

# Program



chicago linguistic society annual meeting 47

7-9 APRIL 2011

# Welcome

Welcome to the 47<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society! We have scheduled for you an intense three days of linguistic excitement (7–9 April 2011), all taking place in Ida Noyes Hall at the University of Chicago (1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637).

Highlights include exciting talks from six invited speakers: Yosef Grodzinsky, Colin Phillips, Keith Johnson, Angelika Kratzer, Sharon Inkelas, and Norvin Richards. In addition, we have 18 sessions on diverse topics of linguistic interest, including 6 parasessions on Experimental Methods in Linguistic Research.

Registration will begin at 8:00 on each of the three days, and we will kick off the conference with a special Welcome at 9:10 on Thursday. We also invite interested graduate students to attend our Graduate Student Mixer at 19:30 on Thursday. Finally, please join us for a delicious Banquet and accompanying festivities (including the ever-popular karaoke!) starting at 18:30 on Saturday.

CLS is pleased to offer books and journals at affordable discount prices at our book table. We have titles from the MIT Press, the Cambridge University Press, and the University of Chicago Press, as well as previous volumes of the CLS proceedings.

Special **CLS 47 t-shirts** are now on sale for the affordable price of \$15 each. They are available in the following two delightful designs, inspired by the classic educational computer games *Number Munchers* and *Odell Lake*, published by MECC in 1986, 25 years ago. Pick your favorite, or get one of each!



P-side design



S-side design

# Acknowledgments

The Chicago Linguistic Society would like to thank the following sponsors for their generous support:

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

In addition, this conference would not have been possible without the contributions of our conference volunteers, whose help in managing the conference is much appreciated, and our anonymous external and internal abstract reviewers, whose extensive feedback has been most useful for CLS and the authors who have submitted their work to us. We would like to thank the faculty, staff, and students of the Department of Linguistics for their help and guidance, and previous CLS committees for their advice and support.

We also thank our invited speakers for setting aside time for us in their busy schedules, and all of the session presenters for the opportunity to learn about and discuss new exciting developments in linguistic research. To all authors who submitted an abstract for consideration, whether or not your paper has been accepted, we appreciate your thinking of us and sharing your work. Finally, we would like to thank all conference attendees for joining us here at the 47<sup>th</sup> annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society and continuing a fine tradition of excellence.

Carissa Abrego-Collier

Arum Kang

Martina Martinović

Chieu Nguyen

CLS 47 Organizing Committee

# Schedule

All events take place in Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago (1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637). **W** sessions meet in the West Lounge, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor. **E** sessions meet in the East Lounge, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor.

## Thursday, April 7

8:00

Registration Opens (LOBBY, 2ND FLOOR)

9:10

CLS 47 Welcome (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)

1W – GENERAL SESSION  
Morphosyntax

1E – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION  
Segmentation

9:30 **David J. Medeiros** (University of Michigan)  
*A morpho-syntactic account of embedded imperatives*

**Jason Bishop** (University of California, Los Angeles)  
**Kristen Toda** (University of California, Los Angeles)  
*Syllabification, sonority, and segmentation: Evidence from word-spotting*

10:00 **Jason Zentz** (Yale University)  
*Morphological evidence for a movement analysis of adverbial clauses*

**Sverre Stausland Johnsen** (Harvard University)  
*Predicting rhyme with segment confusion*

10:30

Break

10:45

Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)

**Yosef Grodzinsky** (McGill University)

*Quantifiers and quantities: Parametric RT and fMRI investigations into meaning and numerosity*

11:45

Lunch

2W – GENERAL SESSION  
Semantics

2E – GENERAL SESSION  
Sociolinguistics

13:30 **Ezra Keshet** (University of Michigan)  
*Contrastive focus and paycheck pronouns*

**Richard Cameron** (University of Illinois at Chicago)  
*Acquiring sociolinguistic difference: Gender and age in a Chicago elementary school*

14:00 **Noah Constant** (University of Massachusetts Amherst)  
*Appositives after all: Reevaluating Mandarin relative clauses*

**Neşe Kaya** (Boğaziçi University)  
*Unresolved positionings: Constructing identities in second/third generation immigrant discourse*

14:30 **E. Matthew Husband** (University of South Carolina)  
*Rescuing manner/result complementary from certain death*

**Sakiko Kajino** (Georgetown University)  
*Japanese Women's Language: Beyond Tokyo*

15:00

Break

15:15

Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)

**Colin Phillips** (University of Maryland)

*What is a mental grammar?*

16:15

Break

3W – SPECIAL SESSION  
Achievement Unlocked

3E – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION  
Language Acquisition

**16:30 Isabel Oltra-Massuet** (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)

*On the status of impossible words systematically derived by the grammatical system*

**17:00 Miho Nagai** (City University of New York Graduate Center)

**Öner Özçelik** (McGill University)  
*Nominal positions in Turkish*

**17:30 Natasha Abner** (University of California, Los Angeles)

*On being and becoming P and plumb P*

**Oana Lungu** (Université de Nantes)

*Temporal construals of relative clauses in child French*

**Jie Ren** (Brown University)

**James L. Morgan** (Brown University)

*Do infants have more detailed lexical representation than adults?*

**Terue Nakato-Miyashita** (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

*The economy of encoding and anaphoric dependency with relational nouns: Evidence from child grammar*

19:30

Graduate Student Mixer (THE PUB, BASEMENT OF IDA NOYES)

## Friday, April 8

8:00

Registration Opens (LOBBY, 2ND FLOOR)

4W – GENERAL SESSION  
Pragmatics, Semantics

4E – GENERAL SESSION  
Computational Linguistics

- 9:00 **Dongsik Lim** (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)  
*Temporal and inferential interpretation of Korean direct evidential -te-*
- 9:30 **Anastasia Giannakidou** (University of Chicago)  
**Suwon Yoon** (University of Chicago / Cornell University)  
*Referential vagueness and negative polarity: Evidence from Greek and Korean*
- 10:00 **Xuehua Xiang** (University of Illinois at Chicago)  
*Individuation, temporal interpretation, and “bare classifier”: A discourse-informed study of the classifier system of Shishan (Lingao/Be, Hainan Island, China)*

**Nazarré Merchant** (Eckerd College)  
*Learning ranking information from unspecified overt forms using the join*

**[Rescheduled for Saturday, April 9, 9:00]**

**Giorgio Magri** (Institut Jean-Nicod / École Normale Supérieure)

*Correctness of OT online algorithms on Prince and Tesar’s (2004) test cases*

**Joan Chen-Main** (University of Pennsylvania)

**Aravind K. Joshi** (University of Pennsylvania)

*A dependency structure perspective on complexity of natural language*

10:30

Break

10:45

Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)

**Keith Johnson** (University of California, Berkeley)

*A corpus phonetic study of California English*

11:45

Lunch

5W – SPECIAL SESSION  
Island Voyages

- 13:30 **Justin Nuger** (University of Maryland)  
*On idiom locality and the architecture of the grammar: Evidence from Palauan*
- 14:00 **Dong-yi Lin** (University of Florida)  
*A syntactic account of interrogative verbs in Kavalan*
- 14:30 **Jean Crawford** (University of Connecticut)  
*Syntactic satiation in subject islands*

5E – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION  
Semantics

- William Salmon** (University of British Columbia)  
*Determiners, parentheticals, and projectability: Experimental evidence*
- Yu-Chi Huang** (University of Southern California)  
**Elsi Kaiser** (University of Southern California)  
*Semantic flexibility in message formulation during online production*
- Hadas Kotek** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
**Yasutada Sudo** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
**Edwin Howard** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
**Martin Hackl** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
*A superlative reading for most<sub>prop</sub>*

15:00  
Break

15:15

Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)

**Angelika Kratzer** (University of Massachusetts Amherst)  
*Hunting down the material conditional*

16:15  
Break

6W – SPECIAL SESSION  
...

- 16:30 **Tommi Leung** (United Arab Emirates University)  
**Aamna Shemeili** (United Arab Emirates University)  
*Making the first step correct in syntax: Evidence from Emirati Arabic sluicing*
- 17:00 **Sandra Stjepanović** (West Virginia University)  
*A case of violation repair under sluicing and consequences for genitive of quantification in Slavic*
- 17:30 **Ora Matushansky** (Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS / Utrecht University / Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / Université Paris 8)  
**Tania Ionin** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)  
*More than one solution*

6E – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION  
Phonology

- Rebecca Morley** (Ohio State University)  
*From phonetics to phonology: Learning epenthesis*
- Bożena Pająk** (University of California, San Diego)  
**Roger Levy** (University of California, San Diego)  
*How abstract are phonological representations? Evidence from distributional perceptual learning*
- Marc Ettliger** (Northwestern University)  
*Analytic bias in phonology is domain general*

## Saturday, April 9

8:00

Registration Opens (LOBBY, 2ND FLOOR)

### 4E – RESCHEDULED GENERAL SESSION Computational Linguistics

9:00

**Nazarré Merchant** (Eckerd College)  
*Learning ranking information from unspecified overt forms using the join*

### 7W – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION Scope

9:30 **Chung-hye Han** (Simon Fraser University)  
**Jeffrey Lidz** (University of Maryland)  
**Dennis Ryan Storoshenko** (Yale University)  
*Variation in negation and quantifier scope judgments in Korean*

10:00 **Anastasia Giannakidou** (University of Chicago)  
**Despoina Papadopoulou** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
**Melita Stavrou** (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)  
*Scope and epistemic judgment: An experimental investigation of Greek indefinites*

### 7E – EXPERIMENTAL PARASESSION Phonetics

**Nicholas C. Henriksen** (Northern Illinois University)  
*The acoustic correlates of question signaling in Peninsular Spanish: Three sentence types compared*

**Anne Pycha** (University of Massachusetts Amherst)  
**John Kingston** (University of Massachusetts Amherst)  
*Duration variation triggered by consonant voicing is not gestural: Evidence from production*

10:30  
Break

10:45  
Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)  
**Sharon Inkelas** (University of California, Berkeley)  
*Where did the Derived Environment Effect go?*

11:45  
Lunch



8W – GENERAL SESSION  
Syntax

- 13:30 **Lobke Aelbrecht** (GIST, Ghent University)  
**Marcel den Dikken** (City University of New York  
Graduate Center)  
*Preposition doubling in (Belgian) Dutch di-  
lects*
- 14:00 **Ivana Mitrović** (Stony Brook University)  
*A novel view of resumption in Serbo-  
Croatian*
- 14:30 **Yasuhiko Miura** (University of Southern California)  
*Cleft in Japanese: A base-generation anal-  
ysis and its empirical justification*

15:00  
Break

15:15  
Invited Speaker (WEST LOUNGE, 2ND FLOOR)  
**Norvin Richards** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
*Affix Support and the EPP*

16:15  
Break

9W – SPECIAL SESSION  
Subject Positions

- 16:30 **Roberto Mayoral Hernández** (University of Al-  
abama at Birmingham)  
**Asier Alcázar** (University of Missouri)  
*Analyzing weight effects on preverbal con-  
stituents: The case of Spanish subjects*
- 17:00 **Will Harwood** (GIST, Ghent University)  
There are several positions available: *En-  
glish intermediate subject positions*
- 17:30 **Jessica Coon** (Harvard University)  
**Omer Preminger** (Massachusetts Institute of Tech-  
nology)  
*Towards a unification of person splits*

18:30  
CLS 47 Banquet (THEATER, 3RD FLOOR)

8E – GENERAL SESSION  
Semantics

- Sylvia L. Reed** (University of Arizona)  
*'Perfect' doesn't mean past: The classifica-  
tion of prospectives*
- Jiwon Yun** (Cornell University)  
*Wh-indefinites and their licensing condi-  
tions*
- Peter Graff** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)  
**Jeremy Hartman** (Massachusetts Institute of Tech-  
nology)  
*Constraints on predication*

9E – GENERAL SESSION  
Phonology

- Gillian Gallagher** (New York University)  
*Auditory features: The case from laryngeal  
cooccurrence restrictions*
- Kyle Gorman** (University of Pennsylvania)  
*What phonotactics might not be*
- Kazutaka Kurisu** (Kobe College)  
*Global optimality in Japanese mimetic voic-  
ing*

# Invited Speakers

## *Quantifiers and quantities: Parametric RT and fMRI investigations into meaning and numerosity*

YOSEF GRODZINSKY (McGill University)

Thursday, April 7, 10:45, West Lounge

**The semantic story:** Quantifiers take sets as their semantic value. Proportional quantifiers—words denoting proportion like *most* or *less-than-half*—are special, in that they make use of the cardinalities of these sets. Thus, in a universe consisting of a finite number of discrete objects, e.g., circles, a statement like *more-than-half of the circles are blue* is true iff the cardinality of the set satisfying the Generalized Quantifier *more-than-half of the circles* exceeds that of its complement set.

**The cognitive story:** When we think about the verification of sentences with proportional quantifiers against a scenario, it is easy to see that it is a task that often requires quantity estimation, followed by a comparison between cardinalities of sets. To verify a sentence like the one above, we must count the members of the set of blue circles, or at the very least estimate its cardinality. We must then compare this cardinality to the cardinality of the complement set.

In this context, then, verification requires numerical estimation, followed by numerical comparison. These, however, are 2 well-studied building blocks of numerical ability in humans and monkeys. The verification of statements with proportional quantifiers against suitable scenarios is therefore a task that may provide important clues about possible connections between numerosity and language.

**A view from the brain:** I report the results of a complex parametric Reaction Time (RT) and functional MR imaging (fMRI) experiment (carried out in collaboration with Stefan Heim, Katrin Amunts, Dan Drai & Simon Eickhoff), that explored these issues through a novel Parametric Proportion Paradigm (*PPP*). Participants (native speakers of German), lying inside the magnet, were asked to verify auditory sentences in German that contained proportional quantifiers against scenarios they viewed. The *PPP* coupled each sentence with different visual images that contained 50 circles, some blue, some yellow, where blue/yellow proportion was systematically varied. Thus the sentence *more-than-half of the circles are blue* was presented several times, each with a different image with 50 circles, of which between 5 to 45 were blue, and the rest yellow. RTs were recorded, as was the concomitant with Blood Oxygen Level Dependent (BOLD) response. Quantifiers were either negative or positive, and had either a fixed Standard of Comparison (e.g., *most*, *less-than-half*), or a contextually determined one (e.g., *many*, *few*).

The *PPP* enabled 2 parametric analyses on the large data set obtained: correlating the intensity of the BOLD signal in different brain loci with proportion identified bilateral parieto-frontal brain circuits that participate in numerical estimation; correlating the same signal with a measure of comparison difficulty (RT), identified comparison regions which are adjacently anterior to the estimation areas in the parietal lobes and extend to the temporal lobes.

Our novel method distinguished between these 2 circuits for the first time in humans. We also localized certain aspects of quantifier calculation. We therefore not only probed the human numerical system, but also uncovered some fine semantic distinctions, as well as anatomical connections between quantification and numerosity.

In the talk, I will discuss the method, the findings, and certain resulting linguistic puzzles.

## *Where did the Derived Environment Effect go?*

SHARON INKELAS (University of California, Berkeley)

Saturday, April 9, 10:45, West Lounge

It has been widely observed that phonological alternations which are triggered in derived environments may fail to apply when the same phonological environment occurs in nonderived environments. This is especially true of phonological patterns which potentially neutralize phonological contrasts. However, the definition of what constitutes a morphologically derived environment is tricky. In the best known type of example, the trigger and target of a phonological alternation fall on opposite sides of a morpheme boundary. Phonologically derived environments are those which exist only by virtue of the application of another phonological alternation. Alternations which are conditioned in either of these two ways are often referred to as ‘derived environment effects’; the non application of such alternations morpheme internally is known as ‘non derived environment blocking’. This talk will survey the range of morphologically derived environment effects (MDEs), along with the variety of theoretical approaches taken to them over the past decades. The diversity of approaches is striking, as is the limited scope of each approach. This talk will raise the question of whether derived environment effects really constitute an internally uniform and distinct natural class of phenomena, or whether the so-called derived environment condition is simply a scattering of points in the larger pattern of morphologically conditioned phonology.

## *A corpus phonetic study of California English*

KEITH JOHNSON (University of California, Berkeley)

Friday, April 8, 10:45, West Lounge

In May, 2011, the in-coming class at UC Berkeley (~3000 students) will be invited to contribute several audio samples in a class project. This is an unprecedented opportunity to take a phonetic snap-shot of California English. This talk outlines the set of technologies that we plan to use to collect audio over the web, acoustically analyze it in real-time and present phonetic similarity, dialect map, and acoustic vowel space results to participants in dynamically-generated interactive data displays.

## *Hunting down the material conditional*

ANGELIKA KRATZER (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Friday, April 8, 15:15, West Lounge

Again and again, in the history of semantics, the brightest minds have fiercely defended material implication as the correct analysis for indicative conditionals. And, again and again, in the history of semantics, the brightest minds have fiercely opposed material implication as the correct analysis for indicative conditionals. I will show that any adequate theory of conditionals needs to provide the material implication interpretation as a possible interpretation for indicative conditionals, and I will make a suggestion about how the grammars of natural languages provide this interpretation.

## *What is a mental grammar?*

COLIN PHILLIPS (University of Maryland)

Thursday, April 7, 15:15, West Lounge

Standard generative grammars describe language in terms that appear distant from considerations of everyday, real-time language processes. To some this is a critical flaw, while to others this is a clear virtue. Generative grammars are typically framed as theories of speakers’ task-independent knowledge of their language, and these are understood to be distinct from theories of how specific communicative tasks might put that knowledge to use. Set against this background are a number of recent proposals that various linguistic phenomena can be better understood in terms of grammars that incrementally assemble structures in (roughly) the same left-to-right order found in language use. One can evaluate these proposals based simply on standard considerations of ‘descriptive adequacy’. But it is also natural to ask how left-to-right

derivations impact the psychological commitments of grammatical theories. Are they procedural descriptions of how speakers put together sentences in real time (either in comprehension or in production)? Do they amount to a retreat from linguists' traditional agnosticism about 'performance mechanisms'? These are questions about what a grammatical theory is a theory of, and they are the proverbial elephant in the room in discussions of derivational order in syntax, although the issues have not been explored in much detail. In this talk I will summarize the current state of some of the evidence for and against grammars as models of real-time processes, drawing on a variety of findings by our group and others.

### *Affix Support and the EPP*

NORVIN RICHARDS (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Saturday, April 9, 15:15, West Lounge

Some languages are generally described as having classic EPP effects, while others lack them:

- (1) *There arrived a man*
- (2) *É arrivato un uomo* [Italian]  
AUX arrived a man

In this talk I will propose a universal condition on affixes, which derives the distribution of EPP effects. The condition makes crucial reference to the word-internal metrical structure responsible for the placement of word stress; part of the goal of the talk will be to explore the consequences of this proposal for the architecture of the grammar.

# Papers

## *On being and becoming P and plumb P*

NATASHA ABNER (University of California, Los Angeles)

Thursday, April 7, 17:30, West Lounge

The adverbial modifier *plumb*, as used in dialects across the Southern and Southwestern parts of the United States, makes an interpretive contribution either to the degree interpretation of a predicate or the expressed expectations of the speaker. As a degree modifier, *plumb* is compatible with degree predicates of distinct syntactic categories, providing further evidence for the notion of ontological symmetry between events and individuals (Bach 1986; Krifka 1990, 1992; among others). While the possible interpretations of *plumb* appear to vary, it is argued here that *plumb* makes a uniform semantic contribution: *plumb* presupposes that its degree argument exceeds the standard associated with the base predicate and asserts, moreover, that this degree exceeds the standard associated with *plumb*. This distinguishes it both from other overt degree modifiers (e.g., *very*, *completely*) and silent degree morphemes like *pos* (Cresswell 1976, Kennedy 1999) or *Eval* (Rett 2008). The analysis extends straightforwardly to the behavior of *plumb* in degree achievements and confirms previous claims regarding the role of scalar structure in degree achievement predicates and economy of scalar interpretations (Hay et al. 1999; Kearns 2007; Kennedy 2007; Kennedy and Levin 2008).

## *Preposition doubling in (Belgian) Dutch dialects*

LOBKE AELBRECHT (GIST, Ghent University)

MARCEL DEN DIKKEN (City University of New York Graduate Center)

Saturday, April 9, 13:30, West Lounge

This paper explores previously unnoticed P doubling in certain Flemish dialects, which display circumpositions with an identical preposition and postposition:

- (1) *dat hij op dem berg is op geklommen.* [Asse Dutch]  
that he on the mountain is on climbed  
'that he has climbed up on the mountain.'

P doubling occurs only with spatial directional PPs, not with selected (2a) or locative (2b) ones.

- (2) a. *Will zou nooit in die sprookjes (\*in) geloven.*  
Will would never in those fairytales in believe  
'Will would never believe in those fairytales.'
- b. *Hij springt in het water in.*  
he jumps in the water in  
Directional: 'He jumps into the water.'  
#Locative: 'He jumps up and down in the water.'

Secondly, in doubling PPs the preposition and the object can undergo movement to the exclusion of the postposition, shown for topicalization in (3).

- (3) *Op dienen berg <\*op> klimt hij niet <op>.*  
on that.MASC mountain on climbs he not on  
'He's not climbing up on that mountain.'

Thirdly, dialects that allow for P doubling also display the sequence "P pronoun P V", with the pronoun in situ (4a), next to Standard Dutch "R-pronoun P V" in (4b):

- (4) a. *op iets op klimmen*                      b. *ergens op klimmen*  
       on something on climb                         somewhere on climb  
       ‘to climb onto something’                   ‘to climb onto something’

We capture these properties by adapting Den Dikken’s (2006) structure for (Standard Dutch) circumpositions:

- (5) [PP P<sub>Dir</sub>=*op* [CP C\*<sup>[Place]</sup> [DegP Deg<sup>[Place]</sup> [PlaceP Place [PP P<sub>Loc</sub>=*op* DP=*den berg* ]]]]]

### *Syllabification, sonority, and segmentation: Evidence from word-spotting*

JASON BISHOP (University of California, Los Angeles)

KRISTEN TODA (University of California, Los Angeles)

Thursday, April 7, 9:30, East Lounge

A key claim in the literature is that a speech segmentation strategy guided by syllable structure is unlikely in a stress-timed language like English, since syllable boundaries are often unclear and stress patterns provide better cues to likely word boundaries. In the present study, we used the word-spotting paradigm to explore English listeners’ sensitivity to an aspect of syllable structure not yet tested in on-line segmentation experiments: sonority. Based on off-line, explicit syllabification studies, we hypothesized that English listeners segmentations might exhibit the following structural preference: given a sequence /...VCV.../, listeners are more likely to choose the parse V.CV if C is an obstruent, and more likely to choose a VC.V parse if it is a sonorant. 29 listeners were presented with 50 bisyllabic vowel-initial target words (e.g., *absent*) embedded in nonsense strings. Target words were immediately preceded by a syllable ending in an obstruent or a sonorant. For example, listeners had to spot targets such as *absent* in the string *veebabsent*, and also in the string *veemabsent*. Results of mixed-effects regression modeling indicated that listeners spotted target words more quickly and more accurately when they followed sonorants, reflecting a bias towards VC.V parsings of intervocalic sonorants (i.e., *veem.absent*) but V.CV parsings of obstruents (*vee.babsent*). Evidence was also obtained suggesting sonority had a gradient effect on parses. These results demonstrate an effect on spoken word segmentation that is difficult to account for without making reference to syllable-based influences, a fact which models of word segmentation and recognition must account for.

### *Acquiring sociolinguistic difference: Gender and age in a Chicago elementary school*

RICHARD CAMERON (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Thursday, April 7, 13:30, East Lounge

A characteristic of children’s social orders is relative gender segregation. Girls play more with girls and boys with boys. This practice emerges around the age of two, peaks in middle childhood, and decreases during adolescence. Thus, as children move through elementary school, many increasingly segregate themselves along lines of gender. If children separate into same-gender peer groups, their interactions across the gender line will not be as frequent as interactions with members of the same sex. If less frequent, in keeping with Bloomfield’s assertion (1933:46) that “density of communication” results in the “most important differences of speech” within a community, one may predict that statistical differences would emerge progressively among girls and boys. Specifically, if the degree of separation between girls and boys sequentially increases during pre-adolescence, the frequencies of variants of sociolinguistic variables expressed by girls and by boys would also sequentially diverge. We investigate this prediction with two sociolinguistic variables, (dh) and (ing), in the English spoken by children from one inner-city public school in Chicago. The prediction is supported. The results parallel findings in Cameron (2010) in a school in Oak Park, Illinois, Wolf & Jiménez (1979) in Buenos Aires, and Kerswill & Williams (2000) in Milton Keynes, England. By combining findings from social psychology with a principle of dialect formation, we can predict and provide a coherent account of how age and gender interact in the acquisition of statistical gender differences, a widely documented finding in variationist sociolinguistics.

## *A dependency structure perspective on complexity of natural language*

JOAN CHEN-MAIN (University of Pennsylvania)

ARAVIND K. JOSHI (University of Pennsylvania)

Friday, April 8, 10:00, East Lounge

Within generative approaches to grammar, characterizing the complexity of natural language has traditionally been couched in terms of formal language theory (e.g. Shieber, 1985, Culy, 1985, Joshi, 1985). A novel perspective of generative grammars, however, provides a different metric of complexity.

Recently, Kuhlmann (2007) and collaborators have connected the generative grammar approach with the dependency grammar approach, where linguistic analysis is based on word-to-word relationships. In particular, two properties that are naturally defined over dependency structures, *gap degree* (a measure of discontinuity) and *well-* vs. *ill-nestedness* (whether interleaving substructures are permitted) carve out classes of structures that are systematically related to the derivations of generative grammars. The question of complexity of natural language can now be recast in dependency structure terms: Does natural language include structures that are unavoidably ill-nested and/or unavoidably gap degree  $> 1$ ?

We use German and Czech examples to answer both questions in the affirmative. We examine a German construction with a *dafür*-split, a German construction that involves both extraposition and a split quantifier, and a Czech comparative and claim that any reasonable dependency structure assigned to these will result in ill-nested structures. Similarly, we claim that a German construction with a *what-for*-split and a Czech construction with a passive and topicalization will require gap degree 2 structures. We conclude that ill-nestedness and a gap degree  $> 1$  are indeed unavoidable linguistic realities and that a grammar formalism on the right track for characterizing natural language should be able to support such dependency structures.

## *Appositives after all: Reevaluating Mandarin relative clauses*

NOAH CONSTANT (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Thursday, April 7, 14:00, West Lounge

Non-restrictive or “appositive” relative clauses convey supplementing information about the phrase they attach to, along a separate dimension of meaning (Potts 2005). While English appositives are identifiable by comma intonation (e.g. *Mary, who is a doctor*), diagnosing appositivity in other languages can be non-trivial. In this talk, I argue for the existence of prenominal appositive relative clauses in Mandarin. This finding is remarkable given claims by Del Gobbo (2003, 2005) that Mandarin lacks appositives, and subsequent claims by Potts (2005) and De Vries (2006) that prenominal appositives are ruled out cross-linguistically.

Elicited data show Mandarin clauses passing three appositivity tests, contra Del Gobbo’s findings—the presupposition test, the root adverb test, and the singleton anchor test. However other traditional diagnostics give the opposite result, including Jackendoff’s (1977) generalizations that appositives may anchor to non-nominals, and occur further from the noun than restrictives. While the successful tests derive from a core semantic notion of appositives as supplements, I show that Jackendoff’s tests diagnose not appositivity, but syntactic integration, following Cinque (2008).

More recently, Del Gobbo (2009) classifies a subset of Mandarin clauses modifying names as “appositive”, but maintains they are unlike the appositives of other languages: contributing at-issue meaning, and open to binding from above. However two additional semantic tests confirm that Mandarin appositives are true appositives, conveying conventional implicature meaning (see Potts 2005). The illusion that these clauses can contain bound pronouns is familiar from English cases of telescoping, and disappears with the use of a downward-entailing quantifier.

## *Towards a unification of person splits*

JESSICA COON (Harvard University)

OMER PREMINGER (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Saturday, April 9, 17:30, West Lounge

Different phenomena are known to exhibit sensitivity to the *person/animacy* (P/A) features of clausal arguments. One example is P/A-based split-ergativity. While individual languages exhibiting such patterns differ in where along Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy the split occurs, there is a universal trend for DPs lower on the hierarchy to trigger the ergative pattern, and ones that are higher to trigger the nominative pattern. Another example of grammatical sensitivity to P/A features is auxiliary selection in Romance. In certain Romance dialects, auxiliary alternations are constrained by P/A features of the subject (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, Manzini & Savoia 2007). D&R show that in Abruzzese Italian, 1st/2nd-person subjects trigger *be*, while 3rd-person subjects trigger *have*.

Building on Coon's (2010) account of aspect-based split ergativity, we argue that person splits arise when structural factors conspire to place the subject and object in separate case/agreement domains. In this scenario, ergative is not assigned because the subject is the only DP in its domain. For person-based split-ergativity, we assume that higher-ranked arguments on the person hierarchy must be licensed by an appropriate projection (Béjar & Rezac's 2003 *PLC*; see also Anagnostopoulou 2003); and that the phasehood of this projection causes the aforementioned bifurcation of the clause into two case/agreement domains. With respect to auxiliary selection, this same phase boundary blocks incorporation into *be* (Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993), preventing *have* from arising in the presence of 1st/2nd person.

## *Syntactic satiation in subject islands*

JEAN CRAWFORD (University of Connecticut)

Friday, April 8, 14:30, West Lounge

The nature of the syntactic satiation effect, or increase in acceptability of certain ungrammatical types over time, is a topic of debate. Snyder (2000) claims that satiation is a property inherent to some violations and not others. Sprouse (2009) suggests that satiation effects are a result of an equalization response strategy and does not find significant satiation for any violation tested. Yet, Francom (2009) finds significant satiation of *whether* islands even with a balanced design. In this paper, I provide further evidence that satiation can occur with a balanced design.

For accounts that tie satiation to specific violation types, what is predicted for subject islands (SI's)? The satiation results for SI's have been more variable than other violations. One reason may be that previous studies did not control for type of SI. 22 Native English speakers participated in a Likert acceptability task. Test items included *whether* and adjunct islands, and three types of SIs: transitive, unaccusative and unergative. All SI items were NPs extracted from PPs. Items were presented in a 7 block design, with 5 test items and 5 grammatical filler items per block.

Subjects' responses to test items were standardized based on their mean response to filler items. Satiation was determined by comparing the *z*-score responses in Block 7 with responses in Block 1. We found significant satiation of *whether* islands ( $t(21) = 2.23, p < .05$ ), and no satiation of adjunct islands ( $t(21) = 1.45, p = .16$ ). None of the SI types showed satiation effects (all  $p > .2$ ).

## *Analytic bias in phonology is domain general*

MARC ETTLINGER (Northwestern University)

Friday, April 8, 17:30, East Lounge

The present study argues that cognitive or analytic biases in phonology reflect domain general principles, are not specific to language, and therefore are not properties of Universal Grammar as it is traditionally defined. In particular, we show that the biases for vowel harmony over vowel-consonant dependencies (Moreton, 2008) and for perceptual similarity as a factor in generalization of palatalization (Wilson, 2006) are present



for non-speech acoustic stimulus. We replicate both of these previous studies with linguistic stimulus and show a vowel harmony and voicing-agreement bias, as compared to a vowel-consonant dependency (Moreton, 2008) and a bias to generalize velar palatalization from mid vowels to high vowels and not vice versa. We then repeat the same procedure using non-linguistic stimulus. The results show that the same biases for linguistic stimulus are present in the non-linguistic stimulus, which suggests that the biases are not specific to phonology, or language, but represent domain-general analytic biases. We argue that this supports the view that diachrony is the main source of substantive patterns in language (Blevins, 2004) and that previously identified analytic biases are the correlate of domain-general properties of cognition. We conclude by speculating that the domain-general biases of phonology reflect principles of Auditory Scene Analysis (Bregman, 1990), the process by which the auditory system groups sounds into perceptually meaningful elements. These principles include similarity and proximity, which can account for harmony and similarity driving assimilation, respectively.

### *Auditory features: The case from laryngeal cooccurrence restrictions*

GILLIAN GALLAGHER (New York University)

Saturday, April 9, 16:30, East Lounge

The uniform patterning of ejectives and aspirates in the long-distance restrictions of Quechua provides support for representing these segments in terms of their shared auditory property of long voice onset time (long VOT). Cooccurrence restrictions in the language prohibit roots with pairs of ejectives, pairs of aspirates or ejective-aspirate pairs, requiring that the phonology refer to some feature that group ejectives and aspirates as a class. The feature [long VOT] allows for an account of the absence of ejective-aspirate pairs, as well as the uniform patterning of ejectives and aspirates more generally. An acoustic study of Quechua supports the proposal that the unifying and defining property of ejectives and aspirates is a comparably long VOT.

It is further shown that the range of cooccurrence restrictions cross-linguistically always restrict a class of segments that share a single articulatory or auditory/acoustic dimension, and thus enriching representations to include both kinds of information is further motivated. The idea that phonological patterns reflect auditory properties builds on the work of Flemming (1995) and Steriade (1997). Steriade shows that articulatorily similar sounds may pattern independently due to distinct auditory properties. The work here extends the role of auditory features by proposing a new feature, [long VOT], and showing that auditory features may unify articulatory disparate sounds like ejectives and aspirates.

### *Scope and epistemic judgment: An experimental investigation of Greek indefinites*

ANASTASIA GIANNAKIDOU (University of Chicago)

DESPOINA PAPADOPOULOU (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

MELITA STAVROU (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki)

Saturday, April 9, 10:00, West Lounge

In this paper, we assess experimentally the scopal behavior of two indefinite series in Greek: the *a*-indefinite (*enas* “a/one”) and the SOME-indefinite (*kapjos* “some”). Although most of the current literature on the scope of indefinites takes indefinites to behave undifferentially with respect to scope we find an asymmetry in scoping between peripheral scope positions (wide and narrow) and intermediate scope. In the peripheral scope position, the *a*-indefinite tends to be interpreted with wide scope, whereas the SOME indefinite strongly prefers narrow scope (*pace* Ionin 2010 where *a*-indefinites are found to be disallowed with long distance readings). Both *enas* and *kapjos* scope easily in the intermediate position; and judgements for intermediate scope for both indefinites are generally easier than judgements for the peripheral scopes. Our overall findings suggest that the processing of an indefinite in the intermediate position may be qualitatively different from the processing of scope in the periphery. Given that the SOME-indefinite is a referentially vague (Giannakidou and Quer 2010) indefinite that carries a felicity condition of variation, what we find suggests that scopal behavior is not blind to epistemic judgement.

## *Referential vagueness and negative polarity: Evidence from Greek and Korean*

ANASTASIA GIANNAKIDOU (University of Chicago)

SUWON YOON (University of Chicago / Cornell University)

Friday, April 8, 9:30, West Lounge

Our goal in this paper is to distinguish *referentially vague* (Giannakidou and Quer 2010) from free choice indefinites (FCIs). The two have often been confused (as e.g. in the analysis of German *irgendein* of Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002). We show first that referentially vague indefinites can be negative polarity items (NPIs) and identify two such series: the *tipota* series (Greek), and *nwuku-ilato* (Korean). We then show that these NPIs occur in the broad range of nonveridical contexts including questions, imperatives, modal verbs, directive and future oriented propositional attitudes (Giannakidou 1998, 1999). We establish the following properties of referentially vague NPIs: (a) unlike scalar NPIs, and FCIs (which have distinct lexicalizations in both languages), referentially vague NPIs produce *weak*, attenuating, statements wherever they occur, including negation; (b) unlike FCIs, referentially vague NPIs do not exhaustify the domain; they are merely indicators of the speaker's uncertainty, and simply require *some* variation in the domain; (c) although, at least in Korean, they are EVEN-marked (*ilato*), referentially vague NPIs are not scalar and do not make us look at bottoms or tops of scales, thus suggesting that focus marking is not always an indicator of active focus. These findings jointly implicate that (i) it is necessary to acknowledge that NPIs are not always scalar or emphatic (*pace* Chierchia 2006); and (ii) referential vagueness, an instance of referential deficiency (Giannakidou 1998), is an ingredient crucial in producing NPIs.

## *What phonotactics might not be*

KYLE GORMAN (University of Pennsylvania)

Saturday, April 9, 17:00, East Lounge

A number of recent studies (e.g., Anttila 2008, Coetzee & Pater 2008) have argued that gradient phonotactic patterns play an active role in shaping the contents of the synchronic lexicon. This study presents evidence in support of the competing null hypothesis (Halle 1962), that patterns of phonotactic gaps are simply the result of two independently-motivated facts: phonological processes which eliminate out certain output sequences on one hand, and chance and historical contingency on the other.

Previous accounts of English syllable contact clusters (e.g., Pierrehumbert 1994, Hammond 1999, Duanmu 2009) have noted that only a small portion of the possible syllable contact clusters are attested in the English lexicon, and these authors account for these patterns with phonotactic “preferences” that go beyond attested phonological alternations in English. However, these studies have not distinguished between gaps due to neutralization and those attributed to putative phonotactic preferences. A corpus study is used to evaluate the relative contribution of these two potential causes of gaps. Unseen species estimation techniques, and stochastic simulation, show that the unaccounted-for gaps are accounted for as nothing more than the result of sampling from sparse data. In contrast, several models of phonotactic well-formedness (Coleman & Pierrehumbert 1997, Hayes & Wilson 2008, McGowan in press) are found to have little utility in predicting which syllable contact clusters are, and are not, attested. Contrary to prior claims, there is no evidence for phonotactic preferences operating in this corner of the English lexicon.

## *Constraints on predication*

PETER GRAFF (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

JEREMY HARTMAN (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Saturday, April 9, 14:30, East Lounge

We propose a novel constraint on the denotations of lexical predicates in natural language. Informally, the constraint states that the only individuals that must be considered to evaluate the truth of a saturated predicate are the individuals identified by that predicate's arguments. After identifying a connection to Keenan and Stavi's (1986) *Conservativity*, we introduce and formalize our broader constraint, which we term

*Myopia*. We show that this constraint successfully rules out several classes of conceivable but unattested denotations for predicates of other types. (E.g., just as there are no natural language determiners like *all-non* such that  $\llbracket \textit{All-non students are tall} \rrbracket = \text{“All individuals that are not students are tall”}$ , there are no transitive verbs such as *like-non* such that  $\llbracket \textit{John likes-non students} \rrbracket = \text{“John likes (all) individuals that are not students”}$ ). Finally, we show that Myopia applied to determiners produces a weaker constraint than Conservativity, but we argue that this is a welcome result, in light of a recent artificial learning study (Graff et al., submitted) which finds that learning of novel determiners is subject to significant independent effects of both constraints.

## *Variation in negation and quantifier scope judgments in Korean*

CHUNG-HYE HAN (Simon Fraser University)

JEFFREY LIDZ (University of Maryland)

DENNIS RYAN STOROSHENKO (Yale University)

Saturday, April 9, 9:30, West Lounge

Korean has two forms of negation: long negation and short negation. Linguists have used judgments on scope interaction between object quantified phrase (QP) and negation to determine the syntactic height of negation and the verb in Korean. However, the scope judgments reported in the literature often conflict with one another (Cho 1975, Song 1982, Suh 1989, Hagstrom 1998, 2002, Baek 1998, Kim 2000, Kim 2002), raising doubts as to the utility of such data for conclusions about clause structure. Han, Lidz and Musolino (2007), however, showed experimentally that the variation in judgment exists between speakers and not within a speaker. They thus concluded that there are two groups of speakers of Korean, and attribute this split to the co-existence of two grammars concerning the height of the verb in the population: the  $\text{neg} > \text{Q}$  reading is available only to speakers with a verb-raising grammar. This two-grammar hypothesis makes two additional predictions. First, an individual speaker should exhibit the same scope judgments for both types of negation. This prediction follows because for both constructions the height of the verb determines the scope of negation in the same way. Second, if an individual speaker maintains only one grammar, then he should exhibit the same scope judgment over time. We show that both predictions are borne out in a within-subjects experiment using the Truth Value Judgment Task.

## There are several positions available: *English intermediate subject positions*

WILL HARWOOD (GIST, Ghent University)

Saturday, April 9, 17:00, West Lounge

*Floating Quantifiers* (FQs) may precede and follow almost all auxiliaries (cf. (1)a). They may be stranded in these positions by the subjects to which they were adjoined (Sportiche, 1988). FQs thus mark subject traces. It is predicted therefore that FQs should be able to follow all auxiliaries, as well as the main verb itself (when associated with derived subjects). This prediction is not borne out (cf. (1)b,c):

- (1) a. We could <all> have <all> been <all> running a marathon by now.
- b. We could be <all> being <\*all> watched <\*all>.
- c. They were <all> being <\*all> idiots.

*Existential constructions* supposedly mark the base position of the subject: the subject (associate) is merged internal to vP, and cannot raise to the canonical subject position due to merger of expletive *there* (cf. (2)a). It is predicted therefore that associates should be able to follow all auxiliaries, as well as the main verb itself (when it is a derived associate). This prediction is not borne out (cf. (2)b,c):

- (2) a. There were many people running.
- b. There were <many people> being <\*many people> watched <\*many people>.
- c. There were <many people> being <\*many people> idiots.

The similar distribution pattern for derived associates and FQs requires a unified explanation.

The analysis will claim that English  $v^\circ$  is not an intermediate phase head, though  $\text{Asp}_{\text{prog}}^\circ$  is; and that raising to the edge of the phase is the last operation to occur within a phasal domain. These two main claims should capture the relevant orderings.

### *The acoustic correlates of question signaling in Peninsular Spanish: Three sentence types compared*

NICHOLAS C. HENRIKSEN (Northern Illinois University)

Saturday, April 9, 9:30, East Lounge

van Heuven & Haan (2000; 2002) express the relative prosodic marking of question intent with respect to the continuum of lexico-syntactic devices available for use in question marking. The prediction is that prosodic marking should be weaker in wh-questions (WHQ) than in declarative questions (DQ) since the former use a wh-word and syntactic inversion to signal question intent, whereas the latter do not. In the current analysis we test this prediction by examining five question contours (in addition to one statement contour) produced by 16 speakers of Peninsular Spanish: DQ early rise; DQ late rise; WHQ final rise; WHQ early fall; and WHQ late fall. The acoustic measurements were: baseline slope; speech rate (syllables/sec); stressed syllable duration; and utterance duration. Results showed that, in terms of the baseline slope, all question contours except the DQ late rise significantly differed from the statement contour. As for speech rate and syllable duration, the DQ early rise and the WHQ early fall were not significantly different from one another, as they were the fastest of the six contours on speech rate and the shortest on stressed syllable duration. Similarly, the DQ late rise, WHQ final rise, and WHQ late fall were not found to significantly differ from one another on the same measurements (i.e., they were the slowest and longest). Clearly, speech rate and syllable duration differences were not related to sentence type, and this would run counter to the predictions made in van Heuven & Haan (2000; 2002).

### *Semantic flexibility in message formulation during online production*

YU-CHI HUANG (University of Southern California)

ELSI KAISER (University of Southern California)

Friday, April 8, 14:00, East Lounge

During sentence production, speakers initially formulate preverbal messages which later undergo grammatical encoding (Bock & Levelt, 1994). Our study investigated the effects of **semantic flexibility**—having a choice of two propositions—on message formulation. Existing work (V. Ferreira 1996) investigated effects of **syntactic flexibility**—having a choice of two structures—on grammatical encoding. He concluded that syntactic flexibility *facilitates* grammatical encoding, because syntactic flexibility makes maximally incremental production possible. However, little is known about *whether having options on the level of message formulation facilitates/hinders production*, assuming message formulation may not be temporally organized. We conducted two sentence production tasks using Mandarin BA/BEI-constructions, testing agent-theme(**AgThe**) and theme-experiencer(**TheExp**) verbs respectively to see whether effects of semantic flexibility depend on **verb-type**. Participants saw a verb, two nouns, and BA/BEI/no preposition. We manipulated (i) *Noun Animacy* (Animate-Animate: Same-Animacy=SA)//Inanim-Animate: Different-Animacy=DA), and (ii) *Preposition constraint* (BA/BEI/nothing). Crucially, semantic flexibility exists in SA conditions (i.e., freedom in thematic role assignment because speakers could say *the director criticized the actress* or *the actress criticized the director*); syntactic flexibility is conditioned by preposition-presence. Production latencies revealed that with **AgThe-verbs**, [+SemFlex] hinders production because two animates compete for the AGENT role. However, with **TheExp-verbs**, since an animate noun can plausibly be THEME *or* EXP, [+SemFlex] facilitates production, paralleling the incrementality-based facilitative effect of syntactic flexibility (V. Ferreira 1996). As a whole, our findings suggest semantic flexibility based on animacy can *hinder or facilitate production, depending on verb-type/thematic-structure*. Whether message formulation is *competitive or incremental* is highly sensitive to linguistic information.

## *Rescuing manner/result complementary from certain death*

E. MATTHEW HUSBAND (University of South Carolina)

Thursday, April 7, 14:30, West Lounge

An important question concerning lexical semantics is what constraints, if any, the grammar imposes on the possible meanings of words. One constraint argued for is Rappaport-Hovav & Levin's (2010) manner/result complementary hypothesis: "A verbal root can only encode either a manner meaning or a result meaning, but not both". This constraint has recently come under empirical scrutiny in Koontz-Garboden & Beavers (2010). They argue that *manner of death* verbs, like *behead*, *electrocute*, *hang*, *strangle*, etc., encode both a manner and a result meaning, a possibility at odds with manner/result complementary. A point of debate, however, concerns whether these verbs do indeed express both a manner and result meaning, and what the types of meaning expressed by the manner and result components of these verbs are. After observing that only a subset of these verbs truly express both manner and result meanings, I argue that *manner of death* verbs assert their manner, but presuppose their result. In light of this behavior, I claim that *manner of death* verbs clarify the manner/result complementary hypothesis, revealing that manner/result complementary acts as a constraint on the asserted meaning of verbal roots and demonstrating that the distinction between asserted and presupposed meaning is key to understanding the constraints on word meanings more generally.

## *Japanese Women's Language: Beyond Tokyo*

SAKIKO KAJINO (Georgetown University)

Thursday, April 7, 14:30, East Lounge

The ideology of Japanese Women's Language (JWL) emerged at the end of the 19th century when the Tokyo variety was adapted as the national standard (Inoue 2006; Nakamura 2008). To date, despite much scholarship on JWL, most research has discussed only the variety of the Tokyo metropolitan area and overlooked other regional dialects. This paper, part of a larger study on regional variation in JWL, investigates the Kyoto and Osaka varieties in addition to that of Tokyo. I show that the conventional ideology of JWL, with origins in Tokyo, fails to explain patterns in other regions.

This study investigates the use of phrase-ending forms in archival data from the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, collected between 1977 and 1983. Speakers range in age from 49 to 79 years old. All phrase endings (N = 4,508) were coded for their realization and collapsed into four categories (masculine, feminine, null, and other). A series of mixed effects logistic regressions on factors influencing the use of each category were conducted with Rbrul (Johnson 2008).

Results show that while patterns for Tokyo speakers are consistent with the conventional gendered language ideology, patterns from Osaka challenge the traditional ideology, with women favoring forms traditionally labeled masculine. The reverse pattern in the Osaka data reveals a limitation of conceptualizing linguistic practice in a single dimension (i.e. gender). Furthermore, the contrast between the Osaka and Kyoto, which are geographically adjacent, suggests that locally-based ideologies should be taken into consideration in the sociolinguistic study of Japanese Women's Language.

## *Unresolved positionings: Constructing identities in second/third generation immigrant discourse*

NEŞE KAYA (Boğaziçi University)

Thursday, April 7, 14:00, East Lounge

After the Lausanne Treaty in 1923, a compulsory population exchange took place between Greece and Turkey. This study aims to analyze identity construction of second and third generation immigrants from Crete to Cunda through discourse analysis looking at linguistic strategies used by them and also to reveal the situational, social and contextual processes that influenced and framed their identity formation. The study focuses on the ethnic identity claims and the cultural/social attributes used to construct these ethnic identities. The representation of the migration experience and how participants position themselves in

relation to migration experience is also the focus of the study.

The data for this study come from 13-hour recordings of semi-structured interviews with 11 second or third generation immigrants settled in Cunda for a larger project called “Preservation of linguistic heritage: Asia Minor (Anadolu) Greek and its interaction with Turkish”.

The study shows that participants position themselves as both Cretan and Turkish portraying continuously set up oppositions and ambivalence between these identities. The ambivalence the participants present is not limited to the construction of ethnic identities but also observed in the representation of the migration experience as both “gönüllü” (voluntary) and “zorunlu” (forced) and participants’ (de)personalization of the migration experience.

### *Contrastive focus and paycheck pronouns*

EZRA KESHET (University of Michigan)

Thursday, April 7, 13:30, West Lounge

Paycheck pronouns are often analyzed as complexes  $f(i)$  where  $f$  is a contextually salient relation and  $i$  is a bound variable (see Karttunen 1969, Heim 1990, Jacobson 1977, 2000). In (1), *it* means  $f(i)$  where  $f$  is the relation between an employee and her paycheck, and  $i$  is a variable bound by *everyone else*. This analysis overgenerates in WCO environments, though. If *it* in (2a) really contained a bound variable, (2a) should sound as odd as (2b), which contains an overt bound variable. Another problem with this analysis is that it misses the generalization (motivated by data such as (3)) that all paycheck pronouns appear in contrastive contexts.

This paper instead analyzes paycheck pronouns as resulting from strong parallelism constraints on contrastive contexts, the same constraints that require *he* in (4) to refer to John. Rooth’s (1992) focus operator can enforce this same parallelism between the VPs in (1), forcing *it* to refer to the subject’s paycheck.

- (1) John<sub>*i*</sub> [VP deposited his<sub>*i*</sub> paycheck in the bank].  
[Everyone else]<sub>*j*</sub> [VP deposited it in the credit union].
- (2) The man whose surgery cured him is happier than the man<sub>*j*</sub> whom<sub>*j*</sub> ...
  - a. ...it paralyzed  $t_j$  for life.
  - b. ?? ...his<sub>*j*</sub> surgery paralyzed  $t_j$  for life.
- (3) ?The man who had his surgery on Tuesday, was happier than the man who had it on his foot.  
(cf. ... who had it on Thursday).
- (4) The car John bought was nicer than the car he sold.

### *A superlative reading for most<sub>prop</sub>*

HADAS KOTEK (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

YASUTADA SUDO (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

EDWIN HOWARD (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

MARTIN HACKL (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Friday, April 8, 14:30, East Lounge

**The Study.** We provide new experimental evidence for analyzing *most<sub>prop</sub>* as a superlative construction, (2). The evidence comes in the form of a latent superlative reading that speakers access when verifying sentences such as (1) relative to dot arrays that vary in the number of colors that they contain. This reading is unexpected by the competing proposal in (3).

- (1) Most of the dots are blue

- (2)  $\llbracket \text{most} \rrbracket(A)(B) = 1$  iff  $\exists X[*A(X) \ \& \ *B(X) \ \& \ \forall Y \in C[Y \neq X \rightarrow |X| > |Y|]]$   
 $C = *A$  (by default) (Hackl 2009)
- (3)  $\llbracket \text{most} \rrbracket(A)(B) = 1$  iff  $|A \cap B| > |A| - |A \cap B|$  (Lidz et al, in press)
- (4)  $\llbracket \text{more than half} \rrbracket(A)(B) = 1$  iff  $|A \cap B| > 1/2|A|$

(2), derived compositionally from a superlative analysis for *most*, predicts that the verification of (1) is more sensitive to the number of colors in the array than a baseline provided by *more than half*, (4). Contrastively, (3) predicts that they are equally insensitive.

**Results and Discussion.** We observe a *Truth*  $\times$  *#Colors* interaction in accuracy rates for *most* ( $p < 0.05$ ) but not for *more than half*. We argue that the interaction is due to participants responding *True* when  $|A \cap B|$  is greater than the cardinality of each salient subset of  $A - B$  even when  $|A \cap B| < |A - B|$ , i.e. when participants interpret (1) as superlative with the comparison class  $C$  partitioned according to color. Support comes from a post-hoc analysis of reaction times, which reveals a split between participants who interpret (1) superlatively and participants who interpret it proportionally.

## Global optimality in Japanese mimetic voicing

KAZUTAKA KURISU (Kobe College)

Saturday, April 9, 17:30, East Lounge

Exploring morphophonological mimetic voicing in Japanese, I argue that global optimality assumed in classic OT is superior to serial local optimization maintained in Harmonic Serialism and OT-CC. Gradualness and harmonic ascent are two hallmarks of these two derivational theories. Gradualness dictates that GEN may apply at most one phonological change at once. Moreover, harmonic ascent requires every derivational step to improve harmony with respect to a given constraint ranking.

Japanese mimetic voicing is morphophonological in the sense that it is associated with negative connotations such as dullness and coarseness. This voicing phenomenon usually targets the initial consonant of a mimetic root (e.g., /kata-kata/ > [gata-gata] ‘rattling’). In addition to a root-initial consonant, a root-medial consonant undergoes voicing when it is /p/ (e.g., /tapu-tapu/ > [dabu-dabu] ‘baggy’). This voicing of medial /p/ is best viewed as emergence of the unmarked.

In classic OT, gradualness is not required, so fell swoop voicing of two root consonants may take place in examples like [dabu-dabu]. It turns out that such examples are not handled with Harmonic Serialism and OT-CC even though several analytical possibilities exist. The problem with these two derivational theories is that any gradual attempt to generate correct outputs is barred by harmonic ascent. Harmonic ascent is a key property of Harmonic Serialism and OT-CC, so the problem stems from their fundamental architectures. I conclude that Japanese mimetic voicing offers evidence for global optimality maintained in classic OT.

## Making the first step correct in syntax: Evidence from Emirati Arabic sluicing

TOMMI LEUNG (United Arab Emirates University)

AAMNA SHEMEILI (United Arab Emirates University)

Friday, April 8, 16:30, West Lounge

Emirati Arabic has two types of wh-questions, i.e. wh-fronting derived by movement, and wh-cleft that is not movement-induced. It also possesses sluicing which is similar to many languages, e.g. *John yashrab shaj, bas maa ‘arf shuu* ‘John 3sg.drink something, but not 1sg.know what’. Emirati Arabic Sluicing (EAS) can be analyzed by TP-deletion at PF as proposed by Merchant (2001). This is supported by the fact that in EAS, island constraints as interface conditions are not observed. EAS presents the following puzzle, i.e. is the underlying source of sluicing wh-fronting or wh-cleft? Merchant called the latter strategy ‘pseudosluicing’. Applying Merchant’s diagnostic to distinguish between sluicing and pseudosluicing, EAS allows both as the underlying sources. The choice is not random, but depends on (i) the PF of the antecedent clause (e.g. Merger

vs. Sprouting), and (ii) the semantic interpretation of EAS. The dual-source approach to EAS suggests that syntax does not freely generate offending structures (i.e. wh-fronting) for PF-repair (cf. Boeckx 2003, Sato 2009). Syntax makes sure that numerations are ‘carefully’ selected to avoid potential crash. The structural description in which sluicing functions as PF-repair is ad-hoc and should not be entertained seriously, i.e. (i) if the antecedent clause contains an island constraint and wh-dependency across the island, and (ii) Sprouting. That the licensing condition of EAS relies upon the PF of the antecedent clause also casts doubt on Merchant’s Preposition Stranding Generalization, which says that morphosyntactic constraints (e.g. preposition stranding) continue to play a role in sluicing.

### *Temporal and inferential interpretation of Korean direct evidential -te-*

DONGSIK LIM (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)

Friday, April 8, 9:00, West Lounge

Korean verbal ending *-te-* introduces the evidential implication that the speaker has direct (visual) evidence about his/her assertion. However, when used without any overt tense, the sentence with *-te-* is interpreted as past, and when used with a past or future marker *-te-* introduces the (apparent) inferential evidentiality (based on direct evidence). To solve this, I propose a lexical entry for *-te-*, which introduces the presupposition that there is a salient time *t* before the utterance time, and that the speaker at *t* has direct evidence *compatible* with *p*. I further assume that when there is no overt tense, a covert anaphoric tense is used.

This proposal explains the puzzle as follows. When *-te-* is used without any tense marker, the covert anaphoric tense is ‘anchored’ to *t* in the presupposition of *-te-*. Therefore the sentence is interpreted as past. With the past tense, since *-te-* indicates that direct evidence is only *compatible* with the assertion, *-te-* triggers the implicature that the speaker does not have stronger (direct perceptive) evidence. Thus, the speaker would not use *-te-* when (s)he has direct evidence w.r.t. the assertion, but use it only when his/her evidence is compatible with the assertion. Hence, the inferential evidentiality. Finally, with the future tense, since the speaker cannot perceive the eventuality which will occur in the future, the inferential evidentiality (based on direct evidence) is triggered. After solving the puzzle, I will also discuss some implications of the proposed entry for *-te-*.

### *A syntactic account of interrogative verbs in Kavalan*

DONG-YI LIN (University of Florida)

Friday, April 8, 14:00, West Lounge

The present study proposes a syntactic account for the derivation of interrogative verbs (IVs) in Kavalan, an Austronesian language in Taiwan. We assume that the voice markers in Kavalan are different types of verb-defining head *v*. The correlation between the transitivity of IVs and voice markers can find a natural explanation on this assumption. The syntactic similarities between a transitive ‘do.what’-question and a ‘do.how’-question can also be explained if the patient voice marker in this language is analyzed as *v*<sub>CAUSE</sub> that necessarily implies an endpoint.

This analysis can also account for the syntactic and semantic properties of *tanian* ‘where’. The use of *tanian* ‘where’ as a verb is restricted to questions about the location of the theme argument in a ditransitive event. Questions concerning the location where an event takes place cannot utilize *tanian* as a verb. The derivation of *tanian* as a verb involves a *v*P-shell structure with an implicational causal relation between the higher *v*P headed by *v*<sub>CAUSE</sub> and the lower *v*P headed by *v*<sub>BECOME</sub>. The interpretation of this *v*P-shell structure is only compatible with questions about the location of a theme argument.

Taking into account syntactic principles/constraints like Head Movement Constraint and Empty Category Principle, the proposed analysis can further predict what interrogative words can and cannot be used as verbs in Kavalan. The predictions are borne out, as illustrated by the syntactic and semantic properties of *tani* ‘how many’, *mayni* ‘which’, and *zanitiana* ‘whose’.



## *Temporal construals of relative clauses in child French*

OANA LUNGU (Université de Nantes)

Thursday, April 7, 16:30, East Lounge

I report experimental results with 4;4–7-year-old French children testing the construal of the *present* and the *imparfait* in Relative Clauses (RCs) embedded under a matrix past. The main findings show that French children (i) *reject* adult indexical construals of the *imparfait* when the RC involves “be + P(repositional) P(hrase)s”, but not when it involves “activity verbs” (ii) *allow* non-adult simultaneous construals of the *present* with “activity verbs”. I argue that the unexpected rejection of the indexical *imparfait* arises because children analyze RCs as reduced clauses (similar to Japanese *present* tensed RCs, cf. Kusumoto 1999). The “reduced clause” strategy, available with “be + PPs” but not with “activity verbs”, gives rise to a simultaneous construal, *false* in the “indexical *imparfait*” scenario. The unexpected acceptance of the *present* tensed RCs with “activity verbs” arises because children construe present as a *zero tense* (in the sense of Kratzer 1998).

Interestingly, it has been reported in the literature (Hollebrandse 2000) that Japanese children also allow non-adult simultaneous construals of the *past* in RCs, in addition to adult simultaneous construals of the present. The French and Japanese data seem to indicate that children speaking parametrically different languages pass through a stage where they have the same options for the simultaneous construals. I would like to suggest that this is due to the fact that their grammar contains *zero tenses*, in addition to indexical tenses. More work should be done in the future to investigate this conjecture.

## *Correctness of OT online algorithms on Prince and Tesar’s (2004) test cases*

GIORGIO MAGRI (Institut Jean-Nicod / École Normale Supérieure)

Friday, April 8, 9:30, East Lounge

A promotion/demotion OT online model (OTOM) for the acquisition of phonotactics works as follows: at every time, it entertains a current hypothesis of the target ranking; it receives a piece of data from the target adult language; and it slightly updates its current ranking, by promoting (demoting) winner- (loser-) preferring constraints. Typical examples are Tesar and Smolensky’s (1998) CD, Boersma’s (1997) GLA, and Magri’s (2010) variant thereof. There has been considerable analytical work addressing the issue of OTOMs’ convergence, namely whether the models only perform a finite number of updates and thus eventually settle on a final grammar; see Tesar and Smolensky (1998), Pater (2008), and Magri (2010). There has been instead little analytical work addressing OTOMs’ correctness, namely whether the final grammar entertained by the models is restrictive enough to capture the target phonotactics. As faithfulness constraints work towards the preservation of contrast and against restrictiveness, Prince and Tesar (2004) conjecture that the final ranking is correct provided that it ranks the faithfulness constraints as low as possible, compatibly with the data. Prince and Tesar furthermore single out three simple case studies where a faithfulness constraint can (and thus should) be ranked low. In this talk, I will show analytically that promotion/demotion OTOMs work fine on these three case studies. This result rests on a simple but general technique to study the current ranking (vector) entertained by an OTOM at a generic time. Further prospects for the theory of correctness of OTOMs of the acquisition of phonotactics are discussed.

## *More than one solution*

ORA MATUSHANSKY (Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS / Utrecht University / Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / Université Paris 8)

TANIA IONIN (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Friday, April 8, 17:30, West Lounge

It is well-known since at least Bresnan 1973 that the English *more* can correspond either to the synthetic comparative of *much*, or to the freestanding form of the comparative affix *-er*, with *mo*-support working analogously to *do*-support. Likewise, *than* may combine with a full or partially elided finite CP, or with a

smaller constituent (Hankamer 1973, Napoli 1983, Lechner 2001, Pancheva 2006). The so-called ‘modified numeral’ *more than five children* (Barwise and Cooper 1981, Krifka 1999, Hackl 2000, Geurts and Nouwen 2007) can be translated into Russian in four different ways, which suggests that it can encode any of the four resulting structures. First, *more* can be translated as either *bol’she* (which we analyze as the suppletive comparative of *mnogo* ‘much/many’) or *bole* (a case of *mo*-support). Second, *than* can correspond either to *čem* (clausal comparative) or to Genitive case (phrasal comparative) (cf. Pancheva 2006).

We argue that the *bol’she* clausal comparative is ambiguous between structures with *many* vs. *much*, an analysis that is motivated by ambiguity of numeral-containing comparatives, as well as by the ability of *bol’she* (like *mnogo*) to function as a direct object or adverbial modifier in the absence of a head noun. We assume a structure with *much* for *bole* comparatives, and analyze the subject of the comparative clause as a property, not an entity (cf. Landman 2003, Ionin and Matushansky 2006). Our analysis captures the similarities between comparatives used with numerals and in other environments, and provides empirical evidence for the different derivations of *more*.

### *Analyzing weight effects on preverbal constituents: The case of Spanish subjects*

ROBERTO MAYORAL HERNÁNDEZ (University of Alabama at Birmingham)

ASIER ALCÁZAR (University of Missouri)

Saturday, April 9, 16:30, West Lounge

Abundant research reports that weight is a processing constraint that affects the ordering of postverbal constituents (Hawkins 1994, 2004, Wasow 1997, 2002, Wasow and Arnold 2003, Rosenbach 2005). Our study is a novel contribution to the weight literature because it analyzes whether preverbal constituents may be affected as well, specifically subjects. We focus on the position of Spanish subjects with unaccusative verbs (Perlmutter 1978), because they may precede or follow the verb. To this end, we extracted sentences from the online corpus CREA and utilized statistical methods to determine significance. We took into account the presence of co-occurring constituents in preverbal and postverbal positions, as they change the overall sentence weight. The results indicate that weight influences both preverbal and postverbal positions in several ways. First, heavier subjects tend to be postverbal. Second, the presence of preverbal constituents favors postverbal subjects. Conversely, the presence of postverbal constituents favors preverbal subjects. The subject tends to appear in complementary distribution with other co-occurring constituents. The more flexible syntax of Spanish enables weight interactions between preverbal and postverbal constituents, which had never been reported. This indicates that the human processor favors a balanced distribution of weight across the preverbal and postverbal domains.

### *A morpho-syntactic account of embedded imperatives*

DAVID J. MEDEIROS (University of Michigan)

Thursday, April 7, 9:30, West Lounge

In this paper, I link syntactic embedding of imperatives to rich imperative morphology, examining a number of languages but most specifically Ancient Greek. It has long been recognized that Ancient Greek allows syntactic embedding of imperatives while English does not (Goodwin (1875), Gildersleeve (1900), Rivero and Terzi (1995)). I explain the contrast between languages (such as Ancient Greek) that allow syntactic embedding of imperatives and those which do not (such as English) within the independently motivated theory of Feature Transfer (Chomsky 2008). Extending Feature Transfer to this domain helps explain the difference with respect to syntactic embedding, adding minimal complexity to the learning task. The analysis also adopts and deduces aspects of Zanuttini’s (2008) proposal regarding English imperatives, and additionally examines data from languages such as Kobon and Bhojpuri.

## *Learning ranking information from unspecified overt forms using the join*

NAZARRÉ MERCHANT (Eckerd College)

Friday, April 8, 9:00, East Lounge

In this talk I propose a learning algorithm in which a learner determines necessary ranking information from unspecified or partially specified words. It does so by using the *join operator* (Merchant 2008), an operator on pairs of ERCs that yields an ERC that entails all ERCs that are jointly entailed by the original two. The algorithm works by first producing sets of ERCs from consistent lexica for an overt form (similar to Merchant and Tesar 2006). These sets are then processed using the join operator in such a way to guarantee the production of all shared ranking information from the original sets.

This algorithm highlights the fact that an overt form that is highly ambiguous regarding its underlying representation can still yield useful ranking information. For example, in a system with three constraints, a learner may hypothesize two lexica leading to two rankings, say  $C1 \gg C2 \gg C3$  and  $C1 \gg C3 \gg C2$ . Regardless of which one is correct, in the target language  $C1$  must dominate both  $C2$  and  $C3$ .

This algorithm when applied to contrast pairs (Tesar 2004) and augmented with a lexical specification algorithm can be shown to succeed on linguistic systems on which an algorithm that requires full specification of underlying forms to determine ranking information fails (e.g. Merchant and Tesar 2006) providing further evidence that the learner can and must be able to gather information about the target grammar from forms that are not fully specified.

## *A novel view of resumption in Serbo-Croatian*

IVANA MITROVIĆ (Stony Brook University)

Saturday, April 9, 14:00, West Lounge

Resumptive pronouns (RP) in Serbo-Croatian (SC) can occur only in relative clauses introduced by a complementizer and their distribution can be divided into three contexts: disallowed, obligatory and optional. I argue that RP distribution is based on case and in some instances case and theta-role of RP and relative head. The following generalizations hold: (i) nominative RPs are disallowed, (ii) inherent case marked RPs are obligatory and (iii) accusative or dative experiencer RPs are optional and require a case and theta-role matching relative head. The analysis is set in the Pesetsky and Torrego (2006) feature system. The nominative RPs disallowance follows from the obligatory presence of complementizers introducing relative clauses; nominative RPs are disallowed by Economy on a T-to-C account of overt complementizers. Inherent case is uniformly treated as PP. Evidence comes from binding data, showing that inherent case marked elements cannot bind; hence adpositional structure. Inherently case marked RPs are obligatory because (i) PPs are instances of interpretable features and/or (ii) preposition stranding is disallowed. Dative experiencer RPs differ crucially from indirect object RPs: (i) dative experiencers can bind and (ii) they can never co-occur with accusatives. They are in a structural case position, assigned case by V. This structural case is the only one that the matching requirement can target: if there is a theta- and case-matching relative head, T feature interpretability is not specified in V; hence an optionality of RP.

## *Cleft in Japanese: A base-generation analysis and its empirical justification*

YASUHIKO MIURA (University of Southern California)

Saturday, April 9, 14:30, West Lounge

The focus phrase in the Japanese cleft may appear with or without a case-marker. This paper deals with the Japanese cleft with a case-marker on the focus phrase (C(ase-)M(arked)-Cleft). CM-Cleft, unlike non-CM-Cleft, exhibits subjacency effects, as discussed in Hoji 1987. We can thus hope to obtain insight into the properties of the Computational System, assumed to be at the core of the language faculty, by investigating the CM-Cleft, provided that subjacency effects are syntactic in nature and are a reflection of properties of the Computational System.

The analyses of the CM-Cleft in the literature are divided into two types depending on whether the focus

phrase has been moved to its surface position (“movement analysis”) or base-generated (“base-generation analysis”). I argue against the movement analysis on the basis of the NPI licensing, Condition D effects and resumption facts in the CM-Cleft. I then propose a base-generation analysis in line with Hoji 1987, further articulating the structure of the CM-Cleft on the basis of the new data. More specifically, I propose that the focus phrase in the CM-Cleft forms a small clause with the presuppositional CP, and is situated in an A'-position, so that it is interpreted for BVA (bound variable anaphora) and DR (distributive reading) by means of the mechanism of chain binding of Barss 1986, available for A'-chains. It will be shown that the proposal is supported by the results of on-line experiments on the predicted schematic asymmetries deduced from the hypotheses under the proposal.

### *From phonetics to phonology: Learning epenthesis*

REBECCA MORLEY (Ohio State University)

Friday, April 8, 16:30, East Lounge

This work is an experimental investigation of a diachronic source for a default epenthesis system. A theoretical account of synchronic phonological patterns as the product of natural sound changes (e.g. Blevins 2004) is adopted. Under this view, an epenthetic consonant could emerge from listener misperception of the natural transition between two adjacent vowels: *ratu+ək*, pronounced as *ratu<sup>w</sup>ək*, re-analyzed as *ratuwək*. The major question of this work is under what conditions such a change could come about.

In three artificial grammar learning experiments adult participants are trained on various morphophonemic alternations. In experiment 1, consonant-final stems are held-out, training consisting only of vowel-final stems and inflected forms (*ratu*; *ratuwək*), and listeners interpret phonetically natural glides as the product of coarticulation. In the second set of experiments, consonant-final forms were included in training (*darum*; *darumwək*), forcing a phonemic percept of the glide—in all contexts. In the final set of experiments consonant-final stems were again held-out, but phonetically unnatural tokens were included, surfacing variably with natural tokens. This led to frequency matching in novel contexts, but boosting (of the natural variant) in familiar ones.

These results indicate that both phonetic expectation and morphological economy can produce categorical learning behavior. Phonological predictability, on the other hand, does not generalize in the same way. And a naturalness bias may be more likely to affect familiar (variably realized) words, than unfamiliar ones. There are important implications here for developing a full learning-based model of the emergence of abstract synchronic patterns from diachronic phonetic tendencies.

### *Nominal positions in Turkish*

MIHO NAGAI (City University of New York Graduate Center)

ÖNER ÖZÇELİK (McGill University)

Thursday, April 7, 17:00, West Lounge

Focusing on Turkish, the goal of this paper is to show that internal arguments of verbs do not uniformly occur in the complement position of the verb (contra e.g. Perlmutter 1978).

Previous literature showed that, in Turkish, an indefinite bare NP never moves from certain syntactic domains such as VP/*v*P (Kornfilt 1984). Phrasal stress facts also support this: For instance, the indefinite subject of unaccusatives stays within the same phonological phrase (PPh) as the verb, just like the indefinite (bare) object of transitives (Özçelik & Nagai 2010). This means that the bare internal argument of a verb appears *within* VP although this does not ensure that bare NPs must occur in the complement position of the verb.

We hold that internal arguments of a certain class of verbs occur in the *specifier* position (cf. Larson 1988; Hale & Keyser 2000), irrespective of the unaccusativity (or transitivity) of verbs. Based on the *aspectual* properties of VPs (e.g. Vendler 1967) and low adverb placement, we propose that bare internal arguments of Turkish *achievements* occur in SpecVP while those of *accomplishments* occur in the complement position of V. Further, it is shown that the prosodic phrasing reflects the syntactic structure.

In conclusion, it seems that there are (at least) two syntactic positions, in Turkish, for bare internal arguments, and that achievements and non-achievements (accomplishments) are syntactically different with regard to VP-structures.

### *The economy of encoding and anaphoric dependency with relational nouns: Evidence from child grammar*

TERUE NAKATO-MIYASHITA (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Thursday, April 7, 17:30, East Lounge

This paper shows the results of an experiment investigating Japanese-learning children's interpretation of constructions with body-part noun/non-body-part noun objects. The results will be shown to support two theoretical proposals about adult syntax/semantics: (I) the economy-based theory of binding (Reuland (2001, 2010)) and (II) the syntactic/semantic distinction between relational and non-relational nouns (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), Partee and Borschev (1998) among others). Body-part nominal objects in Japanese show an ambiguity between alienable and inalienable readings, and with the inalienable reading they show properties similar to anaphoric binding. In the economy-based theory of binding, different ways of encoding the identity of referents are hierarchically ordered in accordance with the number of cross-modular steps required, as in (1).

- (1) Economy of encoding  
narrow syntax < logical syntax (C-I interface) < discourse (Reuland (2010: 272))

Adopting this theory and the assumption that relational nouns have hidden variables in them, we predict that the inalienable reading is more economical than the alienable one. The inalienable reading is derived through Agree/logical binding in narrow syntax/logical syntax, while the alienable reading is derived through discourse binding (Nakato (2010), Nakato-Miyashita (2011)). This analysis predicts that Japanese-learning children should show a strong preference for the inalienable reading in their acquisition of body-part nominal objects. The experimental results confirm this prediction and show (A) that the hierarchy of the economy of encoding is operative from the early stages of language acquisition and (B) that children show knowledge of the syntactic/semantic distinction between relational and non-relational nouns.

### *On idiom locality and the architecture of the grammar: Evidence from Palauan*

JUSTIN NUGER (University of Maryland)

Friday, April 8, 13:30, West Lounge

DPs in English VP-idioms (*kick the bucket*; *pull strings*) differ in their ability to be passivized, relativized, modified, pronominalized, etc., and such discrepancies have proven difficult to analyze. Many proposals insist that idioms satisfy locality requirements that constrain the relations between their parts, and different idioms satisfy locality at different stages of a derivation. I enrich the debate, examining a class of idioms in Palauan, an understudied Austronesian language with about 15,000 speakers. If Palauan has EPP-driven subject movement, then the locality requirement for this class of idioms must be satisfied at PF.

Each idiom contains a predicate that selects a particular argument DP containing the inalienably possessed noun *reng* "heart" as its head  $N^0$ , along with a possessor DP. With this *reng*-DP, the predicate assumes an idiomatic interpretation (impossible with a non-*reng*-DP). The important data involves bi-clausal subject-raising constructions: raising a full *reng*-DP subject from an embedded clause blocks the idiomatic interpretation. There is no problem raising non-*reng*-DP subjects (with the nonidiomatic reading).

The idiomatic interpretation cannot be assigned when the structure is base-generated, and it cannot be reconstructed from a lower copy of the subject at LF (there would always be a copy of the *reng*-DP in a local configuration with the predicate). For the idiomatic reading to be possible with a *reng*-idiom embedded under a raising predicate, the *reng*-DP must remain low and undergo possessor-raising to subject, satisfying EPP-requirements of the raising predicate. Palauan idioms thus provide evidence that the PF-branch is a

domain restricting idiom locality.

## *On the status of impossible words systematically derived by the grammatical system*

ISABEL OLTRA-MASSUET (Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)

Thursday, April 7, 16:30, West Lounge

Despite the traditional view that *-ble* adjectives are productively derived from any transitive verb, which accounts for the contrast *basura incinerable* ‘incinerable waste’ and \**basura ardible* ‘burnable garbage’ (unaccusative-only *burn*) in Spanish, there is a pleonastic construction of the form *V {todo/algo de/nada de} lo Vble* where essentially any verb can appear, including unergative verbs (e.g. *Tosió todo lo tosible* ‘cough-3sgPast all LO cough-ble’) or unaccusative verbs, be they degree achievements with variable telicity (e.g. *Ardió todo lo ardible* ‘burn-3sgPast all LO burn-ble’) or prototypically telic verbs (*Ocurrió todo lo ocurrible* ‘occur-3sgPast all LO occur-ble’).

These data point out a new paradox concerning the status of impossible words, which can nevertheless be regularly and systematically derived in a very particular context. A basic question concerns the architecture of grammar, i.e. how these aberrant words can be systematically generated in an appropriately constrained fashion.

The main claim I put forward is that syntax and semantics conspire with morphology to the effect of building such *a priori* aberrant forms. I show that their grammaticality must be a function of their external or exoskeletal properties in interaction with general features of quantification (Sánchez López 1999), the grammar of cognate elements (Pereltsvaig 1999), the grammar of degrees (Kennedy 1999, 2004), and the general grammar of achievements, unergatives and unaccusatives (Dowty 1979, de Miguel 1999), together with some general facts of the grammar of Spanish—concretely, its having a special overt morpheme *lo*, a variable that can range over different domains (Bosque & Moreno 1990).

## *How abstract are phonological representations? Evidence from distributional perceptual learning*

BOŽENA PAJAK (University of California, San Diego)

ROGER LEVY (University of California, San Diego)

Friday, April 8, 17:00, East Lounge

Cross-linguistic research suggests that phonetic categories are represented phonologically in terms of articulatory or acoustic-phonetic properties shared among members of natural classes. However, it is still unclear how abstractly these properties are represented psychologically. For example, contrastive length can characterize almost any pair of segments, but the articulatory/acoustic correlates of length differ across segments. Is then contrastive length represented as an abstract property shared by all short segments on the one hand and all long segments on the other? Or is the representation of length specific to individual segments or segment classes that are articulatorily/acoustically similar? We address this question by testing adults’ perception and learning of novel sound contrasts: if phonetic properties are abstracted across individual segments, then we expect that learning a novel distinction in one phonetic dimension for a given class of segments should be generalized to another class of segments, even if the raw articulatory/acoustic correlates of that distinction are rather different across segment classes. We tested this prediction by training monolingual English speakers in a distributional learning paradigm (Maye & Gerken, 2000) on a novel contrast, *segmental length*, and testing them on discrimination of length for both trained and untrained items. Results show both learning and generalization from one class of segments (sonorant consonants) to another class (obstruents), broadening the empirical range of phonological contrasts for which distributional learning has been shown to be effective and providing evidence that mental phonological representations are abstract and cross-cut a variety of segments, regardless of their articulatory/acoustic similarity.

## *Duration variation triggered by consonant voicing is not gestural: Evidence from production*

ANNE PYCHA (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

JOHN KINGSTON (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

Saturday, April 9, 10:00, East Lounge

Speech sounds vary according to their context. In many cases, articulatory gestures predict this variation, but in a few puzzling cases they do not. A classic example is the variation in vowel duration conditioned by voicing of the following consonant. For example, [i] exhibits longer durations in *bead* than in *beat*, but attempts to explicitly link the gesture of vocal fold vibration with duration, e.g. by measuring muscular activity (Raphael 1975), have produced no consensus. The theoretical status of voicing variation thus remains unclear. In this production study, we take a more generalized approach: all contextual variation, if it does indeed have an articulatory basis, should exhibit the same basic pattern of gestural overlap or displacement in the same environments. As we show, however, *beat-bead* variation defies this pattern. We therefore argue that duration variation triggered by voicing requires a separate, non-articulatory explanation.

## *‘Perfect’ doesn’t mean past: The classification of prospectives*

SYLVIA L. REED (University of Arizona)

Saturday, April 9, 13:30, East Lounge

In this paper I provide a novel analysis of the particle *gu* in Scottish Gaelic (hereafter *Gaelic*). I argue that sentences with *gu* are a type of forward-looking perfect. I argue that *gu* contributes two pieces of meaning: (1) that reference time (RT) fully precedes event time (ET), and (2) that the interval between RT and ET is small.

Sentences with *gu* convey something like English ‘about to’:

- (1) *Bha/tha/bithidh mi gu litir a sgrìobhadh.*  
be.past/pres/fut I GU letter write.inf  
‘I was/am/will be about to write a letter.’

However, the distributional characteristics of *gu* and English ‘about to’ differ. I depart from Ramchand (1993)’s analysis of *gu* as an anchor of  $t_{\text{initial}}$  of event time to tense, and argue that *gu* is an instantiation of the Aspect head in Gaelic that establishes an ET in a subsequence relation with RT. Furthermore, I argue from the distribution of time adverbials that *gu* requires that the ET be relatively close to the RT. I use  $\varepsilon$  to denote an ‘arbitrarily small quantity’:

- (2)  $[[\text{GU}]] = \lambda P_{(vt)}. \lambda t_{(i)} [t \prec \tau(e) \ \& \ P(e) \ \& \ \exists \varepsilon_{(N)} [0 < |t - \tau(e)| < \varepsilon]]$   
( $t \prec \tau(e)$  iff there is no  $t' \subset \tau(e)$ , s.t.  $t' \preceq t$ )

I argue, then, that *gu* is essentially a forward-looking (‘prospective’) perfect—that it expresses the same type of time relation as retrospective perfects, but in the other direction and with a restriction on the RT-ET interval. Given this, I argue that *gu* is the mirror image (in time) of one of the language’s other aspectual particles, as *dèidh*.

## *Do infants have more detailed lexical representation than adults?*

JIE REN (Brown University)

JAMES L. MORGAN (Brown University)

Thursday, April 7, 17:00, East Lounge

Previous research has sometimes suggested that early lexical representations are less detailed than mature representations (Stager & Werker, 1997). However, infants display graded sensitivity to onset mispronunciations varying in severity (White & Morgan, 2008). Here we present three studies using intermodal preferential looking that show that infants’ lexical representations are at least as specific as those of adults.

Experiment 1 tested whether White & Morgan (2008)'s results apply to coda mispronunciations. Infants heard tokens of familiar words with correct pronunciations, or one-feature, two-feature or three-feature coda mispronunciations. A significant linear trend of decreased looking to familiar objects with increasing severity of coda mispronunciation replicated White & Morgan's findings for onsets. Nineteen-month-olds have detailed representations of both onsets and codas of familiar words.

Experiments 2 and 3 tested whether 19-month-olds specify non-coronal consonants but underspecify coronal consonants, as adults have been claimed to do (Lahiri & Reetz, 2010). For both onsets and codas, we found significant effects of pronunciation (correct/mispronounced), but no significant effects of specification. Contrary to predictions from underspecification accounts, we did not find pronunciation-by-specification interactions for either onsets or codas. Infants symmetrically specify both coronal and noncoronal phonemes in the lexicon. Perhaps 19-month-olds have not yet learned which segments can be safely underspecified. Or perhaps adults' immediate representations are symmetrically specified, just as infants' are. To adjudicate between these explanations, we are currently testing adults in an on-line task similar to that used here for infants.

### *Determiners, parentheticals, and projectability: Experimental evidence*

WILLIAM SALMON (University of British Columbia)

Friday, April 8, 13:30, East Lounge

Projective meaning has received a substantial increase of attention in the semantics and pragmatics literature recently (Roberts et al. 2009). A significant amount of this attention has focused on the projective properties of parentheticals, which are often seen to project to, or be oriented to, the speaker of the indirect speech report in question. This pilot study is concerned with the projective behavior of parentheticals in indirect speech reports like (1), and the extent to which the presence of definite and indefinite determiners affects whether the parentheticals are seen to project.

(1) *John said that Kelly, **the/a** guy from down the street, is coming over later.*

The study presents audiovisual treatments of speakers relaying indirect speech reports like (1) to a third party, who is also present in the video. Test subjects were then given modified truth value judgment tasks in response to the videos. The preliminary results suggest that whether such parentheticals are definite or indefinite makes little difference in how the test subjects rated them: by and large, both were rated as non-projective. This is somewhat surprising, as definites in general have long been known to project in the presupposition literature.

The results ultimately support arguments by Harris & Potts (2009) and Salmon (2009) that projection is strongly influenced by pragmatic factors rather than a purely semantic account. And, the approach taken with the video and truth value judgments presents a novel way of collecting data in an area where intuitions are notoriously shaky and difficult to interpret.

### *Predicting rhyme with segment confusion*

SVERRE STAUSLAND JOHNSEN (Harvard University)

Thursday, April 7, 10:00, East Lounge

Intuitively, *a-b* is a better rhyme than *a-c* when *a* and *b* are more 'similar' to each other than *a* and *c* are. But how do we measure this similarity? I show in this talk that the perceptual similarity between segments as calculated from confusion matrices is a much better predictor of people's judgments of rhymes than are similarity measures based on articulatory or acoustic feature systems.



## *A case of violation repair under sluicing and consequences for genitive of quantification in Slavic*

SANDRA STJEPANOVIĆ (West Virginia University)

Friday, April 8, 17:00, West Lounge

This paper presents evidence that a violation of Inverse Case Filter for inherent case (ICF) can be repaired by sluicing, and discusses the implications of this finding for the analysis of Genitive of Quantification (GQ) in Slavic.

The evidence is based on Serbo-Croatian (SC) data in (1)-(2).

- (1) \**Koliko muškaraca će on prići?*  
how-many men<sub>GEN</sub> will he approach  
'How many men will he approach?'
- (2) *Znam da će on prići jednoj ženi, ali ne znam koliko muškaraca.*  
know<sub>1sg</sub> that will he approach one<sub>DAT</sub> woman<sub>DAT</sub> but not know<sub>1sg</sub> how-many men<sub>GEN</sub>  
'I know that he will approach one woman, but I don't know how many men.'

These data show that QP's such as *koliko muškaraca*, where Q assigns GQ to its complement, are infelicitous as complements of inherent case-marking verbs unless they are remnants of sluicing. Bošković (2008), who builds on Franks (1994), who builds on Babby (1987), attributes the ungrammaticality of (1) to a violation caused by the impossibility of the verb to discharge its inherent case onto its QP complement. This ultimately results in a violation of Theta-Criterion at LF, under Chomsky's (1986) conception of inherent case that ties inherent case to theta-role assignment. While I follow Bošković's (2008) insight that the ungrammaticality of cases like (1) is due to a violation of the ICF, I argue based on (2), that ICF is a morphological requirement, which allows it to be repaired by sluicing. I also show that the analysis can be extended to GQ in Russian.

## *Individuation, temporal interpretation, and "bare classifier": A discourse-informed study of the classifier system of Shishan (Lingao/Be, Hainan Island, China)*

XUEHUA XIANG (University of Illinois at Chicago)

Friday, April 8, 10:00, West Lounge

Combining native speaker intuition and naturally occurring conversation data, the current discussion is a discourse-informed study of the classifier system of Shishan, a dialect of Lingao (aka. Be) of the Tai-Kadai language family, spoken on northern Hainan Island, China. The study's aim is two-fold: 1) survey a previously unknown classifier system of the Lingao language thus augment the limited literature on Lingao/Be (cf. Hashimoto, 1982, 1985; Li, 1956, 1977); 2) empirically base an argument for a discourse-informed perspective on classifiers.

Shishan nominals, similar to nominals in other Southeast Asian languages, may appear as bare nouns or with a classifier (in post-position). Nevertheless, absent from previous literature of classifier languages is a phenomenon termed, "Bare Classifier," in which the classifier alone constitutes a nominal expression. Semantically similar to a singular third-person reference (he/she), the bare classifier, however, is distinct from pronouns in its occurrence condition. The bare classifier reference is both deictic and definite, a usage that is a typological and empirical testation/evidence of the inherent deictic nature of classifiers (cf. Cheng and Sybesma, 1999).

The paper further illustrates various optional uses of Shishan classifiers whose temporality/specificity readings plausibly arise from the "singularization" and "individualization" meanings of the classifiers in general (see Cheng and Sybesma, 1999; Croft, 1994: 162; Longaobardi, 1994; Paris, 1981: 69), that is, the optional classifiers effectuate a temporal/temporary reading of the verbal predicate, attributing the described situation/event to a particularized subject.

## *Wh-indefinites and their licensing conditions*

JIWON YUN (Cornell University)

Saturday, April 9, 14:00, East Lounge

It has been noted that cross-linguistically, indefinite expressions that have morphologically the same form with *wh*-interrogatives (BWIs: bare *wh*-indefinites) appear in quite restricted environments. Thus researchers have concluded that bare *wh*-words need to be bound by certain licensors to receive an existential reading (Cheng 1991, Li 1992, Postma 1994, Ha 2004, Yanovich 2005, Aldridge 2007, among others). However, Korean does not fit into this generalization in that none of the general restrictions holds for BWIs. This paper argues that the seemingly exceptional distribution of Korean BWIs is due to their referential homonyms, which can occur where a typical non-restricted existential expression cannot appear. This approach is in line with the view that attributes the exceptional wide scope reading of certain genuine indefinites to their lexical ambiguity (Fodor & Sag 1982, Kratzer 1998). The lexical ambiguity analysis also correctly predicts that the non-canonical occurrence of BWIs can only have a widest scope reading.

## *Morphological evidence for a movement analysis of adverbial clauses*

JASON ZENTZ (Yale University)

Thursday, April 7, 10:00, West Lounge

Beginning with Geis (1970), several authors have provided syntactic, semantic, and etymological arguments for a derivation of adverbial (subordinate) clauses that involves movement of an (often null) operator (see Haegeman 2010a for a review). This paper provides morphological evidence for this view while arguing for separate extraction sites for the moved elements in temporal and conditional clauses.

The Bantu language Akɔ̃se (Hedinger 2008) exhibits *wh*-agreement (see Reintges, LeSourd, & Chung 2006 for a typology); that is, it marks its verbs with respect to whether an element has been extracted to the left periphery. This extraction marking occurs not only in canonical *wh*-movement contexts (Chomsky 1977), such as constituent questions, relative clauses, cleft questions, and topicalization, but also in temporal and conditional adverbial clauses.

Crucially, Akɔ̃se *wh*-agreement encodes whether the extracted element originated above or below *v*. The distribution of *wh*-agreement morphology shows that the operator in central conditional clauses is extracted from a position above *v* (supporting Haegeman's (2010b) claim), the moved element in central temporal clauses originates below *v* (allowing us to choose between two possibilities proposed in Haegeman 2007), and there is no extraction in peripheral adverbial clauses (as argued in Haegeman 2007).

*Wh*-agreement provides compelling evidence for a movement analysis for both temporal and conditional central adverbial clauses. Due to its sensitivity to height of extraction, Akɔ̃se lends insight into the question of where the moved elements originate, unlike languages like Irish (McCloskey 2001) where *wh*-agreement only registers the presence of movement.

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