

## ***angenommen* is not *vorausgesetzt* – a corpus linguistic analysis**

In the “Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren” volumes 1 and 2 (HDK-1 2003, HDK-2 2014), perfect participles in their ‘absolute’ use without auxiliaries, such as *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt*, are considered fully grammaticalised connectives with conditional semantics. The terminology used in HDK-1 includes these in the group of so-called ‘Verbzweitsatz-Einbetter’ (V2 embedding conjunctions). As the name suggests, this group contains expressions that introduce V2 subordinate clauses. A variant with a connective exists for all V2 embedding conjunctions. Either an immediately following *dass* as shown in example (1b), or parallel to the V2 structure as in (1a):

(1a) **Angenommen/Vorausgesetzt**, du bleibst zu Hause<sub>V2</sub>, gehe ich jetzt los.

(1b) **Angenommen/Vorausgesetzt**, dass du zu Hause bleibst<sub>VL</sub>, gehe ich jetzt los.

While the above-mentioned perfect participles are formed with semantically different verbs, the truth conditions exhibit hardly any semantic differences when used as connectives. There are, however, major differences in language use: Based on a large-scale corpus analysis (Volodina, to appear), we will show that *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt* differ significantly in regard to a) their preference for embedding of V2 vs *dass* subordinate clauses, b) the mood of the finite verb in the subordinate clause, c) the position of the subordinate clause in relation to the matrix clause, and d) co-occurrence with other expressions. We chose a pragmatic-functional approach to explain these differences in the use of *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt*.

The data for the empirical analysis was extracted from the KoGra database, released in 2015 (data from 1955–2014), of the Deutsches Referenzkorpus (DEREKO). In total, 32.878 occurrences with *vorausgesetzt* and 6.949 occurrences with *angenommen* in their connective use were included in the analysis. In addition, the occurrences were further encoded in regard to the syntactical realisation of their embedded *angenommen* or *vorausgesetzt* sentences (V2 vs VL sentence). The statistical validity of all data was verified with the help of a chi-square test. The analyses were visualised in association plots on the web-based interface KoGra-R.

The results of the corpus analysis presented in this paper can be summarised as follows.

- Both connectives prefer V2 subordinate clauses but to differing degrees. In 98% of all cases, *angenommen* embeds a V2 sentence while *vorausgesetzt* prefers this option in approx. 90% of the cases – a high, yet nonetheless significantly lower percentage. This finding allows us to conclude that the connective use of *angenommen* exhibits practically no variation regarding the position of the verb in the subordinate clause.
- The connectives differ in regard to the topological preference of their embedded clause. While *angenommen* embedded clauses are predominantly realised in a disintegrated form in the pre pre-field, *vorausgesetzt* embedded clauses are normally found in the post-field of the matrix clause. The use of embedded clauses in the pre-field is possible for both connectives but does not seem to exhibit a clear preference.
- *Vorausgesetzt* has a much stronger preference for indicatives than for subjunctives in post-positive subordinate clauses. The verb mood in subordinate clauses does not

play a deciding role for *angenommen* connects (embedded clauses) realised in the left periphery. They are significantly over-represented with indicative or subjunctive constructions.

- There is a clearly inverse correlation between *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt* and the respective meaning-modifying co-occurrence expressions that can be found either directly to the left or to the right of the connective. The co-occurrence expressions that modify the meaning of *angenommen* are under-represented for *vorausgesetzt* and vice versa.

We selected a functional-pragmatic approach to explain this result. According to this approach, the difference between *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt* lies not in the truth-functional meaning, which may be largely identical, but is instead characterised by the different ways in which the perfect participles steer the recipient's attention: The *angenommen* connect (embedded clause) generally introduces a new, hypothetical situation while the matrix clause is evaluated in this hypothetical situation. The recipient's attention tends to be steered toward the possibility that the situation described by the *angenommen* connect (embedded clause) is true. In turn, *vorausgesetzt* limits the scope of the matrix clause and therefore steers the reader's attention toward the possibility that the situation described by the *vorausgesetzt* connect (embedded clause) is false.

These observations can be schematically presented as follows:

- (2) Condition: possible that p, possible that not p.
- *angenommen*:  
Initial discourse situation: possible that p is false.  
Attention focused on: Situations in which p is true.
  - *vorausgesetzt*:  
Initial discourse situation: possible that p is true.  
Attention focused on: Situations in which p is false.

Therefore, *vorausgesetzt* tends to be used in discussions as a reminder of the very unlikely possibility that p is false. As such, *vorausgesetzt* can be used to weaken or relativize statements. In contrast, *angenommen* tends to be used in situations in which the proposition p was not “on the agenda” but may have either desirable or undesirable consequences (q).

Based on this analysis approach, the observed findings can be explained as follows:

The fact that

- *vorausgesetzt* and *angenommen*, despite possible deviations, are found in the same environments can be deduced from the identical core meaning of *angenommen* and *vorausgesetzt*.
- *angenommen* connects (embedded clauses) are predominantly used in the left periphery can be explained by their function as frame setting topics (see above). This function is naturally best achieved at the beginning of a sentence. Due to reasons of processing, this type of use is extremely counter-productive for *vorausgesetzt* as *vorausgesetzt* steers the recipient's attention to the possibility that, contrary to expectations, p might be false. This also explains the preference for postponing of *vorausgesetzt* subordinate clauses.
- *vorausgesetzt* subordinate clauses with subjunctives are hardly used is due to a prior acceptance of the possibility that p could be true. The use of subjunctives in *voraus-*

*gesetzt* subordinate clauses tends to be more acceptable in reproduction of indirect discourse. In turn, the use of the subjunctive in subordinate clauses is hardly surprising in the case of *angenommen* as the aim is to steer the recipient's attention to a situation that is already unlikely.

- *vorausgesetzt* tends to appear more frequently with quantifying and contrasting expressions can be explained by the shift in attention, or the change of perspective, triggered by *vorausgesetzt*. The recipient's attention is either contrastingly steered from one situation to another situation, or even to a whole row of other situations, with the pragmatic function of finding exceptions, or in other words, cases in which *p* is false. Conversely, the use of *angenommen* with *aber* can be explained by the fact that *angenommen* explicitly describes an alternative situation that is in contrast to the previously established common knowledge base. This also applies to (*nur*) *mal* as a frequent co-occurrence expression with *angenommen*, which additionally specifies that the proposition *p* is unlikely.

## References

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