

Testing weak and strong definites experimentally across languages

ExtenDD Seminar
University of Łódź
May 12, 2026

Florian Schwarz



Varieties of Definiteness

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Pronouns, definite descriptions, demonstratives (bare and with NP), and more (clausal dimension!)

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- **One piece of the puzzle :**

Contrasts based on weak vs. strong definite articles - Anaphoricity vs. Uniqueness

- **Today's plan:**

Illustration of experimental measures of this definiteness contrasts and beginnings of cross-linguistic comparisons

Background: Uniqueness vs Anaphoricity in Definites

The: Uniqueness vs. Anaphoricity

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- **Uniqueness** tradition:
(going back to Russell & Strawson)

Definites refer to an **entity that uniquely instantiates** the NP-property (+ Domain restriction etc.)

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Definites refer to an **entity that uniquely** instantiates the NP-property (+ Domain restriction etc.)

- **Anaphoricity/Familiarity** tradition
(going back to Christophersen, Heim):

Definites, much like pronouns,
relate back to an antecedent anaphorically

Illustration

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- Uniqueness use:

Context: Standing in an office with exactly one table

(1) **The table is covered with books.**

Idea: pick out an individual with a **unique property**

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Context: Standing in an office with exactly one table

(1) **The table is covered with books.**

Idea: pick out an individual with a **unique property**

- Anaphoric Use

(1') a. **There is *a table* and a chair in my office.**

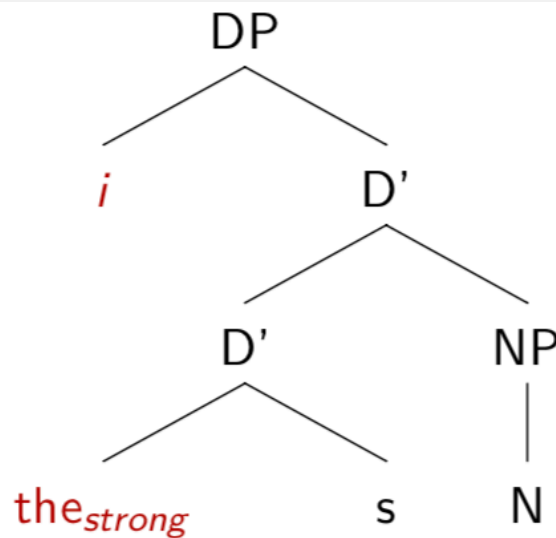
b. **The table is covered with books.**

Idea:

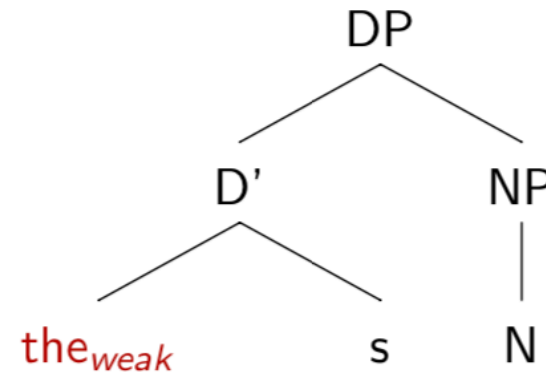
Definites pick out an **individual** that has been **introduced by a previous expression** (or in context)

Proposal in Schwarz (2009)

- Both types exist!
- Distinction between **strong** and **weak** definite articles
 - **Def_{weak}**: uniqueness based (relativized to situations)
 - **Def_{strong}**: additional **anaphoric** index (\sim familiarity)



$\lambda s_r \lambda P. \lambda y. \iota x [P(x)(s_r) \ \& \ x = y]$



$\lambda s_r \lambda P. \iota x [P(x)(s_r)]$

Different Article-Types: Germanic

- Several Germanic languages / dialects have long been known to have two full article paradigms, e.g:
- Rhineland dialect Heinrichs (1954); Hartmann (1967), Mönchen-Gladbach dialect Hartmann (1982), Cologne dialect Himmelmann (1997), Bavarian Scheutz (1988); Schwager (2007)

(2) Example: The definite article paradigms in Fering

	m.Sg.	f.Sg	n.Sg.	Pl.
A-article	<i>a</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>a</i>
D-article	<i>di</i>	<i>det</i>	<i>det</i>	<i>dön</i>

(Ebert, 1971, p. 159)

Preposition-Determiner Contraction

- **German** exhibits **same contrast** in variation in (certain) preposition-determiner combinations:

(3)

Form	Article Type	Gloss
<i>zum</i>	weak	<i>P-the_{weak}</i>
<i>zu dem</i>	strong	<i>P the_{strong}</i>

Table: Terminology for the German Article Forms

Weak Article: Uniqueness

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- (4) *In der Kabinettsitzung heute wird ein neuer Vorschlag*
In the cabinet meeting today is a new proposal
✓ vom / #von dem Kanzler erwartet.
by-the_{weak} / by the_{strong} chancellor expected
'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the
chancellor is expected.'

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'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the
chancellor is expected.'
- (5) *# In der Kabinettsitzung heute wird ein neuer Vorschlag*
In the cabinet meeting today is a new proposal
vom *Minister* erwartet.
by-the_{weak} minister expected
'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the
minister is expected.'

- There's only one chancellor, but several ministers.
- The **weak article** seems to **require uniqueness**
- Uniqueness does not suffice for strong article

Strong - Anaphoric

- (6) a. *Hans hat gestern einen Minister interviewt.*
Hans has yesterday a minister interviewed
'Hans interviewed a minister yesterday.'
- b. ✓ *In der Kabinettsitzung heute wird ein neuer
Vorschlag von dem Minister erwartet.*
In the cabinet meeting today is a new
proposal by the_{strong} minister expected
'In today's cabinet meeting, a new proposal by the
minister is expected.'

- Contextual **Uniqueness** is neither sufficient nor necessary for $\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}$
- $\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}$ becomes **available** if there is an antecedent

Related Cross-linguistic Work

- Akan
- Korean
- Mauritian Creole
- Haitian Creole
- Thai
- Mandarin
- Cantonese
- Upper Silesian
- Upper Sorbian
- Ngamo
- ASL
- Lithuanian
- Icelandic
- Hausa
- Lakota
- Chuj
- Washo
- Shan
- Kannada
- Serbian
- St'át'imcets's
- Bulu
- Kusaal
- Gurene
- Dagbani
- Teiwa
- Mongsen Ao
- Urama
- ...

Cross-linguistic Picture

- Lots of great work over last decade on **cross-linguistic** instances or variations of contrasts (too many to cite!)
- Important **questions concerning specific relation** between contrasts across languages
- Further ingredients (or breakdown of ingredients) likely warranted, but **one key common theme** is the weak-strong split
- **Systematic comparison** and bigger picture of variation crucially needed

Reflections on Evidence

- The **contrasts** are **subtle**
- To **get clear effects**, a lot of **care** is needed (e.g., world knowledge **Kabinettsitzung - Minister**)
- For German: Additional potential **interference** from
 - **prescriptive norms** and
 - **variation in availability** of contraction

No Complementary Distribution

- Schwarz (2009) analysis predicts (possible, perhaps pragmatically constrained) **overlap** in the **contexts of use** for the two forms, as long as
 - there is a **suitable antecedent** (linguistic or potentially otherwise - open issue!)
 - the corresponding **referent is the unique entity** (in the relevant situation) meeting NP description
- **Documenting contrasts**, and systematically comparing them **across languages**, remains **delicate and challenging**

Empirical Challenge & Goal

- **Various factors** impact the availability, felicity, and successful communicative use of the two types of definite descriptions.
- How can we get a **clear grasp on those factors** with the goal of uncovering the posited underlying semantic contrast?



A new Experimental Approach

Motivation & Basic Idea

- **Experiments** provide a useful **tool to control and manipulate** various factors as desired
- **Keep everything else constant**
—> Link effects to **underlying meaning difference**
- Additional **trick** from experimental toolbox:
pit definiteness contrast against
another factor that can affect reference resolution
- Goal:
Get **differences between articles** to **emerge** in
terms of their **strength relative to this other factor**

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- **Repeated exposure** to picture requests

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- **Repeated exposure** to picture requests
- In **critical trials**, an **additional object of the same category** is introduced

Fig. 1 Training trial (“the red cap”)

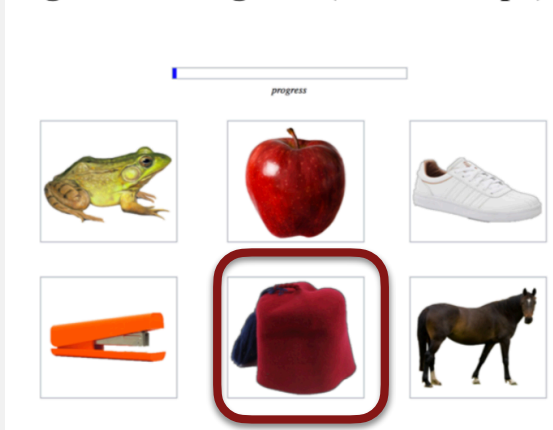


Fig. 2 Critical trial (“the red cap”)



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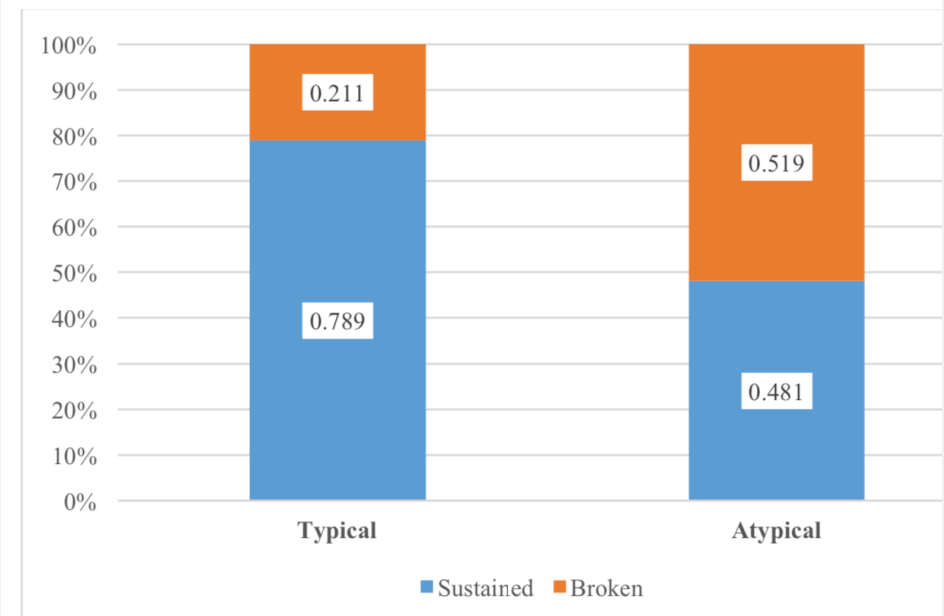


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Fig. 5 Effects of typicality on sustenance/breaking of pact



Design Idea

- Adapt **typicality manipulation** to a task with an indefinite antecedent

Atypical First



A hat

...



The hat

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[Ein Hut];

...



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vs.

vom Hut

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Atypical First

Control: Typical First



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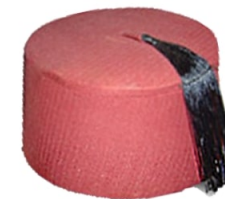
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Factors in Play

	[Ein Hut]; ...	
	von [i [dem Hut]] vs. vom Hut	 

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- **General factors:**

- Typicality
- Discourse Continuity / Conceptual Pact

Choose typical ref.

Choose Antecedent

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- **General factors:**

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Conceptual Pact

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Choose Antecedent

- **Form-specific factor:**

Def_{strong}: **i** (requiring antecedent) Choose Antecedent

Measuring the Impact of i

Measuring the Impact of *i*

- **Weak article:**

- **Uniqueness** unmet,
but some room for pragmatic resolution
- Weigh **two general factors:**
Typicality & Discourse Continuity

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- **Use of that option**

—> relative increase in antecedent choices for $\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}$

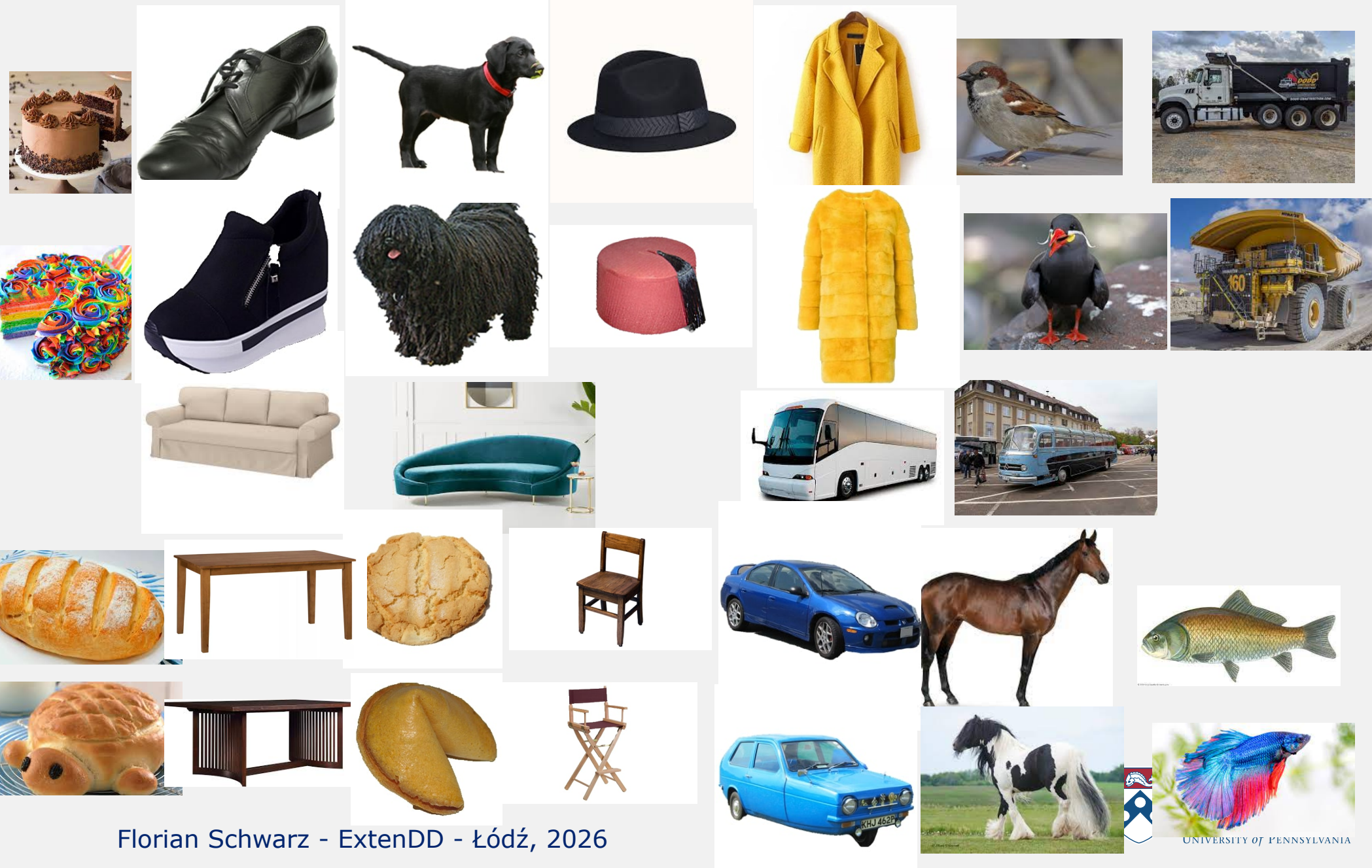
Predictions

Order/ Article	A _{typ} > T _{yp}	T _{yp} > A _{typ}
(strong) von dem	Typicality: T_{yp} DC: A_{typ} Ant: A_{typ}	Typicality: T_{yp} DC: T_{yp} Ant: T_{yp}
(weak) vom	Typicality: T_{yp} DC: A_{typ}	Typicality: T_{yp} DC: T_{yp}

Does **Anaphoric nature** of **Def_{strong}** impact Typ. reference choice?

—> Interaction!

Norming Typicality



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How typical is this for a N?

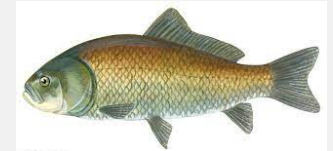
Means (on scale from 0-7)

Typical: 6.19

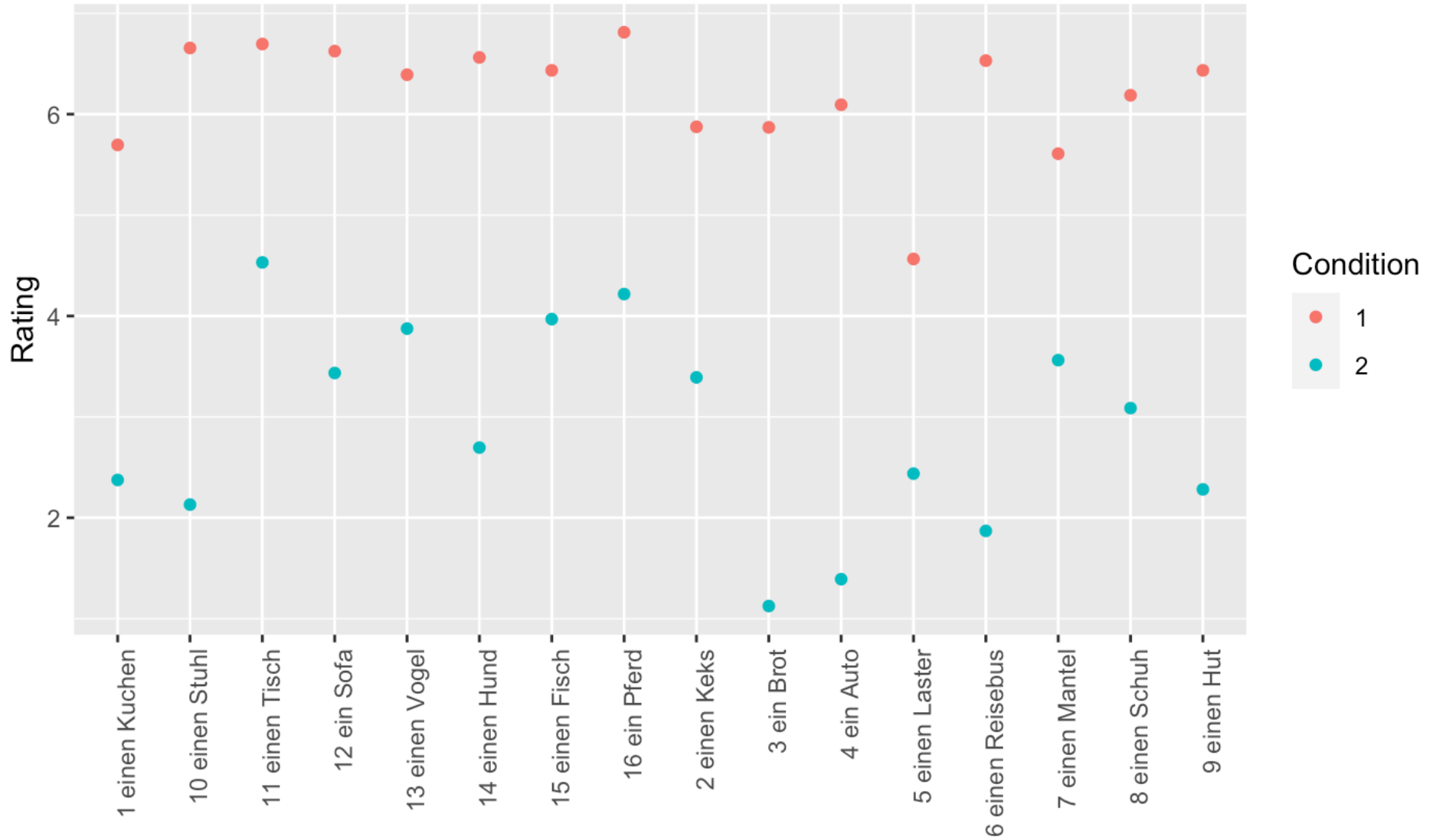
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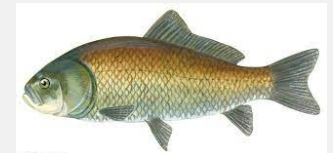
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Assistant in a Game Task

(To read on, press any key!!)

In this experiment, you are the assistant to a play in a simple game. In the game, there are two players. Each round, six pictures will be laid out. Each player has to collect pictures in particular categories. For this, they receive two category cards: one for a general category (e.g., 'animals') and one for a more specific category (e.g., 'fire truck'). In addition, before choosing a picture on their turn, they get a third category card from a mixed stack, which can be general or specific. When it's a player's turn, they must choose a picture that fits the categories they have as well as possible. Pictures for specific categories count for more points. When a picture for a given category has been selected, the category card is discarded (and replaced next round).

Fortunately, you don't have to worry about the details of the rules of the game too much. Your task is simply to help the player you are assisting and select the pictures they are asking for by clicking on them.

You first see how the other player is making their choice, and an additional card is removed.

While the other player is making their decision, you'll hear comments from your player on the cards that are available. When it's your player's turn, new cards are added, and your player will tell you which card to select for them by clicking on it.

Trial Illustration (Atyp First)



progress



What do we have here? There's a horse and **a fish**...
Can you give me the picture of **the fish**, please?

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 - 4 **referred back** to antecedent (3 Def_{strong} , 1 fem)
 - 12 **referred** to **newly added** item (8 Def_{weak} , 4 fem)
- 24 **fillers** with **plural context sentences**:
(15 Def_{weak} , 9 fem)

So, what do we have here? There's some animals and some furniture.

Target reference to items in **mentioned categories**,
12 to newly added items, 12 to initially present items

2x2 Design

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- **Factor 1:** Definiteness type
vom vs. **von dem**

(between subjects)

2x2 Design

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- **Factor 2:** Typicality order:
Typical - Atypical vs. Atypical - Typical (within subjects)

Methods

- 97 participants on Prolific
- Same Materials as before except for noted changes
- Dependent variable: Rate of Typical image choices
- 2x2 - Typicality Order x Definite Type
- PCIBex Demo Link
(with access to underlying code for 1-click replication):

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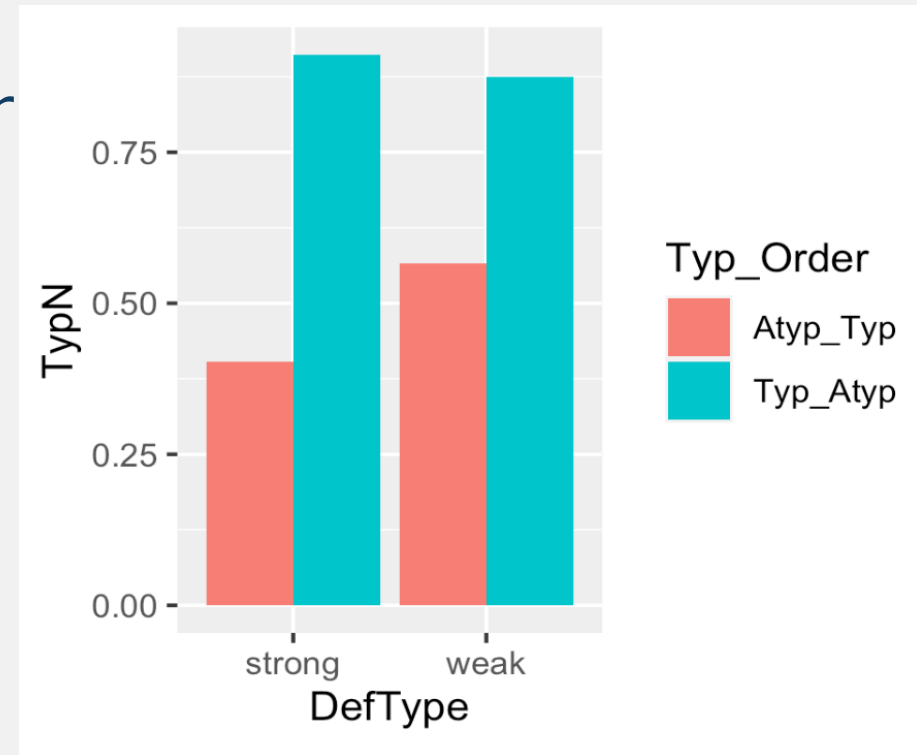


Full Expt - Results



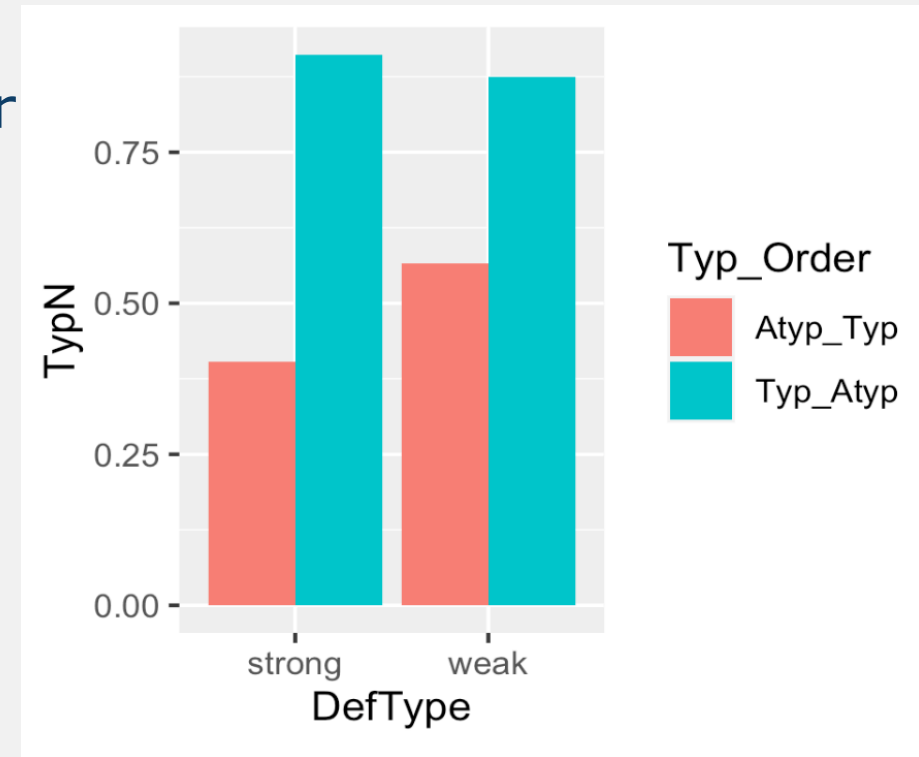
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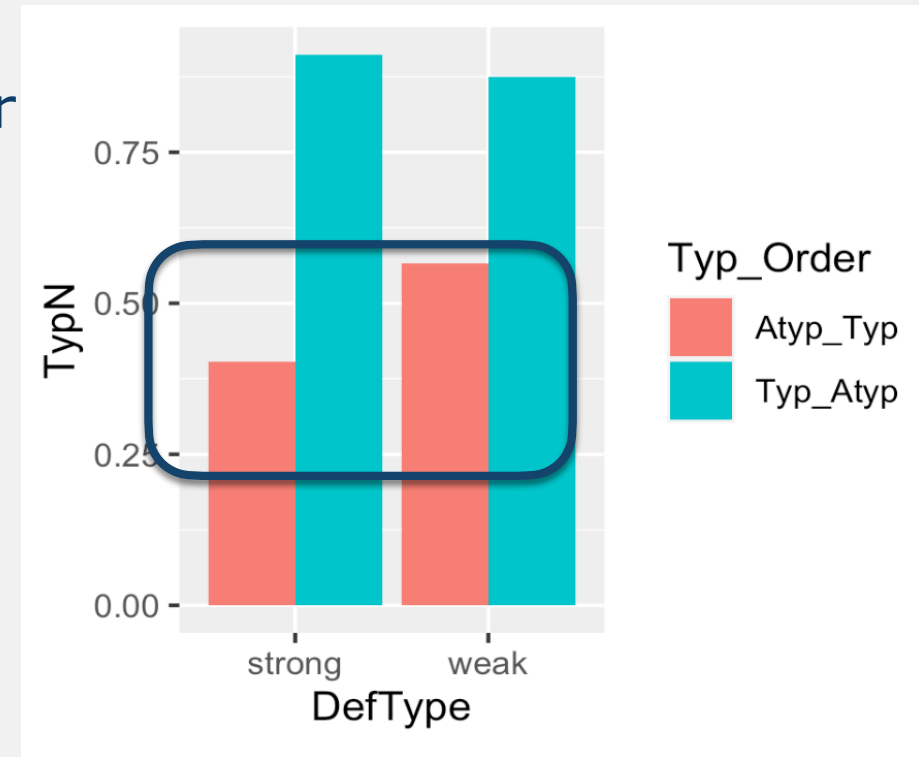
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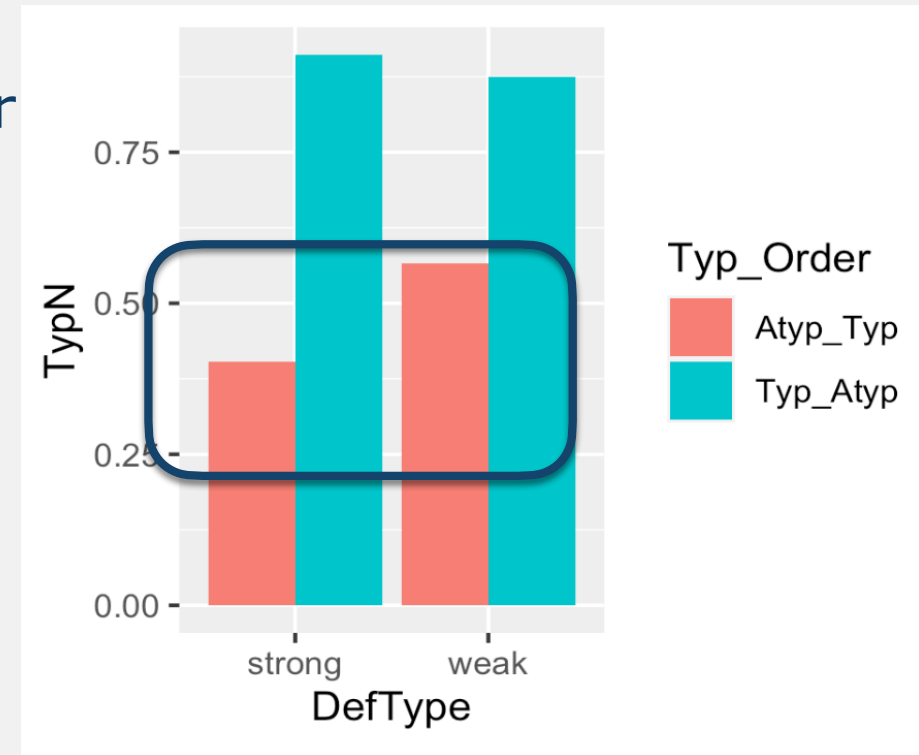
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- **Significant Interaction** ($p < .001$)
- Driven by **Significant diff.** for Atyp_Typ order ($p < .01$)
 - > **More Typ** for Def_{weak}
- (No sig. diff for Typ_Atyp)



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- **Two pressures** pitted against one another:
 - **Typicality preference** when faced with multiple candidate referents
 - **Propensity of a given definite** form to pick up referent from previous **indefinite** antecedent

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- **Two pressures** pitted against one another:
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 - **Propensity of a given definite** form to pick up referent from previous **indefinite** antecedent
- **Result:**
 - Overall **large effect of typicality** (but not main focus here)
 - Importantly, Def_{weak} and Def_{strong} **differ** in their propensity to **stick to an Atypical antecedent** referent

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- Note that the **gradual result** is **consistent with a categorical analysis** of the contrast
 - > Many factors at play, including plausible pragmatic pressures (independent of presence of index) to maintain referent across context and target sentence
- **Key Point:**
controlling for all other factors,
small and auditorily subtle difference in form has a significant impact on reference choice patterns.

Interim Assessment

- **New empirical evidence** in favor of contrast in 'role of anaphoricity'
- **Simple** and **replicable method** that allows us to **measure** for a given determiner how (relatively) 'anaphoric' it is.
- **Tool** for systematic and quantitative comparison of article-/definite-paradigms **across languages**

Beyond German

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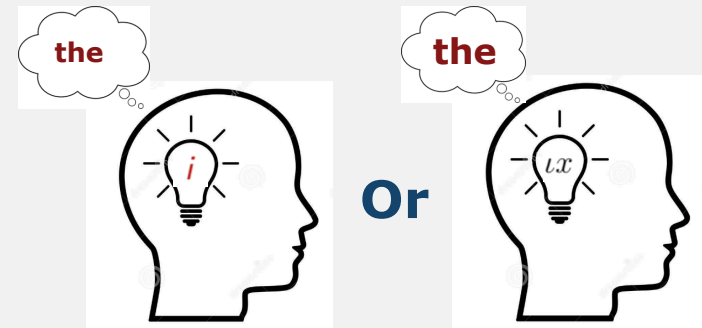
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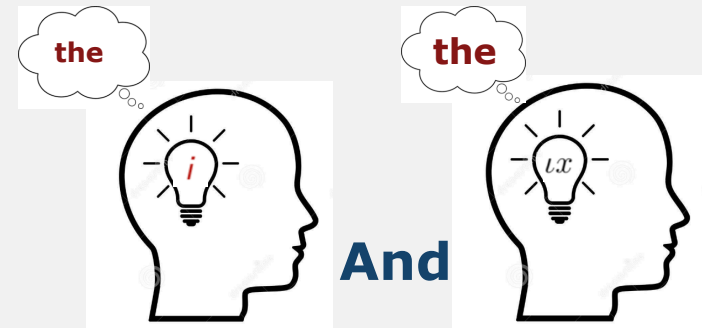
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 - **Uniqueness** or **Anaphoricity** (Familiarity)?
 - Or **ambiguous** between both?



Implementation

- **Recorded English stimuli** to match the German ones (listen to German sentence, then record English)
- **Alternated** Def_{weak} and Def_{strong} German sentences as listening sample
—> **avoid potential biases** in prosodic realization
- Otherwise, all identical to German study (with recalibrated norming)
- 48 subjects
(since there was no between subjects definite type manipulation)
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Predictions

- **[[the]]** = Def_{weak}
—> data pattern like **vom**
- **[[the]]** = Def_{strong}
—> data pattern like **von dem**

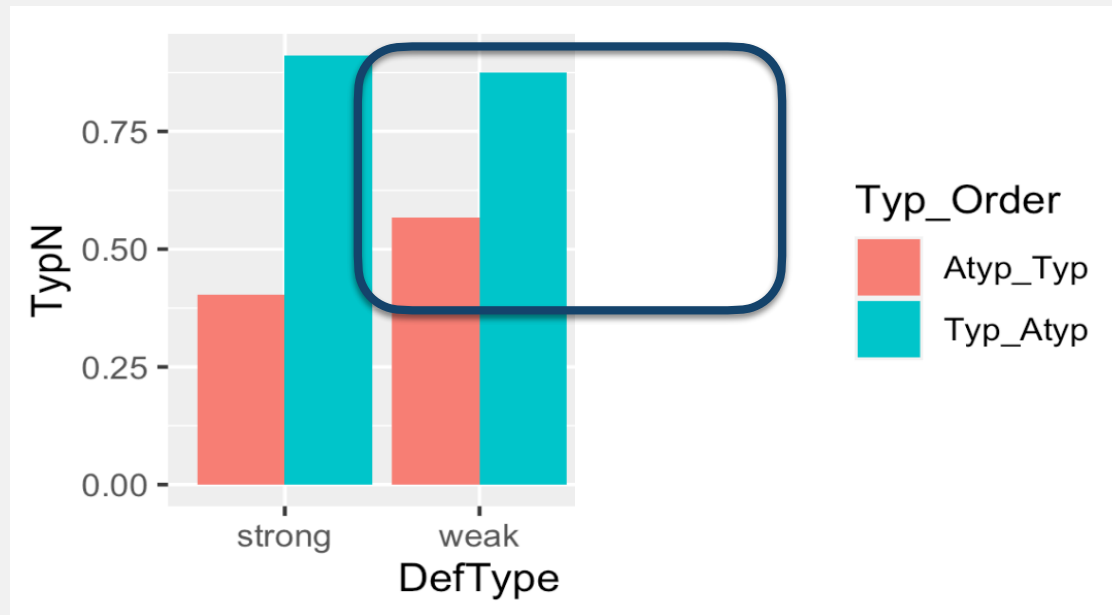
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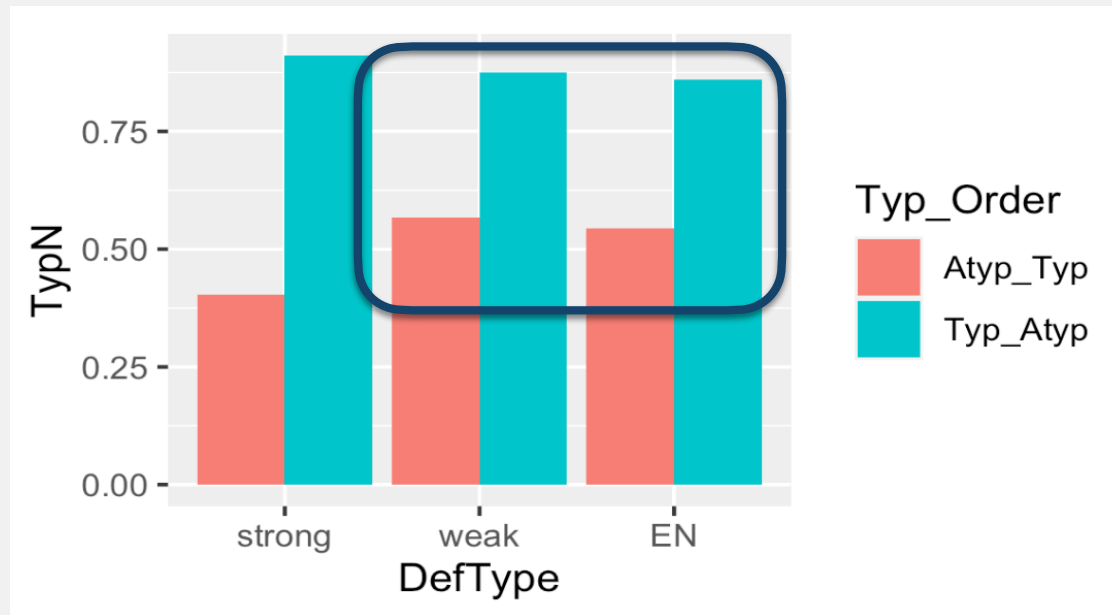
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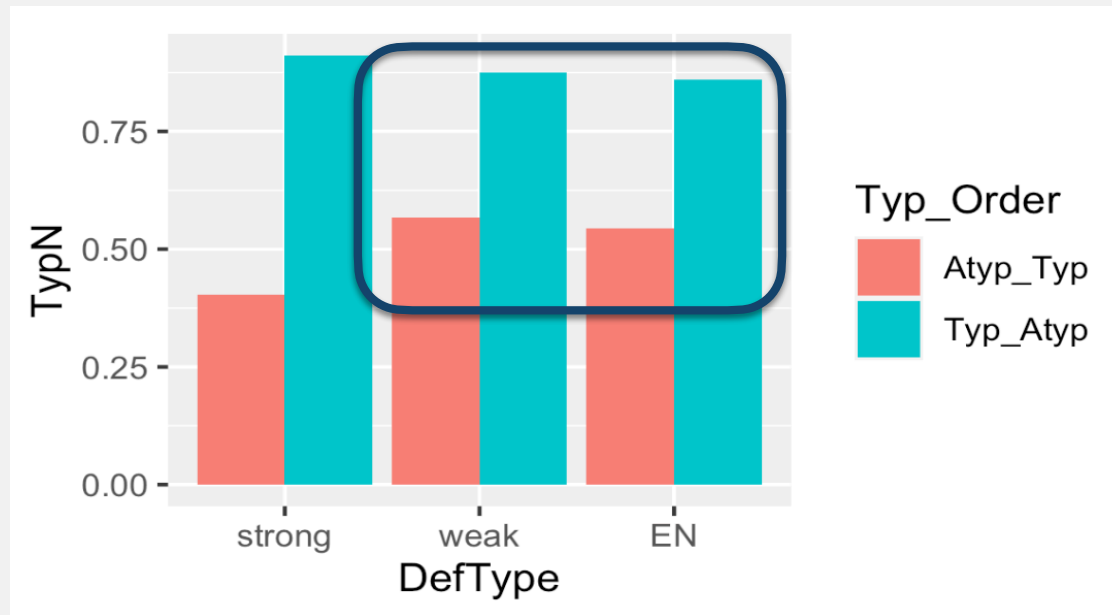
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Results

- Reminder of **German** results:



- **the** descriptive on par with Def_{weak}

Data Analysis

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- 2x3 interaction analysis
- Baselines: Def_{strong} , A_{typ_Typ}
 - Parallel interactions with Def_{weak} and **the**
 - Simple effects in A_{typ_Typ} condition
- No sig. differences between Def_{weak} and **the**

Discussion

- If **English the** = $\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}$ with a genuinely anaphoric component, that should show here
- But it's **behaving exactly** as Def_{weak} in German, which arguably has non-anaphoric semantics
- Does this suggests that **English the** indeed is just a uniqueness article, **on par** with Def_{weak} in German?

Alternative hypothesis: Ambiguity

- What if [[**the**]] were **ambiguous** between the two?

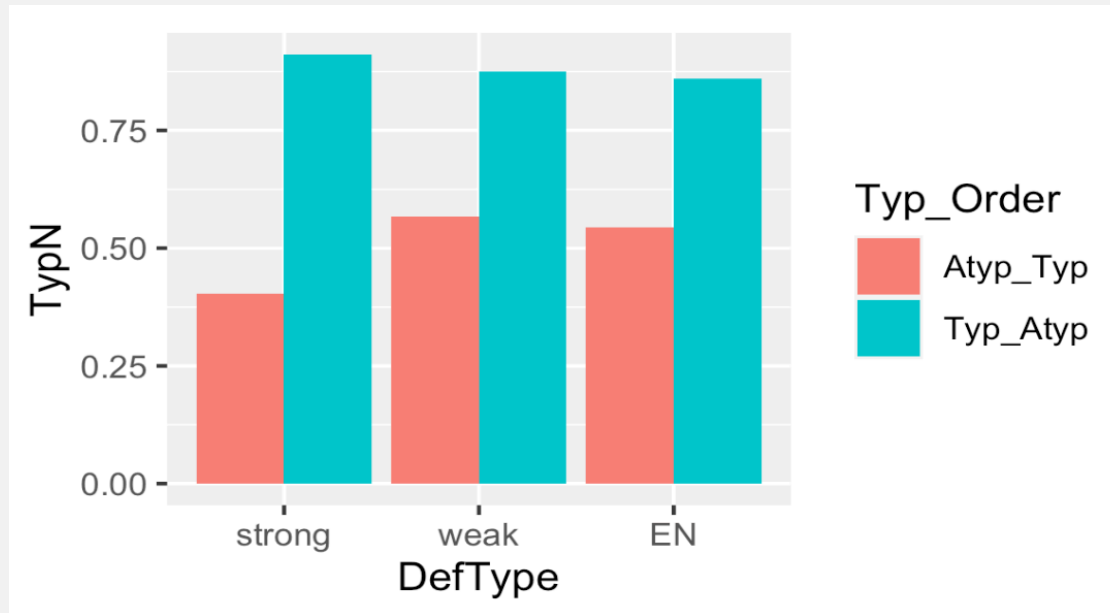
Possible predictions for behavior in this paradigm:

- **mixed** pattern (if both readings are accessed)
- like **strong**
- like **weak**
- Can we independently test ambiguous forms in task?

-> **Well, yes:**

German environments that **don't allow contraction:**
(presumably) **ambiguous** between **weak & strong!**

German Ambiguous Baseline: NoPP

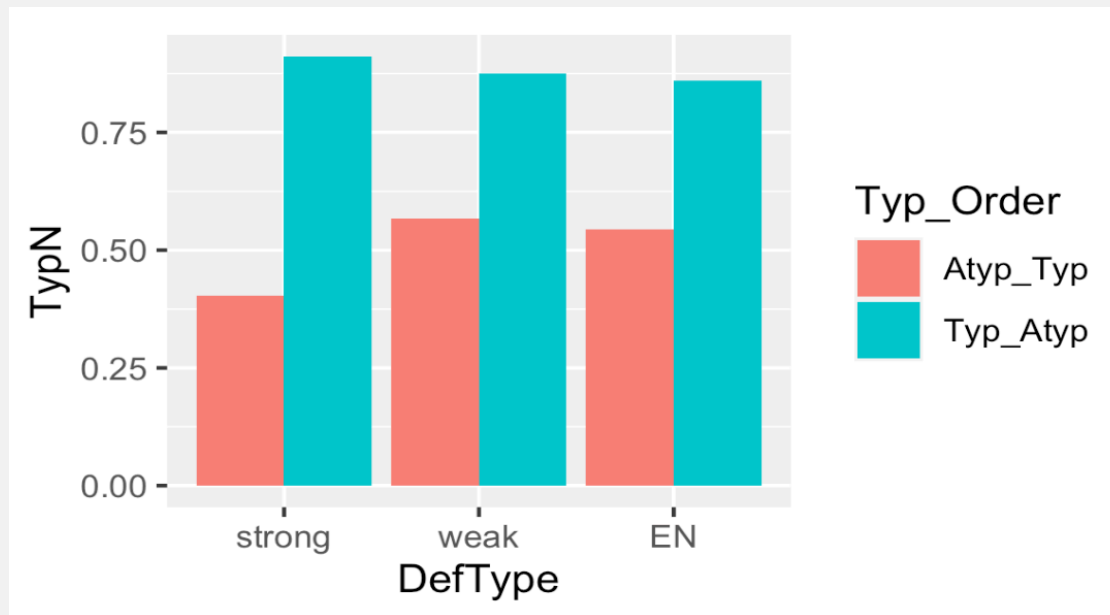


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Gibst Du mir bitte den Hut?

Give you me please the hat

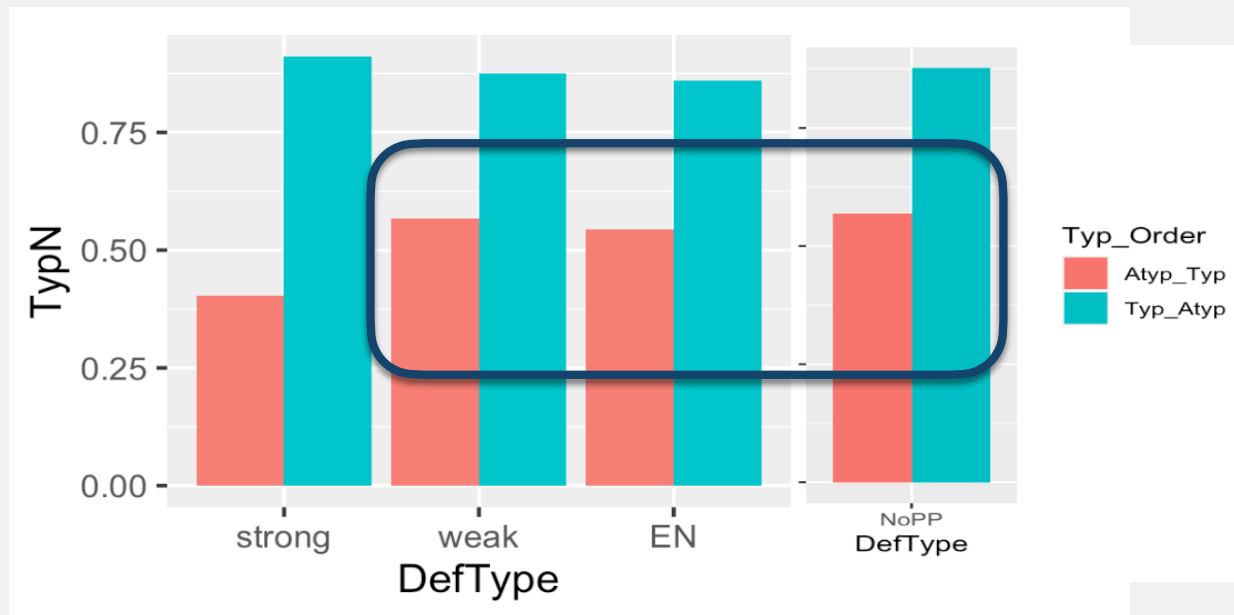


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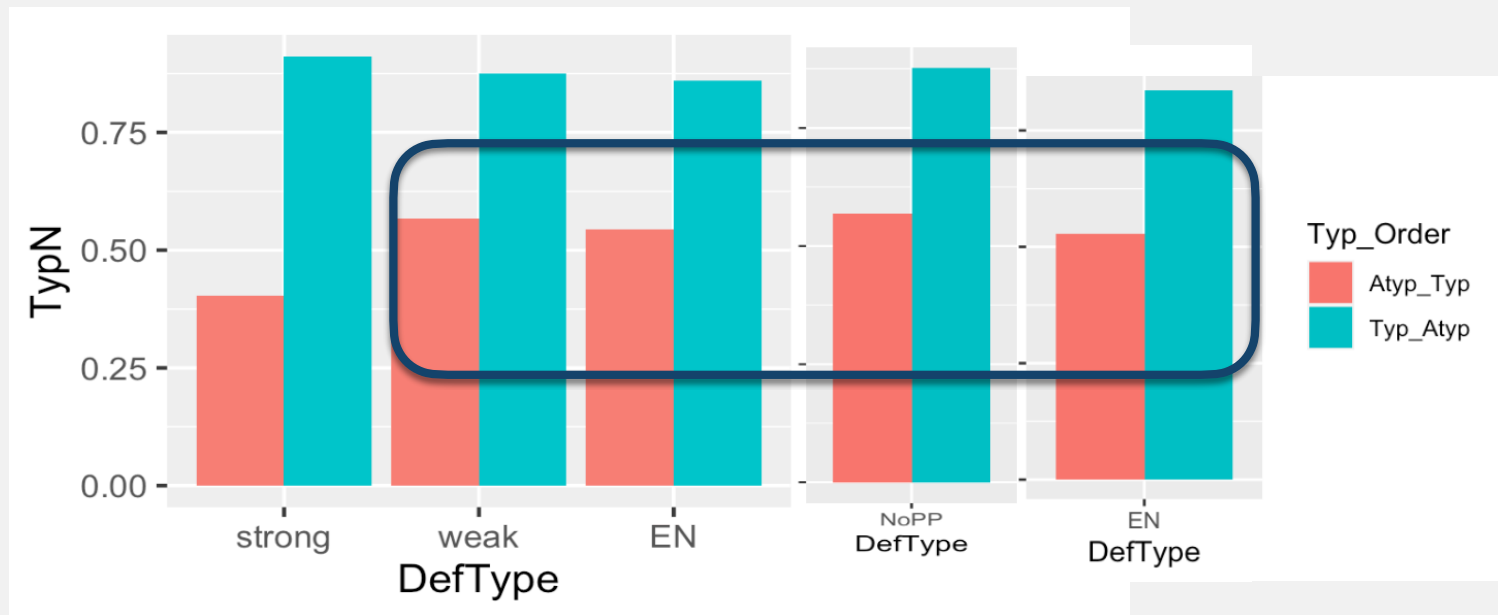


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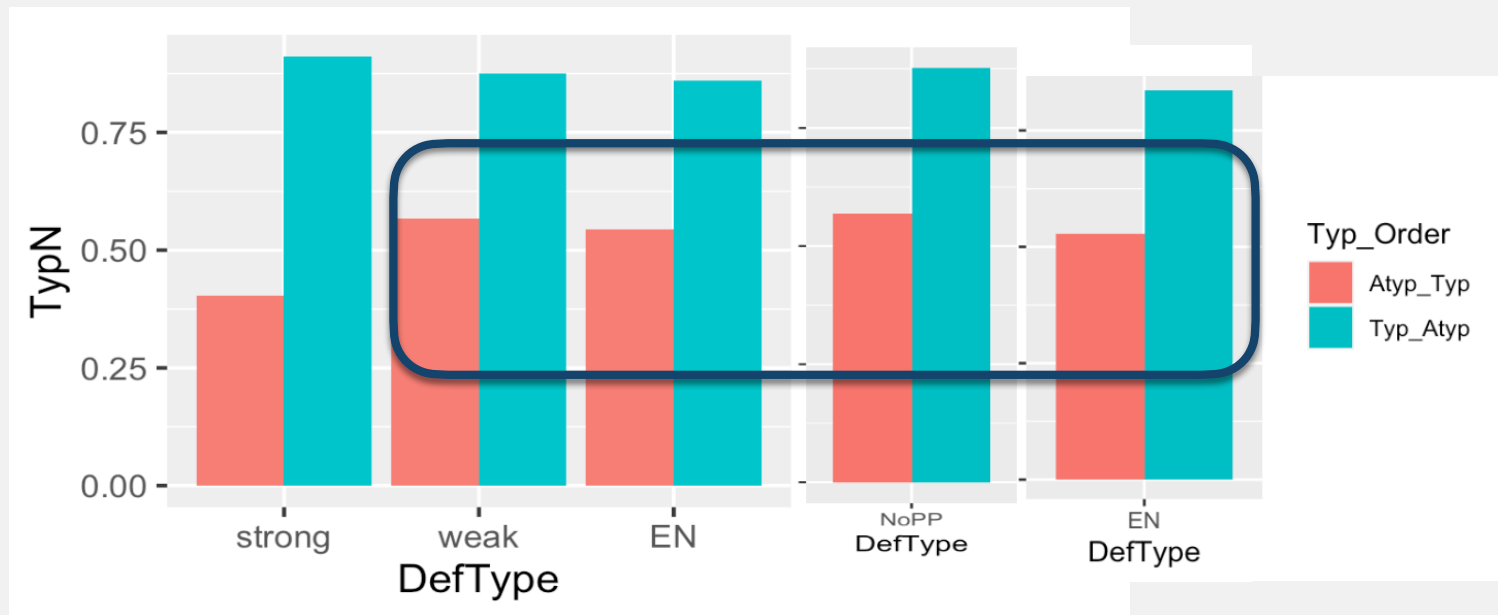


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- **NoPP** patterns with Def_{weak} and **the** (And NoPP makes no difference for **the**)

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- Parallel results with a Feminine baseline variant (-> in Appendix)

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- The current data under-determine whether **the** = Def_{weak} **OR the** is ambiguous
- German **forms where contraction is unavailable** and English **the** pattern together
- **Ambiguous + weak** interpretation preference?
- (Potential) **Additional question:**
Are German **forms w/o contraction** available **actually ambiguous?**

An (old) argument for Ambiguity revisited: Epithets

Epithets - German

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- Argument that German Def_{weak} CANNOT bear index:
Epithets

Hans hat schon wieder angerufen. Ich will #vom / von dem Idioten
Hans has already again called. I want of-the_{weak} / of the_s idiot
nichts mehr hören.
not more hear.

‘Hans has called again. I don’t want to hear anything anymore from that idiot.

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- Same holds for very general descriptive nouns that don’t ensure uniqueness

Ein Ornithologe... {#vom / von dem} Mann

An Ornithologist... of- Def_{weak} of $\text{Def}_{\text{strong}}$ man

(Schwarz 2009)

Epithets

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- English **the** seems much more acceptable than weak article in epithets and general descriptive nouns:

This linguist called, and I got a real mouthful from **the idiot** before he realized he had the wrong number

I saw a talk by **an ornithologist**, and was impressed by **the man**.

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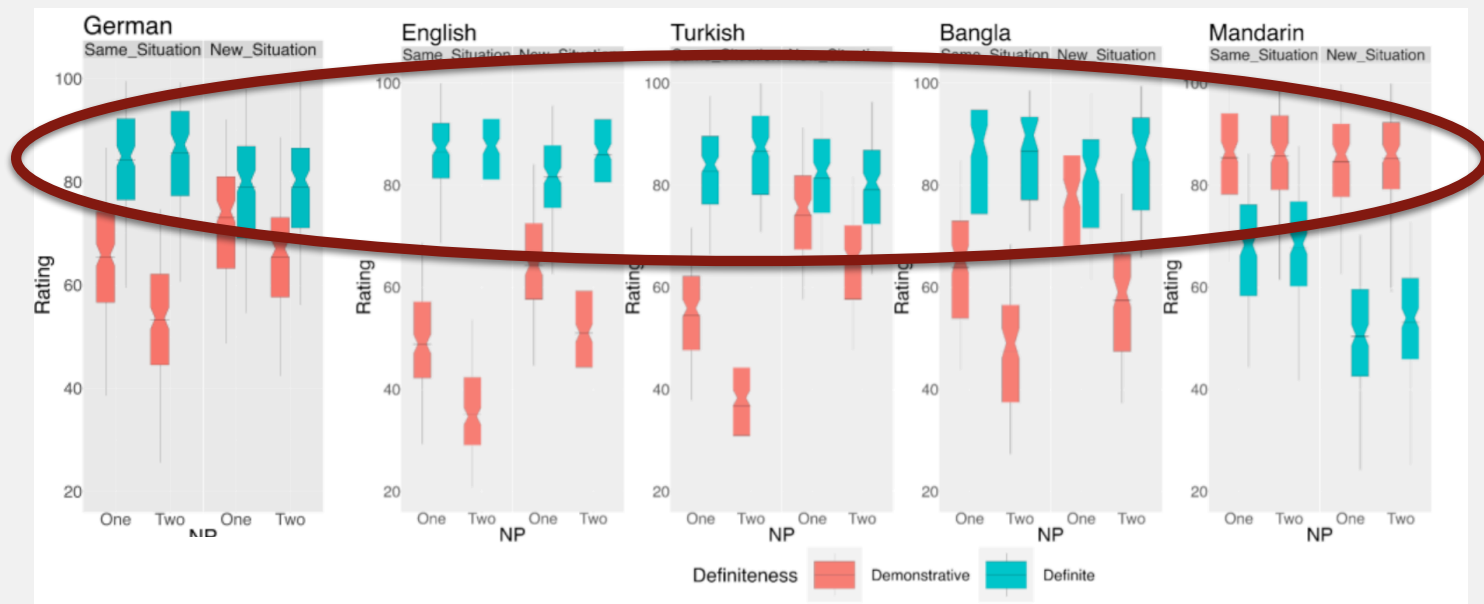
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—> **argument for ambiguity!**

- **Open question:** Why do ambiguous forms behave like Def_{weak} in our paradigm?

Ambiguous forms in other tasks

- Saha 2023, Saha et al. 2023, Saha et al. 2024: Acceptability judgments for anaphoric uses of demonstratives and 'definite' forms across discourse contexts:



- German ambiguous form and **the** pattern with (what arguably are) other anaphoric (or ambiguous) definites

Further Cross-linguistic Experiments

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- Seeking **empirical support** for existence of contrasts, and
- Explore **factors** affecting their strength

More Cross-linguistic data

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- Collaboration through **Definiteness Across Domains** Network:
<https://www.definiteness-across-domains.org/>
(funded by German Science Foundation)

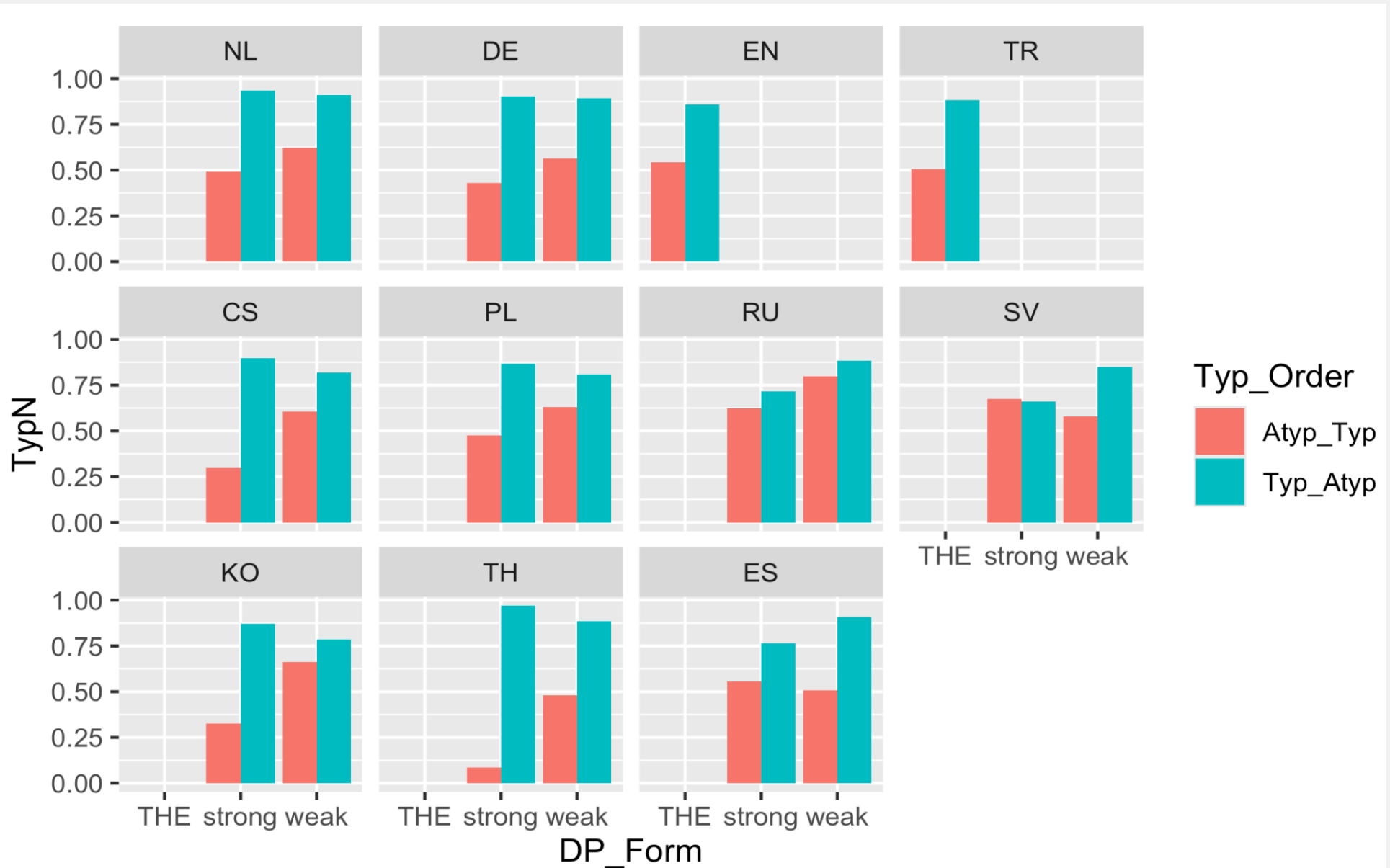
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 - **Czech**
(Radek Simik)
 - **Polish**
(Agata Renans)
 - **Russian**
(Ljudmila Geist)
 - **Dutch**
(Giuseppe Magistro,
Melissa Farasyn,
Alexandra
Simonenko)
 - **Swedish**
(Imke Driemel)
 - **Korean**
(Dorothy Ahn)
 - **Turkish**
(Yagmur Sag)
 - **Thai**
(Nattanun (Pleng)
Chanchaochai)
 - **Spanish**
(Carla Bombi)

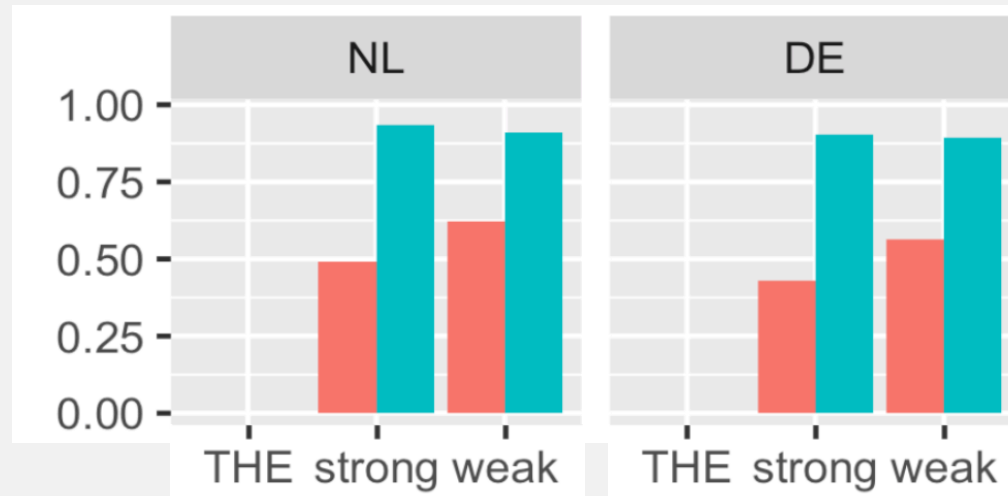
Snapshot Overview



TLDR

- Caveats:
 - **Glossing over** many detailed aspects of **form variations** (bare, DEM, ...) and **inventories**
 - **New data**, only **descriptive stats** so far
- Remarkably **consistent qualitative pattern** across **widely varying languages**
- Interesting **quantitative variation** (at least descriptively, so far) in **strength of patterns**
- **3 Languages** have **qualitatively different pattern**
- A few initial highlights...

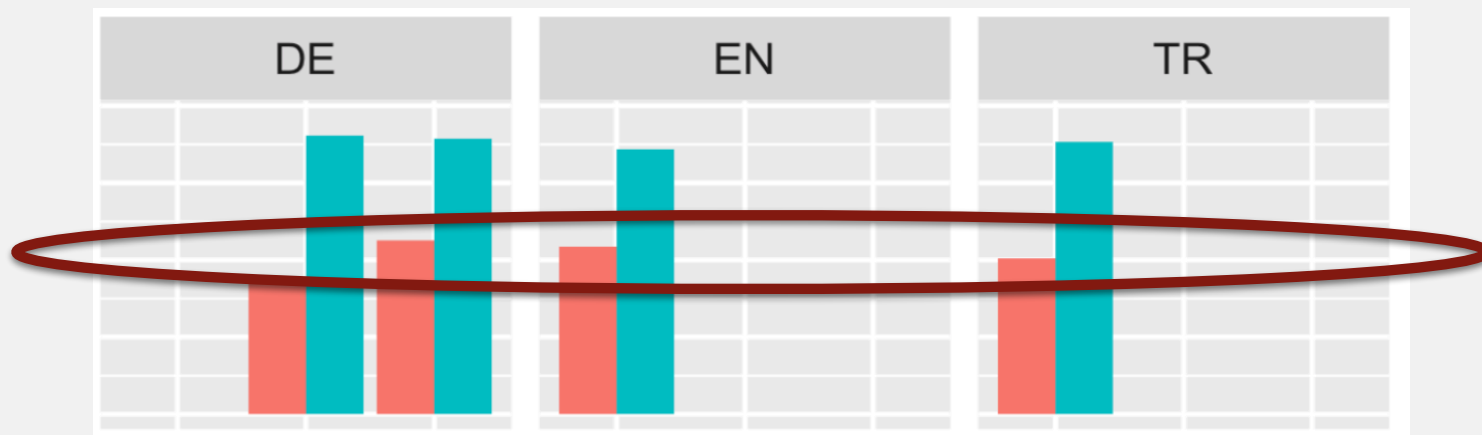
Dutch \approx German



- Dutch **de/het** vs. **die/dat** behaves much like German **vom** vs. **von dem**

—> Def_{weak} vs Def_{strong}

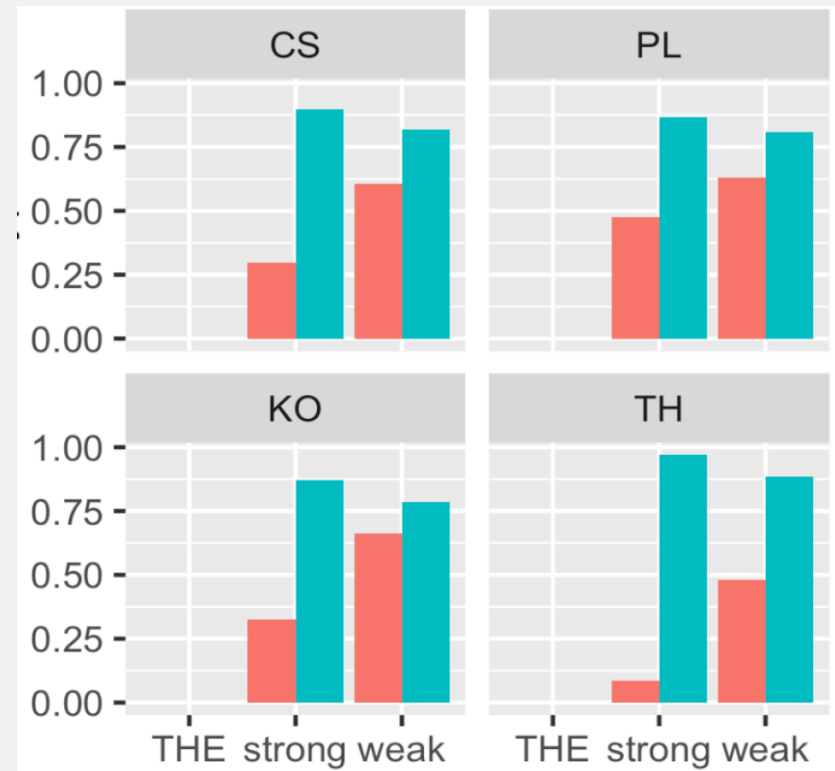
Def_{weak} \approx Ambiguous forms



- As in Saha et al. 2023, 2024, **Turkish** forms **pattern with English**
- In the **present paradigm**, both **pattern with German Def_{weak}**

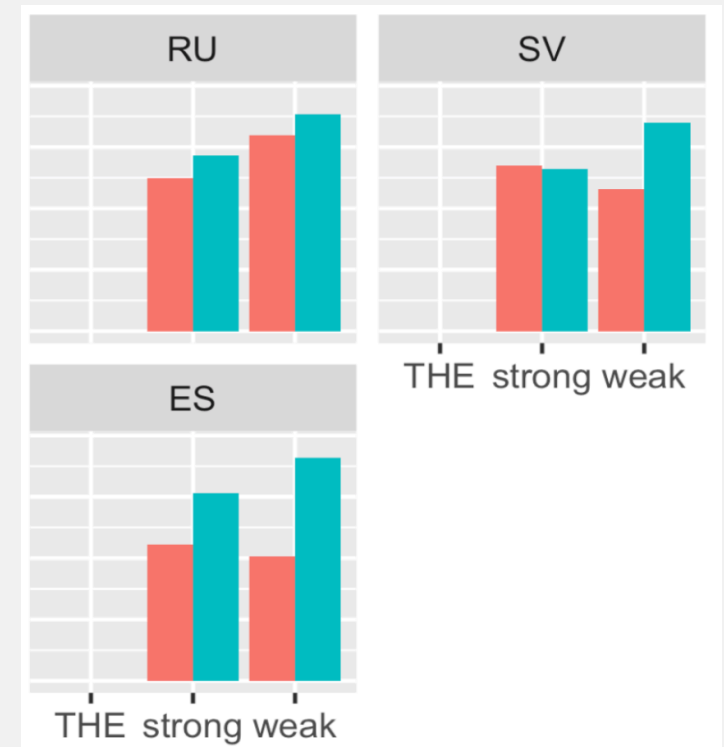
Bare vs DEM

- Czech, Polish, Korean and Thai:
bare NP ($Def_{weak?}$) vs
Demonstrative ($Def_{strong?}$)
pattern **similarly to German**
- **Strength** of effect **variable**
(subject to statistical confirmation)
- To explore:
Factors involved in **variation**
 - Alternative meanings
 - Form inventory
 - Stereotypicality?
- **Note:** English demonstratives also have stronger effect



No/Reverse Interactions

- Russian **bare** vs **DEM**: no effect
- Swedish **suffix** vs. **double def** marking: Reverse effect
- Spanish **el/la** vs **ese**: reverse effect
- Language-specific details need to be explored



Discussion

- **Much more work** to be done...
(and more languages still in the works)
- Useful **diagnostic** for comparing 'how anaphoric' forms in a language are
- **Cross-linguistic** comparison more complicated
- Hope: **triangulating across different paradigms** may help to pin down whether a given definite form's semantics can be shown to involve:
 - uniqueness
 - anaphoricity
 - or is ambiguous

Conclusion

Summary

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- **Question** originating in philosophy **crucially informed by empirical perspectives**
- Easily **replicable** for cross-linguistic extensions (PCIbex links above; 1 click-replication!)
- **Cross-linguistic conclusions** will **require working out refinements** - discussion welcome!



Thank You!

Appendix

Audio Stimulus Creation

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- Step 1) Recorded **Context sentences** with conjunction of potential antecedent
Position of target antecedent **counterbalanced**
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vom (**Def_{weak}**) vs **von dem** (**Def_{strong}**) variants (alternating recording order and matching prosody)
- Tried to **clearly articulate** non-contracted **strong form** without stressing or overdoing it.

Potential Concern: Filler Effects?

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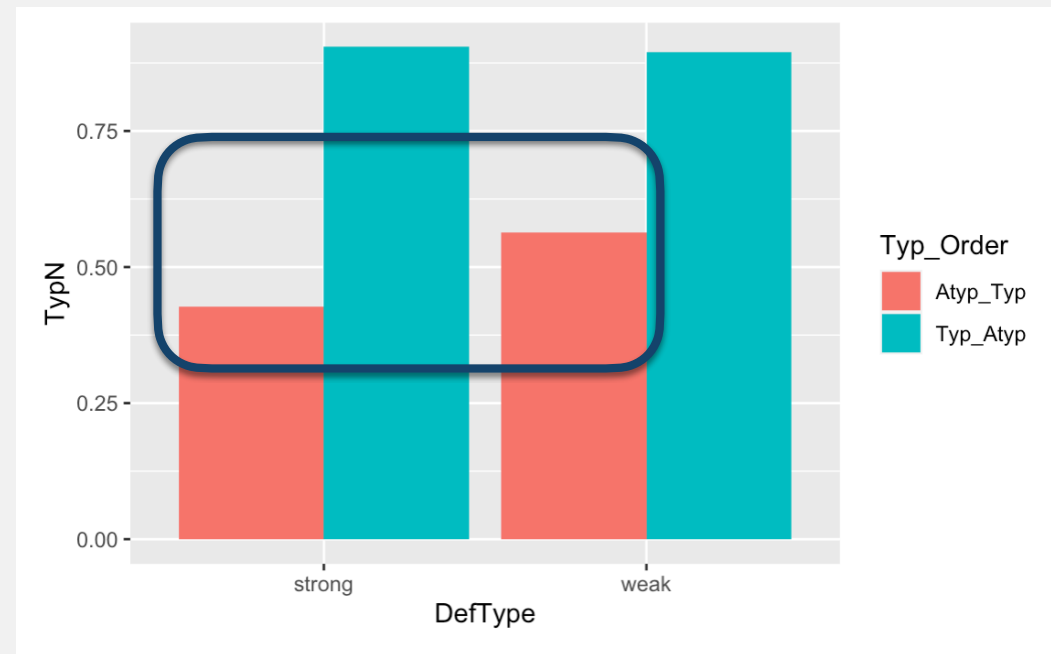
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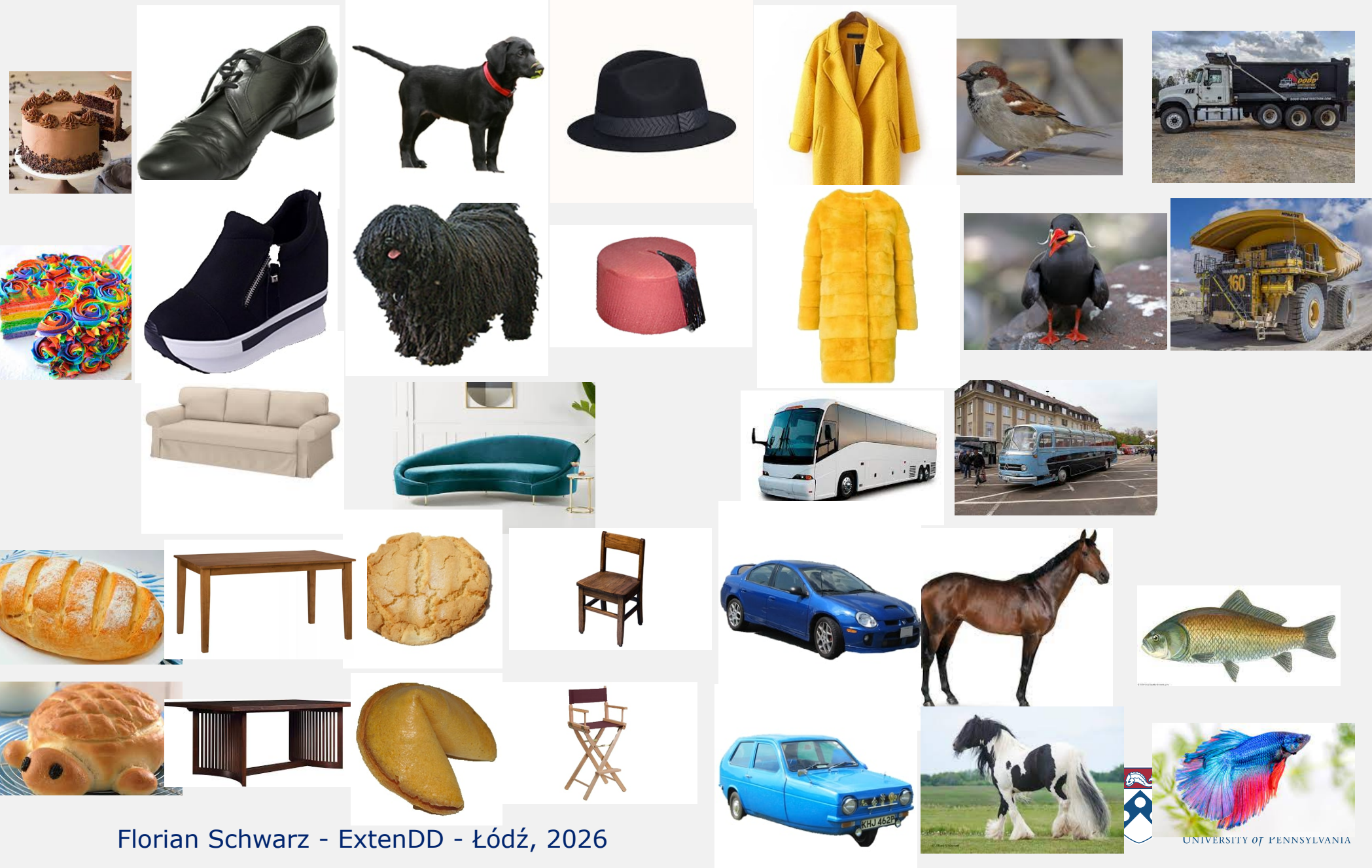
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—> 'Training' effect?
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- Same pattern in results



Norming Typicality (English)



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How typical is this for a N?

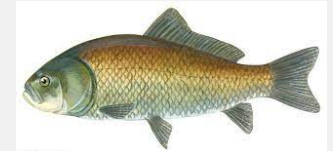
Means (on scale from 0-7)

Typical: 5.96

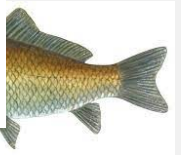
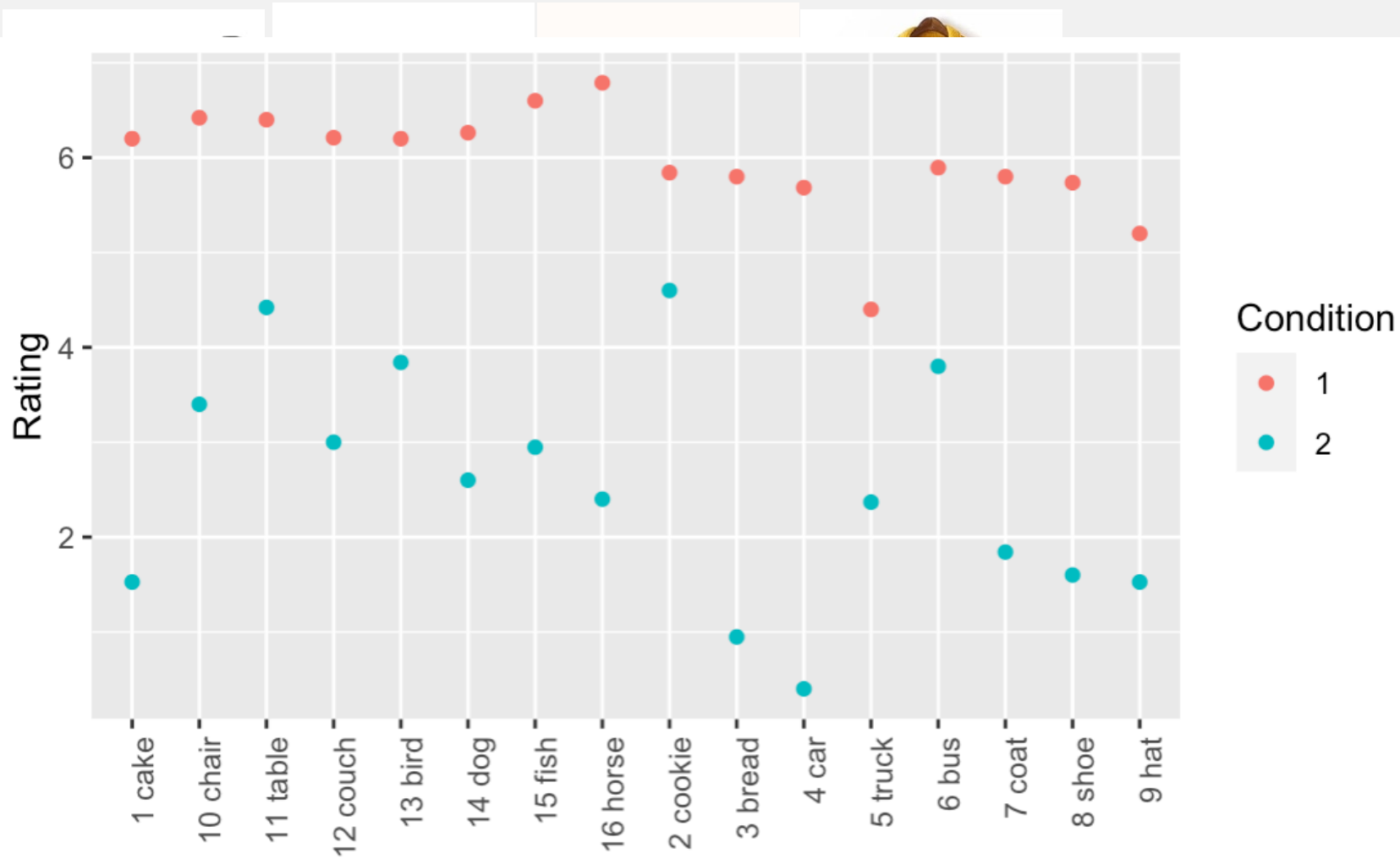
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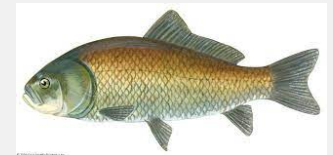
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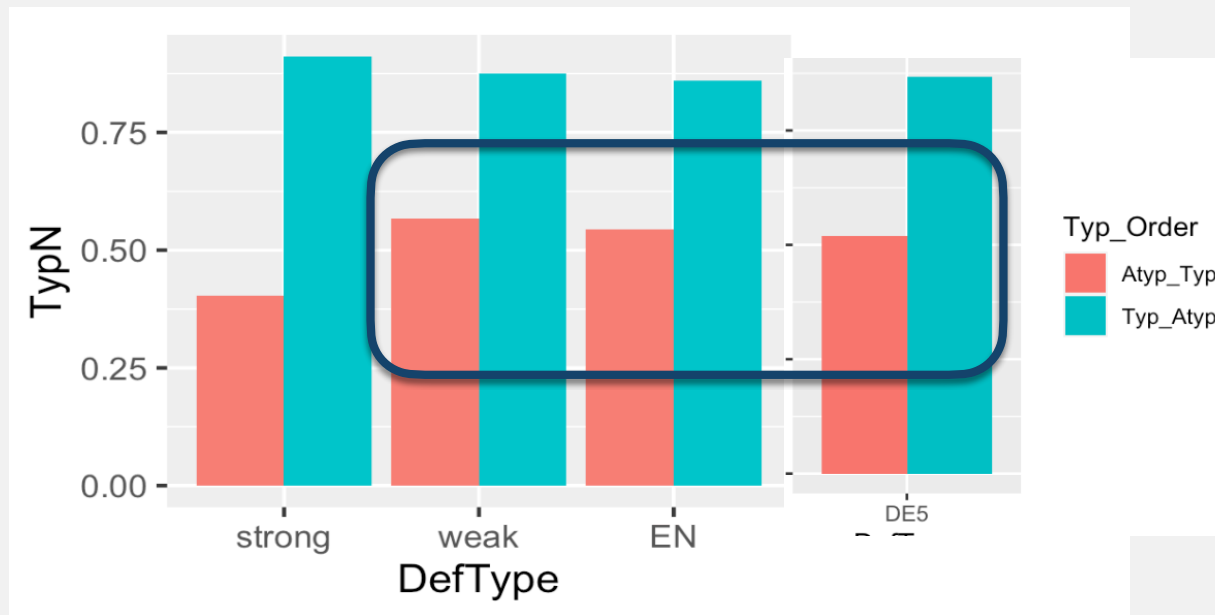
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 - new pictures needed
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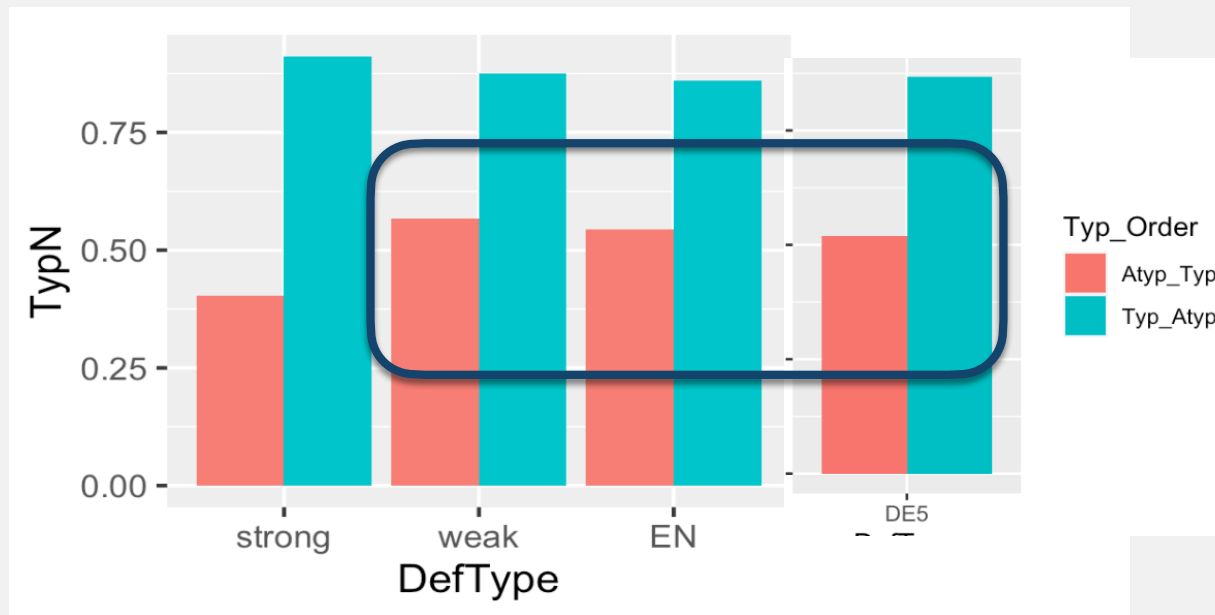
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- Looks **much closer to weak & EN** than strong!

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- No English data on these items (as of yet; worth it?)
- PP-Frame (in main talk) provides a conceptually **cleaner within-item** comparison; but results for Fem are consistent

Demonstratives & Indefinites

- English data (NoPP version) on demonstratives and indefinites (compared to The)

