**Pragmatics of German *doch***  
**Abstract for LASC 2015**  
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**Overview:** The German modal particle *doch* is often analyzed as indicating contrast or contradiction between a speaker’s utterance and a previous statement by another conversational participant, as evidenced in the conversation in (1):

(1) A: Andrea hat keine Kekse gegessen.  
      Andrea has no cookies eaten  
B: Sie hat doch fünf gegessen!  
      she has doch five eaten  
A: ‘Andrea hasn’t eaten any cookies.’  
B: ‘She (clearly) ate five!’

Thurmair (1989) proposes that the core meaning of this modal particle can be captured by referring to a closed set of attributes she uses to describe the members of this grammatical category. With this, *doch* would gain its meaning from the combination of attributes KNOWN<sub>x</sub>, where *x* can be the speaker or the hearer, and CORRECTION. In doing this, the idea of normativity is also introduced as part of the meaning of a *doch*(p) statement; not only is the speaker correcting their conversational partner, but they indicate that they should have known *p*. Rinas (2007) and Müller (2014) propose similar presuppositional account of this element, in which the core meaning of *doch* targets the felicity conditions of a previous utterance, and presupposes that the prejacent of *doch* contradicts another salient proposition *q*. Other accounts assume that utterances with *doch* trigger a QUD analysis (Rojas-Esponda, 2013), or that there is a salient focus alternative proposition *q* that contradicts *p*, and is false at the time of the utterance of *p* (Grosz, 2014). I show that the conditions required for these accounts are not necessary for an analysis of *doch*, and that the core contribution of this particle is that expectation violation, as well as surprise.

**Data:** It seems logical to assume that *doch* contributes a normative component to an utterance that contains it, as in (1) above. But in a null-context situation like that in (2) below, this condition goes away:

(2) Er springt doch gleich runter!  
    he jumps doch shortly down  
    You and a friend are talking on a street corner. You observe a man in a building open a window and start to climb out. You can utter:  
    He’s going to jump (and you should watch this)!

And in fact, with (2), the necessity of contradiction fades as well. What seems to be left is the surprise that the speaker conveys, and the sense that expectations have been violated.

**Analysis:** I propose an analysis of *doch* along the lines of Rett (2009), which is roughly:

(3) *doch*(p) is expressively correct in context *C* for individual *x* iff there is a degree *d* of probability salient in *C*, and *d* > EXPECTATION<sub>x</sub>(p).  
    in other words: EXPECTATION<sub>x</sub>(p) < *d*<sub>C</sub>

I assume two things. The first is that *doch* is a marker of mirativity in German. Mirativity (DeLancey, 1997, 2001, Aikhenvald, 2004) is a grammatical category that encodes exceeded expectation, surprise, or information contrary to expectation of a discourse participant, which has been recognized in a multitude of languages. *Doch* aligns with these. It marks the speaker, the addressee or a third party’s surprise or violated expectation. This is the free variable *x* in (3). The second assumption is that *doch*(p) does not have to reference the clause that contains it. Rather, it can reference an expectation-violating action. (4) shows that the unspoken proposition *q* = *There isn’t any sugar* is the trigger of violated expectations/surprise, not the proposition *p* itself:

(4) Du nimmst doch Zucker in deinem Kaffee. Es tut mir Leid.  
    you take doch sugar in your coffee if does me harm  
    ‘You take sugar in your coffee. I’m sorry (but we don’t have any).’

This account is able to not only simplify the account of *doch* from previous analyses, but also fits this modal particle into the grammatical category of miratives, a previously unnoticed fact about this element. It also generalizes the core meaning to mere expectation violation, enlarging the domain of use of this particle.