



The 52nd Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

April 21-23, 2016

Contents

Welcome	5
---------------	---

Schedule

Day 1 (Thursday, April 21, 2016).....	6
Day 2 (Friday, April 22, 2016)	7
Day 3 (Saturday, April 23, 2016)	8

Invited talks

Edith Aldridge (University of Washington)	16
Hans Boas (The University of Texas at Austin)	15
Anastasia Giannakidou (The University of Chicago)	11
Caroline Heycock (The University of Edinburgh)	13
Andrew Nevins (University College London)	18
Henriëtte de Swart (Universiteit Utrecht):	12
Sarah Thomason (University of Michigan)	14
Ming Xiang(The University of Chicago):	19

Papers

Special Session: POLARITY

Rashad Ullah (Yale University)	20
Osamu Sawada (Mie University)	20
Luis Alonso-Ovalle (McGill University)	21

Special Session: NEGATION

Kristen Fleckenstein & Suwon Yoon (The University of Texas at Arlington)	21
Ricardo Etxepare (CNRS & IKER) & Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria (UPV/EHU)	22
Maria-Margarita Makri (University of York)	22
Paola C�epeda(Stony Brook University)	23

General Session: TONE & INTONATION

Hyunah Baek (Stony Brook University)	23
Alessandro Jaker (University of Alaska Fairbanks) & Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University)	24
Eva Zimmermann (Universit�at of Leipzig)	24
Jochen Trommer (Universit�at of Leipzig)	25

General Session: MORPHOLOGY & SYNTAX

Zheng Shen (University of Connecticut)	25
Swetlana Schuster & Aditi Lahiri (University of Oxford)	26
John Sylak-Glassman & Ryan Cotterell (Johns Hopkins University)	26
Steven Foley (UC, Santa Cruz)	27

General Session: PHONOLOGY

Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University)	28
Charlie O'Hara (University of Southern California)	28
Hayeun Jang (University of Southern California)	29
Oriana Kilbourn-Ceron, Michael Wagner & Meghan Clayards (McGill University)	29
General Session: SYNTAX	
Yusuke Imanishi (Kwansei Gakuin University)	29
David Erschler (University of Massachusetts Amherst)	30
Despina Oikonomou (MIT)	31
Wei Song & Masaya Yoshida (Northwestern University)	31
Special Session: LANGUAGE CONTACT & ENDANGEREMENT	
Itxaso Rodríguez (Urbana-Champaign) & Kelsie Gillig (Fort Wayne)	32
Olga Tararova (University of Toronto)	32
William Salmon & Jennifer Gomez Menjivar (University of Minnesota)	33
Antonia Cristinoi & François Nemo (Université d'Orléans)	33
Special Session: MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES	
Boban Arsenijević (University of Niš)	34
Ksenia Bogomolets (University of Connecticut)	35
Thuy Bui (University of Massachusetts Amherst)	35
Dejan Milačić (McGill University)	36
Special Session: HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS	
Daniel Lawrence (The University of Edinburgh)	36
Tim Zingler (University of New Mexico)	37
Nathan A. Wendte (Tulane University)	38
Jun Chen (Yale University) & Dawei Jin (SUNY at Buffalo)	38
Zachary O'Hagan (UC, Berkeley)	39
General Session: SEMANTICS	
Jon Ander Mendia (University of Massachusetts Amherst)	39
Dunja Veselinović (New York University)	40
Patrick Elliott (University College London)	??
Emily Hanink & Julian Grove (The University of Chicago)	36
General Session	
Andrew Simpson & Saurov Syed (University of Southern California)	41
Mark Myslín, Roger Levy & Andrew Kehler (UC, San Diego)	42
Kunio Kinjo (Rutgers University)	42
Haj Ross (University of North Texas)	42
Acknowledgements	44
Author Index	45

Welcome

Welcome to the 52nd Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. We are very fortunate this year to have so many eminent presenters including our invited speakers: Edith Aldridge, Hans Boas, Anastasia Giannakidou, Caroline Heycock, Andrew Nevins, Henriëtte de Swart, Sarah Thomason and Ming Xiang.

In all, we have eleven stimulating sessions covering a broad spectrum of current topics, with special parasessions on Negation, Polarity, Language Contact & Endangerement, Morphosyntactic Features and Historical Linguistics.

The conference is being held 21-23 April, 2016, in Ida Noyes Hall at the University of Chicago (1212 East 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637). Registration is at 8:30am the first day last day and at 8:00am the second day, with opening remarks scheduled for 9:45am Thursday. We cordially invite all graduate students to attend our Graduate Student Mixer at 7:30pm Thursday and we sincerely hope to see everyone at the closing banquet, 6:30pm Saturday, which will feature the ever-popular karaoke with some interesting performances.

This year at our book table, CLS is pleased to offer a great assortment of topical books and journals at discounted prices; publications are from John Benjamins, the MIT Press, the Cambridge University Press, the University of Chicago Press and Springer. Also available are editions of previous CLS proceedings.

Lastly, to our invited speakers, all presenters and attendees, welcome, thank you for coming, and enjoy the conference!

Schedule

Day 1 Schedule (Thursday, April 21)

All events held in Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.).

Invited talks, Registration & Polarity Session: Theater, 3rd floor

Left column: Theater, 3rd floor

Right column: Library, 1st floor

8:30-9:45	REGISTRATION	
9:45-10:00	OPENING REMARKS	
10:00-11:00	Invited Speaker: Anastasia Giannakidou (The University of Chicago) The myth of exhaustivity for <i>all</i> NPIs	
11:00-11:15	BREAK	
	Special Session: POLARITY	
11:15-11:45	Rashad Ullah (Yale): Polarity, free choice, and referential vagueness: evidence from Bengali	
11:45-12:15	Osamu Sawada (Mie): The Japanese negative <i>totemo</i> 'very': toward a new typology of negative-sensitive items	
12:15-12:45	Luis Alonso-Ovalle (McGill): Spanish <i>siquiera</i> in the <i>even</i> landscape	
12:45-1:45	LUNCH	
1:45-2:45	Invited Speaker: Henriëtte de Swart (Universiteit Utrecht) Reference <i>to</i> and <i>via</i> properties: a cross-linguistic perspective	
2:45-3:00	BREAK	
	Special Session: NEGATION	General Session: TONE & INTONATION
3:00-3:30	Kristen Fleckenstein & Suwon Yoon (UT Arlington): Jespersen's Cycle and scope of negation in American Sign Language	Hyunah Baek (Stony Brook): A match-theoretic approach to Korean intonational phonology
3:30-4:00	Ricardo Etxepare (CNRS/IKER UMR 5478) & Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria (UPV/EHU): A conspiracy theory of constituent negation	Alessandro Jaker (Alaska-Fairbanks) & Paul Kiparsky (Stanford): Conjugation tone mapping in Tetsôt'mé (Yellowknife): Level ordering and morphologization
4:00-4:15	BREAK	
4:15-4:45	Maria-Margarita Makri (York): Expletive negation is <i>might</i>	Eva Zimmermann (Leipzig): Tone features and underspecification: Morphological H-tones in Macuiltianguis Zapotec
4:45-5:15	Paola Cépeda (Stony Brook): Against expletive negation: The case of Spanish <i>hasta</i> -clauses	Jochen Trommer (Leipzig): The typology of the OCP and floating tones in Anywa
5:15-5:30	BREAK	
5:30-6:30	Invited Speaker: Caroline Heycock (University of Edinburgh) Reconsidering relative constructions	
7:30	GRADUATE STUDENT MIXER	

Day 2 Schedule (Friday, April 22)

All events held in Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.).

Invited talks & Registration: Cloister Club, 1st floor

Left column: West Lounge, 2nd floor

Right column: East Lounge, 2nd floor

8:00-8:30		REGISTRATION
<u>General Session:</u>		<u>General Session</u>
MORPHOLOGY & SYNTAX		PHONOLOGY
8:30-9:00	Zheng Shen (UConn): On multi-valued Ns and Ts in number concord and agreement	Paul Kiparsky (Stanford): Chain shifts
9:00-9:30	Swetlana Schuster & Aditi Lahiri (Oxford): Hidden morphology: Decomposition and processing of German complex nouns	Charlie O'Hara (USC): Sonority-based stress in Harmonic Grammar: Nontransitive conflation in phonological hierarchies
9:30-9:45		BREAK
9:45-10:15	John Sylak-Glassman & Ryan Cotterell (Johns Hopkins): Contrastive morphological typology and logical hierarchies	Hayeun Jang (USC): A constraint schema for the OCP: modeling scalar interactions
10:15-10:45	Steven Foley (UC Santa Cruz): Morphological conspiracies and the nature of Vocabulary Insertion	Oriana Kilbourn-Ceron, Michael Wagner & Meghan Clayards (McGill): The effect of production planning locality on external sandhi: A study in /t/
10:45-11:00		BREAK
11:00-12:00	Invited Speaker: Sarah Thomason (University of Michigan) Sound suppression and sound change	
12:00-2:00		LUNCH
2:00-3:00	Invited Speaker: Hans Boas (The University of Texas at Austin) What you see is not what you get: A frame-semantic analysis of absent words	
3:00-3:15		BREAK
<u>General Session:</u>		<u>Special Session:</u>
SYNTAX		LANGUAGE CONTACT & ENDANGERMENT
3:15-3:45	Yusuke Imanishi (Kwansei Gakuin): A derivational account of dependent ergative case: The instrumental voice in Ixil	Itxaso Rodríguez (UIUC) & Kelsie Gillig (Indiana-Fort Wayne): Effects of language contact in pitch-accents: The case of Gernika Basque
3:45-4:15	David Erschler (UMass): Sluicing beyond <i>wh</i> -questions: Exploring and explaining cross-linguistic variation	Olga Tararova (Toronto): The transfer of negative doubling in Chipilo, an Italo-Mexican community
4:15-4:30		BREAK
4:30-5:00	Despina Oikonomou (MIT): Sloppy <i>pro</i> in Greek: An E-type analysis	William Salmon & Jennifer Gomez Menjivar (Minnesota): Attitudes and endangerment in a Mopan village
5:00-5:30	Wei Song & Masaya Yoshida (Northwestern): Ellipsis or <i>pro</i> -form: Reconstruction effects of sluicing in Mandarin Chinese	Antonia Cristinoi & François Nemo (Université d'Orléans): Language endangerment and lexical erosion: Surveys and solutions
5:30-5:45		BREAK
5:45-6:45	Invited Speaker: Edith Aldridge (University of Washington) ϕ -Feature competition: A unified approach to the Austronesian Extraction Restriction	

Day 3 Schedule (Saturday, April 23)

All events held in Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.).

Invited talks & Registration: Theater, 3rd floor

Banquet: Cloister Club, 1st floor

Left column: West Lounge, 2nd floor

Right column: East Lounge, 2nd floor

8:30-9:00		REGISTRATION	
	Special Session: MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES		Special Session: HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS
9:00-9:30	Boban Arsenijević (Niš): Gender, like classifiers, marks uniform atomicity: Evidence from Serbo-Croatian		Daniel Lawrence (Edinburgh): Resistance to phonetic change in York, Northern England
9:30-10:00	Ksenia Bogomolets (UConn): Two contrasts are better than one: [\pm realis] and [\pm affirmative] in Arapaho		Tim Zingler (New Mexico): Stages of grammaticalization as an explanation of disharmonic suffixes in Turkish
10:00-10:15		BREAK	
10:15-10:45	Thuy Bui (UMass): Number agreement in languages with two hierarchies		Nathan A. Wendte (Tulane): Language change among Louisiana creoles in Southeast Texas
10:45-11:15	Dejan Milačić (McGill): Two types of dual number		Jun Chen (Yale) & Dawei Jin (SUNY Buffalo): Meaning change from superlatives to definite descriptions: A semantic perspective
11:15-11:45	Emily Hanink & Julian Grove (Chicago): German relative clauses and the severed index hypothesis		Zachary O'Hagan (UC Berkeley): Negation in proto-Kampan
11:45-12:00		BREAK	
12:00-1:00		Invited Speaker: Andrew Nevins (University College London) Towards a morphopragmatic characterization of duals and paucals	
1:00-2:00		LUNCH	
	General Session: SEMANTICS		General Session
2:00-2:30	Jon Ander Mendia (UMass): Conventionalizing at least some determiners		Andrew Simpson & Saurov Syed (USC): On the DP/NP status of nominal projections in Bangla: Consequences for the theory of phases
2:30-3:00	Dunja Veselinović (NYU): Structural differences between epistemic and root modality: Evidence from BCS		Mark Myslín, Roger Levy & Andrew Kehler (UC San Diego): Comprehenders infer influences of discourse intent and speaker knowledge state on linguistic form
3:00-3:15		BREAK	
3:15-3:45	Patrick Elliott (UCL): Explaining DPs vs. CPs without syntax		Kunio Kinjo (Rutgers): Antiagreement as intervention
3:45-4:15			Haj Ross (North Texas): Take that!
4:15-4:30		BREAK	
4:30-5:30		Invited Speaker: Ming Xiang (The University of Chicago) Locality and anti-locality in the comprehension of <i>wh</i> -in-situ constructions	
6:30		BANQUET	

Invited Speakers

Anastasia Giannakidou is Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics at The University of Chicago and The College and Co-Director of the *Center for Gesture, Sign and Language* at The University of Chicago. She received her Ph.D. in 1997 from the University of Gröningen under the supervision of Frans Zwartz and Jack Hoeksema. Her dissertation entitled *The landscape of polarity items* offered an innovative approach to the licensing and sensitivity of polarity items from a crosslinguistic perspective and won the *Dissertation Award* of the Linguistics Association of the Netherlands for the best dissertation in Linguistics in 1997. Her research interests focus on semantics, the syntax-semantics, semantics-pragmatics, and semantics-morphology interface from a crosslinguistic perspective. Her research topics include negation, polarity items, free choice, modality and temporality and she has worked on an extensive number of languages, including Modern Greek, Dutch, Spanish, Catalan, French, Korean and Mandarin among others. Her recent work (in collaboration with Alda Mari) has focused on the subjunctive and future in Modern Greek and Italian. Her research has appeared in numerous prestigious journals, including *Language*, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* and *Journal of Semantics*.

Henriëtte de Swart is Professor of French Linguistics and Semantics in the Department of Languages, Literature and Communication of Universiteit Utrecht and the Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS. She is also Academic Director of the Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics (LOT). She received her Ph.D. from the University of Gröningen with a dissertation investigating adverbs of quantification from the perspective of generalized quantification. Her research focuses on crosslinguistic variation in meaning and she has published extensively on topics such as aspect and tense, negation and bare nominals and indefinites. Within the field of semantics she has been closely involved in the development of bidirectional optimality theory (OT) as a means to investigate language evolution. Bidirectional OT features extensively in her work as exemplified by her 2010 book *Expression and interpretation of negation: an OT typology*.

Caroline Heycock is Professor of Syntax in the Department of Linguistics and English Language in the School of Philosophy, Psychology & Language Sciences of The University of Edinburgh. She received her Ph.D. in 1991 from the University of Pennsylvania with a dissertation entitled *Layers of predication: The non-lexical syntax of clauses*. Her work is in the area of theoretical syntax, and in particular reconstruction phenomena, copular constructions and the compositionality of nominal conjunction and relies on data from English and other Germanic Languages as well as Japanese. Her recent work includes a project investigating variation and change in the syntax of Faroese. She is a member of the editorial board for many prestigious journals, including *Linguistic Inquiry*, *Lingua* and *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*.

Sarah G. Thomason is the William J. Gedney Collegiate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. She received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from Yale University in 1968. Her recent work has focused on Salishan linguistics, principles of contact-induced language change, and the genesis of contact languages (such as pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages). Her publications include the highly influential *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics* (with Terrence Kaufman, University of California Press, 1988), as well as *Language contact: an introduction* (Edinburgh University Press & Georgetown University Press, 2001), 'Chinook Jargon in areal and historical context' (*Language*, 1983), and 'Language contact and deliberate change' (*Journal of Language Contact*, 2007). Since 1981 she has also worked with the Salish & Pend d'Oreille Culture Committee in St. Ignatius, Montana, compiling a dictionary and other materials for the Salish-Pend

d'Oreille language program.

Hans C. Boas is the Raymond Dickson, Alton C. Allen, and Dillon Anderson Centennial Professor in the Department of Germanic Studies and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Texas at Austin, where he is also the Director of the Linguistics Research Center, German FrameNet, and the Texas German Dialect Project. He received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of South Carolina at Chapel Hill in 2000. The topic of his dissertation was *Resultative Constructions in English and German*. His work has encompassed a considerable range of topics, including the syntax/semantics/pragmatics interface, computational lexicography, language variation, language contact and death, multilingualism and language policy, morpho-phonology, and language and law. In 2011, he was the recipient of the Leonard Bloomfield Book Award from the Linguistic Society of America, for his 2009 book, *The life and death of Texas German* (Duke University Press).

Edith Aldridge is Associate Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Washington. Her Cornell University dissertation looked at ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages, which remain core constituents of her research to the present day. She has also made major contributions to the comparative and historical syntax of Chinese and Japanese, particularly with regard to *wh*-movement, reflexives, focus, and control. Her recent work looks at case, agreement, and the diachronic emergence of syntactic ergativity, drawing on her own fieldwork on Tagalog and the Formosan languages of Taiwan.

Andrew Nevins is Professor of Linguistics in the Division of Psychology and Language Sciences and the Faculty of Brain Sciences at University College London. He received his PhD from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He is broadly interested in morphological and phonological theory, often from the perspective of Distributed Morphology. Within morphology, he has done pathbreaking work on the markedness and morphotactics of person and number. Within phonology, he has looked at whistled languages, reduplication, and the crosslinguistic behaviour of fricative patterning. Some of his other interests include conjunction, ergativity, diminutives, and experimental approaches to syncretism.

Ming Xiang is Assistant Professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago, where she is also the Principal Investigator of the Language Processing Lab. She earned her doctorate at Michigan State University for her work on comparative constructions. Her current research programme lies at the interface of syntax, semantics, and psycholinguistics and aims to characterise the neural underpinnings of the real-time construction of linguistic representations. More specific interests include the processing of scalar implicature, gradable adjectives, long-distance dependencies, ellipsis, and temporal connectives, which she investigates using a variety of experimental paradigms, to include web-based studies, eyetracking, and ERP measurement.

Invited Talks

The myth of exhaustivity for *all* NPIs

Anastasia Giannakidou (The University of Chicago)

Thursday, 10:00-11:00, Theater

In this presentation, I want to assess Chierchia (2006, 2013)’s claim that all NPIs are exhaustive. According to Chierchia, “in contrast to ordinary or plain indefinites, with NPIs and FCIs we have to exhaustify” (Chierchia (2013:8), emphasis in the original). Exhaustification is an axiom of polarity, i.e. it is stipulated for all NPI/FCI classes without empirical justification — and imposes no variation for NPIs and FCIs since they are all assumed to contain the $[+\Sigma]$ exhaustive feature (see also Chierchia & Liao (2015) for Mandarin *shenme*)

In assessing the *exhaustivity for all* position, I establish six diagnostics, i.e. properties that $[+\Sigma]$ -bearing NPIs such as *any* exhibit. I then set out to check whether Greek *kanénas* NPIs, Korean *-rato* NPIs, and Mandarin *shenme* exhibit the established properties of the $[+\Sigma]$ -bearing *any*. We will find contrasting behavior between *any* and these NPIs in every single case. *Any*, on the one hand, and *shenme/rato* NPIs and *kanénas*, therefore, cannot be the same kind of NPI. We conclude therefore that the *exhaustivity for all* position has no empirical grounding. Exhaustivity for these NPIs cannot be maintained without compromising empirical adequacy.

A Chierchia theorist might try to downplay the implication of this finding by holding on to $[+\Sigma]$ — as expected, since it characterizes axiomatically all NPI and FCI classes in that system — while conceding that *shenme/rato* NPIs might behave differently because of other factors. But if we acknowledge other factors, then we have given up the *no variation* position, indeed as I argue we need to do. If the account can be augmented with constraints that derive the observed properties of *shenme* (referential vagueness and dependent variable; Giannakidou & Quer 2013, Giannakidou & Yoon 2016), that would mean either giving up $[+\Sigma]$ for non-exhaustive NPIs — which is precisely what I am arguing for — or counteracting it by additional rules which would render $[+\Sigma]$ inactive, thus begging the question of why posit it in the first place. In either case, the *exhaustivity and nothing else* position can clearly not be maintained.

More conspicuously, the study of the NPI exhibited by *kanenas*, *shenme* and *-rato* NPIs shows that constraints on the interpretation of variables play a broader role in grammar, since they appear to be decisive in a number of polarity items crosslinguistically. This is a good result for syntax-semantics. As for polarity in particular, the difference between the *any*-type and the non-exhaustive NPI type shows that no empirically adequate understanding of NPIs can be achieved if we assume a non-existent unifying property of all NPIs — ignoring thereby the class of non-exhaustive NPIs, or trivializing the differences between these and the exhaustive NPIs and FCIs.

Reference *to* and *via* properties: a cross-linguistic perspective

Henriëtte de Swart (Utrecht Universiteit)

Thursday, 1:45-2:45, Theater

[joint work with Louise McNally & Veronika Richtarcikova (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)]

Cross-linguistically, there is a strong generalization that nouns contribute the core descriptive content for phrases that are used for reference (*the table, every meeting, their happiness*). Adjectives do the same for phrases that are used for property ascription (the very happy child, the strawberries are sweet). Adjectives used to refer to human beings (*the rich and famous*) have been the subject of some investigation, but this talk is primarily concerned with the more unusual configuration in which what looks like an adjective contributes the core descriptive content of a phrase that is used for reference to concrete or abstract objects. McNally & de Swart (2015) illustrate with the following Dutch examples:

- (1) Ze moeten wennen aan al het nieuwe, **al het vreemde** dat dit land hen biedt.
they must get-used to all the new_[+e] all the strange_[+e] that this land them offers
'They must get used to everything new, everything strange that this land offers them.'
- (2) **Het bittere van het bier** is een mooi contrast met **het zoete van de mout**.
the bitter_[+e] of the beer is a nice contrast with the sweet_[+e] of the malt
'The bitter (aspect) of the beer is a nice contrast with the sweet (aspect) of the malt.'

Both examples involve the neuter definite article *het*, the long form of the adjective (with a schwa), and lack an overt nominal core. McNally & de Swart (2015) argue that, despite these similarities, (1) and (2) involve two different constructions, each with their own meaning. They assign (1) a free relative semantics in which *al het vreemde* refers to 'that which is strange.' As *bittere* and *zoete* in (2) refer to particular aspects of the beer and the malt respectively, they get a relational semantics (similar to a trope, see Moltmann (2004)).

When we turn to other languages, we observe considerable variation in the constructions used to refer to (2) and via properties (1). The English counterpart of (2) for instance, is more likely to involve a deadjectival noun like *bitterness*, *sweetness*. Even though Dutch has a nominalizing suffix *-heid*, similar to *-ness*, the language maintains a difference in meaning between *het zoete/het bittere* and *de zoetheid/de bitterheid*: the derived nominal has the more specialized meaning of reference to the degree of sweetness or bitterness. These observations raise new questions about the way competition between forms correlates with differences in compositional semantics. The goal of this talk is to contribute to a systematic description of this variation and explore its theoretical relevance.

We build on observations made by Giannakidou & Stavrou (1999) for Greek, Lauwers (2008) for French, Villalba (2009) for Spanish, Arsenijević (2011), Alexiadou & Iordăchioaia (2013) for German and Romanian, Glass (2014) for English, and enrich them with English, French, Spanish, German and Serbian data extracted from corpora and the internet. We show that the definite determiner inventory, the syntax of free relatives and the productivity of noun-forming derivational morphology shed light on the counterparts of (1) and (2) across languages. We present the beginnings of a cross-linguistic semantics.

Reconsidering relative constructions

Caroline Heycock (The University of Edinburgh)

Thursday, 5:30-6:30, Theater

Reconstruction effects — such as the binding of the reflexive in (1) — have played a large part in the discussion of the correct analysis of relatives (and vice versa).

(1) I noticed the portrait of herself_i that every student_i had pinned up on the wall.

Evidence concerning the distribution of these effects has been used to argue for a head-raising analysis of relatives, or for the necessity to postulate both a raising and a matching analysis. For example, it has been observed that there are differences between the effects that are observed in relatives and those documented for questions; in particular relatives exhibit more “antireconstruction” effects, as illustrated for example by the lack of a **Condition C** effect in (2):

(2) I bought the picture of Joanna_i that she_i likes.

This kind of difference has been used to motivate the dual route for the derivation of relatives, with both head-raising (to explain the possible reconstruction in (1)) and matching (to explain the antireconstruction in (2)) available.

In this talk I will present data which show that even with the greater degree of freedom that such a dual route allows, predictions concerning the kind of trapping effects that were crucial to arguing for reconstruction as a syntactic phenomenon in questions are not borne out in relatives.

I will then sketch a possible line of analysis, developed in collaboration with Gary Thoms, that aims to demonstrate that it is nevertheless possible to maintain an account in terms of syntactic reconstruction, if particular — independently motivated — assumptions are made about the nature of complementation within nominals.

Sound suppression and sound change

Sarah Thomason (University of Michigan)

Friday, 11:00-12:00, Theater

[joint work with Kenneth S. Olson (SIL International)]

This paper explores the phenomenon of sound suppression and its most striking result: the loss of the suppressed sounds from a language's phonemic inventory and phonetic repertoires.

People, as individuals and as speech communities, sometimes change their language deliberately. Deliberate changes are by no means confined to lexical innovations; they also affect language structure at all levels — phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse. Motives for making deliberate changes vary, but language contact is (almost?) always a factor. Some changes result from a community's effort to distance their language from another language or dialect that is very closely related; another common motive is to withhold the community's full language from outsiders, as in the case of certain pidgins created by speakers of the lexifier language. Still another motive is to standardize a language by codifying one dialect as the sole acceptable way of speaking (and writing) the language. The main focus of this paper is a different motive for making deliberate changes: the suppression of stigmatized sounds as a way of avoiding ridicule or even censure. This may be a rather common phenomenon in languages of the world; certainly it is more common than is generally recognized, and in at least some languages the end result of the process is the complete loss of the stigmatized sounds. The examples to be discussed are drawn from (among other languages) a group of Bantu languages, Teotepique Pipil, several languages spoken in the Philippines, and Pirahã.

What you see is not what you get: A frame-semantic analysis of absent words

Hans Boas (The University of Texas at Austin)

Friday, 2:00-3:00, Theater

Most accounts of word meanings rely on overt lexical material in order to arrive at classifications based on a variety of criteria, such as syntactic alternations (Levin 1993), lexical relations (Fellbaum 1998), qualia structure (Pustejovsky 1995), conceptual structure (Jackendoff 1990), or semantic primes (Wierzbicka 1996). While these approaches are for the most part well suited to characterize different aspects of word meaning in a systematic way, I argue that they are ill equipped to represent and account for meanings of words that are not overtly mentioned. Consider the example *The presents were under the tree*, uttered in the context of a larger story involving presents. There is no mentioning of the actual event place, yet everyone familiar with the concept of Christmas will know exactly what scenario is described by the sentence, including the date, the time, the people involved, as well as their hopes and expectations.

This talk presents an analysis of the meanings of absent words based on semantic frames as developed by Fillmore (1985). The first part of the talk discusses several different examples involving the understanding and interpretation of nouns in a variety of contexts, including a number of idiosyncratic usages of verbs that allow nouns to be left out in specific types of discourse (e.g. *Kim drank too much / Kim ate too much / Kim chewed too much / Kim swallowed too much*). The second part of the talk introduces the principles of Frame Semantics as developed by Fillmore and associates during the 1980s and 1990s. The third part of the talk shows how FrameNet (Fillmore & Baker 2010) analyzes different types of null instantiation (Fillmore 1986). The final part of the talk discusses a number of different grammatical constructions sensitive to lexically-specified properties regarding the possible omission of nouns in specific contexts.

ϕ -Feature competition: A unified approach to the Austonesian Extraction Restriction

Edith Aldridge (University of Washington)
 Friday, 5:45-6:46, Theater

In Philippine and Formosan languages, verbal inflection changes according to which DP in the clause has nominative case. In the following Tagalog examples, the perfective aspect infix $\langle um \rangle$ appears when the subject has nominative case, as in (1a). The perfective infix is $\langle in \rangle$ when an internal argument in a transitive clause has nominative case, as in (1b). Non-nominative DPs receive inherent genitive case.

- (1) a. B $\langle um \rangle$ ili ang babae ng tela sa Maynila.
 \langle SU.PR \rangle buy NOM woman GEN cloth in Manila
 ‘The woman bought (some) cloth in Manila.’
 b. B $\langle in \rangle$ ili ng babae ang tela sa Maynila.
 \langle OB.PR \rangle buy GEN woman NOM cloth in Manila
 ‘The woman bought the cloth in Manila.’

The nominative argument is also the only DP able to undergo A'-extraction. The nominative subject can be extracted when the verb has $\langle um \rangle$ marking, as in (2a). A nominative internal argument can be extracted when the verb takes $\langle in \rangle$, as in (2b). In contrast, the genitive subject in an $\langle in \rangle$ clause cannot be extracted, as in (2c).

- (2) a. Sino ang [_{cp} OP b $\langle um \rangle$ ili t_{op} ng tela sa Maynila]?
 who NOM \langle SU.PR \rangle buy GEN cloth in Manila
 ‘Who bought (some) cloth in Manila?’
 b. Ano ang [_{cp} OP b $\langle in \rangle$ ili t_{op} ng babae sa Maynila]?
 what NOM \langle OBV.PR \rangle buy GEN woman in Manila
 ‘What did the woman buy in Manila?’
 c. *Sino ang [_{cp} OP b $\langle in \rangle$ ili t_{op} ang tela sa Maynila]?
 who NOM \langle OBV.PR \rangle buy NOM cloth in Manila
 ‘Who bought cloth in Manila?’

In this presentation, I propose that the strict locality observed between DPs in languages like Tagalog is the consequence of $[u\phi]$ being the sole probe driving DP movement in these languages. Since $[u\phi]$ is the only feature triggering movement, there is no need for features to be inherited by T (contra Chomsky 2008), with the consequence that no separation of C and T takes place and these languages lack the A/A' partition.

Accounting for the examples in (2), the external argument in (2a) checks nominative case by valuing $[u\phi]$ on C. The subject also checks the EPP on C/T and moves to the specifier of this projection, though non-operator subjects are spelled out in their base positions. But object extraction is allowed in (2b), because the external argument has been assigned inherent genitive case. This allows the $[u\phi]$ feature on C to probe past the external argument and undergo AGREE with the object. The genitive subject is unable to move in (2c), because its case has already been valued and it is not visible to the probe on C.

I further propose that the $[u\phi]$ on C and the lack of C-T Inheritance was a feature of Proto-Austronesian. Starosta et al. (1981), Ross (2009), Aldridge (2016), and others have proposed that clauses containing nominative objects like (1b) are historically derived from nominalizations, and the ergative alignment observed in languages like Tagalog today is the result of this reanalysis. Specifically, nominative (“absolute”) case appears on an internal argument when the external argument has

genitive (“ergative”) case.

However, the extraction restriction is not limited to those Austronesian languages whose transitive clauses derive historically from nominalizations or to Austronesian languages with ergative alignment. For example, Rukai is an accusative language which did not undergo the reanalysis of nominalizations as verbal clauses. Nevertheless, extraction of internal arguments is only permitted when the external argument has some type of inherent case and is not nominative. The same is also true in Standard Indonesian, as well as Chamorro and many other Austronesian languages exhibiting the extraction restriction. Consequently, this proposal has the potential to offer a unified analysis of DP extraction in all Austronesian languages that have this restriction, regardless of alignment type or the morphological origins of the nominal and verbal inflections participating in the restriction.

Towards a morphopragmatic characterization of duals and paucals

Andrew Nevins (University College London)

Friday, 12:00-1:00, Theater

In order to further develop the theory of features in natural language, a great deal of recent effort has gone into the semantic characterization of duals and paucals in number systems (for languages where these are bonafide inflection), in which dual is taken to mean something like ‘exactly two’ and paucals are as a category approximative number with an upper-bound cutoff. I would like to argue, however, that attempts at semantic characterizations are incomplete at best until we have begun to understand the contribution made by pragmatic reasoning, and therefore outline a program of morphopragmatic research into these categories, based on collaborative efforts in progress with Paul Marty, Lanko Marušič, Yasu Sudo, and Rok Žaucer. To illustrate the utility of such research, I will present experimental results that look at the semantics vs pragmatics of the English word “a couple”, and find that “a couple” semantically means “at least two” and that it is the pragmatics that often restricts it to mean something like “exactly two” (or “two plus epsilon”). As such, we might revisit the dual, and find that given appropriate controls for pragmatics, its semantics is indeed “at least two”. In experiments with downward entailing contexts in Slovenian, we find that indeed the dual is compatible with more than two. Extending work by Farkas & de Swart (2010), I will argue for a principle by which the markedness of number morphology matches the markedness of a referential hierarchy, and that dual, while semantically meaning simply “at least two”, is nonetheless the most morphologically most marked, and is thus aligned with usage in situations of exactly two because of competition with the plural. In fact, this specific implementation makes the prediction that with inherently paired objects (like shoes), where reference to two is no longer the most marked reference (Tiersma (1982)’s ‘local markedness’), the less-marked plural is used — exactly as confirmed in Slovenian. (If the two shoes are from different pairs, however, then one is back in the referential hierarchy where two is more marked than more than two, and here the dual is used). Moreover, if indeed dual has a semantics of “at least two”, and it is alignment with morphological markedness that yields exactly two, this could shed light on the fact that once the dual morphology came to be seen no longer in direct competition with plural morphology in Slavic, a “paucal” category (2, 3, or 4) arose as an outgrowth or extension of the dual. It would similarly suggest that paucal categories in languages like Bayso, described in Corbett (2001) as ranging from 2 to 6, have a semantics that is identical to the dual (or trial), namely “at least two”, but with looser pragmatic constraints. Finally, if the paucal has merely an existential, rather than exact meaning, its pragmatic use in Mebengokre as meaning “some but not all” falls into place, and I will suggest that the maximality reading in Mebengokre comes from definiteness.

Locality and anti-locality in the comprehension of *wh*-in-situ constructions

Xiang Ming (The University of Chicago)

Friday, 4:30-5:30, Theater

Much previous processing research has examined *wh*-fronting languages like English to ask how the indeterminacy of the gap position is resolved in incremental processing of the filler-gap dependency. In this talk, I look at the similarly challenging inverse problem which has received much less attention — how does the parser identify the correct scope position for a *wh*-in-situ phrase in a *wh*-in-situ languages like Mandarin Chinese? First, I show some of the first experimental evidence from online processing — both in eyetracking and production studies — for the long-held assumption in the syntactic literature that a covert syntactic dependency is constructed between the *wh*-in-situ phrase and its scope position, which in Mandarin has no morpho-phonological reflex on the surface string. Second, I illustrate how we have used eyetracking data to distinguish between two possible mechanisms through which the parser could identify the correct scope position. One possibility is that the parser serially searches through each intermediate CP position until getting to the right scope position. This would predict an across-the-board locality bias, and is consistent with the idea of successive cyclic movement in the theoretical syntax literature. The other possibility is that successful retrieval of the scope position is mediated by simultaneous and parallel access to all CP positions at the same time, which predicts strong locality in some but not all situations. Our findings provide novel support for the second hypothesis. Finally, we investigate the relationship between processing complexity and actual comprehension by zooming in on those cases for which processing complexity is greater for the distant vs. local scope position and probing interpretations. Surprisingly, results from the truth value judgment task show a clear preference for the high scope interpretation even though associating the *wh*-in-situ phrase with a distant scope position is more costly, suggesting an important interaction between parsing complexity and discourse coherence.

Papers

Polarity, free choice, and referential vagueness: evidence from Bengali

Rashad Ullah (Yale University)

Thursday, 11:15-11:45, TBA

This paper examines a class of indefinite pronouns in Bengali (k-words) with two aims — first to bring in empirical, descriptive semantic data not previously examined, and secondly to motivate a two-dimensional analysis of polarity-sensitivity that depends both on structural licensing and pragmatic preconditions, which in turn are sensitive to both a domain of alternatives and the extent to which that domain is exhausted. In Bengali, a k-word like *kono* ‘some/any’ is morphologically composed of an interrogative (*kon*) along with the particle *-o* (Chatterji 1926; Thompson 2010). The k-word — with Negative Polarity (NPI) and Free Choice (FCI) readings — has been analysed using alternatives (Ramchand 1997) similar to indeterminates in Japanese (Kratzer & Shimoyama 2002). In previous work (Ullah 2005) I argue that Bengali k-words divide into emphatics and non-emphatics and that emphatics are subject to licensing in anti-veridical contexts (cf. Giannakidou 1997, 1998). In this paper I identify an intonational diagnostic that teases apart emphatics from non-emphatics and then show that non-emphatics obtain a referentially vague (RV) reading of the type called “epistemic indefinites” e.g. *algún* in Spanish (Alonso-Ovalle 2006). Next, examining interpretations in the scope of modals, I show that non-emphatic k-words systematically contrast with, on one side, non-polarity-sensitive indefinites and, on the other side, FCIs. Giannakidou & Quer (2013) argue that certain FCI and RV indefinites in Spanish, Catalan, and Greek are best explained as requiring preconditions that trigger individual-alternatives but differ critically in that FC requires exhaustification of the domain while the RV requires only partial exhaustification. My paper argues that Giannakidou & Quer-type analysis better explains the Bengali k-words in all three readings — NPI, FCI, and RV. This approach supports converging work that treats polarity not as a monolithic class but as a cluster of phenomena emerging from the mix of grammar, semantics, and pragmatics.

The Japanese negative *totemo* ‘very’: toward a new typology of negative sensitive elements

Osamu Sawada (Mie University)

Friday, 11:45-12:15, TBA

The Japanese intensifier *totemo* ‘very’ can intensify the degree associated with a gradable predicate:

- (1) Kono ie-wa totemo ookii.
This house-TOP very big
‘This house is very big.’

However, *totemo* can also intensify a negative modal statement:

- (2) Tetuya-nado totemo {deki-nai/*dekiru}-daroo.
Staying up all night-NADO very can-NEG/can-possibly
‘Possibly, staying up all night is impossible.’ (Implication: I am emphasizing the impossibility.)

In (2), *totemo* emphasizes the negative statement that “I can’t stay up all night.” A crucial point of this use of *totemo* is that it can only appear in a negative environment (e.g. Watanabe 2001). If there is no negation, the sentence (2) becomes ill-formed. Therefore, *totemo* in (2) behaves like a negative

polarity item (NPI). However, the “negative modal” use of *totemo* has several puzzling properties with regard to the NPI-hood. First, it cannot be within the scope of negation. This is supported by the fact that (2) cannot mean that I am not emphasizing possibility of staying up all night. Second, unlike typical NPIs (e.g., minimizer NPIs, *any*-type NPIs), the meaning of *totemo* is not part of “what is said.” The denial cannot target the emphasis part triggered by *totemo*.

In this paper, I will investigate the meaning and distribution of the negative *totemo* and consider what a negative *totemo* suggests for theories of NPIs. I argue that the negative *totemo* is not a logical NPI (which is licensed by negation or downward-entailing/non-veridical operators (e.g. Klima 1964; Ladusaw 1979; Giannakidou 1998). Rather, it is a conventional implicature (CI)-inducing expression/expressive (e.g. Grice 1975; Potts 2005), which intensifies the unlikelyhood or impossibility of a given proposition and refuses to update the common ground (the context set) with the at-issue proposition. This paper proposes a new class of NPIs – discourse-oriented NPIs.

Spanish *siquiera* in the *even* landscape

Luis Alonso-Ovalle (McGill University)

Thursday, 12:15-12:45, TBA

Concessive scalar particles (CSPs) are focus sensitive particles restricted to a number of non-veridical contexts: downward entailing environments, modal environments, and questions. Where do CSPs fit in the typology of polarity items? How uniform is the class of CSPs, across languages? The paper aims to contribute to our understanding of the typological space of CSPs by probing into the behaviour of Spanish *siquiera*.

Giannakidou (2007) analyzes the Greek CSP *esto* as a presupposition trigger that conveys a negative additive presupposition. This analysis does not extend to Spanish *siquiera*, for reasons already pointed out for other CSPs in Crnič (2011a,b). As an alternative, focusing on Slovenian *magari*, which he takes to be representative of the whole class of CSPs, Crnič analyzes CSPs as Lahiri-style polarity items, which decompose into *even*, conveying low likelihood, and a weak existential term that *even* associates with. Crnič’s analysis does not extend to Spanish *siquiera* either, because of significant distributional and interpretational differences between *magari* and *siquiera*.

An alternative analysis of *siquiera* is proposed. The analysis retains two central insights from Crnič’s proposal: that the interpretation of CSPs makes reference to a set of propositional alternatives and that CSPs convey truth-conditionally that at least one of these alternatives is true, but it departs from Crnič’s in assuming that the alternatives that *siquiera* brings into play contribute to a process of obligatory exhaustification.

Jespersen’s Cycle and scope of negation in American Sign Language

Kristen Fleckenstein & Suwon Yoon (The University of Texas at Arlington)

Thursday, 3:00-3:30, TBA

American Sign Language (ASL) uses a combination of manual (signs) and non-manual (negative headshake) information to express negation. In most instances, negation has been believed to be strictly external and marked by a negative headshake with an optional manual negation marker. Recent research (Pfau 2015) suggests that the pattern of negation in ASL has arisen as the result of Jespersen’s Cycle, where the negative headshake replaces the original head of NegP, manual negation. The present paper confirms that the headshake has grammaticalized as the main marker of external negation, but also proposes that the job of the manual negation marker was not merely weakened or nullified in the process, contrary to the general assumption in the literature. In exploring these

patterns of negation, we show that asymmetries exist between the two negative markers, suggesting that manual negation has been reanalyzed as a type of internal negation.

A conspiracy theory of constituent negation

Ricardo Etxepare (CNRS/IKER UMR 5478) & Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria (UPV/EHU)
Thursday, 3:30-4:00, TBA

In this paper we analyze a variety of cases involving sequences of Negation+QuantifierP that have been descriptively characterized as constituent negation (CN) in Spanish. We show that sequences of Neg+QP sequences do not uniformly map into syntactic terms (in the sense of Chomsky (1995)), and may display very different syntactic and semantic properties. In particular, while some of them reflect instances in which the negation particle and the relevant QP are merged together, other sequences belong in the domain of association with focus, and involve an instance of negation which is higher than ordinary sentential negation. The adjacency between negation and the quantifier in this case follows from an independent process of fronting into the left periphery of the sentence. The two configurations seem to be sensitive to the type of quantifier involved: constituent negation understood as a syntactic term is a natural structural option for degree quantifiers, but an impossible one for those quantifiers which do not license a scale. For those cases, the sequence negation+QP must correspond to a different structural option. We argue that those correspond to instances of association with focus with a structurally high negation and focus fronting of the QP to a projection below negation. This analysis is supported by different types of evidence, involving the relative order of so called constituent negation and sentential adverbs, scope relations with regard to modal predicates, co-occurrence with overt sentential negation, and locality constraints typical of focus movement. We argue that the distributional differences in constituent negation across languages follow from more basic differences, concerning the syntactic status of negation, its structural position, independent restrictions on focus movement or other types of discourse related movements, and the semantic nature of the quantifier.

Expletive negation is *might*

Maria-Margarita Makri (University of York)
Thursday, 4:15-4:45, TBA

Emotive doxastics, inquisitive predicates, negated veridical responsive predicates, dubitatives and negative predicates may select for sentential complements with Expletive Negation (EN). In this paper I identify some new *necessary conditions for EN-licensing* and I show that EN has the *meaning of a weak epistemic modal*.

Condition I. As different diagnostics show (availability of morphological tense alternations, availability of two temporal adverbs with distinct reference, licensing of an embedded subject), EN is grammatical in complements with free or dependent tense but ungrammatical in complements with anaphoric tense. Assuming Grano (2012)'s syntactic analysis of Tense, this correlation indicates that EN scopes above TP.

Condition II. Based on current analyses of emotive doxastics, dubitatives (Anand & Hacquard 2013), rogative predicates (Uegaki 2012), and negative predicates (White et al. 2014), I argue that EN is selected only by predicates that select for complements of type $\langle\langle s, t \rangle, t\rangle$ and that introduce a bipartition of the doxastic alternatives of the epistemic subject (i.e. they have existential force \exists or $\neg\forall$).

Asymmetries between EN and *that*-complements. I show that EN is in complementary distribution with epistemic modals, that EN can render a sentence to an infelicitous answer and that matrix negation can target the desirability ordering introduced by an emotive doxastic only in the

presence of EN. Furthermore, a predicate like *say* can have a different flavor depending on whether EN is present in its clausal complement.

The proposal. I argue that these new puzzles can only be explained if we assume that EN has the import of a weak epistemic modal, which marks the doxastic alternatives of the attitude holder as equally likely.

- | | | | |
|-----|----|--|--|
| (1) | a. | $\varphi >_{\text{LIKELY}} \neg\varphi$ | <i>that</i> -complement |
| | b. | $\varphi \geq_{\text{LIKELY}} \neg\varphi$ | EN-complement |
| | c. | $\varphi =_{\text{LIKELY}} \neg\varphi$ | (cancellable) scalar implicature triggered by EN |

Corroborative evidence that EN has the meaning of a weak epistemic comes from Modern Greek counterfactuals where EN can be used instead of epistemic *tha* (will).

Against expletive negation: The case of Spanish *hasta*-clauses

Paola C epeda (Stony Brook University)
Thursday, 4:45-5:15, TBA

‘Expletive negation’ is a label traditionally used to describe a vacuous negation that does not contribute to the meaning of the sentence. Under this assumption, Spanish punctual *hasta*-clauses (‘until’) containing an expletive negation have been described as identical in meaning with their counterparts without a negation. In this talk, I show that the negation in the *hasta*-clause does in fact contribute to the meaning calculation and, therefore, there is no support to describe this negation as expletive. My proposal is that the semantic contribution of the so-called ‘expletive’ negation is to negate that the eventuality in the main clause holds during the interval denoted in the *hasta*-clause, and restricts the factivity inference (i.e. the inference that the eventuality has to hold) to the complement of that interval. The result is that the eventuality in the main clause is expected to hold after the eventuality in the *hasta*-clause is finished. The novelty of my proposal is the comparison of the aspect (specifically, the durativity component) of the eventualities expressed in the *hasta*-clause. When the *hasta*-clause contains an accomplishment (i.e. a telic, durative eventuality), the contribution of the negation is clear. However, when the *hasta*-clause contains an achievement (i.e. a telic, non-durative eventuality), the effect of the negation is not so evident, and this is precisely what creates an illusion of expletiveness. This discussion supports the claim that the truth conditions for sentences with and without ‘expletive’ negation are not identical; therefore, it is safe to say that the ‘expletive’ negation is not expletive after all.

A match-theoretic approach to Korean intonational phonology

Hyunah Baek, (Stony Brook University)
Thursday, 3:00-3:30, TBA

The distinction between the intermediate phrase (IP, or major phrase) and the accentual phrase (AP, or minor phrase) has been suggested in literature to account for prosody of Korean. The empirical observations that call for an intermediate prosodic domain were the domain of phonetic downstep and the domain of focus, which are not explained by AP alone (Jun 2006). Although ip is a descriptively useful label, whether such an additional language-specific category is necessary in the system of intonation phonology is still debatable. Moreover, having this distinction in some languages but not in others runs counter to cross-linguistic prosody research. If one assumes the Strict Layer Hypothesis, which strictly prohibits recursion of prosodic domain, positing an intermediate domain IP would be inevitable. However, once recursion of prosodic categories is allowed, the motivation for adding IP to

the prosodic hierarchy needs to be reconsidered. In Match Theory recursive syntactic constituency results in recursion in prosody due to Match correspondence constraints such as MATCH (Phrase, Phonological phrase). Within the framework of this theory, this study shows that Korean prosodic hierarchy does not need the IP because a) the domain of phonetic downstep can be explained as a non-minimal maximal phonological phrase in a syntactically grounded prosodic hierarchy, and b) the domain of focus can be explained as the result of prosodic markedness constraints such as PROSPROM(AP) and DESTRESS GIVEN outranking MATCH constraints. This approach allows the removal of an unnecessary language-specific prosodic category so as to maintain and thus further establish a language-universal prosodic hierarchy.

Conjugation tone mapping in Tetsóť'iné (Yellowknife): Level ordering and morphologization

Alessandro Jaker (University of Alaska Fairbanks) & Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University)
Thursday, 3:30-4:00, TBA

Dene (Athabaskan) languages are widely known for their complex templatic morphology and opaque morphophonemics. In this paper, we examine a group of related phonological processes in the Northeast Dene language Tetsóť'iné (Yellowknife), known as CONJUGATION TONE MAPPING, in which the association of an underlying floating high tone is sensitive both to metrical foot structure and morphological boundaries. This group of tone-related processes spans a total of four serially ordered strata in the phonology of the language, and ranges from fully morphologized (Level 2) to fully phonologically transparent (Level 5), with intermediate levels involving surface phonological opacity (Level 4) and lexically pre-specified foot structure (Level 3). We argue that the framework of Stratal Optimality Theory, or LPM-OT (Kiparsky 2000) is the only model of phonology able to explain these facts in a coherent manner, and is preferable to alternatives such as harmonic serialism because it provides a straightforward account of diachronic pathways of phonologization and morphologization, which is not available under other models.

Tone features and underspecification: Morphological H-tones in Macuilianguis Zapotec

Eva Zimmermann (Universität Leipzig)
Friday, 4:15-4:45, TBA

Macuilianguis Zapotec (=MZ, Broadwell & Zhang 1999; Broadwell 2000; Broadwell et al. 2011; Foreman 2006) exhibits two different classes of morphological H-tones that are realized in different positions and differ in whether they create new contour tones on long vowels or not. The potential H-tone is always realized on the TBU adjacent to the potential prefix /gu-/ and results in a falling contour on long L-toned vowels (e.g. Base: /sì:gá?/ → /gú-sî:gá?-nà-nà/ 'S/he will push it' (Broadwell et al. 2011: 4). The 1.SG H-tone, on the other hand, is realized non-locally (preferably on a vowel followed by /?/, or an an L-toned TBU) and overwrites a long vowel to a completely H-toned one (e.g. Base: /ju?ní/ → /be-ǰú?ní-ǰá-nà/ 'I wrinkled it', (Broadwell et al. 2011: 6).

The asymmetric behaviour of morphological H-tones follows under the assumption that the tones in MZ are represented as complex structures of register and tone in a dominance relation (cf. (4), Yip 1989; Snider 1990; Hyman 1992). The morphological H-tones are taken to have different complexity: they are either specified for the register feature [+Upper] and the tone feature [+raised] or only for [+raised]. A structure [+U – +r] associates to a TBU and a contour tone for long vowels results (1). Although there are preferences to realize a high tone on vowels followed by a /?/ and to preferably overwrite L-tones rather than M-tones, this fully specified H-tone is unable to reach any of these

preferred positions across intervening tones. An underspecified floating [+r], on the other hand, is able to cross intervening tones on its way to a preferred position. Since the two moras of a long vowel are associated to a single register feature [\pm U], association of the floating [+r] to this [+U] changes the tone specification for both TBU's and no contour tone results (2).



The typology of the OCP and floating tones in Anywa

Jochen Trommer (Universität Leipzig)
 Saturday, 15:30-16:00, TBA

Outline: In this talk, I show that floating H-tones in Anywa (Western-Nilotic, Reh 1996) induce L-tone insertion before other H-tones, filling an important gap in the typology of effects that can be triggered by floating phonological features and providing additional evidence for a relativized notion of adjacency in OCP-effects (Odden 1994; Myers & Carleton 1996). I provide a detailed OT-analysis of the data which accounts for the asymmetries of floating tones in spreading and dissimilation (‘polarity’) at different morphoprosodic boundaries.

Data: H-tones in Anywa trigger two effects at morpheme boundaries: Rightwards-spreading to a L-tone syllable (/ká:(:t-ɔ̃/ ‘weave:sth:there-INF’ → [ká:(:t-ɔ̃]) and insertion of a L-tone before another H-tone resulting in a rising tone in a monosyllabic and a H-L sequence in a bisyllabic prosodic word (/‘v-máθ-à/ → [‘v-máθ-á] HAB-drink:AP- 1SG ‘whenever I drink’). Crucially, both processes also happen after lexical floating H-tones which appear at the end of many L-tone syllables.

Consequences: The Anywa data fill two important typological gaps: First, virtually all cases of tone polarity discussed in the theoretical literature (e.g. Cahill 2004) instantiate alternations where stem tones trigger polarity on affixes. The Anywa case shows a polarity pattern with the opposite distribution: Prefixes trigger H- tone in roots starting with L-tones, and L-tone insertion in L-initial roots. Second, these data complement the known inventory of OCP-effects triggered by floating tones, where floating tones are typically deleted to avoid an OCP-violation or block otherwise expected OCP-effects. Anywa exemplifies a third option: a floating tone triggers an OCP-driven repair operation without being itself affected.

On multi-valued Ns and Ts in number concord and agreement

Zheng Shen (University of Connecticut)
 Friday, 8:30-9:00, West Lounge, 2nd floor

I present an asymmetry regarding multi-valuation in (1) and offer an AGREE based account. I use nominal right node raising in (2) as a case of multi-valued N and TP right node raising in English (3) and composed plural in Nocte as cases of multi-valued T.

- (1) Multi-Value Asymmetry: When N is valued by multiple [sg] values, it is spelled out as singular, while when T is valued by multiple [sg] values, it is spelled out as plural.
- (2) This_[sg] tall and that_[sg] short student_[sg]/*students are a couple.
- (3) Sue’s proud that Bill_[sg] and Mary’s glad that John_[sg] have_[pl] traveled to Cameroon.

I propose that nominals have one slot for a number feature (4a) while T heads have at least two (4b), following the standard number feature spell-out rules in (5).

- (4) a. N: [uNum: _]
b. T: [uNum: _ , uNum: _]
- (5) a. [sg] \longleftrightarrow singular marker
b. [sg, sg] \longleftrightarrow plural marker

In cases of a multi-valued N, the single slot on N matches with both the num heads. In valuation, only the value from one of the two num heads can be copied into the single slot on N. Since in (2) both the values are singular, the choice is trivial and the nominal gets one [sg] and thus is spelled out as singular. The unavailability of plural marking follows naturally from the lack of multiple num slots on N.

In cases of a multi-valued T, the values from both subjects can be copied onto T, given that T has at least two number feature slots. The spell-out rule in (5b) marks T as plural. The proposed feature composition of T and N make predictions in cases of multi-valued elements with mismatching goals.

Hidden morphology: Decomposition and processing of German complex nouns

Swetlana Schuster & Aditi Lahiri (University of Oxford)
Saturday, 9:00-9:30, West Lounge, 2nd floor

In psycholinguistic research, the role of morphological decomposition has been studied with regard to its relevance to word recognition. From previous studies (Rastle et al. 2004; Crepaldi et al. 2015), it does not emerge, however, whether speakers are sensitive to the internal structure of morphologically complex words.

Building on recent studies (cf. Meinzer et al. 2009), showing that speakers are sensitive to the degree of derivational depth, the research presented in this paper aims to investigate to what extent speakers are sensitive to degrees of violation to morphological complexity by varying the derivational distance to an existent lexical representation using phonologically and morphologically possible, but non-existent (i.e. unlisted) German nouns.

In two lexical decision tasks with delayed priming, it was found that possible, but unlisted pseudo-nouns that are a single derivation (e.g. **Spitzung* (N, ‘sharpening’) — *spitzen* (V, ‘to sharpen’) — *spitz* (A, ‘sharp’), as well as items that are two derivations away from an existent lexical representation (e.g. **Blöndung* (N, ‘act of becoming blond’) - **blönden* (V, ‘to become blond’) — blond (A, ‘blond’)), activated the lexical representation of their base form, unlike any of their form or semantic controls.

In an unprimed lexical decision task to all complex items and their controls, it was found that **Blöndung* was significantly more difficult to classify than **Spitzung*, indicating that the existence of a lexical representation for the intermediate derivation (*spitzen* versus **blönden*) was reflected in speakers’ treatment of these items.

We therefore argue for an abstract structural representation of morphological complexity that is independent of lexical representation. At the same time, speakers are sensitive to the internal composition of a morphologically complex word and therefore the degree of “morphological violation” expressed in the absence of a lexical representation for an intermediate derivational step.

Contrastive morphological typology and logical hierarchies

John Sylak-Glassman & Ryan Cotterell (Johns Hopkins University)
Friday, 9:45-10:15, West Lounge, 2nd floor

A central goal of research in morphological typology is to discover a list of categories (e.g. Tense) and features (e.g. Present) that captures the concepts encoded by inflectional morphology across the world’s languages (Corbett 2012). To that end, we propose a contrastive method of discovering the semantic concepts encoded as features by inflectional morphology: if a semantic distinction is encoded by two overtly contrasting morphemes in a language and the meaning encoded by at least one of the morphemes is not decomposed further in any other language, then that non-decomposable meaning is represented by a feature. This method yields over 212 features across 25 morphological categories across all parts of speech. Previous research (e.g. Harley & Ritter 2002) has argued that morphosyntactic features must be organized hierarchically, that such hierarchies are motivated by language-internal dependency relationships observed through co-occurrence patterns, and that these hierarchies explain typological generalizations and patterns of acquisition. We argue that morphological features, specifically those discovered through the proposed contrastive method, are also organized into *logical hierarchies*, which capture specificity relationships among features such that features lower in the hierarchy are more specific than those that dominate them. The problem that motivates these hierarchies is morphological feature mismatches between languages with differing distinctions within a morphological category. The specificity relationships encoded by logical hierarchies allow these mismatches to be resolved during translation and model an element of bi- or multi-lingual speakers’ competence. We explore the relationship between logical and dependency hierarchies, and propose logical hierarchies for the 25 morphological categories for which features were discovered using the contrastive method. We demonstrate their utility in resolving morphological mismatches across parallel text, and conclude by discussing their potential explanatory value in other domains.

Morphological conspiracies and the nature of Vocabulary Insertion

Steven Foley (University of California, Santa Cruz)
Friday, 10:15-10:45, West Lounge, 2nd floor

A conspiracy arises when more than one (e.g. phonological) process serves to enforce a single constraint on surface forms. A major theoretical advantage of an Optimality Theoretic grammar is the ability to capture conspiracies: instead of relying on otherwise unconnected rules that just happen to prevent some marked structure, OT allows us to refer directly to it by ranking a markedness constraint above relevant faithfulness constraints.

In this talk I identify a morphological conspiracy in Georgian, and use it to argue that morphology is governed by an OT grammar. Again and again, the language’s agreement system goes out of its way to avoid Multiple Exponence — the presence of more than one morpheme in a word expounding a single feature. Abstractly, when probes X and Y both Agree with a single argument for feature [F], and morphemes α and β can spell out [F] on X and Y respectively, multiple exponence of [F] is avoided by blocking the insertion of either α or β . Within Distributed Morphology (DM; Halle & Marantz 1993), such blocking relationships can be derived through some suite of postsyntactic operations, like impoverishment. However, these operations do not refer to multiple exponence directly, and thus fail to capture the conspiracy.

Instead, building on previous work in OT morphology (Kiparsky 2000, Trommer 2001, Wolf 2008, Caballero & Inkelas 2013), I propose that Vocabulary Insertion — the operation that chooses which morphemes expone which syntactic terminals — is governed by ranked, violable constraints. DM’s Subset Principle is decomposed into morphosyntactic faithfulness constraints; highly ranked morphosyntactic markedness constraints (like *MultipleExponence) replace DM’s postsyntactic operations. I show that Georgian’s conspiracy against multiple exponence, along with other peculiarities of its agreement system, follow from standard constraint interactions.

Chain shifts

Paul Kiparsky (Stanford University)
Friday, 8:30-9:00, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Formal phonology has studied chain shifts primarily as instances of the problem of counterfeeding opacity. This talk addresses their diachronic course, specifically that of vowel shifts, and proposes an explanation of the empirical generalizations subsumed by Labov (1994)'s Exit Principles.

The contrast-preserving property of chain shifts has been accounted for in OT by constraints that prohibit the mapping of distinct inputs into identical outputs (Padgett 2003, Kawahara 2003). I adopt a simplified version of the SUPER-OPTIMALITY constraint (1) (Kiparsky 2011), which dominates a stringency hierarchy of markedness constraints and a set of faithfulness constraints.

- (1) Assign a violation to the Input-Output correspondence $\langle I, O \rangle$ if there is an optimal $\langle I', O \rangle$ that is more harmonic than $\langle I, O \rangle$.

This approach unifies the steps of a chain shift as a single change, triggered by a single innovative constraint ranking. It provides a formal explanation of Labov's Dissimilation Effect (1994: 254) and Upper Exit Principle (1994: 280), which state that in vowel chain shifts, long high vowels become lax diphthongs. Beyond that, it predicts, for any featural dimension, what sideways movements may terminate a chain shift on it: in particular, that back vowel raising, as in Greek and Swedish/Norwegian (Labov's Pattern 3 shifts), terminates in fronting rather than diphthongization. This raising pattern is driven by a version of the markedness constraints that applies only to back vowels. A high back vowel can satisfy them just by fronting, a lesser faithfulness violation than diphthongization and laxing. A second prediction is that a chain shift can terminate in a merger at the end point of its scale, contrary to the EXIT PRINCIPLE. This will be the case when SUPER-OPTIMALITY is ranked low.

Chain shifts provide a new argument against the $A \rightarrow B/C_D$ format for representing sound change. They show that not even the process part ($A \rightarrow B$) is necessarily shared by all instantiations of a sound change. A single constraint reranking can have a range of heterogeneous output manifestations. Such cases support the view that processes are epiphenomena of constraints and should not be reified as primitive building blocks of analysis, even in historical phonology.

Sonority-based stress in Harmonic Grammar: Nontransitive conflation in phonological hierarchies

Charlie O'Hara (University of Southern California)
Friday, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Markedness hierarchies are cross-linguistically universal orderings of phonological structures by their relative markedness. It stands that, all things being equal, if one item in a hierarchy is banned in a context, all forms more marked on the hierarchy should also be banned. However, in some grammars and contexts the distinction between certain tiers in the hierarchy can be lost or conflated (ex. sonority based stress (de Lacy 2004)). With ranked constraints, as in Optimality Theory, only transitive conflation is predicted — if Tier 1 and Tier 2 are conflated and Tier 2 and Tier 3 are conflated, Tier 1 and Tier 3 must be conflated as well. In contrast to transitive conflation, we could imagine nontransitive conflation, where Tier 1 and Tier 2 are conflated and Tier 2 and Tier 3 are conflated, but Tier 1 and Tier 3 are not.

This paper shows that in a system with weighted constraints like Harmonic Grammar (HG: Legendre et al. 1990, 2006; Pater to appear), nontransitive conflation is predicted regardless of the constraints used to model the markedness hierarchy. In fact, the two techniques most conventionally used in the OT literature to establish markedness hierarchies — stringently related constraints (Prince

1999; de Lacy 2002) and fixed ranking(/weighting) of constraints (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004, a.m.o.) — predict the same typologies.

A constraint schema for the OCP: modeling scalar interactions

Hayeun Jang (University of Southern California)
Friday, 9:45-10:15, East Lounge, 2nd floor

This paper examines scalar interactions between proximity and similarity in OCP effects through a case study of Swedish tone patterns. Proximity and similarity both come into play in Swedish tone dissimilation. When a focal H or \uparrow H is followed by an unaccented lexical H in an underlying form, the patterns of dissimilation show a three-way gradient distinction depending on their proximity (Bruce 1977, 1990; Harrikari 1999): the closer two high tones (Hs) are, the less similar they should be. The traditional OCP (McCarthy 1986) which considers only the endpoints of proximity (adjacent) and similarity (identical) scales cannot explain such gradient OCP effects. In this paper, I propose an OCP constraint schema that incorporates various degrees of OCP effects referring to continuous scales. Following the schema, an OCP constraint is formalized as a set of markedness constraints which share the constraint focus (two target elements) and the target scales for proximity and similarity. The scales for proximity and similarity are defined as sets of stringently-defined scalar degrees, and the links between the two target scales are created via conjunctions across the scales. Markedness constraints as sub-constraints composing the OCP are defined with conditions of stringently-defined similarity scalar degrees and the conjunctions between similarity and proximity. Through the proposed constraint schema, the OCP is formalized as a family of OCP constraints which represent various degrees of OCP effects. Two case studies Swedish and typological predictions by using abstract language inputs and scales show that the proposed OCP schema can model complex and gradient OCP effects which cannot be explained by the traditional OCP.

The effect of production planning locality on external sandhi: A study in /t/

Oriana Kilbourn-Ceron, Michael Wagner & Meghan Clayards (McGill University)
Friday, 10:15-10:45, East Lounge, 2nd floor

The intervocalic flapping of English coronal stops /t, d/ is nearly categorical when the VTV sequence is within a word but variable when a word boundary intervenes, and occurs only rarely across a large boundary such as a clause edge. This is pattern cross-linguistically common in external sandhi — but why are segmental processes at word edges often more variable, and what influences the rate of variability? Previous literature on phonological variability has proposed that phonological rules make reference to syntactic structure or that phonological process are tied to prosodic domains. In contrast, we propose that phonological variability is only indirectly influenced by syntax and prosody through the locality of production planning. This hypothesis is motivated by psycholinguistic models of speech production, and we test its predictions for English flapping in a corpus study and a production experiment. Results show that syntax may have an effect above and beyond prosodic boundary strength, and that the lexical frequency of the following word has a significant influence on rate of flapping, consistent with the LPP hypothesis.

A derivational account of dependent ergative case: The instrumental voice in Ixil

Yusuke Imanishi (Kwansei Gakuin University)
Friday, 3:15-3:45, West Lounge, 2nd floor

Focusing on the instrumental voice construction (= IVC) in Ixil (Norman 1978; Dayley 1981; Ayres 1983, 1991), I argue that the unaccusative subject as well as the unergative subject is allowed to receive ergative CASE, contra the widely accepted generalization that derived subjects such as the subject of unaccusatives are not marked with ergative case (Marantz 1991). I show that the ergative arises in both unergatives and unaccusatives of Ixil when the instrumental phrase is in clause-initial position. Adopting a recent phase-based analysis of dependent ergative case (Baker 2014, 2015), I claim that the ergative found in unaccusatives and unergatives as well as the regular ergative of Ixil can be analyzed as ‘dependent’ ergative: specifically, it is argued that the clause-initial instrument feeds the assignment of ergative CASE. The Ixil facts present an important challenge to one strand of analysis of ergative CASE, namely an inherent CASE analysis (Woolford 1997, 2006; Aldridge 2004, 2008; *inter alia*). This analysis proposes that *v* assigns inherent ergative CASE to the transitive subject and (sometimes) the unergative subject in split-S languages along with a specific θ -role in the sense of Chomsky (1986). Despite the complicating picture of the correlation between ergative CASE and a type of θ -role, as Legate (2012) states, the generalization is that the only *v* that introduces the external argument may assign inherent ergative CASE, regardless of the type of a θ -role it assigns: i.e., transitive and unergative *v*. This conclusion is consistent with the ERGATIVE CASE GENERALIZATION (Marantz 1991). However, the IVC of Ixil challenges the inherent CASE analysis and calls for reconsideration of ergativity in the language and in general.

Sluicing beyond *wh*-questions: Exploring and explaining crosslinguistic variation

David Erschler (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Friday, 3:45-4:15, West Lounge, 2nd floor

While sluicing, (1a), has received much attention in the literature, little is known about other types of embedded fragment questions, shown schematically in (1b-c). Although ungrammatical in English, they are common cross-linguistically.

- (1)
- a. Sluicing
‘Mary cooked something, but I don’t know what.’
 - b. Embedded fragment of an alternative question: **Or-sluicing**
Mary cooked something, but I don’t know whether ~~she cooked~~ rice or beans.
Intended meaning: ‘Mary cooked something, but I don’t know whether she cooked rice or beans.’
 - c. Embedded fragment of a Y/N question: **Y/N sluicing**
Mary cooked something, but I don’t know whether ~~she cooked~~ rice.
Intended meaning: ‘Mary cooked something, but I don’t know whether she cooked rice.’

In this talk, I show that embedding of fragment questions is subject to cross-linguistic variation that obeys the following implicational universal, and provide an analysis that derives it.

- (a) If a language allows Y/N sluicing, it will also allow or-sluicing and regular sluicing.
- (b) If a language allows or-sluicing, it will also allow regular sluicing.

The universal has been verified for about 60 languages, the data were directly elicited from native speakers. The analysis is based on the following ideas: (A) sluices are derived by fronting the remnant(s) and eliding the rest of the clause; (B) ellipsis is feature-triggered; (C) the head that hosts the licensing feature agrees with the head whose complement gets deleted; (D) it is the content of the feature that is responsible for the observed hierarchy. Informally speaking, the three types of question vary in the number of appropriately defined relevant exhaustive answers, which equals 1 for

Y/N questions, equals the number of disjuncts for Alt-questions, and is unbounded for *wh*-questions. Appropriately formalized, the minimal admissible number of answers to the embedded questions is what the licensing condition is sensitive to.

Sloppy *pro* in Greek: An E-type analysis

Despina Oikonomou (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Friday, 16:30-17:00, West Lounge, 2nd floor

It has been observed that null subjects (NSs) in Japanese allow a sloppy interpretation whereas NSs in Romance languages do not (Oku 1998). This difference has led to the idea that NSs in Japanese-type languages is an instance of argument ellipsis whereas in Spanish-type languages they are silent pronouns (Oku 1998, Saito 2007, Takahashi 2007). However, Duguine (2014) provides empirical evidence for the availability of sloppy readings in Spanish and Basque NSs and argues for a unitary approach of NSs as Argument DP-Ellipsis. In this talk, I show that sloppy readings are also available in Greek NSs (1), but I provide evidence against a DP-Ellipsis analysis. I argue instead that the sloppy NSs in Greek are E-type pronouns (*paycheck* pronouns (Cooper 1979)) in the sense of Elbourne (2001)'s approach.

- (1) a. i Maria ipe oti to agapimeno tis fagito ine o musakas.
the Maria said that the favorite her.POSS food is the moussaka
'Maria said that her favorite food is moussaka.'
- b. i Yoko ipe oti Ø ine to sushi.
the Yoko said that Ø is the sushi
'Yoko said [it] is sushi.'
✓Sloppy reading: Yoko said that Yoko's favorite food is sushi.

Elbourne (2001) analyzes E-type pronouns as a determiner plus NP-Ellipsis. I show that sloppy interpretation becomes available when the antecedent involves a relational as opposed to a sortal noun. This contrast follows from Elbourne's analysis; in relational nouns the possessor is an argument of the NP (Barker 1991), therefore it is present in the elided NP and can be bound. Object clitics behave in a similar way, allowing sloppy interpretations under certain conditions (cf. Giannakidou & Merchant 1997). A new question arises as to whether an E-type analysis of sloppy NSs is applicable in Japanese as well (Miyagawa 2015).

Ellipsis or *pro*-form: Reconstruction effects of sluicing in Mandarin Chinese

Wei Song & Masaya Yoshida (Northwestern University)
Friday, 5:00-5:30, West Lounge, 2nd floor

In this talk, we argue that sluicing in Mandarin Chinese involves ellipsis rather than a small *pro* and the ellipsis site is associated with *full-fledged* syntactic structure. Evidence comes from the observation that Mandarin sluicing shows **Binding Condition C** reconstruction effects and idiom reconstruction effects.

There are two approaches to Mandarin sluicing in the literature. The *movement-and-ellipsis approach* (Wang & Wu 2006, Murphy 2014) claims that Mandarin sluicing is derived from focus movement of the *wh*-remnant to the left periphery followed by TP-ellipsis (1a). The *empty pronominal approach* (Adams & Tomioka 2012, Li & Wei 2014) claims that Mandarin sluicing employs *no* movement and ellipsis. Instead, the sluiced clause is a reduced copular clause that includes a subject empty pronominal, a copula *shi*, and a *wh*-phrase (1b). The two accounts thus differ in (i) whether Mandarin sluicing

involves ellipsis and (ii) how much syntactic structure, if any, there is in the ellipsis site. We show that the **Binding Condition C** reconstruction effects and idiom reconstruction effects are readily captured by the movement-and-ellipsis approach, but not captured by the empty pronominal approach.

- (1) a. Yuehan yudao-le mouren, dan wo bu jide [_{cp} shi [_{FocP} FOC [_{tp} Yuehan
John meet-PERF someone but 1SG NEG remember SHI John
yudao-le *t*₁]]].
meet-PERF
'John met someone, but I don't remember who.' (movement-and-ellipsis)
- b. Yuehan yudao-le mouren, dan wo bu jide [_{cp} pro shi shei].
John meet-PERF someone but 1SG NEG remember SHI who
'John met someone, but I don't remember who.' (empty pronominal)

Effects of language contact in pitch-accents: The case of Gernika Basque

Itxaso Rodríguez (University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign) &
Kelsie Gillig (Indiana University – Purdue University Fort Wayne)
Saturday, 3:15-3:45, East Lounge, 2nd floor

The goals of the present study are (1) to examine a possible loss of pitch-accent system in Gernika Basque and (2) to determine that such loss is due to contact (Iruartzun 2003; Hualde & Elordieta 2014). 57 Gernika-Basque/Spanish bilinguals, stratified by age, gender and degree of contact (measured based on self-reported information on social networks, language proficiency, and home language), were asked to produce 20 declarative sentences forming 10 minimally contrasting pairs. The three prototypical prosodic properties of Gernika Basque (A/U distinction, initial rise and duration correlates with accentual prominence) were measured following Hualde et al. (2002). Multiple ANOVAs were performed using the statistical software R.

Results show that language dominance was a significant predictor only for the older group in the sense that Spanish-dominant speakers lost their A/U distinction. As for the younger group, the maintenance of the A/U was better predicted according to social networks; if the speaker reported to have Basque friends and speak Basque with them, A/U was maintained, regardless of home language. There was no main effect of group for the initial rise, suggesting that all groups have an initial rise. Finally, results revealed males with higher durational correlates in condition B, regardless of whether they maintain an A/U distinction. Although evidence for language change is inconclusive, two claims are made: (a) the three properties analyzed are largely independent from each other (Hualde et al. 2002; Hyman 2007) and (b) this study provides wider support for the role of social networks as a viable factor in language contact and acquisition of prosody (Milroy & Gordon, 2008).

The transfer of negative doubling in Chipilo, an Italo-Mexican community

Olga Tararova (University of Toronto)
Friday, 3:45-4:15, East Lounge, 2nd floor

In standard Spanish, negation is preverbal, as in (1) *Yo no hablo italiano* ('I do not speak Italian'); the presence of a postverbal marker *no* is considered ungrammatical. However, in Veneto (a Northern Italian dialect), both markers are used: one preverbally and the second one at the end of the utterance, as in (2) *Mi no parle talian no* ('I do not speak Italian NEG'). According to sporadic observation, I hypothesized that the construction in (2) has been transferred into the Spanish of bilingual speakers in Chipilo, Mexico (bilingual community of Veneto and Spanish, which preserved Veneto for over 120 years), resulting in instances of negative doubling (ND) as in (3) *Yo no hablo italiano no* ('I do not

speak Italian NEG'), used to reinforce the negation. I investigated the frequency of use of ND as in (3) in comparison with the standard option in (1), according to the following social factors: sex, age (18-34, 55+), and parents' ethnicity. Based on preliminary data, stimuli were coded for the following linguistic factors: previous adjacent constituent, use of other negative words, and negative mention in the preceding context, which was shown to have a positive effect on the elicitation of ND use. For this project, 54 bilingual participants and 21 monolingual Mexicans were recruited to do a semi-spontaneous interview, a preference forced-choice task, and a sentence repetition in Spanish. A total of 565 tokens were extracted and analyzed using the Goldvarb program. Overall, speakers produced ND in 43% (n=248) of the available contexts. Bilingual Chipileños and those whose father is Chipileño favoured the use of ND in two of three tasks (over 40%). Significantly more males than females, and younger speakers than the older ones, favored the use of ND in the controlled tasks. There was a tendency to use ND with a second negative mention, verb and adverb as previous adjacent constituents, and negative words in the object position. These results provide evidence to bilingual speech differences and support the general hypothesis about the transfer effects of a minority language phenomenon into the majority language use.

Attitudes and endangerment in a Mopan village

William Salmon & Jennifer Gomez Menjivar (University of Minnesota)
Friday, 16:30-17:00, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Discussions of language endangerment generally involve a minority language in contact with a majority language such as English or Spanish and for various reasons suffering as a result of this contact. This basic story is well known. The present research looks at a variation of this story, however, that is discussed much less frequently: namely, contact and endangerment between minority languages in a multilingual society. We focus on Mopan, a Mayan language spoken in Belize by approximately 6,000-10,000 speakers. Tanaka (2012) is the first to mention Mopan as a potentially endangered language. Our study is the first in-depth discussion of language attitudes toward Mopan from a cross-generational perspective, and it is the first to discuss the diminishing prestige of Mopan in the context of several socio-economic factors, including the rising prestige of Kriol, which is itself a minority language.

We collected 78 attitude surveys in a Mopan village of approximately 800 residents in the Toledo district. Our analysis uncovered strong generational differences with regard to: 1) the place of Mopan Maya in educational settings, 2) the importance of Mopan on Mayan identity, 3) Mopan as a home language, and 4) the decrease in the ability to speak Mopan. We then conducted 47 ethnographic interviews with Mayan college students in Punta Gorda Town, located approximately 20 miles away from the village. Our questions were open-ended, and we encouraged participants to talk about their use of Mopan and Kriol, with whom they used the languages, and how they viewed Mopan and Kriol with respect to their career goals and everyday lives. The results here mirror those described above: Kriol seems to be held in high regard, and this status seems to come at the expense of the traditional Mopan.

Language endangerment and lexical erosion: Surveys and solutions

Antonia Cristinoi & François Nemo (Université d'Orléans)
Friday, 5:00-5:30, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Based on data collected during ten years of fieldwork in French Guyana, mainly on Palikur, an Arawakan language, this paper discusses the notion of lexical erosion in contrast with lexical intrusion (borrowing of words corresponding to new referents, and which have no lexical correspondent in the endangered language), lexical competition (existence of concurrent forms in two or more languages

for the same referent) and relexification (replacement of those specific fractions of the lexicon with the corresponding borrowings from another language). We shall highlight here the difference between extensive lexical borrowing in a language - either due to the quick changes affecting the lifestyle of the communities at stake or to a combination of lexical competition and code-switching - and lexical erosion, showing that the latter consists in a radical loss of the lexicon for specific lexical fields whose result is not relexification within the language but a mere incapacity to use the language in a given subject area. This will be illustrated by presenting the results of surveys dedicated to measuring lexical competence in various communities of Palikur speakers in French Guyana (Saint Georges, Trois Palétuviers, Régina, and Macouria).

This illustration will be followed by a discussion of methodological issues, explaining our surveys on lexical competence conducted in French Guyana in 2013 and 2014 and showing that they are a promising way to get access to the reality of linguistic practices, by providing objective data on language use.

Finally, we shall discuss the way the existence of lexical erosion can be dealt with in language endangerment situations and especially the way of documenting vanishing lexicons which appears in such cases to be an urgent necessity.

Gender, like classifiers, marks uniform atomicity: Evidence from Serbo-Croatian

Boban Arsenijević (University of Niš)
Saturday, 9:00-9:30, West Lounge, 2nd floor

I present a number of quirks in the agreement with neuter subject in Serbo-Croatian:

- (1) Collective forms are only productively derived from neuter gender nouns, in which case they trigger plural agreement on the finite verb. Those from the other two genders trigger singular.
- (2) Wechsler & Zlatić (2000) analyze the agreement of semantically MPI, morpho-syntactically FSg hybrid agreement nouns as NPI: where does the neuter come from?
- (3) Derived neuter nouns with non-neuter bases cannot inflect for plural.
- (4) Irrespective of the gender of the nouns and referents involved, deictic expressions, expressions with a marked person value and expressions referring to assemblies of individual atoms cannot trigger NPI agreement.

I propose a view in which the count-mass distinction is lexically specified by an incorporated classifier component. Each noun incorporates one default classifier, which specifies its mass nature in the case of mass nouns, or its default unit of counting in the case of count nouns. I model collective nouns as nouns which incorporate a paucal classifier.

This incorporated classifier component can be over-written by an explicit classifier, typically in a partitive relation. Such cases allow for coercion: mass nouns can take count atomic and paucal classifiers, count nouns can take mass and paucal classifiers and collective nouns can take mass and atomic count classifiers, and receive the respective interpretations.

The incorporated classifier is part of the lexical semantics of the noun. In order to be grammatically expressed, and to compose with other grammatically specified semantic components, e.g. grammatical number, this classifier needs to be grammatically expressed. In Serbo-Croatian, it is grammatically expressed through the morpho-syntactic realization of gender. Neuter gender is taken as the absence of gender (Kramer 2009), and hence it leads to a failure to syntactically express the incorporated classifier. I show how this explains the observations in (1-4).

Two contrasts are better than one: [\pm realis] and [\pm affirmative] in Arapaho

Ksenia Bogomolets (University of Connecticut)
Saturday, 9:30-10:00, West Lounge, 2nd floor

This paper deals with morphology of the Algonquian language Arapaho and makes two major claims. I provide an analysis of the morpho-phonological process in Arapaho traditionally known as Initial Change (IC). I argue that IC is a manifestation of the [\pm realis] contrast in the language. The main analytical claim of the current study is the following. Morphological process of IC is constrained by two kinds of conditions. Firstly, IC is constrained by morpho-syntactic competition for spell-out of the C head. Secondly, the process is restricted semantically to apply only in [+realis] contexts.

Analysis presented in this paper attempts to explain the patterns of allomorphy observed on the left edge of word-initial verb stems, and in tense and aspect prefixes in Arapaho. In addressing the relationship between agreement orders, clause types, tense, aspect and mood morphology in the language, this paper presents a unified analysis of the verbal architecture in Arapaho. In particular, I show that structural restrictions on the CP level, namely that Arapaho is a simple CP language, explain the patterns of distribution and constraints on co-occurrence of a set of (features and) morphemes that have been cross-linguistically argued to be generated in the C head. Moreover, I provide an explanation for an intriguing tense-related asymmetry: verbs in present and future tenses are marked for [\pm realis] and for the contrast between affirmative/non-affirmative agreements while verbs in past tense morphologically only mark the latter and do not take part in the [\pm realis] distinction.

Number agreement in languages with two hierarchies

Thuy Bui (University of Massachusetts Amherst)
Saturday, 10:15-10:45, West Lounge, 2nd floor

I investigate cross-linguistic variation in plurality agreement constructions that involve PERSON hierarchy (PH) effects, proposing a unified account for the syntactic derivation of agreement in languages that have only one apparent PH effect and those that have two. For languages with only one PH, such as Ojibwe (Valentine 2001) and Swampy Cree (Ellis 1983), both the prefix and the plural suffix follow the same PH in which second PERSON outranks first PERSON ($2 > 1$). In contrast, if there are two active PHs in the language, as in the case of Meskwaki (Goddard 1994) and Plains Cree (Wolfart 1973), the agreement slots take on different rankings. While the prefix marks the second PERSON, ranking $2 > 1$ in this slot, it is the first PERSON plural that appears in the plural suffix, determining the $1 > 2$ PH.

I argue that in order to license ϕ -features in the plural paradigm, both types of languages require two distinct probes, which are the PERSON (π) and number ($\#$) probes. In the first cycle of AGREE, PERSON LICENSING CONDITION (Béjar & Rezac 2003) picks out first and second PERSON argument DPs to enter into an AGREE relation. The π -probe then checks these DP's PERSON features. The analysis then introduces PLURAL LICENSING CONDITION, which requires an interpretable plural feature to be licensed. The DP arguments then enter the second cycle of AGREE with the $\#$ -probe. This probe first looks for the DP that has not yet been checked in the first cycle, and then AGREES with that DP. If there is no such DP, it will check the argument that has already been marked. The crucial factor that differs one-PH languages with two-PH ones is whether the goals are available for matching with the $\#$ -probe after their features have been checked by the π -probe.

Two types of dual numbers

Dejan Milačić (McGill University)

Saturday, 10:45-11:15, West Lounge, 2nd floor

I identify three attested patterns for the morphological expression of dual and plural number in languages with number systems which include these categories. I note that two of these patterns lead to contradictory predictions about the morphological markedness of dual relative to plural. Plural is expressed by more morphemes than dual in languages like Mi'gmaq (Coon & Bale 2014), while dual is expressed by more morphemes than plural in languages like Manam (Lichtenberk 1983).

The system of number features and markedness put forward by Nevins (2011) is argued to account for the Manam pattern, but does not account for the Mi'gmaq pattern. I show that a logical extension of this feature system in fact gives the opposite result: it accounts for the Mi'gmaq pattern, but does not account for the Manam pattern. I give evidence from semantics and agreement to argue that this result is desirable. Based on this evidence, I suggest that dual marking in languages like Manam should be analyzed like non-inflectional plural marking (Wiltschko 2008; Butler 2011). I conclude that the meaning of dual marking in these languages comes from the morpheme's origin as the numeral 'two' rather than coming from a number feature as in languages with the other two patterns.

German relative clauses and the severed index hypothesis

Emily Hanink & Julian Grove (The University of Chicago)

Saturday, 3:45-4:15, West Lounge, 2nd floor

German definite articles are able to contract with prepositions under certain conditions. When a noun phrase is discourse anaphoric, contraction is blocked. In the current paper we present a puzzle surrounding this generalization: Restrictive relative clauses require the use of the non-contracted (strong) article form, despite their apparent lack of anaphoricity; both the determiner of the head noun and the relative pronoun (which is, in most cases, syncretic with the definite article) surface with the strong form. In this talk we provide a uniform analysis of discourse anaphoric and relative clause uses that requires interpreting indices as features that may occupy their own projections in nominal structure. In our analysis, the distinction between the strong and weak form is structural; the strong form contains an additional projection, which we call 'dxP', that intervenes between the determiner and the noun in anaphoric contexts. idxP hosts an index feature that may act either as a bindee, in the relative-clause internal position, or as a binder, in the relative-clause external position. By building assignment functions into the semantic model, we show that idx can compositionally bind elements within its scope. We therefore unite anaphoric and relative clause uses by showing that both require the same additional structure, which is absent in the contracted (weak form), for binding purposes. We support our structural claims for the presence of idx, which is generally covert, with morphological evidence wherein the modifier 'same' is an overt realization of this head cross-linguistically. To support this, we draw on evidence from a pattern involving German contraction with this modifier, as well as from the behavior of the Hebrew pronoun 'oto'.

Resistance to phonetic change in York, Northern England

Daniel Lawrence (The University of Edinburgh)

Saturday, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge, 2nd floor

This study reports on a sound change in progress in York, Northern England: the fronting of the back vowels /o/ and /u/. Previous work (e.g. Labov 1994) has consistently reported that the fronting

of /u/ typically precedes the fronting of /o/ across varieties of English, and realizations of /u/ are usually found to be further advanced in the vowel space than those of /o/ in varieties where both vowels are undergoing fronting.

The present study attempted to assess evidence for this pattern in York speech. Data are presented from word list recordings of 52 speakers born between 1935 and 2000. Acoustic analyses are consistent with previous findings, suggesting that there is an internal bias toward the co-fronting of /u/ and /o/ in this variety. However, examining the dynamic properties of /o/ reveals a constraint on this bias. The degree of /o/ diphthongization is highly variable across speakers, and younger speakers who use monophthongal variants appear to resist the internal pressure to front this vowel.

Previous work on York speech (Haddican et al. 2013) has suggested that this apparent resistance to fronting is due to fronted /o/ monophthongs being linked to a stigmatized social meaning: the negative working-class stereotype of the ‘chav’. This proposal was tested experimentally. Listeners matched resynthesized speech tokens to images representing locally-relevant stereotypes. The perceptual results confirm that monophthongal /o/ realizations are strongly associated with working-class stereotypes. Additionally, back, diphthongal /o/ is associated with the ‘chav’ stereotype, particularly among younger listeners. However, in contrast to previous claims, fronted variants were less likely to cue a selection of the ‘chav’ character.

These results demonstrate how the social perception of phonetic variation may differ across speaker groups, and highlight the need to triangulate sources of evidence when arguing for a role of social evaluation in patterns of sound change.

Stages of grammaticalization as an explanation of disharmonic suffixes in Turkish

Tim Zingler (University of New Mexico)
Saturday, 9:30-10:00, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Finley (2010) argues that disharmonic sequences in vowel harmony languages are exceptional morphemes for which no phonological explanation exists. I will suggest that for disharmonic sequences in Turkish, phonological explanations are available after all. Participation in vowel harmony is usually taken to be a defining criterion for the grammaticalization of Turkish suffixes (e.g., Kabak 2006: 41). That is, the further advanced the formal dependence of an item, the more likely the constraints of vowel harmony are to affect that item. Meanwhile, a well-known concomitant of grammaticalization processes in general is formal reduction of the grammaticalizing element (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 2003: 154). Taken together, these two insights predict that disharmonic suffixes in Turkish should be phonologically larger than fully grammaticalized, harmonic ones. I will posit the number of syllables as the most straightforward measure of phonological size.

An analysis of the tagged suffixes in the digital TS Corpus of contemporary written Turkish (Sezer & Sezer 2013) reveals that the above prediction is indeed borne out. Disharmonic suffixes ($N = 10$) are disyllabic rather than monosyllabic to a statistically significant degree (Fisher’s exact test, $p < .05$) when compared to harmonic suffixes ($N = 45$). Based on the above reasoning, the conclusion is thus that disharmonic suffixes are at an earlier stage of grammaticalization and continue to behave like free lexical items, which do not fall within the harmony domain of adjacent lexical elements. This finding has two major consequences. First, since Turkish “suffixes” are arranged all across the grammaticalization cline, they are not a coherent set. Second, since synchronic approaches from a usage-based frequency perspective would not fare better in terms of explaining the dataset than the proposed diachronic one does, it seems to follow that the diachronic angle deserves a more prominent place in grammatical description.

Language change among Louisiana creoles in Southeast Texas

Nathan A. Wendte (Tulane University)
Saturday, 10:15-10:45, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Language ideologies are perpetually in flux. Within Louisiana, it has been noted that ethnic labels like “Creole” and “Cajun” often serve as stand-ins for racial classifications which are then superimposed on the linguistic situation. This appears to be an instance of fractal recursivity, as defined by Irvine & Gal (2000). However, Creoles in Southeast Texas seem to be modifying their ideologies to encompass more variation and broader definitions both ethnically and linguistically. This may indicate an in situ occurrence of erasure (Irvine & Gall 2000) that complements the work of Dubois & Melançon (2000) among Creole communities in Louisiana. The present study is based on research among self-identified Creoles claiming to speak the Creole language. The preliminary interviews informing this study were conducted between November 2015 and March 2016 and included a sociolinguistic questionnaire, a translation task, and free conversation. My data consist of linguistic tokens and explicit attitudes from participants in Harris and Jefferson counties — two of the ten counties I define as Southeast Texas. As Mufwene notes in his foreword to Blommaert’s recent book, “static geolinguistics [is] clearly out of date” (Blommaert 2010: xi-xii). I hope that by expanding the view of francophone Louisiana to include its diasporic populations, we might arrive at a fuller understanding of linguistic and identity-creative practices.

Meaning change from superlatives to definite descriptions: A semantic perspective

Jun Chen (Yale University) & Dawei Jin (SUNY at Buffalo)
Saturday, 10:45-11:15, East Lounge, 2nd floor

This paper describes a special Chinese numeral phrase construction (hereafter *da*-NumP) of the form [Num *da* N], where a morpheme *da* intervenes between a numeral Num and a noun N. In Classical Chinese, *da*-NumPs have a superlative meaning: A *da*-NumP refers to the top Num entities out of all the contextually-relevant entities within the extension of N. In Modern Chinese, *da*-NumPs also have the meaning of a definite description: A *da*-NumP refers to the unique plurality that consists of Num entities.

This paper argues that *da*-NumPs have an intermediate stage, where the superlative reading is retained, yet N denotes the top Num plurality of entities only, instead of the restrictor of the numeral quantifier, as in (1).

- (1) [Context: The Beijing-based Shuntian Daily selected the three most prominent out of all the active male actors]
Jing-jū san da ming-dan tong-tai yanchu.
Peking-opera three DA prestigious-male.actor same-stage perform
‘Peking Opera’s three top (male actors), the prestigious actors, performed on the same stage...’

I propose that N in this intermediate stage is a nominal supplement, in apposition to the anchor [Num *da*]. The anchor is a superlative quantificational NP that takes an implicit restrictor, which is the determiner *three* in (1). It then composes with the supplement (*prestigious actors*) and the at-issue matrix predicate (*performed on the same stage*), in two successive, asymmetric updates, seen in (2).

- (2) ‘Three top male actors_i [are prestigious actors]_{supplement}, AND [they_i performed on the same stage]_{at issue}...’

I argue that this intermediate stage is critical to the trajectory, by allowing hearers to reanalyze *da* from a superlative operator to a definiteness marker: After N changed from restrictor-denoting to supplement-denoting, it becomes subject to a reanalysis as the nominal predicate of a definite plural NP.

The present study presents a novel understanding of how superlatives changed to definite descriptions that are relevant to both the fields of grammaticalization and formal semantics.

Negation in proto-Kampan

Zachary O'Hagan (University of California, Berkeley)

Saturday, 11:15-11:45, East Lounge, 2nd floor

This presentation explores the diachrony and variation of negation systems in the Kampan Arawak languages of lowland Peru and reconstructs both the categories and forms of the proto-Kampan negation system. Kampan languages — which include Nomatsigenka, Ashéninka, Ash-ninka, Caquinte, Matsigenka, and Nanti — are largely homogeneous in their subsystem of main clause negation, but are largely heterogeneous with respect to other sorts of negation. As an example of the former point, all Kampan languages exhibit distinct preverbal particles that differ in whether they negate a notionally realis or irrealis clause. As an example of the latter point, Nomatsigenka, Matsigenka, and Nanti preserve a proto-Kampan pattern of expressing negative indefinite pronouns via a construction that consists of the realis negator followed by an interrogative pronoun. In contrast, Ashéninka, Ash-ninka, and Caquinte have innovated a negative indefinite pronoun that is distinct from all interrogative pronouns in those languages.

I review standard negation, negative imperatives, existential, copular, and metalinguistic negation, negative indefinite expressions, and negative interrogative pronouns in order to demonstrate how these subsystems have remained stable, or come into or gone out of existence, as grammaticized constructions in these languages, and how new forms have been innovated to express already extant categories. For example, the ancestral language of Matsigenka and Nanti innovated an irrealis main clause negator *gara and an existential negator *mameri — two categories which reconstruct to proto-Kampan — and in doing so it lost a reflex of the proto-Kampan existential negator *kaga. It also innovated a distinct category of metalinguistic negation in the form of *matsi. This work contributes to the understanding of synchronic variation among these languages, informs research on the reconstruction of grammatical subsystems and on the phylogeny of Kampan languages, and allows for finer-grained comparison of negation systems within the large and diverse Arawak family.

Conventionalizing at least some determiners

Dunja Veselinović (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Saturday, 2:00-2:30, West Lounge, 2nd floor

There is an ongoing debate in the literature as to whether Superlative Modifiers (SMs) like *at least* and *at most* are to be treated as degree constructions (e.g., Hackl 2000, Nouwen 2010) or focus sensitive operators (Krifka 1999, Beck 2010). By looking at the properties of sentences with focus and SMs in a variety of languages, this paper makes a case for the focus sensitive approach. I show that SMs are focusing elements (Krifka 1999) whose Association With Focus (AWF) is Conventional, C-AWF (Beaver & Clark 2008); i.e., SMs have a lexically-encoded, conventionalized dependency on focus. Crucially, this lexically encoded dependency is not shared by other (bare) forms of the superlative (e.g., *-est*). This claim is supported by a number of arguments, showing that SMs behave like *only* and other scalar elements, and unlike bare superlatives with respect to a number of phenomena. SMs

require to c-command a focalized element, so that their domain variable is not contextually resolved. This is what sets SMs and *only* apart from *-est* and quantificational adverbs (e.g., *always*). SMs are interpreted as focusing adverbs that can combine with a variety of elements: for some constituent α of type $\langle \sigma, st \rangle$, where σ is any type, \leq is a — possibly pragmatic — ordering of contextually salient alternatives, and $\llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^f$ is the set of focus alternatives of α :

- (1) a. $\llbracket \textit{at least } \alpha \rrbracket = \lambda \beta_{\langle \sigma \rangle} . \lambda w_{\langle s \rangle} : \exists \gamma [\gamma \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^f \wedge \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^o \leq \gamma \wedge \gamma(\beta)(w)]$
 b. $\llbracket \textit{at most } \alpha \rrbracket = \lambda \beta_{\langle \sigma \rangle} . \lambda w_{\langle s \rangle} : \forall \gamma [\gamma \in \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^f \wedge \gamma(\beta)(w) \rightarrow \gamma \leq \llbracket \alpha \rrbracket^o]$

Supporting evidence for (1) shows that SMs (i) cannot associate with prosodically weak pronouns, (ii) show intervention effects, (iii) cannot associate with extracted elements that are realized in higher clauses, and behave like *only* in that (iv) they cannot associate backwards, and (v) the elision of a VP containing the associate of an SM results in ungrammaticality.

Structural differences between epistemic and root modality: Evidence from BCS

Dunja Veselinović (New York University)
 Saturday, 2:30-3:00, West Lounge, 2nd floor

The distinction between epistemic and root modals has been argued to be syntactic (Cinque 1999) or contextually determined in the semantic/pragmatic component, with no syntactic differences needed (Kratzer 1977 et seq.). This paper adds to that discussion, showing constructions with epistemic modals verbs are biclausal, while ones with root modals are monoclausal, based on novel data from Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). Epistemic modal uses of the verb *morati* ‘must’ (as in (1)) are shown to differ from the root modal uses (as in (2)) of the same verb in default word order, agreement and tense, licensing ni-NPIs, scope of negation, and availability of perfective verbal complements.

- (1) Mora- \emptyset da je Rakapaika bi-o kralj.
 must-3SG.PRS COMP be.3SG.PRS Rakapaika.M.NOM be-PPT.M.SG king.M-NOM.SG
 ‘Rakapaika must have been the king.’ (epistemic, default w.o.)
- (2) Rakapaika je mora-o da bud-e kralj.
 Rakapaika.M.NOM be.3SG.PRS must-PPT.M.SG DA be.SBJV-3SG king.M-NOM.SG
 ‘Rakapaika had to be the king.’ (deontic)

The facts presented suggest that deontic and epistemic modals are merged in two distinct positions. I argue that epistemic modals are merged higher, taking a VP complement headed by optionally silent infinitive *biti* ‘to be’ (it can be overt in affirmatives, omitted for space) which itself takes a CP complement, making constructions with epistemic modals biclausal. For deontic modals, I present evidence that their complements are VPs headed by the main verb. These conclusions support Cinque (1999)’s claim (followed by Drubig (2001), Hacquard (2011) and others) that epistemic modals are higher than root modals, but conflict with the idea that epistemic and root modals are part of the same clause. Kratzer (1977 et seq.)’s framework can accommodate for this, but a purely semantic account is insufficient, as syntactic differences between epistemic and root modals beyond the difference in the modal base and the ordering source have to be accounted for.

Explaining DPs vs. CPs without syntax

Patrick Elliott (University College London)
 Saturday, 3:15-3:45, West Lounge, 2nd floor

Pietroski (2000) observes that *explain* gives rise to different readings when it combines (a) with a DP headed by a content noun (1-a), and (b) a *that*-clause (1-b). Pietroski’s analysis is that DPs receive a THEME theta-role, and CPs receive a CONTENT theta-role.

- (1) a. Aaron explained [_{DP} the fact that Barbara left].
- b. Aaron explained [_{CP} that Barbara left].

This is an instance of a broader class of meaning alternations involving DPs and *that*-clauses under embedding verbs such as *fear*, *know*, and *predict* (see King (2002) and others); a similar solution is tempting. I argue against stating the analysis in terms of syntactic category, on the basis of expressions such as *the same thing*, which I argue have the syntax of DPs and the semantics of *that*-clauses.

I outline a system which accounts for these facts in the semantics. Following Moulton (2015), and Kratzer (2014), I take *that*-clauses to denote predicates of individuals with propositional content. I furthermore adopt a neo-Davidsonian event semantics (Parsons 1990), according to which all verbs denote predicates of events/states. I argue against a basic type distinction between *individuals* and *events/states*. Consequently, verbs and *that*-clauses denote predicates of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, and may combine via Predicate Modification (Heim & Kratzer 1998).

The pay-off is that clausal “arguments” are modifiers which imbue events/states with propositional content. DPs headed by content nouns denote/quantify over individuals (type *e*), and are therefore integrated into the Logical Form as genuine thematic arguments.

I extend this system to account for the selectional properties of *believe*-type verbs, which are compatible with both clausal and nominal complements (2-a), and *think*-type verbs, which are (apparently) only compatible with clausal complements (2-b). We can explain this without invoking abstract case or *c*-selection, if we assume that only *believe* introduces a neo-Davidsonian THEME function.

- (2) a. Aaron believes (the rumour) that Barbara left.
- b. Aaron thinks (*the rumour) that Barbara left.

On the DP/NP status of nominal projections in Bangla: Consequences for the theory of phases

Andrew Simpson & Saurov Syed (University of Southern California)
Saturday, 2:00-2:30, East Lounge, 2nd floor

Bošković (2008, 2009) suggests that nominal constituents in languages which do not have (definite) articles are ‘NP languages’ which do not project a DP level of structure, and supports such an analysis with reference to a number of common syntactic characteristics present in NP languages, which it is claimed can potentially all be attributed to the absence of D/DP. These properties include: (a) binding differences between NP and DP languages, (b) free word order of demonstratives, possessors, and adjectives, (c) lack of neg raising, and (d) lack of adjectivally-modified possessors. The present paper examines the status of nominal projections in Bangla from the point of view of Bošković’s generalizations and argues that although Bangla is an article-less language with scrambling, hence superficially similar to NP languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Russian, it is not an NP language and projects a range of functional categories above NP, including a DP level. Such a conclusion is shown to have an important consequence for cross-linguistic assumptions relating to the phasal architecture of nominal projections, building on work on nominal-internal phases initiated in (Syed 2015), and suggests that the extended projection of noun phrases may contain two separate phases, in a way that resembles the occurrence of two phasal levels within clauses.

Comprehenders infer influences of discourse intent and speaker knowledge state on linguistic form

Mark Myslín, Roger Levy & Andrew Kehler (University of California, San Diego)
Saturday, 2:30-3:00, East Lounge, 2nd floor

We show that the pragmatic impact of a marked syntactic construction be altered as a result of a comprehender's reasoning about the speaker's motivation for using the form. It is well-known that use of a passive (Brittany was recommended to Charlotte) instead of an active (Susan recommended Brittany to Charlotte) affects information structure and subsequent reference: Brittany is more topical in the passive version, which makes it more likely that she will be the referent of a subsequent pronoun. But establishing Brittany as the topic is only one reason the speaker might choose a passive. Another is that she doesn't know who the agent of the event being described is. This notwithstanding, no theory of information structure nor pronoun interpretation of which we are aware predicts that the effects of the passive on discourse state would depend on a comprehender's reasoning about the speaker's motivation for choosing it. However, explaining-away studies in cognitive science suggest that they could, under the assumption that an ideal, rational comprehender will reason not only about what was said, but also the speaker's motivations for expressing it in a particular way. In particular, if the speaker's motivation is inferred to be due to her knowledge state – i.e., her lack of knowledge of the agent — rather than a discourse intent — i.e., an intent to make a referent topical — a comprehender may ascribe less topicality to the subject (Brittany). If such explaining-away occurs, we would expect the subject to attract fewer subsequent pronominal references. In a series of passage completion experiments, we confirmed this prediction, providing the first experimental evidence of which we are aware that a comprehender's reasoning about a speaker's motivations can be used to explain away the pragmatic effects on discourse state associated with marked syntactic constructions.

Antiagreement as intervention

Kunio Kinjo (Rutgers University)
Saturday, 3:15-3:45, East Lounge, 2nd floor

The aim of this talk is to provide a novel account of an agreement-suppression phenomenon induced by subject-extraction, which has been called the antiagreement effect (AAE: Ouhalla 1993). It is argued that the modification of the probe-goal theory that phrases as well as heads can act as probes enables us to account for the AAE as an intervention effect: *wh*-agreement between the extracted subject and C^0 hinders the subject from probing for T^0 . A crucial generalization I present is that the presence of *wh*-agreeing C^0 implicates the AAE. The proposal correctly predicts the cross-linguistic (e.g. Berber vs. Arabic) and cross-constructural (short vs. long extraction) distribution of the AAE. It is also suggested that this analysis can extend to the AAE induced by negative concord subjects.

Take that!

Haj Ross (University of North Texas)
Saturday, 3:45-4:15, East Lounge, 2nd floor

This paper concerns the pro-NP *that*, and the deictic determiner *that*, insofar as they are different. It would be very satisfying to be able to show that the former derives from the latter *via* a deletion rule which elides the head noun that follows the deictic, but there is no evidence that this is correct. And problems abound: what, for instance, is the source of the *that* in *Kim is taller than Lee, and Pat is taller than that?* The paper will concentrate, however, on a *that* which seems to be a Pro-VP, as in

sentences such as *Pat is fond of eggs, and [her brother is that too/that her brother is too]* or *Jack is paying attention, and that I have been too*, or *Max has written novels, but [that I have not/*but I have not that]*. Note that *which* can pinch-hit for *that* here: ... *which his brother is too and ... which I have been too and which I have not*. It is disquieting to find words like *that* and *which*, which usually can be replaced by nouns in related sentences, in contexts which are devoid of anything nominal. These *thats* and *whichs* are looked at askance by many speakers, but most speakers allow *that* as a pro-adjective at least: *Bob is generous – he has always been that*. This problem raises its ugly head in German (where *das* and *was* can do some of what *that* and *which* can), and in Dutch, where *dat* and *wat* do some of what *that* and *which* do. It seems that in English there may be an implicational hierarchy:

- (1) Anyone who accepts a non-topicalized *that* (... *but I am not that*) will accept a topicalized *that* (... *but that I am not*), and anyone who accepts this latter will accept ... *which I am not*.

Acknowledgments

The Chicago Linguistic Society would sincerely like to thank the following sponsors for their generous financial support of this year's meeting:

- The Office of the Reynolds Club and Student Activities
- The Franke Institute for the Humanities

We are especially grateful to our keynote speakers for presenting their research and to all of the session presenters for sharing their work with us. We appreciate the considerable effort involved in preparing for, traveling to, and presenting at our conference, not to mention the demanding work that their research entails. We are also very grateful to all who submitted an abstract for consideration but did not have an opportunity to present. With a three-day schedule and nearly 250 submissions, it was necessary to leave out from the program many outstanding pieces of research. If the Chicago Linguistic Society conference maintains high standards, it is due in large measure to the notable authors who submit their work for consideration. Special thanks must also go to the faculty and students in the Department of Linguistics who offered their valuable advice and support from the very first to the very last stages of conference preparation. In addition, we want to express our deep gratitude to all of our anonymous abstract reviewers — external and internal — who provided helpful feedback to submitting authors. Thanks, too, to all the student volunteers who helped us with the conference logistics. Finally, we would like to thank all conference attendees for joining us here at the 52nd annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, continuing the tradition of excellence.

Jessica Kantarovich
Tran Truong
Orest Xherija

CLS 52 Organizing Committee

CHICAGO LINGUISTIC SOCIETY
1115 East 58th Street
Chicago, IL 60637 USA
<http://chicagolinguisticsociety.org/>