



## INTRODUCTION

The Bodily Mapping Hypothesis (Bross & Hole 2017; Bross to appear):

- (1) The higher the scope of an operator, the higher the articulator used for its expression will be. Alternatively, neighboring categories are allowed to be expressed by articulators of the same height.

Consequence:

- Descending the clausal spine should mean descending the signer's body.

Two versions of the BMH are conceivable:

- (2) **Strong version of the BMH:** The structure of the clausal spine is directly mapped onto the body in sign languages in that CP functions are encoded via facial non-manuals, TP/IP-internal categories are expressed manually, and VoiceP-internal categories are expressed by manipulating the movement of the verb sign.
- (3) **Weak version of the BMH:** Scope is systematically mapped onto the body: the higher the scope, the higher the articulator, but sign languages differ in the exact cutoff points.

Concerning higher CP categories, the strong version predicts eyebrow movements; two possibilities are conceivable:

- (4) **Bi-directional mapping:** high CP categories are expressed using the eyebrows and eyebrow movements signal the involvement of CP categories.
- (5) **Uni-directional mapping:** high CP categories are expressed using the eyebrows; but eyebrow movements may signal many different things.

Concerning coordination and subordination the BMH predicts:

- No upper-face non-manuals in coordination.
- Upper-face non-manuals in subordination.

The data presented here is based on data elicited from eleven native signers of DGS from Southern Germany (Munich, Stuttgart, and Heidelberg).

## REFERENCES

- Bross, F. (to appear). *The clausal syntax of German Sign Language. A cartographic approach*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
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- Tang, G. & Lau, P. (2012). Coordination and subordination in sign languages. In: Pfau, R., Steinbach, M. & Woll, B., (eds.): *Sign language: an international handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 340-365.
- Zorzi, G. (2018). Coordination in Catalan Sign Language: a syntactic account for conjunction. *FEAST*, 2, 132-142.

## COORDINATION & SUBORDINATION

- Similar to other sign languages, conjunctive coordination is expressed via juxtaposition (e. g., Tang & Lau 2012).
- The manual sign for AND is not frequently used; there are manual signs for *but* and *or*.
- Similar to other sign languages (e. g., Zorzi 2018): shoulder positions are often used to mark contrasts.
- In general: There are no (obligatory) non-manual markers with coordination:



PAUL BAKE CAN MARIA COOK CAN  
'Paul is able to bake and Maria is able to cook.'



INDEX POOL MAN OR WOMAN MAY VISIT  
'Men or women may visit the pool.'



PAUL HEALTH GOOD BUT FINANCIALLY BAD  
'Paul is healthy, but financially he's doing not very well.'

- DGS exhibits a variety of manual subordinators that all receive raised eyebrows:



ALTHOUGH IF/WHETHER REASON SELF

- Concessive ALTHOUGH and coordinating BUT only differ in non-manuals.
- The sign IF/WHETHER is only used by Munich signers.
- The sign SELF is used in relative clauses and regular clefts.
- When no manual subordinator: only upper-face non-manuals mark embedding.
- Conditionals, for example, can be marked non-manually only, although there are two manual signs introducing conditionals:

- (6)  $\frac{\text{br}}{\text{(IF) (GIVEN) RAIN STREET WET}}$   
'If it rains the street gets wet.'

- With embedded interrogatives brow raise is used:



PAUL ASK MARIA BEER BUY  
'Paul asks wheter Maria bought beer.'



PAUL ASK MARIA BUY WHAT  
'Paul asked what Maria bought.'

## CONCLUSION

Taken together, in line with the Bodily Mapping Hypothesis, upper-face non-manuals are absent in coordinate, but required in subordinate structures in DGS.