



The 48th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

April 19-21, 2012

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Welcome

Welcome to the 48th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. We are very fortunate this year to have so many eminent presenters including our six invited speakers: Adam Albright, Sandra Chung, Marcel den Dikken, Kai von Stechow, Nausicaa Pouscoulous, and Alan Yu. In all, we have twenty-two stimulating sessions covering a broad spectrum of current topics with special parasessions on Agreement, Historical Phonology and Morphology, and Meaning and Cognition.

The conference is being held 19-21 April, 2012, in Ida Noyes Hall at the University of Chicago (1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637). Registration is at 8:00 am each day, with opening remarks scheduled for 10 am Thursday. We cordially invite all graduate students to attend our Graduate Student Mixer at 7:30 pm Thursday and we sincerely hope to see everyone at the closing banquet, 6:30 pm Saturday, which will feature the ever-popular karaoke with some interesting performances.

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

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

Day 1 schedule (April 19, Thursday)

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

Left column and invited talks – West Lounge, 2nd floor

Right column – East Lounge, 2nd floor

8:00-10:00	Registration	
10:00-10:15	Opening Remarks (West Lounge, 2 nd floor)	
	General Session: Syntax (1)	General Session: Pragmatics
10:15-10:45	Mariana Resenes¹, Marcel den Dikken² (¹ University of Sao Paulo, ² CUNY Graduate Center): <i>Semi-clefts as a window on the syntax of predication, modification, and complementation</i>	Gregory Kierstead (The Ohio State University): <i>The interaction between propositional attitude verbs and reportative evidentiality in Tagalog</i>
10:45-11:15	Natasha Abner, Thomas Graf (University of California, Los Angeles): <i>The Complexity of Binding in English and ASL</i>	Marie-Christine Meyer (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Missing Alternatives and Disjunction</i>
11:15-11:30	Break	
	General Session: Syntax (2)	General session: Computational Phonology and Morphology (1)
11:30-12:00	Yusuke Imanishi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Non-uniform merge of argument WH and null resumption: A case study in Kaqchikel</i>	Giorgio Magri (CNRS, University of Paris 7): <i>Constraint promotion: not only convergent but also efficient</i>
12:00-12:30	Jinsun Choe (University of Hawaii at Manoa): <i>Acquisition of Raising: Intervention Effects in A-movement</i>	Sebastian Bank, Jochen Trommer (University of Leipzig): <i>Paradigm Learning and Subanalysis Complexity</i>
12:30-14:00	Lunch	
14:00-15:00	Invited speaker: Kai von Fintel (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) <i>What's in an imperative</i>	
15:00-15:15	Break	
	Parasession: Historical Phonology and Morphology	Special session: Tense & Mood
15:15-15:45	Tsz-Him Tsui (The Ohio State University): <i>Tonal variations in Hong Kong Cantonese: Interactions of acoustic distance and functional load</i>	Anastasia Giannakidou, Alda Mari (University of Chicago, ENS/CNRS Paris): <i>A modal analysis of Greek and Italian future morphemes</i>
15:45-16:15	Kyle Gorman (University of Pennsylvania): <i>Latin rhotacism for real</i>	Eva Csipak (University of Göttingen): <i>The factivity of pizza subjunctives</i>
16:15-16:45	Special session: Experimental Phonology (1) Suyeon Yun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Perceptual Similarity and Epenthesis Positioning in Loan Adaptation</i>	Anastasia Smirnova (Tufts University): <i>The Semantics of Mood in Bulgarian</i>
16:45-17:00	Break	
17:00-18:00	Invited speaker: Adam Albright (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) <i>Modeling the origin and spread of morphological paradigm gaps</i>	
19:30-	Graduate Student Mixer: Pub in Ida Noyes Basement	

Day 2 schedule (April 20, Friday)

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

Left column and invited talks – West Lounge, 2nd floor

Right column – East Lounge, 2nd floor

8:00-9:00	Registration	
	General Session: Computational Phonology and Morphology (2)	General Session: Semantics (1)
9:00-9:30	Constantine Lignos, Kyle Gorman (University of Pennsylvania): <i>Revisiting frequency and storage in morphological processing</i>	Ayaka Sugawara (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Semantics of English suffix -ish</i>
9:30-10:00	John Alderete¹, Paul Tupper¹, Stefan Frisch² (¹ Simon Fraser University, ² University of South Florida): <i>Learning phonotactics without rules: A connectionist model OCP-Place in Arabic</i>	Hadas Kotek, Yasutada Sudo, Martin Hackl (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Many readings of most</i>
10:00-10:15	Break	
	Special Session: Syntax and the verbal domain	General session: Sociolinguistics
10:15-10:45	Hyun Kyoung Jung (University of Arizona): <i>Stacking Verbal Suffixes in Korean – An Argument for Flavors of v</i>	Julia Thomas, Timothy Grinsell (University of Chicago): <i>Finna as a Socially Meaningful Modal (and Performative) in African American English</i>
10:45-11:15	Lan Kim (University of Delaware): <i>On the Khmer Passive-like Construction: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective</i>	Soohyun Kwon (University of Pennsylvania): <i>Beyond the adolescent peak of toykey</i>
11:15-11:30	Break	
11:30-12:30	Invited speaker: Alan C. L. Yu (University of Chicago) <i>The Linguistic Individual in the Changing World</i>	
12:30-14:00	Lunch	
	Special session: Ellipsis	Special Session: Semantics and Adjectives
14:00-14:30	Matthew Barros (Rutgers University): <i>Evidence for Syntactic Identity in P-stranding Clausal Ellipsis in Spanish</i>	Heather Burnett (University of California, Los Angeles): <i>Universal Quantification and Slack Regulation in the Adjectival Domain</i>
14:30-15:00	Bradley Larson (University of Maryland): <i>Sprouting Anew: Fragment Answers, And Here's Why</i>	Sebastian Buecking (University of Tuebingen): <i>The semantics of frequency adjectives</i>
15:00-15:15	Break	
	Parasession: Agreement	Special session: Speech Perception
15:15-15:45	Kuo-Chiao Jason Lin (New York University): <i>Post-syntactic Operations: Morphological Locality in Saaroa Prefix Concord</i>	Kevin Sitek¹, Keith Johnson² (¹ San Francisco VA Medical Center, ² University of California, Berkeley): <i>Ipsilateral and contralateral phonetic context effects</i>

15:45-16:15	Laura Kalin¹, Coppe van Urk² (¹ University of California, Los Angeles, ² Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>A novel aspect split in Senaya</i>	Maria Giavazzi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Assibilation in Standard Finnish: a case of stress-conditioned contrast neutralization</i>
16:15-16:45	Karen Duek (CUNY Graduate Center): <i>Bare nouns and gender agreement in Brazilian Portuguese</i>	Paul Marty (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>The Role of Release Bursts in Word-Final Stop Perception</i>
16:45-17:00	Break	
17:00-18:00	Invited speaker: Sandra Chung (University of California, Santa Cruz) <i>On Reading Agreement Late</i>	

Day 3 schedule (April 21, Saturday)

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

Left column and invited talks – West Lounge, 2nd floor

Right column – East Lounge, 2nd floor

8:00-9:00		Registration	
	General Session: Syntax (3)		Parasession: Meaning and Cognition (1)
9:00-9:30	I-Hsuan Chen (University of California, Berkeley): <i>What Determines the Licensing of Negative Polarity Items: The Interaction between Mandarin Chinese Minimizers, Negation, and Foci</i>		Elizabeth Bogal-Allbritten (University of Massachusetts Amherst): <i>Slightly coerced: Processing evidence for adjectival coercion by minimizers</i>
9:30-10:00	Alexander Podobryaev (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>A third dependent case</i>		Alexis Wellwood¹, Justin Halberda², Tim Hunter³, Darko Odic², Paul Pietroski¹, Jeffrey Lidz¹ (¹ University of Maryland, ² Johns Hopkins University, ³ Yale University): <i>Meaning more or most: evidence from 3-and-a-half year-olds</i>
10:00-10:15		Break	
	Special session: Phonological Learning		Parasession: Meaning and Cognition (2)
10:15-10:45	Elliott Moreton, Katya Pertsova (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill): <i>Is phonological learning special?</i>		E. Allyn Smith¹, Kathleen Currie Hall² (¹ Northwestern University, ² CUNY): <i>The relationship between projection and at-issueness</i>
10:45-11:15	Yun Jung Kim (University of California, Los Angeles): <i>Do learners prefer transparent rule ordering? An Artificial language learning study</i>		Vandana Bajaj, Viviane Deprez, Julien Musolino (Rutgers University): <i>The Question Under Discussion and its Role in Scopal Ambiguity Resolution</i>
11:15-11:30		Break	
11:30-12:30	Invited speaker: Nausicaa Pouscoulous (University College London) <i>Grice's children: Investigations in the development of pragmatic abilities</i>		
12:30-14:00		Lunch	
	Semantics: General Session (2)		Special session: Morphosyntax and Nominalization
14:00-14:30	Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine (Massachusetts Institute of Technology): <i>Mandarin alternative questions question focus alternatives</i>		Jessica Gamache (Michigan State University): <i>Children's forms as derivational steps: External evidence for a new synthetic compound structure</i>
14:30-15:00	Erin Zaroukian, Charley Beller (Johns Hopkins University): <i>Licensing by modification in two classes of verbs</i>		Artemis Alexiadou, Mariangeles Cano, Giannina Iordăchioaia, Fabienne Martin, Florian Schaefer (University of Stuttgart): <i>Direct participation effects in derived nominals</i>
15:00-15:15		Break	
15:15-16:15	Invited Speaker: Marcel den Dikken (CUNY Graduate Center) <i>The Phase Impenetrability Condition and successive cyclicity: A reconsideration</i>		
16:15-16:30		Break	

**Special session: Constraints and Repairs
in Syntax and Semantics**

16:30-17:00 **Stefan Hofstetter** (Universität Tübingen):

*Better low pay than no pay: Propositional
Adjectives Obviate Negative Island Effects*

17:00-17:30 **Tommi Leung** (United Arab Emirates University):

Sluicing may repair LF-constraints

Special session: Experimental Phonology (2)

Yulia Kondratenko, Laura Spinu (Concordia University):

*Being “better” with accents: evidence from
bilinguals*

Becky Butler (Cornell University):

*A Gestural Account of Minor Syllables: Ev-
idence from Khmer*

18:30-

Dinner Banquet (Theater, 3rd floor)

Invited Talks

Modeling the origin and spread of morphological paradigm gaps

Adam Albright (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 17:00, West Lounge

It is well known that languages may exhibit lexically arbitrary paradigm gaps, in which speakers are unwilling or unable to produce certain inflected forms of certain lexical items. A number of recent analyses have focused on the synchronic status of paradigm gaps, attributing them to constraint conflict (Rice 2006, Wolf and McCarthy 2010), rule failure (Albright 2003, 2010), or learned ineffability (Halle 1973, Sims 2006, Daland et al 2006, Baerman 2008). It is generally recognized that there is a diverse typology of gap effects, but a mystery that remains is how paradigm gaps arise in the first place. Several studies have investigated contributing factors in specific cases (e.g., Baerman 2008), but to date there have been no fully formalized accounts of how lexically arbitrary gaps may be created. In this talk, I argue that at least a portion of the gap typology may be attributed to a single learning model. I present simulations showing that gaps may arise through a feedback loop of progressively decreasing confidence, in the probabilistic rule-based “minimal generalization” approach of Albright and Hayes (2003). In this model, the rules needed to cover lexical items in sparse areas of the lexicon may find only weak support, so that inflected forms are projected with low confidence. The model provides a unified account of two distinct diachronic pathways to gaps: in the first, speakers are reluctant to inflect existing words in sparsely attested regions of the lexicon, while in the second, speakers refrain from extending otherwise productive morphological patterns to new words with rare/unattested shapes. The end results of these changes are somewhat different, due to differences in how exceptions arise: in the first case, pre-existing words may retain their inflected forms as memorized exceptions. In this case, gaps should preferentially target low frequency items, since speakers have more opportunity to memorize inherited inflected forms for high frequency items. In the case of novel lexical items, gaps can only be exceptionally filled through some independent mechanism, such as borrowing or learned coinage. In this case, the distribution of gaps may be less principled, since it is impossible to predict which lexical items are most likely to acquire borrowed or coined inflected forms. In both cases, however, the mechanism of gap creation is a conservative learning procedure, in which speakers learn rules that apply with highest confidence in the specific contexts in which they have been frequently observed.

Adam Albright is Associate Professor of Linguistics at MIT. He received his PhD at the University of California at Los Angeles. His research interests include phonology, morphology, and learnability, with an emphasis on using computational modeling and experimental techniques to investigate issues in phonological theory. Topics of interest range across phonotactics, paradigms, gaps, historical phonology, morphological productivity, and exceptions. The languages under study include Yiddish, Lakhota, Welsh, Korean, and Spanish. He has been Reviews editor for the journal Morphology since 2006.

On Reaching Agreement Late

Sandra Chung (University of California, Santa Cruz)

☞ Friday, April 20, 17:00, West Lounge

The fundamental licensing relation of minimalist syntax holds between two categories in the right structural configuration when each lacks something that the other can supply. The fact that this relation is named *Agree* suggests that this mutual validation is connected to the feature sharing found in morphological agreement. And in fact, a significant strand of minimalist research holds that morphological agreement is a transparent reflection of *Agree*. This research has sought to use the fine details of morphological agreement, the distribution of clitics, and subject-object interactions in various languages to shed light on the workings of *Agree*. One of the results has been a steady expansion in the range of options encompassed by *Agree*; e.g. split feature checking (Anagnostopoulou), cyclic *Agree* (Béjar and Rezac), multiple *Agree* (Nevins), obligatory *Agree* that can fail (Preminger), and so on. This expansion of the syntactic toolkit might seem to conflict with minimalist ideals.

Here I take the position that morphological agreement can, but need not, transparently reflect *Agree* (see Chung 1998, to appear; Sigurdsson 2006). With Bobaljik 2008, I also claim that the feature sharing involved in morphological agreement occurs not in narrow syntax but rather in the morphology. Both claims are fleshed out with respect to person-animacy effects in the Austronesian language Chamorro.

Ordinary transitive clauses in Chamorro contain a verb that agrees in person and number with the subject. Such clauses also exhibit subject-object interactions of the sort analyzed in terms of harmonic alignment by Aissen 1999 and in terms of multiple *Agree* by Nevins 2011. As a first approximation, the direct object cannot outrank the subject on the hierarchy: 2 > 3 animate pronoun > animate > inanimate (where > means “outranks”). I first show that these effects do not constrain the legal pairings of subject and object across the board, but rather concern the realization of a particular set of agreement morphemes. I then show that the “object” targeted by these effects need not be identical to the DP that is syntactically licensed by small *v*. These observations point to an account of the relevant contrasts that involves operations not in narrow syntax, but instead in the morphology. Such a result supports a version of the minimalist program in which *Agree* retains its original minimalist design, and what is expanded to handle this and other language-specific patterns is the *morphological* toolkit.

Sandra Chung is Professor of Linguistics at the University of California at Santa Cruz and was the President of the Linguistic Society of America in 2011. She received her PhD from Harvard University. She has worked extensively on the syntax of Austronesian Languages (especially Chamorro), investigating ergativity, word order, wh-agreement, and movement. In 1998, she published The Design of Agreement: Evidence from Chamorro, a cornerstone piece of work in the literature on the topic.

The Phase Impenetrability Condition and successive cyclicity: A reconsideration

Marcel den Dikken (CUNY Graduate Center)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 15:15, West Lounge

When a syntactic object undergoes Spell-Out, it is ‘handed over’ to PF, and its valued uninterpretable features are ‘stripped away’. In current parlance, the stages through which syntactic derivations evolve are called ‘phases’, and the derivational model that incorporates this philosophy is accordingly called ‘derivation by phase’. Considering the way it has been operationalised, however, the name ‘derivation by phase’ for this theoretical model of incremental structure building and manipulation is misleading. The syntactic objects that undergo Spell-Out are usually not the phases themselves. Though entire phases are spelled out *en bloc* if they constitute the root of the tree, in all other contexts it is only the complement domain of the phase head that is standardly assumed to be ‘handed over’ to the interpretive components. Its name notwithstanding, the PIC does not state that phases are impenetrable; it only declares the phase head’s complement opaque. The obvious stumbling block for the idea that the entire phase is ‘stripped’ and ‘frozen’ upon completion is that it appears that parts of the phase remain accessible later in the syntactic derivation. But I will argue that we do not actually need to exempt the head and the edge of the phase from Spell-Out at the phase level. A re-evaluation of the notion of ‘head movement’ renders head exemption redundant; and a critical reappraisal of the idea that long-distance movement dependencies proceed in a successive-cyclic manner, from phase to phase, leads to the conclusion that it should be fundamentally rethought in such a way that so-called successive-cyclic movement is modelled as fell-swoop long-distance movement dependent on successive-cyclic Agree relations between potential phases and higher probes. With these conclusions in place, I then proceed to an investigation of the broader theoretical consequences of the idea that Agree between a potential phase and the next probe up the tree ‘extends’ the lower phase up to the projection of the higher probe. This notion of ‘phase extension’ is both principled and empirically adequate, providing a simple perspective on strong islands. But it fits in poorly with the idea that syntactic structure is built incrementally from bottom to top. In this light, I explore the prospects of a top-down left-to-right structure-building model for syntactic computation, providing a new outlook on the relationship between *wh*-scope marking and parasitic gap constructions along the way. Time permitting, I will review the other recent top-down approaches to syntax.

Marcel den Dikken is Professor of Linguistics at City University of New York. He received his PhD from the University of Leiden. His main areas of interest are syntax and its interface with semantics and morphology. In particular, his research in agreement and predication has a significant influence on the ongoing development of syntactic theory. The author of 3 books and numerous articles, he now serves as the Editor-in-Chief of the Natural Language and Linguistic Theory journal.

Grice's children: Investigations in the development of pragmatic abilities

Nausicaa Pouscoulous (University College London)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 11:30, West Lounge

Recent developmental research on social cognition indicates that pragmatics plays a grounding role in the development of children's communicative skills even before they utter their first words (see the work by Csibra, Gergely and colleagues, and by Tomasello and colleagues, summed up in part in Tomasello 2008). Furthermore, much evidence in language acquisition suggests that young children could not learn to speak without impressive pragmatic abilities (e.g., Tomasello 2003; Bloom 2000; Clark 2003). In stark contrast with this picture, linguistic pragmatic inferences (e.g., reference assignment, implicatures, metaphors, presuppositions and irony) appear to develop later than other linguistic abilities. This talk tries to reconcile the development of these two types of pragmatic abilities by presenting new data on three linguistic pragmatic phenomena with which children fare better than was previously thought: scalar implicature, presupposition and metaphor.

According to pragmatic theories (e.g., Grice, 1975/1989; Sperber & Wilson, 1986/1995), inferences involved in understanding various types of implicit and non-literal meanings require (a) intention reading, (b); taking into account common ground (or mutual knowledge), (c) and at least some degree of cooperation. Empirical findings suggest that prelinguistic children already master these skills. Several studies have shown that infants see others as intentional agents (Gergely et al., 2002), that they recognise (communicative) intentions (Behne et al., 2005a; Behne et al., 2005b) and that even 2-year-olds pay attention both to informative and communicative intention (Shwe and Markman, 1997). From 14 or 18 months of age, toddlers take into account the common ground between them and their interlocutor in a communicative context (e.g., Moll et al., 2008; Liebal et al., 2009). Finally, toddlers have been shown to be helpful and cooperative (e.g., Warneken & Tomasello, 2006). Words and syntax, it seems, are all there is left to learn for children to become perfect little 'Gricean' comprehenders, and to understand implicatures, presuppositions and metaphors.

Yet, prior developmental research on these phenomena suggest otherwise. For instance, expressions giving rise to scalar implicatures (e.g., *some*) appear to be given a literal – logical – interpretation by children until fairly late (9 to 11-years-old); *some* is understood as compatible with the stronger term, *all*, rather than excluding it as adults do (Noveck, 2001). Similarly, non-literal expressions tend to be interpreted literally by younger children (see, Winner, 1988/1997, Nippold, 1988/1998 and Gibbs, 1994, for a review). Finally, presuppositions triggered by additive particles such as *too*, do not seem to be taken into account by younger comprehenders (Bergsma, 2006). I will present evidence showing these pragmatic phenomena might be understood much earlier than prior results suggest, and that several factors – independent of children's pragmatic abilities *per se* – may explain children's apparent struggle with pragmatic inferences.

Nausicaa Pouscoulous is Lecturer in Experimental Pragmatics at University College London. She received her PhD at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. Her interests include theoretical and experimental pragmatics, semantics, the development of pragmatic and communicative competence, language acquisition, and the philosophy of language. Her seminal work on the acquisition and developmental trajectory of scalar implicatures has provided an invaluable contribution and a new perspective to the understanding of the semantics/pragmatics interface.

What's in an imperative

Kai von Fintel (joint work with Sabine Iatridou) (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 14:00, West Lounge

Imperatives, which are prototypically used to issue commands, can also be used to give permissions:

(1) A: May I open the window? B: Sure, go ahead, open it!

Further, imperatives can serve as quasi-conditional antecedents in “left-subordinating conjunctions”:

(2) Study hard and you will pass the class.

(3) Ignore your homework and you will fail the class.

(4) Open the paper and you will find 5 mistakes on every page.

We show that these phenomena present severe challenges for all existing theories of imperatives. We lay out desiderata for a successful analysis and speculate on ways of getting there. Along the way we present data from English, German, and pretty much every language spoken on the Mediterranean Rim.

Kai von Fintel is Professor of Linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Associate Dean for MIT's School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences. He received his PhD at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. He has worked on a variety of topics related to the study of meaning, including presuppositions, conditionals, imperatives and modality in general. He is editor (with Michael Beaver) of Semantics and Pragmatics, an open access journal affiliated with the Linguistic Society of America's eLanguage initiative.

The Linguistic Individual in the Changing World

Alan C. L. Yu (University of Chicago)

☞ Friday, April 20, 11:30, West Lounge

Linguists usually discuss language in terms of groups of speakers, even though it is often acknowledged that no two individuals speak alike. In particular, researchers often present group scores with little attention paid to the variation within the group. The focus on language as a group-level phenomenon has obscured important insights only apparent when systematic individual variation is taken into account. In this talk, I argue that the study of individual variation is particularly crucial for understanding the origins of language variation and change.

The introduction of linguistic innovations and their eventual propagation is often attributed to the context-dependent nature of speech and language. What is less clear is to what extent context-dependent variation in speech and language is uniformly maintained and observed across individuals. In this talk, I offer experimental evidence showing that individuals vary significantly and systematically in their responses to the effects of the lexicon and coarticulation in speech perception and production. The individual difference dimensions that capture, if only partially, the individual variation include concentrations of “autistic traits” and levels of working memory resources. Socio-cognitive traits, I argue, may offer the necessarily link to resolve the so-called “actuation” and “threshold” problems in language change.

Alan Yu is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago. He received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley under Sharon Inkelas. His work centers around both the theoretical side of morphophonology and experimental phonology and socio-cognitive factors mediating sound change. He also engages in descriptive, documentary, and theoretical work on Native American languages, especially Washo, an endangered language of California and Nevada. In 2007 he published A Natural History of Infixation.

Papers

The Complexity of Binding in English and ASL

Natasha R. Abner, Thomas Graf (University of California, Los Angeles)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 10:45, West Lounge

Motivated by computational properties of Minimalist syntax, we propose a new, descriptive universal of binding theory.

Limited Obviation For every language there is some integer n such that the number of (syntactically) bound pronouns that must have pairwise disjoint referents and occur within the same binding domain does not exceed n .

In English, none of the configurations that may introduce an unbounded number of pronouns (adjuncts, recursion inside DPs, coordination) violate the universal. For instance, homophonous pronouns can be coordinated only if they are used deictically, wherefore coordination is limited to a maximum of three bound obviate pronouns (*him*, *her* and *it*).

- (1) a. Every football player told some friend of his that the coach wants to see him (*deictic*) and him (*deictic*) in his office.
- b. *[Every football player]_{*i*} told [some friend of his]_{*j*} that the coach wants to see him_{*i*} and him_{*j*} in his office.

Surprisingly, the analog of (1b) is grammatical in ASL. This suggests that binding is more complex in ASL than in English. However, DPs in ASL can be assigned spatial positions, and pronouns are realized by pointing at the respective antecedent's position in space. This modality difference to English endows ASL's binding mechanism with a strongly deictic component, thus pushing it out of syntax proper and exempting it from **Limited Obviation**.

Learning phonotactics without rules: A connectionist model of OCP-Place in Arabic

John Alderete¹, Paul Tupper¹, Stefan Frisch² (¹Simon Fraser University, ²University of South Florida)

☞ Friday, April 20, 9:30, West Lounge

Much work in generative linguistics is nativist in the sense that the fundamental mechanisms for computing linguistic processes are assumed to be innate. However, results from other research paradigms have shown that many language processes can be learned directly from the statistical structure of experience, including nontrivial ones like dependencies between nonadjacent elements. This paper presents a model that induces phonotactic constraints in Arabic OCP-Place using a connectionist architecture. The model was trained by exposure to a lexicon of Arabic roots. The model was evaluated for how it rated the full set of Arabic roots, all computationally possible roots in Arabic, as well as the novel roots used in a behavioral experiment with Jordanian Arabic speakers (Frisch and Zawaydeh, *Language*, 2001). The network learned the lexicon in the sense that it assigned higher scores to the words that it had been exposed to. Second, the network rated OCP-Place violating roots lower than OCP-Place satisfying roots, comparable to the behavior of human subjects. A detailed analysis of the behavior of hidden nodes in the network shows it has developed distinct activation responses to different place classes.

Direct participation effects in derived nominals

Artemis Alexiadou, Mariangeles Cano, Gianina Iordăchioaia, Fabienne Martin, and Florian Schaefer (University of Stuttgart)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 14:30, East Lounge

In this paper, we offer a syntactic analysis of a restriction on the realization of the external argument in derived nominals. The restriction, recently (re)formulated in Sichel (2011), is the following: while verbal forms allow both direct and indirect participants/causers as external arguments, nominals derived from them require direct participation (regardless of animacy restrictions). We propose that this restriction is related to the absence of Voice in derived nominals and the type of prepositions that introduce event participants in the nominal domain (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer 2009). Based on cross-linguistic evidence (English, German, Greek, Romanian, Spanish and French), we show how this hypothesis captures the realization of nominal external arguments satisfactorily.

Our analysis suggests that not all types of nominalizations share the same internal structure (*ing-of* gerunds vs. derived nominals, Abney 1987, and others). Moreover, it predicts that in languages like English there are two types of *by*-phrases: an argumental one in the structures with Voice (e.g. *ing-of* gerunds), and a modifier one in the absence of Voice (e.g. derived nominals, contra Bruening 2011).

The Question Under Discussion and its Role in Scopal Ambiguity Resolution

Vandana Bajaj, Viviane Déprez, Julien Musolino (Rutgers University)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 10:45, East Lounge

Over the last decade, many studies on semantic acquisition have focused on the way speakers disambiguate sentences containing quantified NPs and negation (Musolino, 1998; Lidz & Musolino, 2002, 2006; Musolino & Lidz, 2003, 2006; Gualmini, 2004; Gualmini et al. 2008; Noveck et al. 2007; inter alios). Gualmini et al. (2008) propose a novel account of this phenomenon, the *Question-Answer Requirement* (QAR), which makes central use of the discourse coherence notion of a question under discussion (QUD; Roberts, 1996). To test the QAR, Gualmini (2007) and Zondervan et al. (2008) advocated using a Truth Value Judgment Task with overt questions that verbalize the QUD, but in doing so, they failed to test two crucial predictions of the QAR, namely that (i) manipulating the overt question can indeed lead participants to resolve the ambiguity in different ways, and (ii) that predictable ambiguity resolution is driven by the emergence of a clear and constant goal early in the experimental story context. Our experiment tested these predictions and showed, regarding (i), that manipulating the explicit question alone failed to push participants to systematically access either reading of the ambiguous target sentences. Regarding (ii), our results suggest that the point at which the relevant QUD becomes salient appears irrelevant. Overall our study demonstrates the greater potency of implicit information over utterances placed explicitly in the discourse, showing that ambiguity resolution is a complex affair, insufficiently characterized by the QAR.

Paradigm Learning and Subanalysis Complexity

Sebastian Bank, Jochen Trommer (University of Leipzig)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 12:00, East Lounge

Zero marking of inflectional categories is often regarded a major source of complexity in morphological systems (cf. e.g. Anderson 1992, Wunderlich and Fabri 1994, Segel 2008). In this talk, we argue that on the contrary zero marking as for present tense in the German affix paradigm in (1-a) is a precondition for morphological learning.

(1)	a.	Present		b.	Past	
		sg	pl		sg	pl
		1	1		1	1
		-Ø-e	-Ø-en		-t-e	-t-en
		2	2		2	2
		-Ø-est	-Ø-et		-t-est	-t-et
		3	3		3	3
		-Ø-et	-Ø-en		-t-e	-t-en

We show that the expression of present tense by Ø plays an important role in making accessible to learners the subanalysis of past tense forms into tense and agreement markers by presenting a learning algorithm for affix segmentation which profits substantially from assuming zero morphology in specific parts of inflectional paradigms. Moreover, we present preliminary results of a typological pilot study supporting the claim that human languages always exhibit zero marking at the relevant points of paradigms. We assume that the complexity of subanalysis depends crucially on the occurrence of potential subaffixes as independent affix, which establishes a simple hierarchy of complexity classes for the learnability of inflectional systems (Class 1 \subset Class 2 \subset Class 3). Its impact on learning of inflection is demonstrated by an incremental learning algorithm which simultaneously performs affix subanalysis and assigns morphosyntactic content to the resulting (sub-)affixes. By restricting search to independent affix strings, the learner has a rather small search space, but is still capable of subanalyzing data of complexity class 2, where for any binary subanalysis of an affix string into S1+S2 either S1 or S2 occurs independently.

Evidence for Syntactic Identity in P-stranding Clausal Ellipsis in Spanish

Matthew Barros (Rutgers University)

☞ Friday, April 20, 14:00, West Lounge

Rodrigues et al. (2009), Vicente (2008) propose that apparent cases of preposition stranding (P-stranding) under clausal ellipsis in Spanish actually stem from elided copula clauses where no preposition stranding actually obtains (a *pseudosluicing* analysis). In this talk, I present evidence against pseudosluicing and instead propose that preposition stranding under ellipsis should receive the same treatment as cases of island repair under ellipsis.

I show that there are cases where P-stranding is possible but an overt copula clause follow up is not possible, and there are cases where P-stranding is impossible, but an overt copula clause is possible. This mismatch is unexpected if P-stranding stems from copula clauses. Additionally, I show that the constraints on P-stranding discussed in Vicente (2008) are the same as constraints on island repair noted in Merchant (2008) and discussed more recently in Griffiths and Liptak (2011); clausal ellipsis is sensitive to both P-stranding and island violations in the same way. As a result, I extend the existing accounts for island repair to the P-stranding patterns in Spanish.

In the talk, I also discuss the diagnostics Rodrigues et al. (2009) and Vicente (2008) bring to bear on the pseudosluicing analysis and show that the diagnostics do not distinguish between a pseudosluicing analysis and the analysis proposed here. Finally, I present new data which raise challenges for the proposals in Merchant (2008), Griffiths and Liptak (2011) and discuss ways in which those challenges could be met.

Slightly coerced: Processing evidence for adjectival coercion by minimizers

Elizabeth Bogal-Allbritten (University of Massachusetts Amherst)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 9:00, East Lounge

This paper considers the processing of open scale dimensional adjectives (DAs) modified by minimizers (*slightly*). An online study examines the composition of adjectival scales and degree modifiers, comparing the rates of composition of compatible scales and modifiers with cases where modifiers induce scale coercion.

Kennedy (2007; *L&P*) predicts (1a) to be infelicitous in contrast with (1b): adjectives in (1b) have minimum scale endpoints (d_{\min}), which minimizers reference in their denotations ('exceed d_{\min} to a small degree'). However, an offline rating task shows that sentences containing (1a) collocations were judged as felicitous as those in (1b):

- (1) a. slightly large / deep DAs
b. slightly bent / ugly Minimum endpoint / Negative evaluative adjectives

I argue that the felicity of (1a) results from coercion of d_{\min} on otherwise open DA scales by minimizers. A self-paced reading study supports this view. Longer reading times (RT) can indicate coercion (Traxler et al. 2002, *J. Mem. Lang.*). Sentences like (2) were compared:

- (2) Ms. Smith thought that ₁ the red sofa was ₂ {(a) slightly ugly / (b) too ugly / (c) slightly large / (d) too large} ₃ to be used ₄...

RT for *slightly-adj* conditions (a,c) were compared to RT of *too-adj* conditions (b,d). *Too-adj* does not require coercion and served as the control for (a,c). The difference between (c)-(d) was greater than (a)-(b): 76.4ms vs. 31.5ms with a significant interaction (pMCMC = 0.034). The increase in RT for modified DAs relative to the control condition is consistent with the coercion hypothesis.

The semantics of frequency adjectives

Sebastian Buecking (University of Tuebingen)

☞ Friday, April 20, 14:30, East Lounge

Frequency adjectives (= FAs) as *occasional* allow for three readings in English and German:

- (1) An occasional beer tastes good / Ein gelegentliches Bier schmeckt gut
'generic' reading \approx If one drinks a beer occasionally, it tastes good.
- (2) An occasional sailor strolled by / Ein gelegentlicher Matrose schlenderte vorbei
a. 'adverbial' reading \approx Occasionally, a sailor strolled by.
b. 'internal' reading \approx Someone who sails occasionally strolled by.

Split approaches analyze 'adverbial' FAs as determiners (cf. Stump (1981), Larson (1998)); Gehrke & McNally (2011), however, treat FAs as uniform adjectival modifiers that quantify over event kinds. My talk's concern is twofold: following the insights of the parsimonious analysis in Gehrke & McNally (2011), I will point to shortcomings of its implementation. I will then present an alternative semantics that builds upon coercion as formalized in Asher (2011) and amend it by landing site underspecification in the sense of Egg (2005).

Accordingly, FAs both presuppose the application to events and quantify over corresponding event kinds. Since neither *beer* nor *sailor* denote events, the modification resorts to different adaptive strategies: the 'generic' and the 'adverbial' readings rest upon the interpolation of an underspecified event via coercion. On the 'generic' reading, the NP-context – for (1), which event relates to beverages? – allows the specification to drinking events. On the 'adverbial' reading, the eventive type is identified with the DP-external verbal type, i. e. the strolling in (2a). The 'internal' reading goes without coercion. Here, landing site underspecification ensures FAs' compositional access to events that are semantically integral to the modified nouns, i. e. the sailing in (2b).

Universal Quantification and Slack Regulation in the Adjectival Domain

Heather Burnett (University of California, Los Angeles)

☞ Friday, April 20, 14:00, East Lounge

This paper presents a novel empirical contribution to the open debate concerning the syntactic and semantic analysis of the lexical item *all* and its cognates in the Indo-European languages, with a particular focus on the Romance family (ex. French *tou(te)s*, Italian *tutto*, Romanian *tot-* etc.). Although it is one of the most discussed elements of the Indo-European determiner system, the proper treatment of *all/tou(te)s/tutto* in the nominal domain remains controversial. The majority view in the literature is that *all* and its cognates are universal quantifiers. Recent advocates of this style of semantic analysis are Winter (2001), Zweig (2008), and Champollion (2011). However, an alternative view, advocated principally by Lasersohn (1999) and Brisson (2003), proposes that the contribution of *all* to the meaning of the sentence is pragmatic, not quantificational. For example, Lasersohn proposes that *all* in English is a slack regulator, an item that eliminates ‘pragmatic slack’ or vagueness associated with its complement. This paper provides new evidence in favor of the ‘slack regulator’ style of analysis, against the quantificational analysis. We present new data concerning the distribution and interpretation of French “*tout*” and its cognates with adjectives and argue that a universal quantifier approach cannot account for the interpretative pattern observed. However, we show that the observed distribution and interpretations of *tout* with both adjectives and DPs is straightforwardly expected under an analysis of this lexical item as a slack regulator that eliminates the borderline cases of its complement.

A Gestural Account of Minor Syllables: Evidence from Khmer

Becky Butler (Cornell University)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 17:00, East Lounge

Predictable vocalic elements – or *intrusive schwas* – can be either epenthetic (phonological) or excrescent (phonetic). In this paper, I provide an empirical account of intrusive schwa in Khmer sesquisyllables. A sesquisyllable is traditionally defined as a word type comprising one right-aligned footed (major) syllable preceded by one unfooted (minor) syllable (Matisoff 1973). A minor syllable is characterized by its reduced markedness, including a reduced syllable shape and segmental inventory and a lack of prosodic material.

The acoustic study focuses on a set of Khmer words with initial consonant sequences, which may be realized as either monosyllables with complex onsets (e.g. [‘mteh], ‘pepper’) or as sesquisyllables with an intrusive schwa (e.g. [mə’teh], ‘pepper’). Results suggest that Khmer intrusive schwa is a transition state between gestures, whose voicing derives from the continuation of vocal fold vibration accompanying C1. A comparison of this account with Ridouane and Fougeron’s (2011) study of intrusive schwa in Tashlhiyt Berber demonstrates that gestural timing models must allow for intra- and cross-linguistic variation. In addition, I suggest that variability in gestural coordination underlies the role of intrusive schwa in so-called sesquisyllabic languages, and that this variability can result in the misperception and mistiming of gestural coordination, which, in other historically sesquisyllabic languages, like Kammu and Vietnamese, have led to a change in the phonological status of minor syllables.

What Determines the Licensing of Negative Polarity Items: The Interaction between Mandarin Chinese Minimizers, Negation, and Foci

I-Hsuan Chen (University of California, Berkeley)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 9:00, West Lounge

This paper tackles the questions of what licenses negative polarity items (NPIs). Mandarin Chinese (MC) minimizer NPIs deserve our attention because they pose a challenge to the claim that negation is a sufficient licenser for NPIs. Negation has been regarded as the most canonical licenser for NPIs (Klima 1964, Ladusaw 1996). This study of MC minimizer NPIs will show that negation alone is a necessary condition but not always sufficient. MC minimizer NPIs have three characteristics. First, they have a scalar implication. Second, they are strict NPIs narrowly licensed by negation. Third, the NPIs are indefinite. The properties of strict NPIs and indefinites are strongly tied to their syntactic distribution. I account for the complicated distribution of MC minimizer NPIs by examining it through three independently motivated analyses: negation licensing strict NPIs under c-command (Progovac 1994, Giannakidou 2011), the VP-internal subject hypothesis (Huang 1993), and the Extended Mapping Hypothesis (Diesing 1992, Tsai 2001). For strict NPIs, like MC minimizer NPIs, syntactic licensing by negation is a necessary requirement, but it is not sufficient. This has to do with the syntactic position of NPIs and the indefiniteness of NPIs. Therefore, focus with a quantificational function is required to license the indefinites when necessary. To account for the full distribution of NPIs, different factors, such as the strictness, the scalar inferences, and the indefiniteness of NPIs, should be taken into consideration.

Acquisition of Raising: Intervention Effects in A-movement

Jinsun Choe (University of Hawaii at Manoa)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 12:00, West Lounge

Children have been reported to have difficulty with raising structures like *John seems to Mary [t] to be happy* (e.g., Hirsch & Wexler, 2007, amongst others). This difficulty has been interpreted as evidence for maturational theories of language acquisition (Borer & Wexler, 1987), which posit that A-movement structures such as raising and passives are ungrammatical for young children. However, the explanation pursued here is that the source of the difficulty with raising is one in the same as a well-known difficulty found in other structures: Similarity-based Intervention. Children (and adults) have been shown to have difficulty with structures that involve filler-gap dependencies which have an intervening NP between the filler and the gap, as in object relatives like *the boy who the girl kissed [t]* (e.g., Friedmann et al., 2009). To tease apart the movement hypothesis and the intervention hypothesis, a Truth-Value Judgment Task (Crain & Thornton, 1998) was conducted with English-speaking children (age 3;3 to 5;8, mean=4;8, n=43) to test the comprehension of raising structures, in which the experiencer does (e.g., *Donald seems to Mickey [t] to be short*) and does not (e.g., *To Mickey, Donald seems [t] to be short*) intervene between the raised NP and the gap. The results revealed that children's comprehension of raising sentences was significantly better with a fronted experiencer than with an intervening experiencer. These findings suggest that the presence of an intervening experiencer phrase in raising structure is the source of children's difficulty with raising sentences, rather than the movement *per se*.

The factivity of pizza subjunctives

Eva Csipak (University of Göttingen)

🗨️ Thursday, April 19, 15:45, East Lounge

This talk discusses a hitherto unobserved phenomenon: free factive subjunctives in German, exemplified in (1).

- (1) Ich hatte (noch) Pizza im Kühlschrank.
'I (PART) have.SUBJ pizza in the fridge.'

In its most salient reading, (1) is interpreted factively, e.g. in a scenario where the speaker wishes to offer existing pizza to an interlocutor. This means the subjunctive seen in (1) differs sharply from the subjunctives seen in Romance languages where they obligatorily receive a counterfactual interpretation. Following Kasper's (1992) analysis of free counterfactual subjunctives as the consequents of a counterfactual conditional, I treat (1) as the consequent of a relevance conditional.

- (2) Wenn du Hunger hast, ich hatte (noch) Pizza im Kühlschrank.
'If you are hungry, I have.SUBJ (PART) pizza in the fridge.'

The antecedent is derived by spelling out a presupposition of (1): that there is a salient individual with a salient goal for whom knowing (1) is relevant. Note that in the indicative case this is done via Gricean implicature. I also discuss a further difference between (2) and its indicative counterpart (3):

- (3) Wenn du Hunger hast, ich habe (noch) Pizza im Kühlschrank.
'If you are hungry, I have.IND (PART) pizza in the fridge.'

Unlike (3), the speaker of (2) is not committed to having the only or even the best relevant information regarding the hearer's goals.

Bare nouns and gender agreement in Brazilian Portuguese

Karen Duek (CUNY Graduate Center)

🗨️ Friday, April 20, 16:15, West Lounge

This paper presents new data on a gender agreement mismatch phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese that is observed with bare singular subjects of predicative adjectives. In particular, there is a systematic distinction between bare singulars with arbitrary gender such as *maçã* 'apple' (1) or sex-based gender such as *atriz* 'actress' (2), and between the bare plural and bare singular of arbitrary gender NPs (3).

I propose that the accessibility of Index features (Wechsler and Zlatic 2002) of bare singulars is dependent on the nature of their gender feature. Following Kramer (2010), arbitrary gender is a feature of the root and natural gender a feature on little *n*. Semantically, natural gender is treated as an instantiation function, giving access to instances of the kind denoted by the noun. This is a requirement on the availability of Index features values, due to their relationship to the referentiality of NPs. Gender agreement is shown to correlate with interpretative possibilities in the direction predicted given its contribution to the individuation status of NPs. Cross-linguistically, this approach is also compatible with the gender mismatches observed in Scandinavian pancake sentences.

The analysis addresses the need for a more fine-grained theory of Index agreement that incorporates the semantic import of ϕ -features individually.

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|-------|----------|----------|---------|----|----------|--------|----------|-----|-----------|--------|-----|-----------|
| (1) a. | Maçã | é | gostoso. | (2) a. | Atriz | é | vaidosa. | (3) a. | Maçãs | são | gostosas. | | | |
| | Apple | is | tasty.m | | Actress | is | vain.f | | Apples | are | tasty.f | | | |
| | b. | *Maçã | é | gostosa. | | b. | *Atriz | é | vaidoso. | | b. | *Maçãs | são | gostosos. |
| | | Apple | is | tasty.f | | | Actress | is | vain.m | | | Apples | are | tasty.m |

Mandarin alternative questions question focus alternatives

Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 14:00, West Lounge

Mandarin Chinese alternative questions use the disjunction *háishi*, distinct from its logical disjunction *huo(zhe/shi)*. I argue that the interpretation of *háishi* alternative questions involves the computation of Roothian focus alternatives, à la Beck and Kim (2006), a.o.

Previous approaches to *háishi* disjunction in Mandarin (C.T. Huang, 1991; R.H. Huang, 2009, 2010) state that disjunction is always clausal, with deletion of “redundant” material creating the illusion of local disjunction. I present evidence from intervention effects, cooccurrence with the focus marker *shì*, and *wh*-island sensitivity, which can be explained by the focus alternatives proposal but not through conjunction reduction.

While *háishi* is often described as an alternative-question-introducing disjunction, in some environments (e.g. conditionals, under modals, or with free-choice interpretation under *dōu*) *háishi* is simply interchangeable with the logical disjunction and does not trigger question force. I adopt Alonso-Ovalle’s (2006) analysis for the interpretation of disjunction in such environments which use focus alternatives projected by then disjunction. I then propose that *háishi* has only a focus semantic value while the logical disjunction has both ordinary and focus semantic values, explaining their different distributions. This offers an approach to analyzing distinct logical and alternative question disjunctions, which is also attested in Sinhala, Finnish, and Basque.

Children’s forms as derivational steps: External evidence for a new synthetic compound structure

Jessica Gamache (Michigan State University)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 14:00, East Lounge

Deciding between competing linguistic analyses when both analyses have the same empirical coverage can be difficult. Many structures have been proposed for synthetic compounds that essentially fall into two categories: (i) [truck [drive-er]]-type structures or (ii) [[truck drive] -er]-type structures. In this paper I present results from two experimental studies tracking the development of synthetic compounds in English and argue that children’s novel synthetic compounds (or “errors”) are acquisition steps reflecting the derivational history of the adult structures (Strong Continuity Hypothesis). The acquisition steps for synthetic compounds, namely (1) verb-object (*drive-truck*), (2) verb-*er*-object (*driver-truck*), and (3) object-verb-*er* (*truck-driver*), support structures like that in (i) and are problematic for structures like that in (ii) (e.g., Harley, 2009; Borer, to appear), due to the false prediction of an object-verb (*truck-drive*) acquisition stage, which is unattested in the two studies presented in this paper, as well as in past studies (Clark et al., 1986; Nagpal & Nicoladis, 2009). In this paper I propose a new DM structure for synthetic compounds where the verb-object word-order is retained until -*er* enters the structure, attracting the internal argument to its specifier and forcing leftward movement (in the spirit of Roeper 1999). Under this structure, the learning problem becomes tractable and the development of the novel forms children produce mimics the derivational steps towards the adult forms.

A modal analysis of Greek and Italian future morphemes

Anastasia Giannakidou¹, Alda Mari² (¹University of Chicago, ²ENS/CNRS Paris)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 15:15, East Lounge

This paper argues that the future suffix in Italian and the future particle *tha* in Greek must be treated as evidentials. Both the Italian suffix and Greek *tha* have a modal and a temporal interpretation. Our main goal is to show how these interpretations are derived from an evidential mechanism. We assume that, together with the evidential component, the future contributes non-past. On the empirical side, we show that, like epistemic modal statements, future statements are grounded in the availability, in the context of utterance, of indirect evidence. On the theoretical side, we treat the Italian suffix and *tha* as epistemic modal operators, taking wide scope over tense. We work in a branching time framework and assume a nonveridical analysis of epistemic modality (Giannakidou 1998, 1999): knowledge of the speaker is both compatible with *p* and not *p* being true. This can be achieved at the utterance time, if knowledge is indirect. The event description is forward shifted in two cases: 1. When an overt adverb is present; 2. When the epistemic reading is blocked by the availability of direct evidence that either *p* or not *p* are true in the context of utterance. In this case, as both *p* and non-*p* are true in future branches from the actual world at the utterance time, a circumstantial modal basis is chosen, yielding the temporal interpretation of the future.

Assibilation in Standard Finnish: a case of stress-conditioned contrast neutralization

Maria Giavazzi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Friday, April 20, 15:45, East Lounge

The aim of this paper is to provide a new analysis of assibilation in Standard Finnish verbs and to present a case study of the interaction between stress and segmental processes.

Assibilation applies to stem-final /t/ before /-i/ across a morpheme boundary. It is blocked in immediately post-tonic position, optional following a post-tonic segment, and obligatory if the /ti/ sequence is further away from stress.

Anttila (2007) proposes that assibilation applies to extrametrical /t/, as a result of Positional Faithfulness (Beckmann 1998) to segmental features occurring within the stressed foot.

I argue that assigning stressed feet a positional privilege has major consequences for the predicted factorial typology of Pos-Faith effects, since it faces the challenge of restricting the set of features which can be targeted by stress-conditioned processes.

I propose that the effect of stress on Finnish assibilation is consistent with a more restrictive, phonetically based analysis: assibilation is triggered by the perceptual similarity between the frication noise of [t] before [i] and the frication of [s], and this process is blocked in the vicinity of stress, due to C lengthening in this position.

Acoustic data shows that coronal stops in the obligatory assibilation contexts are acoustically most dissimilar from strident fricatives, while they have the largest burst/total duration ratio in the assibilation context. Results from a perceptual experiment also support the neutralization analysis: /ti/ sequences whose acoustic properties mirror post-tonic /ti/ are discriminated more easily from /si/ sequences, than /ti/ sequences whose acoustic properties are those of far-from-stress /ti/.

Latin rhotacism for real

Kyle Gorman (University of Pennsylvania)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 15:45, West Lounge

Latin $s \sim r$ alternations are the parade examples of intraparadigmatic influences on phonological change. It is widely assumed that Classical Latin contains a phonologically general process of RHOTACISM ($s \rightarrow r / V _ V$). Under this analysis, *honōs/honōris* ‘honor (nom.sg./gen.sg.)’ derive from the root /hono:s/, with RHOTACISM of the stem-final /s/ in the gen.sg. Using a corpus of all extant pre-Christian texts, I argue that such a rule would incur extensive and diverse exceptions in Classical Latin and should be rejected. More roots contain intervocalic s (and therefore are putative exceptions to RHOTACISM) than the $s \sim r$ alternation that is the only synchronic evidence for RHOTACISM. Further, intervocalic s is tolerated in numerous derived environments. I propose an alternative account in which many instances of this alternation are generated by an independently motivated coronal cluster simplification process. If the root of ‘honor’ is /hono:r-/, then the $-s$ suffix of the nominative singular will delete the stem-final consonant (and produce the desired $s \sim r$ pattern) just as it deletes other coronal consonants in this context (e.g., *cōs/cōtis* ‘flint’, *laus/laudis* ‘praise’, *pollis/pollinis* ‘flour’). This has desirable consequences for understanding the leveling of the $s \sim r$ in later Latin (e.g., *honor/honōris* in Apuleius). I propose the leveling is the result of a gradual extension of the competing null nom.sg. (e.g., *cōnsul/cōnsulis* ‘consul’), which eliminates the context for coronal cluster simplification and allows stem-final coronals to surface.

Better low pay than no pay: Propositional Adjectives Obviate Negative Island Effects

Stefan Hofstetter (Universität Tübingen)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 16:30, West Lounge

Normally, putting an n -word into the *than*-complement of a comparative leads to a (semantic) Negative Island Effect (NIE) that renders an otherwise fully grammatical comparative unacceptable (**Mary is taller than no boy is*). This phenomenon occurs however in a much less systematic fashion than the existing literature on comparatives has it, as can be seen from the impeccable status of the following dialogue uttered in the context of a public reading that nobody but Peter attended: A: *Only Peter turned up*. B: *That’s still better than no-one at all*. A corpus study in the languages English, French, German and Spanish has shown the lack of NIEs to be productive in all four languages alike and we propose to account for these data on the basis of two other observations: NIEs generally disappear whenever the n -word happens to be in a position embedded more deeply within the *than*-complement and with sentences lacking a NIE, it is always possible to extend this complement into a fully-fledged CP (*That’s still better than if no-one at all had turned up*. for the above example). We therefore suggest that in cases where no NIE arises, we aren’t dealing with an ‘ordinary’ adjective denoting a relation between an individual and a degree (of type $\langle e, \langle d, t \rangle \rangle$), but with a ‘propositional’ one, expressing a relation between a proposition and a degree (type $\langle \langle s, t \rangle, \langle d, t \rangle \rangle$). With the latter type of adjective (but not the former), an n -word will automatically be embedded within an entire proposition, which successfully prevents a NIE.

Non-uniform merge of argument WH and null resumption: A case study in Kaqchikel

Yusuke Imanishi (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

📅 Thursday, April 19, 11:30, West Lounge

I claim that a possessor *wh* in Kaqchikel undergoes non-uniform Merge by showing new empirical facts that (at least) one dialect of Kaqchikel has two strategies to make a possessor interrogative: one type of the possessor *wh* is External-Merged into Spec-CP, while the other type undergoes movement to Spec-CP via Internal-Merge. It is argued that the non-uniform Merge in Kaqchikel is made possible by the existence of null resumption in the language. I present a paradox in which resumption in Kaqchikel displays no movement properties in a simple clause, whereas it does in a long-distance dependency. I suggest that the domain of locality relevant to the resumptive dependencies in Kaqchikel is more constrained than the one in other widely discussed resumptive languages like Irish and Hebrew. Specifically, I propose that a resumptive pronoun in Kaqchikel must be licensed within a clause, not a phase, which is commonly assumed to play a dominant role in explaining various syntactic phenomena. The Clause-Mate Condition on the Resumptive Chain (CCRC) will be proposed to address the paradox. I also provide an account of the CCRC in the following way: the CCRC results from the (indirect) dependency between a resumptive operator and a clitic. The CCRC can be then reduced to a general property of clitics. I also consider the Clitic Left Dislocation in Italian and Greek in the context of the CCRC, and conclude that these languages pattern with Kaqchikel regarding the availability of the CCRC.

Stacking Verbal Suffixes in Korean — An Argument for Flavors of *v*

Hyun Kyoung Jung (University of Arizona)

📅 Friday, April 20, 10:15, West Lounge

This paper provides new evidence for different flavors of *v* (Harley 1995; Folli & Harley 2005; 2007) by investigating the properties of the verbalizers occurring with Sino-Korean (SK) roots and native Korean (NK) roots. Specifically, the paper examines the Case licensing facts in nominalizations and argues that the verbalizer *-ha* ‘do’ either functions as v_{BE} or v_{DO} depending on the type of the root it attaches to. Therefore, (i) although *-ha* attached to SK agentive roots and that attached to SK psych roots are identical in the form and verbalizing function, the two differ in terms of the Case licensing ability and hosting an external argument. In addition, (ii) I show that the agentive interpretation associated with SK psych roots with two instances of *-ha* arises due to the outer v_{DO} layer. In line with Jung (2011), a further observation is made that NK roots are associated with null verbalizers, which also are identified as either v_{BE} or v_{DO} . The predictions made by the current proposal on the distinct statuses of v_{BE} and v_{DO} are confirmed by the interaction of the verbalizers with the imperative, exhortative, and promissive endings. Finally, a welcome result of the typology of *v* is discussed with respect to a restructuring (Rizzi 1978; Wurmbrand 2001) construction in Korean. This study comes to a conclusion that a verbalizing head does not necessarily serve three functions simultaneously. The verbalizing function of *v* needs to be separated from its ability to assign structural Case and introduce the external theta-role.

A novel aspect split in Senaya

Laura Kalin¹, Coppe van Urk² (¹University of California, Los Angeles, ²Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Friday, April 20, 15:45, West Lounge

This paper adds to the typology of aspect-based case/agreement splits by presenting the unusual system of the Neo-Aramaic dialect Senaya. In Senaya, a NOM/ACC system in the imperfective, (1a), alternates with what resembles an antipassive in the perfective, (1b):

- (1) a. *Aanii xazy-ii-lan.*
they see.IMPF-3PL.S-1PL.L
'They see us.'
- b. *Axnii xa yaala xzee-lan.*
we one child see.PERF-1PL.L
'We saw a child.'

The object marker of the imperfective in (1a) (*-lan*, 1pl), marks the subject of the perfective in (1b), while the object in the perfective cannot be marked and is therefore indefinite.

We show that this system can be derived from the assumption that imperfective aspect introduces additional structure, developed in recent work on split ergativity (Coon 2010, *i.a.*). Specifically, we argue that the perfective in Senaya represents the most basic agreement configuration – there is a single ϕ -probe on T, which establishes an Agree relation with the subject. Imperfective aspect introduces an additional ϕ -probe, on Asp itself, between T and *v*. This ϕ -probe is closer to the transitive subject (spec-*v*P) and therefore it is Asp that establishes an Agree relation with the subject; this enables the ϕ -probe on T to establish an Agree relation with a definite object. The syntactic structures we propose for the perfective and imperfective map directly onto the universal structure of tense and aspect proposed by Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000) and provide evidence for the hypothesis that split ergativity arises because of additional structure introduced in nonperfective aspects (Coon 2010; Coon and Preminger 2011; Laka 2006).

The interaction between propositional attitude verbs and reportative evidentiality in Tagalog

Gregory Kierstead (The Ohio State University)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 10:15, East Lounge

When triggers associated with a projective implication are embedded under a propositional attitude verb such as *believe*, the implication can be interpreted as a belief of the matrix subject, as with the factive implication of *know*. For example, in “John believes that Sue knows that vegetables are nutritious,” John holds the belief that vegetables are nutritious. Here we say the implication has a local effect, which I will call a local reading. With an appositive, however, the content of the appositive is not interpreted as a belief of the matrix subject, and so has no local effect. For example, in “John believes that Sue, a chef, is from Texas,” John does not necessarily believe that Sue is a chef. I will call this a non-local reading.

I present data collected from original fieldwork on the Tagalog reportative evidential *daw* embedded under the predicate *akala* ‘falsely believe’. I give evidence for both of the readings exemplified above, showing that *daw* requires a different analysis than triggers that allow only one reading. In allowing both readings, *daw* is unlike other evidentials attested in the literature, which either allow only a non-local reading (Garrett, 2001), or allow only a local reading (Sauerland and Schenner, 2007). In addition, I will show that there is a third reading where *daw* takes scope over *akala*. The new data presented here thus raises important questions about the semantics of evidentials, the study of non-presuppositional projective meanings, and the study of taxonomy of meaning.

Do learners prefer transparent rule ordering? An Artificial language learning study

Yun Jung Kim (University of California, Los Angeles)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 10:45, West Lounge

When a language has two phonological rules that interact, the classic typology posits four types of interaction: feeding and bleeding (transparent), and counterfeeding and counterbleeding (opaque). It has been argued that learners prefer transparency (Kiparsky, 1976; Weinberger, 1994), but this claim has not been thoroughly tested. In classic OT (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004), opaque interactions require additional mechanisms (e.g., McCarthy 2007), and thus might again be expected to be dispreferred.

The current paper tests this claim using an artificial language learning experiment, particularly whether learners choose feeding over counterfeeding when presented with ambiguous data.

An artificial language was created with two rules: vowel deletion ($V \rightarrow \emptyset / _V$) and palatalization ($\{t,d\} \rightarrow tʃ/dʒ / _i$). In training, participants encountered no cases where the rules interact.

Out of 12 participants, 10 produced counterfeeding, one produced feeding, and another produced both. These results suggest that contrary to expectation, people do not prefer transparent feeding over opaque counterfeeding when they have a choice. These results are analyzed by using *Map theory (Zuraw, 2007). Opaque rule ordering (the grammar of 10 participants), transparent rule ordering (the grammar of 1 participant) and free variation (the grammar of 1 participant) can be deduced from changing the order of two constraints: *Map($t^{e,a,o,u} \sim tʃ$) and *ti. The current study is the first to test whether there is a clear preference for transparent phonological processes. We found that, in this case, there is no such preference, and gave a constraint set that could capture both outcomes.

On the Khmer Passive-like Construction: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective

Lan Kim (University of Delaware)

☞ Friday, April 20, 10:45, West Lounge

This paper investigates previously unobserved data on Khmer passive-like constructions involving the verb *trau* ‘hit, strike’. As described in Haiman (2011), *trau* appears to act both as a main verb (when it takes an NP) and as a passive-like marker (when it takes an agent NP immediately followed by a lexical verb). In this presentation, we show that separate uses of *trau* are historically related and share a meaning of ‘affect’, but that synchronically the predicates diverge by selecting different complements, NP versus CP. Specifically, we argue that main verb *trau* as an adversative marker is an unaccusative verb with two internal arguments (affectee and affecter), whereas passive-like *trau* is on a par with an English *tough*-predicate. Under this proposal, a unified analysis of *trau* is not possible: main verb *trau* has been grammaticalized as passive marker, it is bleached of its meaning, and so this difference between two uses of *trau* is to be expected.

In our talk, we also offer a comparative perspective on Khmer passive-like constructions with a consideration of passive-like constructions in Mandarin Chinese and Vietnamese, which reveals an interesting parallelism among three languages in displaying A'-dependency properties. Finally, this study lends empirical support to the so-called Southeast Asian areal phenomenon in which a lexical verb denoting an adversative meaning has been generalized as a passive-like marker via grammaticalization (e.g., Cole et al 2010 on Malay, Prasithratsint 2006 on Thai, Simpson & Ho 2008 on Vietnamese).

Being “better” with accents: evidence from bilinguals

Yulia Kondratenko, Laura Spinu (Concordia University)

🕒 Saturday, April 21, 16:30, East Lounge

We trained 30 speakers (monolingual English and French-English bilinguals) to produce different accents of English. A preliminary analysis addressed subjects’ ability to neutralize the tense-lax vowel contrast in reproducing a Russian English accent. Vowel F1/F2 measurements were obtained in three conditions: *pre*: prior to accent exposure, *training*: the subjects listened to and immediately repeated accented sentences, and *post*: the subjects tried to reproduce the accent spontaneously with sentences not previously heard. While both groups achieved nativelike production (pronouncing *heat* and *hit* as [hit]) when asked to repeat sentences, the bilinguals, as a group, were more successful when asked to spontaneously produce novel sentences in this accent. Bilinguals’ F2 values differed significantly between *heat* and *hit* prior to accent training, but not in the *post* condition. F1 values differed significantly for monolinguals and bilinguals in both *pre* and *post*.

Our findings support the phonological translation hypothesis (Flege 1981) which predicts L2 forms should be intermediate between L1 and L2, due to a restructuring of the phonetic space so that it encompasses two languages. An alternative account may be in terms of echoic memory (Calabrese 2011), a mechanism by which sensory representations of speech uttered by others are stored and checked against different mental representations, until the stored acoustic patterns are either ascribed to existing phonological representations or converted into new phonological representations. Bilinguals’ echoic memory strategies may differ from those of monolinguals due to simultaneous acquisition of two languages, such that novel intermediate phonological representations are arrived at more rapidly.

Many Readings of Most

Hadas Kotek, Yasutada Sudo, Martin Hackl (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

🕒 Friday, April 20, 9:30, East Lounge

The literature recognizes at least three distinct readings of *many*: cardinal, proportional, and reverse proportional (RP) (Westerståhl 1984, Partee 1988, Büring 1996, Herburger 1997, Cohen 2001).

- (1) Many Scandinavians are Nobel prize winners
 - a. |Scandinavian Nobel prize winners| is large_C (Cardinal)
 - b. |Scandinavian Nobel prize winners|/|Scandinavians| is large_C (Proportional)
 - c. |Scandinavian Nobel prize winners|/|Nobel prize winners| is large_C (RP)

In this talk, we observe that the same multiple ambiguity of *many* exists with *most* as well.

In addition to the ‘more than half’ and superlative readings of *most* that are discussed in previous studies (Szabolcsi 1986, Heim 1999), we identify two new readings: a RP reading, and what we call the “fragile” superlative reading. The latter reading is truth-conditionally similar to the familiar superlative reading, but is sensitive to the number of comparisons between the target and competitor sets, and the distance between them. For instance, (2), which uses the superlative reading of bare *most* (Kotek et al. 2011), becomes false after 5-6 comparisons are made.

- (2)
 - a. Most of the students are from California
 - b. 9 from CA, 4 from MA, 4 from IL, 4 from TX, ...

Based on the observation that different readings of *many* and *most* have the same distributions, we argue that our findings lend support to Hackl’s (2009) decompositional analysis of *most* as being composed of *many* and the superlative morpheme *-est*.

Beyond the adolescent peak of toykey

Soohyun Kwon (University of Pennsylvania)

☞ Friday, April 20, 10:45, East Lounge

This study presents a synchronic quantitative study of the use of intensifiers in Seoul Korean and possible interpretations to the apparent time trajectory of two most frequently occurring intensifiers. Drawing from 40 sociolinguistic interviews with native Seoul Koreans from four age groups, a total 1912 of tokens were coded for two linguistic constraints (functional and semantic type of adjectival heads occurring with intensifiers) as well as two social factors (age and gender) and submitted to mixed-effect modeling through Rbrul.

A close examination of two most robustly occurring intensifiers in the data, *nemu* and *toykey*, reveals that age is the most significant factor for both *nemu* ($p=0.0025$) and *toykey* ($p=0.0000075$). Under the apparent time interpretation, *nemu*, the most dominant intensifier, is gradually waning, whereas *toykey*, the runner-up, is rapidly rising. The results corroborate Labov (2001) and Tagliamonte and D’Arcy’s (2009) findings of an adolescent peak in that the frequency of *toykey* is highest among adolescents: teenagers use this innovative form more frequently than their immediate younger and elders do.

A possibility of age-grading is also considered. This interpretation stems partly from the fact that the use of *toykey* has been associated with “being tough” or “being cool”. *Toykey* has been regarded as informal, vernacular or even slangy rather than as formal or standard language (Ahn, 2003). Therefore, this innovative variant can be used most vigorously in one’s teenager years and abandoned across one’s lifespan.

Sprouting Anew: Fragment Answers, And Here’s Why

Bradley Larson (University of Maryland)

☞ Friday, April 20, 14:30, West Lounge

This talk presents an alternative account of sprouting (Chung, Ladusaw, and McCloske 1995; 2010) and a novel paradigm that further refines conditions on clausal antecedents for sluicing generally. Contra standard assumptions, Sprouting occurs not just when there is no syntactic antecedent for the sluiced element, but also when there *is* a syntactic antecedent, albeit phonologically elided. This spurs a new account of sprouting that is very similar to previous) analyses of sluicing in general in which the wh-word in question moves to the left-periphery of a clause before ellipsis (Ross 1967, Merchant 2001). The relevant distinction here is that sprouting sub-cases of sluicing are fed by extraposition.

There have been numerous recent accounts of other construction that involve ellipsis-evasion that also rely on extraposition. Jayeselaan (1990) argues for an account of pseudogapping in which the construction is fed by extraposition, Hasegawa (2007) does so for swiping, and Lasnik (in press) for multiple sluicing. The analysis that is posited here for sprouting is in the tradition of these accounts. The sprouted wh-word extraposes before moving to Spec,CP like wh-words in Ross-style analyses of traditional sluicing. This allows us to capture the constrained nature of the construction in a similar manner to previous analyses.

Sluicing may repair LF-constraints

Tommi Leung (United Arab Emirates University)

☞ Saturday, April 21, 17:00, West Lounge

Emirati Arabic shows that movement and reconstruction are subject to distinct conditions (c.f. Aoun and Li 2003, Guillot and Malkawi 2009). Arabic wh-movement observes all (i.e. strong and weak) island constraints:

- (1) a. * $f u_i$ *t-ʕarf* [*er-ɾayaal elli ʔəftra t_i*]? (what you-know [the-man that bought])
b. * $f u_i$ *t-ba t-ʕarf* [*ʔeða John ʔəftra t_i*]? (what you-want you-know [whether John bought])

Wh-reconstruction neutralizes some strong-weak island distinction. It is legitimate across weak islands, or strong islands if the antecedent NP is outside the island. The only case in which wh-reconstruction is banned is that the antecedent NP is inside a strong island. What complicates the picture is sluicing:

- (2) *John ʕrab ʕaj, bəs maa ʕarf fuu.* (John drank something, but not know what)

Reconstruction is preserved in sluicing regardless of the type of island constraints at the underlying wh-question, or the position of the antecedent NP, which differs from reconstruction in regular contexts. Semantically, Arabic sluicing allows single-pair and pair-list readings of the wh-slurice regardless of island constraints (contra. reconstruction in normal contexts), again showing that sluicing can neutralize reconstruction constraints. I claim that (i) movement and reconstruction constraints are defined at PF and LF respectively, (ii) PF- and LF-conditions interact with each other in the sense that some PF constraints or operations have a semantic consequence at LF, (iii) sluicing as PF-deletion (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001) can repair the reconstruction constraints which are defined at LF.

Revisiting frequency and storage in morphological processing

Constantine Lignos, Kyle Gorman (University of Pennsylvania)

☞ Friday, April 20, 9:00, West Lounge

The exploration of the tradeoff between compositional units that are stored as a whole or computed upon each use spans both theories of representation and processing. Ideally, the units of lexical processing and the units of lexical representation used in morphological theory should coincide, thus the question of what units—be they whole words, pieces such as roots and suffixes, or some combination of those elements—are implicated in processing studies should also have an impact on a theory of morphology. A long-standing question is how the frequency of those units can affect the speed with which they are accessed and used. We examine the subtleties of word *frequency effects*, the notion that more frequently used units should be accessed faster. Our work is the first study to use both the largest available database of English lexical decision times and accurate frequency estimates to examine frequency effects across a broad set of regularly inflected items. Using mixed effects linear models of lexical decision times, we find no basis for previous claims that frequency effects can be used as evidence for some regular forms being stored (*pace* Alegre and Gordon, 1999). We also find that once effects of the pieces (e.g., roots and suffixes) are accounted for there is no residual effect of whole word frequency on lexical decision times. These findings support previously proposed decompositional models and illustrate the impact of frequency norm selection on the conclusions of lexical decision studies.

Post-syntactic Operations: Morphological Locality in Saaroa Prefix Concord

Kuo-Chiao Jason Lin (New York University)

☞ Friday, April 20, 15:15, West Lounge

This paper argues that a post-syntactic approach is superior to a pure syntactic one invoking Multiple Agree in explaining the morphological locality exhibited by the prefix concord (1) in Saaroa, an endangered Formosan language.

- (1) *paahlu-muamuare=aku paahlu-papuahle paahlu-sahli*
AV.PC-slowly=1SG.NOM AV.PC-twice AV.PC-song
'I slowly sang the song twice.'

The prefixes have been taken to be verb classifiers and the adverbial verbs in Saaroa are viewed as functional verbs carrying uninterpretable/unvalued verb-type [CLASS] feature to be valued by the interpretable/valued verb-type [CLASS] feature on the lower lexical verb (Li 2009). The example in (1) then involves Multiple Agree (Li 2009). This paper, on the other hand, shows that an AGREE-based approach as proposed has several empirical/theoretical problems such morphological locality is predicted by the C₁-LIN theory (Embick 2010), according to which for morpheme Z to induce contextual allomorphy (either via by *Vocabulary Insertion* (VI) or *Readjustment rules*) of morpheme Y, Z and Y must be in the same *cyclic domain*. In other words, a noncyclic Y that is part of the edge⁺ of cyclic *y* cannot have its contextual allomorphy determined by Z that is in the complement of inner cyclic *x* in ...Z] x]...y] Y] under any circumstances.

Constraint promotion: not only convergent but also efficient

Giorgio Magri (CNRS, University of Paris 7)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 11:30, East Lounge

Children learn their target language early, fast and efficiently. They must thus rely on a remarkably efficient learning strategy. What could it look like? According to the *error-driven learning model*, the learner maintains a current hypothesis of the target adult phonotactics that is slightly updated whenever it makes a mistake on the incoming stream of data from the target adult language, until it makes no more mistakes. This learning model is very popular in the current *Optimality Theoretic* (OT) acquisition literature because of its cognitive plausibility (Gnanadesikan 2004, Boersma & Levelt 2000, Bernhardt & Stemberger 1998, etcetera; but Tessier 2009 for critical discussion). In fact, it models the observed acquisition gradualness, as it describes a stepwise progression towards the target adult grammar. And it does not impose unrealistic memory requirements, as it only looks at a piece of data at the time without keeping track of previously seen data. Yet, cognitive plausibility needs to be supplemented with computational soundness. The most basic computational desideratum for error-driven learning is that the model eventually stops making mistakes and thus settle on a final ranking (*convergence*). Furthermore, the number of mistakes before convergence should grow slowly with the number of constraints, so that the model is feasible also for large constraint sets (*efficiency*). Building on earlier results by Tesar & Smolensky (1998), Boersma (2009), and Pater (2010), this talk develops a complete characterization (both sufficient and necessary) of convergent and efficient implementations of the OT error-driven learning scheme.

The Role of Release Bursts in Word-Final Stop Perception

Paul Marty (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Friday, April 20, 16:15, East Lounge

Release bursts are known to provide important cues for the identification of place of articulation in stops (Malécot 1958, Winitz et al. 1972, Kewley-Port et al. 1983, a.o.), and the absence of stop release in coda context has been proposed to drive neutralization of place contrasts in those environments (Ohala 1989, Ohala 1993, Chu 2009). Specifically, in languages where coda stops are always unreleased (e.g. Cantonese, Taiwanese, Highland Yao), it has been observed (Ohala, 1980, Kawasaki 1982, Flemming 1995) that place contrasts neutralize when VC transitions are acoustically similar (e.g., up^ɾ/uk^ɾ). In this talk, I present (a) preliminary results from a typological study showing the particular place feature speakers default to in the light of neutralization, and (b) a study of place perception with speakers of French (obligatory stop release), where release bursts have been removed from the acoustic signal. Results show that, in cases where transitions are confusable, French listeners default neither to the most cross-linguistic unmarked value, nor to the most frequent value in context, where frequency is estimated on the lexicon of French. Rather, they overwhelmingly default to the place feature for which the release burst is most acoustically similar to no burst at all (i.e., [labial]). Within a perceptual grammar, I present an account in terms of cue weighting modulated by the listener's expectations about the presence of different cues to account for neutralization default in speakers of French and cross-linguistically.

Missing Alternatives and Disjunction

Marie-Christine Meyer (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 10:45, East Lounge

This talk explores a previously unnoticed class of disjunctions which receive a conjunctive interpretation:

- (1) *Thumbs are fingers or else we'd all have eight fingers instead of ten* (after Horn 2000)
⇒ Thumbs are fingers
⇒ If they weren't, we'd all have eight fingers instead of ten
- (2) *Pronouns must be generated with an index or else they will be uninterpretable* (Heim & Kratzer 1998)
⇒ Pronouns must be generated with an index
⇒ If they aren't, they will be uninterpretable

We propose an analysis which derives the conjunctive interpretation as an implicature, thus preserving the null hypothesis that *or* denotes Boolean \vee (contra Klinedinst & Rothschild 2012). We argue for a well-formedness constraint on scalar alternatives which excludes the corresponding conjunction from the alternative set of *or else* disjunctions. The conditional interpretation of the second disjunct is derived by analyzing *else* as a subtractive anaphoric pro-form, thus assimilating it to its use in QPs like *something else* (Culicover & Jackendoff 1995).

Is phonological learning different?

Elliott Moreton, Katya Pertsova (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)

🗨️ Saturday, April 21, 10:15, West Lounge

Are phonological patterns learned differently from non-phonological ones? If not, how is phonology different? This talk reports a phonological-learning experiment in which pattern structure affected pattern learnability in a way different from that classically found with non-linguistic patterns.

A difficulty hierarchy has been established for six types (I—VI) of non-linguistic patterns defined on three binary features (Shepard et al. 1961), with learnability decreasing in the order $I > II > III = IV = V > VI$. Phonological analogues of Types I, II, and VI have been studied previously and found to replicate the non-linguistic $I > II > VI$ order.

We tested all six types using an unsupervised “artificial language” learning paradigm with $N=116$ native English speakers. Participants were familiarized by listening to and repeating CVCV stimuli which instantiated a pattern belonging to a Shepard type. They were then tested on their ability to distinguish novel pattern-conforming stimuli from non-conforming foils. Our findings match the usual order of $I > II > VI$. However, instead of the $II > III = IV = V$ order found with non-linguistic patterns, we found $IV > II, IV > V, \text{ and } III > V$.

What makes phonology different? Detailed analysis suggests that (A) learners are sensitive to the characteristic internal structure of phonological stimuli (prosodic and feature-tier organization, mostly lacking outside phonology), and (B) they are especially sensitive to correct sub-generalizations. These findings are well modelled by a Maximum Entropy phonotactic learner, compared to the exemplar model ALCOVE.

A third dependent case

Alexander Podobryaev (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

🗨️ Saturday, April 21, 9:30, West Lounge

I propose an extension of the theory of dependent case, i.e. case assigned to a nominal that stands in a c-command relation to another nominal in a local domain (cf. Marantz 1991 and others). I propose a distinction among three kinds of dependent cases with mutually exclusive licensing conditions: **ergative**: a case that is assigned to a nominal that (a) *c-commands* a distinct non-quirky nominal (i.e. a nominal that is not assigned quirky case) and (b) *is not c-commanded by* a distinct non-quirky nominal within the relevant minimal domain; **accusative**: a case that is assigned to a nominal that (a) *is c-commanded by* a distinct non-quirky nominal and (b) *does not c-command* a distinct non-quirky nominal within the relevant minimal domain; and what I will call **intermediate case**: a case that is assigned to a nominal that (a) *c-commands* a non-quirky nominal and (b) *is c-commanded by* a distinct non-quirky nominal in the minimal domain. Importantly, more than one dependent case can be assigned in the domain.

The anti-c-command requirement in the definitions of ergative and accusative cases and the introduction of intermediate case ensures that if the relevant minimal domain contains three nominals, the one that is c-commanded by the highest but c-commands the lowest nominal receives — not accusative or ergative dependent case — but a special, intermediate case. The system provides a unified analysis of case marking in causatives and ditransitives and explains some properties of differential case marking.

Semi-clefts as a window on the syntax of predication, modification, and complementation

Mariana Resenes¹, Marcel den Dikken² (¹University of Sao Paulo, ²CUNY Graduate Center)

☞ Thursday, April 19, 10:15, West Lounge

Our aim in this work is to analyze the semi-clefts constructions, as (1), observed in both European and Brazilian Portuguese and in Caribbean Spanish. They are linearly similar to pseudoclefts, except for the absence of the *wh*-element, as well as to simple sentences, except for the presence of the copula:

- (1) *O João comprou foi um carro.*
the João bought was a car

We will show that, although a reduced pseudocleft analysis is an option available for some semi-clefts (see (2d)), there is strong evidence forcing a monoclausal analysis for the bulk of them, like the agreement facts with a subject focus in (2a):

- (2) a. *Telefonei fui eu.*
called.1SG was.1SG I
b. **Telefonou fui eu.*
called.3SG was.1SG I
c. **Telefonei foi eu.*
called.1SG was.3SG I
d. *Telefonou foi eu.*
called.3SG was.3SG I

In (2a), both the copula and the lexical verb show phi-feature agreement with the focused subject; this is only possible in a monoclausal structure. The monoclausal analysis we propose is based on Den Dikken's (2006) analysis of the syntax of predication, in which the copula is either the spell-out of a RELATOR or of a LINKER, the latter emerging due to Predicate Inversion. The derivations proposed for the semi-clefts in (1) and (2a) are in (3), respectively:

- (3) a. [_{vP} o João [_{v'} v [_{FP} [_{VP} comprou]_i [F+RELATOR=foi [_{RP} um carro [_{R'} t_{REL} t_i]]]]]]
b. [_{TP} [_{VP} telefonei] [T+v = fui [_{vP} eu [t_v t_{VP}]]]]

Ipsilateral and contralateral phonetic context effects

Kevin Sitek¹, Keith Johnson² (¹San Francisco VA Medical Center, ²University of California, Berkeley)

☞ Friday, April 20, 15:15, East Lounge

Duplex perception experiments explore how a speech unit is processed simultaneously as a speech and non-speech sound (Mann & Liberman, 1983; Liberman et al., 1967). Per Holt and Lotto (2002), two adjacent speech sounds do not need to be heard in the same ear for phonetic context effects to be active. Similar to Lotto, Sullivan, and Holt (2002), our experiments combine these paradigms by presenting two syllables dichotically with formants of the target syllable contralaterally to the rest of the target. As reported by Mann (1980), when hearing an ambiguous stimulus between /d/ and /g/, subjects are more likely to hear /g/ after /al/ and /d/ after /ar/. This compensation for coarticulation is significant regardless of whether the context is presented to the same ear as the base target or the isolated third formant transition, demonstrating that the auditory system must combine streams before completing all phonetic analysis. Additionally, there is a greater effect when the formant transitions are presented to the ipsilateral ear as the context segment than when they are presented contralaterally. The difference in compensation effects between Experiments 1 and 2 (where the formant transition is presented contralaterally to the context) shows that some acoustic processing occurs before the left and right auditory streams converge. Separating the formant chirp (responsible for cuing /d/ vs. /g/) from the context may be more crucial to analysis than separating the base target from the context. Phonetic context effects, while working adequately across streams, may be more influential within one stream.

The semantics of mood in Bulgarian

Anastasia Smirnova (Tufts University)

📅 Thursday, April 19, 16:15, East Lounge

This paper presents a formal semantic analysis of mood in Bulgarian. I propose that the choice of the subjunctive and the indicative mood in complements of propositional attitude verbs is determined by the interaction of two key factors: (i) the meaning of the matrix clause predicate (as in Giannakidou 1998, 2009), and (ii) the semantics of the indicative and the subjunctive mood (cf. Matthewson 2010 on St'át'imcets). The analysis is motivated by the fact that Bulgarian shows a robust pattern of the double mood selection, when the same verb is compatible with both the subjunctive and the indicative complement. The existing analyses usually attribute the choice of mood to the semantics of the matrix verbs alone (cf. Farkas 1992, Giannakidou 1998, 2009, Villalta 2008). Thus, according to Giannakidou's analysis of mood in Greek, the indicative mood is licensed by *veridical* predicates, i.e. predicates that presuppose/assert the truth of the complement, such as *know*, while the subjunctive mood is licensed by *non-veridical* predicates, such as *want*, i.e. predicates that do not presuppose/assert the truth of the complement. This analysis is categorical in that the matrix verb is either veridical or non-veridical, and it successfully accounts for the cases when the indicative or the subjunctive mood is the only choice. However, the pattern of mood distribution in Bulgarian motivates a non-categorical approach to mood in this language that would allow the same predicate to select either the subjunctive or the indicative complement, depending on the context.

The relationship between projection and at-issueness

E. Allyn Smith¹, Kathleen Currie Hall² (¹Northwestern University, ²CUNY)

📅 Saturday, April 21, 10:15, East Lounge

We consider a meaning *projective* when it is entailed by both a simple sentence's meaning and the meaning of the same sentence with the addition of an entailment-cancelling operator like negation. We report the results of two online judgment tasks that use surprisal as a lay measure of entailment. The first of these verified a number of assumptions in the literature such as the fact that assertions do not project, but presuppositions and conventional implicatures (CIs) do (Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990), and the fact that different presupposition/CI triggers project to varying amounts (Abbott 2006 and Abusch 2010, inter alia). Simons et al. 2010 propose that a meaning has the ability to project iff it is *not-at-issue*, which means that it is **not** relevant to the Question Under Discussion (QUD) at that point in the discourse. To test whether projection variability was conditioned by at-issueness, the second experiment used the same stimuli as the first but presented each with an explicit QUD for which the assertion was at-issue but the presupposition/CI was not-at-issue (as determined by a norming study). The heterogeneity among triggers remained in the results of the second experiment, showing that at-issueness alone cannot condition projective behavior for a variety of triggers.

Semantics of English suffix *-ish*

Ayaka Sugawara (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

☞ Friday, April 20, 9:00, East Lounge

In this talk, I investigate the semantics of the English suffix *-ish* as seen in *tall-ish*, *now-ish*, or *toy-ish*. Little theoretical work has been done on the nature of the suffix, whose use is highly productive (see Morris (2009) for descriptive work). Intuitively, *-ish* that appends to an adjectival base modifies the degree of the base. Contrary to this naive view, I argue that *-ish* is a degree head of type $\langle\langle d, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle\rangle$ (cf. “pos” of Kennedy (2007)).

I point out that adding *-ish* is not productive with lower-bound adjectives, while it is productive with open scale and upper-bound adjectives. Another characteristic of *ADJ-ish* is that it is not gradable. The proposed semantics for *-ish* below, where “s(P)” stands for the standard of $P_{\langle d, et \rangle}$, and “d_c” for contextually provided expected deviance from the standard, correctly predict those characteristics.

$$\llbracket\text{-ish}\rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle d, et \rangle}. \lambda x_e. \max \{d \mid P(d)(x) = 1\} < s(P) \ \& \ (s(P) - \max \{d \mid P(d)(x) = 1\} < d_c)$$

I also argue that the possibility for a lower-bound adjective to append *-ish* is contextually dependent, given that speakers generally find that there is a difference in acceptability between **bent-ish* and **?open-ish*. The idea is that context provides a non-zero degree of “*properly* ADJ” and hence there is a gap between the degree and the lower bound. This can be compared to Kennedy & McNally’s (2005) discussion of “imprecise” uses of absolute adjectives.

Finna as a Socially-Meaningful Modal (and Performative) in African American English

Julia Thomas, Timothy Grinsell (University of Chicago)

☞ Friday, April 20, 10:15, East Lounge

This paper provides both a descriptive and a formal account of the preverbal marker *finna* in African American English (AAE). The analysis fills 2 gaps in the literature: the general paucity of research on formal semantics in AAE and the under-developed integration of formal semantic meaning with social meaning for dialectal variants. Using lyrics from hip hop and rap songs, this work examines 90 tokens of the pre-verbal marker *finna* (also seen as *fitna* and *fiinta*). The data suggest that *finna* behaves like a temporally-proximate future modal in AAE, that is distributionally and formally distinct from the future marker *gonna*, and may also pattern differently than *bouta* (‘about to’). *Finna* may take on a performative meaning in AAE that can be analyzed according to Schwager (2011)’s treatment of imperatives. *Finna* takes on various speech act functions depending on context, but the most common use of *finna* is threatening or warning. Finally, *finna* has acquired a salient social meaning in AAE, especially outside of the South. The data support an enhanced distribution for *finna* in contexts where the creation of a strong ethnic or cultural style is desirable, such as in hip hop lyrics. In such contexts, speakers may be more likely to flout grammatical constraints or increase usage for the sake of amplified social meaning offering insight for the actuation problem of semantic change. Formal semantic accounts of *finna* are crucially augmented by considerations of its social meaning.

Tonal variations in Hong Kong Cantonese: Interactions of acoustic distance and functional load

Tsz-Him Tsui (The Ohio State University)

📅 Thursday, April 19, 15:15, West Lounge

Among the six tones in Hong Kong Cantonese (HKC), the low-rising Tone 5 (T5) varies in both production and perception. In production, T5 is often interchangeable with the high-rising Tone 2 (T2) (Bauer, Cheung & Cheung 2003, Mok & Wong 2010a) and the mid-level Tone 3 (T3) (Vance 1976, Wong 2008). Also, some HKC speakers also have difficulties in perceiving the contrast between the low-rising T5 and high-rising T2 (Mok & Wong 2010b).

This study investigates how acoustic distance and functional load (Hockett 1967, Surendran & Niyogi 2003) contributes to tone variations in HKC. The interchangeable pairs T2 T5 and T3-T5 may be least distant acoustically, or carry the least functional loads in distinguishing potential homophones. Acoustic distance is defined as the root-mean-square distance between the f_0 tracks, while functional load is the entropy lost in word prediction in an HKC corpus (Luke 1997) after simulated mergers of each tone pair.

The current results show that, although neither acoustic distance nor functional load could solely explain the tone variations in HKC, the combination of these two factors account for such variations. In other words, the variable tone pairs are both acoustically similar *and* carrying low functional loads. Since such tones pairs are phonetically similar, while variations in these pairs would bring little confusion to the communication system, they are more variably produced and perceived. The results suggest that functional load, besides phonetic factors, indeed contributes to language variation and change (Hume et al. 2011, Wedel & Kaplan 2011; contra King 1967).

Meaning more or most: evidence from 3-and-a-half year-olds

Alexis Wellwood¹, Justin Halberda², Tim Hunter³, Darko Odic², Paul Pietroski¹, Jeffrey Lidz¹ (¹University of Maryland, ²John Hopkins University, ³Yale University)

📅 Saturday, April 21, 9:30, East Lounge

Under time pressure, adults use the Approximate Number System to verify *most* (Lidz et al 2011), and research with children has shown that understanding this quantifier doesn't require mature counting ability (Halberda et al 2008). Given the truth-conditional equivalence of *most* and *more* in cases with only two sets, we find here a unique opportunity to test whether differences in the specification of their meanings can trigger different verification strategies. The meaning of *most*, as in (1), requires computing the cardinality of a set and some subset of it. In contrast, *more*, as in (2), references the cardinality of two distinct sets. We hypothesized that *most* would bias towards a visual set-subset selection procedure, whereas *more* would bias towards visual set-set selection.

$$(1) \quad \llbracket \text{most of the animals are tigers} \rrbracket = |A \cap T| > |A| - |A \cap T|$$

$$(2) \quad \llbracket \text{there are more tigers than elephants} \rrbracket = |T| > |E|$$

In our experiment, we asked children to determine which of two sets is greater, on two display types varying in two dimensions: spatial arrangement (spatially separated or intermixed) and ratio of the cardinalities of two sets of animals (5:4, 6:5, 7:6). We predicted higher accuracy for *more* on spatially separated displays, and better accuracy for *most* on intermixed. Children who displayed full-counting ability yet ratio-dependent accuracy were included (10 *more* and 11 *most*; range 3;5-4;1, mean 3;8). Results were as predicted: accuracy for *most* is better on spatially intermixed displays, and better for *more* on spatially separated displays.

Perceptual Similarity and Epenthesis Positioning in Loan Adaptation

Suyeon Yun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

📅 Thursday, April 19, 16:15, West Lounge

This study presents a comprehensive typology of epenthesis positioning in loan adaptation and provides novel generalizations: (i) if a cluster contains a stop, a vowel is epenthesized after the stop, (ii) if a cluster contains a sonorant, a vowel is epenthesized before the sonorant. My hypothesis is that the typology results from perceptual similarity between a consonant and its epenthesized form. Specifically, a stop is perceptually more similar to a stop-vowel sequence than to a vowel-stop, and a sonorant is perceptually more similar to a vowel-sonorant sequence than to a sonorant-vowel. The results of a perception experiment support the hypothesis, and the typology will be analyzed based on the P-map hypothesis (Steriade 2001/2009).

Licensing by modification in two classes of verbs

Erin Zaroukian, Charley Beller (Johns Hopkins University)

📅 Saturday, April 21, 14:30, West Lounge

Here we address the puzzle of why evaluative verbs like *like* and habituals like *eat* both give an infelicitous specific reading of a singular indefinite in sentences like (1) but not (2).

- (1) Greta #eats/#likes/wants a cookie.
- (2) Greta eats/likes/wants a cookie after dinner.

Drawing from Rimell (2004) and Ferreira (2005), we propose that this non-specific reading is licensed by the introduction of a modifier that allows for low binding of the singular indefinite. The application of this analysis to *like* highlights ways in which *eat* and *like* differ. In particular, *like* behaves like an Intensional Transitive Verb (ITV), e.g. *want*, in its ability to license non-specific readings through a covert *HAVE*-clause complement.

- (3) Greta wanted/liked/ate a cookie after dinner (when she was a child).
 - a. There was a time after dinner at which Greta wanted/?liked/ate a cookie
 - b. Greta's want/like/#eat was to have a cookie after dinner

However, evaluatives remain intermediate between ITVs and habituals by allowing, not requiring, *HAVE*-clause complements (cf. *Greta likes David*) and by their 'intermediate' modal status (compare (4) and (5)).

- (4) Greta wants/#likes/#rides a (real live) unicorn.
- (5)
 - a. David wants water but doesn't want H₂O (which he believes is poisonous).
 - b. David likes water but doesn't like H₂O...
 - c. #David drinks water but doesn't drink H₂O...

This leads us to draw a distinction in verb classes which bridges habituals and ITVs.

- (6)
 - a. *HAVE*-clause-taking verbs
 - (i) ITVs, e.g. *want*, *need*
 - (ii) Evaluatives, e.g. *like*
 - b. Non-*HAVE*-clause-taking verbs
 - (i) Habituals, e.g. *eat*

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We are especially grateful to our keynote speakers for presenting their research and to all of the session presenters for sharing their work with us. We appreciate the considerable effort involved in preparing for, traveling to, and presenting at our conference, not to mention the demanding work that their research entails. We are also very grateful to all who submitted an abstract for consideration but did not have an opportunity to present. With a three-day schedule and over 250 submissions, it was necessary to leave out from the program many outstanding pieces of research. If the Chicago Linguistic Society conference maintains high standards, it is due in large measure to the notable authors who submit their work for consideration. Special thanks must also be given to the faculty and students in the Department of Linguistics who offered their valuable advice and support from the very first to the very last stages of conference preparation. In addition, we want to express our deep gratitude to all of our anonymous abstract reviewers external and internal who provided helpful feedback to submitting authors. Thanks, too, to all the student volunteers who helped us with the conference logistics. Finally, we would like to thank all conference attendees for joining us here at the 48th annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, continuing the tradition of excellence.

Andrea Beltrama
Tasos Chatzikonstantinou
Jackson Lee
Mike Pham
Diane Rak

CLS 48 Organizing Committee

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