake turned out to be in vain.

the speaker utter *gerade* marking *jetzt* ‘now’, which signals that it is a counter-to-expectation time for the friend’s being sick as far as the speaker him-/herself is concerned. This example parallels the conditions we encountered in example (d’) from Table 7 above.

The two sentence variants with changed syntactic elements and/or a variety of continuations show that ‘expressing annoyance’ is not an inherent function of *gerade* without additional elements in the sentence of the discourse situation that encourage such an interpretation. Rather, *gerade* serves to mark an element in the sentence as counter-to-expectation—to the hearer or to the speaker him-/herself. The interaction of the counter-to-expectation marking with specific contextual factors may allow an annoyance interpretation.

With the annoyance function called into question, what happens when *gerade* is substituted with *eben*? We will now move on to the substitution test with *eben* to determine whether a replacement is possible and, if yes, what changes in the new sentence variants:

- (33) \**Warum* *muss* *eben* [ich] *das* *tun*?  
 Why must PARTICLE I that to-do?

‘Why do exactly I have to do this?’

- (34) ?*Eben* [jetzt] *wird* *sie* *krank*.  
 PARTICLE [now] becomes she sick.

‘So now she gets sick.’

The sentences above are not acceptable in isolation.<sup>78</sup> The reason that *eben* and the *why*-question are incompatible is that *eben* marks *ich* as conform-to-expectation, which

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<sup>78</sup> Altmann discusses a similar example to sentence (33); see sentence (2-305) in section 2.5.1).

clashes with the non-informational nature of question (33). *Eben* signals that the speaker assumes the hearer, based on possessing the correct bits of relevant information, has selected the constituent the speaker him-/herself also selects to complete a task. This marking is fundamentally incompatible with the non-informational, defiant nature of the *why*-question, which appeals to the interlocutor to supply a justification and intends to put the speaker's selection of a constituent at issue by marking that constituent as counter-to-expectation.

If the selection of the constituent *ich* were marked as conform-to-expectation, that would counteract requesting a justification for the selection. The same applies to the positive/surprised variant, sentence (31). Signaling that selecting the speaker to conduct the interview is conform-to-expectation runs counter to asking the interlocutor to elaborate on that selection because it is marked ostensibly not at issue whereas the question puts the selection at issue.

For sentence (34), it is possible to establish a very specific context that prompts the use of *eben* as a marker of *jetzt*. The following situation would be an example: *Gestern fingen alle Kollegen an herumzuniesen und sich durch die Gegend zu schleppen. Auch die Kunden, denen sie die Hand geschüttelt hat, waren krank.* 'Yesterday all colleagues started sneezing and dragging their feet. The clients, whose hands she shook, were also sick.' This context, in which a speaker expresses the observation that many individuals surrounding the female in question were sick, can be followed by example (34) with *eben* but not with *gerade*. Using *gerade* signals that *jetzt* is a counter-to-expectation time for her getting sick, when evidence in the discourse situation (sick colleagues, sneezing, transfer of germs, speaker's tacit knowledge of a typical incubation period) and the preceding utterance suggest that the

female's being sick 'now' is in fact conform-to-expectation. The pieces of knowledge from the preceding utterance generate an expectation in the speaker that is maintained. If there is any point in time at which one can speak of an 'expectation'<sup>79</sup> of someone getting sick, *jetzt* 'now' is the constituent that can complete sentence (34) given all the conditions making the time plausible.

In the interview scenario, a dialog in which the use of *eben* is more acceptable can also be constructed. Small modifications are made to render the dialog below:

- (35) B: ... *und du führst dann bitte das Interview mit X. Y ist zwar länger dabei, aber ihm reißt immer so schnell der Geduldsfaden.* '... and you'll conduct the interview with X, please. Y has been with us longer, but he always loses his temper so quickly.'

*Darum haben wir eben/???gerade [dich] ausgewählt.*  
 Therefore have we PARTICLE [you] chosen.

'For that reason, we chose precisely you. /???For that reason, we chose you of all people.'

In exchange (35), B anticipates a piece of knowledge to be supplied by the chosen interviewer that would lead him/her to conclude that s/he was not as good a candidate as X to conduct the interview. B expresses this thought that the interviewer might have on the interviewer's behalf, namely 'Y has more experience.' To override that knowledge with information that carries more weight in B's view, B explains that Y has a short temper. This knowledge links to several aspects that B deems relevant to the explanation 'Y loses his temper so quickly': a) The interviewee's personality or

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<sup>79</sup> Yokoyama (2006), investigating the logic underlying socially transmitted superstitions in Russian, argues "that the axiological norm [...] borders on unmarkedness, from which it is distinguished by the necessary presence of value judgment" (406). Being healthy constitutes the axiological norm and getting sick, as well as many other bodily symptoms (405-406), a deviation of the axiological norm which are typically (though not always) attributed with a negative value when it occurs. So, we see that our constructed context is quite labored in order to force an 'expectation' for someone to fall ill.

demeanor is such that someone with a short temper might blow a fuse, and b) having a short temper is a greater detriment to the success of the interview than having little experience conducting interviews. This explains the selection to the chosen interviewer and prompts a marking with *eben*, signaling conformity-to-expectation based on B's justifications provided and the resulting statement in example (35) above.

By contrast, *gerade* is generally not acceptable, as the quirky English translation in the example illustrates. The only very specific and limited way in which *gerade* would be acceptable was if the interlocutor was directly quoting from the speaker's original surprised question in example (31), thus using the phrase '*gerade* [speaker]' to mimic/echo the proposition underlying the chosen interviewer's original question. This would be a good opportunity for the speaker to gesture the infamous air quotes. If the question, however, is not asked beforehand, then the use of *gerade* is not acceptable, for it signals that the interviewer is the counter-to-expectation choice.

Moving on to the elimination test, how do the original sentences with the particle contrast with particle-less versions? The variants are listed below:

- (36) *Warum muss ich das tun?*  
Why must I that to do?

'Why do I have to do that?'

Without the particle, no element within the question in example (36) is lexically marked as particularly noteworthy. As a reply to this question, the interlocutor is free choose from a wide variety of replies that highlight different aspects. A few acceptable examples include: *Weil ich sonst kein Geschirr einräumen kann* 'Because otherwise I cannot load any dishes;' *Weil die Spülmaschine fertig ist* 'Because the dishwasher is

done with the cycle'. The anchoring point for the first reply is why, on principle, the dishwasher must be emptied, and for the second reply, why it should be done at that moment. None of these replies focuses on the element *ich* within the question to elaborate on in the justification, though the replying individual is theoretically free to do so, for example, by saying *Weil Bruno sie eingeräumt hat* 'Because Bruno filled it', focusing the justification on who should be exempt from doing it. If the particle were present in the question, the first two replies above would not be specific enough because of their lack in focusing on *ich* in the justification. *Gerade* in the question signals to the hearer to focus on a particular element of the sentence but does not per se add any 'annoyance' undertones. The same applies to the following sentence:

(37) *Jetzt wird sie krank.*  
 Now becomes she sick.

'Now she gets sick.'

In sentence (37), no element is lexically singled out, therefore the sentence can express a neutral observation about someone's absence. It could be an acceptable reply to a very general question such as general *Was ist mit Angie los?* 'What's up with Angie right now?' Having *gerade* mark *jetzt* in the reply to a general question would add undue specificity (i.e. the signal that *jetzt* is counter-to-expectation) to the reply that an interlocutor did not ask for and that the user of the particle in the sentence would have to justify by providing additional information on why the marked element is so noteworthy (e.g. the continuation about having baked the cake). Adding all this information would be very impositional (cf. Yokoyama 1986:59) of the speaker and would provide more information than is call for, thus violating the second part of the

Gricean Maxim of Quantity, “Do not make your contribution more informative than required” (1975:45).

The following two subsections address the function of *eben* as modal particle and as reply particle and contrast it with *gerade*. It may appear unorthodox to compare *eben* and *gerade* across particle classes, since some of the mechanical restrictions to the use of the individual particle classes automatically preclude the use of another type of particle. However, by adding the two other particle classes to the discussion we will pursue the goal of explaining that polyfunctional *eben* signals conformity-to-expectation across all of its three particle incarnations and that the divisions into different particle classes are based on constituent size and the position of the particle respective to a sentence.

#### 4.5. Suggested Interpretation 5: Expressing Resignation

A suggestion that can be found frequently throughout the scholarship on particles is that *eben* expresses resignation (see Duden 2007; see also Nekula 1996:154; Hentschel 1986:104; Helbig & Kötz 1981:34; Abraham 1991b:219; Baunebjerg 1981:196). Duden (2007) does not differentiate between types of particles, but the remaining scholarship attributes this function to the modal particle *eben*. As modal particle, *eben* has scope over the entire clause (see Gutzmann 2010:120; Helbig 1988:32). The sentences provided in the entry are the following:

- (38) *Er ist eben zu nichts zu gebrauchen.*  
He is PARTICLE to-INF nothing to-INF utilize.

‘Well, he is just not good for anything.’





question above is not a truly informational question,<sup>80</sup> it is really a way for A to slip in their negative opinion, i.e. performing a complaint speech act which can be paraphrased as the declarative '(Man,) Mr. Meyer always makes the tests so (goddamn) difficult!'

B reacts by confirming the validity of the underlying observation without adding any truly new information, but rather by arguing in a circular fashion that can be paraphrased as: 'That (circumstance that he makes his tests difficult) is *eben* so (= exactly that circumstance).' Although we are dealing with *eben* as a modal particle, we can still observe the signal that the constituent, in this case the entire statement, is conform-to-expectation. Thus, by expressing that those are simply the expected ways of Mr. Meyer, the speaker attempts to console the hearer by at least signaling that the speaker sides with the interlocutor.

The same matter-of-factness can be found in a fortunate context. In the scenario below, A has just won the main prize in a raffle and since this is frequently the case, A decides to express his/her joy with a rhetorical question. B replies with the identical sentence as above to this non-informational and impositional (cf. Yokoyama 1986:59) utterance, which is just as acceptable.

- (41) A: *Warum habe ich nur immer so viel Glück?*  
Why have I just always so much luck?
- B: *Das ist eben so.*  
That is PARTICLE so.

A: 'Why am I always so lucky?' - B: 'That's just how it is.'

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<sup>80</sup> See section 2.5.1 for examples that show the incompatibility of truly informational questions with focus particles.

If *eben* in B's reaction in sentence (41) expressed resignation, the implicature would be that B finds it saddening that A is always so lucky (which would be a matter of personality, not the particle). In order for *eben* to be acceptable to both possibilities—the complaint about the difficulty of the test in the previous example and the rhetorical question about being lucky in raffle drawings—we have to posit the same matter-of-factness and circularity as in the previous example. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that expressing resignation is not an inherent function of *eben*. Rather, the 'resignating' interpretation arises from other syntactic or discursive elements' contribution to the negative connotation of a sentence in interaction with *eben* (as a modal particle) signaling conformity-to-expectation.

More importantly, in the two scenarios above, the questions are not truly information-seeking, but rather a call for attention to the underlying propositions/directives that can be phrased based on the questions. Like the previous *why*-questions, sentence (41) can be paraphrased as *Herr Mayer macht seine Klassenarbeiten immer so schwer!* 'Mr. Meyer always makes his tests so difficult!' as observed by two classmates walking out from one of Mr. Mayer's infamous tests. B has no reason to believe that A was concerned with a proposition other than that underlying the question A him-/herself uttered. The particle *eben* signals conformity-to-expectation and thus underlines the confirmatory tone, that is, the evaluation of the prior utterance as valid. The resulting speech act is one of consolation.

Based on the tests above, it was established that the modal particle *eben*, rather than inherently expressing resignation, signals that the whole statement that is uttered is conform-to-expectation. We will test this further by eliminating *eben* from the sentences above:



that the biggest difference between the different particle types of *eben* are primarily mechanical (i.e. they concern constituent size and syntactic position) it is worth attempting a substitution to further test the argument that the substitution is restricted because of the difference in what *eben* and *gerade* signal, namely the degree of conformity-to-expectation. The sentence below contains *gerade* as a substitute:

(44) *Er ist ?/\*gerade zu [nichts] zu gebrauchen.*  
 He is ?ADV./\*PARTICLE to-PREP [nothing] to-INF utilize.

'He is not good for anything at the moment.' / 'Well, he is just not good for anything.'

Substituting *eben* with *gerade* results in two possibilities: Either, *gerade* is interpreted as a temporal adverb and can be substituted with *im Moment* 'at the moment'<sup>81</sup> or it is interpreted as a focus particle with *nichts* as its constituent. Since we are looking at the particle function, the result is only an unacceptable response. In this instance, it is possible to replace *gerade* with *erst recht* 'in spite of' or *trotzdem* 'nonetheless'.<sup>82</sup>

If *gerade* is interpreted as a particle, the sentence is an unacceptable reaction to the interlocutor's statement *X hat schon wieder vergessen, die Hunde zu füttern* 'X forgot to feed the dogs again' and to the unspoken connected pieces of knowledge that repeatedly forgetting to feed the dogs can be understood as repeatedly neglecting one's chores and repeatedly neglecting one's chores leads people to believe that one is

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<sup>81</sup> The resulting sentence would be grammatical and acceptable, however, there would have to be a justification or, both speaker would have to already know, why the time reference is volunteered as additional information. For example, the speaker could add that the individual referred to has an important exam coming up, implicating that this temporal proximity of the exam is the reason for him not completing the chores 'at the moment'.

<sup>82</sup> Lütten (1977:262-263) makes a similar observation in her isolated sample sentence *Jetzt mache ich es gerade* 'Now I'll do it nonetheless' though in her descriptive approach, she provides no further context nor an explanation why this substitution is possible.



of *eben* signaling conformity-to-expectation with negative connotations in the rest of the sentence or the discursive context.

#### 4.6. Suggested Interpretation 6: Confirmation/Summary

A further suggestion for *eben* as reply particle is that it can express a confirmation/confirmatory summary of a prior statement (e.g., Cárdenes-Melián 1997:151; Altmann 1978:45, Duch-Adamczyk 2012:18; Helbig 1988:122). It has not been worked out what distinguishes the reply particle *eben* from the focus or modal particle other than the mechanics that it can stand alone as a one-word reaction to a prior statement by an interlocutor. Indeed, Lütten (1977) observes that it is difficult to determine whether the reply particle is a focus particle or a modal particle because all three types express confirmation and differ only in how they interact with other syntactic elements. She performs a test that distinguishes an *eben<sub>1</sub>*, meaning *genau das* ‘exactly that’ from an *eben<sub>2</sub>* (a sentence equivalent). For *eben<sub>1</sub>*, she claims it works “im Sinne von ‘genau, gerade das’” ‘in the sense of ‘*genau, gerade* that’” (248) and maintains that although *eben<sub>2</sub>* is a sentence equivalent, the two types of *eben* share a semantic/pragmatic meaning: “[EBEN kann] nur dann als *genau* fungieren, wenn es unmittelbar mit ‚das‘ verbunden ist. Träte jedoch vor ‚das‘ ein Komma, so müsste man EBEN zwar die gleiche Bedeutung zusprechen, jedoch hätte EBEN dann die Funktion einer vollständigen Äußerung, wäre satzwertig“ ‘[EBEN can] only function as ‘genau’ when it is directly adjacent to ‘das.’ If a comma were placed in front of ‘das’, one would have to attribute the same meaning to EBEN, but it would have the function of a full utterance, it would have the value of a sentence’ (249). Her sample sentences are:

(A) ‘EBEN das wollte ich sagen.’ [eben<sub>1</sub>; PAW]

(≙ ‘genau das’)

(B) 'EBEN, das wollte ich sagen.' [eben<sub>2</sub>; PAW]

(≙ 'genau')

Lütten states that although the scope may be different, both *eben<sub>1</sub>* and *eben<sub>2</sub>* express confirmation: "In (A) ist EBEN also die nähere Bestimmung zu dem genannten Objekt ('das'), im zweiten Fall (B) drückt EBEN eine Bestätigung aus, die zwar auf das im folgenden Teilsatz genannte Objekt 'das' eingeschränkt sein kann, aber nicht sein muß" "In (A), EBEN is the closer specification of the uttered object 'das' [= that], in the second case (B), EBEN expresses a confirmation that can be limited to the object in the second part of the sentence but does not have to be' (1977:249-250). Indeed, as Lütten notes without explicitly referring to the differences in scope, both instances—*eben* in the sentence with and without a comma—refer to a prior statement, but in distinct ways and owing to the anaphorical reference of *das* 'that'. Whereas *eben*, without the comma in (A) functions as a focus particle and marks the demonstrative *das* 'that' as its constituent, which in turn anaphorically refers to the entire previous statement, *eben* separated by a comma (B) is positioned outside of the accompanying sentence and is a direct evaluation of the entire prior statement. This syntactic difference distinguishes the three types 'focus', 'modal', or 'reply' particle, yet it seems sensible to suggest that they all signal that a constituent is conform-to-expectation, regardless of how large that constituent is—and in the above case, what the mechanics of such an anaphoric reference are. We observe a very similar phenomenon in the co-occurrence of *eben* + *nicht* which is discussed in section 5.2.4. In the next example, we will supplement the one-word reply with a constructed dialog:

(46) A: *Wir haben keine Milch mehr.* - B: *Eben.*  
We have no milk anymore. PARTICLE



'A: We're out of milk. - B: Exactly./Yes./Uh-huh.'

A replacement test shows us that a one-word reply with *gerade* results in ungrammaticality:

(47) A: *Wir haben keine Milch mehr.* - B: \**Gerade.*  
We have no milk anymore. PARTICLE

'A: We're out of milk. - B: [???]

*Gerade* cannot be used as a one-word reaction to an interlocutor's statement.

Therefore, the reply in sentence (46) will be extended to a fuller statement with *eben* marking a smaller constituent, in analogy to Lütten's (1977) example (A) above:

(48) B: *Eben* [*das*] *ist mir auch schon aufgefallen.*  
PARTICLE that is to-me-DAT also already stood out-PP

That's exactly what I noticed, too!

The addition in (48) without a comma separating *eben* and *das* permits an unambiguous interpretation of *eben* as a 'focus particle' marking *das* 'that'. If we replace *eben* in sentence (48) with *gerade*, the resulting sentence is quite unacceptable:

(49) B: ??*Gerade* [*das*] *ist mir auch schon aufgefallen.*  
PARTICLE that is to-me-DAT also already stood out-PP

That's exactly what I noticed, too!

This difference in acceptability can be explained with the hypothesis: When *gerade* marks anaphoric *das*—the stand-in for the observation that the interlocutors are out of milk—as counter-to-expectation would signal a train of thought similar to the following: 'It appears to me you have something else in mind that I could have noticed,

rather than the milk being empty, but as a matter of fact, I have noticed exactly that (= the milk is empty), too.’ The fact that the speaker is using *auch* ‘too’ clashes with *gerade*, since *auch* expresses that what the interlocutor observes is also observed by the speaker. Inserting *gerade* in this sentence renders it unduly combative. After all, the particle-less version already expresses confirmation:

- (50) B: *Das ist mir auch schon aufgefallen.*  
 That is to-me-DAT also already stood out-PP  
 ‘That’s what I noticed, too!’

Coming back to the original suggestion that *eben* expresses a confirmation/summary of a previous statement, we can argue that that is a plausible effect of marking a constituent—in this case an entire prior utterance made by the interlocutor—as conform-to-expectation in connection with an observation to which both interlocutors are privy, like being out of milk.<sup>83</sup> Since we have briefly addressed the phenomenon of polyfunctional *eben* in this section, some concluding remarks are in order.

#### 4.7. A Proposal for Polyfunctional *eben*

Before concluding the section, we want to acknowledge that the overlap between *eben* as focus particle, modal particle, and reply particle<sup>84</sup> is sometimes challenging to tease apart and thus disagree with Abraham (1991b:4) who states that the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic ambiguity between types of particles is simple to eliminate.

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<sup>83</sup> It is also possible for the speaker to agree to the interlocutor’s observation that they are out of milk when this is new information to the speaker, that is, accepting it as correct upon being confronted with it for the first time. In this case, *eben* and *gerade* are not compatible with a statement that expresses the newness of the information to the speaker such as *Ach echt? Wie blöd* ‘Oh really? How stupid’.

<sup>84</sup> Altmann states that the latter can be interpreted as ellipses (1978:45), validating Lütten’s sentential additions.

Lütten (1977) has shown that especially categorizing the reply particle is flexible. She has also shown that the semantic import spans the particle types, however has not provided a systematic explanation.

It was shown above that some suggested interpretations of the different particles are not inherent to the respective particle, which is why we suggest that the most notable difference between *eben* as modal, focus, and reply particle is syntactic or discourse-positional, namely a) the size of the constituents differs and b) the syntactic/discursive environments in which they occur varies. The ‘modal’ particle can have scope over entire sentences, the ‘focus’ particle marks constituents that are generally smaller than a sentence but can still vary in size from a syllable to a clause or a connector. The reply particle occurs only in a turn following a statement from an interlocutor. In a reply, it is accented like a focus particle and it is possible to construct a sentence in which the role of *eben* could be either that of a focus or a modal particle, as demonstrated by Lütten (1977:249).

We want to entertain the idea that it may only be secondary to devise the different classifications for a particle like *eben*, given that a single underlying meaning can be suggested for all traditional labels: *Eben* signals to the hearer that the choice of a constituent is conform-to-expectation, hence a signal that the speaker assumes (or knows), based on the preceding discourse, that the interlocutor is prone to select (or has selected) the same constituent as the speaker. As such, *eben* is as sensible in a reply to a whole preceding utterance (‘reply particle’) as it is to mark a whole statement (‘modal particle’) or only small parts of a sentence (‘focus particle’). In keeping with CS Linguistics as a sign-based approach, we sought “a unified meaning that will account for the full range of uses of a form” (Contini-Morava 1995:9). The individual functions

attributed to the different particle subtypes can be interpreted as results of the interaction of *eben* signaling of conformity-to-expectation in the respective concrete environments.

#### 4.8. Summary

This chapter investigated the interpretations suggested for *eben* and *gerade* in German dictionaries and in the scholarship on particles. It was tested whether they applied uniformly to each particle, or both particles, throughout variable contexts. The tests included substitution and elimination tests applied to elements other than the particles in the sample sentences and applied to the particles themselves.

Sentences containing *eben* and *gerade* differ from particle-less sentences in nuances: They make a marked constituent the hook on which to attach the following discourse by signaling to the hearer that the constituent is particularly noteworthy. The feature was understood as the suggestion that the particles ‘emphasize’ a constituent. We noted in addition that if such a marking occurs in a metinformational question (see section 4.4), an answer that does not center on the marked constituent would violate the first part of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity: Providing a reply that did not focus on an aspect associated with the marked constituent would not be “as informative as required” (1975:45). Conversely, if a truly informational question is asked and the reply contains a focus particle marking a constituent, that marking violates the second part of the Gricean Maxim of Quantity by making the answer more informative than required (1975:45). More information than necessary will have to be provided following a marking of the constituent.

The particle elimination tests and the substitution tests of other elements showed that it is not an inherent feature of *eben* to express resignation, nor of *gerade*

to express annoyance or to attenuate criticism. These functions can only be confirmed for specific contexts. König has also cautioned against this kind of misconception: „Focus particles are extremely context-dependent, vague and subjective in their meaning and it is all too easy to mistake a specific aspect of the context for the meaning of the particle itself” (1991a:5). Yet, some of the suggestions perpetuated in the particle scholarship reflected exactly this kind of contamination. It was shown that these interpretations are pragmatic effects that can come about in concrete contexts interacting with the two particles’ underlying meanings suggested in this study, namely signaling to a hearer that a constituent is conform-to-expectation (*eben*) or counter-to-expectation (*gerade*).

The analysis in this chapter also revealed a number of shortcomings in the description of the particles *eben* and *gerade* in dictionary entries and in the scholarly literature on particle research. Sample sentences were not unambiguous enough, as was seen in section 4.1. Sentences in isolation were declared ‘idiosyncrasies’. By supplementing these isolated starred sentences with additional context, it was possible to eliminate some of the idiosyncrasies and render the utterances with particles acceptable. We also saw more clearly how certain contexts restrict the use of each particle.

Additionally, we illustrated the mechanics underlying the claim that *eben* and *gerade* weaken negations by evaluating the sequence ‘*nicht* + focus particle + attribute’ and ‘focus particle + *nicht* + attribute’ in larger contexts. It was shown that in the former sequence uttering the absoluteness of an attribute is avoided, which gives the overall impression that a negation of an attribute is ‘weakened’. The circumstance that

*eben* and *gerade* are in the scope of the negation particle also made it difficult to posit any difference in nuance between *nicht + eben* and *nicht + gerade*.

The polyfunctionality of *eben* was discussed and it was found that the differences between the *eben* subtypes are more ‘mechanical’ (e.g. related to syntactic and discursive position and size of constituents) while their semantic/pragmatic contribution remained stable. Positing the signaling of a constituent as conform-to-expectation helps consolidate all concrete functions of the *eben* particle types. Supplemental context was constructed that illustrated the discursive situations in which one particle or the other is acceptable, to explain the observation that *eben* and *gerade* cannot always mutually replace each other, or with odd results. The restrictions were attributed to the particles’ signals to the hearer about the constituent they mark: *eben* marks a constituent as conform-to-expectation and *gerade* marks it as counter-to-expectation. Contexts in which the hearer explicitly chooses the same constituent as the speaker or contexts in which the hearer is prompted by discursive conditions to choose the same constituent as the speaker render *gerade* unacceptable and vice versa.

A minimal pair analysis of isolated sentences and minimal added context that can be shaped to a researcher’s will offer great control of the data surrounding the particles, resulting in neat quasi-black-and-white cases that are easily distinguished. In the following chapter, we will analyze the more ‘messy’ natural language data and examine even larger pieces of context. A selection of the particles’ most notable distribution patterns among larger argumentative structures, with which each particle shows an affinity, are presented and related to the underlying meanings in the hypothesis.

## 5. Corpus-based Analyses

The minimal pair analysis of *eben* and *gerade* in the previous chapter dispelled with some descriptions of their interpretations that are found in modern German dictionaries such as Duden and Wahrig as well as in some of the German particle scholarship and have been, it appears, too uncritically disseminated. We now turn to examining larger amounts of corpus data.

Examining co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* on a larger scale is a gateway to determining whether there are any noticeable differences in distribution patterns between the two in natural language. The observations presented in this study are based on the *Plenarprotokolle* ‘Plenary Protocols’ (PP henceforth) corpus and thus based on the text genre of political debate. While the co-occurrences presented in the sections below have also been found and documented in other text genres such as newspaper or journal articles, the genre may influence the distribution frequencies of the co-occurrences because the interaction of the focus particles’ underlying meanings with the respective macrostructures is particularly beneficial to getting a point across in political debate.

Since tokens in the selected corpus were not morphologically tagged, it was necessary to devise diagnostic tests to determine as which particle and non-particle word types the lexemes appeared. Information on the corpus, the selection and preparation process as well as the tests is provided in the first section below.

Based on the observed frequencies of particles’ co-occurrences with particular constituents, we were able to identify larger argumentative structures in which the particles tend to appear. The co-occurrences are easily detectable and quantifiable and

allow for a subsequent, in-depth qualitative analysis of the surrounding macrostructural context.

This examination does not establish statistically sophisticated and significant correlations or dependencies. Rather, looking at larger amounts of data serves to reveal real, natural-language affinities of each particle that cannot be seen by intending to generate every hypothetical sentence possible. After all, particles are optional words and the motivations for uttering them may not always be present in the text or discourse situation. Referring to an example from Chapter 4 above, a speaker may utter *Das wollte ich ja* ‘That is what I wanted’ and not mark the constituent *das* ‘that’ for expectedness at all or s/he may utter *Gerade/Eben das wollte ich ja* ‘Gerade/Eben that is what I wanted’ and mark the relative expectedness of *das* but s/he is not obliged to do so. The influential restriction on the particle use we investigate here arises from the different preceding contexts that render the use of one or the other particle unacceptable. As such, we would not expect any of the structures of ‘traditional’ word types below to necessarily be dependent on each of the particles—rather the opposite. The illustrative samples and simple numbers serve as a gateway into exploring frequent co-occurrences, and future research will have to assess these patterns with statistically more sophisticated methods.

Below, we present three illustrative discussions of the respective affinities of the focus particles *eben* and *gerade* with such larger argumentative structures—all of which were identified by casting an initial quantitative net that reveals frequent co-occurrences. The distributions include a high frequency in the co-occurrences of *eben* + *nicht* vis-à-vis a low frequency of *gerade* with the same, the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with the causal marker *weil*, and the high frequency of *gerade* +



temporal/spatial expressions vis-à-vis a low frequency of *eben* with the same. In the fourth section, the possibility of subdividing the PP corpus by state parliament was utilized to show that dialect does not affect the distribution of *eben* and *gerade* based on the corpus data.

Each of the initial three sections includes a general introduction into the forms and functions of the co-occurring elements discussed, followed by a brief quantitative overview of the *eben/gerade* distributions that were found, an in-depth qualitative analysis, and an articulation of the findings within the CS framework. It will be shown that each of these distributions of *eben* and *gerade* is brought about by the affinity of their respective underlying meanings conformity-to-expectation and counter-to-expectation with the macrostructural conditions in which they are embedded.

## 5.1. Data Preparation

The following two subsections present the motivation for selecting the Plenarprotokolle corpus and describe the extraction and tagging process that involved substitution tests to determine the word types of *eben* and *gerade*.

### 5.1.1. Corpus Specifications and Selection

In order to ground observations on an empirical foundation and access larger discursive contexts, this study will include a corpus-based analysis of the two lexemes *eben* and *gerade*. In the scholarship on particles, few and only more recent investigations have used the data that are available in electronic corpora (see Brünjes 2014:1). Möllering (2004) uses a corpus data analysis to find solutions to the problem of teaching modal particles. Moroni (2010a) analyses portions<sup>85</sup> of the *Freiburger*

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<sup>85</sup> Moroni analyses the FR012, FR023 and FR030 recordings from the *Freiburger Korpus*, which amount to one hour of recordings and include 9,759 spoken words.

*Korpus* (data collected between 1960-1974) in order to determine the relationship of focus particles with syntax, information structure, and prosody, arguing that the ostensibly violated rule that particles always occur before the rheme in a statement is explainable by sentence stress. The incorporation of corpus-based analyses into this study follows the shift toward more data-driven studies and grants access to the larger context that has been frequently called for particularly in reference to the unresolved relationship of *eben* and *gerade*.

The selected data stem from IDS's *COSMAS II* web application. *COSMAS II* (Corpus Search, Management and Analysis System) is a project of the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* 'Institute for the German Language' (IDS) in Mannheim. *COSMAS II*, the successor of *COSMAS I* (1991-2003) includes 231 corpora of the *Deutsches Referenzkorpus*, *DeReKo* (German Reference Corpus) with 29.2 billion word forms, making it the most extensive corpus of German texts to date. The *DeReKo* archive is continuously extended and a portion of available corpus material is revised, for example, morphologically tagged (cf. IDS 2015). *Cosmas II* is the front end of the extensive archival and analytical work done in *DeReKo*. It includes texts from the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the present but is not designed as a 'balanced' corpus (cf. the British National Corpus): the text samples are not evenly distributed regarding age and text type (cf. IDS 2015). The division into a great number of sub-corpora allows analysts to narrow texts down to a particular desired genre, for example philosophical texts, the Grimm corpus, the archive of *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, or Wikipedia discussion forum posts. The corpus in its entirety spans a large spectrum from rather formal to colloquial language.

To reduce the number of variables that may have an influence on particle use, the data are limited to occurrences of the two lexemes within the year 2011 and to the genre of political debate. The PP sub-corpus includes 328.16 million tokens (0.1% of all *DeReKo* tokens) and encompasses the plenary sessions of all 16 German federal states as well as protocols from the German *Bundestag* ‘German Lower House of Parliament’, the German *Bundesrat* ‘German Upper House of Parliament’ as well as the parliament of Lower Austria. Plenary protocols are stenographed documentation of plenary sessions that are made available to the public after the speakers have had a chance to review and correct them, but not make any changes to the content. After that, the documents are made publicly available—nowadays on the respective websites of the *Landtage*<sup>86</sup> ‘state parliaments’—for perusal by any interested individual. A sub-corpus in *Cosmas II*, they are also included in the IDS archives and therefore available to more extensive analysis.

In extracting data from the PP corpus, care was taken that they would be balanced by region to control for dialectal variations if they should exist, although so far, no statements have been found concerning a dialectally motivated distribution of *eben* and *gerade*,<sup>87</sup> nor a difference in register between the two. ‘Balanced’ in the case at hand means that the relative amount of text from the respective states is also represented by the percentage of particle occurrences that were tagged. For example, the *Bundestag* percentage is by far the largest (as the sessions are the longest and most frequent throughout the year), constituting 13.13% percent of the PP corpus texts.

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<sup>86</sup> For example, plenary protocols of the [Bayerischer Landtag](#) or [Landtag von Baden-Württemberg](#).

<sup>87</sup> Altmann (1978) briefly considers the potential of a dialectal variation between *gerade* and *ausgerechnet*, or a difference in the degree of what he calls ‘speaker involvement’ but does not elaborate on it and makes no such claim about *gerade* and *eben* (153).

Therefore, 13.13% of *eben* and *gerade* tokens from the *Bundestag* sub-corpus were tagged for word type.<sup>88</sup> Equally, the *Bundesrat* sub-corpus was the smallest, constituting 2.59% of the PP corpus texts, therefore 2.59% of *eben/gerade* tokens from this sub-corpus were tagged for word type. This means that we assume there to be a consistent frequency of particles in German utterances across regions.<sup>89</sup> Doing this eliminates the possibility of incorporating an unduly large amount of lexemes from a comparatively small state sub-corpus and thus giving it too much weight.

The ability to separate the data by federal state provides insights into the use of *eben* and *gerade* in different regions. Table 10 shows a breakdown of number of texts, the percentage of texts respective to the complete sub-corpus, the number of tokens, the time span in which documents are available as well as the federal parliaments containing them.

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<sup>88</sup> The corpus cannot be filtered both by region and year, so we work under the assumption that the Landtage ratios presented across years are based on consistent a frequency length of meetings. Certainly, the *Bundestag* and *Bundesrat* meetings will remain the most frequent throughout the years given their national significance.

<sup>89</sup> It may be the case that the particles' frequencies within utterances are higher in some regions and lower in others. This may be owed to speaker's respective propensities for uttering that something is counter-to-expectation or conform-to-expectation, their combativeness, etc. (see section 5.5)

Table 10 - Overview of Percentages of Regional Subcorpora in PP Corpus

Presentation of Plenary Protocols Corpus					
# of Texts	% of Texts	# of Words	From Year	To Year	Corpus
254	3.8%	12,079,573	1999	2012	PBB
228	3.4%	12,730,084	1999	2012	PBE
155	2.3%	3,455,442	2000	2012	PBR
872	13.1%	51,809,293	1998	2012	PBT
378	5.7%	19,207,795	1996	2012	PBW
359	5.4%	15,752,883	1998	2012	PBY
264	4.0%	11,684,560	1999	2012	PHB
413	6.2%	19,888,170	1999	2012	PHE
363	5.5%	13,811,069	1997	2012	PHH
317	4.8%	16,678,011	1998	2012	PMV
413	6.2%	22,313,026	1998	2012	PNI
322	4.8%	18,496,352	1999	2012	PTH
486	7.3%	25,942,785	1995	2012	PNW
383	5.8%	14,501,033	1996	2012	PRP
458	6.9%	19,559,171	1996	2012	PSH
172	2.6%	8,026,744	1999	2012	PSL
318	4.8%	18,372,787	1999	2012	PSN
267	4.0%	10,919,796	1998	2012	PST
220	3.3%	12,927,434	1993	2012	PNO
<b>6642</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>328,156,008</b>	<b>1993</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>19 Corpora</b>

As Table 10 above shows, the largest corpus is that of the *Bundestag*, with more than 51 million tokens<sup>90</sup> (13.13% of the PP sub-corpus) distributed across 872 individual texts. The largest time span, ranging from 1993 to 2013, is covered by the Lower Austrian corpus. An analysis of all corpora has the potential to control for dialect region. While the plenary sessions provide a rather formal context in which the use of (largely dialect-free) standard German would be expected, dialectal variations in terms of the frequency of the respective focus particles, as they have been postulated by a number of scholars for other particles (cf. Hentschel 1986; Helbig 1988), could easily

<sup>90</sup> Types are letter patterns, tokens are the (reoccurring) 'physical' instances of those letter patterns in a text. For example, in *Wenn fliegen hinter Fliegen fliegen* 'When flies fly behind flies', *fliegen* is one type that occurs as two tokens in the sentence.

be detected when dividing the occurrences by *Landtag* and investigating whether frequencies change accordingly. This opens up additional possibilities of research in the future: Not only a quantitative investigation of the two particles in each federal state, but also a qualitative investigation showing the contexts in which the two may be embedded. The sub-corpus selection also controls for register: The protocols at hand document plenary sessions in the parliaments of each federal state, and the relationship between speakers and audience is a professional and highly official work setting for political representatives. Before any further analysis can be undertaken, however, a morphological tagging of the lexemes at hand is necessary, which requires the execution of tests.

### 5.1.2. Data Extraction and Tagging

In order to allow for a synchronic investigation of the data, only occurrences in the year 2011 were extracted. The year was selected, because firstly, of all the years available, it showed the most occurrences for both the *eben* and the *gerade* lexemes (see Appendix 7.1) and secondly, it was also the most recent complete compilation of plenary protocols (see Appendix 7.2). The small amount of data for the year 2012 suggested that it was still being compiled. The following numbers of occurrences were found and extracted:

Table 11 - Occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* and Extraction Numbers

Lexeme	Total Occurrences in PP Corpus	# of Texts	Year	occurrences in 2011	# of Extracted Items
<i>eben</i>	158,731	6,501	2011	13,946	12,884
<i>gerade</i>	248,888	6,570	2011	21,539	20,167

It was already addressed above that the multitude of particle classifications and sub-classifications has created the designation of so-called ‘polyfunctional’ particles. In an equal vein, distinctions must be made in terms of particle vs. non-particle function (e.g., temporal adverbs, etc.). The PP sub-corpus used for this investigation is not morphologically tagged and therefore the lexemes’ possible functions must be disambiguated by carrying out analytical tests. Sample tests that were carried out for morphologically tagging the data are provided below.

The tests distinguish between the focus particle functions of *eben* and *gerade* and their non-particle functions (adverbs or predicative adjectives if applicable) as well as between *eben* as a focus particle and a modal or reply particle. Disambiguating adjective and temporal adverb function as well as the reply particle function of *eben* is a comparatively easy process. The reply particle *eben* is automatically excluded due to its syntactic position—It stands alone as a reaction to a prior statement by an interlocutor (and can be substituted with reactions such as *Genau*, *Ja*, or *Stimmt*). If that specific position is not found in the sample, the lexeme is not a reply particle. The most challenging task is to tease apart the focus and modal particle categories of *eben*.

The non-particle (predicative/attributive) adjective and adverb functions of *eben* and *gerade* can be determined by performing substitution tests with close synonyms of the adjectives and adverbs and test for acceptability of these sentences with the synonyms. If they are acceptable, the lexeme’s function is that of an adjective or adverb. If they are not acceptable, they can be tested for a particle function with a second substitution test. The table below provides an overview word classes and synonyms for substitution:

Table 12 - Substitutions for *eben/gerade* by Word Type

Word Type / lexeme	<i>eben</i> substitution	<i>gerade</i> substitution
attributive adjective	N/A <sup>91</sup>	<i>linear;</i> <i>aufrecht;</i> <i>aufrichtig;</i> <i>nicht ungerade</i> <i>(math: even</i> <i>[number])</i>
predicative adjective	<i>glatt</i>	<i>linear;</i> <i>aufrecht;</i> <i>aufrichtig</i>
temporal adverb (simultaneity)	<i>momentan, jetzt</i>	
temporal adverb (anteriority)	<i>kürzlich, zuvor</i>	
adverb of manner	<i>knapp</i>	
modal particle	<i>halt, nun</i> <i>(ein)mal</i>	N/A
focus particle	<i>insbesondere, vor allem</i>	
	<i>genau</i>	<i>ausgerechnet</i>

Eliminating predicative adjective functions of *gerade* is straightforward, given that as predicative adjectives, the lexemes would occur in sentences with copulative verbs such as *sein* ‘to be’, *bleiben* ‘to remain’, *werden* ‘to become’, and an entity that is described by these adjectives. This means that substituting *gerade* with the synonyms will automatically render an ungrammatical sentence immediately. The concrete lexical semantics of each lexeme’s temporal adverb are not expected to pose a great challenge, either, nor are the instances in which the lexeme could be considered an adverb of manner. The contexts in which the latter appears are usually in co-occurrence with *so* ‘thus’ and within a sentence that expresses an amount or scale, for example, *Er hat die Hürde gerade so übersprungen* ‘He barely/just about jumped over the hurdle’. Two

<sup>91</sup> The attributive adjective function of *eben* is automatically excluded based on inflectional morphemes that are added: *Das ebene Holz ist sehr teuer* ‘The smooth wood is very expensive’.



representative tests applied to sample corpus data are provided below, one for an occurrence with *eben* and one with *gerade*.

**Gerade** die CDU hat doch in der Vergangenheit immer die Veränderungsbereitschaft und die dafür nötige Flexibilität und Kreativität bei Reformen eingefordert

‘**Gerade** the CDU has, you should know this, always demanded the openness to change and the flexibility and creativity required of reforms that are necessary for it.’

(PBB/W05.00031 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 24.02.2011. 31. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Potsdam, 2011)

In this sample sentence, we find *gerade* positioned sentence-initially in a main clause, followed by the noun phrase *die CDU*. A substitution is performed in the table below.

Table 13 - Substitution Test for *gerade* Lexeme

Word Type Test	Sentence with Substitution	Acceptability?
<b>attributive adjective</b>	* <u>Lineare/Aufrechte/Aufrichtige</u> die CDU hat doch...	ungrammatical
<b>predicative adjective</b>	* <u>Linear/Aufrecht/Aufrichtig</u> die CDU hat doch...	ungrammatical
<b>temporal adverb (simultaneity)</b>	* <u>Momentan</u> die CDU hat doch...	ungrammatical
<b>temporal adverb (anteriority)</b>	* <u>Zuvor</u> die CDU hat doch...	ungrammatical
<b>adverb of manner</b>	* <u>Knapp</u> die CDU hat doch...	ungrammatical
<b>focus particle</b>	<u>Insbesondere/Ausgerechnet</u> die CDU hat doch	acceptable

The substitution test in Table 13 illustrates that all non-particle word type insertions result in ungrammaticality. The predicative adjective and adverbs, unlike focus particles, are independent syntactic elements. That means they occupy their own slot in the sentence distinct from the noun phrase *die CDU*, whereas focus particles are always part of the constituent they mark (see Hentschel & Weydt 2003:322). Thus,

when we place the substitutes in sentence-initial position, we violate the verb-second rule in main clauses in German because the noun phrase *die CDU* is moved to the second position and the verb *hat* to the third. This effect renders all sentences ungrammatical. Attributive adjectives do not occupy a slot separate from the noun phrase they are describing but rather are embedded in it. This means that the syntactic verb-second rule is not violated in the substitution sentence. Additionally, the word order rule for attributive adjectives within nominal phrases is that they be placed in-between the determiner (*die*) and the noun (*CDU*), which is not the case in our sample, in which the attributive adjectives precede the determiner. In the focus particle function, *gerade* and its substitutes are part of the noun phrase and move through the sentence together with it. They also can be placed preceding the determiner. Consequently, the only grammatical sentence is that in which we substitute *gerade* with other focus particles. A sample sentence with *eben* is also taken from the corpus data:

Schon heute zahlt der Bund knapp 4 Milliarden Euro jährlich an die Bahn - für **eben** diese Infrastruktur. Anders ist das auch gar nicht darstellbar, wenn die Trassenpreise und damit die Fahrpreise sich nicht weiter verteuern sollen.

‘Today, the federal administration already pays 4 million Euro annually - for **eben** this infrastructure. Otherwise this is not presentable, if railway prices and ticket prices shall not increase any further.’

(PNW/W15.00036 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Nordrhein-Westfalen am 29.06.2011. 36. Sitzung der 15. Wahlperiode 2010-2012. Plenarprotokoll, Düsseldorf, 2011)

In the sentence above, we find *eben* embedded in the prepositional phrase *für ... diese Infrastruktur* ‘for ... this infrastructure’. The prepositional phrase is exbraciated from its canonical position in the (preceding) main clause and that exbraciation is

graphically marked by a dash, which reflects that the speaker inserted a pause at this point of the speech. The table below summarizes the substitution tests.

Table 14 - Substitution Test for *eben* Lexeme

Word Type Test	Resulting sentence	Acceptability
<b>attributive adjective</b>	N/A	
<b>predicative adjective</b>	*... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>glatt</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	ungrammatical
<b>temporal adverb (simultaneity)</b>	*... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>momentan</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	ungrammatical
<b>temporal adverb (anteriority)</b>	*... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>zuvor</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	ungrammatical
<b>adverb of manner</b>	*... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>knapp</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	ungrammatical
<b>focus particle</b>	... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>genau/insbesondere</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	acceptable
<b>modal particle</b>	??... <i>and die Bahn – für <u>halt/nun einmal</u> diese Infrastruktur</i>	unacceptable

Substitutions in Table 14 also render mostly ungrammatical sentences in all hypothetical functions except the focus and modal particle function. Predicative adjectives as well as adverbs cannot be inserted in a prepositional phrase. Again, since focus particles become part of a noun phrase, they can be positioned within it, preceding the determiner (*diese*). Modal particles cannot be part of a noun phrase, either, but are more typically placed within the verbal frame, outside the boundaries of any constituent (see also Altmann 1978:58). A narrowing-down of the distinction of *eben* as a modal particle and *eben* as a focus particle can be undertaken by following Helbig's suggestion that the focus particle constituents are typically nominal phrases, prepositional phrases with a numeral, demonstratives, possessives, and adverbs (1988:122).

Altmann (1978:59) states that it is most difficult to disambiguate the word types temporal adverb and modal particle in cases in which the particles precede an adverb.

His example is *Er war eben hier* 'He was eben here', which he already presents in substituted/enhanced form:

(2-235) Er war eben (noch) hier. / Er war eben/genau h i e r.

In his first (left-hand) acceptable version, Altmann adds *noch* 'still' to force a temporal adverb reading, which translates as 'He was here just a second ago.' In the right-hand version, the spacing of *hier* 'here' signals sentence accent, which forces a focus particle reading and roughly translates as 'He was exactly here.' This is further illustrated by the substitution with the focus particle *genau*. In the unmodified version, it is also possible to substitute with *halt/nun (ein)mal*: *Er war halt/nun (ein)mal hier* 'He was here(, what can I say?)'.

When presented with the unmodified version, the ambiguity cannot be properly resolved with substitution tests, so continuations have to be added. Even when adding context, the differences are a matter of nuance.

(51)	<i>Er</i>	<i>war</i>	<u><i>eben(/genau/zuvor/??halt)</i></u>	<i>hier,</i>	<i>auf</i>	<i>dem</i>
	He	was	eben(/precisely/earlier/??simply)	hier,	on	the-DAT
	<i>Fleck,</i>	<i>auf</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>jetzt</i>	<i>stehst.</i>
	spot,	on	that-DAT	you-sing.	now	stand-2nd.sing.

'He was exactly here, in the spot where you are now standing.' / 'He was here earlier, in the spot where you are standing.' / ??'He was here, in the spot where you are standing(, and that's a fact.)'

In sentence (51), a clause was added to further specify the location in which the referent was standing. The only questionable substitution is that with the modal particle, which does not complement the specificity in the following sentence. This resolves the difficulty of distinguishing adverb and modal particle. The focus particle (*genau*) and temporal adverbial (*zuvor*) replacements are both acceptable, though if

they were to be ranked, the focus particle substitution is more natural. The focus particle with its constituent is a paraphrase of the subsequent clause, both serve to point attention to the specific location—the two different constituents *hier* and *auf dem Fleck* referring to the same extralinguistic referent, the location. In the following sentence we add a continuation that forces a contrast of a past and a present state:

- (52) *Er*     *war*                    *eben*(/?*genau*/*zuvor*/?*halt*)            *hier*,  
 He     was-3rd.SING.   *eben*(/?*precisely*/*earlier*/?*simply*)    here,  
  
*aber*   *jetzt*                    *ist*    *er*    *weg*.  
 but    now                    is     he    away.  
 ?'He was exactly here, but now he is gone.' / 'He was here earlier, but now he is gone.' / ??'He was here, but now he is gone(, and that's a fact)'

In sentence (52), the most natural substitution is that with a temporal adverb expressing anteriority. It complements the contrast in tenses (past v. present), the contrastive conjunction (*aber* 'but') and the contrasting locations (*hier* 'here' v. *weg* 'away/gone').

The focus particle substitution requires a more labored explanation and the construction of yet more context to be acceptable: It could be uttered by a police officer who had left a prisoner in a particular location and removed herself from that location intermittently, and, upon her return, has found that prisoner to be gone. That police officer could utter the sentence toward her superior who demands an explanation of this mishap. The implicature of the police officer could be that the referenced location was a particularly escape-safe one, for example, a prison cell. Thus, the specification of the location could serve to express the poor police officer's utter disbelief in the fact that the identical location in which the prisoner was kept earlier is

now a vacant one. We note that a lot more context is needed to make this version with the focus particle acceptable in discourse.

The most unacceptable version includes the modal particle, which again already resolves the difficulty of distinguishing adverb and modal particle presented by Altmann (1978). Discourse contexts, in which this sentence would be acceptable, are very limited. The sentence would be most natural in discourse contexts in which answering with a truism is prompted.<sup>92</sup> The possible scenario could be that an interlocutor is complaining about ‘he’ having been in a location where he should not have been and the speaker’s reply is sentence (52), with which s/he implicates that, yes, someone was indeed in a place (which was previously uttered, that is, complained about by the interlocutor) but is now gone, from which follows that the infraction was a temporary and therefore minor one and should not be blown out of proportion.

- (53) *Er war eben(/??genau/?zuvor/halt) hier,*  
 He was-3rd.SING *eben(/??precisely/?earlier/simply)* here,  
*das ist doch in Ordnung.*  
 that is PART in order.

??‘He was exactly here, and that is totally fine.’ / ?‘He was here earlier, and that is totally fine.’ / ‘He was here, that is a fact, and that is totally fine.’

In sentence (53), the modal particle version is the most natural, for the same reason as described above. In this version, the appeasement is supported by the evaluation of the situation as ‘fine’ in the added clause. The sentence would be acceptable as a reply to a complaint regarding someone’s objectionable whereabouts. The substitution with another temporal adverb would be acceptable in a situation, in which the implicature is

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<sup>92</sup> Compare example (39) in section 4.5

that ‘not earlier’ (i.e. ‘now’ or ‘later’) as opposed to ‘earlier’ is not acceptable. For example, if a student was at the library before the start of detention, and the principal asked for that student’s whereabouts, the librarian could utter the sentence above, implicating that the student’s earlier presence at the library was fine because his detention had not started, yet.

The use of the focus particle would implicate that a place ‘not here’ may not be acceptable. The sentence would be natural in a scenario where the individual ‘he’ is in a location of relative safety as long as he is ‘here’ but may be in danger in any other implicated location, for example, in an industrial plant full of heavy machinery in which safe paths to walk along are delimited by brightly colored tape on the floor and those designated safe walkways were the referents of ‘here’.

In the substitution tests in sentences (52) and (53) we see that, overall, the ambiguity is possible but difficult to eliminate. The construction of scenarios becomes quite labored and more and more expansive at times. In the natural language data, these labored but disambiguating contexts often do not exist and it turns out that we are confronted with a particularly difficult case that concerns combinations of *eben* + *nicht* (section 5.2.3) in which three out of four combinations are ambiguous focus/modal particle readings. While Abraham’s structural-syntactic investigations of modal particles lead him to claim that most instances of ambiguity can be eliminated (1986:4), Kwon interprets an instance of *eben* as ambiguously situated between an adverbial and a particulate function in her dissertation (see 2005:54–55). She states interpreting an adverbial function is preferable. Moroni (2010b) also finds cases of *eben* that are ambiguous (cf. 27). Lütten (1977) grapples with the flexible interpretation of the reply particle once sentences are expanded (section 4.6). Kwon’s, Moroni’s, and

Lütten's findings that ambiguity is not easily eliminated can be confirmed based on the fact that the selected corpus data represent natural language with all its intricacies and ambiguities. They stand in contrast to the crafted vignettes above that are easier to control. An instance of such ambiguous readings is the example below:

Sie wischen die zahlreichen Argumente, die es gegen dieses Projekt gibt, einfach mit dem Begriff "ideologisch" weg - so haben Sie es in Ihrem Antrag geschrieben -, ohne überhaupt darauf einzugehen, welche Gründe gegen dieses Projekt sprechen. **Hier geht es eben nicht nur um die Frage der landschaftlichen Einbettung, es geht auch um die Frage des Erhalts des Weltkulturerbestatus für das Mittelrheintal.**

'You cast many arguments against this project aside branding them as 'ideological' - without even hearing the reasons that can be raised against this project. **It is *eben* not only about the question of integration into the landscape, but it is also about the question of preserving the status of the Mittelrheintal's status as World Heritage Site.**

(PHE/W18.00075 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Hessischer Landtag am 19.05.2011. 75. Sitzung der 18. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Wiesbaden, 2011)

Both, a substitution with alternative modal and one with focus particles are acceptable:

- (54) *Hier geht es eben* (/vor allem nicht nur um die Frage [...]  
/nun einmal)  
Here goes it *eben* (/especially not only about the question [...]  
/simply)

'Here, it is especially not only about the question...' / 'Here, it is simply not only about the question...'

Sentence (54) illustrates that both substitutions are acceptable. As far as the particle subtypes of *eben* are concerned, the variable reading can be offset by positing that in essence, each of the *eben* particle subtypes signals conformity-to-expectation and that the difference between the types centers on the constituent sizes (complete sentence vs. element possibly smaller than a sentence). Discussions of the modal and reply



particles *eben* and polyfunctional *eben* can be found in sections 4.5-4.7. In the particular case of *eben + nicht*, the difference seems secondary, anyway, because the overall effect on scope is the same: Either we posit that *eben* is a focus particle in which case its constituent is *nicht*, which in turn has scope over the rest of the sentence, or we posit it is a modal particle, in which case the particle itself has scope over the entire sentence. The outcome is ostensibly the same.

The results of the tagging procedures are distilled in the two tables below that present the distribution of the lexemes *eben* and *gerade* by word type. A total of 5,297 lexemes was tagged.

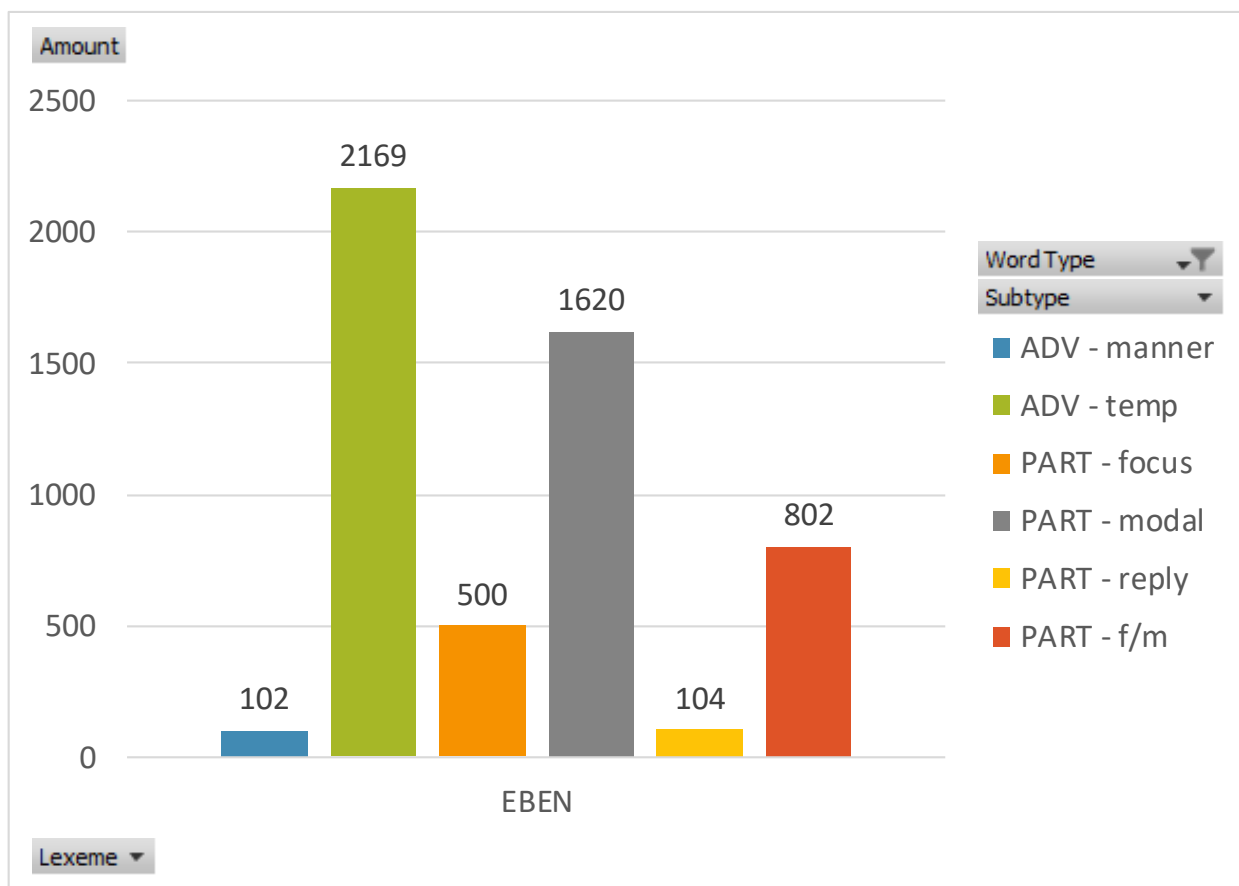


Figure 3 - *eben* Word Type and Subtype Distribution

We see in Figure 3 above that 57.13%, or 3,026 of the 5,297 tagged *eben* lexemes, are particles, the remainder (2,271 of 5,297; 42.87%) are adverbs. Among the 3,206 particles, modal particles constitute the slight majority with 53.54% and focus particles a clear minority with 16.56%. We already elaborated on the ambiguous group of focus/modal particles and their interaction with the negation particle *nicht* above which are listed as an individual category. This group of 802 particles constitutes a quarter of the analyzed cases (26.5%). Among adverbs, the temporal adverbs constitute the clear majority with 95.5%. Adverbs of manner and reply particles are the respective outliers of the particle and non-particle categories.

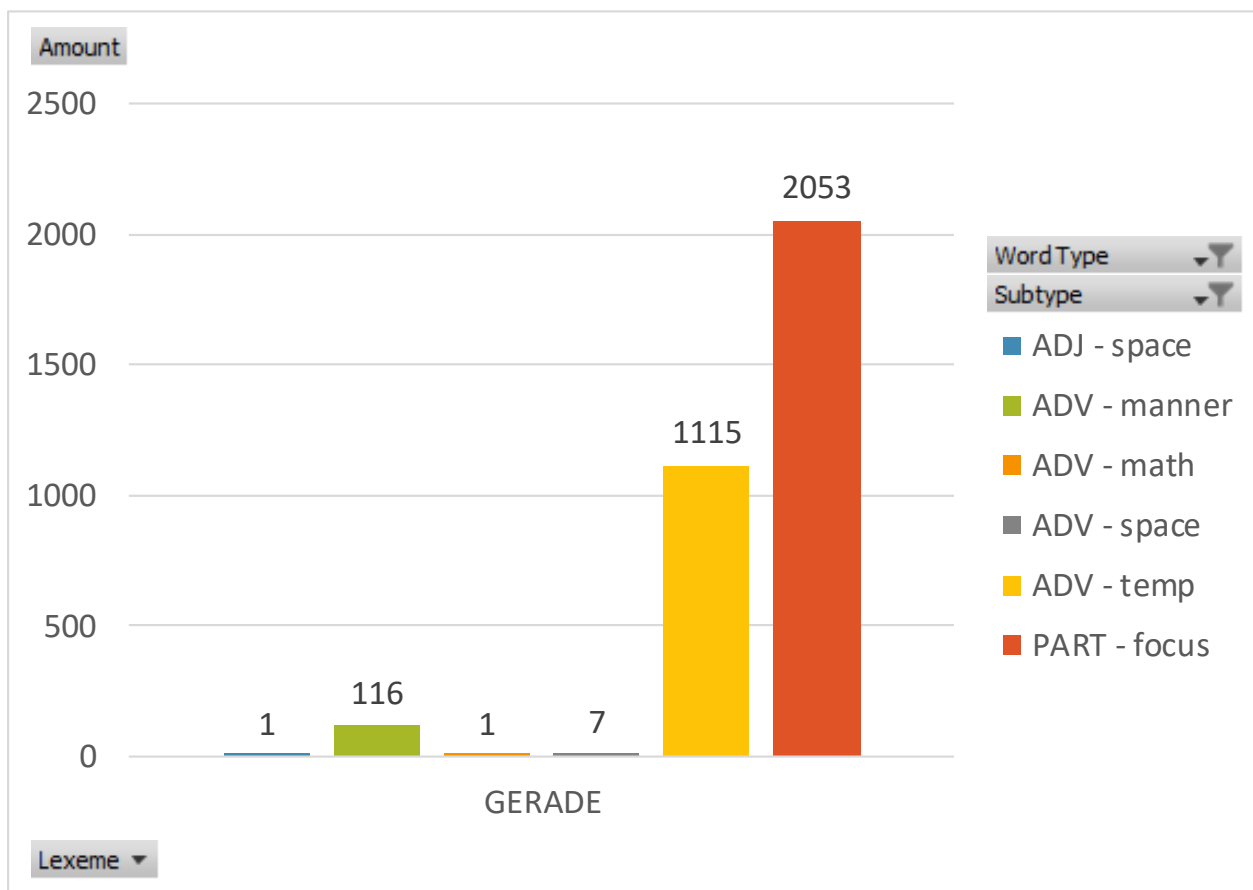


Figure 4 - *gerade* Word Type and Subtype Distribution

In Figure 4, we note that the tagging of the *gerade* lexeme provides a much clearer picture without ambiguities. The ratio of particle vs. non-particle functions is 62.64% over 37.62% (not including the 1 adjective occurrence). As observed in the *eben* chart above, among adverbs, the temporal adverbs constitute the majority (89.99%). In both instances, the particle functions among the lexemes are more frequent than the non-particle functions for those lexemes that were tagged by word type. The difference is greater for the *gerade* lexeme.

For the study at hand, we compare the focus particle groups, with the exception of section 5.1, where the co-occurrence of *eben* with the negation particle *nicht* ‘not’ was so frequent that the ambiguous focus/modal particle group was taken into consideration, as well. The reasoning for this was presented above and is reiterated in section 5.2.

In the following four sections, representative findings from the corpus data will be discussed. These include the frequent co-occurrence of *eben* with the negation particle *nicht* and with larger adversative constructions, the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with causal markers, the frequent co-occurrence of *gerade* with temporal and spatial expressions, and an investigation of a potential dialect-geographical distribution of the two particles.

## 5.2. Particle Co-occurrence with Negation and Adversative Constructions

In this section we will present co-occurrence frequencies of *eben* and *gerade* with forms of negation, in particular the negation particle *nicht*. There is not only is there a vast difference in the combination frequencies of the particles with *nicht*, with *eben* far outweighing *gerade*: Upon closer inspection of the macrostructures surrounding the co-occurrences, we find that a large portion the *eben* + *nicht* and a few of the *gerade* + *nicht* are part of larger, syntactically complex sentences with the structure *nicht ... , sondern...* ‘not..., but rather...’. The terms ‘adversative’ and ‘restrictive’ are used in German reference grammars to describe these complex constructions (see Helbig & Buscha 2013; Duden 1995); we will use the term ‘adversative’ when referring to them in this discussion.

The first section briefly presents the forms and functions of negation and the suggested functions of adversative constructions in German, the following section presents a quantitative overview of frequencies which is then followed by qualitative analyses of the co-occurrences with *eben* and *gerade*. We will show that the traditional descriptions of adversative sentence functions as denying and correcting prior statements do not apply uniformly and that the observed functional differences between the adversatives each show an affinity with the signals of *eben* and *gerade* regarding a constituent’s respective conformity-to-expectation.

### 5.2.1. Forms and Functions of Negation in German

Forms of negation in German include the negation particle *nicht* ‘not’, the adverbials *nie* ‘never’, *nirgends/nirgendwo(-hin/-her)* ‘(to/from) nowhere’, and *keinesfalls/keineswegs* ‘under no condition’, the negative determiners *nichts* ‘nothing’, *kein-* ‘no (+ noun phrase)’ and the reply word *nein* ‘no’ (Helbig 1970:394). In addition,

many prefixes in German express negation, such as *un-*, *in-*, *dis-/dys-*, *ent-*. There are also ‘negative polar lexemes’ such as *nicht einmal* ‘not even’, *noch* ‘still’, *nicht mehr* ‘not anymore’, *weder ... noch...* ‘neither ... nor ...’, *geschweige denn* ‘let alone’, *ohne* ‘without’, *als dass, ohne dass* ‘without -ing’, etc. (Kürschner 1983:118-264). ‘Inherent’ or ‘implicit’ forms of negation also exist. They include, but are not limited to, the preposition *außer* ‘except (for)’, the complex phrase *zu* + [adjective], *(um) zu* [Verb] ‘too [adjective] to [verb]’ and the Subjunctive II of the Past (see Jacobs 1982:20) as well as verbs such as *vermeiden* ‘to avoid’ or *zweifeln* ‘to doubt’ in which the negative polarity is embedded in the lexical meaning of words, particularly verbs. ‘To avoid’ can be paraphrased as ‘to not meet’, and ‘to doubt’ as ‘to not believe’. About this type of negation, Jacobs notes: “[...] die Negation [steht] irgendwie nicht im ‘Vordergrund’” ‘somehow the negation is not in the ‘foreground’ (1982:20). Additionally, the so-called expletive negation occurs particularly in connection with temporal expressions such as *bevor/ehe* ‘before’, *bis* ‘until/by’ as well as in negative rhetorical questions (Hentschel 1998:28-33). This type of negation includes a negative marker but that marker does not change truth conditions and is optional.<sup>93</sup>

As far as its functions are concerned, negation can be used in answers to Yes-/No-questions, in some disjunctive questions, or in objecting reactions to a preceding statement (see Heinemann 1983:108-109; 112; 117). It can also express a refusal (129). Negation can further be uttered in a reaction to a request (Kürschner 1983:75) or express a counterfactual wish on the part of the speaker (Hentschel 1998:34).

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<sup>93</sup> One of Krifka’s (2010) examples including translation is *Aber ich wollte meiner zärtlichen Rechnung nicht trauen, bevor nicht eine verlässliche Probe gemacht war.* [Ge 1911] ‘But I did not want to trust my tender computation before NEG a more reliable test was done.’ The second, underlined negation particle *nicht*, an expletive negation, does not serve to negate the second clause and thus change the truth conditions.

In this analysis, we will focus on the negation particle *nicht*, seeing as it is often related to the focus particles (see Jacobs 1983) and it interacts with the focus particles to produce intriguing effects (section 4.2). *Nicht* can refer to a whole sentence, in which case it is referred to as sentence negation (*Satznegation*) or to an element smaller than the sentence, such as a word, phrase, or even syllable, in which case it is referred to as ‘special negation’ (*Sondernegation*). It can be used contrastively or non-contrastively (see Jacobs 1982:34-39).

Negation constitutes the marked counterpart (see Hentschel 1998:18) to a positive element such as a syllable, word, phrase, or sentence and negation is connected to more presuppositions, as several authors point out. For example, Hentschel states: “In der Literatur scheint weitgehend Einigkeit darüber zu bestehen, daß negierte gegenüber positiven Äußerungen ein deutliches Mehr an Präsuppositionen voraussetzen. [...] Während Affirmationen im Hinblick auf die Präsupposition neutral sein können, sind Negationen in dieser Hinsicht immer markiert” ‘Generally, there is agreement throughout the literature that negated expressions require more presuppositions than positive expressions. [...] Whereas affirmations can be neutral with regard to presuppositions, negations are always marked’ (1998:23; 24). Kirsner states: “[N]egatives in discourse typically communicate that the corresponding positive state of affairs has been held to be possible if not probable [...]” (1983:245). For example, if a speaker A remarks to a hearer B “Professor X did not float to the ceiling today,”<sup>94</sup> the uttered negation indicates that the professor’s non-floating must be

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<sup>94</sup> Example provided by Professor Kirsner, Winter 2013 seminar GER C238: Linguistic Theory and Grammatical Description.

regarded as somehow remarkable whereas “Professor X floated to the ceiling today” does not necessarily implicate that the converse, negated version was presupposed.

### 5.2.2. Adversative Constructions in German

We will now move on to the adversative constructions identified based on the co-occurrences of the particles with the negation particle *nicht*. Adversative constructions are said to belong to the logical connection of contrast. Krifka & Musan state that there is generally a strong need across languages to express contrast, and if a matter is unexpected to the hearer, it must be explicitly marked (2012:11). In German, a prototypical adversative construction is *nicht... sondern...* ‘not... but rather...’<sup>95</sup> in which the negated clause is said to have the pragmatic function of objecting (see Asbach-Schnitker 1978:358).

According to Altmann, when making a correction, the speaker has to assume that that correction will be informative to the hearer (38) and corrections require a preceding sentence (1976: 38; 39). Altmann also defines a contrastive statement as a type of counter-statement (*Gegenbehauptung*) which picks up on a prior statement either made by the speaker or an interlocutor and corrects it in part or entirely (1978:110). According to him, the negated first clause of the *nicht... sondern...* construction is almost identical to an original statement and only individual words or phrases may be substituted (ibd.). An alternative to the now invalidated positive counterpart (in the negated clause) is offered in the second clause including *sondern* ‘but rather’. Applied to example (55) below, we observe that the positive statement

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<sup>95</sup> The first clause has to contain an explicit syntactic negation but is not limited to *nicht*. Alternatives are *kein-*, *mitnichten* ‘by no means’, *weder ... noch ...*, *Nein, ohne, alles andere als* ‘anything but’, as well as a number of ‘negativeds’ and counterfactuals (see Kürschner 1983:287-288; 290).

made by A is negated by B with an almost identical counterpart clause. B would also have the option of substituting ‘Katja’ with *sie* ‘she’ since she was already introduced by A.

We would like to relativize this statement by Altmann and show that uttering the negated clause is not even necessary and it can be simply omitted. In comparison to the first clause, the second clause containing *sondern* ‘but rather’ is the essential part to a correction and cannot be omitted, whereas the first is redundant because it logically follows, though in speech time precedes, the second part. This can be demonstrated by elimination tests that alternately omit each clause to determine which are necessary and which are not:

- (55) A: *Katja spielt Basketball.*  
 Katja plays Basketball.
- B: *Katja spielt nicht Basketball,*  
 Katja plays not basketball,
- sondern sie spielt Fußball.*  
 but-rather she plays soccer.

A: ‘Katja plays Basketball.’ - B: ‘Katja does not play basketball, but rather she plays soccer.’

In example (55), two participants discuss a third person’s involvement in ball games. A makes a statement that s/he thinks to be correct, namely that Katja plays basketball. B corrects this assertion in two steps: First, by uttering the negated counterpart of A’s statement and then by offering the information that B presumes to be correct. This is a maximally explicit reaction by B. Next, we will try leaving out the ‘not’ clause and the ‘but rather’ clause, respectively, in order to determine which parts of the reaction are indeed essential to the correction and cannot be left out.



- (56) A: *Katja spielt Basketball.*  
 Katja plays Basketball.
- B: *Katja spielt nicht Basketball.*  
 Katja plays not basketball.

A: 'Katja plays Basketball.' - B: 'Katja does not play basketball.'

In exchange (56) above, B has only performed one of two steps of the correction of A's statement that Katja plays basketball, namely to negate that previously uttered statement and thus utter an objection. This reaction by itself, albeit a correction and albeit informative, still leaves a hypothetical underlying question 'What ball game does Katja play?' unanswered by only answering the underlying question 'What ball game does Katja not play?'. Answering the latter does not necessarily provide sufficient precision to also answer the former: If an interlocutor were seeking out information on the first question, the second is only partly satisfactory, since the information seeker can only rule basketball out of the potential set of ball games that Katja plays. If the information seeker is persistent, s/he can follow up the interaction in (56) 'Well, what *does* she play then?'

Presuming that B is cooperative and not planning on leaving A and the information seeker hanging with just the objection and the respective knowledge that the information that A possessed is apparently wrong, B should supply the justification for objecting to A's statement. That justification is information that is, to B's mind, correct. As mentioned above, if B indeed only uttered the negated statement, A and the information seeker can attempt to engage B by uttering the question *Sondern..?* 'But rather..?', requesting the supply of the information that justifies the objection to A's statement 'Katja plays basketball.' What if B only utters the second part of the correction as a reaction to the question 'What ball game does Katja play?'

(57) A: Katja spielt Basketball.  
Katja plays Basketball.

B: (Sie spielt) Fußball.  
(She plays) soccer.

A: 'Katja plays basketball.' - B: '(She plays) soccer.'

In example (57), we find a very condensed reaction by B that can contain only the single word that counters A's entire preceding statement. It is sufficient to utter only *Fußball* 'soccer' in reaction to A's statement to provide what is to B the correct ball game that Katja is involved in. This single-word reply entails that Katja does not play basketball, so a negated version of A's statement need not even be uttered. The exchange in example (57) stands in contrast to the exchange in example (56), in which B's correction was only informative in narrows down a list of possible ball games that Katja plays, but it did not answer the question 'Which ball game does Katja play?' In exchange (57), B's one-word answer corrects what B considers wrong information supplied by A and the correction comes in the form of the ball game that Katja actually plays, thus answering the underlying question.

It is possible to leave out non-essential elements of the correction in parentheses because the interlocutor can fill them in based on his/her own statement. If there is a delay of several minutes between A's and B's utterances in (57), it may be less likely that A can recreate B's train of thought with ease if A is merely confronted with 'soccer'. As such, the negated statement helps a hearer to recall prior information, which can then be the segue to the introduction of new information presented in the *sondern*-clause.<sup>96</sup> In the parliamentary debates from the corpus data, speakers'

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<sup>96</sup> It may in fact be necessary for the speaker to refer to an earlier discussion with a metinformational statement ("Earlier, we discussed whether...") (cf. Yokoyama 1986:89) and

contributions can be several minutes long, so if a speaker wishes to comment on a prior statement, it is easier for the audience to understand the correction if a transitional statement, the negated sentence, is offered for recall purposes before providing the second piece of information in the *sondern*-clause. Otherwise, it will be more difficult for the audience to understand the relevance of the presented information.

Not all scholars consider ‘correction’ the most important function attributed to adversative constructions. Bondi offers a more differentiated view: “The most important metapragmatic function of contrastive connectors is thus to act as signals of the dialogic argumentative structures [...]” (2004:149; author’s emphasis, PAW), structures that mimic a conversation between several individuals/perspectives. However, as dialogic argumentative structures, adversative constructions do not necessarily indicate dissent about a matter, but rather serve several purposes: Among others, they a) highlight the problematic nature of a situation, b) show the unexpectedness of an ending/explanation, and c) show novelty of an issue (150-151; author’s emphasis, PAW). In this description, we do not find very much in the way of ‘correction’, that is none of the functions above pick up on a prior positive statement to negate it and then offer a ‘better’ piece of information that cancels out the positive counterpart of the negated clause. Rather, the information provided in the *sondern*-clause is the one that is provided against the ‘backdrop’ information given in the negated clause.

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then add the negated clause i.e. the information that is being invalidated followed by the correct information in the *sondern*-clause.

Other scholars even disagree with the traditional notion that adversatives are used for correction: Kürschner (1983:291) objects to Pusch's (1975) suggestion that the first (negated) part is an objection to a prior statement or to an assumed positive statement. For example, he argues that this is not the case in imperatives or counterfactuals.<sup>97</sup> He also presents the special construction *nicht nur..., sondern auch* 'not only..., but rather...' and attributes a scaling function to this complex construction rather than an objecting function (ibd.).

Weinrich et al. also suggest a softer notion of 'turning' in adversative constructions: "die >Wendung<, zu der die Adversativ-Junktoren einladen, weist den Hörer in eine andere Richtung" 'the >turn< to which the adversative junctors invite the hearer, point the hearer into a different direction' (2000:814; brackets in original) and that the particular *nicht... sondern...* construction serves to replace a proposition in the first conjoined clause with a proposition in the second (2000:815).

Based on our qualitative analysis, we argue that particularly the first clause is indeed often not used as an objection but rather as a means of establishing a background for the more essential information in the *sondern* clause. This is more closely aligned with Bondi's (2004) definition of establishing a 'dialogic argumentative structure' and Weinrich et al.'s (2000) suggestion of a turn. It is also closely related to Lütten's observation about *eben* as a modal particle: According to her, the modal particle can serve as a point of departure for continuing argumentation (1977:349). We will find that the speaker using this construction does not necessarily intend to

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<sup>97</sup> For example: "Bring mir nicht die grünen Socken, sondern die blauen." 'Don't bring me the green socks, bring me the blue ones.' does not have to be an objection. It can be an anticipatory remark, assuming what the hearer will likely bring and preventing that since it is undesirable. An example of a counterfactual would be "Wenn ich nicht arm sondern reich wäre!" 'If only I weren't poor but rather rich!' is not an objection but rather the expression of a wish.

invalidate a preceding positive statement but may simply utter a negative statement that is in fact a truism in order to highlight the following information that is more important to the speaker.

### 5.2.3. Corpus Data Findings

Filtering the data for negation (NEG) as a constituent to the immediate right (=R1 constituent) of the focus particle reveals differences in the frequencies depending on the particle. Table 15 below shows us the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with NEG as R1.

Table 15 - Co-occurrence of *eben/gerade* with Negation

Particle	Subtype	Total	+ NEG	%	+ <i>nicht</i>	% <i>nicht</i>
<i>eben</i>						
	modal	1,620	538	33.21	472	29.14
	focus	500	95	22.95	79	15.80
	reply	104	24	23.30	10	9.62
	modal/focus	802	599	74.66	495	61.72
	total/avg.	3,026	1,256	41.54	1,086	35.89
<i>gerade</i>						
	focus	2,053	53	2.58	42	2.05

In the table, *eben* is subdivided according to the traditional particle subtypes and includes a sum of all the particle subtypes as well as a sum of each subtype in co-occurrence with NEG and an average percentage of the co-occurrences with NEG. We observe an average of 41.54% of all *eben* particles to be found in co-occurrence with NEG. Even the least frequent co-occurrence, namely *eben* (focus particle) + NEG is still 8.9 times as frequent as the co-occurrence of *gerade* + NEG. The average frequency of all *eben* particles + NEG is 16.1 times as frequent. We also note that the dominant form of negation is the negation particle *nicht*.

The independent group of modal/focus particle subcategory is also included in Table 15, since substitution tests yielded acceptable results both with modal and focus particle substitutes. This group is particularly intriguing because it is in fact the negation particle that may be responsible for this ambiguous subclassification. In three out of four cases (74.78%), this ambiguous group has a negation as an R1 constituent. The interaction of focus particles and the negation particle that was already discussed in Chapter 4 continues to be a notable phenomenon. We find ourselves confronted with a similar ambiguity of *eben* as observed by Lütten (1977:249) for the reply particles. Either we are dealing with what is traditionally referred to as a modal particle which has scope over the entire negative statement, or we are dealing with a focus particle that has scope over the negation particle *nicht* which in turn has scope over the elements it negates, which can be a part of the sentence or the entire sentence. In the latter case, the overall effect of a focus particle marking *nicht* does not differ from a modal particle marking *nicht*.

#### 5.2.4. Qualitative Analysis

Upon conducting a more in-depth analysis of *eben + nicht*, we find that *eben* occurs in cases in which the negative statement is either easy to discern for the audience or no explicit evidence exists of audience members preferring the positive counterpart as a constituent in the sentence. Rather, in some instances, speakers may weigh a positive and a negative option against each other.

In the first example from a plenary session in Potsdam on May 19, 2011, representatives are discussing the topic *Sozial gesichert, aktiv leben – für alle Generationen* ‘Living Active and with Social Security - for all Generations’ and a petition submitted by SPD. Four representatives make contributions preceding our speaker’s

and each alternates between making remarks about the remarkable physical and mental fitness of today's older generation and demanding progress in ensuring sufficient (medical) care for senior citizens (Appendix 7.4). Then the speaker, Representative Nonnemacher (*B90/Grüne*) begins by criticizing the terminology with which senior citizens are designated in a strategy catalog presented by Brandenburg's government and calls for a redefinition in light of an increasing average age. Then she makes the following remarks:

Neben der bekannten Problematik, dass wir uns älter rechnen, als wir sind, missfällt mir im Editorial des Maßnahmenpaketes die Aussage, dass Seniorenpolitik "unlösbar mit der Pflegepolitik des Landes verbunden" sei. Die Aussage, etwa jeder siebte Brandenburger über 65 sei pflegebedürftig, heißt doch im Umkehrschluss: **86 % dieser Altersgruppe sind es eben nicht**. Im Übrigen umfasst Pflegebedürftigkeit von begrenztem Unterstützungsbedarf bei gut erhaltener Lebensqualität bis zur Rundum-die-Uhr-Betreuung durch qualifiziertes Pflegepersonal ein sehr weites Feld.

'Beside the known problem that we make ourselves older than we are, I do not appreciate the statement in the strategy catalog that policies aimed at senior citizens are "invariably connected to policies concerning care in the state." The statement that every seventh citizen of Brandenburg over 65 is in need of care quite simply means that conversely **86% of this age group are *eben* not in need of care**. By the way, the need for care covers a wide range from a minimal need of support and good quality of life to 24/7 caretaking by skilled nursing staff.'

(PBB/W05.00037 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 19.05.2011. 37. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Potsdam, 2011)

The representative can reasonably assume that if readers of the strategy catalog have read that every seventh senior citizen older than 65 is in need of care, they also indirectly though perhaps not consciously possess the counterpart knowledge, namely that 6/7 (= 86%) of those citizens do not need caretaking. Since one aspect follows logically from the other, a conform-to-expectation marking with *eben* is the

appropriate gentle nudge to bring this complementary piece of information to the forefront.

Another use of *eben + nicht* occurs in the context of a discussion about accrediting foreign professional qualifications in a plenary session in Thuringia on March 25. Rather than a correction of a previous notion, the example involves a speaker's description of the two hypothetical disjunctive options of a positive and a negative outcome.

Die Anerkennung des Abschlusses ist zunächst Gegenstand des Prüfungsverfahrens. Deshalb kann es nur einen Rechtsanspruch auf die Prüfung geben und erst am Ende wird man sehen, ob der entsprechende Berufsabschluss auch anerkannt werden kann **oder ob er eben nicht anerkannt werden kann** und zusätzliche Qualifizierungen oder Prüfungen notwendig sind. Eines darf doch auch nicht passieren, dass wir zulassen, dass hier eine Absenkung im Qualitätsbereich stattfindet, indem wir Abschlüsse anerkennen, die nicht wirklich gleichwertig sind.

'The accreditation of a professional qualification is initially subject to examination. Therefore, there can only be a legal claim to the examination and only at the end one will see whether the respective qualification can be accredited **or eben not accredited** and additional qualifications or examinations are necessary. We have to prevent one thing and that is to allow a decrease in quality by accrediting qualifications that are not really equivalent.'

(PTH/W05.00050 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Thüringer Landtag am 25.03.2011. 50. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Erfurt, 2011)

In the example above, the speaker describes two possible outcomes of an accreditation process disjunctively: either a qualification is accredited or it is not. The subjunction *ob* 'whether' can be paraphrased as a Yes-/No-question *Wird der Abschluss anerkannt?* 'Will the qualification be accredited?' to which one answer can be affirmative. Any Yes/No-question can be paraphrased as a disjunctive question (cf. Yokoyama 1986:40). Given the conjunction *oder* 'or' following the affirmative option, there is no reason for



the speaker to assume that hearers expect that what follows will be another affirmative, since that would not hold up to the logic of *oder* 'or'. Therefore, the speaker is prompted to utter *eben* to mark the conform-to-expectation negation particle *nicht* and thus the negative statement as a complement to the affirmative in a disjunctive structure, both of which constitute possible outcomes of the examination process.

Both examples above involve speakers making logical remarks that have counterparts previously uttered by the speaker. Given the counterpart information in conjunction with expressions triggering to the audience's facility for logical reasoning, the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* is sufficient for marking the negation particle *nicht* in the examples above. We will now move on to discussing samples of the larger adversative constructions.

When taking a closer look at the co-occurrence of the focus particle *eben* and *nicht* we find that 274 out of 1,256 (21.82%) are more complex, adversative *eben + nicht... sondern...* structures.<sup>98</sup> The *eben + nicht ... sondern ...* structure as a larger argumentative construction calls for a closer inspection of the preceding context.

In a plenary session in Brandenburg on January 19, 2011, agenda item no. 8 is concerned with cuts in the subsidies of schools that are non-state-funded (*in freier Trägerschaft*). The submitting parties FDP and CDU argue that these budget cuts are one-sided and endanger a school type that benefits significantly more students in

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<sup>98</sup> Analogous to the *nicht ..., sondern...* structure, other adversative constructions were found, for example, the *eben + nicht ... Vielmehr* ('much more so') structure with 15 occurrences, the *eben + nicht ... Im Gegenteil* ('on the contrary') structure with 5 occurrences, and 2 occurrences of *eben + nicht ... Nein* ('No'), ... Finally, 14 additional occurrences show more indirect means of contrast.

Brandenburg than in the rest of Germany. The petition refers to the budget plan that establishes annual subsidy cuts from 2010-2014 of 2%. This was already discussed in a *Kleine Anfrage* 'Small Inquiry' by Representative Marie Luise von Halem (B90/Grüne) on October 27, 2010 and has informed the petition under discussion in the current debate.

Before our speaker's, Representative Büttner's (FDP), contribution, Representative von Halem reiterates these numbers, stating "Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident! Werte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Ich freue mich, dass unsere Kleine Anfrage vom Oktober letzten Jahres solche Wellen schlägt. Es ist tatsächlich deutlich geworden: Die Zuschüsse für die Schulen in freier Trägerschaft sollen ab 2012 um 2 % gekürzt werden" 'Mr. President! Esteemed colleagues! I am pleased that our Small Inquiry from October last year has had such an impact. Indeed, it became clear: subsidies for non-state-funded schools are to be reduced by 2% starting in 2012'. After one more contribution, Representative Büttner speaks again and remarks:

Herr Günther, eines kann ich Ihnen versprechen: Erstens: Ich bin immer fröhlich. (Zuruf: Super!) Zweitens: **Wir reden hier eben nicht über eine Kürzung in Höhe von 1 %, sondern wir sprechen hier über eine Kürzung in Höhe von mindestens 6 %.** Das ist ein ganz anderer Ausgangspunkt und greift massiv in die Finanzierungsstrukturen ein. Sie müssen einmal Ihre mittelfristige Finanzplanung lesen; ich kann es doch nicht ändern.

'Mr. Günther, I can promise you one thing: First: I am always happy. (Call: Super!) Second: **We are *eben* not talking about a subsidy cut of 1%, but we are rather talking about a cut of at least 6%.** That is a completely different starting point and impacts the financial structures massively. You need to read your medium-term budget plan; I for sure cannot change that.'

(PBB/W05.00028 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 19.01.2011. 28. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Potsdam, 2011)

Representative Büttner is prompted to use *eben* as a conform-to-expectation marker of *nicht* ‘not’—which in turn has scope over the rest of the sentence that follows—for several reasons: First, no previous speaker has made a claim that the subsidy cuts amount to only 1% or alternatively that they do not amount to 6%. The official middle-term budget plan drawn up by the governing parties stipulates the exact numbers, namely 2% annually in 2012-2014—or 6% total for the three-year period. Representative Büttner even asks Representative Günther to read his own party’s budget plan (to refresh his memory on the annual 2%). Finally, Representative von Halem has also indirectly referred to that number in her prior contribution.

This shows that none of the representatives had the complete sentence ‘We are talking about a budget cut of 1%’ in mind. Representative Büttner can assume that particularly the governing parties who introduced the budget plan themselves at one point knew of the numbers, namely the 2% annually, and would simply not (be in a position to) actively disregard them. Much rather, the contrasting of numbers (1% vs. 6%) serves to underline the message that the cuts are not insignificant and will impact the non-state-funded schools drastically. What is at issue among the speakers is not whether the subsidy cuts indeed amount to 1% or not. It is at issue how dramatically the cuts of 2% annually (6% total) will affect the schools and whether they constitute a one-dimensional approach to the finances of primary and secondary education in Brandenburg. We see that adversative constructions do not have to be used as active disputes but rather to strategically highlight information presented in the *sondern* clause. This juxtaposition is more emphatic than stating ‘We are talking about subsidy cuts of 6%.’

Another example is the discussion about dismantling nuclear power plants in Germany in a plenary session in Schleswig-Holstein on March 23, 2011.<sup>99</sup> This session takes place twelve days after the nuclear catastrophe in Fukushima, Japan, that was caused by an earthquake and subsequent tsunami hitting the power plant on Japan's. The speaker, Dr. Ralph Stegner (SPD), makes the following remarks:

Ihre Parteifreunde setzen ausschließlich auf Gorleben; ich verstehe Ihre Kritik wirklich nicht, was das Thema Endlagerung betrifft. Wir haben erst jetzt wieder die Folgen von Tschernobyl im Fernsehen sehen können. Ich möchte aber auch an die Asse erinnern und an die erhöhte Leukämierate bei Kindern in der Elbmarsch, wo es den Eltern überhaupt nicht hilft, jahrelang über juristische Beweisketten zu streiten, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren. (Beifall bei der SPD) **Das Unglück von Japan hat gezeigt, dass ein Restrisiko eben nicht abstrakt, sondern ganz konkret ist.** Egal, ob menschliches Versagen oder technischer Fehler, ob Naturkatastrophe oder Terroranschlag: Diese Energieform ist zu gefährlich, um sie weiterzuverfolgen.

'Your friends in the party are concerned exclusively with Gorleben; I really do not understand your criticism concerning radioactive waste repositories. Just recently we were able to see the consequences of Chernobyl on TV. But I also want to remind you of Asse region and the increased rate of leukemia among children in the Elbmarsch region, where it is of no use to parents to argue about legal chains of evidence, esteemed ladies and gentlemen. (Applause among SPD) **The terrible event in Japan has shown that residual risk is *eben* not abstract, but rather very real.** Regardless of whether human error or technical errors, whether natural disasters or terrorist attacks [are the cause]: This form of power supply is too dangerous for us to continue using it.'

(PSH/W17.00044 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Schleswig-Holstein am 23.03.2011. 44. Sitzung der 17. Wahlperiode 2009-2012. Plenarprotokoll, Kiel, 2011)

Several aspects prompt the speaker to utter *eben*, marking the negation particle (with the attribute 'abstract' in its scope) as conform-to-expectation: The speaker can rely on the common knowledge, and statements by previous speakers, that these real

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<sup>99</sup> Agenda item title: *Tschernobyl mahnt uns: Atomkraftwerke abschalten!* 'Chernobyl Admonishes us: Dismantle Nuclear Power Plants!'

catastrophic events that took place in Japan also had very terrifying, concrete results and that even the residual risks posed by nuclear power are anything but abstract.

Even more importantly, a remark almost identical to the utterance marked by *eben* above is made by the very first speaker, Minister Harry Carstensen (CDU). Carstensen states: “Dabei komme ich im Ergebnis zum selben Schluss wie die Kanzlerin: Fukushima ist eine Zäsur in der Geschichte der technisierten Welt. Restrisiken sind keine theoretische Größe mehr, sondern hier zu einer schrecklichen menschlichen Erfahrung geworden.” ‘In light of these questions I am arriving at the same conclusion as the chancellor: Fukushima is a cesura in the history of the highly technological world. Residual risks are no longer a theoretical parameter, but rather have become a horrible human experience here.’ In effect, our speaker is paraphrasing Carstensen’s entire earlier remark, rephrasing ‘a theoretical parameter’ with ‘abstract’ and ‘a horrible human experience’ with ‘concrete’. Given that Carstensen made this remark earlier, the speaker can assume that this piece of information was included in the audience’s knowledge inventories and given that no one has objected or would object to that notion, *eben* as a conform-to-expectation marker is the acceptable complement.

As we have seen before, the speaker utters the negated sentence not as a correction of an explicit or assumed positive counterpart, but as a suitable backdrop for the more important (though certainly not unknown) subsequent clause, namely that the risk presented by nuclear power is concrete. The juxtaposition of the two opposites in an adversative sentence is a more emphatic, rhetorically striking manner than simply stating ‘The risk of nuclear power is concrete’—this also applies to Minister Carstensen’s original statement.

Among the adversative structures that are co-occurrences of *eben*, we find a large number of special adversative structures of the form *nicht nur..., sondern auch...* ‘not only..., but also...’. In these structures, which constitute a third (85 cases) of the adversative constructions in co-occurrence with *eben* above, we are again not dealing with an outright objection to a positive counterpart of the negative clause. Rather, we are presented with a construction that reiterates an underlying positive statement in the first clause and presents supplemental information to that preceding statement in the second clause. This requires that the presupposed or previously uttered positive statement is not at issue, but agreed upon. In the second clause of the complex construction, the speaker wishes to supply additional information that is just as valid.

Relating this to our theoretical example, the statement “Katja spielt Basketball” ‘Katja plays basketball’ can be followed by “Sie spielt nicht nur Basketball, sondern auch Fußball” ‘She plays not only basketball, but also soccer’. This complex sentence confirms that Katja indeed plays basketball, but she also plays something else.

We observe two trends of how the content in the two clauses in this ‘not only..., but also...’ construction is each related to another: The first trend is that the information in the first, negated clause and the information in the second, ‘but rather’ clause are two subsets of a superordinate category. In our example above, basketball and soccer are two examples of ball games. The second trend is that the information in the negated clause is a smaller part of a more general category and the speaker wishes to expand the validity of a smaller category to that of a larger, more generally valid category. Applied to our example above, a reaction involving the latter relationship is ‘Katja plays not only basketball, but she plays all ball games’.

In both instances, the positive counterpart to the information in the negated clause is not objected to. It is expressed as being valid but in need of fleshing out. A few examples from the corpus data illustrate this further.

In the plenary session on March 23, 2011—the same day as the previous example—representatives in the parliament of Saarland are just as concerned with nuclear catastrophes as their colleagues in Schleswig-Holstein given the recent events in Fukushima.<sup>100</sup> Prime Minister Müller, the first speaker of the session, makes the following statement:

Es stellen sich neue Fragen etwa mit Blick darauf, wie wir damit umgehen, wenn infolge dieser Ereignisse langfristige Stromausfälle eintreten. Wie gehen wir um mit der Frage der Notstromversorgung? Wie sind unsere Kühlkreisläufe ausgestaltet? Und vieles andere mehr. **Dabei geht es eben nicht nur um Gefahrenabwehr, sondern auch um Gefahrenvorsorge**, weil die Folgen einer Havarie eines Kernkraftwerkes so gravierend sind, wie sie eben sind. Es muss darum gehen, bereits die Entstehung einer konkreten Gefahr zu verhindern. Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt sind unsere Strukturen noch einmal zu überdenken und die Sicherheitsanforderungen neu zu definieren.

'New questions arise, for example concerning how we deal with blackouts resulting from such events. How do we deal with the question of emergency power supply? How well-equipped are our cooling circuits? And much more. **These questions do *eben* not only concern averting danger but also preventing danger**, because the consequences of a failing nuclear power plant are as grave as they *eben* are. We have to be able to prevent a concrete danger from developing. Given this aspect, our structures have to be re-evaluated and our security regulations redefined.'

(PSL/W14.00019 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag des Saarlandes am 23.03.2011. 19. Sitzung der 14. Wahlperiode 2009-2012. Plenarprotokoll, Saarbrücken, 2011)

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<sup>100</sup> Agenda item title: *Aktuelle Entwicklung der Energieversorgungsdebatte vor dem Hintergrund der Ereignisse in Japan* 'Recent Developments in the Debate on Power Supply against the Background of the Events in Japan'

The example above illustrates the description of two complementary subsets that are part of a larger set, in this case the retrospective ‘averting danger’ and the prospective ‘preventing danger’ as two sub-categories of the superset ‘dealing with danger’ that are both considered vital measures preventing catastrophes in nuclear power plants. Since the Minister is the first speaker, there is no prior evidence that members of the audience have a different constituent than the marked constituent *nicht nur [...] Gefahrenabwehr* ‘not (only [...] averting danger)’ in mind to complete the statement *Dabei geht es [um] x* ‘These questions concern x’. A consideration of the audience’s world knowledge and common sense prompt the minister to assume that no audience member in their right mind would be concerned rather with the positive counterpart including *nur* ‘only’, which would render the complete statement *Dabei geht es nur um Gefahrenabwehr* ‘These questions concern only averting danger’. Rather, the members may be concerned with averting danger as one measure (given the disaster control that was taking place in Japan simultaneously to the session) but may not be aware of the other subset of the set ‘dealing with danger’ that the speaker subsequently points out. This assumption of knowledge prompts him to utter *eben*, marking the negation particle and the rest of the sentence as conform-to-expectation. The second subset is more important to the speaker, who argues that the grave consequences of the failure of a nuclear power plant, which would put into effect strategies of averting danger, should be prevented in the first place.

In another example, the element in the negated clause is subsumed in an element in the second clause. In a plenary session in Saxony on January 19, 2011, the agenda item under discussion is *Kinder stärken – Position Sachsens im Vermittlungsverfahren zum Bildungspaket* ‘Supporting Children - Saxony’s Position in



the Conciliation Proceedings on the Education Package'. Representative Werner (*LINKE*) shares an observation that there are many children who can be seen at food banks in the mornings picking up breakfast, and who would go hungry because their parents are poor (see Appendix 7.4).

In a so-called *Kurzintervention* 'short intervention', audience members are granted immediate follow-up questions to what is said by the speaker who has the floor at the time. In such a short intervention, Robert Clemen (CDU), remarks:

**Frau Werner, geben Sie mir recht, dass es eben nicht nur Kinder aus sozial schwachen Familien sind, die ohne Frühstücksbrote in die Schule kommen, sondern dass es vielmehr ein Phänomen ist, das sich anscheinend über breite Gesellschaftsschichten erstreckt, und dass wir dort gemeinsam Lösungsansätze finden müssen, (Julia Bonk, DIE LINKE: Das hätten Sie gern!) die aber nicht unbedingt nur die sozial Schwachen, sondern auch die Frage betrifft: Wie können vernünftig regelmäßige Mahlzeiten organisiert werden und welche Verantwortung kommt den Eltern dabei zu?**

**'Ms. Werner, do you agree with me when I say that it is *eben* not only children from low-income households who come to school without breakfast sandwiches, but that it is much rather a phenomenon that appears to span all income levels and that we have to find solutions together (Julia Bonk, DIE LINKE: You would like that, huh!) that do not necessarily target low-income households, but rather deal with the general question: How can regular meals be organized in a reasonable fashion and how much responsibility rests with the parents?'**

(PSN/W05.00028 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Sächsischer Landtag am 19.01.2011. 28. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Dresden, 2011 [S. 2742])

In this short intervention, representative Clemen points out that this observed phenomenon of children coming to school without breakfast does indeed apply to children from low-income households but does not stop there, it applies to children from households of all income levels. As such, it constitutes a broader, educational problem and a question of responsibility among all parents.

What Representative Clemen accomplishes in addition is to help Representative Werner save face because her initial focus on low-income households incites verbal outcries among the audience. Representative Clemen's assessment and his utterance of *eben* signals conformity-to-expectation, i.e. it will not be unexpected to Representative Werner that her observation does not only concern children from low-income households. Representative Werner agrees with Representative Clemen's assessment and points out that she had in fact mentioned before that similar problems exist in higher-income families, mostly due to parents not having the time to properly care for their children (see Appendix 7.4).

The occurrences of *eben + nicht* and *eben* with various adversative constructions have been covered and we now turn to an analysis of the co-occurrences of *gerade* with those elements. Like above, we will first present and discuss examples of *gerade* marking *nicht* as a counter-to-expectation constituent and then move on to the larger adversative structures.

In a parliamentary session of the Bundesrat on February 11, Julia Klöckner, Parliamentary Secretary of Ilse Aigner, corrects wrong information imparted by her colleague Johannes Remmel (Representative NRW). Remmel has stated earlier that a decision of the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) paves the way for stopping the keeping of laying hens in small groups.<sup>101</sup> Secretary Klöckner informs the representative:

Ich wundere mich über den Entschließungsantrag aber nicht nur, weil Sie verspätet etwas fordern, was wir bereits tun. Ich wundere mich auch über die Begründung und den Inhalt des Antrages. Zur Begründung des Antrages möchte ich festhalten, dass sich das Bundesverfassungsgericht zur Tiergerechtigkeit der

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<sup>101</sup> See Appendix 7.5.

Kleingruppenhaltung nicht geäußert hat. **Die Tierschutzwidrigkeit der Kleingruppenhaltung ist also gerade nicht Gegenstand dieses Beschlusses gewesen.** Dies aufzugreifen sei Ihnen unbenommen. Aber das sollte man doch ein bisschen auseinanderhalten; das wird immer miteinander verwoben.

‘However, I do not only wonder about the Petition for a Resolution because you are making late demands about something we are already doing. I am also wondering about the justification for and the content of your petition. I would like to remark about the justification for the petition that the Federal Constitutional Court has not made any statements concerning animal justice as it applies to the keeping of small groups of animals. **Thus, the violation of keeping small groups of animals is *gerade* not subject of that decision.** You are free to address it, of course. But you have to separate the two, rather than mixing them.’

(PBR/W11.00879 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Bundesrat am 11.02.2011. 879. Sitzung. Plenarprotokoll, Berlin, 2011)

Remmler had intended to use the Constitutional Court’s decision as leverage for the petition submitted by NRW and RLP. However, Klöckner explains that the decision made did not involve the keeping of animals in small groups, and therefore the violation that Remmler is asserting is in fact not constitutionally backed and his leverage is eliminated.

Another example involves not the individual who has the floor but rather a surprised outcry from a member of the audience. Nonetheless, the same pattern is observable. The parliamentary session in Berlin discusses agenda item 4.3, *Schwache Schulen besser machen – ein echtes Qualitätspaket* ‘Making Weak Schools Better - A True High-quality Package’. In the example below, it becomes apparent that the speaker, Representative Felicitas Tesch (SPD) and a member of the audience, representative Mieke Senftleben (FDP) have differing perspectives on how the so-called *PKB-Mittel* (*Personalkostenbudgetierungsmittel*; ‘funds for the budgeting of personnel costs’) can be used:

Nun zu den einzelnen Forderungen: Sie fordern eine Lehrerausstattung von 103 Prozent plus 3 Prozent PKB-Mittel. Es ist aber sinnvoller, bei der PKB-Ausstattung zu differenzieren und Schulen mit geringerer Ausstattung eine höhere PKB-Ausstattung zu gewähren als gut ausgestatteten Schulen. Die Schulen, bei denen wenig Unterricht ausfällt, können die PKB-Mittel auch für Projekte oder Ähnliches einsetzen. [Mieke Senftleben (FDP): **Das können Sie doch gerade nicht mehr.** Was erzählen Sie denn?] Und diejenigen, bei denen viel Unterricht ausfällt, müssen die PKB-Mittel zur Vertretung verwenden. - Natürlich ist das möglich, Frau Senftleben!

'We will now move on to the individual demands: You are demanding a supply with teachers of 103 percent plus three percent in PKB funds. However, it is much more sensible to differentiate when it comes to the distribution of PKB funds and grant more to schools with limited means than to schools who are already well-equipped. Those schools that have few cancelled lessons can use those means for projects or similar things. [Mieke Senftleben (FDP): **They can *doch gerade* not do that anymore!** What are you talking about?] And those that have more cancelled lessons have to use the funds for substitute teachers. - It is of course possible, Ms. Senftleben!'

(PBE/W16.00085 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments  
Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin am 23.06.2011. 85. Sitzung der 16.  
Wahlperiode 2006-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Berlin, 2011 [S. 8215])

Whereas Representative Tesch explains that the so-called PKB funds can be used for projects or other non-instruction-related events at school, Representative Senftleben blurts out that this is no longer true, marking *nicht* with the counter-to-expectation marker *gerade*. Since Representative Tesch has just previously stated that it is possible, Representative Senftleben has evidence that Tesch has the wrong (apparently outdated) information based on which she is arguing. Representative Senftleben is therefore prompted marks *nicht (mehr)* as counter-to-expectation, presenting Tesch with this knowledge. Representative Tesch, though corrected, maintains her view and retorts *Natürlich ist das möglich, Frau Senftleben!* 'It is of course possible, Ms. Senftleben!' There is no prior mention in the parliamentary session of the PKB funds and how they may or may not be used. The two representatives have clearly diverging views on the nature of these funds. And unlike the example above in which

Representative Clemen effectively jumped to his colleague Representative Werner's aid, the crude interruption on the part of Representative Senftleben threatens Representative Tesch's face.<sup>102</sup>

We are now moving on to co-occurrences of *gerade* with adversative constructions. For *gerade* as a focus particle, only 9 out of 2,053 focus particles (0.43%) were found that include a larger adversative *nicht... sondern...* structure; 17.6% of the *gerade* + NEG co-occurrences (see Appendix 7.5). None of these co-occurrences is a *nicht nur..., sondern auch...* 'not only, but rather' construction as we have seen in the case of *eben* above. Similar to the example with the negation just above, in the context of an utterance with *gerade*, representatives tend to be much more outspoken in their evaluation of fellow representatives' misinformation. The following contribution was made in a plenary session in Hamburg on January 27, 2011 during a debate concerning the strengthening of unemployment insurance as a type of risk insurance.<sup>103</sup> Prior to the speaker's contribution, representatives Schön (*B90/Grüne*) and Ziegert (SPD) explain that the unemployment insurance reform disadvantages employees who pay their contributions irregularly. They each state if the minimum number of months of contributions is not met, the irregular payments are void and the employees have nothing to fall back upon (see Appendix 7.5). This creates the impression that employees pay into an individual unemployment insurance account upon which they can or cannot fall back in times of unemployment. The speaker, Dr.

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<sup>102</sup> This effect is amplified by the L1 constituent *doch*, a modal particle said to express resistance against an interlocutor's ignorance of facts (cf. Borst 1985:6).

<sup>103</sup> Agenda title: *Arbeitslosenversicherung als primäre Sicherung für Arbeitslose stärken. [...] Arbeitslosenversicherung als Risikoversicherung stärken.* 'Strengthening Unemployment Insurance as Primary Safety Net for the Unemployed. [...] Strengthening Unemployment Insurance as Risk Insurance'

Oliver Möllenstädt (FDP), expressly disagrees with this presentation of facts and remarks:

Der Antrag, den die Kolleginnen der SPD und von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen hier vorgestellt haben, ist für uns als Beitrag nicht geeignet, das will ich hier auch deutlich vorwegschicken. (Beifall bei der FDP) Deshalb haben wir auch ganz klar gesagt, für uns ist das Wesen der Arbeitslosenversicherung doch etwas anders zu fassen, als meine beiden Vorrednerinnen es hier dargestellt haben. Es ist eben fatal, wenn der Eindruck hier erweckt wird, da hätten Menschen Beiträge eingezahlt, hat Frau Ziegert gesagt, Frau Schön hat gesagt, die Beiträge verfallen dann: **Das ist gerade nicht das Prinzip, was hier passiert, dass jemand individuell für sich irgendwie Kapital anspart und dann darauf zurückgreift, wenn der Versicherungsfall eintritt, sondern es ist hier tatsächlich eine Absicherung für diejenigen, die im Erwerbsleben gestanden haben.** Daran ist hier gedacht, und daran muss sich auch in Zukunft orientiert werden.

‘The petition that the colleagues from SPD and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen have presented here, is not an appropriate contribution in our view, I want to make that clear from the start. (Applause from FDP) For that reason we have made it clear, for us, unemployment insurance is to be understood differently than presented by my colleagues. It is *eben* fatal when the impression is created that people have made payments, Ms. Ziegler said that, and Ms. Schön said contributions become void: **That is *gerade* not the principle of how it works, that someone saves money individually and then falls back upon it when becoming unemployed, but rather it is in fact a safety net for those, who have been employed.** That is what should be thought of and that is what should be focused on in the future.’

(PHB/W17.00080 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Bremische Bürgerschaft am 27.01.2011. 80. Sitzung der 17. Wahlperiode 2007-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Bremen, 2011)

To Representative Möllenstädt’s knowledge, the previous two speakers were concerned with the proposition ‘the unemployment insurance principle is such that employees pay contributions into their own individual accounts’ rather than the negated, opposite version of that proposition, which is the one the speaker has in mind and deems correct. The representatives have made explicit remarks and thus provided evidence of their view that diverges from Möllenstädt’s. This prompts the representative to

evaluate his colleagues' presentation of incorrect facts as 'fatal'. It also prompts him to utter *gerade* to mark *nicht* to signal that the constituent and by extension the negated rest of the sentence are counter-to-expectation to the representatives.

Another example occurs in the context of a plenary session in Saxony's parliament on February 9, 2011. In the agenda item titled *Fachkräftebedarf für Sachsen sichern - Potenziale erschließen* 'Securing Skilled Labor to Meet Saxony's Demand - Unlocking Potential', the political representatives discuss strategies to meet the demand for skilled labor. Representative Alexander Krauß (CDU) repeatedly mentions that one way in which the demand for skilled labor can be met is by attracting skilled workers from other countries (Appendix 7.5). Intermittently, a party colleague of Schimmer's, Jürgen Gansel, argues that attracting international workers will create an obstacle to 400,000 unemployed individuals in Saxony seeking employment. He then paints an even more drastic scenario, arguing that a new EU law granting freedom of mobility to EU citizens who seek employment within the EU will result in 'tens of thousands of Eastern Europeans migrating to Saxony and lowering wage levels'. The following speaker, Torsten Herbst (FDP) explicitly disagrees with this view. He states that qualified immigration to Saxony will help meet the increasing demands on Saxony's labor market. The speaker, Arne Schimmer (NPD) then uses the option of a Short Intervention to counter Representative Herbst's statement.

Man spricht ja immer davon, neue Fachkräfte gewinnen zu wollen; aber de facto macht man eine Politik, die immer stärker die Niedriglohnkonkurrenz im Niedriglohnbereich anheizt. Das beste Beispiel dafür ist eben die ab dem 30.04.2011 in Kraft tretende Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit und - was von wenigen beachtet wird: Ab dem 1. Mai ist es dann eben auch für Zeitarbeitsfirmen, die beispielsweise in Polen oder der Slowakei beheimatet sind, möglich, Arbeitskräfte in Deutschland zu verleihen, beispielsweise zu Stundenlöhnen von 2 oder 3 Euro. Das zeigt mir, dass die ganze Politik eigentlich im Grunde genommen nur darauf ausgerichtet ist, eine

Niedriglohnkonkurrenz zu entfesseln, **und dass es gerade nicht darum geht, irgendwelche Engpässe in bestimmten Berufsbereichen aufzulösen, sondern nur darum, die Löhne zu drücken und gerade im ohnehin schon gebeutelten Niedriglohnbereich die Löhne niedrig zu halten.**

‘You always talk about wanting to attract new skilled workers; but de facto you are introducing policies that increase the pressure to offer smaller and smaller wages in the low-wage sector. The best example is *eben* the law granting freedom of mobility to employees [across the EU; PAW] that will become effective April 30, 2011, and - many people do not pay attention to this: Starting May 1<sup>st</sup>, it is also possible for agencies for temporary work based in Poland or Slovakia to lend workers to Germany, for example for hourly wages of 2 or 3 Euros. This makes it clear to me that all the policies are basically just aiming at unleashing low-wage competition **and that it is *gerade* not about meeting demands in specific professional fields, but rather about decreasing wages and keeping wages low *gerade* in the already exploited low-wage sector.**’

(PSN/W05.00030 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Sächsischer Landtag am 09.02.2011. 30. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Dresden, 2011 [S. 2887])

Both NPD representatives, Gansel and Schimmer, indicate that the CDU and FDP representatives are actively disregarding the information at hand, namely that the current legal developments in the EU will invariably result in a flooding of Saxony’s labor market with low-wage workers who will threaten chances for employment and lower wage levels. Particularly Representative Schimmer has evidence that, after his colleague’s earlier admonitions, Representative Herbst disregards this piece of information presented to him, rather focusing on the influx of skilled workers. Herbst even states ‘Smart people are welcome in Saxony - even if the NPD views that differently’, expressing an open disagreement between the parties about who will affect the labor market in which way. Schimmer is thus prompted to correct the underlying proposition ‘current immigration policies are designed to meet Saxony’s need for skilled workers’ by negating this proposition and marking the resulting negative counterpart with *gerade* as counter-to-expectation to his colleagues. He



follows up by reiterating information that his colleague had previously provided ('policies will result in an influx of low-wage labor') that had been ignored by Herbst.

### 5.2.5. Summary

The illustrative discussions above addressed the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with negation and particularly the negation particle *nicht*. It was observed that the frequency of the co-occurrences varies notably: Each *eben* particle subtype occurs at least 8 times as frequently with forms of negation as the particle *gerade*. Upon closer inspection it was found that among the co-occurrences of *gerade/eben + nicht* approximately 20% each were part of more complex adversative *nicht..., sondern...* 'not..., but rather...' sentence structures. The adversative constructions in turn were subjected to a qualitative inspection including the surrounding context and it was found that the co-occurrences with *eben* differ in their discourse functions from those with *gerade*. While it is claimed in most of the literature that adversative structures correct a previous statement, a more differentiated perspective can be offered particularly based on the examinations of the co-occurrences with *eben*.

These were often not expressed to correct a prior positive statement, though this is the prototypical function of adversatives described predominantly in the literature consulted. Rather, the negated first clause in the adversative construction frequently contained truisms; statements that can be considered commonplace and undisputed. Expressing this characteristic in CS Linguistic terms, the first clauses frequently contain information that is considered not inferentially complex and objectively usual.

Why would a speaker go through the trouble of uttering a complex adversative sentence if conveying the content appears superfluous to begin with? We suggest it

concerns rhetoric: Uttering an adversative construction not for the purpose of correcting prior information but for sentence-internally juxtaposing two pieces of information that are potential opposites renders a more emphatic version of the second, more pertinent piece of information presented in the *sondern*-clause. Thus, the information in the second clause is highlighted more than if it were uttered in a simple sentence by itself. As such we see that the adversative constructions in co-occurrence with *eben* better fit Weinrich et al.'s (2000) description as 'invitations for a turn' and Bondi's (2004) notion of a dialogic argumentative structure than outright corrections.

In addition to the discovery that adversative constructions marked by *eben* did not necessarily function as corrections, we found that a third of the adversative constructions co-occurring with *eben* were special *nicht nur, ... sondern auch...* 'not only..., but also...' constructions that operated in two ways: either by juxtaposing two complementary subsets of an implied set, one in the first and the other in the second clause, or by expanding the validity of a more concrete and limited piece information in the first clause by means of presenting an equally valid larger category in the second clause. In both instances, the first clause including *nicht nur* 'not only' expresses a complementary or more limited aspect that is related to the second clause, rather than expressing an objection to a presumed or previously uttered positive counterpart. As such, the contrast that is created is created internally between the two clauses and not externally between the negated clause and a prior statement. The speaker and the audience already have to agree on the validity of the first clause if the second clause presents additional information expanding on or complementing the first: If the first clause were not considered valid, then the second cannot be valid,

either. It was even found that such constructions are used with collaborative intent, for example, to save a fellow representative's face.

The affinity of *eben* as a conform-to-expectation marker with these particular non-correcting subtypes of adversatives is natural. *Eben* marking a constituent signals that constituent's conformity-to-expectation. As such it is better suited for offering complementary information to information that is already agreed upon, can reasonably be assumed to be agreed upon, or is at least not explicitly disagreed upon. A marking with *eben* helps to make explicit the common ground between speaker and audience before the interlocutors can turn toward the more pertinent, second piece of information in the *sondern*-clause. This second piece of information becomes more relevant and decipherable thanks to the negation of the prior statement serving as a softer transitional statement or as an equally valid background for highlighting the second piece of information.

Matters differ for the co-occurrences with *gerade*. Here, we do find explicit objections to prior statements and a subsequent presentation of correcting information. Thus, these adversative constructions operate in the two traditionally suggested steps: First, by invalidating a positive statement with the help of the negation particle *nicht* in the first clause and second by offering the alternative, and in the speaker's mind preferable, information. *Gerade* is complementary to such functions of the adversative clauses because it signals that a speaker's constituent selection is not what is known or assumed to be expected by the interlocutor. The marking with *gerade* helps draw attention to the counter-to-expectation negated information which is followed up by the supply of the rivaling information whose validity cancels the information from an interlocutor's previously uttered statement. In

a correction, marking the constituent as counter-to-expectation is strategically beneficial to a speaker trying to get his/her point across, especially if information leading to the speaker's constituent choice has been actively disregarded. This explains the observed non-occurrence of *gerade* with the special *nicht nur..., sondern auch...* 'not only..., but rather...' construction: If the first piece of information presented in this construction is typically agreed upon by speaker and audience or merely to be complemented or expanded rather than objected to, the counter-to-expectation signal of *gerade* is inappropriate and will confuse the hearer. The result is a clash of a potentially combative element embedded within a particular adversative construction that expresses accord.

Given the observed functional spectrum of complex adversative sentences, we may ask: Why would we see a difference in frequency of these co-occurrences in the PP corpus? We presume this may be related to the relationship of the first and second pieces of information in the respective clauses. Regardless of whether we are dealing with a correcting adversative or such adversative constructions that complement or expand information, the second clause typically delivers the information that is presumed to be more pertinent as we have seen in the elimination tests above. So, unless a speaker is sufficiently prompted to use the stronger signal expressed by *gerade* to mark *nicht* in the first clause, for example, by an active disregard or calling-into-question on the part of the interlocutor, s/he may tend to utter the first piece of information with the comparatively weaker pointer *eben* and tend to use the adversative constructions as a rhetorical device of juxtaposing and highlighting information within the complex sentence itself, analogous to Bondi's (2004) notion of the dialogic argumentative structure. If, however, there is an observed active disregard

of information, then the correcting function of the adversative constructions is used and *gerade* as a counter-to-expectation marker is the more suitable complement to reinforce that upcoming correction.

In the following section, we will present and discuss co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with the causal marker *weil*, which, albeit similar in frequency, also differ in quality upon closer inspection.

### 5.3. Particle Co-occurrence with Causal Markers

Another syntactic structure that the particles pair with are complex sentences expressing a cause/effect relationship. After an overview of the general function of causal markers and the inventory in German, a brief description of the functions of *weil* as the most frequent causal junctor will be included. Then the corpus data findings are discussed, followed by an in-depth representative analysis of the causal marker<sup>104</sup> *weil* related to the CS Linguistic notions of inferential complexity and economy of effort. Particularly, in analogy to Contini-Morava's (1991) investigation of subject continuity in Swahili (Chapter 3), the subject continuity of the clauses in which the particles are embedded was examined. The subject continuity is five times as high between sentence-initial internal connects containing *eben* and their preceding sentences than it is for those containing *gerade*. This suggests a higher textual continuity of those constituents marked by *eben* and a lower continuity for those marked by *gerade*, and hence a higher predictability and expectedness of the reasons marked by *eben* than of those marked by *gerade*. The particles' underlying meanings, signaling that a constituent is conform-to-expectation or counter-to-expectation, are

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<sup>104</sup> For a detailed description of syntactic and semantic features of causal clauses that includes a breakdown of different types of reasons and a discussion of extralinguistic, 'objective' vs. linguistic 'established' causes, see Zifonun et al. (1997:2296-2307)

natural complements to the respective predictabilities of this observed macrostructure.

The analysis reveals another striking difference in how causal markers associated with *eben* differ from those associated with *gerade*: Causal clauses marked by *eben* typically refer to the content level of utterances and reiterate information from a previous sentence verbatim or in the form of a close paraphrase as reasons. Causal clauses marked by *gerade* frequently introduce the speaker's subjective evaluation of the utterance or communicative context, thus not being linked to the previous context by repetition or paraphrase and not being as predictable. What is more, *gerade* marks instances in which the causal marker itself is at question on a metadiscursive level, either because an interlocutor explicitly prefers a different logical connection of the two clauses or because the speaker assumes that, based on common knowledge, the reason s/he selects is not a likely reason to be selected by the interlocutor due to its inferential complexity. This is not observed for reasons marked by *eben*. This phenomenon, too, is associated with the differing signals of *eben* and *gerade* presented in the hypothesis: *eben* is used to mark constituents that are conform-to-expectation, while *gerade* marks constituents that are counter-to-expectation.

### 5.3.1. Forms and Functions of Causal Markers in German

Different conjunctions can establish different relationships between two or more sentences: One sentence can serve as a reason/justification for another, or as a condition, or can stand in contrast to another, etc. When conjoined, the conjuncts<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The term 'conjunct' refers to the elements connected by a conjunction. Elements that can be connected in that manner are clauses, phrases, words, or syllables. In this section, conjuncts are typically clauses.

and conjunctions serve to make a text cohesive.<sup>106</sup> It is possible for a hearer to infer the type of relationship between two sentences if they are merely juxtaposed in an asyndetic manner, that is, merely separated by punctuation without a conjunction. For example, when A says “The dog ate my homework. I don’t have it.”, B can infer that the dog eating the homework is the reason for A not having it. There is often a natural correlation between the temporal sequence of two events and their interpretation as cause and effect. The speaker can also make use of explicit markers if s/he considers that relationship between clauses relevant (Blühdorn 2006:257). That means these complex syntactic constructions reveal a good deal of how the speaker intends to present their relationship and what s/he assumes the hearer knows. Indeed, Volodina (2011:30; 32) states that causal and conditional relations are used to reflect the speaker’s knowledge and argument structures rather than expressing ontological realities.

Causal markers<sup>107</sup> in German take the form of coordinating (*denn*) and subordinating (*da/weil* ‘because’, *zumal/nachdem* ‘since’) conjunctions, adverbs/adverbial conjunctions (*daher/deshalb/deswegen/darum* ‘therefore’, *nämlich* ‘that is to say’, *also* ‘thus’, *so* ‘so’, *somit* ‘hence’, *folglich* ‘accordingly’, *schließlich* ‘after all’), prepositional phrases (*wegen* +GEN ‘because of +GEN’, *durch* +AKK ‘through

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<sup>106</sup> For general work on the cohesion of texts in English, see Halliday & Hasan (1976) and for a discussion of research fields within cohesion studies, see Vater (2005:156-161).

<sup>107</sup> With ‘marker’ the most general term possible is used here to subsume all elements that a speaker can use to explicitly mark the causal relationship between an event/proposition A and an event/proposition B. Other terms describing these words are ‘junctor’, ‘conjunction’, or ‘conjunctive’. The latter three are better used to describe those words that syntactically link two conjuncts by effects on pauses, punctuation, and sometimes word order; cf. Blühdorn’s use of “kausale Satzverknüpfungen” ‘causal sentence connectors’ (2006:253). Prepositional and other idiomatic phrases, however, link to an adjacent conjunct only by (anaphoric) reference. Therefore, the more general term ‘marker’ is used.

+AKK', *aus* +DAT 'because of/for'), idiomatic phrases (*aus diesem Grund* 'for that reason', *aufgrund von* 'due to'), and more peripheral and highly idiomatic *wo* + *doch*, V1 + *doch*, and *umso* + Adj/Adv-Komp + *als* constructions (Zifonun et al. 1997:2298-2299; Volodina 2011:74).<sup>108</sup> These groups create textual cohesion in different ways: Coordinating and subordinating conjunctions structurally link two clauses, separated by a comma. The latter also affect a verb-last position, with some suggested pragmatic exceptions for *weil*-clauses.<sup>109</sup> Prepositional phrases can express a reason/cause that is syntactically integrated into the clause that expresses the result/consequence. Adverbial conjunctions do not link sentences syntactically but rather by means of reference. That means the adverbials are integrated into the latter of two sentences separated by a period (or in spoken language by a pause) and are placeholders for (part of) the preceding clause which typically constitutes the reason/justification for the sentence in which the adverbials are embedded. In accordance with the literature on *Konnektoren* 'connectors' in German, we will refer to the clause containing or immediately following the conjunction as 'internal connect' and the main clause without the conjunction as 'external connect' (see Volodina 2011:21). Both form a complex sentence.

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<sup>108</sup> Volodina (2014) provides an even more extensive list (790-791) than Blühdorn (2008) and Zifonun et al (1997). She divides them into two main categories: antecedent-marking causal connectors which mark the cause/reason of a matter and consequence-marking causal connectors which mark the consequence/result. The two groups are subdivided by the syntactic positions the connectors can assume.

<sup>109</sup> See Günthner (1996), Blühdorn (2008), Pasch et al. (2003), and Zifonun et al. (1997) for analyses of this growing phenomenon. Gohl & Günthner (1999) suggest that *weil*-V2 may be undergoing grammaticalization from causal connector to discourse marker. Eisenberg (1993:11) argues that *weil*-V2 is used to express reasoning related to the speaker ("unverbindliche, eher auf das Sprechersubjekt bezogene Begründung"). Keller (1993:236) states that it is not used to justify a consequence but to justify the speaker's assumption about the existence of a cause. No instances of *weil*-V2 were found in the corpus data, suggesting that the formal register of parliamentary debate and the prepared speeches preclude this phenomenon.



As far as the sequencing is concerned, the different causal markers follow varying rules. Clauses containing the coordinating conjunction *denn* cannot precede the main clause.<sup>110</sup> All five of the German coordinating conjunctions show this restriction on sequence. Internal connects containing the adverbial conjunctions must follow the external connects containing the reason; the converse would be grammatically unacceptable. Because of this characteristic, the adverbial conjunctions are also referred to as anaphoric words, referring to what was said beforehand.

However, we observe in the corpus data that there is a possibility of circumventing this rule: *deshalb* and *deswegen* often combine with a subsequent *weil*-clause and therefore make a cataphoric or catadeictic ‘forward-pointing’ reference (cf. Blühdorn 2006:261; Zifonun et al. 1997:2301),<sup>111</sup> for example *Ich konnte deswegen nicht nur Party kommen, weil ich Kopfschmerzen hatte* ‘I could not come to the party for the reason that I had a headache’. In this example, the adverbial conjunction *deswegen* and the causal marker *weil* are at a distance and *deswegen*, integrated into the sentence expressing the consequence (not going to the party), points toward the reason (having a headache), expressed by the subsequent *weil*-clause. The two elements can also stand directly next to each other. An example is *Ich frage deswegen, weil es mich interessiert* ‘I am asking for the reason that it interests me’. In this case, the reference of *deswegen* is still cataphoric.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Saying *Ich konnte nicht zur Party kommen, denn ich hatte Kopfschmerzen* ‘I could not come to the party as I had a headache’ is acceptable, whereas *\*Denn ich hatte Kopfschmerzen, konnte ich nicht zur Party kommen* ‘As I had a headache I could not come to the party’ is not.

<sup>111</sup> See also Bühler on the anaphoric and cataphoric quality of demonstrative pronouns (1982:20; 30)

<sup>112</sup> A total of 32 instances of *gerade + deswegen, weil* and *gerade + deshalb, weil*.

The conjuncts containing *da* and *weil* are much more flexible and can stand either before or after the main clause expressing the result/consequence. Consequently, it is equally acceptable to say *Da/Weil ich Kopfschmerzen hatte, konnte ich nicht zur Party kommen* 'Because I had a headache, I could not come to the party' and *Ich konnte nicht zur Party kommen, da/weil ich Kopfschmerzen hatte* 'I could not come to the party because I had a headache'. The clauses can also be parenthetically inserted into the main clause: *Ich konnte, da/weil ich Kopfschmerzen hatte, nicht zur Party kommen* 'I could, because I had a headache, not come to the party'.

However, despite occupying the same subclass of conjunctions, it is noted that *da* and *weil* cannot always mutually replace each other (Zifonun et al. 1997:2299-2230). An explanation for this is the information status of cause or consequence, which is said to differ depending on the causal marker used. Apart from syntactic and modality-based features of the causal markers discussed above, scholarship on causal connections in German suggests differences in the information status of cause and consequence, that is, the different causal markers are said to be used when either the cause, or the consequence, or both are assumed to be new information (unknown) to the hearer.

For example, Blühdorn (2006) states that the conjunctions *denn*, *da*, and *weil* and the adverbials differ concerning the assumptions of the speaker about the hearer's knowledge of cause, consequence, or both prior to the utterance of the complex causal sentence: The speaker uses *denn*, when s/he assumes the information in *both* clauses (the reason/cause and result/consequence) are new to the hearer (260).

The status of known vis-à-vis unknown information is opposite in complex sentences with *da* compared to *weil*: When uttering *da*, the speaker assumes that the

cause/reason is known to the hearer, but s/he does not know which results/consequences arose (Blühdorn 2006:261; see also Thim-Mabrey 1982:203). Zifonun et al. (1997:2303) express the function of *da* a little differently: They state that *da*, but not *weil*, can anaphorically refer to a previously stated reason. Based on observations from the corpus data, the exclusion of *weil* from this function has to be objected to: It was noticed that *weil* can indeed refer to a reason that was already mentioned beforehand. In the case at hand, discussing beaver population control, the piece of knowledge that qualified as a reason in the speaker's mind was brought up but actively disqualified by the interlocutor and thus had to be reiterated by the speaker and marked with *gerade* (section 5.3.3).

Conversely, the speaker can use *weil* to express either that the information contained in each clause is new to the hearer, or alternatively, that the consequence is already known, but the reason is unknown (Blühdorn 2006:260). As a result, Blühdorn argues, *weil*-clauses are suitable as answers to *why*-questions,<sup>113</sup> whereas clauses with *denn* or *da* are not (see also Zifonun 1997:2299; 2304). This is supported by Volodina's observation: "mit *weil* wird ein neuer Sachverhalt eingeführt, den es gilt, möglichst vollständig auszuführen" 'weil introduces a new subject matter that is to be stated as explicitly as possible' (2011:119).

Subsequently, Volodina (2014) provides a more differentiated perspective on *weil*: She argues that the *weil*-clause can contain new or old information. Most

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<sup>113</sup> Indeed, *weil*-clauses are frequently used to answer a why-question, and in such a manner that they stand alone in spoken language. An example of a possible exchange can be found below: A: *Warum bist du gestern nicht zur Party gekommen?* 'Why didn't you come to the party yesterday?' - B: *Weil ich Kopfschmerzen hatte.* 'Because I had a headache.' In the example above, we see that B completely omits repeating the consequence known to and observed by A (B did not come to the party, ...) and rather cuts right to the chase by providing the new information; the reason that A is inquiring about.

commonly, when the *weil*-verb-last clause contains old information, it is placed in first position (compare example) and when it is placed in second position it can contain old or new information (853). The former observation parallels findings in the corpus of sentence-initial internal connects that closely paraphrase or exactly repeat previous expressions. Volodina (2014) also factors in the interpretation of the relationship of two clauses and whether that can be new or old information—and that is an important aspect to keep in mind when analyzing the corpus data. She states: “[D]a *weil*-VL fokussierbar ist, kann damit auch der kausale Zusammenhang als neu interpretiert werden, wenn beide Konnekte Hintergrundinformationen enthalten” ‘since *weil*-VL is focusable, *the causal connection can be interpreted as new* if both connects contain background information’ (853; author’s emphasis, PAW).<sup>114</sup>

In short, the following is said about the three most important junctors and what they express:

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<sup>114</sup> Volodina (2014) states that information structure, all the while not inherent in connectors, is in some specific way still linked to them (849). She uses the terms “fokussierbar” ‘focusable’, “Fokalität” ‘focality’, and “Fokussierbarkeit” ‘focusability’ and relates this characteristic to the ability of being asked for in a question, “Erfragbarkeit” (ibd.). The difference according to her is minimal in that *Erfragbarkeit* refers to propositions, whereas the other three terms refer to an utterance, and generally utterances are not asked for. If they are, then an element within the utterance that is being asked for, must be focused on, for example, in a question such as “Warum hast du ‘weil’ gesagt?” ‘Why did you say ‘weil’?’ This concept can be related to metinformational exchanges according to Yokoyama (1986:13-14).

Table 16 - Features of the Causal Markers *denn*, *weil*, and *da*

Feature / conjunction	<i>denn</i>	<i>weil</i>	<i>da</i>
internal conjunct can precede external conjunct	No	Yes	Yes
external conjunct can precede internal conjunct	Yes	Yes	Yes
internal conjunct information type	New	Old (when preceding) Old <u>or</u> new (when following)	Old
		New	
external conjunct information type	New	Old	New
Information about conjunct relationship	N/A	New	N/A
Modality	epistemic	temporal or epistemic, <i>weil</i> -V2 or <i>weil</i> -VL	temporal or epistemic

We observe in Table 16 that the suggestions about what kind of information and what kind of mode *weil* is said to express differ considerably by scholar. In the following analyses, we will show that a little more order can be achieved when *weil* associates with the particles *eben* or *gerade*. It will be shown that *weil* is epistemic more frequently in contexts in which *gerade* also occurs and that the causal connection itself can also be ‘new’ in our sense of counter-to-expectation in this co-occurrence whereas this is not observed in co-occurrences with *eben*. We will also show that *weil* can indeed anaphorically refer to a sentential antecedent, but even more so that it can anaphorically refer to information mentioned a few sentences prior. This happens in co-occurrences with *eben*.

The analyses will show that there is indeed a significant difference in how the speaker assumes the hearer connects two propositions. While *eben* is used solely to indicate to the hearer that a causal connection is to be taken literally, *gerade* can be

used when the connection between two statements is more readily interpretable as a concessive one, rather than a causal one or when there is explicit speaker deliberation on how to logically best connect the two pieces of information.

Below, the quantitative corpus data findings will be presented, followed by a qualitative analysis of the *weil* clauses marked by the particles *eben* and *gerade*. The findings will be related to the notions of subject continuity (cf. Contini-Morava 1991) and of inferential complexity frequently employed in CS linguistic analyses.

### 5.3.2. Corpus Data Findings

We now turn to the corpus data to see that the quantitative information reveals. The particle *gerade* occurs more frequently with any causal marker than *eben*, though the sample sizes also differ considerably. The causal conjunction *da* ‘as’ was also investigated, however, the very few occurrences that were found were instances of the homonymous deictic expression *da* ‘there/then/that’, which is used to point the hearer toward a tangible (spatial, physical) or more abstract (temporal, argumentative) entity. Equally, whenever *gerade* or *eben* combines with *so*, *so* occurred strictly in the deictic function ‘thus/in that manner’, not as a causal marker. These occurrences were therefore eliminated from consideration. Co-occurrences of the particles with some adverbs that are per se ungrammatical were also excluded.<sup>115</sup>

A look at the respective distribution of *eben* and *gerade* with causal markers shows both particles occur most frequently with the causal marker *weil*. This confirms the suggested status of *weil* as the most prominent of all German causal junctors

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<sup>115</sup> These include the following: *\*gerade folglich*, *\*eben folglich*, *\*gerade so(mit)*, *\*eben so(mit)*, *\*gerade folglich*, *\*eben folglich* and all the converse sequences, as well as *\*gerade zumal* and *\*eben zumal*.

according to a *DeReKo* count (Volodina 2014:840). The following table provides an overview:

Table 17 - Co-occurrence of Focus Particles with Causal Markers

Causal Marker Position	Co-occurrence	#	% of 2,053 Focus Particles	Co-occurrence	#	% of 500 Focus Particles
R1	<i>gerade weil</i>	67	3.54%	<i>eben weil</i> <sup>116</sup>	23	4.6%
	<i>gerade deshalb</i>	41	2.00%	<i>eben deshalb</i>	1	0.2%
	<i>gerade deswegen</i>	15	0.73%	<i>eben deswegen</i>	0	0%
	<i>gerade daher</i>	0	0%	<i>eben daher</i>	0	0%
	<i>gerade darum</i>	0	0%	<i>eben darum</i>	0	0%
	<i>gerade wegen</i>	4	0.19%	<i>eben wegen</i>	1	0.2%
	<i>weil gerade</i>	29	1.41%	<i>weil eben</i>	2	0.4%
L1	<i>deshalb gerade</i>	0	0%	<i>deshalb eben</i>	1	0.2%
	<i>deswegen gerade</i>	0	0%	<i>deswegen eben</i>	0	0%
	<i>daher gerade</i>	0	0%	<i>daher eben</i>	0	0%
	<i>darum gerade</i>	0	0%	<i>darum eben</i>	0	0%
	<i>denn gerade</i>	67	3.25%	<i>denn eben</i>	1	0.2%
	<i>wegen gerade</i>	0	0%	<i>wegen eben</i>	0	0%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>11.12%</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5.8%</b>

The overview in Table 17 illustrates that *gerade* occurs approximately eight times as frequently with a causal marker to its immediate left or right than *eben* (226 vs. 29) as far as absolute numbers are concerned. Since the sample size of *eben* occurrences unambiguously classified as focus particles is smaller, we calculate the percentages based on the focus particle groups and observe that *gerade* still occurs approximately twice as frequently with a causal marker as L1 or R1 as *eben*.

<sup>116</sup> In the entire PP corpus spanning all the years available, the frequency difference of this co-occurrence is 3,156:488 for the untagged lexemes *gerade* vs. *eben*. Given the total number of *eben* and *gerade* lexemes across year (see Appendix 7.2), the respective percentages are: *gerade* + *weil* occurs in 1.26% of the 248,898 *gerade* occurrences throughout the PP corpus and *eben* occurs in 0.31% of the 158,731 *eben* occurrences throughout the corpus. Thus, the respective frequency increases to *gerade* + *weil* being four times as frequent as *eben* + *weil* in the entire PP corpus. Thus, there is an even greater preponderance of the *gerade* over the *eben* lexeme in combination with *weil* when the inquiry is expanded.

Of particular interest are those constructions in which the causal marker occurs as the constituent to the immediate right (R1) of the particle. In such constructions, the particle unambiguously marks the causal marker and therefore indirectly the entire causal clause, whereas this is not necessarily the case if the causal marker the immediate left (L1) constituent of the particle.

Another aspect that emerges in the macro-structural analysis is the variation in subject continuity: In the environments with *eben*, the subject is identical in the preceding sentence and in the sentence-initial internal connect marked by *eben* (the *weil*-clause) in slightly less than half of the cases (45.45%). Of the five occurrences of *eben + weil* in sentence-initial position, four of the instances (80%) anaphorically refer to the subject from the preceding sentence. *Gerade + weil* occur sentence-initially almost two-thirds of the time (61.19%, 41 cases), but the subject continuity to the preceding sentences among those sentence-initial internal connects occurs only 6 times, rendering a subject continuity to the preceding clause in only 14.63% of the sentence-initial co-occurrences.

The subject continuity between the external and internal conjunct within the complex causal sentences, however, is more comparable for *eben + weil* and *gerade + weil* (see Appendices 7.6 and 7.7). Not taking into account the sequences of external and internal connects, the continuity is 36.36% for complex sentences with *eben + weil* and 26.87% for those with *gerade + weil*. Among those sentences where the internal connect follows the external connect and thus the causal clause marked by either particle can anaphorically refer to the preceding clause rather than preceding sentence, the percentages are 23.08% for *eben + weil* and 21.05% for *gerade + weil*.



### 5.3.3. Qualitative Analyses

What motivates a stronger affinity of *gerade* than *eben* with markers expressing causes/reasons? This can be explained with the hypothesis: The particle *gerade* signals that the constituent, in this case the causal marker *weil*, is a counter-to-expectation selection for the hearer. This is based on the assumption that the hearer is likely to select a different constituent. Evidence in the preceding context may show that the hearer opts for a different constituent or, in the absence of such evidence, the speaker may assume that the hearer is unlikely to select the speaker's choice constituent, perhaps because the reason the speaker has in mind is not objectively usual and therefore too inferentially complex. This can happen when the reason the speaker wants to provide is a subjective evaluation rather than knowledge that has been previously introduced or that is assumed to be unremarkable and commonplace. It can also happen when an interlocutor has specifically called into question a causal relationship between two sentences. It appears especially fitting that in the particular text genre of political debates, the reasons that one party provides may be called into question by the opposing party, which may explain the preponderance of counter-to-expectation reasons over conform-to-expectation reasons. Below, we will discuss a few samples from the *gerade* + *weil* co-occurrences (cf. Appendix 7.7) in more detail.

The qualitative analysis of an example from the corpus data illustrates the differences between *gerade* and *eben* marking the causal relationship. Relating the finding to Blühdorn's (2008) differentiation of a temporal and epistemic reading of *weil*, we find numerous occurrences of epistemic utterances in which the speaker expresses a reason for uttering a statement rather than a reason for the content uttered.

In excerpt 50) in the appendix, in the context of a *Regierungsbefragung* ‘questions for the government’, speakers discuss agenda item 3.2, *BIOPRO Baden-Württemberg GmbH* a biotech company in Baden-Württemberg. In a question addressed to the Minister of Science, Research and the Arts, Dr. Peter Frankenberg (CDU), representative Dr. Reinhard Löffler (CDU) explains the excellent development and growth of the biotech industry in the state of Baden-Württemberg and the excellent extant research infrastructure in the field, closing with the question “Braucht es vor diesem Hintergrund überhaupt noch BIOPRO?” ‘With this in mind, do we even still need BIOPRO?’ The representative implicates that BIOPRO’s activities are redundant, given the already thriving biotech infrastructure in Baden-Württemberg. The connecting pieces of knowledge for representative Löffler are that an excellent biotech infrastructure makes BIOPRO redundant, since BIOPRO establishes such infrastructure. Therefore, he considers ‘having a good infrastructure’ not a viable reason for ‘needing BIOPRO’.

In his reply, Minister Frankenberg remarks that Representative Löffler’s first observation is correct: Baden-Württemberg’s biotech branch is indeed competitive and excellent companies have their seat in the state. That means, all in all the biotech infrastructure is thriving. However, he adds that the companies, because they are striving for excellence, are more inclined toward working for/by themselves. Minister Frankenberg explains that BIOPRO helps establish research clusters and networks, thus encouraging companies to work together:

Denn BIOPRO versucht, Netzwerke zu etablieren und Strukturen zu bündeln, gerade zwischen den Unternehmen sowie zwischen den Unternehmen und den Forschungseinrichtungen. Dabei sind sie sehr erfolgreich. Genau das brauchen wir; denn die Unternehmen brauchen einander. Sie arbeiten in unterschiedlichen Bereichen, und sie brauchen Grundlagenforschung. Insofern kann man sagen: **Gerade**

**weil wir eine so gute Infrastruktur haben, gerade weil wir die entsprechenden Unternehmen haben und die Biotechnologie bei uns so stark ist, brauchen wir BIOPRO.** BIOPRO ist nicht etwa eine Einrichtung, die erst etwas aufbaut, was noch nicht da ist. BIOPRO ist vielmehr eine Einrichtung, die eine exzellente Struktur weiterentwickelt und die die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit erhält und verbessert, und zwar durch Kooperation.

‘For BIOPRO works on establishing networks and consolidating structures, *gerade* between companies as well as between companies and research institutions. They are very successful at that. That is exactly what we need; because companies need each other. They work in different areas and they need foundational research. Insofar we one can say: ***Gerade* because we have such a good infrastructure and *gerade* because we have the relevant companies and biotech is so strong [in Baden-Württemberg], we need BIOPRO.** BIOPRO is not an institution that establishes something that has not previously existed. Much rather, BIOPRO is an institution that further improves excellent infrastructure and maintains and improves competitiveness, particularly through cooperation.’

(PBW/W14.00110 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag von Baden-Württemberg am 01.03.2011. 110. Sitzung der 14. Wahlperiode 2006-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Stuttgart, 2011 [S. 7917])

Frankenberg adds that the company’s role is not—as Representative Löffler has assumed—to start from scratch, but rather to further develop already existing infrastructure. This implicates that BIOPRO is indeed not redundant within the biotech branch of Baden-Württemberg.

Prompted by the position of representative Löffler, Minister Frankenberg’s utterance of counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* signals that the causal relationship between already ‘having an excellent infrastructure’ and ‘needing BIOPRO’ is a counter-to-expectation for Representative Löffler, who had a different tacit understanding of what the company does and how it might (not) benefit the biotech branch in the state of Baden-Württemberg and had therefore called into question that ‘having a good infrastructure’ would justify ‘needing BIOPRO’. He also adds additional information,

namely the more ‘accurate’ assessment of BIOPRO’s purpose and thus makes a greater effort to get his point fully across.

Another example is 34),<sup>117</sup> the agenda item in which the Minister of Defense, Thomas de Maizière (CDU), discusses a reorientation of the German armed forces. The speaker, Jürgen Trittin (*B90/Grüne*), establishes a causal relationship that is very subjective and cannot be processed by hearers without greater inferential effort because it is not objectively usual. In his speech, Trittin combines two statements in a causal relationship that are ostensibly at odds. He says he shares foundational strategic decisions made by Minister of Defense regarding the new direction the *Bundeswehr* will take after the elimination of mandatory military service. He also says that he wants explanations as to why the inspector general’s estimates were not made the guidelines for a formula.

Die CDU/CSU verabschiedet sich von etwas, das lange Zeit für sie identitätsstiftend war: der Wehrpflicht. Sie versuchen jetzt, in diese Richtung Grund hineinzubringen. Sie sagen der deutschen Öffentlichkeit: Wir wollen mit einem Konzept von 175 000 plus x künftig diese Aufgaben einer Bundeswehr bewältigen. **Ich hätte in Ihrer heutigen Regierungserklärung, gerade weil ich wichtige strategische Grundentscheidungen, die Sie mit benannt haben, teile, gerne von Ihnen eine Begründung gehört**, warum das, was Ihnen Ihr eigener Generalinspekteur aufgeschrieben hat, nicht Leitlinie gewesen ist.

‘The CDU/CSU is saying goodbye to something that constituted part of its identity for a long time: mandatory military service. Now you are trying to give this new direction a more substantial form. You are telling the German public: We want to tackle the tasks of the *Bundeswehr* with a concept of 175000 plus x in the future. **In your policy statement today I would have expected, gerade because I share foundational strategic decisions, which you have enumerated,**

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<sup>117</sup> Session title: *Tagesordnungspunkt 24: Abgabe einer Regierungserklärung durch den Bundesminister der Verteidigung: zur Neuausrichtung der Bundeswehr* ‘Agenda item 24: Government Policy Statement by the Minister of Defense: New Directions for the German Armed Forces’

**a justification from you** why that which your own inspector general had written up, was not the guideline.'

(PBT/W17.00112 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Deutscher Bundestag am 27.05.2011. 112. Sitzung der 17. Wahlperiode 2009-Plenarprotokoll, Berlin, 2011)

Representative Trittin expresses that exactly his sharing of strategic decisions is the reason (marked by *gerade*) for his expecting a justification from Minister de Maizière. The connecting pieces of knowledge are as follows: Trittin agrees with foundational strategic decisions. Determining the strength of the German armed forces is one of those foundational decisions. Therefore, the expectation is that Trittin agrees with the number stipulated by de Maizière. Agreeing with someone on a decision typically entails not asking them to justify that decision, because one is typically already convinced when one agrees. Yet, Trittin asks de Maizière for a justification of the stipulated strength of the armed forces.

In the segment following the quote above, Trittin provides more information that helps resolve this counter-to-expectation causal relationship between agreeing to the Minister's decisions and wanting a justification for those decision. He argues that the general inspector had suggested a total of 160,000 soldiers, a number that Trittin's party *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* (opposing party) also found acceptable. Minister de Maizière opted for a strength of 175 000 plus x. Trittin concludes that de Maizière's decision was not as radical as it could have been upon counsel by the general inspector and therefore does not constitute real reform efforts. Trittin thus implicates that he does not approve of that particular number because it is too high. Since there is no prior mention of Trittin sharing the foundational decisions of the Minister of Defense, he cannot assume that the audience or the Minister are considering it as a reason. Adding to that is the subjective nature of the reason, namely Trittin's personal opinion

which he cannot exactly assume to be a commonplace. Therefore, he is prompted to utter the counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* and make an additional effort of carefully explicating why he utters the complex causal statement.

Two more examples in which the causal relationship between two clauses is explicitly at question and is contrasted with other logical combinations are excerpts 60) and 34) (Appendix 7.7). In excerpt 60), the speaker Kirstin Funke (FDP) reacts to the repeated claims by Representative Katja Rathje-Hoffmann (CDU) that the budget of 2011/2012 was a peril to infrastructure supporting women, and that this infrastructure still exists despite (*trotz*) the budget decisions that were made. The connecting knowledge for Rathje-Hoffmann that warrants this concessive connection is that budget decisions for the 2011/2012 period resulted in budget cuts endangering existing infrastructure that supports women.

Representative Funke corrects the repeated concessive combination of the clauses ‘deciding on a budget’ and ‘infrastructure supporting women still exists’ by marking *weil* with *gerade* which signals that this causal relationship is counter-to-expectation for Representative Rathje-Hoffmann. The speaker thus highlights the fact that the infrastructure exists because budget decisions were made that do support it despite other representatives’ opinions. She then provides examples of women’s shelters that ultimately were not consolidated and women’s counseling centers that continue to operate on their normal budgets, etc. She states that the budget decisions even resulted in a more just and well-balanced distribution of funds which led to the outright preservation of the women’s infrastructure in Schleswig-Holstein. Her conclusion is the counter-to-expectation causal relationship between ‘budget decisions of 2011/2012’ and the ‘infrastructure supporting women still exists’. For

Representative Funke, the budget decisions were not a peril to the continued existence of the infrastructure but rather a help for an ailing system. This prompts her to make a greater effort at supplying additional information on the nature of the budget decisions and to add *gerade* to mark the then causal relationship of the pieces of information that are at issue.

In excerpt 34), representative Konstantin von Notz (*B90/Grüne*) engages in a self-made deliberation on how to logically connect the two statements ‘we know that catastrophes are something unplannable and unpredictable’, and ‘the challenge to civil defense is that the unthinkable must be thought of and prepared for’. He first provides the counterfactual conjunction *auch wenn* ‘even if’ and then the causal connector *weil* marked by *gerade*. He does not utter this statement as a reaction to the previous speakers’ contributions, who have all addressed various aspects of disaster control within the EU, but rather relates this statement to his assumption of what constitutes common sense.

Representative von Notz acknowledges the relative inferential ease of understanding that preparation has to happen in spite of the awareness that something cannot be predicted and thus there is a strong awareness that the preparation may be in vain. The thought process can be outlined as follows: ‘Planning that which is not plannable is the responsibility of civil protection. We all know that catastrophes are generally not plannable. This leads to the assumption that it cannot be helped, and all planning is potentially in vain because the planning is bound to not suit what we are planning for and therefore not be successful. However, the civil protection agencies have the responsibility to protect the population and as such have to make an effort even with that notion in mind. Their responsibilities override the

awareness that there is a complete contradiction in terms in trying to ‘plan the unplannable’. In the speaker’s mind, the lack of plannability has to be the prime motivation for executing that plan anyway, although such an awareness is discouraging to carrying out plans for reward-seeking humans and it may be assumed that humans rather like to act on hopes of success. The speaker thus marks *weil* with *gerade* to signal that the causal relationship is valid but admittedly counter-to-expectation because it is objectively unusual.

In the last two instances above, *gerade* does not operate on the content level of the statements but rather on a more removed metadiscursive level evaluating how the respective two statements should logically connect. The counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* serves as a stronger signal that points to a paradigmatic contrast—once between the logical connectors *trotz* ‘despite’ and *weil* and once between *auch wenn* ‘even if’ and *weil*.

We will now turn to one more example and illustrate in detail how the preceding macrostructure leads to a use of *gerade*. First, background information and the conversation leading up to the utterance are provided. We then look at the factors that prompt the speaker to use *gerade*, and thus to mark the causal relationship between the two statements in the utterance as counter-to-expectation.

In the plenary session from May 18, 2011 in Brandenburg’s parliament, the following statement is part of the parliamentary session’s *Fragestunde* ‘question time’, during which representatives ask follow-up questions about print matter (*Drucksachen*) from earlier sessions and address these questions to the government ministers who in turn are obliged to answer. Question 576 on May 18, 2011, initiates a lengthy exchange between Representative Blechinger (CDU) and the Minister for



Environment, Health, and Consumer Protection, Ms. Tack (*LINKE*). In her question, Representative Blechinger is concerned with the state of the beaver population control program in Brandenburg, which Minister Tack oversees.

After the prime minister has granted the floor to Representative Blechinger, she mentions two prior meetings that she and minister Tack had attended, one with farmers and beaver population managers (*Bauerntag des Kreisverbandes*) on April 1, 2011, in the rural district of Märkisch-Oberland, and one concerning the protection of water bodies on May 6, 2011. Representative Blechinger states that Minister Tack had announced on April 1, that she would evaluate and adopt the beaver population control program from Bavaria. She then elaborates on four pillars in the Bavarian model—shooting the animals being one option—and asks the minister which pillars she ultimately intends to implement. The minister responds by expressing her surprise at this question being asked.

Sehr verehrte Frau Blechinger, ich bin durchaus überrascht, dass Sie die Frage stellen, denn sie gleicht im Wesentlichen derjenigen, die ich im April schon beantwortet habe. Sie waren bei der Tagung der Arbeitsgruppe „Wassermanagement Oderbruch“ in Seelow am 6. Mai anwesend. Dort ist darüber ausführlich gesprochen worden. Der Kreisbauerntag hatte schon am 1. April stattgefunden. Wir haben also schon mehrmals dazu kommuniziert.

‘Esteemed Ms. Blechinger, I am quite surprised that you are asking this question, because in essence it is the same question that I already answered in April. You were present at the meeting of the ‘Water Management Oderbruch’ task force in Seelow on May 6. We already talked about this there in detail. The farmer’s association meeting had already taken place on April 1. Hence, we have already talked about this several times.’

(PBB/W05.00036 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 18.05.2011; p. 2873)

Rather than complying with Representative Blechinger's request and answering her question, Minister Tack argues that an equivalent question was been answered at the latter meeting, and information regarding Representative Blechinger's question had been discussed at both meetings. Thus, she does not utter anything that could be informational to Representative Blechinger, rather conveying information she knows Blechinger already possesses, namely that Blechinger attended both meetings on April 1 and May 6. Conveying such metainformational utterances may be an attempt to aggravate or embarrass the representative (cf. Yokoyama 1986:27). Minister Tack expresses that the knowledge Representative Blechinger is seeking was communicated sufficiently at the meetings the representative attended and that she expects that Ms. Blechinger should therefore no longer have questions about the implementation of the beaver population management in Brandenburg. In other words, Minister Tack's line of argument is that 'attending the meeting' is not a valid justification for 'asking questions'. Minister Tack expresses her surprise at Representative Blechinger asking such a question in light of the fact that she attended meetings in which relevant information was communicated.

The minister goes on say that everything the representative addresses can already be implemented with measures established in Brandenburg. She continues listing preventative measures such as workshops for beaver population control, again intentionally not providing the information the representative is actually seeking: she delays addressing Representative Blechinger's targeted question about the option of shooting beavers and ultimately concludes that the population control program is evaluated in an ongoing fashion. To Minister Tack, the issue raised by Representative Blechinger has already been dealt with in two prior meetings, the conclusion of which

was apparently satisfying. The minister's repeated mention of the fact that a similar question and all surrounding issues have been adequately dealt with are face-threatening to Representative Blechinger and are the result of diverging conceptions of how both the meetings on April 1 and May 6 developed and were concluded.

Representative Blechinger, however, is not deterred from demanding an answer to her question and asks again, one the president asks for follow-up questions, which is the documented instance of the *gerade + weil* co-occurrences. Her contribution is presented below:

Vielen Dank. Es gibt Nachfragen. Frau Blechinger, bitte. Frau Blechinger (CDU): **Gerade weil ich in der Arbeitsgruppensitzung am 6. Mai anwesend war, stelle ich diese Frage**; denn dort ist deutlich geworden, dass die Auffassung des Beauftragten für Biber-Management, Präventionsmaßnahmen seien ausreichend, nicht mit den Erfahrungen der dort anwesenden Landwirte übereinstimmt. Demnach ist die Erlangung einer Einzelfallgenehmigung viel zu aufwendig, und es sollte eine Pauschalgenehmigung erteilt werden. Deshalb stelle ich Ihnen die Frage: Ist beabsichtigt, den Biber-Beauftragten im Kreis unter bestimmten Bedingungen Pauschalgenehmigungen für den Abschuss zu erteilen, sodass nicht in jedem Fall eine Einzelgenehmigung eingeholt werden muss?

'Thank you very much. There are some follow-up questions. Mrs. Blechinger, please. Mrs. Blechinger (CDU): ***gerade because I was present at the task force's meeting on May 6<sup>th</sup> do I ask this question.*** because in the meeting it became apparent, that the beaver population manager's assumption that preventative measures were sufficient was not congruent with the experiences made by the farmers present in the meeting. According to them, procuring a permit on an individual case is far too tedious, and a general permit should be issued. For that reason, I am asking the question: Is there a plan in place to issue general shooting permits to the beaver population manager under particular circumstances, so that individual permits do not have to be issued over and over again?'

(PBB/W05.00036 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 18.05.2011.)

Representative Blechinger's utterance of *gerade* with scope over the entire causal clause is a product of the preceding discussion. From the minister's initial non-informational reaction to the representative's question, Representative Blechinger learns that, although the pieces of knowledge 'Blechinger attended meeting' and 'Blechinger asks question' are present in Minister Tack's mind, the minister refuses to accept the validity of 'Blechinger attended meeting' as a justification for 'Blechinger asks question'. Minister Tack's reason to refuse this validity is that an attendance of the meetings should render all questions answered.<sup>118</sup>

Representative Blechinger paraphrases the two pieces of information, namely 'Blechinger asks a question' and 'Blechinger attended meeting on Mai 6' that the minister had already related to each other by uttering them in close sequence and yet disregarding the causal link. Although this is a direct paraphrase of the minister's utterances, *gerade* is used because the minister overtly refused to logically connect them in the same way in which the representative has intended it. The representative's observation after the minister's first reply can be outlined as follows: 'I asked the you, Minister Tack, a question on beaver population control as a follow-up to two meetings we both attended. You know that I attended the meetings and have just become aware that I have a question in regard to those meetings. Yet, you search for a justification for my asking the question. You actively disregard that my attending the meeting is the reason for my asking the question, which you directly juxtapose to your reason-seeking.' We observe that although the two pieces of information were previously

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<sup>118</sup> In the further course of her speech, Minister Tack states that there will be no general permit, restates that the Brandenburg program is already in good shape, and says *Sie wissen übrigens, dass der Biber ein streng geschütztes Tier ist* 'You all know, by the way, that the beaver is a strictly protected animal' to conclude her turn and the whole discussion of Question 576. The meeting then moves on to a different Question Time item.

uttered by the representative, their relationship was expressly called into question by the minister, which prompts the use of *gerade* to mark the causal relationship as considered valid by the representative as counter-to-expectation.

After having stated the complex causal sentence marked with *gerade*, Representative Blechinger provides additional connecting information she deems relevant for Minister Tack to understand the causal relationship, namely that farmers had voiced complaints about the population control measures currently in place and had demanded a general permit to shoot beavers in order to save the farmers' assets. The two representatives' thought processes are outlined in a table below:

Table 18 - Shared and Diverging Knowledge (Blechinger, Tack)

Representative Blechinger	Minister Tack
Representative Blechinger attended the meeting.	
The question of implementing population control measures from Bavaria was discussed.	
Representative Blechinger asks a question concerning beaver population control.	
This question was addressed insufficiently, the problem was not solved.	This question was addressed sufficiently, the problem was solved.
The question was addressed insufficiently because farmers found the manner in which shooting permits are dealt out on a case-by-case basis too tedious and ineffective.	(The question was addressed sufficiently because the focus on preventative measures such as educating the population managers was discussed at length and is sufficient for Brandenburg. It also respects the fact that the beaver is an endangered animal.)
If the problem is not solved, there have to be follow-up questions.	(If the problem is solved, there do not have to be follow-up questions.)
→ Attending the meeting justifies asking questions.	→ Attending the meeting does not justify asking questions.

The table above illustrates Representative Blechinger's perspective of the pieces of knowledge in the discourse situation. Therefore, parentheses are placed around such pieces of knowledge that Blechinger assumes have informed Minister Tack's thought

process but were not uttered. Those not in parentheses were uttered by the minister. The table illustrates that only the first three pieces of knowledge are shared by the politicians, namely that Representative Blechinger attended the meeting, that at the meeting measures for beaver population control in Brandenburg were discussed, and she a question about those measures. Representative Blechinger can be certain that this knowledge is shared because both women were at the meetings and because Minister Tack expressly referred to them in her initial reply.

From then on, the women's perspectives on the course of the meetings begin to differ, ultimately prompting different conclusions about the relationship between the events 'Blechinger asks a question' and 'Blechinger attended a meeting'. Representative Blechinger is aware of the insufficient outcome of the discussion on population control at the meetings, owing to her knowledge of the farmers' reactions. Minister Tack, on the other hand, had expressed earlier that the deliberations about population control at the meetings had been extensive and therefore no questions should remain (pp. 2873-2874). This prompts Representative Blechinger to assume that either Minister Tack may be missing this piece of information about the farmers or that she may be actively disregarding it.

As far as Representative Blechinger is concerned, the result of this missing or disregarded piece of information is the minister's expressed doubt about the validity of 'Blechinger attended meeting' as a justification for 'Blechinger asks a question'. Representative Blechinger knows of Minister Tack's original expectation and surprise about the relationship of the two events, because the Minister has expressed it herself. This experience in turn prompts Representative Blechinger to 'drive the point home' by uttering *gerade*, which marks the causal relationship that was not deemed valid by

Minister Tack as counter-to-expectation and then provide the ostensibly unknown information on the farmers' concerns.

What is at issue or unknown here is not either of the events 'attending a meeting' and 'asking a question' in isolation because both representatives of Brandenburg's parliament know about it and have explicitly addressed it. Much rather, it is the relationship between the two events that is called into question. The interpretation of this relationship is informed by the diverging pieces of information the two women appear to have as far as Representative Blechinger is concerned as well as their individual backgrounds and responsibilities.<sup>119</sup>

How does *eben* + causal marker differ from *gerade* + causal marker? The quantitative 2:1 ratio of the percentage of *gerade* + causal marker vs. *eben* + causal marker was already mentioned above. The qualitative difference between the *weil*-clauses marked by *gerade* and those marked by *eben* is even more notable: The causal clauses that are constituents of *eben* differ from those that are constituents of *gerade* in that when *eben* marks a causal marker, it is never at question to the speaker or the hearer whether the associated relationship between two events is other than a causal one. When *eben* marks *weil*, the marking indicates that the relationship is understood by speakers and hearers as exactly that, a causal one. Instances in which the speaker, or speaker and hearers, weigh the types of logical connections of two connects against

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<sup>119</sup> This divergence is owed not in small parts to their respective opposing responsibilities. Blechinger (CDU) was a representative of the electoral district Märkisch Oberland II from 1990-1994 and 1999-2014 and her task was to make her constituents' concerns heard. That would include the farmers she referenced. Anita Tack, member of the *Linke* party, was Minister for Environment, Health, and Consumer Protection in Brandenburg's parliament from 2009-2014 and has been a member of the parliament since 1994. Her primary concern as Minister was the protection of the environment. The two women's opinions on the significance of beavers were therefore naturally opposed.

each other, as we have seen in excerpts 34) and 60) in the *gerade* cluster do not occur in the *eben* cluster.

The table in Appendix 7.4 provides a complete list of *eben + weil* co-occurrences. Upon closer inspection, we find that very frequently among the excerpts, a reason is provided with *eben + weil* which was explicitly mentioned as a phrase one or two sentences earlier (excerpts 2), 4), 7), 9), 11), 14), 15), 18), and 19)). Six additional excerpts (3), 6), 13), 16), 20), 22)) do not repeat the exact wording from a prior phrase or clause in the causal clause marked by *eben* but they do paraphrase closely. Thus, *eben* is embedded in contexts with a higher discourse continuity (cf. Contini-Morava 1991) than *gerade*. The elements that are repeated or paraphrased have already been introduced to the hearers and are therefore easier to process when they occur a second time. Consequently, in 15 out of 22 occurrences (68.18%), some reference—either literal or closely paraphrased—is made to a prior statement in the *weil*-clause marked by *eben*. Excerpt 7) shows an exact repetition of a phrase:

Der Senat ist sehr wohl im Rahmen seiner finanziellen Möglichkeiten und im Rahmen der Möglichkeiten dieser Stadtgesellschaft den finanziellen Anforderungen der Charité gerecht geworden. Diese Möglichkeiten sind bekanntermaßen begrenzt, **und eben weil sie begrenzt sind, gilt es, besonders verantwortungsvoll damit umzugehen.**

‘The senate has indeed met the financial needs of the Charité within the financial resources of the city association. These resources are known to be limited, **and eben because they are limited, it is crucial to use them responsibly.**’

(PBE/W16.00078 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments  
Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin am 03.03.2011. 78. Sitzung der 16.  
Wahlperiode 2006-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Berlin, 2011 [S. 7495])<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Agenda item: *Vorlage – zur Beschlussfassung – Abschluss der Vereinbarung des Landes Berlin mit der Charité – Universitätsmedizin Berlin gemäß § 3 des Berliner Universitätsmedizingesetzes*



The speaker mentions financial resources (*finanzielle(n) Möglichkeiten*) twice before the occurrence of *eben*, and states that the resources are known to be (*bekanntermaßen*) limited, underlining that this circumstance is neither news to anyone nor contestable. He then proceeds to express this limitation of resources as a justification for having to handle them with responsibility. Since the speaker has mentioned the exact phrase before the complex causal sentence, he can be certain that it is still part of the audience's knowledge. This repetition is one of the cases in which the subject in the preceding sentence and the subject in the sentence-initial internal connect marked by *eben* are identical and since it was already introduced and is known to the audience members, it is not surprising information.

Beside the continuity, relating the two connects 'resources are limited' and 'it is crucial to use resources responsibly' is also a matter of inferential ease because connecting the two can be considered common knowledge. The speaker can assume that it is part of the audience's world knowledge and facility for logical reasoning that the scarcity of resources is a valid motivation for using them responsibly. The relevant connecting pieces of knowledge are that responsible use includes strategies that reduce the waste of resources to a minimum, and that scarce resources are often precious and to be held in high regard which includes responsible use.

The speaker has no reason to assume that his audience prefers another cause over the one he selects, especially since the proposition was previously mentioned and characterized as commonly known (*bekanntermaßen*), and has no reason to assume that the type of connection is inferentially complex to his audience, therefore *eben* is

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'Submission - for Resolution - Conclusion of the Agreement between the State of Berlin and Charité - University Clinic Berlin in Accordance with § 3 *Berliner Universitätsmedizingesetz*'

used to signal conformity-to-expectation. In the excerpt below (no. 15), we observe the same kind of repetition:

Herr Innenminister, Sie haben doch, noch als Staatssekretär - auch im Innenministerium -, auf dem Gewerkschaftstag der GdP von Problemen in der Führungskultur der hessischen Polizei gesprochen. Das waren Sie. Sie wurden nicht genötigt, darüber zu reden. Vielmehr haben Sie sich entschlossen, über die mangelnde Führungsqualität zu sprechen. **Herr Innenminister, das haben Sie aus freien Stücken getan, eben weil es Probleme in der Führungskultur der hessischen Polizei gab.** Es war also nicht die böse Opposition, sondern Sie waren derjenige, der das auf dem Gewerkschaftstag vorgetragen hat.

'Minister, you as secretary - also in the Ministry of the Interior - talked about problems with the leadership culture of Hesse's police force. That was you. You were not forced to talk about it. Much rather, you decided to talk about the lack in leadership culture. **Minister, you did this voluntarily, eben because there were problems with the leadership culture of Hesse's police force.** It was not the mean opposition, but rather you were the one who brought it up at the union meeting.'

(PHE/W18.00067 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Hessischer Landtag am 01.03.2011. 67. Sitzung der 18. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Wiesbaden, 2011)

In excerpt 15), the phrases *Probleme(n) in der Führungskultur* 'problem(s) in the leadership culture' and *mangelnde Führungskultur* 'lacking leadership culture' are repeated, and the speaker subsequently states that the existence of these problems motivated Minister Rhein volunteer exactly this information.

This kind of justification, due to the exact repetition of phrases, showcases the common ground between interlocutors, an agreement about the content of the internal connect which serves as a foundation or build-up for a more pressing issue. After all, the phrase is not freshly introduced but rather repeated like in the prior example and therefore easily processed by the hearers. The reason marked by *eben* is signaled as conform-to-expectation, since it is explicitly mentioned a few sentences earlier. The

repetition of exact phrases also establishes a strong continuity between the causal clauses also marked by *eben* and the earlier utterances.

In both instances, what is really at question is a different subject matter against which the justifications merely serve as a background. In excerpt 7), the core issue is whether the Charité Hospital in Berlin was given sufficient funds or not, and in excerpt 15), the issue under discussion is whether Minister Rhein was forced to disclose information about a lack in leadership culture among Hesse's police force or whether he did so voluntarily.<sup>121</sup> This line of disjunctive questioning already presupposes that that there is a lack in the leadership culture of the police force because it is the basis for the Minister's disclosure. The two speakers who address the lack of/problems with the leadership culture agree that it exists, but the debate circles around whether the oppositional parties unduly criticize it or whether it was brought up by the state government itself.

We note that the causal clauses merely reinforce the common ground from which to argue the core issues—the justifications themselves are not at issue. This kind of transition is a natural complement to the function of *eben*, which signals to the hearer to that the reasons are conform-to-expectation.

The reinforcement of a common ground is beneficial for another reason: In five cases, the external connects express contain the consequence/result a deontic modality, either in a request to an addressee or the expression of an obligation to a third party. Expressing an obligation or uttering a directive is a potential face threat.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Agenda item: *Regierungserklärung des Hessischen Ministers des Innern und für Sport betreffend "Sicherheit - Garant unserer Freiheit"* 'Government Policy Statement by Hesse's Minister for the Interior and for Sports, addressing "Safety - Guarantor of our Freedom"

<sup>122</sup> See Goffman (1967), Brown & Levinson (1987).

To prepare the hearer, of whom something is about to be requested, a justification is presented that is apparent/undisputed and therefore makes the consequences more agreeable.

In other instances that do not reiterate preceding phrases as literally as the excerpts presented above, speakers often operate on assumptions of common knowledge that can be easily inferred by the interlocutors and as such are not at question. One example is the discussion of a school model combining several traditional models in excerpt 20):

In der letzten Periode sind wir damit gestartet. Wir haben ca. 20 Verbundschulen auf den Weg gebracht in einem Zusammenschluss von Haupt- und Realschulen, **allerdings mit unterschiedlichen Profilen und differenzierten Abschlüssen, eben weil Schülerinnen und Schüler unterschiedlich begabt sind und daher auch unterschiedlich gefördert werden müssen.**

'We started it in the last [legislative] period. We established about 20 combination schools, combining K-9 and middle high school models, **but with a variety of profiles and various degree options, eben because students' aptness varies and therefore they need to receive a tailored education.**'

(PNW/W15.00036 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Nordrhein-Westfalen am 29.06.2011. 36. Sitzung der 15. Wahlperiode 2010-2012. Plenarprotokoll, Düsseldorf, 2011)<sup>123</sup>

In the excerpt above, the speaker Bernhard Recker (CDU), the speaker, does not mention the different educational needs of students prior to the causal clause marked with *eben*. However, the speaker can reasonably assume that a hearer will understand with ease that a valid justification for having a school model with a variety of degrees is that students have different educational needs. The connecting knowledge is that

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<sup>123</sup> Agenda item title: *Rechtswidrige Schulpolitik unverzüglich beenden – Gründung von Gemeinschaftsschulen als Schulversuch sofort stoppen* 'Stop Illegal School Politics Immediately - Stop the Foundation of Combination Schools as Experimental School Model Now'

varying needs are better met with flexible offers adaptable to those needs. As such, the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* suffices for the justification expressed with *weil*. The controversial core of the debate is whether this type of school is illegal, not what is a good justification for having such a school model.

The short examples above have illustrated how literal repetitions of phrases or paraphrases to the original wording prompt a use of *eben* as conform-to-expectation marker for *weil*-clauses. The speaker knows of this repetition and can be certain that the audience possesses these recently introduced pieces of information contained in the repeated phrases. Additionally, there is no disagreement from the audience concerning the uttered phrases. Finally, in some instances, the cause-effect relationships were explainable by assumptions of knowledge that constitute easily inferable relationships. As a result, the marking of the reasons as conform-to-expectation reinforces a common ground, all the while the core of the debates and disagreements typically revolves around a different issue.

In one additional example, we will reach further into the preceding context to show how interlocutors' prior utterances can also prompt the use of *eben* to mark causal relationships. In the same plenary session on May 18, 2011 in which Representative Blechinger and Minister Tack have their discussion about beaver population management in Brandenburg, a subsequent agenda item (No. 13) concerns an action plan for the strengthening of medium-size businesses (*Aktionsplan für den Mittelstand*). The written petition on which the current debate centers was previously submitted by CDU and is backed by FDP and *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*. SPD and *Die Linke* are the governing parties, hold the majority of seats, and reject the petition.

The speaker in the example, Minister for Labor, Social Matters, Women, and Family, Günter Baaske (SPD), addresses the fact that Brandenburg was awarded the title *Europäische Unternehmerregion 2011* 'European Entrepreneurial Region 2011'. He says the following:

Minister für Arbeit, Soziales, Frauen und Familie Baaske: Herr Präsident! Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren! Verehrter Herr Bommert und Herr Büttner, was denken Sie wohl, warum Brandenburg die "Europäische Unternehmerregion 2011" geworden ist? Eben genau weil wir uns für eine strategische Stärkung und Entwicklung des Mittelstands, insbesondere der KMU, stark gemacht haben; insbesondere weil wir Unternehmensgeist und Existenzförderung in hervorragender Art und Weise in diesem Lande absichern und unterstützen. Wir sind damit gegen Baden-Württemberg, gegen Mailand, gegen Madrid angetreten und haben gewonnen - das muss man doch mal in dieser Deutlichkeit sagen dürfen -, **eben weil wir genau das, was Sie von uns erwarten, jetzt schon in hervorragender Art und Weise tun -um den Begriff aus dem Koalitionsvertrag noch einmal zu nennen**. Wir tun das alles. Trotzdem werden wir uns auf den Lorbeeren nicht ausruhen. Churchill hat einmal gesagt: Wer sich auf seinen Lorbeeren ausruht, der trägt sie an der falschen Stelle.

'Minister of Labor, Social Affairs, Women, and Family Baaske: Mr. President! Esteemed colleagues! Esteemed Mr. Bommert and Mr. Büttner, why do you think Brandenburg became "Entrepreneurial Region of Europe 2011"? *Eben* because we supported a strategic strengthening and development of medium-sized businesses, particularly the KMU; particularly because the manner in which we secure and support entrepreneurial spirit and setting up businesses is excellent. We have competed against Baden-Württemberg, Milan, and Madrid, and we won—we should be permitted to say that loud and clear—, ***eben* because we are already doing exactly that, which are expecting of us, and with excellence - to name the term from the coalition agreement again**. We do all that. Nonetheless, we will not rest on our laurels. Churchill once said: Whoever rests on their laurels, wears them in the wrong place.'

(PBB/W05.00036 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Brandenburg am 18.05.2011.)

In the example above, Minister Baaske begins with a rhetorical question, the likes of which we have discussed in Chapter 4. To reiterate, these questions are not uttered to obtain information, but rather to place the relevant piece of knowledge in the

audience's awareness again (cf. Yokoyama 1986:54; Parrott 1997:223). Minister Baaske does so by answering the question himself, and utters *eben* (and *genau*) marking the causal subjunctive *weil*. He reiterates the victory of receiving the award, enumerating European metropolises that were unsuccessful competitors, and then continues to utter "eben weil wir genau das [...] jetzt schon in hervorragender Art und Weise tun [...]" 'eben because we are already doing exactly that, which are expecting of us, and with excellence'. This second instance of *eben* marks the causal clause in the same way as the first: Minister Baaske establishes a causal relationship between the propositions 'Brandenburg has won an award' and 'Brandenburg's government is already doing everything that is expected with excellence.'<sup>124</sup> This causal relationship is marked as conform-to-expectation with the focus particle *eben*.

Which factors prompt the minister to utter *eben*? A look at the macro-level discursive context of his speech is helpful.<sup>125</sup> The discussion session on Brandenburg's support of medium-size businesses includes seven speakers, including SPD's Minister Baaske (SPD) as the sixth speaker, who utters the causal clause marked by *eben*. Prior to that, five representatives from various parties are given the opportunity to speak, starting with representative Bommert from CDU, the party that submitted the petition.

Representative Bommert begins by arguing that the petition should be right up the governing parties' alley, given that the governing parties committed to focusing on medium-sized businesses in their coalition agreement and during their campaigns (p.

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<sup>124</sup> The Minister is a member of one of the parties that is currently governing Brandenburg and constitutes the majority (SPD and *Die Linke*, 57 out of 88 seats; the remaining 21 seats are shared by CDS, FDP, and *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*). The governing coalition is opposed to the petition submitted by CDU and the Minister can be confident that it will not pass.

<sup>125</sup> Relevant portions of the plenary session can be found in Appendix 7.10.

2907). Representative Bommert also points out that regardless of their stances concerning the petition itself, all parties agree on the importance of medium-sized businesses: “Da sind wir von der CDU-Fraktion ganz bei Ihnen; denn Mittelstand und Handwerk sind für uns die Grundpfeiler der Brandenburger Wirtschaft.” “We from the CDU fraction are completely with you on that; medium-sized businesses and trade businesses are the cornerstones of Brandenburg’s economy’ (p. 2907). He goes on to argue that more work needs to be done regardless, addressing five demands for improvement, and concluding with an expressed willingness to discuss an action plan and its implementation. Representative Bommert is the first speaker to mention Brandenburg’s commitment to strengthening medium-sized businesses.

Following that, representative Büttner (FDP) is the first to mention the award that Brandenburg received, the title of “Europäische Unternehmerregion 2011” ‘European Entrepreneurial region 2011’, adding that this is a source of pride, and that the FDP fully agrees with the governing parties’ commitment to creating excellent conditions for starting businesses in the coalition contract: “Unserem Bundesland wurde die Auszeichnung ‘Europäische Unternehmerregion 2011’ verliehen. Darauf sind wir stolz, keine Frage. Bezüglich Ihrer Verpflichtung im Koalitionsvertrag, exzellente Rahmenbedingungen für Mittelständler zu schaffen, stimmt die FDP-Fraktion vollständig mit Ihnen überein” ‘Our state received an award as European Entrepreneurial Region 2011. We are proud of that, that goes without saying. Concerning your commitment, as stated in the coalition agreement, to create excellent conditions for medium-sized businesses, FDP completely agrees with you’ (p. 2909). In this instance, we see the shared commitment to strengthening medium-sized businesses mentioned again. Representative Büttner adds that demographic and



financial shifts, however, require additional attention and that FDP will vote in favor of the petition.

Representatives Kosanke (SPD) and Domres (*LINKE*) from the governing parties argue why they are opposed to the petition—they state that the petition describes processes and resources already in place (pp. 2908; 2909). Representative Domres even points all members present to the print matter that has discussed the award that Brandenburg received: “Ich verweise zum Nachlesen insbesondere auf den Bericht der Landesregierung in der Drucksache 5/2618: „Brandenburg - Europäische Unternehmerregion - Strategie für die Stärkung von Innovation und Kreativität im Mittelstand“, den wir im Landtag ausführlich diskutiert haben“ “I refer you all to the print matter 5/2618 “Brandenburg - European Entrepreneurial Region - Strategies for Strengthening Innovation and Creativity in Medium-sized Businesses“ which we discussed at length here in the *Landtag*’ (p. 2909). We notice that both the award and Brandenburg’s support of medium-sized businesses are mentioned yet again. The speaker even points to written material in which this support has been codified and whose title established an explicit relationship between the award and Brandenburg’s business economy. After a tangential contribution by Representative Vogel (*B90/Grüne*), who makes a case for strengthening gender equality, it is Minister Baaske’s turn to speak.

Minister Baaske can reasonably assume that the pieces of knowledge, introduced by Ministers Domres, Büttner, and Kosanke, are still remembered by the audience and can reasonably assume that his description of a victory against cities such as Milan are convincing to his audience for two reasons: Firstly, this awarding is a real-life fact. Secondly, the minister has not been presented with any evidence that his

fellow representatives have called into question that Brandenburg's excellent support was the reason for the award. Additionally, the conventional knowledge that the representatives can agree upon is that awards are ideally given on merit. That relationship is easy to infer, and the pieces of knowledge have been supplied by prior interlocutors themselves. In fact, at least three representatives agree that good support of medium-sized is already in place. In fact, this knowledge has to be presupposed given that representatives discuss whether the excellent support in place is sufficient or insufficient. All of these macro-level discourse factors prompt the speaker's utterance of *eben* as a marker of conformity-to-expectation.

The disagreement between the ministers does not center on whether Brandenburg was elected entrepreneurial region of 2011 because it supports medium-sized businesses or because of another factor. What is at issue for all the representatives is much rather whether the undoubtedly excellent support already in place is sufficient, and therefore the petition is redundant, or whether the efforts already in place are insufficient, and therefore the petition will bring about actual improvement. The breakdown of shared and agreed-upon pieces of knowledge and the onset of a divergence of perspectives, is illustrated in the table below:

Table 19 - Shared and Diverging Knowledge (Baaske, Others)

Minister Baaske	Ministers Büttner, Bommert, etc.
Medium-sized businesses are at the core of Brandenburg's economy.	
It is necessary to support medium-sized businesses.	
Brandenburg was voted <i>Europäische Unternehmerregion des Jahres 2011</i> .	
Brandenburg's government supports medium-sized businesses; this is determined in the coalition agreement.	
Brandenburg was voted European Entrepreneurial Region of the year 2011 <i>because</i> it supports medium-size businesses.	
The support in place is sufficient.	The support in place is insufficient.
No improvement is necessary.	Improvement is necessary.
The petition is a tool that brings about necessary improvement.	The petition is an unnecessary tool, because no improvement is needed to begin with.

We can see in the simplified statements outlined in Table 19 that the actual disagreement sets in beyond the question of whether the award was received because Brandenburg performed excellently in supporting medium-sized businesses. It centers on whether, in light of Brandenburg's extant model support of medium-sized businesses and in light of Brandenburg's having received an award, parties should vote in favor of or against the petition.

#### 5.3.4. Summary

The qualitative analyses of the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade + weil* have shown that each differ regarding what the speaker assumes or knows about the hearer's knowledge about a reason/justification and how the speaker accommodates that presumed (lack of) knowledge. Articulated within the theoretical framework of CS Linguistics, the usage patterns of *eben* and *gerade + weil* were related to the principles of inferential complexity, the economy of effort, and the notion of discourse continuity. Particularly the latter notion, as it is observed by Contini-Morava (1991) for

the TMA marker *kuwa* in Swahili, is related to phenomena of ‘textual continuity’ (*eben*) and discontinuity (*gerade*) that we observe in the data.

Givón states: “[W]hat is less predictable, hence surprising, is harder to process” (1983:12). Reasons/justifications are less predictable and thus harder to process if they were not previously mentioned than if they were previously introduced almost verbatim. If they were mentioned, they are more predictable if they are agreeable or have in fact already been agreed upon by the interlocutor than if they have been disagreed with and were mentally disqualified by the audience but are selected and uttered by the speaker, anyway. Similarly, if reasons/justifications are not easily inferable based on common knowledge, they are harder to process.

*Eben* occurs more frequently in environments with a high textual continuity than *gerade*. Textual continuity is expressed in two ways: In the exact repetitions or close paraphrases of words, phrases, or sentences in the utterances in question as well as in subject continuity within the complex causal sentences and to preceding sentences. These parts of propositions are already introduced to the audience’s consciousness before they are included in the causal clause yet again. Even when the subjects of the clauses and preceding sentences are not immediately continuous, the macro-level repetition still creates a discourse continuity between the complex causal sentences and the preceding sentences and therefore a greater predictability and ease of processing for the hearer given that the subjects have already been introduced, which is a complementary environment for a conform-to-expectation marking with *eben*.

Regarding agreement, it was observed that in the non-immediate preceding discourse of those complex sentences marked by *eben*, no evidence was found that

hearer prefers a reason other than the one the speaker has in mind. In the example on Brandenburg's support of medium-sized businesses, previous speakers have all contributed and agreed to the individual propositions 'Brandenburg was given an award' and 'Brandenburg focuses on supporting medium-sized businesses' that the speaker later connects as a complex causal sentence marked with *weil*. The predictability of the causal connection is further prompted by the common knowledge that awards are normally given on merit that the speaker can assume the hearers possess, thus the conform-to-expectation marking is prompted twofold. Additionally, in all of the examples including *eben + weil*, we observed that if there were any disagreements at all, these did not revolve around the complex causal sentences themselves. Rather, the content of the sentences typically constituted the 'backdrop' for a more pressing core issue. Since they constitute such a backdrop and are conform-to-expectation anyway, the speaker has to make less of an effort of supplying additional information that will support the understanding of that causal connection as it will be an undue effort to elaborate on a matter that is assumed to be known and agreed to (or at least not disagreed with).

If common knowledge encourages establishing the validity of the causal connection the speaker has in mind, then the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* suffices to point to the causal connection of two propositions. For example, the limitation of resources can be understood as valid reason for handling those resources carefully and individual educational needs are a valid reason for offering a tailored educational model.

The same parameters inform the use of *gerade* to mark *weil*-clauses. Either, the reasons/justifications are expressly called into question by the interlocutor or, without

such explicit dispreference, the speaker may still assume they are unlikely to be selected due their higher inferential complexity in the face of common knowledge and may offer a self-made ‘weighing’ of logical connectors against another. In the examples described, logical connectors like *trotz* ‘despite’ and *auch wenn* ‘even if’ were explicitly weighed against *weil*, which was consequently marked as a counter-to-expectation, objectively unusual reason. The same applies to the beaver population control example in which the pertinent pieces of information are juxtaposed by the interlocutor, who then continues to seek a justification that is actually valid—and diverges from the one the speaker has selected. By weighing the alternative logical connectors against *weil*, speakers acknowledge that alternatives for connecting the two propositions are ‘in the air’. These are instances in which speakers actively evaluate the content of their utterance rather than presenting content, thus making their own subjective perspective vis-à-vis that of their interlocutors salient. Such contributions, since they are highly subjective, are also difficult to predict and process and thus prompt a counter-to-expectation marking with *gerade*.

A lesser discourse continuity may also prompt the use of *gerade* due to a lower predictability of that which is about to be said. The numbers were already presented above and they show that *gerade* occurs in environments in which the subject continuity both to the preceding sentence and within the complex causal sentence is lower than those environments in which *eben* occurs. As a result of this difficult-to-process connection, the speaker makes a comparatively greater effort of supplying additional information that justifies the speaker’s selection of the counter-to-expectation causal relationship. We observe that the signaling with *gerade* typically correlates with a cooperative speaker’s adding more information that is presumed to

be missing from or disregarded by the interlocutor. The added information encourages an understanding of the validity of the unexpected causal connection the speaker has in mind. Thus, the speaker adds leverage and makes a greater effort to get the validity of his/her selection across.

Within the CS Linguistics framework, the counter-/ or conform-to-expectation marking of *gerade* and *eben* were related to the notions of inferential complexity, discourse (or textual) continuity, and a speaker's economy of effort in providing additional information only in instances in which the understanding of the validity of the causal connection would benefit from such information. Thus, the analysis helped take a step back and connect the use of the particles to general communicative strategies spread throughout macro-level discourse.

The observations made for *eben/gerade + weil* can be related to some of the diverging claims in the scholarship on *weil* presented in the beginning. For example, it was shown that the causal connection itself can be at issue which can be related to Volodina's (2014) assertion that the causal connection itself may be interpreted as new information if the content of each clause is already known. Our observation adds that in addition to the often-contested dichotomy of old vs. new information, the information may simply not be expected because its validity was actively questioned by an interlocutor. We observed this in the exchange between Representative Blechinger and Minister Tack. In addition, based on our observations we can counter the statement by Zifonun et al. (1997) that *weil*-clauses cannot anaphorically pick up an antecedent, given that particularly the *weil*-clauses marked by *eben* often closely paraphrased or literally repeated information that had just been uttered. This is not to say that *eben* or *gerade* cause any of these characteristics, but they do show affinities

with them. All in all, *weil* is a versatile causal marker and in interaction with *gerade* and *eben*, different nuances of reasons/justifications expressed with *weil* can be highlighted—thanks to *eben* marking it as conform-to-expectation and *gerade* marking it as counter-to-expectation.

Taking the text type of this study into consideration, we note that the context of political debate will sometimes prompt the speaker to mark reasons as agreed upon and apparent (*eben*) and sometimes mark them as unusual, unknown, or contested to the audiences (*gerade*). Since the parliamentary makeup is typically very variegated in the German *Bundesländer* and a large number of parties are represented, chances are that the political representatives, honoring their parties' or constituents' views, often have differing opinions from another. As a result, they may be more prone to call a speaker's justification into question, or—as speakers—defend their justifications against attacks from the opposition. This at least is suggested by the higher frequency of *gerade* + [causal marker] presented in Table 17 above. The conform-to-expectation marker *eben* is no less useful, however: Common-sense reasons that are easy to agree upon by different parties and representatives may be harnessed to establish a common ground by reiterating presupposed pieces of knowledge before moving to a matter that is actually disputed, and a marking with *eben* complements such strategies. The following section will examine the difference in frequency of *eben* and *gerade* occurring with temporal and spatial expressions.

#### **5.4. Particle Co-occurrence with Temporal and Spatial Expressions**

Another observation about the distributional patterns of *eben* and *gerade* with other elements in natural language is that they—or at least *gerade*—frequently mark temporal and spatial expressions. Below, we will briefly discuss how notions of time



and space are expressed in language in general, then provide an overview of the forms and functions of temporal and spatial expressions in German, discuss the corpus data findings, and continue with more in-depth qualitative analyses of the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with these expressions.

#### **5.4.1. Forms and Functions of Temporal and Spatial Expressions in German**

Klein states that “[t]ime and space are the basic categories of our experience and our cognition, and without efficient communication about them, no well-coordinated collective action, hence no human society, would be possible” (Klein 1994:1). Vater, referring to Kant, remarks that time and space are not based on observations of external facts but rather based on imagination (2005:113). As such, we find a parallel to Volodina’s (2011) description of logical relationships like cause/effect: They do not represent ontological realities, but rather human interpretations of relationships. Human speakers encode such interpretations of temporal and spatial relationships in language and each dimension has many facets. Regarding time, there is an understanding points in time related to another, generation notions of past, present, and future. There is also an understanding of situatedness-within-time, of duration (aspect, *Aktionsart*), iteration, and temporal sequences, to name only a few. Regarding space, we have an understanding of location, as well as direction—including concepts like origin and destination.

Wunderlich (1982:1) finds that space is more important for organizing speech than time. If importance is reflected by the frequency of utterances, then Wunderlich’s assessment can be confirmed by comparing the frequencies of temporal vs. spatial expressions in Table 20 below.

Despite the human notions of time and space and the facility to express them, often they do not even have to be uttered because they are part of human cognition. When a speaker and a hearer interact, the time at which they do so, as well as the space within which they do so, are taken for granted integral parts of the interaction. This notion is incorporated in Yokoyama's (1986) TDM: the referential knowledge of the (ideally) prelinguistic establishment of DEIXIS includes at minimum {I, you, here, now} (1986:31-33). This means that ideally before engaging in an exchange, but sometimes only exactly at the onset of an utterance, interlocutors are not only aware of each other {I, you} but also share knowledge of the discourse situation {here, now} in which the exchange is about to ensue or has just begun.

Bühler's *hic-nunc-ego-origo*, is a similar notion; the *origo* serves as the deictic center, or 'zero coordinates', for orienting a hearer in time and space (1999:102-104).

Von Stutterheim explains the different types of references:

“Raumreferenzen können deiktisch oder intrinsisch verankert sein. Deiktische Verankerung liegt vor, wenn der Sprecher mit seiner Ausrichtung den Ankerpunkt für die Raumrelationen zwischen Referenzobjekt und zu lokalisierendem Objekt liefert [...]. Im Falle intrinsischer Raumreferenzen liefert das jeweilige Bezugsobjekt die ‚origo‘ im Bühlerschen Sinne”

‘Spatial references can be deictically or intrinsically anchored. Deictic anchoring occurs when the speaker constitutes the anchoring point for the spatial relations between the reference object and the object that is to be localized. [...]. In the case of intrinsic spatial references, the respective object referred to constitutes the ‘origo’ according to Bühler’ (1997:150-151).

This means that a speaker does not necessarily have to constitute the zero coordinates but can attribute another entity with that characteristic.

A notion of temporality is often coded in the structural properties of most languages, for example, verbal inflections that are marked for tense and aspect (Klein

1994:1). In this study, we will not be concerned with the structural encoding, which is mandatory in German grammar, but rather with the explicit references included in the German lexicon that are voluntarily expressed and therefore relate to the speaker's intent.

Lexical temporal and spatial expressions in German include adverbs (*später* 'later', *gestern* 'yesterday', *oben* 'upstairs/above', etc.), prepositional phrases (*vor diesem Hintergrund* 'against this background', *neben dem Aktenschrank* 'beside the file cabinet', etc.), deictic expressions (*hier* 'here', *jetzt* 'now', *da* 'there', *dort* 'over there', *darüber* 'above there', etc.) and other lexically expressed temporal concepts (see v. Stutterheim 1997:158). They also include any references to cities, countries, continents, etc.

For the purposes of our investigation, spatial expressions are very loosely defined as those phrases and elements in the sentence that can answer the question *wo?* 'where?' which is a primarily grammatical definition. As a result, some of the identified 'spaces' are may seem less prototypical. For example, phrases such as *bei diesem Thema* 'concerning this topic', *vor diesem Hintergrund* 'against this background', or as "in diesem Bereich/Fall/Punkt" 'in this area/case/point' can very well be counterparts to the question *wo?* 'where?', but topics, backgrounds, and areas are abstract discursive or cognitive 'spaces'. We do find physical references to space, as well, for example, cities, regions, German states, and countries, etc.<sup>126</sup>

In a similar vein, 'time' is defined as those phrases and elements in the sentence that are counterparts to the question *wann?* 'when?' In such instances, we find mostly

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<sup>126</sup> See Appendices 7.11, 7.13, and 7.14 for co-occurrence lists.

prototypical examples for periods of time such as references to days, weeks, seasons, and years. Some examples such as times of crisis, and legislative periods are indirectly associated with time through common knowledge that a legislative period lasts a certain number of years, etc.

Some of the expressions categorized as spatial expressions in this study can also be categorized as temporal expressions, for example, *beim Transport von Futter- und Lebensmitteln* ‘during/concerning the transport of feed and food’ which can involve both movement through space and simultaneously an advancement in time. Equally, *im Mathematikunterricht* ‘in math class’ involves both a temporal and a spatial dimension of being in class. These cases of overlap are rare. We now move on to a presentation of the corpus data findings, followed by qualitative analyses of the co-occurrences with each particle.

#### 5.4.2. Corpus Data Findings

The frequencies vary strongly between the particles. A breakdown by particle and R1 constituent type can be found in Table 20 below.

Table 20 - Temporal and Spatial Expressions as Constituents of *eben/gerade*

Constituent Type	<i>eben</i>	Percentage	<i>gerade</i>	Percentage
time R1	6	1.2%	148	7.21%
space R1	20	3.33%	504	24.55%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>500</b>	<b>100.00%</b>	<b>2,053</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

The table above illustrates the striking difference in the frequencies of co-occurrences with *eben* and those with *gerade*. While 4.53% of the co-occurrences of *eben* as a focus particle are expressions of space/time, the percentage amounts to almost a third (31.76%) of the co-occurrences of *gerade*. Additionally, we note that spatial references

are much more common than temporal references either particle, so an explicit reference of space is uttered more frequently. The ratios of temporal to spatial reference by particle are very similar with 23.07% and 22.70% each. What do these expressions look like up close?

### **5.4.3. Qualitative Analyses**

The spatial references in our corpus data, and accordingly the frequently occurring expressions above, can be divided into eleven rubrics that are frequently discussed in the plenary sessions. They are broadly subsumed under the categories: demographics, economy, education, geography, infrastructure, jurisdiction, medicine, references to physical entities (typically individuals or parties in the plenary room), politics (regional, domestic, international), and social topics. Two miscellaneous categories are abstract/discursive expressions and expressions that do not explicitly fit any other categories ('N/A').

Table 21- Rubrics and Percentages of *gerade* + Spatial Expressions

<b>Rubric</b>	<b>Sum of occurrences</b>	<b>% of occurrences</b>
ABSTRACT	54	10.71%
DEMOGR	24	4.76%
ECON	83	16.47%
EDU	38	7.54%
GEO	90	17.86%
INFRA	9	1.79%
JUR	10	1.98%
MED	8	1.59%
N/A	39	7.74%
PHYSICAL	13	2.58%
POLIT	105	20.83%
SOC	31	6.15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>504</b>	<b>100.00%</b>

In Table 21 above, we see the distribution of all *gerade* + spatial expressions across these discussed topics. We note that most typically, the ‘spatial’ expressions refer to the fields of economics, geography, politics, and abstract expressions. These rubrics marked by *gerade* are indicative of topics expected to be addressed in plenary sessions. Additionally, among the 504 spatial expressions, some reoccur quite frequently. The eight most frequent spatial expressions are listed below.

Table 22 - Eight Most Frequent Spatial Expression Co-occurring with *gerade*

<b>R1</b>	<b>#</b>	<b>%</b>
<i>-bereich-</i> 'area/field'	87	17.37
<i>Hintergrund</i> 'background'	34	6.75
<i>-frage-</i> 'question'	15	2.98
<i>-fall-</i> 'case'	9	1.79
<i>Sicht/Perspektive</i> 'view/perspective'	6	1.19
<i>Hinblick</i> 'view'	4	0.79
<i>in /im Bezug</i> 'relating to'	4	0.79
<i>Kontext</i> 'context'	2	0.40
<b>SUM</b>	<b>170</b>	<b>33.73</b>

We see that the eight most frequent spatial expressions constitute a third of all the expressions.<sup>127</sup> *Gerade* frequently marks expressions and compounds including *-bereich-* 'area/field' in German. The idiom *vor dem Hintergrund* 'against the background' also occurs frequently.

Having looked at the numbers of spatial and temporal expressions and the more general topics that the spatial expressions refer to, we will now drill deeper and examine the context of these co-occurrences more closely. For an illustrative discussion of *gerade* + space, we will select the most frequently occurring *gerade* + *-bereich-* 'area/field' co-occurrence.

In the following example, the agenda item in the plenary session in Berlin's parliament concerns two educational aspects in the city state: improving the conditions for students at Berlin's universities, particularly the student-educator ratio, and expanding the offers of private universities in Berlin to address increasing

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<sup>127</sup> See Appendix 7.13 for a list of the 30 most frequent co-occurrences.

numbers of students.<sup>128</sup> The speaker, Nicolas Zimmer (CDU), counters several points made by his colleague Lars Oberg (SPD).<sup>129</sup> Oberg argues that private universities are not educational institutions but rather private corporations with the goal of making profit. Therefore, private universities should not receive the same kind of funding that public institutions do. He also adds that private institutions discriminate based on finance, that is, a student's ability to afford the studies. The connecting knowledge is that these private universities are elite institutions at which only the appropriately sized wallet grants access, a commercial rather than egalitarian principle.

Representative Zimmer counters with the following remarks:

Und es sind nicht, Herr Oberg, alles nur auf Gewinnstreben orientierte Unternehmen, die versuchen, ein bisschen Geld von Studierenden abzuzocken. Das ist die typische Ideologie, mit der Sie in Berlin - gehen wir mal auf eine andere Stufe des Bildungssystems - auch den Kampf gegen die Schulen in freier Trägerschaft führen. [Beifall bei der CDU und der FDP] Das ist nun mal nicht ein und dasselbe, sondern wir brauchen ein überwiegendes und gut ausgestattetes Angebot von öffentlichen Hochschulen. Aber wir brauchen genauso gut Hochschulen in privater oder in freier Trägerschaft. Das sind keine Eliteuniversitäten, wo man nur mit hohen Studienbeiträgen studieren kann. **Das sind teilweise Nischenangebote, wo Studierende eine Chance bekommen und gerade in einem Bereich, wo sie möglicherweise aufgrund ihrer vorherigen Qualifikation Schwierigkeiten haben, den Zugang im Wettbewerb mit anderen Studierenden an den öffentlichen Hochschulen zu finden, die Möglichkeit haben, auch eine Ausbildung abzuschließen, eine Hochschulbildung zu erfahren.** Was ist denn dagegen einzuwenden? - Man wird den Antrag der Kollegen der FDP zu prüfen haben.

'And they are not, Mr. Oberg, all corporations concerned with turning a profit, who attempt to con a little bit of money out of their students.

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<sup>128</sup> Agenda item title: *Beschlussempfehlung Studienbedingungen an den Berliner Hochschulen verbessern - Drittmittel zur Verbesserung der Betreuungsrelation! Beschlussempfehlung [...] Antrag Studienplätze für Berlin - Ausbau der privaten Hochschullandschaft vorantreiben* 'Recommended Resolution for Improving Conditions of Study at Berlin's Higher Education Institutions - External Funds for Improving the Student-Instructor Ratio! Recommended Resolution [...] Petition for Admissions in Berlin - Expanding the Landscape of Private Universities'

<sup>129</sup> The relevant excerpt can be found in Appendix 7.12.



That is the typical ideology, with which you wage - let us move to a different level of education - a war against non-state-funded schools. [applause from CDU and FDP]. This is simply not one and the same, but rather, we need a large offer of well-equipped public universities. But we just as well need private and non-state-funded schools. Those are not elite universities only wealthy students can attend. They have niche offers, **where students have a chance, and *gerade* in a field, where they perhaps due to their prior qualifications would have run into difficulties of getting access in regular competition with other students at public universities;** they now can obtain a degree and experience postsecondary education. What is so bad about that? - One will have to peruse the FDP's petition.'

(PBE/W16.00075 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments  
Abgeordnetenhaus Berlin am 13.01.2011. 75. Sitzung der 16.  
Wahlperiode 2006-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Berlin, 2011 [S. 7166])

In response to Oberg's statements, Zimmer argues that, counter to Oberg's implications that access to private universities is very narrow and favors those who are affluent, private universities offer alternative ways for students to access the education they may not be able to obtain at public universities due to stiff competition. His line of reasoning can be summed up as follows: 'It is assumed that private universities are elite institutions that only grant a select few students access. By that logic, if a student has trouble obtaining a particular degree at a public—and by implication more egalitarian and more broadly accessible institution—in a particular field, then that student would run into even more trouble at a less accessible 'elite' private university. However, counter to Oberg's expectation, some degrees may in fact be more accessible to students who had difficulties following the conventional, public university path. The result is that exactly in that (academic) area, in which the student may have run into trouble at a public university, may be more accessible at a private institution.

Another example including *gerade* + *-bereich*- concerns the extensively discussed and media-covered scandal involving dioxin traces found in eggs,<sup>130</sup> which came to the attention of the public in December 2010. In its wake, a talk is given in the session at hand by the Minister for Climate Protection, the Environment, Agriculture, Environmental Protection and Consumer Protection, Johannes Remmel, who presents an action plan including several points. In point 8 he suggests expanding organic farming as a consequence of this scandal, implicating that organic farming is a way of avoiding exposure to dioxin. The connecting knowledge is that organic farming adheres to higher ethical standards and best practices, including for example humane conditions for keeping animals and using only high-quality natural feed that has not been tampered with. This in turn implicates that consumers are better protected from toxins such as dioxin when they buy organic products. Given the minister's responsibility for consumer protection, one can assume that he has the consumers' best interest at heart in suggesting organic farming. As a reaction to this proposal, the speaker, Christina Schulze Föcking (CDU), states the following:

Die Punkte 1 bis 6 des Punkteplans sind gut. Mir persönlich ist egal, ob der Bund oder das Land die Initiative ergriffen hat. Aber Ihr Punkt 8, der Ausbau des Ökolandbaus, ist gerade im Fall von Dioxin keine Lösung. **Gerade im Biobereich ist die Belastung mit Dioxin aufgrund der Haltungsbedingungen und der Hintergrund-belastungen höher.** Sie, Herr Remmel, wissen dies ganz genau.

'1 to 6 of the plan are good. I personally do not care whether the federal government or state governments took the initiative. But your point 8, expanding organic agriculture, is no solution *gerade* in the case of dioxin. **The contamination *gerade* in the organic agriculture segment is higher due to how the animals are kept and due to associated contaminations.** You, Mr. Remmel, know this very well.'

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<sup>130</sup> Agenda item title: *Dioxin in Futter- und Lebensmitteln - Aktueller Sachstand und Konsequenzen* 'Dioxin in Feed and Food - Status Quo and Consequences'

Representative Schulze Föcking (CDU) responds by marking two counter-to-expectation constituents with *gerade*.<sup>131</sup> In the first utterance, she reacts to the minister's proposal of expanding organic agriculture in the attempt to tackle the dioxin contamination by signaling that *im Fall von Dioxin* 'in the case of dioxin' is a counter-to-expectation candidate for completing the statement 'expanding organic farming is no solution ...'. She thus expresses two aspects: that expanding organic agriculture is no solution and that there may be many problematic areas for which this statement may be considered particularly valid (e.g., countering hunger, lowering prices, etc.) but that the minister, due to his proposing this expansion, not only considered that expanding organic agriculture is no solution but even more so that it is no solution in the case of tackling dioxin contamination.

In the second utterance including *gerade*, Schulze Föcking argues that it is particular in the organic farming segment (*Biobereich*) that dioxin levels are high. Not only does this information run counter to consumer's general expectations, but also it is a fact that, according to Schulze Föcking, the minister knows about (*Sie, Herr Remmel, wissen dies ganz genau*. 'You, Mr. Remmel, know this very well.') yet has chosen to disregard it and in order to be able to propose an expansion of organic farming. Prompted by this active disregard of knowledge she claims the minister possesses, Representative Schulze Föcking utters *gerade* to mark *Biobereich* as the counter-to-expectation segment in which dioxin levels are particularly high.

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<sup>131</sup> The query was executed for occurrences of *gerade* and *-bereich*, but incidentally, a prior sentence also contained the focus particle *gerade*, which is incorporated into the discussion of this paragraph.

The quite aggressive implicatures that the audience can derive from the two sentences containing *gerade* are twofold: Firstly, organic farming is generally not a viable solution and that applies particularly to handling the problem of dioxin levels, and secondly, that the minister does not have the consumers' best interest at heart because not only does the minister promote a form of agriculture that is useless for tackling the problem of dioxin levels, it is even more dangerous than other forms due to higher dioxin levels associated with it. We now move on to the co-occurrences of *gerade* + temporal expressions.

Among *gerade* + temporal expressions, a few expressions occur more frequently than others. The table below lists the five most frequent expressions among the 148 co-occurrences.

Table 23 - Five most Frequent Temporal Expressions Co-occurring with *gerade*

R1	#	%
<i>heute</i> 'today'	16	10.81
<i>jetzt (wieder)</i> 'now (again) / ( <i>in der Diskussion</i> ) '(in the discussion)'	12	8.11
<i>dann</i> 'then'	9	6.08
<i>in diesen Tagen</i> 'these days'	5	3.38
<i>in den letzten Jahren</i> 'in the past few years'	3	2.03
<b>SUM</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>30.41</b>

Together, they constitute almost a third of the co-occurrences with *gerade*. Except for *dann* 'then', the words and phrases express proximity. Additionally, when perusing the co-occurrences including involving *-zeit-* 'time', speakers typically make references to specific times or periods of time that have certain characteristics, for example, *in den Zeiten der Krise* 'in times of crisis' or *in Zeiten knapper Kassen* 'in times of a tight budget'. It is noticeable that all expressions involving *-zeit-* 'time' that are specified by

further attributes (excluding determiners or the expressions of proximity such as *jüngster* ‘most recent’) are negatively connoted and express a kind of lack, shortage, or other difficulty.

What are the larger contexts of some of the utterances? In a plenary session in Saxony’s capital Dresden, an agenda item in the rubric *Aktuelle Debate* ‘current debate’ on February 9, 2011 concerns the planned events commemorating the Dresden bombings on February 13, 1945. In particular, representatives are concerned with finding ways to prevent a hijacking<sup>132</sup> of this commemoration by Neo-Nazi groups for their own history-distorting purposes. The agenda item discusses a petition submitted by *Die Linke*. Representative Annekatriin Klepsch (*LINKE*) is the last of nine speakers before concluding remarks are given by the Minister of the Interior, Markus Ulbig. The previous speakers go back and forth about the respective legality and violence of Neo-Nazi commemoration marches, counter-protests from leftist activists, and arrests by the police. Once granted the floor, Representative Klepsch remarks:

Frau Präsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren! Ich möchte mit einem Zitat des Philosophen Claude Adrien Helvétius beginnen. **Das ist schon ein paar Hundert Jahre alt, aber ich glaube, gerade heute hat es nichts von seiner Aktualität verloren.** Ich darf zitieren: "Wer die Intoleranten duldet, macht sich an ihren Verbrechen mitschuldig." Ich will in der jetzigen Debatte nicht die rechtlichen Aspekte bewerten. Das wird mein Kollege Klaus Bartl tun. Ich möchte als Mensch aus der Stadt Dresden, als Kind dieser Stadt zu diesem Thema sprechen.

‘Madam President! Ladies and gentlemen! I would like to begin by quoting the philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius. **It is already a couple of centuries old, but I believe that *gerade* today it has lost not a bit of its timeliness.** I quote: “Whoever tolerates the intolerant, is complicit in their crimes.” I do not want to evaluate the legal aspects in

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<sup>132</sup> Agenda item title: *Dem Missbrauch des Gedenkens an den 13. Februar durch Neonazis auch 2011 in Dresden engagiert und friedlich entgegnetreten!* ‘Countering Neo-Nazi Abuse of the February 13 Commemoration with Peaceful Determination’

this debate, my colleague Klaus Bartl will do that. I want to speak on this topic as a human, as a child of the city of Dresden.'

(PSN/W05.00030 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Sächsischer Landtag am 09.02.2011. 30. Sitzung der 5. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Dresden, 2011 [S. 2870])

Representative Klepsch first primes her hearers to the fact that the quote by Helvétius is already a couple of centuries old. Based on this first statement, the audience may become curious as to the connection—since indeed there must be one—of an old quote in the context of the debate on February 9. The speaker and audience members know the agenda item concerns measures to be taken against Neo-Nazis hijacking the upcoming commemoration events. That means that audience members at least have the knowledge of the agenda item theme to rely upon, as well as the tacit expectation that Klepsch's remark is somehow connected to the topic of the agenda item. Since Representative Klepsch is at the beginning of her speech, no prior evidence prompting the audience's selection of *heute* or rather another constituent is available. In fact, no prior mention of this quote has been made by any of the other speakers. Thus, Representative Klepsch is prompted to use *gerade*. In analogy to example (6)(c) in Chapter 4, this signals the playful assumption that the audience would rather select another time for the quote to not lose its topicalness—for example, the time it was freshly quoted by Helvétius several centuries ago. This allows Klepsch to supply information, namely the content of the quote, that is indeed completely fitting to the agenda topic but that the audience did not know about when Klepsch marked *heute* as counter-to-expectation point in time for the quote's topicalness.

Another co-occurrence of *gerade* + *heute* is uttered in a plenary session in Bremen. The agenda item discussed by the representatives concerns granting refuge to UNHCR refugees in Bremen. A petition was submitted in September 2010 by SPD and

*Bündnis 90/Die Grünen.* The first speaker, representative Hiller (SPD) explains why the petition, which was submitted months earlier, is discussed on January 27, 2011 of all days.

Herr Präsident, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Ich freue mich, dass wir heute den Antrag, UNHCR-Flüchtlinge in Bremen aufnehmen, ich habe das etwas ergänzt, "Save me", Bremen sagt ja! , behandeln. (Vizepräsident Ravens übernimmt den Vorsitz.) Der Antrag ist schon etwas älter, aus dem Sommer 2010, aber nach wie vor aktuell. **Bevor ich näher auf den Antrag eingehe, möchte ich noch einmal kurz die drei Gründe benennen, warum wir diesen Antrag gerade heute behandeln.** Damals im Sommer war der eine Anlass für den Antrag die Situation der iranischen Flüchtlinge in der Türkei. Es sind ungefähr 5 000 Flüchtlinge, die zurzeit wohl auch noch in der Türkei leben, die sich 2009 im Iran für Demokratie und Menschenrechte eingesetzt haben, teilweise verfolgt, gefoltert, inhaftiert worden sind und danach in die Türkei geflohen sind und dort unter sehr schweren Bedingungen leben.

'Mr. President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen! I am glad that we are addressing the petition for granting refuge to UNHCR refugees today, I have expanded it a little, "Save me", Bremen Says Yes! (Vice president Ravens begins chairing the session). The petition is a little older, from summer 2010, but it is still topical. **Before I talk about the petition in more detail, I would like to briefly present three reasons why we are talking about this petition *gerade* today.** In the summer of 2010, one of the motivations for the petition was the situation of Iranian refugees in Turkey. There are more than 5,000 refugees, who are currently probably still living in Turkey, who got active in 2009 for human rights and democracy and were persecuted, tortured, or imprisoned and then fled to Turkey where they are living under harsh conditions.'

(PHB/W17.00080 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Bremische Bürgerschaft am 27.01.2011. 80. Sitzung der 17. Wahlperiode 2007-2011. Plenarprotokoll, Bremen, 2011)

Representative Hiller from the petitioning party SPD is the first speaker to address the topic of granting refuge and to describe the petition. No prior deliberations as to the timing of the debate on the petition has been uttered. Hiller explains that the petition was already submitted several months back and intends to justify why it is being talked about on the day of the plenary session specifically. She thus primes the

audience in a similar way to Representative Klepsch in Saxony who had also made remarks about the age of the quote she was about to present only to relativize that remark by explaining how the quote was topical on that particular day. In a similar manner, Hiller primes her hearers by first mentioning the petition's age and then arguing that it is nonetheless topical. She marks *heute* 'today' as a counter-to-expectation time for the discussion. Given the age of the petition, hearers may consider earlier times more appropriate for its discussion; a potential piece of connecting knowledge is that an effective handling of refugee needs requires a timely rather than a delayed discussion of the petition. Thus, Representative Hiller has no explicit evidence or other reason leading her to assume that the audience would consider *heute* the best time for discussing it. The counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* reflects this assumption and also allows for a justification of the particular day. Hiller goes on to provide three reasons for the appropriateness of *heute* as a discussion time: the pressing situation of Iranian refugees who have temporarily sought shelter in Turkey and the related very recent demand on the part of the UN and other nations to provide more adequate places of refuge; the dispersement of campaign documents among local church initiatives and Amnesty International segments on that same day; and a statement from the Bürgerschaftspräsident that same morning about Germany's historical responsibility to help. Having made a considerable effort of supplying these additional pieces of information, she concludes that all three instances merit a discussion of the petition in the plenary session of January 27.

Based on the observations above, the instances of *gerade* + temporal expressions occur when no prior mention has been made of the particular temporal



expressions and, beyond that, they occur at the beginning of the respective speakers' contributions. Since the speakers have no preceding context to which their statements or any parts can anaphorically refer, the discourse conditions are ambiguous and, at least, to not block the utterance of *gerade*. Additionally, in both instances the speakers are engaging in metinformational remarks about the content they will disclose next and making an argument as to why they are addressing that content at the specific time. This perspective is very subjective. Based on that subjectivity, *gerade* as a counter-to-expectation marker is a more appropriate fit, as it then paves the way for supplying additional information.

Having examined illustrative examples of *gerade* + spatial/temporal expressions, we now move on to an assessment of *eben* + temporal/spatial expressions. As was observed in the qualitative analysis of *eben* + *weil*, many of the *eben* + time/space co-occurrences (Appendix 7.11) show similar repetitions of words, phrases, or close paraphrases, as well as anaphoric references.

Excerpt 6) of the list illustrates the relative inferential ease with which a spatial reference can be understood. Returning to the context of the dioxin scandal from late 2010, on February 2, 2011, the parliament of Hesse discusses courses of action for dealing with the scandal.<sup>133</sup> Two previous speakers have discussed aspects related to the fact that dioxin accumulates in the fat tissue of organisms. Representative May (*B90/Grüne*) points out that the separation of fat and other substances is a good step in the right direction but may not be sufficient. Representative Zech (FDP) explains that

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<sup>133</sup> Agenda item title: *Antrag der Fraktion BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN betreffend Konsequenzen aus dem Dioxinskandal - zehn Maßnahmen für mehr Sicherheit bei Lebens- und Futtermitteln* 'Petition by BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN Fraction Concerning Consequences from the Dioxin Scandal - Ten Measures Ensuring More Safety of Food and Feed'

contaminated fatty acids intended for the production of bio-diesel were mixed into feed. He also explains the regulations stipulating which dioxin concentrations in the fat tissue of a human consumer are still considered safe. We observe that both speakers acknowledge that dioxin accumulates in fat and fat tissue. Following the contributions, the speaker Marjana Schott (*LINKE*) is addressing levels of dioxin in food and the associated accumulations in the human body upon consumption once again.

Dioxin sammelt sich in unserem Fettgewebe an, und jede auch noch so kleine Menge **erhöht die Konzentration eben dort**.

‘Dioxin accumulates in our fat tissue, and even the smallest amount **increases the concentration *eben there***.’

(PHE/W18.00065 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Hessischer Landtag am 02.02.2011. 65. Sitzung der 18. Wahlperiode 2009-. Plenarprotokoll, Wiesbaden, 2011)

The marked constituent *dort* ‘there’ makes an anaphoric reference to the explicit phrase *in unserem Fettgewebe* ‘in our fat tissue.’ There is no reason to assume that, given the speaker’s description of where dioxin accumulates in the human body (fat deposits) that hearers would suddenly prefer a different location that completes the sentence ‘even the slightest amount increases the concentration x’. There also is no reason for the speaker to assume that understanding the role of the constituent for the rest of the sentence is somehow inferentially complex, again given that the speaker has just explained where in the human body dioxin accumulates. What is more, fellow representatives have made the connection between dioxin and fat clear, as well. Thus, there is an agreement about the location of the toxin upon consumption. Given both the agreement about, and knowledge of, the facts as well as the repeated mention of fat and the according anaphoric reference in the utterance at hand, the use of the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* is prompted in this communicative context. The

same applies to excerpt 13) in which *dort* anaphorically refers to *in einer öffentlichen Sitzung unseres Atomausschusses* ‘in a public meeting of our nuclear power committee’. The phrase is mentioned by the speaker one sentence earlier and there is no reason for the speaker to assume that the audience would have a different location for the meeting in mind.

In excerpt 18), an agenda item in the plenary session in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) on May 18, 2011 focuses on a bill ensuring the independence of NRW’s Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information<sup>134</sup> submitted by SPD, FDP, and *Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen*. The first speaker, Thomas Stotko (SPD), addresses a new ruling by the European Union mandating that commissioners for data protection have to be granted complete independence of any state supervision. Following representative Stotko’s contribution, Representative Matthei Bolte (B90/*Grüne*) again mentions the ruling by the European Court of Justice and in the following sentence refers to it yet again:

Wir setzen mit dem heutigen Gesetzentwurf ein Urteil des Europäischen Gerichtshofs zur Unabhängigkeit des Landesbeauftragten für Datenschutz und Informationsfreiheit um. Herr Kollege Stotko hat gerade schon angesprochen, **dass wir eben aus diesem Urteil heraus arbeiten.**

‘With today’s bill we are applying a verdict by the European Court of Justice on the independence of state officers for data protection and freedom of information. Our colleague Mr. Stotko already mentioned earlier **that we are working *eben* based on this verdict.**’

(PNW/W15.00034 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag Nordrhein-Westfalen am 18.05.2011. 34. Sitzung der 15. Wahlperiode 2010-2012. Plenarprotokoll, Düsseldorf, 2011)

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<sup>134</sup> Agenda item title: *Gesetz über die Unabhängigkeit des Landesbeauftragten für Datenschutz und Informationsfreiheit* ‘Law Granting the Independence of North Rhine-Westphalia’s Commissioner for Data Protection and Freedom of Information’

Parallel to the previous examples of ‘*eben* + spatial expression’, the speaker has no evidence or other reason to assume that the audience members will disprefer the ruling just mentioned as the foundation on which the new bill rests. After all, beside the agenda item title specifically pointing out the ruling as well as the previous mention by fellow representative Stotko, the EU ruling extralinguistically establishes a legal framework that has to be followed by the member states. Given the extralinguistic facts and the multiple previous mentions, representative Bolte is prompted to signal that the metaphorical space reference is conform-to-expectation by uttering *eben*.

Having covered examples of ‘*eben* + spatial expression’, we now move on to examining occurrences of *eben* with temporal expressions. Among the time references, excerpt 6) of the *eben* + time co-occurrences (Appendix 7.11) includes an exact repetition of the date on which a legal framework is to become effective in Germany. Similar to the example above, the context involves guidelines established by the EU: In agenda item 15 on May 13, 2011, representatives of Saxony-Anhalt discuss a petition for the non-use of CCS (= CO<sub>2</sub> Capture and Storage) technology submitted by *Die Linke*. The first speaker, Representative von Lüderitz (*LINKE*), mentions the EU guidelines and the associated deadline in his contribution: “Erstens. Warum gibt es bereits heute diesen Antrag im Landtag zum gestern in den Bundestag eingebrachten Gesetzentwurf? [...] Zur ersten Frage. Ich verweise noch einmal auf die EU-Richtlinie 2009/31/EG, die den 25. Juni 2011 als Stichtag vorgibt, um die Richtlinie in nationales Recht umzusetzen” ‘Firstly. Why do we have the petition already today, following a bill introduced in the Bundestag only yesterday? [...] Regarding the first question: I would like to refer again to EU guideline 2009/31/EG which mandates June 25, 2011 as the

deadline for applying the guideline in a national legal framework' (p. 184). Following Representative von Lüderitz's contribution, the Minister of Science and Economy, Prof. Dr. Wolff, reiterates the guideline and the date:

Von europäischer Ebene ist hinsichtlich der CCS-Technologie der Rechtsrahmen vorgegeben, der bis zum 25. Juni 2011 in deutsches Recht umzusetzen ist. Das Europäische Parlament hat [die Richtlinien] vorgegeben, der bis zu jenem Termin, **eben dem 25. Juni 2011**, in deutsches Recht zu transformieren ist. Die Bundesregierung hat daher am 15. April 2011 einen Entwurf für ein Gesetz zur Demonstration und Anwendung von Technologien zur Abscheidung, zum Transport und zur dauerhaften Speicherung von Kohlendioxid in das Bundesratsverfahren gegeben.

'The EU has specified the legal framework concerning CCS technology, which is to become effective in German law by June 25, 2011. The European Parliament has determined the [guidelines] that are to become effective by that date, **eben June 25, 2011**, in German law. For that reason, the government has drafted a bill 'For the Demonstration and Use of Technology for the Separation, Transport, and Long-term Storage of Carbon Dioxide' and moved it to the deliberation process in the *Bundesrat* on April 25, 2011.'

(PST/W06.00003 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt am 13.05.2011. 3. Sitzung der 6. Wahlperiode 2011-. Plenarprotokoll, Magdeburg, 2011)

Since both Representative von Lüderitz and Minister Wolff (CDU) have repeatedly mentioned the date prior to the utterance in question, the minister can be certain that it is still a piece of knowledge that is present in the audience members' minds. Further, there is no reason for the speaker to assume that the audience will consider some other date for the legal framework to become effective, as it is EU-mandated and thus an extralinguistic fact. In the discursive context, no representative has expressly called this date into question, either. It would be quite odd for hearers to tacitly 'favor' an alternative date that is simply not even an extralinguistic option. Therefore, the complementary marking of the date, due to extralinguistic circumstances as well as frequent reiterations, is the conform-to-expectation marking with *eben*.

In the plenary session in Saxony-Anhalt on May 12, 2011, representatives discuss ending the mandatory nature of teachers' recommendations of an educational track for children at the end of elementary school (4<sup>th</sup> grade). Representatives discuss several problems, such as the short evaluation period before making a recommendation as well as the class-based differences in educational opportunities for children that still exist in Germany. A number of speakers implicate or overtly express that making a recommendation for children aged nine or ten is too early and places them on a track from which they cannot switch so easily. Minister Dogerloh states: "Eine verbindliche Schullaufbahneempfehlung ist auch aus entwicklungspsychologischer Sicht fragwürdig. Zu einem so frühen Zeitpunkt kann der künftige Bildungsweg von Kindern nicht ausreichend valide vorhergesagt werden" 'A mandatory recommendation for an educational track is also questionable from the perspective of developmental psychology. At such an early point in time, the future educational path of a child cannot be predicted with sufficient validity' (p. 92). None of the other speakers disagree with this statement, focusing more on attacking or defending the presumed competence of teachers in making the decisions. Following a few contributions, Representative Bull (*LINKE*) makes the following remarks:

**Das eigentlich Problematische ist die damit verbundene verbindliche Entscheidung über den Bildungsgang, meine Damen und Herren, weil damit über einen schmaleren oder einen breiteren Zugang zu Bildungsangeboten entschieden wird, und das eben zu einem Zeitpunkt, der extrem zu früh ist. Kinder werden auf ein Bildungsgleis gesetzt, von dem sie nicht so einfach wieder herunterkommen, eben weil die Schere ab diesem Zeitpunkt weit auseinandergeht. Das ist quasi ein Teufelskreis.**

**'The real problem is the binding character of the decision on [a child's] educational track, ladies and gentlemen, because that decision results in a narrower or broader access to learning opportunities, and that eben at a point in time that is way too early. Children are being placed on an educational track they cannot change**

so easily, eben because the gap widens tremendously at that moment. It is a vicious cycle.'

(PST/W06.00002 Protokoll der Sitzung des Parlaments Landtag von Sachsen-Anhalt am 12.05.2011. 2. Sitzung der 6. Wahlperiode 2011-. Plenarprotokoll, Magdeburg, 2011)

Representative Bull reiterates the problem of the non-permeable educational tracks and the early point in time at which an educational track is recommended for a child. Given that there is an accord between her and Minister Dogerloh concerning this evaluation and given that no other representative has called this evaluation into question, the speaker is prompted to utter the conform-to-expectation marker *eben*, which, once again, marks a phrase that has a strong anaphorical link to a previous, almost identical expression.

#### 5.4.4. Summary

The analyses above have illustrated that there is a difference in frequency of co-occurrences of *eben/gerade* with expressions of time and space. The ratio of *eben* to *gerade* in co-occurrence with such references is approximately 1:6 within their respective focus particle categories or approximately 1:20 as far as absolute numbers are concerned. In addition, there is a qualitative difference in the contexts in which *eben* and *gerade* appear. Both with temporal and spatial expressions, *eben* typically marks constituents that anaphorically refer to a previous expression. Given the proximity of the first mentions and the anaphoric references, there is no reason for the speakers to assume that the audience may have a different constituent in mind and the speakers can reasonably assume that identifying that constituent based on the prior utterance is not at issue and therefore conform-to-expectation.

The instances with *gerade* involve contexts that do not include anaphoric connections between prior information and the constituent choice. In the example of *gerade* + temporal expression, the speaker is at the beginning of her speech time and has no evidence that the audience will lean either way when it comes to the selection of *heute* as the point in time at which an old quote preserves its topicalness—after all, the constituent *heute* ‘today’ was not previously mentioned nor was any reference made to the quote and thus this information cannot be anaphorically referred to. Additionally, there is an initial inherent temporal distance between an old text and the present day that ostensibly precludes any connections of topicalness without further justification explaining it. In this instance, *gerade* serves to make a playful assumption that the audience may consider a different time, especially given the age of the quote, which prompts a marking of *heute* as counter-to-expectation. This allows the speaker to contribute the quote whose content turns out to be quite topical to the extralinguistic context indeed. In some instances, such as the debate of the relationship between dioxin levels and organic farming, the speaker even has evidence of a hearer’s active disregard of information that would have led him to the correct constituent choice (in the speaker’s mind). Consequently, the speakers are prompted to utter *gerade* to mark their constituent choice as counter-to-expectation.

What is the significance of the stark differences in frequency of *eben* + spatial/temporal expressions vis-à-vis *gerade* + the same? The counter-to-expectation marking signaled by *gerade* is better suited to point hearers to spatial/temporal contexts that are unusual and inherently at issue, and therefore not likely to have been considered by the hearers as well as those points in time that have been attacked by fellow representatives. If the need arises to make a reference to time and space, which,



when unexpressed, is typically encoded in the language or inherent in the speaker, then perhaps the motivation for such a reference has is often that, that it is unusual or under attack. The observation parallels the higher frequency of *gerade* marking *weil* in the previous section, for similar reasons revolving around the nature of political debate.

As far as the difference in frequency of spatial and temporal references is concerned, this may be a product of the selection process. The net was cast wide by including all expressions that were counterparts to the questions 'when' and 'where'. It so happens that many metaphorical extensions of spatial references were included, which may explain the difference. In the final section of this chapter below, we turn to a quite different investigation based on the corpus data at hand, namely an investigation assessing whether there could be a regional distribution of *eben* and *gerade* and it is therefore dialectally motivated.

### **5.5. (Non-)Dialect-geographical Particle Distribution**

An additional aspect to consider when determining the relationship between *eben* and *gerade* is whether their frequencies are affected by dialectal factors. No such investigation has been undertaken for *eben* and *gerade* thus far. This analysis is informed twofold: Firstly, by Altmann's (1978) brief comment about a possible dialectal characteristic of *gerade* in conjunction with a discussion of *ausgerechnet*, and secondly by several scholars' studies of the (disappearing) dialectal distribution of *eben* and *halt*.

Altmann briefly considers a possible dialectal characteristic of the use of *gerade*, owing to some replacement difficulties with *ausgerechnet*:

Nun noch zu *gerade*. Es blieb bisher mit Bedacht ausgespart, da in diesem Bereich eine merkwürdige, möglicherweise dialektal bedingte Unklarheit das weitere Vorgehen sehr erschwert. [...] [Die] Verwendung liegt sehr nahe an *ausgerechnet*, deckt sich aber wohl nicht völlig mit diesem [...].”

‘On to *gerade*. It has been deliberately excluded from discussion so far, since in this area a strange, possibly dialectally determined vagueness impedes the further approach. [...] [The] use is very close to *ausgerechnet*, but not entirely congruent with it [...].’ (1978:153)

Departing from the dialectal consideration, he then briefly speculates that the distinction between *ausgerechnet* and *gerade* may be due to varying degrees of what he refers to as ‘speaker involvement’, then moves on to how *gerade* is also close to *eben* and *genau* without being entirely congruent with those particles, either (ibd.).

As far as the relationship of *eben* and *halt* is concerned, a number of scholars assume that *eben* may have been used primarily in northern Germany and *halt* primarily in southern Germany at an earlier point, but that at the time of their investigations, the two particles had already been in a “sprachliche Umbruchsituation” ‘state of language change’ (Hentschel 1986:196; see also Schlieben-Lange 1979:309) for a while and a difference was hardly noticeable (cf. Weydt 1969:35; see also Dittmar 2000). Hentschel (1986) finds that as a result of the increased use of *halt* alongside *eben* in northern German regions, vis-à-vis a more long-term side-by-side use of the two in the South, southern German participants in her studies have more uniform opinions on the communicative effects of *halt* than northern German participants: the former consistently categorize *halt* as warmer or friendlier (cf. Betz 2015:116), whereas northern German speakers’ evaluations are more inconsistent (Hentschel 1986:176; 184-185; 188-191). Based on her survey findings, Hentschel concludes that *eben* may be emotionally unmarked and therefore overall more difficult to describe by her interviewees, whereas *halt* is emotionally marked for closeness between interlocutors

(190–191). However, while she has collected dialectal identification on the part of the study participants and presents her survey with this distinction in mind, she explains the Mann-Whitney-test that she executed suggests that the probability of the groups in fact being divisible based on dialectal parameters was very low (196), which calls her division into regional speaker groups and her interpretation into question.

Could a similar dialectal or evolving former dialectal relationship exist for the two focus particles of this study? We tested this by assessing whether there is a systematic trend in the frequency of *eben* and *gerade* in accordance with the High German to Low German dialect continuum or whether there is a significant change in their respective frequencies North and South of the Benrath Line.<sup>135</sup> The plenary sessions that form the source of the corpus data analyzed allow for a control of register and for a synchronic investigation of the focus particles. The corpus, which is consolidated from all 16 German state parliaments, the *Bundestag*, the *Bundesrat* and the Lower Austrian parliament, further allow for a regional subdivision of the data. The results of the corpus-based examination were obtained by counting the occurrences of the *eben* lexeme against those of *gerade* and calculating these occurrence ratios as percentages. We see below that there is no systematic dialectal distribution of *eben* and *gerade*, since their distribution ratios across German parliaments is too random.

Of course, when we assume that speakers in state parliaments are representative of dialect regions in Germany, we have to bear in mind the oversimplification of matters, namely we assume parliamentary representatives are

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<sup>135</sup> The Benrath Line marks the northern-most part of the Second (High German) Consonant Shift of that was the onset for the phonological distinction between High and Low German in the continental West Germanic dialect continuum. It runs roughly from Aachen in the West of Germany to Frankfurt/Oder in the East of Germany. An additional isogloss would be the Speyer line further in the South.

uniformly exposed to the unique dialectal colorings of their region. For example, we will assume that a representative in the parliament of Brandenburg grew up and was socialized mainly in Brandenburg and forged his/her political career there in a rather continuous fashion and was therefore exposed to the respective dialects typical of that geographic region. We acknowledge that the reality may very well be more complex, namely that a speaker in the parliament in 2011 may have moved to Brandenburg from another region in Germany or that one part of the representative's family is located in a different part of Germany and thus the individual has been consistently exposed to more than one dialect throughout his/her life. A difference between urban and rural area can also have an effect on how much a speaker is exposed to standard vs. dialectal German. An in-depth investigation of each individual speaker's linguistic identity and upbringing would go well beyond of what can reasonably be covered in the study at hand but constitutes an intriguing future research project and that would add more dimension to this question (as well as any other dialectological pursuit for that matter).

Additionally, given the difference in function of *eben* and *gerade*, namely *eben* marking a constituent as conform-to-expectation and *gerade* marking it as counter-to-expectation, there may be the possibility that in some regions, a 'rougher' tone is customary in parliamentary debate and in others a more diplomatic tone is habitual. Thus, we do not want to write off the possibility that the use varies by region entirely, but that those regional variations could also be linked to the particles' functional differences and speaker's approaches to debate.

In the study at hand at least, the simple counts of lexeme frequencies<sup>136</sup> will have to suffice to at least provide a glimpse at whether *eben* and *gerade* distribute in accordance with the most prominent dialect-geographical, South-North continuum of Germany or in any other systematic observable pattern and whether, as a consequence, the dialectal distribution constitutes an important reason for the variation of the two particles *eben* and *gerade*.

The average difference in distribution of *eben* vs. *gerade* in 2011 is 66.12% i.e. *eben* occurs a little more than two thirds as often as *gerade* overall in that year (cf. Table 11). If we assume that the two focus particles are completely mutually replaceable, we would have expected the frequency to be 1:1, which is not the case from the onset. Alternatively, if we assume that there is a dialectal distribution, we would have to find a systematic progression from South (High German dialects) to North (Low German dialects), as the South-North progression equals a progression from High to Low German dialects. Hence, we would expect one of the two particles to show a significantly higher frequency in the south and vice versa, with the region in the middle showing a gradual shift in frequency. More concretely, with 66.12% as the ratio for the *eben* and *gerade* lexemes throughout Germany in the plenary protocols of 2011, we would expect to find a preponderance of *eben* in some regions, for example, in Northern Germany, which would be reflected in a ratio of perhaps 90% of *eben* vs. *gerade*, and conversely a lesser frequency of *eben*, for example, 20% of *eben* vs. *gerade* in the South of Germany. The following table provides an overview of the results:

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<sup>136</sup> Lexeme frequencies were chosen over focus particle frequencies for their larger sample sizes.

Table 24 - Lexeme Distribution by Region Based on PP Corpus

region	<i>eben</i>	<i>gerade</i>	ratio
PBB	650	700	92.86
PBE	447	537	83.24
PBR	84	193	43.52
PBT	1675	3891	43.05
PBW	386	813	47.48
PBY	294	966	30.43
PHB	394	523	75.33
PHE	996	630	158.10
PHH	576	815	70.67
PMV	1203	900	133.67
PNI	998	2049	48.71
PNO	483	685	70.51
PNW	1431	1884	75.96
PRP	557	614	90.72
PSH	723	1068	67.70
PSL	392	426	92.02
PSN	796	1099	72.43
PST	495	1616	30.63
PTH	1421	1765	80.51
<b>TOTAL / AVG</b>	<b>14001</b>	<b>21174</b>	<b>66.12</b>

In Table 24, we see a breakdown of the distribution of the two lexemes *eben* and *gerade* in the individual plenary protocols. In nine states, the ratio is lower than the average and in the remaining seven it is higher. The table shows that the ratios deviate considerably from the average; only the frequency in the parliament in the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein shows a deviation that is less than 5% from the average, a ratio of 67.70%. The frequencies were plotted onto a map of Germany to better illustrate the geographic distributions:

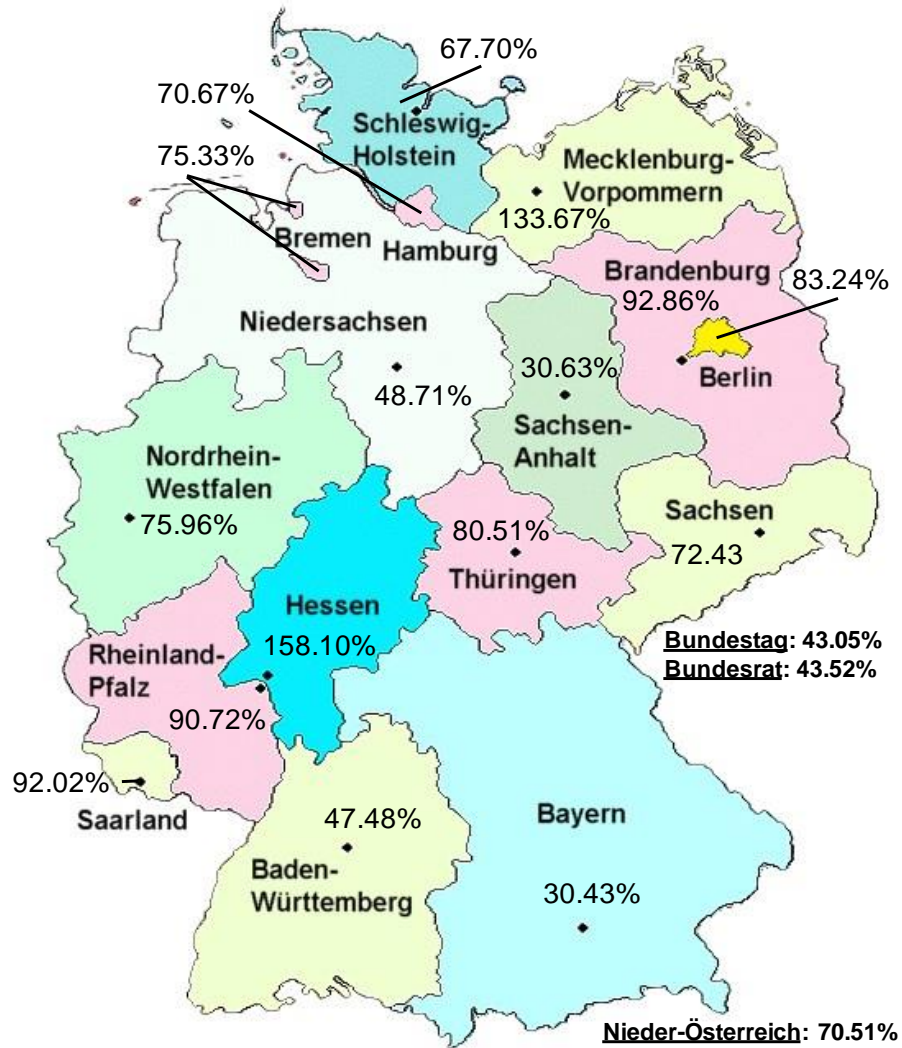


Figure 5 - Map of *eben/gerade* Lexeme Distribution Ratio Across Germany

Figure 5 shows all ratios plotted onto the respective states in whose capitals the parliaments are located. The ratios of the *Bundestag*, *Bundesrat*, and Lower Austrian parliament were also documented for reference and completeness, though the former include speakers from across Germany and the latter is a parliament outside of Germany.

Upon a first glance, we can discern that the parliaments of the two southern-most states, Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, have ratios that are well below the

average. This means that in both states, the use of *gerade* is more frequent than the use of *eben*. In a similar vein, the speakers in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern's parliament use *eben* approximately a third more frequently than *gerade*, resulting in a ratio of 133.67% that is more than twice as high as the average. The higher frequency of *eben* in the northern-most states ostensibly parallels the conditions investigated by Hentschel (1986) and Schlieben-Lange (1979). However, looking at those northern and southern states alone would make for a nice South-to-North distribution with *gerade* favored in the South and *eben* in the North, were it not for the random distributions throughout the rest of the German parliaments.

The Lower Austrian protocol displays a ratio that is vastly different from its geographical neighbor Bavaria and more closely resembles the ratio in Hamburg (70.67%), far removed in the North of Germany. Hamburg's close neighbors Lower Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt in turn have below-average ratios (48.71 and 30.63%) that are most similar to Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg all the way in the South. Thuringia (80.51%), Sachsen (72.43%), and Brandenburg (80.51%) have ratios that are all above average but are disturbed by the Saxony-Anhalt enclave.

In terms of enclaves, the city state of Bremen, nestled in Lower Saxony, shows yet a different tendency in the use of *gerade* and *eben*: While in the smaller enclave, the use of *eben* is slightly more frequent than the average (75.33%), the use is significantly below average in the surrounding state of Lower Saxony. A commonality we can establish is that in all city states, the percentage is higher than the average which means that *eben* is used more frequently. However, whereas representatives may have grown up in an urban environment in these three states, no such condition can be expected for representatives in the other, often very rural, states.



Based on the map above, we may consider something like a ‘Middle German belt’ of above-average *eben* uses ranging from Saarland (92.02%) and Rhineland-Palatinate (90.72%) in the West, via Hesse (158.10%) and Thuringia (80.51%) to Saxony (72.43%), but the Hessian speakers far outperform their fellow representatives, sharing their great affinity for the lexeme *eben* only with Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (133.67%)—without the two being even remotely located in the same region.

Finally, the plenary sessions of the German *Bundestag* and *Bundesrat*, in which speakers from all federal parliaments are represented, show a lower, but very similar ratio of *eben* vs. *gerade* at 43.05% and 43.52%, respectively.<sup>137</sup> This stands in contrast to the country-wide average of 66.12% for 2011 in parliamentary debate.

To sum up the short investigation of *eben/gerade* frequencies across German parliaments, we note that said distribution ratios appear too random to be driven by dialectal factors. There are no apparent systematic North-to-South patterns (or East-to-West patterns for that matter) and in a high number of cases, ratios of particles in neighboring federal states vary dramatically.

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<sup>137</sup> Another future investigation could target the exact speaker makeup in the *Bundestag* and *Bundesrat* of the legislative period including 2011 to determine whether it reflects the observations of frequencies for the individual German states.

## 6. Conclusion

In this study, the frequently addressed but unexplained quasi-synonymy of the focus particles *eben* and *gerade* was shown to not be trivial but rather dependent on speaker motivation. It was suggested and proven that *eben* marks constituents as conform-to-expectation and *gerade* marks them as counter-to-expectation.

A speaker is prompted to utter *eben* to mark a constituent as conform-to-expectation when presented with evidence that the hearer has the same constituent in mind as the speaker. Such cases typically occur when a constituent has been previously mentioned and explicitly agreed upon by an interlocutor. In those clear instances of congruent interlocutor choice, the use of *gerade* is unacceptable. If there is no explicit evidence that the hearer has the same constituent in mind, the speaker may still be prompted to utter *eben* to mark the constituent as long as there is no evidence that the hearer may favor a different constituent. In those more ambiguous instances, the speaker is guided by assumptions of a hearer's world knowledge or inferential strategies ultimately resulting in an identical selection.

Pragmatically, when a constituent is marked with *eben*, the marking signals a gentler, more diplomatic nudge to the hearer; it implicates that the hearer had the essential pieces of knowledge for the correct constituent choice all along but was a step short of making a final connection in order to arrive at the constituent choice. In an ambiguous situation, a speaker may be prompted to mark a constituent as conform-to-expectation and thus provide a possibility for the hearer to explicate an implicated agreement. As such, *eben* as a conform-to-expectation marker is complementary to situations in which information can be presumed to be agreed upon. This comes along with the sociological effect of saving an interlocutor's face by highlighting the

agreement on a constituent. Conversely, *gerade* can be uttered to affect face threats against the interlocutor by signaling that a constituent is counter-to-expectation when in fact the situation is ambiguous and there is no clear evidence in that regard.

The speaker is prompted to utter *gerade* to mark a constituent when there is explicit evidence that the hearer indeed favors a different constituent; for example, if the interlocutor has previously talked about an alternative or has actively disregarded information that could lead to the speaker's own constituent choice. In those clear instances of diverging choices, the use of *eben* is unacceptable. Alternatively, if at least there is no evidence that the hearer will make the same constituent choice as the speaker, the speaker guided by assumptions of the hearer's world knowledge or observations of increased inferential complexity of the information leading to the speaker's constituent choice and consequently to utter *gerade*, marking the constituent as counter-to-expectation.

When the situation is sufficiently ambiguous and there are no explicit factors blocking the respective use, the speaker is at greater liberty to utter either *eben* or *gerade*. This condition can grant the opportunity for 'provocative' uses, for example signaling a playful assumption of ignorance or disagreement on the part of the hearer and thus opening up the possibility for the speaker to follow up this marking with additional information justifying it and therefore making a greater effort of justifying that ostensible counter-to-expectation selection. The textlinguistic or discursive result is that *gerade* has a more cataphoric effect, clearing the path for information that will be given next.

In addition to speaker-hearer-interactions, the utterance of *eben* and *gerade* can also signal the status of the speaker's own expectations. If aspects in a narrated

situation allow a speaker to maintain a perspective, the logical, unsurprising conform-to-expectation consequences are marked with *eben*. Thus, utterances with *eben* can appear resultative in nature. If experiences prompt the speaker to make a new and previously unanticipated evaluation and take on a different perspective on the constituent, *gerade* can be uttered to signal that change. In both instances, the signals are still the same: *eben* signals that a constituent is conform-to-expectation and *gerade* signals that the constituent is counter-to-expectation, but in monologic situations, this marking refers to the speaker him-/herself.

In Chapter 4, a minimal pair analysis was carried out to determine the accuracy of various interpretations that have been suggested for *eben* and *gerade* in German dictionaries and in the scholarship on particles. The controlled manipulations proved that the individual interpretations of are not inherent to *eben* or *gerade* because they could not be maintained without loss of sentence acceptability. As an alternative, it was suggested that the underlying meanings of *eben* and *gerade* interact with concrete contexts, for example, additional elements in the sentence or continuations, to render concrete messages of *eben* and *gerade* that were distributed across the scholarship. The contextual factors prompting either particle use were also substituted to demarcate the respective (un)acceptabilities: It was illustrated that *eben* becomes unacceptable if the preceding context shows that an interlocutor is concerned with another constituent than the speaker. Conversely, *gerade* is unacceptable (unduly) aggressive, in contexts in which agreement on a constituent clearly exists.

The challenge of *eben* as polyfunctional focus particle, reply particle, and modal particle can be alleviated by positing the same conform-to-expectation marking across all particle subtypes and by attributing the most significant difference between the

focus, modal, and reply particle to the ‘mechanical’ aspect of constituent size/type and discourse position.

In Chapter 5, corpus data was analyzed in order to gain insight into the natural-language utterances in which *eben*, as a marker of conform-to-expectation constituents, and *gerade*, as a marker of counter-to-expectation constituents, typically occur. Three illustrative patterns were discussed in the chapter: The preponderance of *eben* co-occurring with forms of negation, the qualitative difference of *eben* vs. *gerade* marking the causal marker *weil*, and the preponderance of *gerade* co-occurring with spatial and temporal expressions. This approach served as the gateway to evaluating macro-level contexts and background information that surround the utterance of the respective particles and their co-occurrences. The macro-level contexts in turn provided further insights into these frequent natural-language structures.

In the corpus data, *eben* occurs in negative statements in almost 50% of cases—of which a significant portion constitutes adversative constructions. The analysis of the co-occurrences of *eben* with adversative constructions resulted in some relativizations regarding the functions that are traditionally suggested for these adversative constructions. While they are typically claimed to correct a statement, it was observed that there are frequent instances in which the first, negative clause is not used to correct an observed or assumed positive counterpart, but rather used as a rhetorical device creating a contrast to the information supplied in the subsequent *sondern*-clause. Additionally, *eben* but not *gerade* occurs in special variants of adversative *nicht nur..., sondern...* ‘not only..., but also...’ constructions in which the information in the first clause is not negated but rather either complemented or expanded by information in the second clause. In order for the expansion or

complement to be valid, the information in the first clause also has to be valid, hence it cannot serve as an objection to prior information. The particle *eben* is a suitable addition to reinforce the complementing and expanding structures by marking them as conform-to-expectation. In one instance, such as structure was even uttered to help a fellow parliamentary representative save face, by being offered an opportunity to jump on presumably agreed-upon information. By contrast, *gerade* is used in instances of the adversative constructions in which there is explicit disagreement about the information in the first clause, for example, based on active disregards of relevant information by fellow representatives that would lead them to choose the same constituent as the speaker. The counter-to-expectation marker *gerade* is a suitable complement to the function of correcting presumed or observed incorrect information.

While the co-occurrences of *eben* and *gerade* with causal markers do not diverge greatly in number, there is a difference in the quality of these causal sentences. Upon closer inspection, it was found that *gerade* is used to mark reasons that were previously actively disregarded or called into question by an interlocutor, or are inferentially more complex and objectively unusual. The subject continuity between sentence-initial causal clauses marked by *gerade* and the preceding sentences is only 20% as frequent as that of causal clauses marked by *eben*. This is due to the fact that anaphorical references make a constituent more predictable and therefore easier to process; a feature more effectively complemented by *eben*. Additionally, *eben* is used to mark reasons that are known to be in the knowledge inventory of the interlocutors and are presumed to be agreed upon though this agreement may not have been made explicit by previous speakers. We attributed the slight difference in frequency between *eben + weil* and *gerade + weil* to the nature of the corpus data which documents

parliamentary debates. In political debates in which parties with differing opinions convene, it may be more frequently necessary to defend reasons whose validity is attacked by political opponents than to reinforce agreed-upon reasons, though clearly both have their justification and usefulness within this text genre.

Additionally, it was observed that *gerade* occurs six times as frequently in co-occurrences with temporal and spatial expressions than *eben*. Parallel to the actively disregarded, or explicitly weighed reasons marked by *gerade*, those temporal and spatial expressions marked by *gerade* were also called into question, disagreed to, or consciously weighed by the speaker in the context surrounding the utterance.

Finally, the corpus data was subdivided by parliament to assess whether dialectal factors influence the distribution of the lexemes *eben* and *gerade*. A regional distribution was not detected based on the data at hand since the distribution across German *Bundesländer* is too random. This finding indicates that the difference in distribution is not motivated by dialectal factors.

Alongside the findings that were articulated, many related questions and aspects arose that constitute the potential objects of future study. For example, one observation not further explored in this study was the diverging syntactic positioning of *eben* and *gerade*. While both focus particles can occupy the sentence-initial position, there is a stronger tendency for *gerade* to do so: The ratio of a front field vs. middle field position for *gerade* is 50.99% over 49.01%, approximately 1:1, and it is 22.75% over 77.25% or approximately 1:3 for *eben*. That means *eben* as the utterance of a focus particle is dispreferred in the sentence-initial position. To that end, it may be worthwhile to examine what the nature of the constituents is that appear in the sentence-initial position. For example, are they the default elements (subjects,

temporal expressions) in German sentences or are they non-canonical syntactic elements placed in a prominent position ('topicalized')? In analogy to Contini-Morava's (1991) study on subject continuity and the use of the Swahili TAM marker *kuwa*, it appears worthwhile to further explore whether this positioning is associated with differences in aspects of discourse continuity (cf. Givón 1983). Based on the difference in the particles' underlying meaning and the findings in this study, we would expect the constituents of the conform-to-expectation marker *eben* to be more frequently embedded in highly continuous contexts.

The articulation of this study greatly benefitted from notions established in Yokoyama's (1986) TDM. These notions only constitute a small part of Yokoyama's model, however. For example, a detailed step-by-step illustration of the hearer's knowledge statuses by means of her set diagrams was not undertaken, nor was a categorization of the constituents into the exact seven types of knowledge attempted as they are determined in the model. Future study should integrate the step-by-step diagrams to further elucidate the assessment, nature, and transmission of the knowledge types.

A future study should also be directed at the combinations of the focus particles. The focus particles *eben* and *gerade* can be combined as *eben gerade* or *gerade eben* and instances thereof were found in the corpus data. The role of the particle combinations in relation to the individual particles should be examined. This potential exploratory path is based on Parrott's (1997) observation with regard to the combination of the Russian particles *že* and *ved'* in the same utterance. She determined that the combination occupies a middle ground between each individual particle. Whether we could be dealing with a similar case regarding *eben gerade* and *gerade*



*eben* in which the combinations occupy the middle ground between *eben* and *gerade* in the system of EXPECTEDNESS or whether these combinations are simply more emphatic than the particles on their own, is mere speculation at this point and it will have to be pursued in a future study. The relationship of the two particle sequences with another would also have to be the object of the study. Equally, since *eben* and *gerade* are often discussed in conjunction with the particles *ausgerechnet* and *genau*, the latter two particles can also be integrated in future study.

A number of additional observations and questions have emerged that indicate future paths of investigation involving an additional variety of theoretical frameworks. An expansion of the investigation to the non-particle word types of *eben* and *gerade* within a Grammaticalization Theoretical framework, Collostructional Analyses as well as translation-based and cross-linguistic investigations also show promise. With these potential exploratory paths in mind, we see that particles truly live in the realm of eclecticism and therefore a multitude of theoretical frameworks offer valuable perspectives for understanding particles.

Not only the focus particles themselves have opened up additional investigative paths, but also the additional particle subtypes of *eben* as well as the homonymous non-particle word types of *eben* and *gerade*. Particularly the ambiguity of *eben* in combination with the negation particle *nicht* has confronted this study with an intriguing ambiguity and has raised the question whether it is co-occurrences such as this that have provoked a reanalysis of the marked constituent size from sub-sentence to sentence and thus encouraged a developmental cline from *eben* as a focus particle to *eben* as a modal particle. If that is the case, perhaps there is a likelihood that a temporal pointing of the adverbs *eben* and *gerade* decategorized over time from

expressing that concrete points in time were expected or unexpected to pointing to constituents as points in discourse that are expected or unexpected. Such an endeavor would be best served by and articulated within a Grammaticalization-theoretical approach and a thorough diachronic investigation of the lexemes *eben* and *gerade* to determine whether a cline exists from adjective to adverb to particle, that is, their paths of development from containing lexical meaning to containing grammatical/pragmatic meaning. Proving the existence of such clines has been decried as formidably difficult and almost impossible to reproduce given the spotty diachronic data that is available for Germanic (see Abraham & Leiss 2009:280), though the clines appear plausible in theory. Nonetheless, the application of Grammaticalization Theory to particle research has been frequently undertaken (see Brinton 1996; Autenrieth 2002; Schoonjans & Feytaerts 2010; Wegener 2002). In light of rapidly developing computing power and the ever-increasing popularity and scope of corpus-based investigations in linguistics, perhaps the practical difficulties will diminish over time.

Since a number of complex argumentative structures such as adversative and causal sentences above were prominently featured in this study, a possible avenue of exploration would be to subject the data to Collostructional Analyses as established by Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003) to determine whether there are any attractants or repellants in these complex argumentative structures vis-à-vis the respective signals of expectedness expressed by the two particles.

The results presented here call for designing a survey among native speakers of German that includes 'vignettes' with simplex sentences like those discussed in Chapter 4 as well as vignettes that contain the more complex natural-language structures and larger contexts identified in Chapter 5. These vignettes add more

context than the isolated sentences that have been previously presented to participants in acceptability tests and may eliminate ostensibly idiosyncratic results or variable acceptability judgments. Questionnaires also can help add empirical sophistication to the analysis presented here and determine whether the distributional differences observed in the corpus are statistically significant.

An applied field that may benefit from the theoretical insights presented here is the Instruction of German as a World Language. Most of all, the possibility of consolidating the various *eben* particle subtypes in accordance with the underlying signal of a constituent as conform-to-expectation helps establish a neater initial approach to providing a conceptual overview than having students learn lists of separate concrete examples as they are presented in practical dictionaries, grammars, and other reference works of German.

Finally, a pressing question raised by the very nature of this dissertation—its articulation in the English language with a German-language object of study—is ‘How are *eben* and *gerade* adequately translated in light of their respective underlying meanings?’. In Chapter 5, the longer excerpts maintained the German original for ease of detection. In the free translations of the three-line examples in Chapter 4, the signals ‘conform-to-expectation’ or ‘counter-to-expectation’ were approximated by more natural target-language expressions such as ‘exactly’, ‘all right’, ‘just’, ‘in fact’ vs. ‘indeed’, etc. The expressions helped render natural sentences in the target language yet were based entirely on the author’s intuition. This intuition should eventually be replaced by systematic studies of parallel texts and translations that can shed more light on the cross-linguistic aspects of assessing *eben* and *gerade* in the future.

## 7. Appendix

### 7.1. List of Tokens and Texts of the Cosmas II PP Corpus by Year

Table 25 - Overview of Tokens and Texts in Cosmas II PP Corpus by Year

<b>Corpus Information for pp - Plenarprotokolle</b>			
<b># of Texts</b>	<b>% of Texts</b>	<b># of Words</b>	<b>Year</b>
2	0.03%	85,218	1993
9	0.14%	474,249	1994
30	0.45%	1,224,614	1995
93	1.40%	4,071,232	1996
127	1.91%	5,871,309	1997
200	3.01%	7,957,437	1998
352	5.30%	16,102,015	1999
447	6.73%	21,955,091	2000
453	6.82%	21,114,171	2001
460	6.93%	21,792,927	2002
438	6.59%	20,202,392	2003
462	6.96%	20,940,541	2004
425	6.40%	19,990,134	2005
460	6.93%	22,987,642	2006
466	7.02%	23,742,711	2007
444	6.68%	23,352,520	2008
447	6.73%	23,644,761	2009
489	7.36%	26,586,970	2010
488	7.35%	26,750,860	2011
342	5.15%	18,831,981	2012
8	0.12%	477,233	2013
<b>6,642</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>328,156,008</b>	<b>21 Years</b>

## 7.2. List of *eben* and *gerade* Occurrences in Cosmas II PP Corpus by Year

Table 26 - Overview of *eben* & *gerade* Occurrences in Cosmas II PP Corpus by Year

Occurrences of <i>eben</i> and <i>gerade</i> in PP Corpus by Year					
search term: <i>eben</i>			search term: <i>gerade</i>		
Total Hits: 158,731			Total Hits: 248,888		
Hits	# of Texts	Year	Hits	# of Texts	Year
35	2	1993	71	2	1993
303	9	1994	400	9	1994
810	29	1995	895	28	1995
2,029	88	1996	2,848	91	1996
2,695	125	1997	4,071	125	1997
3,622	193	1998	5,549	196	1998
6,929	346	1999	10,996	349	1999
10,383	443	2000	15,513	446	2000
9,708	436	2001	15,064	446	2001
10,234	452	2002	15,818	453	2002
9,421	429	2003	14,785	432	2003
9,669	452	2004	15,402	454	2004
9,597	413	2005	15,159	421	2005
10,999	448	2006	17,544	456	2006
10,924	461	2007	18,291	466	2007
11,532	437	2008	18,483	443	2008
11,862	436	2009	19,400	444	2009
13,679	480	2010	21,445	485	2010
13,946	481	2011	21,539	482	2011
10,029	333	2012	15,278	334	2012
325	8	2013	337	8	2013
<b>158731</b>	<b>6501</b>	<b>21 Years</b>	<b>248888</b>	<b>6570</b>	<b>21 Years</b>

### 7.3. German & [Language] Particle Research: Selected Works

Language Combination with German	Work
German - Arabic	El-Shaar 2005
German - Chinese	Peschke 1990
German - Croatian	Uvanović 2007
German - Czech	Nekula 1996 Rinas 2006
German - Danish	Baunbjerg 1981 Baunbjerg & Wesemann 1983
German - English	Bublitz 1978 Fischer 2007 König 1981a König/Stark/Requardt 1990 (dictionary)
German - Finnish	Husso 1981 Kärnä 1983 Abraham/Wuite 1984
German - French	Weydt 1969 Feyrer 1998 Schoonjans & Feyaerts 2010 Waltereit 2006
German - Hungarian	Péteri 2002
German - Italian	Helling 1983 Maurer 2004 Masi 1996
German - Japanese	Werner 2002
German - Polish	Bogatsu 2003 Duch-Adamczyk 2012a, 2012b Szulc-Brzozowska 2002
German - Russian	Zybatow 1990 Poljakova 2000 Averina 2015
German - Serbo-Croatian	Dahl 1988a, 1988b
German - Slovenian	Petrič 2004, 2005
German - Spanish	Beerbom 1992 Cárdenes-Melián 1997 Prüfer-Leske 1997 May 2000 (with teaching component) Brenner 2014
German - Swedish	Heinrichs 1981
German - Turkish	Hepsöyler 1986 Vural 2000
German - Portugese	Blühdorn & Radefeldt 2003
Literary translations	Liefländer-Koistinen 1990 (German-Finnish) Monteiro Resende 1995 (German-English)

#### 7.4. Excerpts from Plenary Debate – *eben* + *nicht* and Adversative Constructions

The underlined portions of the excerpts below are the ones most relevant to the paragraphs discussed in the main text.

##### *eben* + *nicht*

#### Parliament of Brandenburg, Plenary Session; May 19, 2001. “Caretaking”

Frau Prof. Dr. Heppener (SPD): [...]

(p. 2933)

„Zugänge schaffen, Kompetenzen aktivieren, Verantwortung stärken“ gilt für Junge und Alte. Wir werden deutlich älter und haben die Chance, länger aktiv zu sein. Die „Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung“ berichtet, dass 79 % der heute 60-Jährigen und 74 % der 70-Jährigen ihren Gesundheits- und Geisteszustand als gut oder sehr gut einschätzen. [...] Ohne dieser Diskussion vorgreifen zu wollen, beschäftigen mich neben den dringlichen bundespolitischen - um nur die Stichworte Altersvorsorge, Alterseinkommensentwicklung, Altersarmut zu nennen - folgende Fragen: Wie vereinbaren wir den Anspruch und die Bereitschaft der älteren Generation, ihr Leben bewusst aktiv zu gestalten, mit den biologischen Tatsachen, die auf Mehrbedarf an medizinischen Leistungen, Prävention und Rehabilitation, Hilfe- und Pflegeangebote hinauslaufen? Wir wehren uns dagegen, unser Altern als eine unausweichliche Kette von Defiziten zu sehen. Es ist der Wunsch der Alten, so lange wie möglich in ihrer Häuslichkeit zu leben und am Leben der Gemeinschaft teilzunehmen. Die Lebenswirklichkeit verlangt Rahmenbedingungen für eine bewusste, aktive Lebensgestaltung und für Lebensumstände mit bestehendem oder drohendem Hilfe- und Pflegebedarf. Eine medizinische Versorgung, gesundheitliche Prävention und Rehabilitation, eine angemessene Wohnung sind für ein aktives Altern und eine hohe Lebensqualität von entscheidender Bedeutung. Am „Bündnis gesund älter werden in Brandenburg“ interessiert die Alten weniger der klug und umfassend begründete Gesundheitszieleprozess, sondern mehr die Organisierung dieses Bündnisses vor Ort. [...]

Frau Schulz-Höpfner (CDU): [...] (p. 2934) Ein alter Mensch ist nicht gleichzeitig ein pflegebedürftiger Mensch. Dennoch steigt mit zunehmendem Alter auch die Pflegewahrscheinlichkeit. Insbesondere was das Pflegepersonal angeht, stehen wir in den nächsten Jahren vor großen Herausforderungen. Nicht nur die Zahl der zu Pflegenden nimmt zu, auch die Pflegekräfte werden knapper. In den nächsten zehn Jahren werden wir 124 000 neue Pflegekräfte benötigen. Das heißt, jungen Menschen muss vermittelt werden, dass sie mit dem Beruf des Altenpflegers auch eine Berufschance haben. Dieser Beruf ist aber gleichzeitig auch eine Berufung; nicht jeder wird ihn ausüben können. [...]

Frau Wolff-Molorciuc (DIE LINKE): [...]

(p. 2935)

Wir haben es auch mit ganz unterschiedlichen Lebenssituationen der Älteren zu tun. Wir haben zum Beispiel Familien, in denen Enkel Großeltern pflegen, und sowohl die zu Pflegenden als auch die Pflegeleistenden können zur Gruppe der Senioren gehören. Wenn Sie seniorenpolitische Leitlinien verschiedener Bundesländer nebeneinanderlegen, werden Sie viel

Übereinstimmendes finden. Ein Punkt, der sich als Handlungsfeld häufig wiederfindet, ist die Frage nach dem Bild vom Alter und vom Altern. [...]

(p. 2936)

**Büttner (FDP):** Herr Präsident! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Ich freue mich. Ich freue mich, dass wir heute, nur wenige Stunden vor Beginn der Brandenburgischen Seniorenwoche 2011, über die Seniorenpolitik sprechen. Die Zeiten, in denen Senioren automatisch zum „alten Eisen“ gezählt und aufs Altenteil geschoben wurden, sind glücklicherweise vorbei. Wir alle haben das Glück, in unserer Gesellschaft mit einer Seniorengeneration zusammenzuleben, die - wie noch keine vor ihr - fit, aktiv, mobil und flexibel ist. Wir erleben eine Generation älterer Menschen, die sich bis ins hohe Alter hinein guter Gesundheit erfreut, die quer durch die Welt reist, die sich gesellschaftlich engagiert und politisch einmischt und deren Wissensdurst auch im hohen Alter nicht versiegt. [...] Ich bin auch der Überzeugung, dass wir an die Leistungskataloge in der Pflege heranmüssen. Pflegekräfte befinden sich sowieso in den Orten. Wieso können sie dann nicht auch bei den Nicht-Pflegebedürftigen vorbeischauchen, um zum Beispiel den Blutdruck zu messen oder Blut abzunehmen? Dazu müssen die Leistungskataloge geändert werden. Ich glaube, damit hätten wir einen wirksamen Schritt hin zu einer vernünftigen Versorgung gemacht.

\* \* \*

*eben + nicht nur..., sondern auch...*

**Parliament of Saxony, Plenary Session; January 19, 2011. “Children without Breakfast”**

(p. 2742)

Heike Werner, LINKE

[...]

Warum uns das betrifft, können Sie zum Beispiel sehen, wenn Sie mal früh um sieben in Leipzig zur Tafel gehen, wenn dort Kinder ankommen, die ein Frühstück oder ein Pausenbrot für die Schule bekommen; weil es Kinder sind, die arm sind – Kinder, die arm sind in Sachsen –, die sonst hungrig in die Schule gehen, weil ihre Eltern eben nicht genug Geld haben.

Diesen Teufelskreis können die Eltern – –

(Alexander Krauß, CDU: Das ist eine Unterstellung! Sie tun, als wenn die Hartz-IV-Familien ihre Kinder verhungern lassen würden!)

3. Vizepräsident Prof. Dr. Andreas Schmalfuß: Herr Krauß, nutzen Sie dann einfach die Möglichkeit einer Kurzintervention oder einer Frage. Das war kein Zwischenruf, das war schon fast eine Erklärung. – Ich habe jetzt den Abg. Clemen am Mikrophon 5. Würden Sie eine Zwischenfrage zulassen?

Heike Werner, DIE LINKE: Ja.

3. Vizepräsident Prof. Dr. Andreas Schmalfuß: Herr Clemen, bitte.

[...]

Heike Werner, DIE LINKE: Genau; ich kann Ihnen teilweise recht geben. Vernünftige regelmäßige Mahlzeiten – da hat die Opposition oft genug beantragt, dass es zum Beispiel ein kostenloses Mittagessen in der Schule geben soll, damit wirklich alle Kinder und Jugendlichen in den Genuss eines warmen Mittagessens kommen.



Dass es auch in anderen Familien Probleme gibt, darauf habe ich erst kürzlich hingewiesen, als Sie Familienberatung, Familienbildung usw. gekürzt haben. Es gibt natürlich in allen gesellschaftlichen Schichten Probleme, die Eltern mit Kindern und Jugendlichen haben, wo es auch dazu führen kann, dass Eltern so wenig Zeit haben, dass sie nicht mehr in der Lage sind, sich um ihre Kinder so zu kümmern, wie sie es gern möchten. Darin gebe ich Ihnen recht.

## 7.5. Excerpts from Plenary Debate – *gerade* + *nicht* and Adversative Constructions

The underlined portions of the excerpts below are the ones most relevant to the paragraphs discussed in the main text.

### *gerade* + *nicht*

#### Session of the *Bundesrat*, February 11, 2011. “Animal Protection”

Johannes Rimmel (Nordrhein–Westfalen):

(p. 38)

Mit dem Antrag bietet sich heute die große Chance, endlich einen Beschluss für den Tierschutz, einen Beschluss zur Umsetzung der Staatszielbestimmung im Grundgesetz und damit gegen eine tierschutzwidrige Haltung unserer Mitgeschöpfe, der Tiere, zu fassen. Die Chance, die uns die Entscheidung des Bundesverfassungsgerichts bietet, nämlich endlich Schluss zu machen mit der tierschutzwidrigen Haltung von Legehennen in Käfigen jedweder Form und Ausgestaltung, müssen wir nutzen.

(p. 39) Waren vor einigen Jahren noch viele Experten der Meinung, dass ein tiergerechtes Leben der Hennen in Kleingruppenkäfigen möglich sei, so ist man heute, unterstützt durch umfangreiche Gutachten und Stellungnahmen, anderer Auffassung. Wir sehen diese Haltungsform als tierschutzwidrig an, und sie gehört abgeschafft. [...] Umso mehr freut es mich, freut es die Landesregierung von Nordrhein-Westfalen, dass sich auch die Bundesministerin für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz inzwischen unserer Position angeschlossen hat und für die Abschaffung der nicht artgerechten Legehennenhaltung in Kleingruppenkäfigen plädiert. [...]

Julia Klöckner (Parliamentary Secretary):

Dieser Entschließungsantrag wundert mich aber doch etwas, Herr Rimmel. Es ist bekannt, dass das Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft und Verbraucherschutz derzeit eine Änderung der Tierschutz-Nutztierhaltungsverordnung vorbereitet, die ein Verbot neuer Kleingruppenhaltungen beinhaltet. Das ist nicht erst seit heute, sondern schon seit längerem bekannt. Aber wenn Sie gerne Papiere schreiben, sei Ihnen das unbenommen.

\* \* \*

### *gerade* + *nicht*..., *sondern*...

#### Parliament of Bremen, Plenary Session: January 27, 2011. “Unemployment Insurance”

Abg. Frau Schön (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen):

(p.6111)

[...] Früher mussten Arbeitslose in einem Zeitraum von 36 Monaten mindestens sechs Monate arbeiten, um Arbeitslosengeld zu bekommen, wobei immer das Verhältnis zwei zu eins gewahrt war. Wer früher innerhalb eines Dreijahreszeitraums sechs Monate gearbeitet hat, hatte Anspruch auf drei Monate Arbeitslosengeld. Nach der heutigen Regelung gibt es in solch einem Fall nichts mehr, und die geleisteten Arbeitslosenbeiträge der Arbeitslosen verfallen dann. Ebenso verfallen alle geleisteten Beiträge, wenn ein Arbeitsloser in den letzten zwei Jahren nicht sozialversicherungspflichtig gearbeitet hat. Das kann zum Beispiel auf einen Arbeitnehmer oder eine Arbeitnehmerin zutreffen, der oder die sich selbstständig gemacht und in den letzten zwei Jahren praktisch selbstständig gearbeitet hat und jetzt auf Leistung angewiesen ist. [...]

**Abg. Frau Ziegert (SPD):**

(p. 6112)

[...] Trotzdem unterstütze auch ich diesen Antrag. Es hat, ich kann mich da den Ausführungen von Frau Schön nur anschließen, zur Folge, dass durch die Neuordnung im Rahmen der Reform am Arbeitsmarkt immer mehr Menschen, die arbeiten, die auch sozialversicherungspflichtig arbeiten und die in die Sozialversicherung eingezahlt haben, wie das immer so schön heißt, völlig aus dem solidarischen Sicherungssystem herausfallen. [...]

\* \* \*

**Parliament of Saxony, Session: February 9, 2001. "Skilled workers vs. low wages"**

(p. 2878)

**Alexander Krauß, CDU:** Herr Präsident! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Wir haben in Deutschland erstmals seit 30 Jahren einen spürbaren Fachkräftemangel. [...] Wir sind froh, dass Arbeitsplätze entstanden sind.

(Beifall bei der CDU - Jürgen Gansel, NPD: Leiharbeiter! - Zuruf der Abg. Dr. Eva-Maria Stange, SPD)

[...]

(p.2879)

Welche Lösungsmöglichkeiten gibt es denn nun? Wir haben festgestellt, dass es einen Fachkräftemangel gibt, und wir wissen, dass dieser Fachkräftemangel leider Gottes zunehmen wird. Diesbezüglich möchte ich drei Punkte ansprechen: Erstens. Wir müssen das in Sachsen vorhandene Potenzial nutzen. Zweitens. Wir müssen Menschen, die Sachsen verlassen haben, ansprechen und zurückholen.

(Enrico Stange, DIE LINKE: Sagen Sie doch endlich einmal, wie!)

Drittens. Wir müssen um ausländische Fachkräfte werben. [...]

(p. 2882)

[...] Deswegen müssen wir darüber nachdenken, wie wir ausländische Fachkräfte nach Sachsen bekommen können. Die Staatsregierung hat dazu in der vergangenen Woche Vorschläge unterbreitet. Wir sind dem Ministerpräsidenten, Herrn Staatsminister Morlok und Herrn Staatsminister Ulbig sehr dankbar, dass sie sich Gedanken gemacht haben und eine Bundesratsinitiative auf den Weg bringen wollen, um ausländischen Fachkräften Steine aus dem Weg zu räumen. Darum geht es ja. Wir wollen bürokratische Hemmnisse abbauen. Wir wollen die Hürden für Zuwanderer senken, sodass es leichter ist, bei uns in Sachsen eine gut bezahlte Arbeit zu finden. Das bringt auch einen Nutzen für uns. [...] Ich möchte Herrn Martin Gillo,

unserem Ausländerbeauftragten, danken, der einen Runden Tisch zur Anerkennung ausländischer Diplome und anderer Abschlüsse eingerichtet hat. Hier sollten wir versuchen, Lösungen zu finden und Hemmnisse aufzudecken. [...] Lassen Sie mich, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren, zusammenfassen. Wir wollen mit unserem Antrag dazu beitragen, dass der Fachkräftebedarf in Sachsen gesichert wird. Wir wollen in erster Linie die bestehenden Potenziale nutzen, zum Beispiel die der Langzeitarbeitslosen. Wir wollen zweitens ausgewanderte Sachsen zurückholen, und weil das nicht reichen wird, wollen wir drittens ausländische Fachkräfte für Sachsen gewinnen.

Ich bitte Sie um Zustimmung zu unserem Antrag.

(p. 2883)

**Jürgen Gansel, NPD:**

Sie können gleich selbst noch einmal etwas erklären! – auf die närrische Idee, diesen mehr als 400 000 Arbeitssuchenden noch weitere Steine in den Weg zu legen, indem Sie unter dem Vorwand des Fachkräftemangels den sächsischen Arbeitsmarkt mit osteuropäischen Arbeitsplatzkonkurrenten und Lohnrückern fluten wollen. Aus Sicht der NPD ist das arbeitnehmerfeindlich, arbeitslosenfeindlich und es ist volksfeindlich. Bei mehr als 400 000 Arbeitssuchenden in Sachsen fluten Sie dieses Land mit Fremden. [...] Wir haben in wenigen Monaten mit Billigung der CDU in der Europäischen Union die Arbeitnehmerfreizügigkeit. Das bedeutet, dass jeder Osteuropäer aus jedem EU-Beitrittsland seinen Arbeitsplatz hier in Sachsen frei wählen darf.

**1. Vizepräsidentin Andrea Dombois:** Herr Gansel, Ihre Redezeit ist zu Ende.

**Jürgen Gansel, NPD:** – Ja. Da werden sich Zehntausende Osteuropäer nach Sachsen aufmachen und hier das Lohnniveau senken.

**1. Vizepräsidentin Andrea Dombois:** Herr Gansel, Ihre Redezeit ist zu Ende. [...]

**Torsten Herbst, FDP:** Frau Präsidentin! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Die dumpfe Ausländerfeindlichkeit von Herrn Gansel schmerzt. Sie sind mit Sicherheit keine Fachkraft, auf die wir stolz sind in Sachsen. [...] Die Gewinnung einer ausreichenden Anzahl von Fachkräften ist eine zentrale Zukunftsfrage für den Freistaat, für die Unternehmen und am Ende auch für unseren zukünftigen Wohlstand. [...] Klar ist, dass in der Diskussion um die Fachkräftegewinnung eine einzelne Maßnahme mit Sicherheit nicht ausreichen wird. Deshalb ist die Diskussion, die teilweise aufgemacht wird – entweder mehr arbeitsfähige Personen für den Arbeitsmarkt gewinnen oder Zuwanderung –, eine völlig falsche; denn wir brauchen beides für Sachsen. [...]

(p. 2884)

Deshalb ist es wichtig, dass wir nicht nur versuchen, hier vor Ort unsere Potenziale so gut wie möglich auszuschöpfen – das ist unsere erste Priorität –, sondern dass wir auch über qualifizierte Zuwanderung nachdenken. Ich bin deshalb sehr froh, dass die Staatsregierung im Bundesrat aktiv wird und eines deutlich macht: Kluge Köpfe von anderswo sind bei uns in Sachsen willkommen – auch wenn die NPD das anders sieht.

(Beifall bei der FDP, der CDU und der Staatsregierung)

Wir wollen qualifizierte Zuwanderer durch die deutsche Einwanderungsbürokratie nicht abschrecken, sondern hier eine attraktive Heimat bieten. Dabei gewinnen alle: die Zuwanderer, weil sie einen attraktiven Arbeitsplatz finden, und der Freistaat, weil wir dringend benötigte Arbeitskräfte gewinnen.

\* \* \*

## 7.6. List of *eben* + *weil* Co-occurrences

Legend	
<u>solid underlining:</u>	exact repetition of word/phrase
<u>interrupted underlining:</u>	close paraphrasing of phrase/clause
<b>boldface and yellow highlight:</b>	additional occurrence of query word ( <i>eben</i> or <i>gerade</i> )
<b>turquoise highlight:</b>	modal verb; frequently deontic modality
<b>boldface:</b>	expressions for common/shared knowledge
<b>dark red font:</b>	explicit speaker evaluation / explicit speaker self-reference
'ex': external connect	does not include or follow the conjunction
'int': internal connect	includes or follows the conjunction

#	Text Excerpt	Sequence	Subject 1st connect	Subject 2nd connect	Subject Continuity between Clauses	Subject preceding sentence	Continuity to preceding sentence
1)	Büttner (FDP) Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Es ist jetzt auch fast das letzte Mal, dass ich heute etwas sage. Schauen wir einmal! Das Thema, <b>welches wir als FDP-Fraktion mit unserem Antrag anstoßen möchten</b> , ist insofern von hoher Relevanz für das Land Brandenburg und die hier lebenden Menschen, als es eine Vielzahl von Politikfeldern tangiert und darüber hinaus auch häufig auf emotionaler Ebene diskutiert wird, <i>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</i> weil es um die Schicksale insbesondere von Kindern geht. Im Jahr 2008 lag die Zahl der Bezieher von Unterhaltsleistungen in Brandenburg bei etwas weniger als 20 000 Personen.	ex → int	Thema	es (Thema)	Y	ich	N

2)	Wir sind damit gegen Baden-Württemberg, gegen Mailand, gegen Madrid angetreten und haben gewonnen - <b>das muss man doch mal in dieser Deutlichkeit sagen dürfen</b> -, <B>eben</> weil wir genau <u>das, was Sie von uns erwarten</u> , jetzt schon in hervorragender Art und Weise tun -um den Begriff aus dem Koalitionsvertrag <b>noch einmal zu nennen</b> .	ex → int	wir (inclusive)	wir (exclusive)	N	wir	Y
3)	<u>Der Europäische Parkverbund Lausitz, an dem Sachsen, Polen und Brandenburg beteiligt sind</u> , ist nicht von ungefähr entstanden. Auch Kommunalpolitiker aus Forst - Herr Dr. Woidke, Sie wissen das besser als ich - haben dort mitgetan und Initiativen ergriffen, <B>eben</> weil sie <u>mit der polnischen Seite vernetzt sind</u> . Meine Damen und Herren! Programme dieser Art sind auf Bundesebene schon gang und gäbe.	ex → int	Kommunalpolitiker	sie (pl. - Kommunalpolitiker)	Y	Europäischer Parkverband	N
4)	Ärzte haben künftig die Möglichkeit, eine Praxis im ländlichen Raum auch von ihrem Wohnort in der Stadt aus zu betreiben - eine Regelung, die endlich der Bedeutung des Arztberufes als freier Beruf gerecht wird. Nicht zuletzt wird mit der Einführung eines neuen, sektorenverbindenden <u>Versorgungsbereiches der ambulanten spezialärztlichen Versorgung</u> eine neue Qualität in der Versorgung für Menschen geschaffen, die an seltenen Krankheiten oder an Krankheiten mit besonderem Krankheitsverlauf leiden - <B>eben</> weil es unter Umständen sinnvoll sein <b>kann</b> , im Krankenhaus begonnene <u>komplexe Behandlungen auf ambulanter Ebene</u> weiterzuführen.	ex → int	Qualität	es	N	Regelung	N
5)	Es liegt auf der Hand, Berlin hat deutlich weniger Betroffenheit und damit andere Interessen. Berlin kann die Entlastung für Tegel und Tempelhof in die Waagschale werfen, und Berlin profitiert vom Flughafen wirtschaftlich in noch größerem Maße als wir, <B>eben</> weil es diesen metropolennahen Standort gibt. Genau deshalb hat man 1996 Schönefeld politisch entschieden und dort gewollt, ohne Rücksicht auf das Schutzgut Mensch in Brandenburg.	ex → int	Berlin	es	N	Berlin	Y

6)	<p>Denn ich sage Ihnen: <u>Sie haben das Recht, die Wirtschaftlichkeit von Leistungen zu überprüfen, wenn begründete Anhaltspunkte für eine Unwirtschaftlichkeit vorliegen.</u> Hier hätten Sie spätestens, als der "Tagesspiegel "-Bericht über den Maserati erschienen ist, <u>hellwach werden müssen.</u> Möglicherweise lesen Sie den "Tagesspiegel "nicht und bevorzugen andere Tagespresse in dieser Stadt. Ich sage jetzt nicht, welche ich vermute. [ Gregor Hoffmann (CDU): " Neue Welt"! ] Und <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil <u>dies nicht so war, müssen</u> Sie sich als zuständige Senatorin auch unsererseits die Frage gefallen lassen, ob Sie nicht bereit sind, für Transparenz und Aufklärung zu sorgen, oder aber, ob Sie womöglich an der Fähigkeit fehlen. [Beifall bei der FDP] Und... ganz nach dem Motto, Herr Brauer,</p>	int → ex	dies	Sie	N	ich	N
7)	<p>Und davon stammten 81 161 000 Euro aus Landesmitteln, Herr Goiny, die restlichen 24 968 000 kamen aus dem Konjunkturpaket II, aber die 81 Millionen, die hat die Stadtgesellschaft Berlin zur Verfügung gestellt, trotz des klammen Geldbeutels. Der Senat ist sehr wohl im Rahmen seiner <u>finanziellen Möglichkeiten</u> und im Rahmen der <u>Möglichkeiten</u> dieser Stadtgesellschaft den finanziellen Anforderungen der Charite gerecht geworden. <u>Diese Möglichkeiten sind bekanntermaßen begrenzt, und &lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt; weil sie begrenzt sind, gilt es,</u> besonders verantwortungsvoll damit umzugehen. Wir haben nicht nur das Recht, sondern auch die Pflicht, jeden Cent umzudrehen, bevor wir ihn ausgeben, auch wenn wir ihn an die Charite geben.</p>	int → ex	Möglichkeiten	sie (pl.)	Y	Möglichkeiten	Y

8)	<p>Ich fasse zusammen: Das ist wirklich eine Erfolgsgeschichte, die die christlich-liberale Koalition schon 1990 begonnen hat. (Beifall bei der FDP und der CDU/CSU) <b>Mir gibt dieser Antrag, &lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt;</b> weil er von den Linken kommt, <b>Gelegenheit, den Leuten zu sagen:</b> Auch das ist eine Seite des Kommunismus - Raubbau an der Natur, Missachtung der Schöpfung. Da spielt das überhaupt keine Rolle.</p>	parenthetical insertion (parent')	Antrag	er	Y	Das, Erfolgsgeschichte	N
9)	<p>Sie sind <u>pleitegegangen</u>, weil man den Landesbanken gesagt hat: <u>Ihr müsst spekulieren wie die großen privaten Banken</u>. - Daran sind sie <u>zugrundegegangen</u>. Erst regulieren, dann <u>öffentlich-rechtliche Institutionen</u> schaffen. (Beifall bei der LINKEN) Die <u>Sparkassen sind nicht unser Problem</u>. Ganz im Gegenteil, in Brüssel hat man immer über die Sparkassen gemeckert. Jetzt sagt man dort kein Wort mehr, weil die Sparkassen <u>in der Krise tapfer und gut standen</u>; <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt;</b> weil sie <u>öffentlich-rechtlich waren und nicht weltweit spekuliert haben</u>. (Beifall bei der LINKEN) Was wir heute hier im Bundestag vorgelegt bekommen, sind erste Schritte auf diesem richtigen Weg. Das ist in der Tat schwierig und wird vermutlich auch nicht ausreichen; aber es sind <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt;</b> die ersten richtigen Schritte dieser Regierung in der Euro-Krise.</p>	ex → int	man	sie (pl.)	N	man	Y
10)	<p>Wer sich aber ein bisschen in der Wirtschaft umschaute - ich selbst mache sehr viele Besuche in Betrieben und Unternehmen -, der stellt fest, dass die Unternehmen, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt;</b> weil sie wissen, dass sie auf diese gut ausgebildeten Frauen nicht verzichten <b>können</b>, bereits auf einem sehr guten Weg sind, was familienfreundliche Arbeitsbedingungen betrifft. <b>Gerade</b> die mittelständische Wirtschaft ist zunehmend kreativ, um hier entsprechend wettbewerbsfähig zu sein und auf die gut ausgebildeten Frauen leicht zurückgreifen zu können.</p>	parent	Unternehmen (pl.)	sie (pl.)	Y	der	N

11)	<p>was die Ereignisse in Fukushima für uns in Deutschland, in Baden-Württemberg bedeuten. Es ist unsere Pflicht, darüber zu sprechen, wie solche Katastrophen in Zukunft verhindert werden können. <u>Das ist eine hochpolitische Frage</u>, eine Frage, der wir noch mehr Aufmerksamkeit widmen müssen als in der Vergangenheit. <b>Eben</b> weil es eine <u>hochpolitische Frage</u> ist, reicht es auch nicht aus, hilflos mit Vertröstungen darauf zu reagieren. Denn eines ist klar: CDU und FDP haben in diesem Punkt ein ganz dickes Glaubwürdigkeitsproblem. (Beifall bei der SPD und den Grünen) Harrisburg, Tschernobyl und nun Fukushima - diese Katastrophe ist nicht irgendwo passiert, sondern im Hochtechnologieland Japan.</p>	int → ex	es	es	Y	das, Frage	Y
12)	<p>Aus unserer Sicht gelten gleiche Unterrichtsrechte für Bundestag und Bundesrat. (Beifall bei den Grünen und der SPD) Der Ministerpräsident wird daher übermorgen im Bundesrat noch einmal deutlich machen: Die Länder werden, <b>eben</b> weil sie sich ihrer europäischen Verantwortung bewusst sind, keinen Blankoscheck unterschreiben. Wir sind in Verhandlungen mit der Bundesregierung, um noch vor der Sondersitzung des Bundesrats am Freitag zu einer Lösung zu kommen.</p>	parent	Länder	sie (pl.)	Y	Ministerpräsident	N
13)	<p>Das ist etwas, was Sie bereits hätten tun können, was wir umsetzen werden. Denn es kommt darauf an, die Gymnasien in der Tat in <u>ihrem Auftrag der individuellen Förderung</u> weiter zu stärken, <b>eben</b> weil die <u>Zusammensetzung der Schülerschaft immer heterogener</u> wird. ( Abg. Karl-Wilhelm Röhm CDU: Sie helfen mir dabei persönlich? ) - natürlich; klar.</p>	ex → int	Es	die Zusammensetzung	N	Das	N



14)	<p>Aber es sind immerhin noch vier Tage bis zur Volksabstimmung. Damit gibt es noch vor der Volksabstimmung eine klare Botschaft. Das Zweite: Sie sind nicht mehr Opposition. <u>Sie regieren</u>. &lt;B&gt;Eben&lt;/&gt; <u>weil Sie regieren</u>, weil Sie als Grüne gemeinsam mit der anderen Regierungsfraktion die Mehrheit in diesem Parlament stellen, haben wir von Ihnen eine klare Aussage erwartet. Sie können aber auch von uns eine klare Aussage erwarten.</p>	int → ex	Sie	wir	N	Sie	Y
15)	<p>Herr Innenminister, Sie haben doch, noch als Staatssekretär - auch im Innenministerium -, auf dem Gewerkschaftstag der GdP <u>von Problemen in der Führungskultur der hessischen Polizei gesprochen</u>. Das waren Sie. Sie wurden nicht genötigt, darüber zu reden. Vielmehr haben Sie sich entschlossen, <u>über die mangelnde Führungsqualität zu sprechen</u>. Herr Innenminister, das haben Sie aus freien Stücken getan, &lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt; <u>weil es Probleme in der Führungskultur der hessischen Polizei gab</u>. Es war also nicht die böse Opposition, sondern Sie waren derjenige, der das auf dem Gewerkschaftstag vorgetragen hat. Sie haben den Landespolizeipräsidenten Nedela hinausgeschmissen. Warum denn? Haben Sie ihn hinausgeschmissen, weil alles gut war, weil alles in Ordnung war, weil es keine Probleme gab und weil Sie Herrn Nedela mehr Freizeit verschaffen wollten?</p>	ex → int	Sie	es	N	Sie	Y

16)	<p>So ist es hier auch gewesen. Ich frage mich tatsächlich, welche Angst Sie umgetrieben hat, die <u>Position dieser kommunalen Strukturen nicht anzuhören</u>. (Beifall bei der LINKEN) Auch mit dem zweiten Punkt, den ich angemahnt habe, <b>müssen</b> Sie sich weiterhin auseinandersetzen, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil <u>Sie dieses Verfahren nicht zugelassen</u> haben. Natürlich geht es auch darum, parteipolitische Motive durchzusetzen und eine Koalitionsmehrheit dafür auszunutzen. Es geht darum, das Gesetz jetzt zu verabschieden und damit zu verhindern, dass darüber diskutiert werden und ein tatsächlich nachhaltiges Gesetz entstehen kann.</p>	ex → int	Sie	Sie	Y	ich	N
17)	<p>Ich begrüße ausdrücklich, Herr Wenzel, dass der Parteitag der Grünen sehr engagiert über viele Stunden - einige davon habe ich mir im Fernsehen anschauen können - darum gerungen hat, eine Antwort auf die Frage zu finden, ob man dem Kurs der Bundesregierung folgen will. <b>Ich finde</b>, dass der Beschluss, den Sie gefasst haben, durchaus historisch zu nennen ist, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil er für viele bedeutet hat, über ihren Schatten springen zu müssen. Ich sehe die große Chance, mit Ihnen gemeinsam einen gesellschaftlichen Konsens umzusetzen.</p>	ex → int	Ich	er	N	Ich	Y
18)	<p>Die zweite Möglichkeit ist - so ist es in Bayern, aber auch in Thüringen -, einen beliebigen Unternehmer einzusetzen. Das würde also eine private Firma organisieren, <u>der dann allerdings eine Monopolstellung zukommt</u>. Hier wäre der Einfluss des Landes auch durchaus noch gegeben. Diesem Weg <b>müssten</b>, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil <u>einer Firma eine Monopolstellung zugesprochen würde</u>, aber alle Kommunen zustimmen. Das ist ein sehr kompliziertes Verfahren.</p>	parent	Kommunen	Monopolstellung	N	Einfluss	N

19)	<p>Frau Präsidentin! Verehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir leben, Frau Kollegin Beuermann, in einer streitbaren, wir leben in einer wehrhaften, wir leben in einer abwehrbereiten, <u>aber wir leben auch in einer wachsamem und aus meiner Sicht insgesamt gefestigten, jungen, gerade erst sechzigjährigen Demokratie in Deutschland.</u> <b>Eben</b> weil wir so <u>wachsam sind</u>, wurde mit dem Grundgesetz ein umfassendes Verfassungsschutzsystem geschaffen. Jährliche Verfassungsschutzberichte sind bei uns zu einer Selbstverständlichkeit geworden. Zu diesem System gehören die Verfassungsgerichte ebenso wie die Verfassungsschutzämter im Bund und in den Ländern.</p>	int → ex	wir	Verfassungsschutzsystem	N	wir	Y
20)	<p>In der letzten Periode sind wir damit gestartet. Wir haben ca. 20 Verbundschulen auf den Weg gebracht in einem Zusammenschluss von Haupt- und Realschulen, allerdings mit <u>unterschiedlichen Profilen und differenzierten Abschlüssen</u>, <b>eben</b> weil <u>Schülerinnen und Schüler unterschiedlich begabt sind</u> und daher auch unterschiedlich gefördert werden <b>müssen</b>.</p>	ex → int	wir	Schüler	N	wir	N
21)	<p>(Zuruf von der CDU: Das haben schon andere in Deutschland ausprobiert!) Das von Frau Löttsch ausgesuchte Zitat von Rosa Luxemburg ist für die heutige Debatte auch aus einem anderen Grund von besonderer Bedeutung: Es lässt die von Ihnen in dem Alternativantrag postulierte Ablehnung des Kommunismus eigentlich schal erscheinen - <b>eben</b> weil sich Ihre Streichung aus dem Antragstext der Fraktionen der CDU, der SPD und der FDP wie eine Einschränkung lesen <b>müsste</b>.</p>	ex → int	Es (Zitat)	Ihre Streichung	N	Zitat	Y

22)	Das eigentlich Problematische ist die damit verbundene verbindliche Entscheidung über den Bildungsgang, meine Damen und Herren, weil damit über einen <u>schmaleren oder einen breiteren Zugang zu Bildungsangeboten</u> entschieden wird, und das <b>eben zu einem Zeitpunkt</b> , der extrem zu früh ist. Kinder werden auf ein Bildungsgleis gesetzt, von dem sie <u>nicht so einfach wieder herunterkommen</u> , <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil die Schere <u>ab diesem Zeitpunkt</u> weit auseinandergeht. Das ist quasi ein Teufelskreis. Man kann es auch eine sich selbst erfüllende Prophezeiung nennen.	ex → int	Kinder	die Schere	N	Entscheidung	N
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Clause Connection Sequences	
Internal to External Connect	5 (22.72%)
External to Internal Connect	13 (59.1%)
Parenthetical Insertion	4 (18.18%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22 (100.00%)</b>

Subject Continuity between Clauses	
Yes	8 (36.36%)
No	14 (63.64%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22 (100.00%)</b>

Subject Continuity to Preceding Sentence	
Yes	10 (45.45%)
No	12 (54.55%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22 (100.00%)</b>

## 7.7. List of *gerade* + *weil* Co-occurrences

Legend	
solid underlining:	exact repetition of word/phrase
<u>interrupted underlining:</u>	close paraphrasing of phrase/clause
<b>boldface and yellow highlight:</b>	additional occurrence of query word ( <i>eben</i> or <i>gerade</i> )
<b>turquoise highlight:</b>	modal verb; frequently deontic modality
<b>boldface and magenta highlight:</b>	expression of contrast
<b>teal highlight:</b>	meta-discursive evaluation of logical connector
<b>boldface:</b>	expressions for common/shared knowledge
<b>dark red font:</b>	explicit speaker evaluation / explicit speaker self-reference
'ex': external connect	does not include or follow the conjunction
'int': internal connect	includes or follows the conjunction

#	Text Excerpt	Sequence	Subject 1st Connect	Subject 2nd Connect	Subject Continuity between Clauses	Subject preceding sentence	Subject continuity to preceding sentence
1)	Als wir über den damaligen Entwurf diskutierten, gab es das Energieleitungsausbaugesetz noch gar nicht. Es muss ja Gründe geben, aus denen laut dem Schreiben der Niedersächsischen Staatskanzlei vom 03.02.2011 an den Ausschuss für Wirtschaft das Niedersächsische Erdkabelgesetz derzeit keine Anwendung findet. <b>Ebenso weise ich die Unterstellung zurück</b> , dass die Koalition mit diesem Antrag den Bemühungen der Bundestagsfraktionen der SPD und der Linken sowie dem Bundesumweltministerium in den Rücken falle. Wenn der Bundesgesetzgeber eine grundsätzliche Erdverkabelung von <u>110-kV-Leitungen</u> ermöglichen sollte, indem die anfallenden Mehrkosten im Vergleich zu einer Freileitung bundesweit umgelegt werden, wird dies mit Sicherheit nicht an Brandenburg scheitern, <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil das Land in besonders hohem Maße vom Bau von neuen <u>110-kV-Leitungen</u> betroffen ist.	ex → int	dies	das Land	N	Bundes-gesetzgeber; ∅;	N

2)	<p>Die Bundespolitik macht ernst mit dem Verzicht auf unsinnige Investitionen, aber das Land verklagt den Bund auf den Bau einer Megaschleuse in Kleinmachnow. (Heiterkeit der Abgeordneten Nonnemacher [GRÜNE/B90])</p> <p>- Zwischenrufe von der Fraktion DIE LINKE ) - diese haben Sie ja inzwischen abgeblasen, aber Sie haben es gemacht. &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil wir Brandenburger immer noch vom Bund und von der Solidarität der anderen Bundesländer profitieren, <b>kann ich nicht nachvollziehen</b>, warum bei jeder Gelegenheit die Benachteiligung Ostdeutschlands beklagt wird oder neue Privilegien eingefordert werden.</p>	int → ex	wir	ich	N	sie (pl.)	N
3)	<p>Erstens: Ich teile die Auffassung von Frau Wehlan ausdrücklich. Der Antrag - selbst wenn Sie das unterstellte Ziel wirklich erreichen wollen - hilft keinem, er verschärft die Probleme noch, die wir in der öffentlichen Debatte zu dem Flughafen haben. Ich darf Ihnen nur sagen: Unsere Erfahrungen mit Privatisierungen solcher Projekte haben wir gemacht. Und &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil es nicht funktioniert hat, gab es die Grundsatzentscheidung, dass die öffentliche Hand - also Bund, Berlin und Brandenburg - diesen Flughafen baut. Jetzt von einer Privatisierung zu reden, wo hier womöglich Rückflüsse an die öffentliche Hand zu Buche stehen, <b>finde ich etwas unangemessen</b>, wenn ich das so sagen darf, und dies ist der Bedeutung des Projekts nicht angemessen</p>	int → ex	es <sub>1</sub>	es <sub>2</sub>	N	wir	N
4)	<p>Gleichzeitig wird die verfasste Studierendenschaft aufrechterhalten. Der Unterschied ist nur, dass den Studierenden die Entscheidungsfreiheit gegeben wird. Ich glaube, das ist auch das, was unseren jungen Mitbürgern mit auf den Weg geben müssen: dass sie die Freiheit zur Entscheidung und zur Mitbestimmung haben. Das wird <b>eben</b> nicht gemacht. <u>Meine Damen und Herren</u>, &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil wir Liberale die studentische Selbstverwaltung als ein so wichtiges Element ansehen und schließlich auch mit eingeführt haben, <b>ist es unsere Pflicht</b>, deren Probleme anzusprechen. Mit diesem Gesetzentwurf bringen wir die ASTen wieder näher an die Studierenden, indem sie transparent aufzeigen müssen, warum diese studentische Selbstverwaltung gute Arbeit leistet und wie sie diese leistet.</p>	int → ex	wir (exclusive)	es	N	das	N

5)	<p>Mit diesem Zielviereck - Wirtschaftlichkeit, Klimaverträglichkeit, Versorgungssicherheit sowie Beteiligung und Akzeptanz - könnten wir das erste Bundesland sein, das Beteiligung und Akzeptanz festschreibt. Energiepolitik braucht verlässliche Zahlen und klare Strukturen. Hier sind alle gefragt, ob regional oder lokal. Die breite öffentliche Teilhabe der Bevölkerung ist ein wichtiger Zukunftsfaktor für diese Energiepolitik, die wir alle dringend brauchen. Wir brauchen Wirtschaftsinitiative und Nachhaltigkeit als wichtigen Faktor, &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil wir alle hier <b>wollen</b>, dass Brandenburg ein Energieexportland bleibt. Mit dem Atomausstieg haben sich aber die Grundlagen für die CO2-Belastung stark geändert. Wir <b>müssen</b> mehr auf Braunkohle - darin sind wir uns alle sicherlich einig - als Brückentechnologie setzen.</p>	ex → int	wir	wir	Y	Teilhabe; die	N
6)	<p>Sicherheitsanforderungen an Kernkraftwerke <b>müssen</b> europaweit geregelt werden, und zwar auf höchstem Niveau. Denn zu den 17 deutschen Kernkraftwerken kommen 124 in anderen Mitgliedstaaten hinzu. Mit Russland, der Ukraine und der Schweiz kommt Europa auf 196 Reaktoren. &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/&gt; weil wir in diesen Tagen daran erinnert werden, dass Radioaktivität nicht an Landesgrenzen Halt macht, <b>müssen</b> wir die Dinge in einem größeren Zusammenhang sehen. Deswegen begrüße ich ausdrücklich die Initiative von Herrn EU-Kommissar Oettinger, schnellstens zu einem Zusammenwirken zu kommen. Ich bin sehr gespannt darauf, wie sich dies gerade auf die Kooperationsbereitschaft der Staaten auswirkt, die sich bislang nicht unbedingt an den höchsten Sicherheitsstandards, wie sie in Deutschland gelten, orientiert haben.</p>	int → ex	wir	wir	Y	Europa	N
7)	<p>Vielen Dank. Es gibt Nachfragen. Frau Blechinger, bitte. Frau Blechinger (CDU) &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/&gt; <u>weil ich in der Arbeitsgruppensitzung am 6. Mai anwesend war</u>, <b>stelle ich diese Frage</b>; denn dort ist deutlich geworden, dass die Auffassung des Beauftragten für Biber-Management, Präventionsmaßnahmen seien ausreichend, nicht mit den Erfahrungen der dort anwesenden Landwirte übereinstimmt.</p>	int → ex	ich	ich	Y	N/A	N

8)	Die Arbeit der Familienhebammen wurde schon im Rahmen des Aktionsprogrammes "Frühe Hilfen" des Bundesministeriums untersucht. Dabei wurden positive präventive Wirkungen in Risikofamilien festgestellt. <b>Dies muss deutlich hervorgehoben werden</b> , <B>gerade</> weil wir durch den Bericht der Landesregierung zu den Instrumenten der Kindergesundheit und zum Kinderschutz gelernt haben, wie schwierig wissenschaftliche Evaluationen in diesem Bereich sind. Familienhebammen wirken!	ex → int	dies	wir	N	∅	N
9)	(Zuruf von der CDU) - ja, es lag dann wahrscheinlich an uns, da wir die Gelder nicht bewilligt haben. der Koalitionspartner ist immer schuld, völlig klar. <b>Es ist nicht befriedigend</b> , das ist überhaupt keine Frage, <B>gerade</> weil bei den Verwaltungsgerichten Bürgerinnen und Bürger vorstellig werden, die Verwaltungsentscheidungen überprüft haben möchten. In Rheinland-Pfalz dauert das drei Monate.	ex → int	es	Bürgerinnen und Bürger	N	Es	Y
10)	Werte Frau Kolat! Dann würde ich Sie bitten, wenigstens zu begründen, warum es nicht mit unserem Antrag geht. [ Uwe Doering (Linksfraktion): Weil unserer besser ist! ] Ihrer ist mit schnellster Nadel gemacht worden. <b>Das stelle ich nur einmal fest</b> , <B>gerade</> weil Herr Gram da sitzt. Das wird Ihnen dann auch auffallen, dass sich die Koalition überhaupt nicht auf eine Änderung der LHO in der letzten Fassung bezieht.	ex → int	ich	Herr Gram	N	Ihrer	N
11)	Beifall bei der SPD und der Linksfraktion - Thomas Birk (Grüne): In den Bezirken gibt es auch Juristen, und die werden gut bezahlt! ] <b>Transparenz ist unabdingbar</b> , <B>gerade</> weil Bürgerbegehren, Volksentscheide, Volksbegehren aus der Logik der Sache heraus stets nur einseitigen Interessen dienen. <b>Deswegen ist es ungeheuer wichtig</b> , dass die Bürgerinnen und Bürger wissen, welche großen Spender die gleichen Interessen teilen.	ex → int	Transparenz	Bürger	N	es	N



12)	<p>War die gute alte Bewag noch ganz selbstverständlich alleiniger Strom- und Fernwärmeversorger in Berlin, Erzeugung, Netz und Vertrieb waren also in einer Hand, schreibt die EU inzwischen das sogenannte Unbundling vor, die strikte Trennung der drei Bereiche. Die heutigen Versorger Vattenfall und GASAG unterhalten daher Tochterunternehmen zum Betrieb der <u>Netze</u>. <b>Doch</b> &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil die <u>Netze</u> eine Infrastruktur darstellen, die allen Erzeugern und Versorgern diskriminierungsfrei zur Verfügung stehen <b>müssen</b>, und weil sie Wegerechte im städtischen Eigentum erfordern, stellt der Betrieb und der Unterhalt der Netze, die Investitionen in die Netze eine ganz typische Aufgabe der öffentlichen Hand dar.</p>	int → ex	Netze	Betrieb	N	Versorger	N
13)	<p>Danke schön, Frau Kollegin Kubala! - Für die Linksfraktion hat nunmehr Frau Platta das Wort. - Bitte schön, Frau Platta, ergreifen Sie es! Marion Platta (Linksfraktion) Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Die Urberliner haben sich im <u>Warschau-Berliner-Urstromtal</u> angesiedelt, &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil die <u>Wasserversorgung</u> als eine der wichtigen Lebensgrundlagen hier gesichert schien. Nun erleben wir die Vor- und Nachteile dieser Ansiedlung in <u>Wassernähe</u>. Der Antrag zum Schutz der Menschen vor steigendem Grundwasser im Rudower Blumenviertel liegt vor.</p>	ex → int	Urberliner	Wasserversorgung	N	N/A	N
14)	<p><b>Und ich glaube</b>, es ist auch eine Chance für die Wissenschaft insgesamt in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, weil es Probleme beispielhaft lösen kann, die gelöst werden müssen, weil wir sonst mit dem Problem der Forschungsförderung nicht zurechtkommen. Das Ganze <b>aber</b> - das <b>will</b> ich überhaupt nicht verschweigen, und &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil es so <b>wichtig ist</b>, dass man es erreicht, <b>muss</b> man es sehen - ist kein Selbstläufer. <b>Ich will es jetzt nicht in allen Einzelheiten aufzählen</b>, aber das erste Problem liegt doch auf der Hand:</p>	int → ex	es	man	N	das Ganze	Y

15)	Dies stellt nach Einschätzung unserer Experten zwar keine unmittelbare gesundheitliche Gefährdung für Verbraucher dar, trotzdem gilt: Dioxin ist ein Umweltgift, dessen Eintrag in Lebensmittel, egal woher und egal in welcher Konzentration, <u>soweit wie möglich begrenzt werden muss</u> . (Beifall bei der CDU/CSU und der FDP) <B>Gerade</> weil <u>jede zusätzliche Belastung unterbunden werden muss, sage ich den Verbraucherinnen und Verbrauchern</u> : Dieser Skandal wird Konsequenzen haben. ( Waltraud Wolff [Wolmirstedt] [SPD]: Da sind wir aber gespannt! )	int → ex	Belastung	ich	N	Dioxin	N
16)	Katherina Reiche Es liegen Messergebnisse von Ultraschalluntersuchungen vor. Diesen Messergebnissen ist auch nachgegangen worden. Die Messergebnisse sagen <u>nicht</u> , dass es zwingend ein <u>Riss</u> ist. <u>Aber</u> <B>gerade</> weil es sich um ein Kernkraftwerk und <u>gerade</u> weil es sich um einen sensiblen Bereich handelt, <u>unterstellen wir einen solchen möglichen Riss</u> .	int → ex	es	wir (exclusive)	N	die Messergebnisse, es	Y
17)	Diese Zahlen zeigen, dass es verantwortungslos ist, ohne Kenntnis der Situation vor Ort Erfolge schlechtzureden. (Beifall bei der FDP und der CDU/CSU) Richtig ist, dass wir Familien, Frauen und Mädchen neue Lebenschancen geben konnten. <u>Auch ich kann mir allerdings vieles besser vorstellen</u> . <u>Aber</u> <B>gerade</> weil <u>vieles besser werden kann</u> , ist Deutschlands Rolle jetzt nicht schlechtreden, sondern besser machen und Fortschritte sichern; denn noch sind die Fortschritte nicht unumkehrbar.	int → ex	vieles	Deutschlands Rolle	N	ich	N
18)	Wie mühevoll diese Aufgabe ist, das erleben wir in den Debatten, aktuell bei der Debatte um die Hartz-IV-Sätze im Vermittlungsausschuss. Diese Aufgabe ist mühevoll, und <u>es ist streitig</u> , was im Einzelnen auf der Grundlage des Leitbildes des Grundgesetzes verhandelt wird. <u>Aber</u> <B>gerade</> <u>weil es streitig ist, ist es so wichtig</u> , dass der Streit auf dem gleichen Fundament geführt wird, wenn er zu regierungsfähigem Handeln führen soll. " Gleiches Fundament" bedeutet eben nicht das Ausprobieren von Wegen zum Kommunismus, sondern sich täglich der Mühe zu unterziehen, jedem Menschen in dieser Gesellschaft ein Leben in Würde zu ermöglichen.	int → ex	es1	es1	Y	es	Y

19)	Achten Sie unsere Arbeit, weil auch wir den Opfern helfen wollen. <b>Ich finde</b> , es gehört zum Anstand in diesem Hohen Hause, dass man einander <u>achtet</u> und die Arbeit der anderen nicht dadurch diskreditiert, dass man sie nicht einmal mitmachen lässt. <b>Ich will ausdrücklich hinzufügen</b> : <B>Gerade</> weil die Opfer von "Euthanasie "und Zwangssterilisierung in der DDR <u>nicht gebührend geachtet</u> und gewürdigt wurden, haben wir diese Anträge eingebracht. Wir haben gelernt und wollen dieses Unrecht wiedergutmachen. Sie geben uns dazu aber keine richtige Chance. Gehen Sie in sich und überlegen Sie sich, ob das wirklich sein muss. Vielen Dank	int → ex	die Opfer	wir (exclusive)	N	ich	N
20)	Dieses Abkommen ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des Stabilisierungs- und Assoziierungsprozesses. Das ist ein Prozess, den die Europäische Union nach den Kriegen im ehemaligen Jugoslawien ins Leben gerufen hat. Dieser Prozess bildet nach wie vor den Kompass für Stabilität und <u>nachhaltige</u> Reformen in der Region, <B>gerade</> weil er eine <u>nachhaltige</u> Perspektive beinhaltet. Serbien bekennt sich in dem Stabilisierungs- und Assoziierungsabkommen zu den europäischen Werten:	ex → int	dieser Prozess	er (Prozess)	Y	das, Prozess; EU	Y
21)	Sie wollen gar nichts machen. Ob man das Dagegen-Mentalität nennt oder schlicht als verantwortungslos bezeichnet, überlasse ich dem Urteil anderer; das muss ich nicht wiederholen. <b>Ich werbe auch bei der Grünen-Fraktion</b> - <B>gerade</> weil wir uns über die ambitionierten Klimaschutzziele einig sind - um eine sorgfältige Prüfung und Evaluierung von CCS. Am Ende des Prozesses steht eine Entscheidung.	parenthetical insertion	ich	wir (inclusive)	N	man; ich	Y

22)	Denn 100 Jahre Weltfrauentag sind nicht nur ein Grund zum Feiern, sondern in erster Linie Ansporn und Verpflichtung für die nächsten 100 Jahre. (Beifall bei Abgeordneten der CDU/CSU und der FDP) <b>Ich will kurz auf die Herausforderungen eingehen. Ich sehe die Hauptherausforderung derzeit darin</b> , in unseren Anstrengungen nicht nachzulassen. Denn <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil schon so vieles erreicht wurde, scheint das Thema vor allem junge Menschen nicht sonderlich zu interessieren. Studien bestätigen das. Fragt man 20-jährige Frauen und Männer nach ihrer Meinung zur Gleichstellung, wie es in der Sinus-Studie der Fall war, so stellt man fest, dass sie ganz selbstverständlich davon ausgehen, dass sie gleiche Chancen haben.	int → ex	vieles	Thema	N	ich	N
23)	Es geht um faire Löhne, die sicherstellen, dass Frau oder Mann nicht auf dem Amt zu einem Bittsteller gegenüber dem Staat wird, um faire Löhne, die ausreichen, um monatlich wirklich über die Runden kommen zu können. <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil wir das <b>wollen</b> , haben wir vor zwei Wochen hier im Deutschen Bundestag einen neuen Anlauf für einen flächendeckenden existenzsichernden Mindestlohn unternommen. (Beifall bei der SPD) Dennoch gibt es einige weitere Punkte, <b>die ich erwähnen möchte</b> .	int → ex	wir1 (exclusive)	wir1	Y	es	N
24)	Der Begriff Netzneutralität bezeichnet die neutrale Übermittlung von Daten im Internet, das bedeutet eine gleichberechtigte Übertragung aller Datenpakete unabhängig davon, woher diese stammen, welchen Inhalt sie haben oder welche Anwendungen die Pakete generiert haben. Ich will diese <u>Definition</u> gerne zugrunde legen; <u>allgemeingültig</u> ist sie allerdings nicht. <u>Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen</u> , <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil die <b>Definition des Begriffs schon schwer</b> ist und deshalb auch die Frage schwer zu beantworten ist, was denn die Netzneutralität überhaupt gefährden kann, <b>müssen</b> wir zumindest positiv <u>gemeinsame Zielvorstellungen definieren</u> :	int → ex	Definition	wir	N	ich	N

25)	Wir setzen uns stattdessen für eine wissenschaftsbasierte Kennzeichnung ein. In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch die Behauptung von Bündnis 90/Die Grünen abzulehnen, bei der Europäischen Behörde für Lebensmittelsicherheit, EFSA, gebe es ein Defizit an Transparenz und Wissenschaftlichkeit. <b>Im Gegenteil:</b> <B>Gerade</> weil sich diese Behörde nicht den ideologisierten Forderungen anschließt, arbeitet sie wissenschaftlich und nicht ideologisch beeinflussbar.	int → ex	die Behörde	sie (Behörde)	Y	die Behauptung; es	N
26)	Die Botschaften, die wir im Rheintal vernehmen konnten, waren sehr eindeutig. Die erste Botschaft lautet: Wir <b>wollen</b> , dass der Schienenverkehr im Rheintal ausgebaut wird. <b>Wir erkennen an</b> , dass <b>es notwendig ist</b> , diese Kapazitäten zu schaffen. Wir brauchen eine Verlagerung, <B>gerade</> weil es einen Staatsvertrag mit der Schweiz gibt, den wir erfüllen <b>müssen</b> . Deswegen ist das wichtig. Die zweite Botschaft lautet:	ex → int	wir (inclusive)	es	N	wir	Y
27)	Dieser maßgebliche Schritt verdeutlicht, dass wir auf dem richtigen Weg sind, um die <u>von uns angestrebte völlige Übergabe in afghanische Verantwortung</u> bis 2014 zu erreichen. Zum Abschluss <b>möchte ich noch einmal unterstreichen:</b> <B>Gerade</> weil dieses Mandat <u>unseren Abzug aus Afghanistan befördern kann</u> , <b>kann</b> auf eine Erhöhung der Mandatsobergrenze verzichtet werden. Dies ist ein weiterer Grund, aus dem die Vorlage der Bundesregierung eine breite Unterstützung finden sollte.	int → ex	Mandat	∅	N	ich	N
28)	Das Bundesverfassungsgericht hat in dem Urteil aus dem Jahre 2008, das Sie sicherlich gelesen haben, ich glaube, in den Ziffern 76 und 78 ausgeführt, dass konkrete Bedrohungslagen vorhanden sind. Es hat dann, im Gegensatz zur Einschätzung der damaligen Bundesregierung, für diesen Fall eine konkrete Bedrohung in Anspruch genommen. <B>Gerade</> weil wir dieses Urteil kennen und, wie der Bundesverteidigungsminister heute ausgeführt hat, sehr korrekt beachten <b>wollen</b> und werden, hatten wir alle Dinge ausgeschlossen, die außerhalb einer rein routinemäßigen, unser aller Sicherheit dienenden Operation von AWACS hätten entstanden sein können.	int → ex	wir1 (exclusive)	wir1	Y	es	N

29)	Die Abschaffung des Zivildienstes - das ist heute schon gesagt worden - reißt natürlich eine Lücke in unsere Gesellschaft. <b>Gerade</b> weil wir eine älter werdende Gesellschaft sind und <B>gerade</> weil viele Menschen in hohem Alter pflegebedürftig sind, große Bedürftigkeit haben, <b>war es gut und richtig</b> - das haben uns alle Verbände gesagt -, dass wir Zivildienstleistende hatten.	int → ex	wir	es	N	Abschaffung	N
30)	Denn es kann doch keiner ausschließen, dass unter den Demonstranten etliche Menschen mit <u>Asthma</u> oder <u>Allergiker</u> sind. Das Gleiche gilt für den Protest gegen den Castortransport. Auch der Einsatz gegen sogenannte Randalierer, die eventuell <u>nur einfache Ruhestörungen</u> verursachen, <b>muss</b> unterbunden werden. Denn <B>gerade</> weil solche Personen häufig <u>Drogen konsumiert</u> haben, ist <u>Pfefferspray</u> für sie unvergleichlich viel gefährlicher. Wir <b>können</b> mit unserem Antrag nur den <u>Pfeffersprayeinsatz</u> der Bundespolizei einschränken.	int → ex	solche Personen	Pfefferspray	N	Einsatz	N
31)	Die Bundesregierung hat hier nichts verändert. Sie bleibt bei einer Obergrenze von 15 000 Euro Geldbuße. (Katja Kipping [DIE LINKE]: Peinlich!) Seien Sie doch ehrlich: Für multinationale Konzerne sind das Peanuts. (Beifall beim BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN, bei der SPD und der LINKEN - Gabriele Lösekrug-Möller [SPD]: Die lachen darüber! - Matthias W. Birkwald [DIE LINKE]: Noch eine Null dranhängen! ) - eine Null dranhängen; genau. Zweitens. Wenn Europäische Betriebsräte nicht unterrichtet und angehört wurden, brauchen sie, <B>gerade</> weil diese Sanktionen so schwach sind, zudem ein Unterlassungsrecht, damit die Umsetzung von Beschlüssen verhindert werden kann. Drittens.	parent	sie (eur. Betriebsräte)	diese Sanktionen	N	N/A	N
32)	Die Mutter eines behinderten Kindes fragt in Christ & Welt: Was empfinden Menschen wie mein Sohn angesichts solcher Debatten - sie, die sich besonders mühen müssen, in dieser Welt zurechtzukommen, <B>gerade</> weil sie etwas anders ticken, als es die Norm erfordert, die sich enorm anstrengen, dazuzugehören, und dabei doch immer wissen, dass sie Sonderfälle sind, gnädigerweise alimentiert von der Gesellschaft?	ex → int	sie (Menschen)	sie (Menschen)	Y	Menschen	Y

33)	Mein Sohn muss zur Kenntnis nehmen, dass er als Risiko definiert wird, dass es als Fortschritt gilt, wenn möglichst wenige seiner Art geboren werden. - Und gleichzeitig der Satz eines Paares, das schon zwei Kinder mit einer schweren Behinderung hat: Ein weiteres, das schaffen wir einfach nicht, <b>gerade</b> weil wir die beiden so lieb haben. Wer wollte heute schon entscheiden, was schwerer wiegt? Kann das irgendjemand von uns denn wirklich?	ex → int	wir	wir	Y	Paar	Y
34)	An die Politik gewendet gilt hier stets die Frage: Haben wir alles Menschenmögliche getan, um die etwaigen Folgen derartiger Katastrophen bestmöglich abzumildern oder sie gar im Vorfeld zu verhindern? Das <u>Undenkbare denken</u> und Vorsorge treffen, darin besteht die Herausforderung des Bevölkerungsschutzes, <b>auch wenn und gerade</b> weil wir wissen: Katastrophen sind per se <u>das zumeist nicht Planbare, das Unvorhersehbare</u> . Und: Das Ereignis selbst muss noch nicht automatisch zu einer Katastrophe werden. Tatsächliche Katastrophen, die im Grunde genommen ja nichts anderes sind als die Überforderung einer Gesellschaft,...	ex → int	die Herausforderung	wir	N	das Undenkbare denken	Y
35)	Die CDU/CSU verabschiedet sich von etwas, das lange Zeit für sie identitätsstiftend war: der Wehrpflicht. Sie versuchen jetzt, in diese Richtung Grund hineinzubringen. Sie sagen der deutschen Öffentlichkeit: Wir wollen mit einem Konzept von 175 000 plus x künftig diese Aufgaben einer Bundeswehr bewältigen. <b>Ich hätte in Ihrer heutigen Regierungserklärung, gerade</b> weil ich wichtige strategische Grundentscheidungen, die Sie mit benannt haben, teile, gerne von Ihnen eine Begründung gehört, warum das, was Ihnen Ihr eigener Generalinspekteur aufgeschrieben hat, nicht Leitlinie gewesen ist.	parent	ich	ich	Y	wir (exclusive)	N



36)	<p>Bei der Maritimen Konferenz machen Sie das Gleiche wie im Bereich der Städtebauförderung: Sie wickeln erfolgreiche Projekte ab. Das ist keine gute Politik für Deutschland und im konkreten Fall nicht für die maritime Wirtschaft. (Beifall bei der SPD - Eckhardt Rehberg [CDU/CSU]: Es sollten sich nur die melden, die was zur maritimen Wirtschaft zu erzählen haben!) <b>Ich hätte gedacht</b>, dass die maritime Politik, <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil die Kanzlerin einen Wahlkreis an der Küste hat, dieser Koalition eine Herzensangelegenheit wäre, (Johannes Kahrs [SPD]: Das Gegenteil ist der Fall! - Gegenruf des Abg. Eckhardt Rehberg [CDU/CSU]: Nun ist aber gut!) dass sie mit Engagement und Empathie betrieben würde. Aber Zukunftsfragen der maritimen Wirtschaft werden in der Bundesregierung nicht beantwortet,</p>	parent	maritime Politik	die Kanzlerin	N	Das	N
37)	<p>Auch Journalisten werden häufig strafrechtlich verfolgt und verurteilt, und der Druck auf die Medien untergräbt die Pressefreiheit. Nichtmuslimische Religionsgemeinschaften und die Aleviten werden weiterhin unangemessenen Beschränkungen unterworfen. Die "demokratische Öffnung ", mit der insbesondere die Kurdenfrage angegangen werden soll, hat nur zu begrenzten Ergebnissen geführt. <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil die Problematik sich nicht nur auf das Gewerkschaftsrecht beschränkt, halten wir von der Union es für nicht zielführend, einzelne Aspekte durch einen Antrag herauszugreifen. Wir lehnen es ab, einem Antrag zuzustimmen, der sich ausschließlich um Gewerkschaftsfreiheit dreht und andere Probleme wie Minderheitenschutz, die Rechte von Frauen oder den Schutz von Christen in der Türkei nicht betrachtet.</p>	int → ex	Problematik	wir (exclusive)	N	die demokratische Öffnung	Y
38)	<p>Das deutsche <u>Reiserecht</u> gewährt unbestritten ein hohes Maß an Schutz und reicht nicht nur im europäischen Vergleich deutlich über den geltenden Standard hinaus. Dieses hohe Niveau des Verbraucherschutzes werden wir nicht nur in Zukunft weiter halten; wir <b>wollen</b> die verbraucherfreundlichen Strukturen bei Bedarf auch weiter verbessern und punktuell ausbauen. <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil das <u>Reiserecht</u> und eine an den Bedürfnissen der Bürgerinnen und Bürger orientierte Verbraucherpolitik <b>aber</b> einen hohen Stellenwert haben <b>muss</b>, <b>hat mich die bisher geführte Debatte verwundert und irritiert.</b></p>	int → ex	Reiserecht	Debatte	N	wir	N



39)	Ich sage ganz klar: Das ist auch für die Industrie - und das wollten Sie immer - ein Zeichen der Klarheit. Rückwärts wird es nicht mehr gehen. Es geht nur noch vorwärts, in das Zeitalter der Erneuerbaren. Heute ist ein Tag, von dem etwas ausgehen kann, <B>gerade</> weil die Pro-Atom-Parteien jetzt anders abstimmen <b>müssen</b> . Von heute an werden wir anders leben, anders transportieren und anders produzieren. Wir sind noch nicht fertig.	ex → int	Heute, ein Tag	Pro-Atom-Parteien	N	es	N
40)	Sie haben über Jahre hinweg zum Beispiel den Ausbau der Windenergie als "Verspargelung der Landschaft" verteufelt. Da sehen Sie einmal, wie rückständig Sie waren! (Beifall bei der SPD und dem BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN) <B>Gerade</> weil wir das wichtigste <u>Industrieland</u> in Deutschland sind, entscheidet sich die Energiewende in Baden-Württemberg, auch wenn es um den Ausbau der erneuerbaren Energien geht. <b>Gerade</b> in einem <u>Industrieland</u> wie Baden-Württemberg haben wir aufgrund unserer gesunden Struktur aus Mittelständlern und Großindustrie sowie unserer Maschinen-, Anlagenbau- und Elektroindustrie, die für die notwendigen technologischen Inputs für <u>Anlagen zur Erzeugung erneuerbaren Stroms</u> sorgt,	int → ex	wir (inclusive)	die Energiewende	N	Sie	N
41)	<b>Deswegen ist es auch richtig</b> , dass wir in der nächsten Woche über das zweite Sudan-Mandat der Bundeswehr abstimmen. <b>Es ist dringend nötig</b> , dass wir jetzt ein eindeutiges Zeichen setzen und unsere Bereitschaft demonstrieren, dass wir auch im <u>Süden</u> die Arbeit der Vereinten Nationen weiter unterstützen. <B>Gerade</> weil sich die Aufmerksamkeit in den kommenden Wochen auf den <u>Süden</u> richten wird, <b>ist die Beteiligung an UNAMID so wichtig</b> . Alles, was den Nordsudan in den schwierigen Wochen und Monaten, die vor uns liegen, in Unruhe bringen könnte, <b>muss</b> verhindert werden.	int → ex	die Aufmerksamkeit	die Beteiligung	N	es	N

42)	erklären die Ministerpräsidenten der CDU, diese Technologie sei eine Sackgasse, und sie komme in den Ländern nicht an. Herr Koeppen, einen größeren Widerspruch können Sie gar nicht schaffen. (Beifall bei der SPD, der LINKEN und dem BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN) <b>Ich gebe Ihnen recht</b> , wenn Sie sagen, das sei eine der am stärksten <u>umstrittenen</u> Technologien. <b>Aber</b> <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil sie so <u>umstritten</u> ist - beispielsweise zwischen den Umweltverbänden oder den Mitgliedern von Parteien -, <b>muss</b> man eine Herangehensweise wählen, die auf diese Dinge Rücksicht nimmt.	int → ex	sie (Technologie)	man	N	ich; das, Technologien	Y
43)	(Beifall bei der CDU/CSU und der FDP) Inzwischen haben wir nämlich festgestellt, dass die Haltung, es habe keinen Zweck, diese <u>Frauen</u> in Arbeit zu vermitteln, weil sie sich um <u>Kinder</u> kümmern müssten, nicht mehr richtig ist, sondern dass umgekehrt ein Schuh daraus wird: <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil die <u>Frauen Kinder</u> haben, brauchen sie die Hilfe durch Kinderbetreuung, familienfreundliche Arbeitsplätze und Netzwerke im All- Bundesministerin - <b>Weil Sie</b> <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> <b>so munter dazwischenrufen, Herr Heil:</b> Sie haben vorhin die niedersächsischen Jugendwerkstätten angesprochen.	int → ex	die Frauen	sie (Frauen)	Y	wir; Haltung; es; sie; daraus	N
44)	<b>Lassen Sie uns doch an der guten Praxis festhalten. Sorgen wir gemeinsam für ein höheres Maß an Öffentlichkeit unserer gemeinsamen Entscheidungen.</b> Das kann sich nur positiv auf die Arbeit des Parlaments auswirken. <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil <u>Petitionen</u> nach wie vor das einzige Instrument <u>direkter Mitgestaltung</u> auf Bundesebene sind, <b>schlagen wir Sozialdemokraten vor</b> , den Weg der Modernisierung des Petitionsrechts konsequent fortzusetzen.	int → ex	Petitionen	wir (exclusive)	N	das	N

45)	<p>Dabei <b>müssen</b> wir passgenaue <u>Bildungskonzepte</u> für und mit unseren Partnerländern entwickeln und umsetzen, wobei eine Fokussierung auf bestimmte Bereiche - sei es auf frühkindliche <u>Bildung</u>, Grund- und Sekundarbildung bis hin zur beruflichen <u>Bildung</u> und dem lebenslangen Lernen - in den einzelnen Partnerländern sicherlich zu mehr Effizienz führt. <b>Gerade</b> <b>weil im Bereich Bildung ein umfassender Ansatz erforderlich ist</b>, ist das Thema Arbeitsteilung umso bedeutender. Frau Kofler hat darauf zu Recht hingewiesen. Eine bessere internationale Arbeitsteilung unter den Gebern muss endlich angegangen werden, und Befindlichkeiten müssen zugunsten einer höheren Wirksamkeit von Entwicklungszusammenarbeit zurückstehen.</p>	int → ex	Ansatz	Thema	N	wir; Fokussierung	N
46)	<p>In Deutschland haben viele Unternehmen erhebliche Anstrengungen unternommen, die Ressourceneffizienz zu steigern. Dieser Punkt wird weiter an Bedeutung gewinnen. Der effiziente Umgang mit knappen Ressourcen wird künftig noch mehr über unsere Wettbewerbsfähigkeit entscheiden, und Effizienztechnologien werden sicherlich zu den Wachstumstechnologien von morgen zählen. <b>Gerade</b> <b>weil wir darin diese Chancen sehen, begrüßen wir ausdrücklich</b>, dass die Bundesregierung ein nationales Ressourceneffizienzprogramm, Prog-Ress, vorlegt. Damit gehen wir ganz konkrete Schritte.</p>	int → ex	wir (exclusive)	wir	Y	Umgang; Effizienztechnologien	N
47)	<p>Man muss in der Tat beobachten, wie sich das Verfahren in der Praxis entwickelt und wie die Gläubiger davon Gebrauch machen. <b>Ich glaube nicht</b>, dass es dazu verführt, eigenmächtige Entscheidungen zu treffen. Die Gläubiger haben ein großes Interesse daran, das Verfahren zu gestalten, <b>gerade</b> <b>weil es um sehr spezifische Branchen wie die Gesundheitswirtschaft oder die Automobilindustrie geht</b>. Hier ist Knowhow gefragt. <b>Ich komme zum Schluss</b>. Weitere Reformen des Insolvenzrechts <b>werden notwendig sein</b>.</p>	ex → int	Gläubiger	es	N	ich; es	N

48)	<p>Deswegen plädieren wir auch im Masterbereich für einen bedarfsgerechten Ausbau. <b>Allerdings halten wir nichts davon</b>, dass es beim Übergang vom Bachelor zum Master qua Gesetz für den Master keinerlei Zugangskriterien mehr geben soll. <b>Gerade</b> unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Polyvalenz und &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil wir <b>wollen</b>, dass nach einem Bachelorstudium neu kombiniert werden <b>kann</b>, Fachrichtungswechsel durchgeführt werden <b>können</b>, Berufsphasen dazwischengeschoben werden <b>können</b>, <b>gerade</b> weil wir diesen Wechsel <b>wollen</b>, werden wir realistischerweise nicht umhinkommen, dass Kriterien benannt werden, ( Abg. Dieter Kleinmann FDP/DVP: So ist es! Jawohl! ) weil wir durch die formale Gleichbehandlung lediglich dafür sorgen würden, dass es zu einem unglaublich hohen NC kommt.</p>	int → ex	wir (exclusive)	wir	Y	wir	Y
49)	<p>Ich beschäftige mich mit dem Thema Lebensarbeitszeitkonto schon sehr lange. Deswegen weiß ich, welche vorteilhaften Lösungen das für die Beschäftigten bringt. <b>Ich will an dieser Stelle</b> - &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/&gt; weil auch gesagt wurde, wie interessant die Arbeit des Petitionsausschusses sei - <b>drei Fälle dokumentieren</b>, mit denen ich mich in der letzten Legislaturperiode befasst habe - die sind alle bei mir gelandet und wurden unterschiedlich behandelt -: Den ersten Fall haben wir schon einmal hier im Plenum besprochen.</p>	parent	ich	∅	N	ich	Y
50)	<p>Denn BIOPRO versucht, <u>Netzwerke zu etablieren und Strukturen zu bündeln</u>, <b>gerade</b> zwischen den Unternehmen sowie zwischen den Unternehmen und den Forschungseinrichtungen. Dabei sind sie sehr erfolgreich. <u>Genau das brauchen wir</u>; denn die Unternehmen brauchen einander. Sie arbeiten in unterschiedlichen Bereichen, und sie brauchen Grundlagenforschung. Insofern <b>kann man sagen</b>: &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/&gt; <u>weil wir eine so gute Infrastruktur haben</u>, <b>gerade</b> weil wir die <u>entsprechenden Unternehmen haben und die Biotechnologie bei uns so stark ist</u>, brauchen wir BIOPRO. BIOPRO ist nicht etwa eine Einrichtung, die erst etwas aufbaut, was noch nicht da ist. BIOPRO ist vielmehr eine Einrichtung, die eine exzellente Struktur weiterentwickelt und die die Wettbewerbsfähigkeit erhält und verbessert, ...</p>	int → ex	wir	wir	Y	man	N

51)	<p>Dass Sie das wissen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen von der SPD, kann man nachlesen, nämlich in der Begründung zu Ihrem Gesetzentwurf, in der Sie selbst bestätigen, dass beispielsweise <u>die beruflichen Gymnasien in Baden-Württemberg zu Recht als vorbildliche Einrichtungen gelten dürfen</u>. Sie können es gern nachlesen. Es steht in Ihrer eigenen Begründung. &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil <u>unsere beruflichen Schulen bundesweit unbestritten die Nummer 1 sind</u> - das behauptet nicht die CDU hier in Baden-Württemberg, sondern das hat das Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft in seinem Bildungsmonitor wissenschaftlich belegt -, bauen wir die beruflichen Gymnasien weiterhin konsequent und bedarfsgerecht aus.</p>	int → ex	Schulen	wir	N	es	N
52)	<p>Wenn ich vom Gerätebezug weggehe und den Haushalt und die Betriebsstätte wähle - und das hat auch der Landtag in einem Beschluss festgelegt -, muss ich das konsequent durchhalten und darf nicht dagegen polemisieren. Wenn Sie im Gutachten von Prof. Kirchhof die Ableitung aus dem Grundgesetz und aus der Rechtsprechung sehen, dann <b>können</b> Sie, &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil Sie sich als Partei der Kommunalpolitik verstehen, durchaus erkennen, dass hier für eine Nutzungsinfrastruktur gezahlt wird, die im Grundgesetz abgesichert ist. Man zahlt also für das Rundfunkangebot, das jedem frei zugänglich ist</p>	parent	Sie	Sie	Y	ich	N
53)	<p>Es trägt eher dazu bei, dass wir in Deutschland nicht darauf schauen, wie unsere Kinder im internationalen Wettbewerb um Leistung und Fähigkeit abschneiden, sondern wir in einen föderalen Wettbewerb eintreten, der sich nach unterschiedlichen Voraussetzungen finanzieller und personeller Art der jeweiligen Länder richtet. &lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil wir <u>einen anstrengenden finanzpolitischen Weg vor uns haben</u>, der den Bremer Senat und uns als Bürgerschaft in Zukunft noch stärker als in der Vergangenheit fordern wird, <b>glaube ich, ist es zwingend erforderlich, dass wir einen Anstoß dafür geben</b>, dass es in Deutschland <u>nicht davon abhängig sein darf, welcher Herkunft ein Kind in Deutschland ist, wenn wir darüber reden, welchen Bildungserfolg es erzielen kann</u>.</p>	int → ex	wir (inclusive)	es	N	es; wir; Kinder; wir; der	maybe

54)	<p>Er hat in seinem Gutachten klar und deutlich gesagt, dass es Alternativen gibt; wenn es tatsächlich um die <u>Übertragung von Windenergie</u> von Nord nach Süd geht, dann gibt es Alternativen, dann kann man mit <u>Hochtemperaturseiltechnologie</u>, dann kann man mit <u>Freileitungsmonitoring</u> den Bau einer 380-kV-Leitung verhindern. Ich muss Ihnen ganz deutlich sagen, Prof. Jarass weiß, wovon er redet, er beschäftigt sich schon seit Langem damit. Er sagt auch - <b>gerade</b> weil Sie, Kollege Weber, die <b>Windenergie angesprochen haben</b> - ganz deutlich, dass <u>Freileitungsmonitoring und Hochtemperaturseile gerade</u> für die Übertragung von Windenergie in besonderer Weise gut geeignet sind.</p>	parent	er (Prof. Jarass)	Sie	N	ich; Prof. Jarass	Y
55)	<p><b>Jetzt komme ich mir fast schon wie eine Lehrerin im Frontalunterricht vor.</b> Diese Rolle nimmt eigentlich Frau Böth ein. Aber gut. (Beifall von der FDP und von der CDU) Hierdurch wurde mit dem Dritten Schulrechtsänderungsgesetz aus dem Jahre 2008 - im Übrigen unter einer schwarz-gelben Landesregierung - im Schulgesetz ein Anspruch auf Entlastung für die Tätigkeit der Ansprechpartnerinnen für Gleichstellungsfragen explizit aufgenommen, <b>gerade</b> weil diese faktisch die gleichen Aufgaben wahrnehmen wie die originären Gleichstellungsbeauftragten in den außerschulischen Dienststellen. Schon in der Gesetzesbegründung zu § 16 heißt es, dass eine angemessene Entlastung wesentliche Voraussetzung für eine effektive <b>Aufgabenwahrnehmung</b> sei.</p>	ex → int	ein Anspruch	diese	N	Frau Böth	N
56)	<p>( Sören Link [SPD]: Haben wir das denn gemacht, als wir jahrelang gezahlt haben? - Weitere Zurufe von der SPD ) <b>Gerade</b> weil Solidarität keine Einbahnstraße ist, <b>kann ich nur sagen</b>: Wir sind sehr gespannt auf Ihren Konsolidierungshaushalt 2011. - Herzlichen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit. (Beifall von der CDU und von der FDP) ( Sören Link [SPD]: An wem ist das denn gescheitert? Doch nicht an uns! Sie haben den Murks doch gemacht! )</p>	int → ex	Solidarität	ich	N	wir	N

57)	Wir wissen aus Studien, dass die Unternehmen <u>48 % mehr Gewinn machen</u> , wenn dort mehr Frauen in Führungspositionen sind. Dazu sagt Frau Schröder: <B>Gerade</B> weil sie <u>profitieren</u> würden, sind Unternehmen doch schön blöd, wenn sie nicht bereit sind, das Potenzial von Frauen zu nutzen. Von daher kann es nicht die Aufgabe des Landes sein, sondern es ist Aufgabe von Unternehmen, entsprechende Frauen zu würdigen, herauszustellen und deutlich zu machen, wie wichtig es ist, dass Frauen in Unternehmen auch in Führungspositionen sind.	int → ex	sie (Unternehmen)	Unternehmen	Y	wir; Unternehmen	Y
58)	Es ist das Phänomen der zu kurzen Decke, das wir in diesem Finanzausgleich miteinander, Herr Löttgen, <u>zu konstatieren haben</u> . ( Bodo Löttgen [CDU]: Bei 260 Kommunen ist es doch wohl eher der halbe Körper als nur Hand oder Füße! ) <u>Aber</u> das ist der Fall, <B>gerade</B> weil der Bund immer höhere Soziallasten auf die Kommunen abgewälzt hat. <u>Gerade deshalb</u> kommen die natürlich auch im Finanzausgleich des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen an. Wo denn sonst?	ex → int	das	der Bund	N	es	Y
59)	Das gilt übrigens auch gegenüber ihren Angehörigen. Für diese ist es mit am schlimmsten, wie die Debatte im Moment geführt wird, völlig unabhängig von den Ergebnissen. <u>Ich sage aber auch</u> : <B>Gerade</B> weil wir wissen, dass Menschen, die den Soldatenberuf als Berufs- oder Zeitsoldat unter <u>schwierigen Umständen</u> ergriffen haben, bedeutet das <u>aber</u> auch, dass bei denen, die in Ausbildung sind, <u>Lebensgefahr kein Normalzustand</u> sein darf.	int → ex	wir	das	N	ich	N
60)	Ohne ihren Einsatz für die Gemeinschaft wäre vieles nicht möglich, und sie verdienen höchsten Respekt. Liebe Kollegen und Kolleginnen, wie Sie sehen, bleiben die drei Säulen bestehend aus KiK, Frauenfachberatungsstellen und Frauenhäusern bestehen; und <u>das nicht, obwohl wir den Haushalt 2011/2012 in der Form beschlossen haben, sondern &lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt; weil</u> wir ihn so beschlossen haben. (Beifall bei der FDP und vereinzelt bei der CDU) Wenn es Sie so stört, dass Frauen aus Hamburg und anderen Bundesländern bei uns Schutz suchen, warum haben Sie dann keine Gespräche mit dem Hamburger Senat geführt, bevor Sie die Kürzungen beschlossen haben?	ex → int	Säulen	wir (inclusive)	N	Einsatz; sie (pl.)	N



61)	Warum müssen sich Heimaufsicht sowie die Bewohnerinnen und Bewohner immer noch mit den vergleichsweise <u>laschen Grundlagen</u> des Heimgesetzes herumplagen, wenn wir schon lange ein modernes Gesetz haben? Wir können über die Gründe nur spekulieren, also darüber, ob hinter den Verzögerungen Lobbyinteressen von Heimbetreibern stecken, die Mehrausgaben fürchten, oder einfach eine überforderte Ministerialbürokratie. <B>Gerade</> weil das Gesetz Wohn- und Betreuungssituationen dauerhaft verbessern <u>will, sollte über dessen Grundlagen ein offener Dialog geführt werden</u> , in dem möglichst alle Interessen der Beteiligten zum Zuge kommen.	int → ex	Gesetz	∅	N	wir; Lobbyinteressen; die; Ministerialbürokratie	N
62)	Damit dies möglich ist, darf die Landesregierung natürlich nicht noch weiteren unsäglichen Steuersenkungen auf Bundesebene zulasten der Länder zustimmen. Und <B>gerade</> weil die <u>Rückführung der Neuverschuldung durchaus als Kraftakt bezeichnet werden kann</u> , <u>muss ich noch einmal darauf hinweisen</u> , dass wir <u>auch die Einnahmeseite des Landeshaushalts</u> in den Blick nehmen <u>müssen</u> .	int → ex	die Rückführung	ich	N	dies; Landesregierung	N
63)	Aktuell arbeiten wohl 79 % aller sächsischen Mittelschulen mit diesem Pass. Das ist in der Tat etwas verwunderlich, denn der Berufswahlpass ist im Lehrplan des Faches WTH im verpflichtenden Lernbereich Berufsorientierung unter dem Lernziel "Gestalten der Vorbereitung auf die Berufswahl" der Klasse 8 konkret aufgeführt. Wieso verfügen dann nur drei Viertel aller Mittelschüler über einen solchen Pass? Den Blick in den <u>Lehrplan dieses Faches finde ich durchaus lohnend</u> , <B>gerade</> weil dadurch ersichtlich wird, dass wir das Rad in puncto Berufsorientierung Berufsvorbereitung, jedenfalls die sächsischen Mittelschulen betreffend, nicht unbedingt neu erfinden müssen.	ex → int	ich	dadurch (Blick in den Lehrplan dieses Faches)	N	drei Viertel aller Mittelschüler	N
64)	Es ist vielleicht müßig, dem auf den Grund gehen zu wollen. Tatsache ist, dass, wenn keine Maßnahmen ergriffen werden, das Fach WTH in wenigen Jahren aus der Stundentafel der Mittelschule gestrichen werden muss. <u>Das halte ich für fatal</u> , <B>gerade</> weil wir uns dem Thema Berufsorientierung und Berufsvorbereitung der Schüler intensiv widmen müssen. <u>Ich denke</u> , darüber sind wir uns hier im Haus alle einig.	ex → int	ich	wir (inclusive)	N	∅; das Fach	maybe



65)	Ich denke, dass das nur ein Sandkorn ist, sozusagen ein Sandkorn Hoffnung, und dass es nur ein kleiner Schritt auf einem sehr weiten Weg ist. Man kann sich immer und immer wieder damit herausreden, dass das alles ein sehr großer, langwieriger Prozess ist, und man kann sich darauf wunderbar ausruhen. <b>Ich denke</b> , <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil es so ein weiter Weg ist, wäre es wichtig, wenn wir heute losgehen würden. (Beifall bei der SPD und den LINKEN)	int → ex	es	es	Y	man; alles; Prozess; man	maybe
66)	Dann bedeutet das natürlich, dass man <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> denjenigen Kindern, die oftmals zu Hause nicht die allerbesten Voraussetzungen haben, sei es aus materiellen Gründen, sei es aus anderen Gründen, natürlich die Bildungseinrichtung Kindertagesstätte ganztags anbietet - ganz wichtig. ( Beifall bei der LINKEN - <b>&lt;B&gt;Gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil wir am Beginn einer neuen Legislaturperiode stehen und weil das Verhältnis von Parlament und Regierung eine der spannendsten und der zentralsten Fragen der praktischen Politik ist, <b>will ich kurz aus der Landesverfassung zitieren</b> . Dort heißt es in Artikel 41: "Der Landtag ist die gewählte Vertretung des Volkes von Sachsen-Anhalt.	int → ex	wir (inclusive)	ich	N	das; man; die; es; es	N
67)	Herr Liebich. Stefan Liebich (DIE LINKE) Herr Staatsminister, <b>&lt;B&gt;gerade&lt;/B&gt;</b> weil wir am Anfang einer derart wichtigen und schwierigen Debatte stehen, <b>müssen</b> wir sie auch so intensiv führen. Sie haben auf die wissenschaftliche Freiheit der Stif- (Abg. Sevim Dagdelen [DIE LINKE] meldet sich zu einer weiteren Nachfrage) Vielen Dank für die Antwort, Herr Staatssekretär. -Sie haben, <b>soweit ich das verstanden habe</b> , davon gesprochen, dass die Bundesregierung alle Maßnahmen prüft.	int → ex	wir (inclusive)	wir (inclusive)	Y	∅ (Staatsminister addressed)	N

Clause Connection Sequences	
Internal to External Connect	41 (61.19%)
External to Internal Connect	19 (28.36%)
Paranthenetical Insertion	7 (10.45%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67 (100%)</b>

Subject Continuity Between Clauses	
Yes	18 (26.87%)
No	49 (73.13%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67 (100%)</b>

<b>Subject Continuity to Preceding Sentence</b>	
Yes	18 (26.87%)
No	46 (68.66%)
Indeterminable	3 (4.48%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67 (100%)</b>

## 7.8. Excerpt from Plenary Debate – “Beaver Population Control”

Parliament of Brandenburg – 5th Electoral Cycle – 36. Session: Potsdam, May 18, 2011

Frage 576 (Biber-Management in Brandenburg) Ministerin für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz Tack

(p. 2873)

**Präsident Fritsch:** Vielen Dank. - Wir sind damit bei **Frage 576** (Biber-Management in Brandenburg), gestellt von der Abgeordneten Blechinger. Bitte, Frau Blechinger.

**Frau Blechinger (CDU):** Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Auf dem Bauerntag des Kreisbauernverbandes Märkisch-Oderland machte die Ministerin für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz deutlich, dass die Landesregierung das bayerische Biber-Management-Modell dahin gehend überprüfen werde, ob und wie man dieses auch für Brandenburg übernehmen könne. Das bayerische Biber-Management-Modell basiert auf vier Säulen und ermöglicht unter anderem den Abschuss von Bibern, wenn dies aus Sicherheitsgründen oder zur Abwehr von extremen wirtschaftlichen Schäden im Einzelfall notwendig sein sollte. Ich frage die Landesregierung: Welche einzelnen Regelungen des bayerischen Biber-Management-Modells beabsichtigt sie für das Bibermanagement im Land Brandenburg zu übernehmen?

**Präsident Fritsch:** Das sagt uns Ministerin Tack.

**Ministerin für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz Tack:** Herr Präsident! Meine Damen und Herren! Sehr verehrte Frau Blechinger, ich bin durchaus überrascht, dass Sie die Frage stellen, denn sie gleicht im Wesentlichen derjenigen, die ich im April schon beantwortet habe. Sie waren bei der Tagung der Arbeitsgruppe „Wassermanagement Oderbruch“ in Seelow am 6. Mai anwesend. Dort ist darüber ausführlich gesprochen worden. Der Kreisbauerntag hatte schon am 1. April stattgefunden. Wir haben also schon mehrmals dazu kommuniziert. All das, was Sie in Ihrer Frage ansprechen, kann schon mit den jetzigen Regelungen zum Artenschutz im Land Brandenburg in Verantwortung des Landkreises realisiert werden. Dies geschieht auch schon durch präventive Maßnahmen wie Schulung der Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter. Wir haben inzwischen - entsprechend den Regionalabteilungen im Landesamt ...

(p. 2874)

... für Umwelt, Gesundheit und Verbraucherschutz - vier Kollegen festgelegt, die sich explizit mit dem Biber-Management in den Territorien befassen. All das kann schon gemacht werden. Wir haben hier im Parlament schon ausführlich darüber debattiert. Die Kette dessen, was in Verantwortung des Landkreises entschieden werden kann, berücksichtigt Aspekte der bayerischen Ausnahmeverordnung, zum Beispiel Zugriffsmöglichkeiten für den Fang bis hin zur Tötung, wenn es denn für richtig und notwendig erachtet wird. Ich glaube, diese Verantwortung nimmt der Landrat des Kreises Märkisch-Oderland schon sehr gut wahr. Wir werden im Ergebnis einer Verabredung in der Arbeitsgruppensitzung am 6. Mai mit den Kollegen aus den anderen Regionalabteilungen das Thema Biber weiter behandeln, als Prozess begleiten und Erfahrungen darüber austauschen. Dabei sind uns die Erfahrungen aus Bayern sehr wichtig, aber im Wesentlichen sollten unsere schon bestehenden Möglichkeiten einbezogen werden.

**Präsident Fritsch:** Vielen Dank. Es gibt Nachfragen. Frau Blechinger, bitte.

## 7.9. Excerpt from Plenary Debate: *gerade* + *weil* examples

The underlined portions of the excerpts below are the ones most relevant to the paragraphs discussed in the main text.

### Plenary Session of Schleswig-Holstein, February 23, 2011. “Women’s Infrastructure”

**Representative Katja Rathje-Hoffmann (CDU):** [...]

(p. 3494)

Trotz der Kürzungen werden wir gewährleisten, dass Frauenhäuser, Frauenberatungsstellen, der LFSH und der Frauennotruf „Helpline“ in unserem Land handlungsfähig bleiben. [...]

(p. 3495)

Wir sind nach wie vor - trotz der geplanten Einsparungen - überzeugt, dass auch künftig jede Frau in Schleswig-Holstein, die akut von häuslicher Gewalt bedroht ist, auch die entsprechende und notwendige sofortige Hilfe erhalten wird. [...]

**Kirstin Funke (FDP):**

(p. 3497)

Das Konzept, das das Ministerium ausgearbeitet hat, ist ausgewogen und führt zum Erhalt der vorhandenen Strukturen im Bereich der Fachberatungsstellen. Gleichzeitig wird mit der Überführung der Mittel in das FAG ab 2012 eine gerechtere Verteilung der Mittel auf die Kreise für die Beratungsstellen vorgenommen. [...]

## 7.10. Excerpt from Plenary Debate – “Medium-sized Businesses”

The underlined portions of the excerpts below are the ones most relevant to the paragraphs discussed in the main text.

Parliament of Brandenburg – 5th Electoral Cycle – 36. Session: Potsdam, May 18, 2011

### Aktionsplan für den Mittelstand

Antrag der Fraktion der CDU

**Präsident Fritsch:** [...]

(p. 2907)

**Tagesordnungspunkt 13 auf: Aktionsplan für den Mittelstand** Antrag der Fraktion der CDU Drucksache 5/3177 Der Abgeordnete Bommert eröffnet für die CDU-Fraktion die Debatte.

**Bommert (CDU):** Herr Präsident! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Eigentlich hätten beim Lesen unseres Antrags bei den Parteien der Regierungskoalition die Herzen etwas höher schlagen müssen; denn sowohl in den Wahlprogrammen der Regierungsparteien als auch im Koalitionsvertrag wird den Handwerks- und Mittelstandsunternehmen besondere Bedeutung zugesprochen. Da sind wir als CDU-Fraktion ganz bei Ihnen; denn Mittelstand und Handwerk sind für uns die Grundpfeiler der Brandenburger Wirtschaft. Wir sind der Überzeugung, dass an dieser Stelle mehr getan werden muss. (Beifall CDU und FDP)

[...] Der brandenburgische Mittelstand und das Handwerk sind das Rückgrat der Wirtschaft unseres Landes und sollten deshalb die vollste Unterstützung der Landesregierung erhalten. Wir sind deshalb gern bereit, im Ausschuss über einen Aktionsplan und dessen Umsetzung zu reden, denn wir stehen voll und ganz

(p. 2908)

hinter der Stärkung des Mittelstandes und der Verbesserung der Möglichkeiten für Existenzgründer. (Beifall CDU) Auch wenn mir Kollege Kosanke schon in der Mittagspause mitgeteilt hat, dass die SPD-Fraktion den Antrag ablehnen wird, bitte ich trotzdem um Ihre Stimme, denn es geht um den Mittelstand und das Handwerk in Brandenburg. (Beifall CDU und FDP - Zurufe von der SPD)

**Präsident Fritsch:** Der Abgeordnete Kosanke spricht für die SPD-Fraktion. (Bischoff [SPD]: Das musst Du jetzt aber erklären!)

**Kosanke (SPD):** [...] Was die Herzen in meiner Fraktion höher schlagen lässt, ist, dass der Antrag nur noch halb so lang ist wie der Antrag, den wir vor gut eineinhalb Jahren unter dem Titel „Maßnahmenpaket für unseren brandenburgischen Mittelstand“ vorliegen hatten; das war die Drucksache 5/442. Jetzt, ungefähr 2 500 Anträge später, heißt es nicht mehr „Maßnahmenpaket“, sondern „Aktionsplan für den Mittelstand“. Das ist wieder ein Papier, in dem Dinge beschrieben werden, die ohnehin schon laufen, die auch gut laufen, aber die man noch besser mit noch mehr Energie - natürlich möglichst auf Initiative der CDU - machen sollte. Aber sie laufen ohnehin schon, und wir führen sie weiter fort. [...]

**Präsident Fritsch:** Der Abgeordnete Büttner spricht für die FDP-Fraktion.

**Büttner (FDP):** Herr Präsident! Meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Der Mittelstand ist die tragende Säule in unserem Land. Denn kleine und mittlere Unternehmen schaffen

Arbeitsplätze und sorgen damit für das notwendige Einkommen. Sie bilden aus und geben somit jungen Menschen eine Perspektive, auch in Zukunft für sich selbst verantwortlich zu sein. Und sie sind ein Anker soziokultureller Bindungen und daher wichtig für das Lebensgefühl der Brandenburgerinnen und Brandenburger. (Beifall des Abgeordneten Burkardt [CDU]) Allein diese Aufzählung macht deutlich, warum es notwendig ist, mittelständischen Unternehmen die gebotene Aufmerksamkeit zukommen zu lassen. Wie sieht die Realität im Land Brandenburg aus? [...]

Meine Damen und Herren - insbesondere der regierungstragenden Fraktionen -, Sie haben sich im Koalitionsvertrag dem Ziel verpflichtet, den Brandenburger Unternehmen, regionalen Handwerkern, Dienstleistern und Mittelständlern exzellente Rahmenbedingungen zu schaffen. Das, was jedoch fehlt, ist eine Vorstellung Ihrerseits darüber, wie und vor allem mit welchen Mitteln Sie das Ziel erreichen wollen. [...]

(p. 2909)

Wie stellt sich die Landesregierung dieser Herausforderung? Wie sehen die „exzellente Rahmenbedingungen“ hier aus, die Sie in Ihrem Koalitionsvertrag festgeschrieben haben? Unserem Bundesland wurde die Auszeichnung „Europäische Unternehmerregion 2011“ verliehen. Darauf sind wir stolz, keine Frage. Bezüglich Ihrer Verpflichtung im Koalitionsvertrag, exzellente Rahmenbedingungen für Mittelständler zu schaffen, stimmt die FDP-Fraktion vollständig mit Ihnen überein. Dennoch: Die Mittel werden knapper, und die demografischen Strukturen verändern sich. Auszeichnungen sind gut für unser Land, doch dürfen wir uns auf ihnen nicht ausruhen. Aus diesen Gründen wird die FDP-Fraktion dem Antrag der CDU-Fraktion zustimmen. - Vielen Dank. (Beifall FDP und CDU)

**Präsident Fritsch:** Wir setzen mit dem Beitrag des Abgeordneten Domres für die Linksfraktion fort.

**Domres (DIE LINKE):** [...] Sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Die CDU-Fraktion bemerkt zu Recht, dass für die Brandenburger Unternehmen, regionalen Handwerker, Dienstleister und Mittelständler exzellente Rahmenbedingungen geschaffen werden müssen. Die CDU-Fraktion hat auch Recht, wenn sie sagt, dass potenzielle Selbstständige aktiv bei ihrem Prozess der Existenzgründung unterstützt werden müssen. Meine Damen und Herren von der CDU, genau das tut die rotrote Landesregierung, genau das ist Programm der rot-roten Koalition. [...] Ich verweise zum Nachlesen insbesondere auf den Bericht der Landesregierung in der Drucksache 5/2618: „Brandenburg - Europäische Unternehmerregion - Strategie für die Stärkung von Innovation und Kreativität im Mittelstand“, den wir im Landtag ausführlich diskutiert haben. [...]

(p. 2910)

Ihr Antrag ist dazu keine Hilfe. Sehr geehrte Kolleginnen und Kollegen der CDU! Gut gemeint ist lange nicht gut gemacht. Wenn Ihnen das Thema wichtig ist, kann jederzeit im Ausschuss Bericht erstattet werden. Der vorgelegte Antrag ist jedenfalls unkonkret und überflüssig und wird deshalb abgelehnt. Aktion, meine Damen und Herren von der CDU, bezeichnet allgemein das Handeln, die Tätigkeit. Der Aktionsplan ist ein Handlungsprogramm, in dem unmittelbar zu erfüllende Aufgaben aufgelistet werden. Der Begriff „Aktionismus“ dagegen unterstellt betriebsames, unreflektiertes oder zielloses Handeln ohne Konzept, um den Anschein von Untätigkeit oder Überforderung zu vermeiden oder zu vertuschen. Ich denke, Letzteres ist für diesen Antrag zutreffend. - Herzlichen Dank. (Beifall DIE LINKE)

\* \* \*

## 7.11. Co-occurrences of *eben* + Temporal & Spatial Expressions

Legend	
solid underlining:	exact repetition of word/phrase
interrupted underlining:	paraphrasing of phrase/clause
<b>boldface and yellow highlight:</b>	additional occurrence of query word ( <i>eben</i> or <i>gerade</i> )
<b>turquoise highlight:</b>	modal verb; frequently deontic modality
<b>boldface:</b>	expressions for common/shared knowledge
<b>dark red font:</b>	explicit speaker self-reference; matrix verbs

### *eben* + spatial expressions

#	Text Excerpt	R1
1)	<p>Minister des Innern Dr. Woidke: Sehr geehrte Frau Präsidentin! Meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren! Die Diskussion um diesen Gesetzentwurf hat bereits hohe Wogen geschlagen. <b>Ich hoffe, ich kann etwas zur Versachlichung der Debatte beitragen.</b> Bei den von uns vorgeschlagenen Änderungen des Gemeindefinanzrechts geht es vor allen Dingen um drei Punkte. Erstens <b>wollen</b> wir unnötige Hemmnisse beseitigen. Die Daseinsvorsorge und damit die wirtschaftliche Betätigung der Gemeinden und Gemeindeverbände ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der kommunalen Selbstverwaltung, die sowohl in der Landesverfassung als auch im Grundgesetz garantiert ist. Beschränkungen der kommunalen Daseinsvorsorge bedürfen einer besonderen Rechtfertigung. <b>&lt;B&gt;Eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> vor diesem Hintergrund sind die Vorgaben des Subsidiaritätsprinzips zu ändern. Warum soll bei gleicher Qualität, gleicher Zuverlässigkeit und gleichen Kosten die Kommunalwirtschaft hinter der Privatwirtschaft zurückstehen? Wir brauchen hier einen Wettbewerb auf Augenhöhe.</p>	vor diesem Hintergrund
2)	<p>Mit allem Respekt vor der Leistung der Forscherinnen und Forscher der ETH Zürich ist bei diesem sehr beachtlichen Ansatz etwas gegeben, was man sich ansehen kann, aber es ist nur einer von mehreren. Die brandenburgischen Forscherinnen und Forscher haben zum Beispiel auf dem Feld der virtuellen Kraftwerke Erfolge aufzuweisen, die über die Phase der Erprobung im Labor bereits hinaus sind. <b>Ich glaube</b>, es ist ein ganz wichtiges Kriterium, wenn man über neue Dinge nachdenkt, zu beachten, wie weit man womit ist und welche Reife welche Ansätze haben. In Prenzlau entsteht derzeit ein Hybridkraftwerk, in dem Wasserstoff mithilfe von Windenergie erzeugt wird. Man wechselt also jeweils die Energiequelle, um Ähnliches zu erreichen, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> in diesem Fall die Produktion von elementarem Wasserstoff. Im April dieses Jahres wurde an der BTU Cottbus das schon angesprochene Miniaturhybridkraftwerk für regenerative Energien in Betrieb genommen, bei dem es die Aufgabe ist, <b>gerade</b> das Zusammenspiel unterschiedlicher Quellen regenerativer Energien miteinander zu verkoppeln, weshalb diese Anlage aus verschiedenen Solarmodulen, einem Windrad und auch einer Technik zur Wasserstoffgewinnung besteht.</p>	in diesem Fall

3)	<p>Weil sie den Kopf nicht geändert haben, beziehen sich SPD und Linke auf die Fassung vom 23. September 2005. Daran merkt man, dass Sie eine Nacht- und-Nebel-Aktion gemacht haben, was man dem ganzen Antrag auch sonst anmerkt. <b>Ich wollte von Ihnen gerne wissen</b>, warum Sie zum Beispiel nicht in der gleichen Art und Weise wie wir die Aufgliederung und Erfassung der Gehälter gemacht haben, sondern stattdessen einer juristischen Auslegungsvielfalt erneut großen Raum einräumen. Das ist bei Ihnen äußerst interpretationsfähig. Und vor allem fehlt bei Ihnen sogar die klare Anweisung, erfolgsunabhängige und erfolgsbezogene Komponenten auseinanderzuhalten, was bekanntlich nicht dasselbe ist wie Gewinnbeteiligung, wie es bei Ihnen steht. <b>Ich verstehe nicht</b>, warum Sie die bei uns und <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> in NRW enthaltenen Zahlungen an frühere Mitglieder dieser Gremien gar nicht berücksichtigen. Gibt es da etwas aus Ihrer Geschichte zu verbergen? Oder warum tun Sie das nicht? Oder ist das nur Schlamperei?</p>	in NRW
4)	<p>Und dabei wurde ebenso übergangen, dass die Dioxinbelastung der Menschen in Deutschland - gut zu messen zum Beispiel am Dioxingehalt in der Muttermilch - seit 1990 kontinuierlich zurückgegangen und heute auf dem niedrigsten Stand seit Jahrzehnten liegt. Die Opposition betreibt politischen Missbrauch auf dem Rücken der Verbraucher mit dem Ziel, ihre sogenannte ökologische Agrarwende zu erreichen. Die Wirklichkeit sieht aber gänzlich anders aus: Diese von Ihnen angestrebte Ökologisierung der Landwirtschaft verteuert Lebensmittel erheblich. <b>&lt;B&gt;Eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> in dieser Diskussion offenbaren Sie, wie unsozial Grüne, SPD und Linke eigentlich sind. De facto ist es doch so: Die moderne arbeitsteilige und intensive Landwirtschaft ist dafür verantwortlich, dass die Menschen heute nur 11 Prozent ihres Einkommens für Lebensmittel ausgeben müssen. Die moderne Landwirtschaft ist unter anderem dafür verantwortlich, dass die Lebensmittel heute qualitativ so hochwertig sind wie nie zuvor. Die moderne Landwirtschaft produziert für die Verbraucher Lebensmittel gut und preiswert.</p>	in dieser Diskussion
5)	<p>Über die Ausgestaltung sprechen wir im Moment. Da hat es, <b>ich meine</b> vor einigen Tagen, auch ein Gespräch gegeben, weil wir natürlich auch mit dem Cluster Marissa, wo es <b>gerade</b> um die Entwicklung auch im maritimen Sicherheitsbereich geht, eine ganze Reihe von Kompetenzen in Bremen und Bremerhaven haben, die wir entsprechend in dieses Cluster einbringen können. Unser Interesse ist <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> an der Stelle, vor allem auch natürlich im politischen Umfeld mit den anderen norddeutschen Küstenländern zusammen bei der Wahrung norddeutscher Interessen, wenn es um maritime Themen und maritime Technologien, beispielsweise aber auch um Schiffbau in Norddeutschland geht, an einem Strang zu ziehen. Deswegen ist das aus der Sicht des Senats eine gute Möglichkeit, auch in diesem Cluster entsprechend voranzukommen. Präsident Weber: Herr Senator, vielen Dank für die ausführliche Auskunft, wir hatten es ja auch schon einmal in der Baudeputation in der letzten Woche in einigen Themenbereichen noch vertiefen können.</p>	an der Stelle
6)	<p>(Beifall bei der LINKEN) Dioxin ist gefährlich; das wissen wir alle. Doch mit dem Reden über Grenzwerte, die die Belastung unserer Lebensmittel mit Dioxin überwiegend nicht erreicht, wird der Bevölkerung suggeriert, Dioxine seien Gifte, die unterhalb eines bestimmten Grenzwerts ganz unschädlich seien und erst, wenn sie diesen überschritten, problematisch würden. Dioxin sammelt <u>sich in unserem Fettgewebe</u> an, und jede auch noch so kleine Menge erhöht die <u>Konzentration</u> <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>dort</u>. Es kann also keinen Grenzwert für unsere Nahrung geben, unter dessen Schwelle das Vorkommen von Dioxin unbedenklich ist. Deshalb haben Dioxine wie PCB und viele andere langlebige Chemikalien in unseren Nahrungsmitteln nichts zu suchen, auch nicht in für die Gesundheit unbedenklichen Mengen. (Beifall bei der LINKEN)</p>	dort



7)	<p>Ich gebe zu bedenken: Geht es um die öffentlichen Daten, die den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern auch zugänglich gemacht werden sollen, dann geben sich die Behörden äußerst zugeknöpft, und in Hessen wird diese notwendige Transparenz als "Bürokratiemonster" verunglimpft. <b>Ich denke da nur an die Entwürfe zum Informationsfreiheitsgesetz von SPD und GRÜNEN</b>, die mit fadenscheinigen Gründen abgeschmettert worden sind. (Beifall bei dem BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN sowie der Abg. Thorsten Schäfer - Gümbel und Nancy Faeser (SPD)) Dass es Unternehmen bei ihren Mitarbeitern mit dem Datenschutz und deren Persönlichkeitsrechten nicht so genau nehmen, davon können wir regelmäßig in den Medien lesen. Nun hat Bundesinnenminister de Maiziere einen Entwurf für den Mitarbeiterdatenschutz vorgelegt. Allerdings enttäuschte er. <b>Gerade</b> in wichtigen Bereichen gibt es keinen wirksamen Beschäftigtenschutz, z. B. bei der Videoüberwachung am Arbeitsplatz oder <b>eben</b> beim Korruptionsschutz. <b>Gerade</b> zu den verhängten Bußgeldern bei Unternehmen findet sich im Bericht des RP Darmstadt eine interessante Aufstellung. Dort ist nämlich ein sehr hohes Bußgeld in sechsstelliger Höhe wiederzufinden, <b>gerade</b> weil dort in unzulässigerweise Berichte von Mitarbeitern gespeichert worden sind.</p>	beim Korruptionsschutz
8)	<p>60 Jahre Landesamt für Verfassungsschutz sind auch deshalb ein Grund zur Freude, zur Genugtuung, weil es gelungen ist, eine transparente, demokratisch legitimierte und kontrollierte Sicherheitsbehörde zu schaffen. (Beifall bei der CDU und der FDP) Die Abgeordneten des Hessischen Landtags, die Mitglieder der Parlamentarischen Kontrollkommission sind, wissen die Zusammenarbeit mit dem Amt zu schätzen. <b>Gerade die gute Zusammenarbeit mit dem Parlament und seinen Gremien will ich hier ausdrücklich erwähnen</b>. Wir werden rechtzeitig und transparent informiert. Anregungen werden aufgegriffen, und eine größtmögliche Offenheit und Prüfung des Amtes ist gegeben. Dies ist im Besonderen auch deshalb wichtig, weil das Amt zum Schutz <u>der Grundrechte</u> in <b>eben</b> <u>diese</u> eingreifen kann. Wir wissen aber, welche hohen Hürden genommen werden müssen, bis sogenannte G 10- oder G 13-Maßnahmen ergriffen werden können, bis man sich entscheidet, abzuhören oder sogar in den besonders geschützten Wohnraum einzudringen. Es ist ein wichtiger und gewichtiger Abwägungsprozess zwischen der Beschneidung der Grundrechte Einzelner und den Sicherheitsinteressen des Staates für seine Bürger.</p>	in ... diese [Grundrechte]
9)	<p><b>Neulich war ich in einem kleinen Krankenhaus</b>, in einem kleinen Krankenhaus in Bützow. Dieses kleine Krankenhaus ist darauf spezialisiert und das wird auch sehr gerne angenommen von jungen Ärzten, die sich in der Facharztausbildung für Allgemeinmedizin insbesondere an solchen Krankenhäusern gut aufgehoben fühlen und dort ausgebildet werden. Und dieser junge Arzt, da war die Ministerin sogar dabei, (Udo Pastörs, NPD: Auch das noch! Dann ist ja alles in Ordnung) hat uns erklärt, dass er nichts lieber möchte, als eines Tages nach seiner Facharztausbildung zum Allgemeinmediziner <u>sich in die Niederlassung zu begeben und dort die Menschen zu versorgen</u>, <b>eben</b> <u>auf dem flachen Land in den Dörfern</u>. <u>Dort</u> wird er hingehen und sich eines Tages niederlassen. <b>Und ich habe nicht diese große Angst, ich habe nicht diese große Angst</b>, dass wir in eine Riesenversorgungslücke hineinschlittern, die Sie hier so gerne ausmalen. (Michael Andrejewski, NPD: Da sind wir nicht die Einzigen.) Und davon bezahlt sie dann diese Sachen. Nämlich wenn wir hier immer davon reden, dass wir das Geld der KV nehmen, dann ist es unser Geld der Versicherten, (Dr. Marianne Linke, DIE LINKE: <b>eben</b>,<u> genau</u>.) aber auch Geld, was die Ärzte sich verdient haben.</p>	auf dem flachen Land in den Dörfern

10)	genau jener Professor, der mit geistigen Ergüssen wie jüngst unter dem Titel "Rechtsextremismus in Ostdeutschland" seine politische Daseinsberechtigung zu untermauern versucht. (Zuruf von Michael Andrejewski, NPD) Steuergeldfinanzierte Kaffeesatzleserei, verpackt als wissenschaftliche Tiefenforschung (Udo Pastörs, NPD: Der lebt ganz gut davon.) und am 18. Januar dieses Jahres vorgestellt - wie kann es auch anders sein - <B>eben</> in der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung in Schwerin. (Michael Andrejewski, NPD: Unbildung, bitte.) <b>Ich denke</b> , es ist hier völlig unstrittig in diesem Hause, dass die Strecke Rostock-Berlin ins europäische Kernnetz, sprich also in die sogenannten TEN, mit hineinkommen sollte. Es geht hier einfach darum, Arbeitsplätze entlang der ganzen Wertschöpfungskette zu halten und auch weiterzuentwickeln.	in der Landeszentrale für politische Bildung
11)	Bitte, Herr Ritter. Danke schön. Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem <u>Kollegen Schlotmann</u> , <b>den ich jetzt hier zitieren will</b> , allerdings <u>noch in seiner Funktion als Vorsitzender der SPD-Landtagsfraktion</u> . <u>Herr Schlotmann sagte in &lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/&gt; dieser Debatte</u> : "Der Städte- und Gemeindetag hat die verfassungsrechtliche Verankerung der Mitwirkung der kommunalen Verbände bei solchen Gesetzen gefordert, von denen sie betroffen sind. Meine Fraktion ist bereit, über beide Punkte in der nächsten Wahlperiode vorurteilsfrei zu reden," (Dr. Armin Jäger, CDU: Ja.) in einem geordneten Verfahren. <b>Dazu stehe ich und da können Sie mich dann auch beim Wort nehmen</b> . Zitatende. An Kultur teilhaben setzt kulturelle Angebote voraus. Kulturelle Angebote wiederum liegen nicht wie ein Päckchen vor der Haustür.	in ... dieser Debatte
12)	(Beifall bei der LINKEN und bei den GRÜNEN) Wir verlangen, bei den jetzt geplanten Messungen von PTB und NLWKN, sofern sie nicht schon heimlich gemacht worden sind, durch eigene Sachverständige hinzugezogen zu werden. Wir <b>wollen</b> klare Auskunft über das Umstellen der Castoren im Lager. Verschlussachen und Betriebsgeheimnisse waren gestern. Wir <b>wollen</b> , dass sich alle Rechenkünstler von Behörden und Betreiber <u>in einer öffentlichen Sitzung unseres Atomausschusses</u> den Argumenten der Sachverständigen der Fachgruppe Radioaktivität stellen. Wir werden zum Thema "verlorene Mädchen <B>"eben</> <u>dort</u> das Landesgesundheitsamt den Verfassern der Studie gegenüberzusetzen, die den Effekt von Gorleben feststellten. <b>Ich sage Ihnen jetzt schon</b> : Schweigen ist feige, verschweigen ist Lobbydienst für den Betreiber, Nichterscheinen ist ein Skandal. (Beifall bei der LINKEN) (Vizepräsident Dieter Möhrmann übernimmt den Vorsitz)	dort
13)	Frau Abgeordnete Wolf, Sie haben eine Nachfrage. Abgeordnete Wolf, DIE LINKE <b>Ich möchte ausdrücklich noch mal sagen, ich persönlich zweifele die Methode der Berechnung nicht an, das ist mir auch klar</b> , dass das am Ende auch aussagefähiger ist als eine reine Messung und <b>damit für mich auch nur der Punkt war, nachzufragen</b> , dass die Zusagen <B>eben</> an der Stelle eingehalten werden. Aber verraten Sie mir, die Berechnungen sind nach meiner Information erfolgt oder erfolgen prinzipiell in dem Bereich auf einer Basis einer Durchschnittsgeschwindigkeit von 130 km/h. Ist das zutreffend? Weil jeder von uns weiß, dass das eher eine angenehme Vorstellung und weniger Realität ist.	an der Stelle

14)	Aber eigentlich geht es in der Debatte, die heute von der LINKEN in der Aktuellen Stunde eingefordert wurde, gar nicht um Energiepolitik, sondern es geht um Demokratie und um Bürgerbeteiligung, meine sehr verehrten Damen und Herren. (Beifall BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN) Energie ist hier an der Stelle gar nicht einschlägig, sondern es geht um <u>Beteiligung</u> . Das trennt mich auch vollkommen von Herrn Kollegen Weber, der sagt: Die haben ja alles sagen dürfen und damit sei die <u>Beteiligung</u> erledigt. Es geht <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>bei dieser Beteiligung</u> nicht darum, dass wir ein Verfahren abspulen, ein bisschen Papier produzieren und dann eigentlich schon wissen, was rauskommen muss. Herr Weber, Sie haben es selber gesagt, die Leute sollen einfach aufgeben und sagen, so wird es.	bei dieser Beteiligung
15)	In der Praxis läuft das Verfahren zur Anfertigung und Verabschiedung von Staatsverträgen so ab, wie von der FDP beschrieben. Für einen großen Teil von Staatsverträgen, liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, ist dies im Übrigen auch kein Problem. <b>Ich habe ein Beispiel aus der letzten Wahlperiode in Erinnerung:</b> Wenn es um einen Staatsvertrag für die <u>Bilgenentwässerung</u> im Rhein geht, <b>lege ich persönlich großes Vertrauen in die Staatskanzleien</b> , die die Entstehung eines solchen Vertrages steuern. Die <u>Bilgenentwässerung</u> ist auch ein einigermaßen unpolitisches Thema. Ganz anders aber sieht es bei Staatsverträgen im Rundfunkbereich oder <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> beim Thema "Jugendmedienschutz" aus. Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen, als Parlamentarier kennen Sie <b>genau wie ich</b> das ziemlich unangenehme, manchmal durchaus doofe Gefühl, wenn man in einer Versammlung oder im Gespräch in einer Fußgängerzone mal wieder für etwas politisch abgewatscht wird, für das man persönlich gar nichts kann. Das passiert oft, das lernen wir, damit geht man um.	beim Thema
16)	Genau darum geht es. Es heißt weiter: "Ein Abgleiten in kriminelle Karrieren und ein dauerhafter Verbleib von Kindern und Jugendlichen in sozialen Sicherungsnetzen <b>muss</b> vermieden werden. Darum machen wir uns auf den Weg, und es wird höchste Zeit, dass wir nicht mehr immer nur Geld in Reparaturkosten stecken, sondern <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> in die Vermeidung. Wenn Sie sich die Zahlen anschauen, werden in dieser Studie an drei konkreten Beispielkommunen die Kosten nachgewiesen: Schauen wir uns den Kreis Warendorf an. Dort haben laut dieser Studie - auf der Basis der Daten, die der Kreis geliefert hat - von 2007 bis 2009 knapp 600.000 Inobhutnahmen stattgefunden. Die Zahl hat sich von 2007 auf 2009 mehr als verdoppelt und ist auf über 1,2 Millionen angestiegen. Sie können sich ausmalen, welche Kosten das sind.	in die Vermeidung
17)	Danke, Herr Stotko. - Für die Fraktion Bündnis 90/Die Grünen spricht jetzt Herr Bolte. Matthi Bolte (GRÜNE) Frau Präsidentin! Meine Damen und Herren! Liebe Kolleginnen und Kollegen! Wir setzen mit dem heutigen Gesetzentwurf <u>ein Urteil des Europäischen Gerichtshofs</u> zur Unabhängigkeit des Landesbeauftragten für Datenschutz und Informationsfreiheit um. Herr Kollege Stotko hat <b>gerade</b> schon angesprochen, dass wir <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>aus diesem Urteil</u> heraus arbeiten. Daraus ist in den letzten Wochen sicherlich ein sehr interessanter, ein sehr produktiver Arbeitszusammenhang entstanden, aber durchaus auch ein gewisser Zeitdruck. <b>Ich bin aber froh</b> , dass wir jetzt eine Situation haben, in der sich ein eindeutiger Konsens in dieser wichtigen Frage abzeichnet. <b>Ich glaube</b> , dass wir durchaus ein wichtiges Vorhaben umsetzen, <b>aber ich will in aller ostwestfälischen Bescheidenheit sagen:</b> Für einen wirklich wirksamen Datenschutz ist noch viel mehr zu tun.	aus diesem Urteil heraus

18)	Da wurde selbstverständlich von den Experten auch auf diese zum Teil <b>eben</b> gewaltgeneigte Familiensituation in konservativen moslimischen Familien hingewiesen. Das haben wir uns doch nicht aus den Fingern gesogen. <u>Es ist im Bereich der Bildungsdebatte und der Probleme mit der Integration dort auch von unseren Experten, die wir angehört haben, beklagt worden, dass es eben auch Väter gibt, die sich schwertun, bei einem Elternabend die Lehrerin als kompetente und adäquate Gesprächspartnerin zu akzeptieren. Es ist von männlichen Schülern berichtet worden, die Probleme haben, weibliche Lehrkräfte zu akzeptieren und zu respektieren.</u> Natürlich bringt diese Prägung einer konservativ lebenden moslemischen Familie auch Probleme im Alltag mit sich, die sich <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>an diesen Stellen</u> auch widergespiegelt haben und die wir zur Kenntnis genommen haben. Uns hier zu sagen, wir würden wieder mit aller Gewalt versuchen, ein Feindbild aufzubauen, das ist grober Unfug.	an diesen Stellen
19)	Wenn <u>dieser Kern der europäischen Volkswirtschaften in den nationalen Ökonomien und in der Euroökonomie</u> notleidend wird, wie <b>wollen</b> wir denn denen, die am Rande dazugekommen sind und erst in diese Gemeinschaft hineinwachsen <b>wollen</b> , helfen und den Weg wirklich bauen? Deshalb kann kein Unterschied gemacht werden zu sagen, Hauptsache Europa funktioniert. Europa <b>muss</b> in allen seinen Teilen besser als bisher funktionieren, aber es <b>muss</b> <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>an der Stelle funktionieren, an der es darum geht, das Geld zu verdienen</u> , damit wir die <u>wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen für dieses Europa</u> auch in Zukunft haben. Deshalb machen wir keine falschen Dinge auf. Niemand wird das tun. <b>Ich finde</b> , das ist ein Riesenfortschritt.	an der Stelle
20)	Aber wir unterliegen auch nicht der Versuchung, diese zu versprechen, meine Damen und Herren, und damit die notwendigen Enttäuschungen zu produzieren. Deshalb macht es wirklich keinen Sinn. Es ist der Mühe wert, sich von all <u>diesen angeblichen Suchbewegungen</u> zum Paradies - auch wenn es Kommunismus heißen <b>soll</b> - zu distanzieren, weil dieser Weg die Menschen bisher stets in die Irre geführt hat, meine Damen und Herren. (Beifall bei der CDU, bei der SPD und von der Regierungsbank) <b>Deshalb, meine Damen und Herren, nehme ich Ihnen auch nicht ab</b> , dass sich der Alternativantrag der LINKEN inhaltlich und nicht nur <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> in Sprüchen und kluger Semantik in genügendem Maße <u>von dieser Suchbewegung</u> distanziert. Wenn man Ihren Antrag genau liest - <b>ich meine schon, dass ich das ein bisschen gelernt habe</b> -, stellt man fest, dass Sie sich alle Wege offenhalten. Aber Sie finden, dass ein gewisser Sprachgebrauch im Moment nicht angebracht ist. - Das ist zu wenig, Herr Gallert.	in Sprüchen und kluger Semantik

eben + temporal expressions

#	Text Excerpt	Constituent
1) *	(Hans-Jürgen Irmer (CDU): Gut! ) Boris Rhein: Herr Präsident, meine sehr geehrten Damen und Herren! Die Tatsache, dass Frankfurt/Rhein-Main anders als beispielsweise der Großraum London oder andere <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> noch nicht beherrscht wird durch einen einzigen und flächenhaft zusammenhängenden Siedlungsträger, sondern durch eine Vielzahl von starken eigenständigen Zentren, die in einen sehr reizvollen Naturraum und in einen wirklich großartigen Freizeit- und Erholungsraum eingebettet sind, ist die Stärke dieses Raumes und dieser Region.	noch nicht

2)	<p>Wir schreiben fest, meine Damen und Herren, dass <u>das soziale Netz</u> von dem ersten Hafttag an bestehen bleiben muss. Wirksam werden <b>muss</b> das in Form der Zusammenarbeit der verschiedenen sozialen Träger und der Organisation mit den Gefangenen und mit der Jugendstrafanstalt, auch Eltern - <b>das will ich nicht verhehlen</b> - und das soziale Umfeld des straffälligen Jugendlichen sollen in die <u>Resozialisierungsmaßnahme</u> von Anfang an mit einbezogen werden. Das, denke ich, ist auch ein <u>Resozialisierungsziel</u>, was die ganze inhaltliche Frage nicht gefährdet. Es <b>muss</b> unter allen Umständen verhindert werden - da sollten wir uns einig sein -, dass straffällig gewordene Jugendliche in eine sogenannte - die Gefahr besteht <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> dann immer - kriminelle Karriere abrutschen. Für eine erfolgreiche, dauerhafte <u>Resozialisierung</u> ist nach Ansicht meiner Fraktion eine lückenlose Einbettung - das hat Kollege Bärwolff vorhin schon formuliert - in <u>ein soziales Netz</u> der Hilfe, der Unterstützung, insbesondere der Jugendhilfe notwendig. Nach den derzeit geltenden Regelungen setzt eine intensivere soziale Netzwerkarbeit erst in der Phase der Entlassungsvorbereitung <b>tatsächlich und auch wirklich ein</b>.</p>	dann immer
3)	<p>In den Fällen, in denen wir Hausarreste verhängen können, so, wie sie in der Strafprozessordnung ja vorgesehen sind - Hausarreste, die bisher nur deshalb nicht ausgesprochen worden sind, weil sie noch nicht überwacht werden konnten. <b>Ich sage zu, Herr Kollege Fürter: Ich werde an der entsprechenden Sitzung des Innen- und Rechtsausschusses auch teilnehmen. Ich freue mich auf die Diskussion und sage zu</b>, dass diese Diskussion dann auch sehr zielorientiert geführt wird. <b>Obwohl so etwas bei mir nicht &lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt; häufig vorkommt, möchte ich mich doch für die differenzierten Ausführungen des Kollegen Dr. Dolgner ausdrücklich bedanken. Denn ich glaube</b>, Sie haben es konkret auf den Punkt gebracht, worum es in dieser Frage eigentlich geht. (Beifall bei FDP und CDU) Von Anfang an hat sich diese Koalition für Maßnahmen eingesetzt, die diesem Trend entgegnetreten. So ist einer der fünf Schwerpunkte der Mittelstandsoffensive <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> genau die Sicherung des zukünftigen Fachkräftebedarfs.</p>	nicht ... häufig
4) *	<p>Dies entspricht auch der Denkweise in der Europäischen Union, die nicht nach Zuständigkeiten einteilt, sondern nach Wasserqualitäten und Wasserquantitäten. Nebenbei gesagt, haben wir uns im letzten Jahr den Vorkaufsrechten im Sächsischen Wassergesetz gewidmet. Wir haben sie abgeschafft. Das war meines Erachtens ein großer Fehler, weil <b>gerade</b> in der Umsetzung der Hochwasserschutzkonzeption an Gewässern II. Ordnung <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> jetzt die Gemeinden keinen ersten Zugriff mehr auf vielleicht gewünschte Grundstücke haben. Frau Friedel sprach es schon an, und auch wir haben uns dem Thema der Versicherung gegen Elementarschäden gewidmet. Der "Gipfel" im Herbst hat ja erbracht, dass 17 000 Wohngebäude in Sachsen nicht gegen Hochwasserschäden versicherbar sind.</p>	jetzt

5) *	( Beifall bei der LINKEN und bei den GRÜNEN - Zuruf von Herrn Leimbach, CDU ) Das eigentlich Problematische ist die damit verbundene verbindliche Entscheidung über den <u>Bildungsgang</u> , meine Damen und Herren, weil damit über einen schmaleren oder einen breiteren Zugang zu Bildungsangeboten entschieden wird, und das <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> <u>zu einem Zeitpunkt</u> , der extrem zu früh ist. Kinder werden auf ein <u>Bildungsgleis</u> gesetzt, von dem sie nicht so einfach wieder herunterkommen, <b>eben</b> weil die Schere <u>ab diesem Zeitpunkt</u> weit auseinandergeht. Das ist quasi ein Teufelskreis. Man kann es auch eine sich selbst erfüllende Prophezeiung nennen. Vor diesem Hintergrund findet dieses Ansinnen der Fraktion GRÜNE unsere Zustimmung, das ist keine Frage.	zu einem Zeitpunkt
6) *	Davon sind wir weit entfernt. Klar ist aber auch: Von europäischer Ebene ist hinsichtlich der CCS-Technologie der Rechtsrahmen vorgegeben, <u>der bis zum 25. Juni 2011 in deutsches Recht umzusetzen ist</u> . Das Europäische Parlament hat mit Zustimmung des Rates am 23. April 2009 durch die Richtlinie 2009/31/EG über die geologische Speicherung von Kohlendioxid und zur Änderung der Richtlinien 85/337/EWG und 96/61/EG des Rates sowie der Richtlinien - sorry, aber das ist wichtig für das Protokoll - 2000/60/EG, 2001/80/EG, 2004/35/EG, 2006/12/EG und der EG-Verordnung Nr. 1013/2006 den Rechtsrahmen vorgegeben, <u>der bis zu jenem Termin, <b>&lt;B&gt;eben&lt;/B&gt;</b> dem 25. Juni 2011, in deutsches Recht zu transformieren ist</u> . Die Bundesregierung hat daher am 15. April 2011 einen Entwurf für ein Gesetz zur Demonstration und Anwendung von Technologien zur Abscheidung, zum Transport und zur dauerhaften Speicherung von Kohlendioxid in das Bundesratsverfahren gegeben.	zu ... dem 25. Juni 2011

## 7.12. Excerpts from Plenary Debate: *gerade* + Spatial Expressions

The underlined portions of the excerpts below are the ones most relevant to the paragraphs discussed in the main text.

**Parliament of Berlin, Plenary Session January 13, 2011. “Privately Funded Universities”**

**Lars Oberg (SPD)**

(p. 7163)

Ich komme zu den privaten Hochschulen. Ja, in Berlin gibt es eine große Zahl privater Hochschulen. Darunter sind auch viele, die gute Arbeit leisten. Jetzt fordern Sie, Herr Kollege Dragowski, eine massive, vor allem materielle Unterstützung dieser privaten Hochschulen durch das Land und fordern eine Gleichbehandlung ein. [Beifall bei der FDP] Ich bin der Meinung, dass man Gleiches gleich und Ungleiches ungleich behandeln sollte. Private und staatliche Hochschulen kann man nicht gleichsetzen, weil sie nicht gleich sind. Ich kann Ihnen auch gern erklären, warum.

Erstens: Private Hochschulen haben keinen öffentlichen Forschungs- und Lehrauftrag, sondern sind in der Regel private Unternehmungen, die nicht selten eine Gewinnerzielungsabsicht verfolgen. Zu Deutsch: Sie wollen Geld verdienen. Einem Unternehmen, das Geld verdienen möchte, kostengünstig landeseigene Grundstücke zur Verfügung zu stellen, das wäre eine Subvention. [...]

Zweitens: Private Hochschulen bieten keinen finanziell diskriminierungsfreien Zugang zu ihren Angeboten und haben deshalb auch keine Gleichberechtigung zu den anderen Hochschulen zu erwarten.

Drittens - und das ist Ihr grundsätzlicher Denkfehler -: Es ist nicht so, dass Berlin ein starker Wissenschaftsstandort wäre, weil es hier so viele private Hochschulen gäbe, sondern es ist genau umgekehrt: Es gibt so viele private Hochschulen, weil Berlin ein so starker und erfolgreicher Wissenschaftsstandort ist. Er ist dann auch für Dritte attraktiv, die hierherkommen, um an dem Angebot zu partizipieren, einen Teil vom Kuchen abzubekommen und dort Geld zu verdienen.

Daraus ziehe ich folgenden Schluss: Erstens, private Hochschulen brauchen einen klaren und verlässlichen Rechtsrahmen. Den bekommen sie nicht zuletzt mit der anstehenden Änderung des Hochschulgesetzes. Zweitens brauchen private Hochschulen kein öffentliches Geld. Drittens: Wir investieren unser öffentliches Geld in öffentliche Hochschulen, weil für uns Bildung, Wissenschaft

(p. 7164)

und Forschung eine öffentliche Aufgabe ist. Und die ist in den Händen der öffentlichen Universitäten ganz hervorragend aufgehoben. - Herzlichen Dank! [...]

\* \* \*



**Parliament of Northrhine–Westfalia; Plenary Session January 19, 2011. “Dioxin & Organic Farming”**

**Johannes Remmel, Minister für Klimaschutz, Umwelt, Landwirtschaft, Natur- und Verbraucher-schutz:**

(p. 1764)

[...] Aber es gibt eben nicht nur die Schuld, die kriminelle Energie. Vielmehr gibt es eine Struktur, die dazu einlädt: einen Lebensmittelhandel und eine Ernährungsindustrie, die fast ausschließlich auf den kleinen Preis setzt und damit Anreiz bietet, genau so vorzugehen.

(p. 1765)

[...] Was wir auch brauchen, sind mehr Regionalität und mehr ökologischer Landbau. Dabei ist ökologischer Landbau nicht ökologischer Landbau an sich. Vielmehr brauchen wir eine Begründung der gesamten Landwirtschaft, wie sie auch der EU-Kommissar für Landwirtschaft vorschlägt. Das steht auf der Tagesordnung. Die Menschen fragen danach. Das ist die gegenwärtige gesellschaftliche Diskussion: Wie werden unsere Lebensmittel erzeugt: wie tierfreundlich, wie klimafreundlich, wie nachhaltig? Ich glaube, dass die Verbraucherinnen und Verbraucher – jedenfalls zeigen das die Umfragen – auch bereit sind, eine solche andere Produktion von Lebensmitteln, eine solche andere Landwirtschaft mit ihrem Verbraucherverhalten zu unterstützen.



### 7.13. Co-occurrence List: *gerade* + Spatial Expressions

Rank	R1	#	Rubric
1)	in diesem Bereich	13	N/A
2)	hier	4	N/A
3)	an dieser Stelle	4	N/A
4)	in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	4	GEO
5)	in Nordrhein-Westfalen	4	GEO
6)	vor diesem Hintergrund	4	ABSTRACT
7)	in diesem Punkt	3	ABSTRACT
8)	bei diesem (wichtigen) Thema	3	ABSTRACT
9)	in Schleswig-Holstein	3	GEO
10)	in dieser Frage	2	ABSTRACT
11)	bei dieser Thematik	2	ABSTRACT
12)	bei Ihnen	2	PHYSICAL
13)	bei Jugendlichen	2	DEMOGR
14)	bei jungen Menschen	2	DEMOGR
15)	bei kleinen und mittelständischen Unternehmen	2	ECON
16)	dort	2	N/A
17)	im Bereich Schulen	2	EDU
18)	im Bildungsbereich	2	EDU
19)	im Energiebereich	2	ECON
20)	im ländlichen Bereich	2	GEO
21)	im Niedriglohnbereich	2	ECON
22)	in der Fläche	2	GEO
23)	in einem Flächenland wie Brandenburg	2	GEO
24)	in ländlichen Regionen	2	GEO
25)	in Niedersachsen	2	GEO
26)	bei der Bildung	2	EDU
27)	in diesem Zusammenhang	2	ABSTRACT
28)	in diesen Bereichen	2	ABSTRACT
29)	vor Ort	2	PHYSICAL
30)	im kommunalen Bereich	1	POLIT

#### 7.14. Co-occurrence List: *gerade* + Temporal Expressions

Rank	R1	#
1)	heute	16
2)	jetzt (wieder) / (in der Diskussion)	12
3)	dann	9
4)	in diesen Tagen	5
5)	in den letzten Jahren	3
6)	an dem Tag	3
7)	in der Krise	3
8)	in diesem Jahr	3
9)	zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt	3
10)	in den letzten [X] Jahren	2
11)	gestern	2
12)	in dieser Zeit	2
13)	in einer Zeit	2
14)	in den letzten Wochen	2
15)	in den Sommermonaten	2
16)	vorgestern	2
17)	jetzt wieder	1
18)	jetzt in der Diskussion	1
19)	aktuell	1
20)	am gestrigen Tag	1
21)	an einem Tag wie diesem	1
22)	bei der Einbringungsrede	1
23)	erst	1
24)	gestern Abend	1
25)	im Dezember	1
26)	im Januar	1
27)	im letzten Jahrzehnt	1
28)	im Moment	1
29)	im vergangenen Jahr	1
30)	im Winter	1

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