



The 49th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

April 18-20, 2013

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Welcome

Welcome to the 49th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. We are very fortunate this year to have so many eminent presenters including our invited speakers: Karlos Arregi, Daniel Harbour, Idan Landau, Roumyana Pancheva, Sharon Rose, and Judith Tonhauser.

In all, we have seventeen stimulating sessions covering a broad spectrum of current topics, with special parasessions on the Semantics-Morphology Interface, the Syntax-Phonology Interface, and Slavic Linguistics.

The conference is being held 18-20 April, 2013, 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 9:30 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, 7:00 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 John Benjamins, the MIT Press, the Cambridge University Press, the University of Chicago Press and Springer. Also available are editions of previous CLS proceedings.

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

Schedule

Day 1 Schedule (Thursday, April 18)

All events held in Ida Noyes Hall Theater (1212 E. 59th St., 3rd floor).

Note that no talks on phonology will be held on Day 1. We encourage interested CLS participants to attend the Workshop on Sound Change Actuation taking place concurrently. For information, see <http://lucian.uchicago.edu/blogs/phonlab/sound-change-actuation/>

8:00-9:30	Registration
9:30-9:45	Opening Remarks
	Parasession: Morphology-Semantics Interface
9:45-10:15	Semoon Hoe (Seoul National University): <i>On the 1st/2nd person restriction of Korean anaphor caki and its implications</i>
10:15-10:45	Alexander Podobryaev (MIT): <i>Interpretation of agreement morphology in Mishar Tatar</i>
10:45-11:15	Nataša Knežević (Nantes): <i>On paucals in Serbian</i>
11:15-11:30	Break
11:30-12:30	Invited Speaker: Daniel Harbour (Queen Mary University of London): <i>Morphosemantics as a foundational branch of cognitive science</i>
12:30-14:00	Lunch
	General Session: Semantics
14:00-14:30	Patrick Muñoz (UCSD): <i>That's not art: Backhanded sentences and distant worlds</i>
14:30-15:00	Magdalena Kaufmann and Ting Xu (UConn): <i>Almost or almost not? The interaction between chadian 'almost' and negation in Mandarin Chinese</i>
15:00-15:15	Break
	Special Session: Agreement
15:15-15:45	Vera Zu (NYU): <i>Probing for conversation participants: A case of Jingpo</i>
15:45-16:15	Ángel Gallego (UAB): <i>Object agreement asymmetries in Romance</i>
16:15-16:30	Break
16:30-17:30	Invited Speaker: Karlos Arregi (University of Chicago): <i>The syntactic and postsyntactic derivation of agreement</i>
19:30	Graduate Student Mixer: Pub in Ida Noyes Basement

Day 2 Schedule (Friday, April 19)

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

Left column and invited talks: West Lounge, 2nd floor Right column: East Lounge, 2nd floor

	Special Session: Experimental Methods	General Session: Syntax (1)
9:00-9:30	Peter Graff¹, Zoe Snape¹, Morris Alper¹, Jeremy Hartman² and Edward Gibson¹ (¹ MIT; ² UMass Amherst): <i>What makes us communicate Efficiently?</i>	Thomas Graf (UCLA): <i>The syntactic algebra of adjuncts</i>
9:30-10:00	Erica Yoon and Junko Shimoyama (McGill): <i>Testing the two-grammar hypothesis for Korean: Scopal interaction of object QP's and negation</i>	Ciro Greco (Milan-Bicocca): <i>A puzzle about subject positions in Wh-questions</i>
10:00-10:30	Rachel Dudley, Naho Orita, Morgan Moyer, Valentine Hacquard and Jeffrey Lidz (UMD): <i>Three year olds' understanding of know and think</i>	Vadim Kimmelman (UvA): <i>Multiple tiers, multiple trees: Weak hand in Russian Sign Language</i>
10:30-10:45	Break	
	Special Session: Ellipsis (1)	General Session: Phonology (1)
10:45-11:15	Gary Thoms¹, Matthew Barros² and Patrick Elliott¹ (¹ Edinburgh; ² Rutgers): <i>More variation in island repair: the clausal/non-clausal island distinction</i>	Dustin Bowers (UCLA): <i>Phonological restructuring in Odawa</i>
11:15-11:45	Lobke Aelbrecht and Will Harwood (GIST-Ghent) <i>It wasn't elided, but it could have been: Optional deletion of auxiliaries in VP ellipsis</i>	Lev Blumenfeld (Carleton): <i>Quantifying external factors in metrics</i>
11:45-12:00	Break	
12:00-13:00	Invited Speaker: Sharon Rose (University of California at San Diego) <i>Phonological restructuring and long-distance interaction: implications for typology</i>	
13:00-14:15	Lunch	
	General Session	General Session: Syntax (2)
14:15-14:45	Eli Asikin-Garmager (UIowa): <i>Hanunóo metathesis: A test case for an OT approach to left-edge metathesis</i>	Bryan Rosen (UW-Madison): <i>Prenoun hierarchies in the Ojibwe DP</i>
14:45-15:15	Cheng-Yu Edwin Tsai (Harvard): <i>On a proper treatment of interrogative scope in Chinese Wh-in-situ</i>	Yuki Ito (UMD): <i>Asymmetric A-movement within vP</i>
15:15-15:30	Break	
	Parasession: Syntax-Phonology Interface	Special Session: Fieldwork in Semantics
15:30-16:00	Emily Elfner (McGill): <i>Locality conditions on syntax-prosody matching (in Conamara Irish)</i>	Rebekah Baglini (UChicago): <i>Expressing property concepts without adjectives: New evidence from Wolof</i>

16:00-16:30	Vera Griбанова (Stanford) and Lev Blumenfeld (Carleton): <i>Russian prepositions and prefixes: unifying prosody and syntax</i>	Jerry Sadock (UChicago): <i>Morphological and semantic properties of negation in Kalaallisut</i>
16:30-17:00	Brian Hsu (USC): <i>Constraining exceptionality as prosody-morphology mismatch: A study of French nasal vowels</i>	Gregory Kierstead (OSU): <i>The shifted indexical behavior of Tagalog sana “wish”</i>
17:00-17:15	Break	
17:15-18:15	Invited Speaker: Judith Tonhauser (The Ohio State University)	
(THEATER)	<i>What’s at issue? Exploring content in context</i>	

Day 3 Schedule (Saturday, April 20)

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

Left column and invited talks: West Lounge, 2nd floor Right column: East Lounge, 2nd floor

Special Session: Scalarity and Modality		Special Session: Tone	
9:00-9:30	Fabienne Martin (Stuttgart): <i>Antecedent under discussion in French past subjunctive conditionals</i>	9:00-9:30	Tsung-Ying Chen (UAlberta): <i>Slope-based tonal phonology: A case study of Hakha Lai</i>
9:30-10:00	Elena Castroviejo (CCHS-CSIC) and Isabel Oltra-Massuet (Universitat Rovira i Virgili): <i>An emphatic abilitative modal: Ser capaç vs. be able</i>	9:30-10:00	Litong Chen and Tsz-Him Tsui (OSU): <i>Chongqing Mandarin as a contour-tone only language</i>
10:00-10:30	Andrea Beltrama (UChicago): <i>Presupposing scalarity from Latin to Italian: The suffix -issimo</i>	10:00-10:30	Florian Lionnet (UC Berkeley): <i>Mid-tone lowering in Laal: the phonology/syntax interface in question</i>
10:30-10:45	Break		
Special Session: Ellipsis (2)		General Session: Phonology (3)	
10:45-11:15	Meredith Johnson (UW-Madison): <i>Ellipsis is derivational: Evidence from Hoçak VPE</i>	10:45-11:15	Samuel Bowman (Stanford): <i>Two arguments for vowel harmony by trigger competition</i>
11:15-11:45	Masaya Yoshida ¹ , Tim Hunter ² and Michael Frazier ¹ (¹ Northwestern; ² Cornell): <i>Parasitic gaps licensed by elided syntactic structure</i>	11:15-11:45	Giorgio Magri (CNRS, Paris 8) and Benjamin Storme (MIT): <i>A closer look at Boersma and Hayes (2001) simulations: extensions, analyses, implications</i>
11:45-12:00	Break		
12:00-13:00	Invited Speaker: Idan Landau (Ben Gurion University) <i>Predication vs. logophoric anchoring: A two-tiered theory of control</i>		
13:00-14:30	Lunch		
Parasession: Slavic Linguistics		Special Session: Experimental Phonology	
14:30-15:00	Jelena Runić (UConn): <i>Cliticization phenomena in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects</i>	14:30-15:00	Gillian Gallagher (NYU): <i>Exploring ejective phonotactics and the identity preference in Cochabamba Quechua</i>
15:00-15:30	Boris Harizanov (UCSC) and Vera Gribanova (Stanford): <i>Number mismatch in Bulgarian nominal coordinate structures</i>	15:00-15:30	Mark Harvey ¹ , Benjamin Davies ² , Susan Lin ² , Myfany Turpin ³ , Alison Ross ⁴ and Katherine Demuth ² (¹ U Newcastle; ² Macquarie U; ³ U Queensland; ⁴ Northern Territory Gvt. Dept. Education): <i>Two types of pre-stopping in Kaytetye</i>
15:30-16:00	Neda Todorović (UConn): <i>(Im)perfect(ive) VP: Aspect-sensitive VP-ellipsis in Serbian</i>	15:30-16:00	Karthik Durvasula and Jimin Kahng (MSU): <i>Allophonic features modulate perceptual epenthesis</i>
16:00-16:15	Break		
16:15-17:15	Invited Speaker: Roumyana Pancheva (University of Southern California) <i>Quantity superlatives: The view from Slavic and its cross-linguistic applications</i>		
19:00	Dinner Banquet (Theater, 3rd Floor)		

Alternate Speakers

Troy Messick (UConn):
Suyeon Yun (MIT):

Assessing the role of competition in MaxElide
Prosody of right dislocation in head-final languages

Invited Talks

The syntactic and postsyntactic derivation of agreement

Karlos Arregi (University of Chicago)

Thursday, 16:30-17:30, Theater

Recent work on agreement with coordinated DPs has largely converged on the hypothesis that agreement is established in two steps. Adopting the terminology in Arregi and Nevins (2012), we can refer to these as Agree-Link, or the syntactic establishment of an Agree relation between Probe and one or more Goals, and Agree-Copy, or the postsyntactic (PF) copying from Agree-Linked Goal(s) onto the Probe. Evidence for this split of Agree into two separate steps comes from the fact that they can be derivationally intercalated by postsyntactic operations such as Linearization in Hindi and Slovenian (Bhatt and Walkow, to appear, and Marusic, Nevins and Badecker, to appear) postsyntactic morpheme displacement in Bulgarian (Arregi and Nevins, to appear), and Vocabulary Insertion in West Germanic (van Koppen 2005).

In this talk, I offer evidence for this two-step analysis of agreement from a different empirical domain, namely, the interaction of agreement with case syncretisms due to postsyntactic impoverishment in Basque and Indo-Aryan. In both cases, variation in the possibility of agreement with non-nominative case-marked arguments (dative in Basque, ergative in Indo-Aryan) is due to a uniform establishment of syntactic Agree-Link relations, coupled with dialect- or language-particular differences in the application of Agree-Copy and its derivational interaction with postsyntactic impoverishment rules.

The interaction of agreement and case syncretism in these languages thus converges with crosslinguistic coordination patterns in providing evidence for a strongly derivational theory of Agree in which the latter is established in two steps, the second of which is postsyntactic and can interact in different derivationally defined ways with other postsyntactic operations. The variation found is thus largely reduced to familiar feeding and counterfeeding interactions among operations in a derivational theory.

Karlos Arregi is an Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D from MIT. A native of the Basque Country, his interests span syntax, the syntax-semantics interface, the syntax phonology interface, morphology, and Basque and Romance linguistics. His new book (with Andrew Nevins) Morphosyntactics: Basque Auxiliaries and the Structure of Spellout, was published in 2012.

Morphosemantics as a foundational branch of cognitive science

Daniel Harbour (Queen Mary University of London)

Thursday, 11:30-12:30, Theater

In this talk, I make the case that morphosemantics — a discipline that has been steadily gaining momentum within linguistics — should be regarded as a fundamental enterprise of cognitive science. This claim arises naturally within various conceptions of Generative Grammar. If we narrowly construe syntax as just a combinatorial engine with interface conditions then the inventory of features, though universal, is not part of language in a narrow sense. Feature semantics, then, is the study of the building blocks offered to syntax by other areas of cognition.

As a case study, I argue that the same set of semantic primitives underlie three disparate areas of language and cognition. These are (1) the aspectual distinctions that underlie the Vendlerian classification of event types and its later refinements, (2) the rather limited set of grammatical numbers used with nouns and pronouns, and (3) the unlimited set of integers. There are clear connections between these areas: aspect interacts with singularity versus plurality, and integers like ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ register distinctions akin to the grammatical numbers singular, dual and trial. However, minimal and (unit) augmented, or paucal and greater paucal, though core semantic distinctions to students of (pro)nominal number, have been understudied by aspectual semanticists or psychologists studying the acquisition of the integers. Nonetheless, I claim that the same semantic primitives underlying aspectual distinctions give rise to these numbers and to the numerals.

To establish these results, I posit three features: $[\pm\text{atomic}]$, responsible for the singular/plural distinction; $[\pm\text{minimal}]$, concerned with things have subparts of the same kind as themselves; and $[\pm\text{additive}]$, concerned with whether two combined instances of an event count as an event of the same kind. Applying these features to (pro)nominal structures, $[\pm\text{atomic}]$ yields a singular/plural distinction, $[\pm\text{minimal}]$ yields minimal/augmented, $[\pm\text{additive}]$ yields plural versus an approximative number (e.g., paucal versus plural, or plural versus greater plural). In combination, these features yield familiar number systems in a straightforwardly compositional fashion. E.g, $[\pm\text{atomic}, \pm\text{minimal}]$ gives singular/dual/plural (e.g., Sanskrit), and $[\pm\text{atomic}, \pm\text{minimal}, \pm\text{additive}]$, singular/dual/paucal/plural (e.g., Yimas). This establishes the shared semantic foundations of aspect and number.

The less frequently analysed trial, unit augmented, and greater paucal can be characterized in terms of one feature acting on itself (one value acting on its opposite). If we allow this mechanism to recurse, we generate the natural numbers: the integer-generating function is constructed in several discrete stages, distinguishing: first, one versus many; then one and two versus many; then one, two, and three versus many; and not yielding the full set of integers until five is reached, corresponding to the much documented phases of ‘1-knowing’, ‘2-knowing’, and so on that precede knowledge of the full counting principle. This approach to the integers, then, has significant psychological plausibility.

The picture that emerges, therefore, is that applying standard analytic tools of morphology and semantics yields a set of primitives that are fundamental to a range of cognitive capacities. This is what we would expect, if morphosemantics reveals the building blocks of cognition.

Daniel Harbour is a Reader in the Cognitive Science of Language at Queen Mary University, London. He received his Ph.D in linguistics from MIT. Primarily interested in morphological applications to semantic and syntactic theory problems, he has also worked on language documentation and public awareness of science. His books include Morphosemantic Number: From Kiowa Noun Classes to UG Number Features.

Predication vs. Logophoric Anchoring: A Two-Tiered Theory of Control

Idan Landau (Ben Gurion University)
Saturday, 12:00-13:00, West Lounge

There is a persistent intuition running from the earliest to the most recent works on the topic, that obligatory control (OC) complements fall into two distinct types. In this talk I recast this intuition in terms of the semantic distinction between attitude and non-attitude complements. I argue that the latter establish control by simple predication (“predicative control”) but the former establish it by variable binding, where the bound variable is a projected coordinate of the embedded context of evaluation (“logophoric control”). I offer an explicit syntax-semantics analysis of the two types, utilizing the idea that logophoric control structures are constructed as a second tier above predicative control structures. In both, PRO figures as a minimal, featureless pronoun, which functions as an *a*-abstractor upon movement.

The analysis derives the obligatory *de se* reading of OC PRO as a *constructional* property of attitude complements without ascribing any inherent feature to PRO (a minimal pronoun). It fares better than the prominent semantic alternatives—the property theory and the indexical shift theory of OC—in various respects, theoretical and typological. Importantly, it is capable of deriving a striking universal asymmetry between OC in attitude and non-attitude contexts: the fact that agreement on the embedded verb blocks the former but not the latter. This is handled by reference to the differential agreement properties of predication and variable binding. Further contrasts between the two types of OC follow, some of which unnoticed before, such as the visibility of implicit controllers and the $[\pm\text{human}]$ value of PRO.

Idan Landau received his Ph.D. at MIT and is currently an Associate Professor of linguistics at Ben-Gurion University. In addition to influential theoretical work on control, he has contributed to the expansion of an experimental basis for the theory with empirical studies on partial control, control into finite clauses, and psychological verbs. He has also done extensive work on Hebrew, including work on possessor raising, negative complementizers, VP-fronting, subjecthood, left dislocation, copy raising and predication.

Quantity superlatives: The view from Slavic and its cross-linguistic applications

Roumyana Pancheva (University of Southern California)

Saturday, 16:15-17:15, West Lounge

Proportional *most* and quantity superlative *most*, as in (1a-b), have been analyzed as the result of a structural ambiguity involving the superlative operator *-est* and the quantity expression *many* (Hackl 2009, Gajewski 2010, Kotek et al 2011, Szabolcsi 2012, a.o.). Specifically, the ambiguity is said to result from the different LF position of *-est*: DP-internal for proportional *most* and DP-external for quantity superlative *most*. This uniform analysis of quantity *most* further unifies quantity and quality superlatives, given that the same structural ambiguity with a DP-internal or DP-external *-est* has been argued to underlie the absolute-relative ambiguity observed with superlative adjectives, as in (2a-b) (Heim 1985, Szabolcsi 1986, a.o.).

- (1)
 - a. Mary read most (of the) articles.
 - b. Mary read the most articles.
- (2) Mary read the long-est articles.
 - a. ‘Mary read the articles that were longer than any other articles.’
 - b. ‘Mary read longer articles than anyone else did.’

In Slavic, as well as in other languages, however, quantity superlative *most* does not have a proportional reading (Živanović 2008), seemingly threatening the compositional superlative analysis of proportional *most* and the parallels between quantity and quality superlatives. One attempt to explain this cross-linguistic difference is offered by Bošković and Gajweski (2009), who propose that in languages without the definite article the quantity superlative obligatorily moves into the clause, preventing the proportional (absolute) reading.

I will suggest that the reason for the missing proportional reading cannot be the obligatory DP-external movement of *-est*. I argue, following Pancheva and Tomaszewicz (2012), that relative readings obtain with a DP-internal *-est* in certain cases in Slavic, in both quantity and quality superlatives. I propose instead that the source of the cross-linguistic variation is the syntax of quantity *many* that underlies quantity *most*. In some languages it is a quantity adjective modifying a null number (as in Kayne 2005), i.e., *-est-many* articles is in fact *-est-great* number of articles. The syntax constrains the comparison class for the quantity superlative, precluding a proportional (absolute) reading. This analysis maintains the uniformity of the two readings of quantity *most* and the parallels with quality superlatives.

Roumyana Pancheva is an Associate Professor of Linguistics and Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Southern California. She received her Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research interests include syntax, semantics, and their interface (among other topics, degree syntax and semantics, tense, aspect, evidentiality, relativization phenomena), as well as historical syntax of South Slavic languages (pronominal clitics, tense and aspect, determiners). The major focus of her research is on Slavic languages, both from theoretical and experimental perspective.

Phonological restructuring and long-distance interaction: implications for typology

Sharon Rose (University of California, San Diego)

Friday, 12:00-13:00, West Lounge

Typological studies of long-distance harmony and dissimilation have revealed asymmetries in terms of the nature of patterns and their frequency (Hansson 2010, Rose & Walker 2004, Bennett 2013). Although perceptual and articulatory planning explanations are often given for these cases (Hansson 2010, Gallagher 2010a,b, Walker 2011), questions remain as to whether all such systems arise from the same mechanisms (Hansson 2004,a,b, 2007) and are subject to the same analytical devices. This is particularly true of locality, transparency, and positional effects. In this paper, I address two long distance cases from Moro, a Kordofanian language of Sudan, one involving transparency in vowel harmony and the other [-voice] dissimilation. Both patterns appear to have resulted from phonological restructuring, and suggest that a consideration of the origins of harmony and dissimilation may provide insight into the optimal formal analysis.

Moro vowel harmony is a one-step dominant-recessive height harmony in which lower vowels /e a o/ are raised to higher counterparts [i ʌ u]. The vowel [ə] co-occurs with both sets of vowels, giving the appearance of transparency. Yet, some [ə] trigger raising, whereas others do not. Acoustic analysis of F1 values reveals that the [ə] that occurs with lower vowels and the [ə] that occurs with higher vowels are significantly different. The two schwas appear to have originated from centralization of some peripheral vowels /i e o u/, with height distinctions maintained. Centralization has introduced new lexical contrasts, creating an eight vowel system. This can be observed synchronically, but is also determined by comparison with related dialects and languages. This study adds to the cases of ‘apparent’ transparency (Benus 2005, Benus & Gafos 2007, Gick et al 2006, Kenstowicz 2009, Hansson & Moore 2011) and raises questions about how transparency should be addressed typologically. A consideration of the source of transparent vowels (merger? reduction?), in addition to phonetic analysis, may shed light on their behavior and formal treatment.

Moro also has a productive [-voice] dissimilation pattern, in which the first of a sequence of two voiceless obstruents with an intervening vowel is altered to [+voice]. This pattern is also attested in some northeast Bantu languages (Dahl’s Law: Davy & Nurse 1982), but is otherwise not common cross-linguistically (Bennett 2013). Related Kordofanian languages have an array of positional voicing restrictions and alternations in obstruents, and I hypothesize that the Moro pattern arose through phonologization of these alternations. For example, in Koalib (Quint 2009) and Lumun (Smits in prep.), voiceless consonants appear preferentially in word-initial and word-final position, but are voiced intervocalically. This gave rise to a phonotactic pattern of voiceless-voiced-voiceless due to the structure of words. Such a proposal is similar to the analysis Coetzee (2012) offers for a phonotactic pattern of [+voice] co-occurrence in Afrikaans. The perceived coarticulation hyper-correction account of dissimilation (Ohalo 1981, 1993) predicts that [voice] should not participate in dissimilation (Alderete & Frisch 2007, Bye 2011). Gallagher’s (2010a,b) perceptual distinctiveness model focuses on ejectives and aspirate co-occurrence in roots; [voice] is generally not implicated in wider laryngeal restrictions. Thus, if [voice] restrictions arose through separate pathways than other laryngeal restrictions, and behave differently from them, this suggests an alternate formal analysis.

Sharon Rose is Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of California at San Diego, with a PhD from McGill University. Based on her fieldwork with speakers of Ethio-Semitic and Kordofanian languages, she has worked on tone, metrical structure, and long-distance interactions such as consonant harmony, as well as experimental and computational perspectives on modeling phonotactics.

What's at issue? Exploring content in context

Judith Tonhauser (The Ohio State University)

Friday, 17:15-18:15, Theater

[Based on collaborative research with David Beaver, Rachel Burdin, Cynthia Clopper, Craige Roberts, Mandy Simons and Rory Turnbull]

Cross-linguistic research over the past 20 years has made great strides in exploring the nature and extent of variation in how languages convey comparable meanings (e.g. Bach et al 1995, Chierchia 1998, Matthewson 2001, Bittner 2005, Tonhauser 2011). Much of this research is couched in static frameworks of interpretation that emphasize the contributions of conventionally coded content and syntactic structure to sentence-level interpretation, with context playing a comparatively minor role. In this talk, I draw on results from research on meaning in English and Paraguayan Guaraní (Tupí-Guaraní) to argue for the effectiveness of dynamic models of interpretation in the cross-linguistic study of meaning. In particular, I show that including questions under discussion (Roberts 1996/2012) in the contexts that are updated by utterances provides insight into strong cross-linguistic tendencies in how languages organize content.

Judith Tonhauser is Associate Professor of Linguistics at The Ohio State University. She received her Ph.D from Stanford University. She has worked extensively on Paraguayan Guaraní, particularly investigating focus, presupposition and other projective content, and temporal reference. She also is very active in teaching empirical methods for semantics and pragmatics research.

Papers

It wasn't elided, but it could have been: Optional deletion of auxiliaries in VP ellipsis

Lobke Aelbrecht and Will Harwood (GIST-Ghent)
Friday, 11:15-11:45, West Lounge

Are non-finite auxiliaries under English VP Ellipsis (VPE) overt like the finite auxiliary, or do they disappear together with lexical V? Akmajian & Wasow (1975) and Sag (1976) observed that not all auxiliaries behave alike. Non-finite *have* is never elided, whereas *being* always is. *Been* and *be* display optionality: they can either be deleted or remain overt. This paper presents an account capturing these data. We assume the maximal verbal structure in (Harwood 2011, Bošković 2012), and take auxiliaries to raise to check their inflectional features and avoid a crash at PF (Lasnik 1995). VPE targets as much as the progressive layer (vP_{prog}), not just vP/VP .

- (1) $[TP_{should} [ModP t_{should} [InfP have [vP_{perft_{have}} [PerfP been [vP_{progt_{been}} [ProgP being [vPt_{being} [VoiceP [VP ...$

This captures the auxiliary pattern: *being*'s landing site is included in the ellipsis site, so it is always deleted. *Have*'s base position is already higher than vP_{prog} , so it will never be included in the ellipsis. As for *be* and *been*, their base positions are inside the ellipsis site, but they raise outside of it. We claim that under VPE, they only raise optionally. If they raise, they check their inflectional features and survive ellipsis. But if they remain inside the ellipsis site with the features unchecked, ellipsis prevents a PF violation by deleting them, and the unchecked features along with them. Moreover, we extend our analysis to phenomena involving movement of the verb phrase, and explain auxiliary behaviour there as well.

Hanunóo metathesis: A test case for an Optimality-Theoretic approach to left-edge metathesis

Eli Asikin-Garmager (University of Iowa)
Friday, 14:15-14:45, West Lounge

Hanunóo, an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines, exhibits both CC and CV metathesis, which has been noted elsewhere (Gleason 1955, Schane 1973, Kenstowicz & Kisseberth 1979, Mielke & Hume 2000).

- (1) a. ʔusá 'one'
 kasʔa 'once'
 b. ʔúpat 'four'
 kapʔat 'four times'
 c. kalima 'five times'
 tigílma 'five apiece'

Hanunóo metathesis is unusual because, in a survey of 54 languages, Mielke and Hume (2000) found metathesis occurring at the left-edge of roots in only 4 of the languages. The authors of the survey posit

that this asymmetry is due to the fact that left-edge metathesis may interfere with word recognition. While Hanunóo metathesis is restricted to a closed class of words, thereby minimizing the disruption to word recognition, I propose an Optimality-Theoretic analysis of CC and CV metathesis that seeks to explain what drives metathesis in this position. I argue that, in addition to a number of highly-ranked phonotactic constraints, CC metathesis is also driven by perceptual optimization of the phonetic saliency of the glottal stop. In this sense, metathesis can alter the left-edge of roots, thereby potentially affecting word recognition, but in order to increase the perceptual saliency of the roots first, or leftmost, segment. In addition, certain typological predictions of OT are borne out, one of these being that epenthesis is subsumed to metathesis as a repair strategy, operating only on a last-resort basis.

Expressing property concepts without adjectives: new evidence from Wolof

Rebekah Baglini (University of Chicago)
Friday, 15:30-16:00, East Lounge

Property concepts (PCs) are consistently lexicalized as adjectives in languages which have this category (Dixon 1982). Two recent papers explore the fact that in languages which lack adjectives, PC constructions often involve possessive morphology/syntax (Koontz-Garboden and Francez 2010; Francez and Koontz-Garboden 2011; henceforth F&KG). F&KG argue that this split reflects variation in the semantics of PC lexemes; some denote PC predicates (encoded as adjectives or verbs), others denote properties (encoded as non-predicative nouns or roots).

I show that the Niger-Congo language Wolof exemplifies both strategies discussed by F&KG and argue that the data support an analysis which treats lexicalized and possessed states as the same type of semantic object. Consistent with F&KGs theory, a PC noun like *doole* ‘strength’ cannot be predicated directly of an individual like verbal PC predicates, but instead must combine with the verb *am* have, thus patterning with possessed NP constructions. Although formed compositionally, possessed properties in Wolof otherwise pattern like regular gradable adjectives with respect to polar opposition (antonyms of possessed properties are formed with the stative verb *ñàkk* ‘lack’ and the same PC lexeme), degree modifiers, measure phrases, comparatives, and the formation of degree achievements.

Presupposing scalarity from Latin to Italian: The suffix “-issimo”

Andrea Beltrama (University of Chicago)
Saturday, 10:00-10:30, West Lounge

From Classical Latin (1) to Old Italian (2) to contemporary Italian (3), the distribution of the intensifier *-issimo* expands from being restricted to gradable predicates to including certain non-gradable ones, and, finally, nouns.

- (1) In altissimam turrem ascendit animo (100 A.D., LatinLibraryText)
‘He climbed the tall-issimo (extremely tall) tower courageously’
- (2) Un sì fatto poema riuscirà di assai più giovamento che nessunissima storia (1700 A.D, LIZ)
‘Such a poem will be much more useful than any-issima (any story at all) story.’
- (3) E’la partitissima, la sfida cruciale come nel settimo incontro del baseball (1987, LaRepubblica)
‘It’s the game-issimo (huge/crucial/awaited/spectacular game), like the World Series’ game 7.’

This paper analyzes the diachronic change in terms of a change in the source of the scalar dimension targeted by the suffix. While a lexically supplied scale is necessary in Latin, a scale of pragmatic precision is sufficient in Old Italian, and any contextually inferred scale can work in Contemporary Italian. Focusing on the source of this scalar dimension shows how the new contexts of use constitute a natural class in light of the semantics of the suffix. Each of them represents a different, gradually less lexical and more pragmatic way of supplying the scale that is targeted by *-issimo*. Moreover, the shift from lexical to inferred scales is consistent with general models of meaning change such as Traugott's subjectification, suggesting that the evolution of intensifiers might constitute an additional instance of the phenomenon, together with the more renowned cases involving tense and connectors.

Quantifying external factors in metrics

Lev Blumenfeld (Carleton University)
Friday, 11:15-11:45, East Lounge

While generative metrics has been primarily concerned with characterizing the formal properties of metrical grammars, usage-based factors are also known to shape metrical systems. For example, meters optimize the use of a language's vocabulary, and create maximal variability in a meter's realization (Hanson & Kiparsky 1996). In this talk I quantify the intuitive notion of the "easiness" of a meter, which relates to the likelihood that a random string of prose satisfies the constraints. More precisely, given a meter of n slots (metrical positions), its easiness is given by $p^{1/n}$, where p is the probability that a string of prose text of length n satisfies the meter's constraints. In this talk I report on the calculations of easiness in a number of English and Russian meters, and investigate the interplay between easiness and the formal system. The analytical strategy is to (a) establish the range of easiness in a number of observed meters, and (b) to compare the easiness of actual to potential meters, to see whether potential but unattested meters are ruled out by usage-based factors. This comparison can be applied both to unattested but theoretically possible meters, and to systems predicted not to exist by a formal theory. I show that a number of key properties of both English and Russian meters, such as line-initial and line-final effects, iambic-trochaic asymmetries, and the patterning of stressed monosyllables cannot be directly attributed to usage factors.

Phonological restructuring in Odawa

Dustin Bowers (University of California, Los Angeles)
Friday, 10:45-11:15, East Lounge

Metrically conditioned syncope has featured prominently in arguments for serial derivations in phonology, because it requires reference to an intermediate level of representation. An overlooked fact in this debate is that children have difficulty learning metrically conditioned syncope. When a language develops metrically conditioned syncope, children restructure the language to have a non-serial grammar. This is underlined by the development of Odawa (Algonquian, United States and Canada) over the last century. Adult speakers of Odawa developed metrically conditioned syncope in the early part of the twentieth century, which sparked a major restructuring of the language by children. A survey of languages that developed metrically conditioned syncope shows that restructuring is a general response to metrically conditioned syncope. These facts indicate that theories of phonology that do not incorporate serial derivations may be more adequate models of phonological knowledge.

Two arguments for vowel harmony by trigger competition

Samuel Bowman (Stanford University)

Saturday, 10:45-11:15, East Lounge

I present two phenomena in front-back vowel harmony which are difficult to account for in standard theories, and argue that with some necessary elaborations, Trigger Competition (TC, Kimper 2011) is best suited to account for both. TC is a new harmony framework based on a positive constraint (imperative) set in Serial Harmonic Grammar, and allows for agreement between non-adjacent segments. The constraint considers both the distance between trigger and target and the nature of the trigger in assigning rewards, allowing for a fairly sophisticated approach to non-participating segments.

Hungarian vowel harmony shows a pattern of optionality (Benus, Gafos, and Goldstein 2003) in its handling of phonetically front transparent vowels in harmonically back contexts: Back suffixes are used after single transparent vowels, either front or back suffixes after the semi-transparent vowel /e/ or after pairs of transparent vowels, and front suffixes after transparent vowel-/e/ sequences. Under TC, this emerges readily: Distance and trigger strength conspire to produce these additive effects.

In Seto, the transparent vowels /i/ and /e/ can appear in back vowel contexts without interacting with harmony. Remarkably, these vowels' back equivalents, /i̥/ and /ɤ/, also appear in the inventory. Both conventional approaches to transparency in local harmony systems (neutralization and underspecification) require that neutral vowels be un-paired, but TC does not require this: if any constraint prevents a vowel from alternating, it will be neutral; if it is a weak trigger, it will be transparent.

An emphatic abilitative modal: *Ser capaç* vs. be able

Elena Castroviejo-Miró (CCHS-CSIC) and Isabel Oltra-Massuet (Universitat Rovira i Virgili)

Saturday, 9:30-10:00, West Lounge

We provide a semantic analysis of Catalan modal *ser capaç* (and Spanish *ser capaz*) (henceforth SC) 'be able/capable' which elegantly accounts for the following two properties: (i) the inference associated with SC is stronger than *be able*'s "effort component" (Bhatt 1999), (1), and (ii) this inference is reversed with the presence of negation and *ni* ('not even'), (2).

- (1) #/? A pesar de l'accident, la Maria és capaç de respirar.
'Despite the accident, Mary is able to breathe.'
- (2) a. En Pere no és capaç de creuar el Llac Michigan nedant.
'Peter is not capable of swimming across LM.'
- b. #En Pere no és capaç ni de creuar el Llac Michigan nedant.
'Peter isn't even capable of swimming across LM.'
- c. En Pere no és capaç ni de rentar-se la cara.
'Peter isn't even capable of washing his face.'

Our main claim is that the use of SC triggers a scalar presupposition analogous to that of 'even'. We propose that SC contains a modal meaning, ABLE, plus a hidden EVEN. The scalar presupposition comes the denotation of the VP being the least likely thing the subject is capable of doing (bottom-of-scale presupposition). Under negation, if NPI *ni* is overtly realized, the scalar presupposition is reversed to the most likely thing the subject is capable of doing (top-of-scale presupposition).

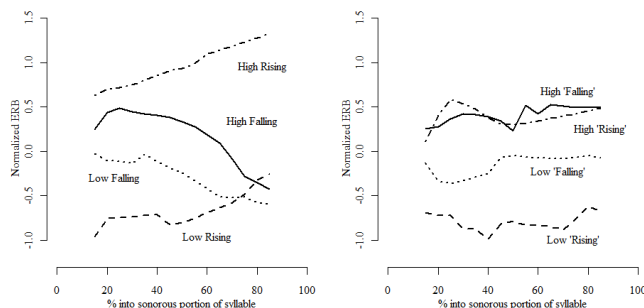
Chongqing Mandarin as a contour tone-only language

Litong Chen and Tsz-Him Tsui, (The Ohio State University)
Saturday, 9:30-10:00, East Lounge

This paper argues that Chongqing Mandarin (CM) has only contour tones in the underlying representation, and thus a potential exception to the claim that level tones are more basic than contour tones (Maddieson 1978, Zhang 2001, Yip 2002).

Our data consist of the four CM tones produced by four native speakers, both in citation form and in frame sentences. In the citation environment, the CM tones are all phonetically rising or falling tones, and involve more than 70% change in F_0 . However, the CM tones are leveled in the frame sentences, with less than 40% change in F_0 . In addition, the high “falling” and “rising” tones are phonetically merged in frame sentences.

Figure 1: F_0 track of four CM tones in isolation (left) and frame sentence (right).



We suggest that the CM tones are underlyingly contour tones; leveling and merging of the contour tones in frame sentences in fast speech are phonetically motivated (Xu and Wang 2001). The competing hypothesis that the level tones in frame sentences are the underlying forms we judge unlikely, as this requires very specific rules to account for the alternations.

Slope-based tonal phonology: A case study of Hakha Lai

Tsung-Ying Chen (University of Alberta)
Saturday, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge

This paper proposes a tonal phonology model that computes tonal complexity with phonetic tonal slopes i.e. F_0 changes over a given tonal duration (cf. Hsieh 2007). Each tonal slope is equal to a tonal unit T whose phonological representation is composed of four phonetic parameters: F_0 onset of a falling/rising slope (**F_0 Ons**), F_0 offset of a falling/rising slope (**F_0 Off**), the difference between **F_0 Ons** and **F_0 Off** (**F_0 Diff**), and the duration of the slope (**Dur**). A simple contour tone has one T , and a complex contour tone (falling-rising and rising-falling) has two T s. The tonal complexity of a T can be calculated with the formula (1) below, for the angle between a slope and a perfect level tone.

$$(1) \quad CT = 90 \text{ deg} - \arctan(\mathbf{Dur}/|\mathbf{F}_0\mathbf{Diff}|)/(\pi/180)$$

An Optimality-Theoretic (OT) approach is proposed with markedness constraint families referring to CT and faithfulness constraint families preserving each phonetic parameter in the input. The former can be formalized as $*(C_T, D)$, where the domain D can be mora, syllable, or foot, and in the same D

if $C_{T1} > C_{T2}$, $*(C_{T1}, D)$ intrinsically outranks $*(C_{T2}, D)$ (cf. Curve in Chen 2008 and Zhang 2002). With the phonetic data in Maddieson (2004), the slope-based model provides a unified account of two tonal restrictions in Hakha Lai (Hyman and Vanbik 2004): (i) the longest and steepest tone (falling) on the shortest syllable (CVO) is forbidden due to a high CT in a monosyllabic domain and (ii) continuous tonal ups and downs are avoided to reduce CT in a disyllabic domain.

Three year olds' understanding of *know* and *think*

Rachel Dudley, Naho Orita, Morgan Moyer, Valentine Hacquard and Jeffrey Lidz (University of Maryland)

Friday, 10:00-10:30, West Lounge

This study investigates three year olds' representations of the attitude verbs *think* and *know*. Past studies find that children do not have an adult-like understanding of these verbs before the age of four. However, these studies involved complicated tasks that either require children to make complex inferences, or to make explicit comparisons of sentences with *think* and *know*. We designed a new interactive game to implicitly evaluate children's knowledge of these verbs in a much simpler task. Our results show that some three year olds are able to distinguish *think* and *know*, in ways that suggest they understand that *know* presupposes the truth of its complement while *think* does not. The remaining three year olds, however, do not distinguish the verbs, treating both as nonfactive. This suggests that early representations of *know* may be nonfactive, and raises the question of how children come to distinguish the verbs.

Allophonic features modulate perceptual epenthesis

Karthik Durvasula and Jimin Kahng (Michigan State University)

Saturday, 15:30-16:00, East Lounge

Perceptual epenthesis of illusory vowels has been claimed to be sensitive only to phonologically contrastive features, and not to allophonic features (Kabak & Idsardi 2007). Contrastingly, we argue it is also crucially modulated by allophonic features of a language.

Inspired by Bayesian models of speech perception (Feldman & Griffiths 2007; Sonderegger & Yu 2010), we claim that the task of the listener in speech perception is to identify the target production given information at multiple levels of representations: the acoustic level, the surface phonological level and the underlying phonemic/contrastive information. Therefore, both contrastive and non-contrastive phonological features are expected to trigger perceptual epenthesis in an illicit phonotactic environment, along with the phonetic characteristics of the language.

We ran an identification task on 16 native Korean speakers, and 23 native American English speakers as controls, to ensure the effect was not driven by specific phonetic properties of the tokens themselves. For native Korean speakers, we show that in coda positions, the phonotactically illicit, but non-contrastive, voiced stops trigger illusory vowels to a much higher degree than their allophonic counterparts, the voiceless unaspirated stops. In contrast, English speakers, for whom both voiced and voiceless stops are phonotactically licit in coda positions, show little to no perceptual epenthesis in such contexts. More generally, we show that the phenomenon of perceptual epenthesis is also modulated by non-contrastive allophonic features.

Locality conditions on syntax-prosody Matching (in Conamara Irish)

Emily Elfner (McGill University)
Friday, 15:30-16:00, West Lounge

This paper examines prosodic phrasing in Conamara Irish (CI) in light of Match Theory. I argue that the distribution of two phrasal pitch accents, L-H and H-L, provides evidence in favour of this theory on two levels: first, that prosodic structure is fundamentally recursive, and secondly, that mismatches between syntax and prosody may be accounted for under the assumption that prosodic markedness constraints interact directly with the violable MATCH constraints governing syntax-prosody correspondence, as in an OT framework. However, in CI, some predictions of Match Theory appear to be too strong: because constraints are strictly ranked in OT, it is predicted that a low-ranked MATCH constraint may be violated any number of times if doing so would help to satisfy a higher-ranked prosodic markedness constraint. Through an examination of sentences in CI, I show that this assumption, in certain cases, predicts unattested radical non-isomorphism between syntax and prosody. I propose that this issue may be remedied by imposing a locality condition on syntax-prosody mismatches in Match Theory, which I define in terms of structural adjacency in the syntax. This suggests that while syntax-prosody mismatches may be accounted for under the assumption that prosodic markedness interact directly with MATCH constraints, the strict ranking mechanism in OT is probably too powerful: the degree to which syntactic and prosodic constituents may be non-isomorphic appears to be, at least in CI, restrained by a condition on structural locality.

Exploring ejective phonotactics and the identity preference in Cochabamba Quechua

Gillian Gallagher (New York University)
Saturday, 14:30-15:00, East Lounge

The results of a repetition task show that speakers of Cochabamba Quechua are sensitive to a co-occurrence restriction on ejectives, and support a latent bias in favor of identical ejective pairs. The task requires speakers to produce pairs of transvocalic ejectives, which are unattested root-internally in the language, and participants consistently de-ejectivized one of the target ejectives. Participants de-ejectivized more often in non-identical ejective pairs (e.g., [k'ap'i] is produced as [k'api]) than in identical ejective pairs (e.g., [k'ak'i] is produced as [k'aki]), reflecting the cross-linguistic preference for identical ejectives. Identical and non-identical ejectives pairs are both categorically unattested in Cochabamba Quechua, though many languages disallow only non-identical ejectives, e.g., Bolivian Aymara (*[k'ap'i], but [k'ank'a] 'rooster' MacEachern (1999)).

The results of an AX discrimination task further show that speakers are sensitive to the restriction against pairs of ejectives. Speakers correctly distinguish ejectives from plain stops in phonotactically licit structures (e.g., [huk'a] vs. [huka]), but often fail to distinguish ejectives from plain stops in phonotactically ill-formed stimuli (e.g., [k'uk'a] vs. [k'uka] or [k'up'a] vs. [k'upa]). In the perception task, no asymmetry between identical and non-identical ejective pairs is found, suggesting that the preference for identical ejective pairs is articulatorily based.

Object agreement asymmetries in Romance

Ángel J. Gallego (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

Thursday, 15:45-16:15, Theater

This paper puts forward a unitary account for a series of object agreement asymmetries in Romance by parametrizing the vP field. Adopting a microparametric perspective (Belletti & Rizzi 1996, Biberauer 2008, among others), and following numerous precedents on this topic, we claim that the vP can vary with respect to the feature-specification of an additional functional projection sandwiched between v and V.

Romance languages manifest various asymmetries with respect to object-agreement phenomena. We focus on four of them here (Belletti 2004, López 2012, Ordóñez 1998): (i) Differential Object Marking, (ii) VOS sentences, (iii) VSO sentences, and (iv) participial agreement. Considered together, the asymmetries have the category v as its locus. We formalize this as in (1) below, taking v to be associated with a functional category (labeled α to be neutral as for its specific content) that is responsible for the asymmetries.

$$(1) \quad [{}_{vP} DP v [{}_{P\alpha} [{}_{VP} V DP]]] \text{ MICROPARAMETER} \rightarrow \alpha = \{\phi/p\}$$

We further argue that α can have an agreement (ϕ) or prepositional (p) nature, as shown above.

The syntactic algebra of adjuncts

Thomas Graf (University of California, Los Angeles)

Friday, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge

I argue that the special behavior of adjuncts is a consequence of two properties that set them apart from arguments: optionality and independence.

Optionality: Adjuncts can be omitted.

- (1) a. Obviously I will ace this exam.
- b. I will ace this exam.

Independence: Independently well-formed adjuncts can be combined.

- (2) a. Obviously I will ace this exam.
- b. I will easily ace this exam.
- c. Obviously I will easily ace this exam.

These properties yield several grammaticality inferences that mirror the entailments of the logical connector *and*.

For instance, just like $t = 0$ implies $t \& a = 0$ for propositions, the ungrammaticality of tree t entails that the result of adding adjunct a to t is also ungrammatical. Intuitively, the grammaticality entailments render adjuncts semi-permeable with respect to constraints — dependencies can “scope out” of adjuncts and thus restrict the shape of the rest of the tree, but not the other way round.

In combination with standard assumptions about the feature-driven nature of Move, semi-permeability derives the Adjunct Island Constraint while still allowing for parasitic gaps.

What makes us communicate efficiently

Peter Graff¹, Zoe Snape¹, Morris Alper¹, Jeremy Hartman², and Edward Gibson¹ (¹Massachusetts Institute of Technology; ²University of Massachusetts at Amherst)
Friday, 9:00-9:30, West Lounge

Recent work has shown that speakers produce language in communicatively efficient ways (e.g., Jurafsky et al. 2001; Aylett & Turk 2004; Levy & Jaeger 2007). For example, Jaeger (2010) presents a corpus study of complementizer that-mentioning (e.g., I said (that) John would come to the movies.) showing that speakers preferentially mention that if the matrix verb is biased against appearing with a complement clause (CC-bias), thus keeping the information density of their utterances uniform over time. However, whether such behavior derives from speaker-internal or listener-oriented factors is still largely unknown (see Gahl et al. 2012 for discussion). Here we present evidence from two online experiments that the efficiency of a speaker's production choices with respect to that-mentioning depends at least in part on her theory of mind. In Experiment 1 we show that participants with good theory of mind (as measured by the reading-the-mind-in-the-eyes test; Baron-Cohen et al. 2001) exhibit a stronger effect of CC-bias on their preference for that-mentioning. In experiment two, we replicate this result for a different theory of mind test (reading-the-mind-in-the-films; Golan et al. 2006), and show that purely speaker-internal factors in that-mentioning (Dell & Ferreira 2000) do not interact with participants' theory of mind. We argue that these results constitute evidence in favor of listener-oriented accounts of efficiency in language usage (e.g., Clark et al. 1991).

A puzzle about subject positions in Wh-questions

Ciro Greco (University of Milan at Bicocca)
Friday, 9:30-10:00, East Lounge

Rizzi (1990) and Guasti (1996) proposed that in Italian subjects cannot appear between wh-elements and verbs because of Wh-Criterion violation:

- (1) a. *Cosa/Quale libro Gianni ha comprato?
'What/Which book John has bought?'
- b. *A chi Gianni assomiglia?
'Who does John look like?'
- c. *Dove/Come Gianni ha comprato un libro?
'Where/How has John bought a book?'

However, this is not always true:

- (2) a. Di quale città Gianni ha conosciuto il sindaco?
'Of which city has John met the mayor?'
- b. In quale città Gianni ha conosciuto il sindaco?
'In which city has John met the mayor?'
- c. In che modo Gianni ha conosciuto il sindaco?
'In which way has John met the mayor?'

(2) is a challenge for Rizzi (1990) and Guasti (1996) since one cannot reduce the contrast between

(1) and (2) to I-to-C verb movement. I explain (1-2) by the interaction of three factors: (i) a fine grained classification of wh-phrases (ii) the (non)-argumental status of the wh-phrases (iii) the syntax of Criterial Subjects (Rizzi 2006). Given these factors, the constraint on pre-verbal subjects can be treated as a Relativized Minimality Effect on the wh-chain induced by an intervening Criterial Subject.

Russian prepositions and prefixes: unifying prosody and syntax

Vera Griбанова (Stanford University) and Lev Blumenfeld (Carleton University)
Friday, 16:00-16:30, West Lounge

In this talk we bring novel evidence from Russian to bear on the structure of the syntax-prosody interface. On the prosody side, we show that Russian prepositions fall into two prosodic classes, as diagnosed by two independent phonological criteria, yer realization and stress retraction. Among the complex set of factors that separate the two classes of prepositions, we identify a syntactic effect: sequences of preposition followed by a word w where w is the sole complement of the preposition behave differently from other cases, where w is either not the preposition's complement, or is part of a branching complement. Structures with sole complements are prosodically tighter than other structures. On the syntax side, we show how such prosodic behavior can be derived from general principles. Following Hankamer & Mikkelsen, we assume that, unlike full PPs, reduced PPs containing a non-branching complement of a preposition (“Minimal X”) map to a reduced structure containing only an N or NP, with no other maximal projection inside the PP. In turn, sisters of such Minimal X undergo a different Vocabulary Insertion rule than prepositions in the general case. Hankamer & Mikkelsen's “Extended Subset Principle” ensures that the correct variant of the preposition undergoes lexical insertion. In addition, we show that the account correctly predicts the behavior of verbal prefixes, which also fall into two prosodic types parallel to prepositions.

Number mismatch in Bulgarian nominal coordinate structures

Boris Harizanov (University of California, Santa Cruz) and Vera Griбанова (Stanford University)
Saturday, 15:00-15:30, West Lounge

Bulgarian allows singular coordinated adjectives to modify a plural noun:

- (1) bǎlgarsk-o-to i grǎck-o pravitelstv-a
bulgarian-N.SG-the and greek-N.SG government-PL
'the Bulgarian and Greek governments' (two governments: a Bulgarian and a Greek one)

Two major questions arise concerning the syntax and morphology of this construction, and their interactions. First, what is the underlying structure of such examples, and how does it correspond to their particular interpretations? Second, what is the mechanism by which number features on the two adjectives may be mismatched with the noun they modify in this nominal concord language?

We argue that there are two coordinated NPs each containing identical nouns, each modified by a singular adjective. The nouns escape the coordinate structure via Across-the-Board movement, resulting in the pronunciation of a single instance of the noun (cf. similar approaches to Right Node Raising, e.g., Ross 1967). In this position, it gets marked as plural in the morphology, since the nominal phrase that contains it is plural.

This account explains a number of properties of this construction, including the prohibition on certain types of mismatches in the two conjuncts, the behavior of *pluralia tantum* nouns, and irregular plurals, better than its predecessors (e.g., Arregi and Nevins 2013). Our proposal leverages the idea that syntactic structure feeds both concord (on the sound side) and semantic interpretation (on the meaning side), but there is no direct link between concord and meaning. It also illuminates the interaction between morphology (including number marking and concord) and Across-the-Board movement.

Two types of pre-stopping in Kaytetye

Mark Harvey¹, Benjamin Davies², Susan Lin², Myfany Turpin³, Alison Ross⁴ and Katherine Demuth²
 (¹University of Newcastle; ²Macquarie University; ³University of Queensland; ⁴Northern Territory Government Department of Education)
 Saturday, 15:00-15:30, East Lounge

Kaytetye is an Arandic language of central Australia. It contrasts plain vs pre-stopped nasals: e.g., anə-ṇə ‘sit-PAST’ vs. atə-ṇə ‘stand-PAST’. We show that Kaytetye also has non-contrastive lateral pre-stopping. We provide evidence that, synchronically, contrastive and non-contrastive pre-stopping differ significantly. We also show that current diachronic hypotheses face issues with both contrastive and non-contrastive pre-stopping.

We recorded seven speakers in an elicited imitation task. Speakers were presented with an image and a pre-recorded carrier phrase containing a target word with one of the coronal nasals /n, ɲ, ɳ, ɲ/, pre-stopped nasals /^tn, ^tɲ, ^tɳ, ^tɲ/, or laterals /l, ɭ, ɮ, ɮ/, preceded by word-initial /a/ and followed by /a/ or /ə/.

Synchronically, there are two principal differences between contrastive and non-contrastive pre-stopping: (1) Mean duration of plain vs pre-stopped realizations: Pre-stopped nasal realizations are significantly longer than plain nasal realizations. Pre-stopped lateral realizations are not significantly longer than plain lateral realizations. (2) Mean duration of initial closure: This is significantly longer in pre-stopped nasal realizations (62ms), than pre-stopped lateral realizations (27ms).

Diachronically, current hypotheses propose that pre-stopping develops from post-tonic lengthening: [míṇṇa] > [mí^tl?a] (Hercus 1972). Pre-stopped laterals should therefore be longer than plain laterals, which is not the case for Kaytetye. Current hypotheses also propose that contrastive pre-stopping developed from non-contrastive pre-stopping by initial consonant loss: e.g., ‘stand’ *[^tátna] > [atnə]. This hypothesis does not account for the lengthening of initial closure in contrastive pre-stopping.

On the 1st/2nd person restriction of Korean anaphor *caki* and its implications

Semoon Hoe (Seoul National University)
 Thursday, 9:45-10:15, Theater

This paper investigates why the Korean local anaphor *caki* cannot be covalued with a 1st/2nd person antecedent (1st/2nd Person Restriction, PR) except in certain environments (Obviation Context of PR, OC). To explain PR and OC consistently, I suggest that local *caki* is generated with a 3rd person feature and after feature transmission, 1st/2nd and 3rd person features coexist on it at PF. I also assume that when 1st/2nd person and 3rd person features are competing at PF, one of them must be selected along with semantic markedness. Given this, PR can be accounted for by adopting the

morphological restriction (MR) on local *caki*: *[1ST/2ND PERSON], since 1st/2nd person features usually win over 3rd person features due to markedness. In contrast, MR cannot rule out the realization of local *caki* in OC because the 1st/2nd person feature is no longer semantically marked compared to the 3rd person feature, which can be selected in OC: OC is an environment where a 3rd person bound variable (BV) can refer to an author/addressee among the antecedents due to the implicated presupposition of the 3rd person feature whereas the 1st/2nd person BV cannot refer to 3rd persons in the antecedents. As supporting evidence, I show that even in OC, when *caki-tul* (plural) is used, the 1st/2nd person feature must win over the 3rd person thus blocked by MR. Finally, I present that local *caki* is different from long-distance *caki*; thus PR cannot be explained by the logophoric nature of long-distance *caki*.

Constraining exceptionality as prosody-morphology mismatch: a study of French nasal vowels

Brian Hsu (University of Southern California)
Friday, 16:30-17:00, West Lounge

This paper argues that certain exceptional patterns of allomorphy may be derived and constrained without lexically-indexed constraints, if analyzed as a type of prosody-morphology mismatch. Given a regular mapping from morphological to prosodic structure (Selkirk 2003), morphological structure-sensitivity can be derived in parallel OT (Prince & Smolensky 1993) by indexing markedness constraints to apply within levels of the prosodic hierarchy. When such constraints are ranked differently relative to faithfulness, as in *MPWd* >> *F* >> *MPPhr*, segmental co-occurrence restrictions are weakened across larger prosodic boundaries. I argue that certain cases of morpheme-specific phonology emerge when exceptional items are reanalyzed with a smaller prosodic structure, where a different pattern of constraint interaction applies. Empirically, this predicts that exceptional patterns are identical to regular ones at lower morphological boundaries. The proposal is illustrated in an analysis of French nasal vowels across morphological contexts, accounting for several patterns which have previously eluded a uniform account. Nasal vowels are increasingly marked as the following segment becomes more sonorous, implemented by markedness constraints $*\tilde{V}[\text{son}]$ and $*\tilde{V}[-\text{cons}]$. The regular weakening of these co-occurrence restrictions at affix and word boundaries is shown to follow from the proposed schema of indexed markedness constraints. Three patterns which have been characterized as exceptional, allomorphy of the in- prefix, liaison with and without vowel denasalization, are further shown to be derivable by reanalyzing the triggering item within a lower prosodic constituent.

Asymmetric A-movement within vP: A case from coordinated ECMs

Yuki Ito (University of Maryland)
Friday, 14:45-15:15, East Lounge

Recent studies on gapping have proposed that gapping involves asymmetric A-movement of the subject. That is, gapping is taken to involve vP coordination and movement of the subject from within the first conjunct (Coppock 2001, Johnson 2009, Lin 2002). Based on the observation that determiner sharing, which is characteristically found in gapping, is also possible across objects, several authors (Johnson 2000, Kasai 2006, Lin 2000) have suggested the existence of asymmetric A-movement of objects. This paper provides evidence for asymmetric A-movement in the vP domain, based on

data from coordinated ECMs. Specifically, building on Bošković's (1997) analysis of coordinated ECMs which postulates coordination of AgroP, across-the-board movement of V, and raising of both ECM subjects, I argue that there exist coordinated ECMs that must be analyzed as involving coordination of VP rather than AgroP, across-the-board movement of V, and asymmetric movement of the ECM subject from within the first conjunct. The arguments utilize height diagnostics developed in the ECM literature. I also show that this asymmetric A-movement of the ECM subject is subject to the LF-representational Coordinate Structure Constraint, as is discussed by Lin (2002) for gapping.

Ellipsis is derivational: Evidence from Hoçak VPE

Meredith Johnson (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
Saturday, 10:45-11:15, West Lounge

This paper presents data from Hoçak verb phrase ellipsis (VPE) that provide a new argument for a derivational analysis of ellipsis à la Aelbrecht (2010). In Hoçak, object (but not subject) agreement is bled with VPE, which I show is incompatible with an analysis of ellipsis in which deletion occurs at the end of the derivation, such as Merchant (2001, 2004, 2007). Merchant argues that ellipsis results when a so-called '[E]-feature' on the licensing head "instructs the post-PF phonological interpretative component not to parse its complement" (Merchant 2004: 671). Aelbrecht (2010) argues, on the basis of data from Dutch modal complement ellipsis, for a revision of Merchant's theory in which ellipsis occurs immediately after the merger of the licensing head. Thus ellipsis occurs throughout the course of the derivation, rather than at the end of it. Under Aelbrecht's account, the effect of ellipsis is two-fold: first, the ellipsis site is targeted for non-insertion of lexical items at PF. Second, the ellipsis site is "frozen" and thus inaccessible for future syntactic operations. The data from Hoçak VPE are problematic for Merchant's theory of ellipsis licensing, as it predicts that object agreement should still be possible. Regardless of whether agreement takes place in the narrow syntax or post-syntactically at Morphological Structure, object agreement is predicted to take place prior to PF, and thus should not be affected by ellipsis. In contrast, Aelbrecht's derivational ellipsis analysis can account for the data, provided that agreement takes place post-syntactically.

Almost or almost not? The interaction between *chadian* 'almost' and negation in Mandarin Chinese

Magdalena Kaufmann and Ting Xu (University of Connecticut)
Thursday, 14:30-15:00, Theater

At first glance, Mandarin *chadian* behaves like English 'almost'. *Chadian* ϕ conveys that ϕ does not hold and that things came close to ϕ being true. However, with a negated prejacent, *chadian* can sometimes convey the opposite, namely that the prejacent NEG ϕ is true, but that things came close to NEG ϕ being false. So it seems that *chadian* can sometimes license expletive negation, in which case *chadian* ϕ and *chadian* NEG ϕ have the same meaning. Zhu (1959) observes this is only the case if ϕ describes a state of affairs that is undesirable from the speaker's point of view.

We derive the interaction between *chadian*, negation, and desirability by assuming an ambiguity between *chadian*₁, which is exactly like English 'almost', and *chadian*₂, which expresses roughly 'almost not manage to'. With both elements, the negation in the prejacent is interpreted canonically. But the meaning of *chadian*₂ 'almost not manage to' cancels out the negation in its prejacent, creating

the illusion that the overt negation is merely expletive. As *chadian*₂ can only occur with a negated prejacent, we argue that, like NPIs in Japanese and Korean, it has to be licensed by negation in its scope. ‘manage’ in the paraphrase indicates that we take *chadian*₂ to come with the presupposition that its prejacent describes a desirable course of events. Combining it with a prejacent NEG ϕ , where ϕ itself is speaker-desirable or neutral, would result in a presupposition failure and disambiguates in favor of *chadian*₁.

The shifted indexical behavior of Tagalog *sana* ‘wish’

Gregory Kierstead (Ohio State University)

Friday, 16:30-17:00, West Lounge

Recent work on indexicals, items whose meanings depend on contextual parameters (e.g., who the speaker is, time of utterance), has shown that indexicals in some languages can shift (Schlenker 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004, Deal 2012). E.g., the Amharic pronoun *ññ* ‘I’ refers to the speaker in root level utterances, but when embedded under a verb of saying, it can refer to either the speaker, or the matrix subject; the latter is called a shifted reading.

I present original fieldwork data on the Tagalog modal *sana* ‘wish’ that exhibits a pattern not captured by previous analyses (Schlenker 2003, Anand and Nevins 2004, Deal 2012). *Sana* ‘wish’ depends on two parameters of context (speaker and utterance time) which both have a shifted reading when embedded: at the root level it expresses a wish of the speaker at utterance time, but when embedded under *sinabi* ‘say’ it expresses a wish of the matrix subject of *sinabi* ‘say’ at the time of her utterance. However, other Tagalog indexicals, e.g. *ako* ‘I’, cannot shift. I show that this data requires an analysis with more than one context (cf. Anand and Nevins 2004, Deal 2012), but that the introduction of more than two contexts (cf. Schlenker 2003) overgenerates. I propose a double-indexing analysis (Kamp 1971) with two contexts: a static global context, and a local context that changes with embedding. Thus by considering a broader range of indexicals—e.g. a modal, dependent on multiple indexical parameters—we gain further insight into the nature of indexicality.

Multiple tiers, multiple trees: Weak hand in Russian Sign Language

Vadim Kimmelman (University of Amsterdam)

Friday, 10:00-10:30, East Lounge

Sign languages (SL) are different from spoken languages because they are non-linear in many aspects of the grammar, including the fact that they have two major partially independent articulators, namely, hands. It has been claimed that only one hand is an independent articulator while the other hand (the so-called weak hand) is subordinate. However, some simultaneous constructions as well as some cases of weak hand holds allow arguing for the independent role of the second hand.

Examples from a corpus of Russian SL show that it is necessary to acknowledge the existence of two separate tiers on which the lexical units can be linearized, namely a separate tier for each hand. In this presentation I demonstrate that examples involving simultaneity can be analyzed with the help of multi-dimensional trees (or grafts). The node that is shared by several subtrees is linearized on the second tier that becomes active specifically for this purpose, while the other nodes are linearized on the first tier according to general principles. In spoken languages multi-dimensional trees are linearized on the only available tier. However, since sign languages have two tiers it is only natural that the linearization can take advantage of this additional tier exactly for the cases of multi-dimensional trees.

On paucals in Serbian

Nataša Knežević (Université de Nantes)

Thursday, 10:45-11:15, Theater

In an experimental study based on Musolino (2009), we tested the range of scope (in)dependent interpretations of paucal cardinals in Serbian children and adults.

Despite the underlying assumption in the literature that collective construals of numerals are easier to acquire, our results provide evidence that Serbian children have a preference for distributive readings, since, unlike both English children and (Serbian/English) adults, they strongly reject collective readings. To account for this surprising finding, we discuss the rich morphosyntactic typology of Serbian numerals found in other Slavic languages. While paucal numerals take a *singular* (or *dual*) nominal restriction, triggering *plural* verbal agreement, collective numerals take a *plural* nominal restriction triggering either singular or plural verbal agreement. Our hypothesis is that non-plural nominal restriction favors individual representation and therefore distributive readings of a paucal in children. Furthermore, collective cardinals should favor collective interpretations.

Nevertheless, adults showed a preference for collective readings of paucals. Serbian has a distributive marker *po* that can operate on subject or object to yield a distributive interpretation of a NP. Adults prefer to use the distributor under distributive conditions. Children’s non-adult readings of paucals might be due to the fact that they have still not acquired the meaning and the distribution of the operator *po*.

Mid-tone lowering in Laal: the phonology/syntax interface in question

Florian Lionnet (University of California, Berkeley)

Saturday, 10:00-10:30, East Lounge

Many phonological processes in various languages have been shown to depend on syntactic structure, e.g., French *liaison*, Italian *raddoppiamento* or Yoruba L-raising. However, Crysmann (2005) convincingly shows that one such process—Hausa Final Vowel Shortening (FVS)—is actually a case of morphosyntactic marking. The presence *in situ* of an object NP changes the form of the transitive verb, making Hausa a language with extraction-sensitive morphology. This prompts the question: could phonology/syntax interface phenomena sometimes be simply hidden morphosyntax?

This paper aims to show that Crysmann’s analysis of Hausa FVS is supported by what appears to be a syntactically governed tonal alternation in Laal (unclassified, Southern Chad). In this three-tone language, Mid-toned verbs and nouns become Low-toned when they head a [Verb + Object NP]_{VP} transitive structure, or a [Nounhead + NP]_{NP} genitive structure respectively, as in (1) and (2) below.

- (1) já nyāg > já **nyàg** m̀̀rím
I eat > I eat:T meat
‘I eat.’ > ‘I eat meat.’
- (2) d̀̀rūm > **d̀̀r̀̀m** hól
rope > rope:G bark(sp.)
‘rope’ > ‘bark (sp.) rope’

Based on recently collected data, I show that this alternation, like Hausa FVS, is not a case of phonology/syntax interaction, but one of extraction-sensitive morphology: in transitive and genitive

structures, the presence *in situ* of a complement is marked by a Low-tone suffix onto the head. Laal and Hausa thus seem to be showing the way towards a morphosyntactic re-appraisal of some of the processes that have been analyzed as cases of phonology/syntax interaction.

A closer look at Boersma and Hayes' (2001) simulations: extensions, analyses, implications

Giorgio Magri (CNRS, University of Paris 8) and Benjamin Storme (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Saturday, 11:15-11:45, East Lounge

OT *error-driven ranking algorithms* (EDRAs) maintain a current hypothesis of the target ranking, which is slightly updated whenever found to be inconsistent with the current piece of data. We consider four implementations of EDRAs: Tesar and Smolensky's (1998) (gradual) EDCD; Boersma's (1998) GLA and GLAmin; Magri's (2012) calibrated EDRAs (CEDRAs). They differ for the amount of constraint promotion performed (null, small or large) and for which loser-preferring constraints are demoted (all or just the *undominated* ones). Boersma and Hayes (2001; BH) add gaussian noise to the ranking entertained by the GLA and GLAmin, obtaining a learning algorithm for Boersma's *stochastic OT*. (Gradual) EDCD and CEDRAs can likewise be turned into algorithms for stochastic OT. BH consider three test cases of variation and observe that the GLA outperforms GLAmin and EDCD. In this talk, we take a closer look at BH's simulations. First, we make the new observation that CEDRAs' little promotion is equivalent to EDCD's no promotion on BH's test cases, so that the GLA outperforms CEDRAs as well on these test cases. Second, we offer a complete analytical explanation of all (BH's and ours) simulation results, explaining in detail the success/failure of different EDRAs. Finally, we argue that, although BH's test cases on variation require a large promotion amount and the demotion of all loser-preferrers, diametrically opposite conclusions are reached when EDRAs are evaluated from the perspectives of efficiency, convergence and restrictiveness, thus leading to a paradox for the theory of EDRAs.

Antecedent under discussion in French past subjunctive conditionals

Fabienne Martin (Universitaet Stuttgart)

Saturday, 9:00-9:30, West Lounge

This paper focuses on **past subjunctive conditionals (PSCs)** in French. French PSCs have a *conditionnel 2* in the consequent. It is often assumed that French (like Greek) requires imperfective aspect as a **counterfactual (CF)** marker in the antecedent. This should explain why we find in the antecedent of PSCs the *plus que parfait*, a double past combining an imperfective morphology to a first layer of past. Non-imperfective past tenses, a.o. the present perfect, are supposed to be banned.

We start from the observation that this empirical picture should be refined: one easily finds occurrences of conditionals with a *conditionnel 2* in the consequent and a present perfect in the antecedent in corpora, cf. e.g., (1):

- (1) Si un missile sol-air a effectivement été utilisé, il aurait été tiré partir d' un bateau au large de Long Island.
 If a missile ground-air indeed be-PRES.PFCT used, it be-COND.2 launched from a boat at coast of Long Island.
 'If a missile has indeed been used, it would have been launched from a boat off the Long Island coast'

It is shown that conditionals of this type are (i) true subjunctive conditionals (ii) but differ from standard PSCs in several respects, among other the fact that they require the antecedent to be undecided relative to the current context, and (iii) differ from standard past indicative conditionals, too. I argue that the absence of the imperfective morphology on the antecedent signals that subjunctivehood is obtained in other way than through the counterfactuality of the antecedent.

Assessing the role of competition in MaxElide

Troy Messick (University of Connecticut)
 Alternate Talk

In this paper, I investigate so-called MaxElide effects in English and German. I present novel data that cannot be accounted for by Merchant (2008)'s version of MaxElide that is based on competition between two possible ellipsis targets. Under Merchant (2008)'s analysis, cases of larger Verb Phrase Ellipsis (VPE) block the availability of smaller sluices and Possessor Stranding Ellipsis (PSE), shown in (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) a. Max knows who Sue invited, but Bill doesn't <know who Sue invited>. (VPE)
 b. ??Max knows who Sue invited, but Bill doesn't know who <Sue invited>. (Sluice)
- (2) a. Matt doesn't like Rose's boyfriend, but Jack does <like Rose's boyfriend>. (VPE)
 b. *Matt doesn't like Rose's boyfriend, but Jack likes Rose's <boyfriend>. (PSE)

Under this analysis, it is predicted that if VPE were not available, then (1b) and (2b) should become acceptable. I test this prediction in German, a language that does not have VPE. As shown in (3) and (4), even though there is no larger ellipsis site (i.e., VPE), the German counterparts of (1b) and (2b) are still unacceptable suggesting the cause of unacceptability is not competition with a larger ellipsis site.

- (3) ??Max weiss wen Maria eingeladen hat, aber Bill weiss nich wen
 Max knows who.acc Mary invited has, but Bill knows not who.acc
 '??Max knows who Mary has invited, but Bill doesn't know who <Mary has invited>.'
- (4) *Ich mag Marias Freund, aber du magst Marias nicht.
 I like Maria's boyfriend, but you like Maria's not
 '*I like Maria's boyfriend, but you don't like Maria's <boyfriend>.'

I go on to show that an alternative version of MaxElide put forth by Takahashi & Fox (2005) and Hartman (2011) also cannot straight forwardly account for all the data. To conclude, I propose a possible solution that relies on the interaction between movement out of ellipsis sites and the presence of focus.

That’s not art: Backhanded sentences and distant worlds

Patrick Muñoz (University of California at San Diego)

Thursday, 14:00-14:30, Theater

- (1) If that’s art, then I’m a sperm whale.
- (2) Either that’s art, or I’m a sperm whale.

The meaning of (1) and (2), termed ‘backhanded sentences,’ involves an implication about the truth of the proposition denoted by their first clauses; the conditional (1) implies “that’s not art,” while the disjunction (2) implies the opposite. Intuitively, this meaning arises as the result of the blatant falsity, or ‘outlandishness,’ of the proposition denoted by their second clauses.

How this implication arises can be captured by introducing the Lewisian notion of distance between worlds of evaluation: there are possible worlds that are close, and possible worlds that are distant, from the actual world or relevant world of evaluation. On the supposition that the ‘outlandishness’ of the propositions denoted by the second clauses of these sentences consists not only in their falsity, but also in their not being true in any close world of evaluation, an inference is yielded by the semantic content of the sentences in conjunction with some basic pragmatic maxims that the first proposition is ‘outlandish,’ in the case of conditionals, or that its negation is ‘outlandish,’ in the case of disjunctions. This accords with the intuitive meaning of the ‘backhanded’ sentences, and accounts for several of their features that are inexplicable if they are treated either as logical inferences confined to a single world of evaluation or as conventionalized syllogisms. The account further crucially depends on the logical properties of the sentences, semantically grounding a pragmatically inclined discourse maneuver.

Interpretation of agreement morphology in Mishar Tatar

Alexander Podobryaev (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)

Thursday, 10:15-10:45, Theater

In this talk, I argue, based on the data from Mishar Tatar (Turkic), that agreement morphology may be directly semantically interpreted. The core evidence comes from *indexical shifting* in finite embedded clauses where overt pronouns cannot get “shifted” interpretation, while null pronouns (including agreeing null subjects and null possessors) can.

The proposed account aims at explaining why null pronouns appear to have the same agreement features as overt ones, despite the differences in interpretation.

The data favors an analysis that involves an optional *monster operator* in the left periphery of the embedded clause. To capture the “non-shifting” property of overt pronouns, I suggest that overt pronouns are context-dependent, and the monster operator manipulates not the context parameter, but the assignment function (cf. Sudo 2012: 241-244; contra Schlenker 2003 and Anand and Nevins 2004), thus overt pronouns are left unaffected by the monster – they are always evaluated in the context of the speech act.

To explain why null pronouns agree just like overt pronouns, I propose that neither overt nor null pronouns carry formal phi-features in MT – it is the agreement morphology that bears interpretable, and “shiftable” (i.e. assignment-dependent), phi-features. “Non-shiftable” of overt pronouns is a result of a clash between interpretations of overt pronouns and agreement morphology in the presence of the monster. Null pronouns are not interpreted at all, so there is no clash and “shifted” readings become available.

Prenoun hierarchies in the Ojibwe DP

Bryan Rosen (University of Wisconsin–Madison)
Friday, 14:15-14:45, East Lounge

This paper evaluates Cinque’s (1994, 2010) and Scott’s (2002) universal functional hierarchy of adjectival modification in the context of the Algonquian language, Ojibwe. Specifically, the paper examines the ordering facts of “prenouns” (attributive modifiers) and shows that the data do not confirm the predictions of Cinque or Scott. Instead, I argue that prenoun orderings are derived by the same principles that restrict phrase structure. In order to achieve the correct orderings, I claim that prenouns are divided into three types: N-type, A-type, and V-type. On the one hand, N-type and V-type elements show syntactic parallels to nouns and verbs, and therefore, they carry the features [+N] and [–N], respectively. On the other hand, A-type prenouns behave neither like nouns nor like verbs, and thus bear the unspecified [\pm N] (cf. Baker 2003, “the essence of having no essence”). In line with Svenonius’ (2008) analysis of adjectival placement in Jarawara, I propose that the functional structure of the DP takes prenouns as a complement; that is, n P selects for an AP. This means that prenouns are entirely divorced from both a functional hierarchy and the notion that attributive modifiers are phrasal constituents of the NP. This study furthermore makes the novel claim that in the absence of the UG dictated functional structure (cf. Cinque 1994), another area of UG will compensate. Since there are no functional heads mediating prenoun orders, the principles that restrict phrase structure also restrict prenouns.

Cliticization phenomena in non-standard Serbian and Slovenian dialects

Jelena Runić (University of Connecticut)
Saturday, 14:30-15:00, West Lounge

The aim of this talk is to account for clitic doubling and other related cliticization phenomena found in Prizren-Timok Serbian (PTS) and Gorica Slovenian (GS), two non-standard dialects spoken in Southeastern Serbia and Western Slovenia. First, as noted by Marušič & Žaucer (2009, 2010), these are article-less languages with pronominal clitic doubling, which is problematic for the recently proposed NP/DP Parameter, according to which only languages with articles may allow clitic doubling (Bošković 2008). Second, a thorough examination of the dialects in question reveals some additional hitherto unnoticed properties, such as: (i) non-doubled pronouns can be modified, while doubled pronouns cannot; (ii) doubling with full NPs is allowed with some speakers in both PTS and GS; (iii) a clitic and its associate cannot be separated by a verb—they must be adjacent. In this talk, regarding (i) and (ii), I argue that these are subject to an ongoing language change. Based on the data, I claim that PTS and GS display both types of pronouns in their pronominal systems—D pronouns and N pronouns. In line with Krochs (1994) account of syntactic change, I claim that such dual behavior in PTS/GS is the reflection of an ongoing language change. As for (iii), it has been argued extensively that a clitic and a doubled argument are located in the same phrase at some point during the derivation (Kayne 2002, i.a.). PTS and GS then reveal evidence for the adjacency requirement. Overall, the data from PTS and GS confirm several theoretical findings.

Morphological and semantic properties of negation in Kalaallisut

Jerry Sadock (University of Chicago)
Friday, 16:00-16:30, East Lounge

Negation in Kalaallisut, the Inuit language of West Greenland, is handled by a derivational affix *-inngit-* that can be attached to any verb stem to build a new, negated verb stem. I will show that a very simple grammar of word structure, combined with a simple grammar of semantic structure, can handle the complex facts of negation in Kalaallisut.

These facts include: (1) a special “negative inflection” that is associated directly with the position of *-nngit-*, and not with semantic negativity, (2) scope of *-nngit-*, that varies from propositional scope, scope that is restricted to the predicate, scope that is restricted to the verb itself, and scope that is associated with lexicalized combinations of stems and affixes.

To take just one example, the verb stem *ajor-* means “to be bad or ill”. Its negation, *ajunngit-* is a lexical combination that means “to be good or healthy”, and the negation of that, *ajunnnginngit-* means “to be not good, not healthy.” At every stage, further derivation is possible: *ajornerar-* “to say that he/she is bad, ill”, *ajunnnginnerar-* “to say that he/she is good, healthy.” And the result of these derivations can be further negated, e.g., *ajunnnginnnerar-* “to say that he/she is not good, not healthy.”

These and other complexities, as I will show, can be elegantly treated by accepting the autonomy of morphological and semantic structure without the need for movement of any kind.

More variation in island repair: the clausal/non-clausal island distinction

Gary Thoms¹, Matthew Barros² and Patrick Elliott¹ (¹University of Edinburgh;²Rutgers University)
Friday, 10:45-11:15, West Lounge

Clausal islands undergo repair by ellipsis more readily than non-clausal islands, due to the variable availability of island evasion strategies.

‘Repair’ in non-repair contexts: Merchant (2004) argues that contrastive fragments (CFrs) do not exhibit repair effects. We show however that repair effects surface with because-islands and many relative clause islands. Dutch also exhibits repair with CFrs (Temmerman, to appear), but neither English nor Dutch allows repair of non-clausal islands, such as left branch islands and definite DP islands.

Non-repair in ‘repair’ contexts: While Merchant (2001) has argued that sluicing repairs left branch islands, we show that repair fails whenever the targeted adjective cannot appear predicatively. We propose that “left branch sluices” are only possible with an underlying, non-isomorphic “predicative source” - Left branch extraction is *not* repaired in sluicing.

Double clausal ellipsis: Double clausal ellipsis (1) allows evasion of clausal islands, deriving because-island repair with CFrs.

- (1) No, [CP [CP SARAH_i [C because [TP I offended *t_i*]]]_{*j*} [TP they left *t_j*]]

Outlook: Cross-linguistic generalizations about repair collapse to generalizations over kinds of islands. Non-repair occurs whenever we run out of evasion strategies - this is because repair is *always* illusive.

(Im)perfect(ive) VP: Aspect-sensitive VP-ellipsis in Serbian

Neda Todorović (University of Connecticut)
Saturday, 15:30-16:00, West Lounge

VP-ellipsis in Serbian is aspect-sensitive, because only certain aspectual mismatches between the antecedent and the target VP allow for it. For instance, when the antecedent is the imperfective counterpart of the perfective target, ellipsis is allowed (1). In (2), however, ellipsis is disallowed; the target is a root perfective (aspect is specified in the verbal root in Serbian), while the antecedent is a derived perfective (a prefix being added to the root perfective stem, changing its lexical properties).

- (1) Aca je izbacivao čizme, a Ana ni tada nije izbacila / neće izbaciti
Aca is out.thrown-impf. boots and Ana nor then isn't out.thrown-pf. / won't out.throw-pf.
čizme.
boots
'Aca was putting the boots outside, while Ana didn't/ won't (put the boots outside) even then'
- (2) *Aca nije izbacio čizme, a ni Ana nije bacila / neće baciti čizme.
Aca isn't out.thrown-pf. boots, and nor Ana isn't thrown-pf. / won't throw-pf. boots
'Aca didn't put the boots outside, and neither did/will Ana (throw the boots away)'

I argue that VP-ellipsis in Serbian is possible if the target: (a) is a phasal complement or a phase (Bošković in press); (b) matches in phasal status with the strict aspectual antecedent, i.e. either both are phasal complements or both are phases.

In (1), the imperfective suffix *-va* changes only the aspectual properties of its perfective stem. If the derived imperfective is in the viewpoint aspect domain (Borer 2005 a.o.), whereas root and derived perfectives are in the situation aspect domain, I argue that, in Serbian, the derived imperfective is in the AspP. I also suggest that, due to both the functional and the lexical nature of aspects in Serbian, not all aspectual information is part of an extended VP domain; rather, situational and viewpoint aspects are parts of two separate phasal domains.

In sum, seemingly unsystematic discrepancies in the availability of VP-ellipsis in Serbian follow from an analysis relying on strict phasal identity between antecedent and target.

On a proper treatment of interrogative scope in Chinese *Wh*-in-situ

Cheng-Yu Edwin Tsai (Harvard University)
Friday, 14:45-15:15, West Lounge

In-situ *wh*-words in Chinese have been argued to have wide, island-free interrogative scope. This paper proposes that the wide-scope interpretation actually results from a choice function variable CH(f) being bound by an existential quantifier high in the matrix clause (following Reinhart 1997), and that *wh*-words are simply predicates of type $\langle e, t \rangle$. Evidence of this analysis comes from the observation that a *wh*-question with the *wh*-word inside an island is infelicitous in a scenario where the reference of the *wh*-word is unique. For instance, the question *You read [book [who wrote t]]?* is infelicitous when only one author is relevant in the discourse. This indicates that, contra the standard assumption in the literature, Chinese *wh*-words do not have wide scope. Under the current analysis, the island which contains the *wh*-word as a whole semantically denotes a set of properties and syntactically constitutes the argument of CH(f). It will be shown that such CH(f) is very similar to the existential

suffix *-ka* in Japanese in the sense of Hagstrom (1998) and many others, and thus the interpretation of such *wh*-questions in Chinese is parallel to that in Japanese, despite the morphological difference. Overall, this paper argues for the view that Chinese *wh*-words are predicates without quantificational force, but against the widely accepted position that they can obtain matrix scope out of an island (Huang 1982, Tsai 1994).

Testing the two-grammar hypothesis for Korean: Scopal interaction of object QPs and negation

Erica J. Yoon and Junko Shimoyama (McGill University)
Friday, 9:30-10:00, West Lounge

We revisit Han, Lidz, and Musolino’s (2007) claim that each Korean speaker exclusively acquires one of two available grammars, either the one that only generates the *neg*>object QP scope derived by V-raising or the one that only generates the object QP>*neg* scope derived by I-lowering. The claim is based on the observation that the acceptance of the *neg*>object QP reading (where Q is a universal quantifier) in a Truth Value Judgment task yielded a bimodal distribution of speakers: each speaker either consistently accepted the reading, or consistently rejected it. We address two issues: first, the QP>*neg* condition in their experiment yielded unexpectedly high acceptance rates, the cause of which Han et al. attributed to an entailment relation between the two scope readings created by the use of the universal quantifier. Also, participants were tested using a between-subjects design, which meant each speaker was tested on only one of the two scope readings. We performed a new experiment with two main modifications: we used numeral quantifiers to remove an entailment relation between two readings of test sentences; and we used a within-subjects design to test whether each speaker has an exclusive access to one of the two readings. We found that the removal of an entailment relation did not reduce the high acceptance rates of the QP>*neg* reading, and that some speakers accepted both scope readings. As our findings are inconsistent with the predictions of Han and colleagues’ two-grammar model, we propose some possible revisions to the original claim.

Parasitic gaps licensed by elided syntactic structure

Masaya Yoshida¹, Tim Hunter² and Michael Frazier¹ (¹Northwestern; ²Cornell)
Saturday, 11:15-11:45, West Lounge

Because the licensing condition on Parasitic Gaps (PGs) crucially refers to a specific syntactic configuration, with a licensing gap left by an overt A-bar movement not c-commanding the PG (Engdal 1983), PGs can be used to diagnose the internal structure of an ellipsis site. If a PG appears inside an island domain without a licensing gap, it may be parasitic on an elided gap (Kennedy 2003). The remnant in sluicing can host PGs (1a), where the first clause may, but need not, contain a correlate of the remnant “how soon” phrase. $___{PG}$ in (1a) is licensed by a real gap (RG) in the ellipsis site, which thus must contain the licensing configuration for PGs. This is expected under PF-deletion analyses of sluicing, but problematic for LF-copying approaches.

- (1) a. The editor told me which book I must review $___$ (soon after receiving $___$), but I don’t remember exactly how soon after receiving $___{PG}$.
- b. *The editor told me which book I must review $___$, but I don’t remember exactly how soon after receiving $___{PG}$ I must review it.

The PG in the remnant in (1a) has the diagnostic properties of a PG, but is not licensed by the gap in the first conjunct, as the contrast between (1a), without the optional correlate, and (1b) shows. This indicates that it is dependent on something in the ellipsis site. This supports the hypothesis that ellipsis can repair island and ECP violations, and complicates LF-copying analyses of ellipsis and single-cycle models of syntax.

Prosody of right dislocation in head-final languages

Suyeon Yun (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Alternate Talk

This paper proposes that right dislocation of an argument to the post-verbal position in head-final languages involves two different syntactic structures, rightward movement and bi-clausal adjunction following ellipsis, based on prosodic evidence. Focusing on Korean, I also argue that rightward movement is triggered by a focus effect, achieved by the movement of non-focused element bearing old information, and bi-clause adjunction takes place to add afterthoughts.

Probing for conversation participants: A case of Jingpo

Vera Zu (New York University)
Thursday, 15:15-15:45, Theater

This paper examines the phenomenon of speaker- and hearer-oriented agreement in Jingpo, a Tibeto-Burmese language with an SOV word order. In declarative clauses (1), the agreement can target either a third person plural, i.e., the grammatical subject *jongma*, or a first person plural, indicating the speaker has a close relationship with the subject. Hearer-oriented agreement, in contrast, does not have the plurality requirement, and can be either singular or plural, depending on the exact number of addressees involved in the conversation. For instance, (2) is a question addressed to an individual.

- (1) Jongma du hkum ma-s-ai/sa-ga-ai/*sa-ng-ai.
student all arrive **3pl**-COS-DECL/COS-**1pl**-DECL/*COS-**1sg**-DECL
'Students have all arrived.'
- (2) Hkying gade htu s-aʔ-ni/s-ə-ni?
time how many point COS-**3sg**-Q/COS-**2sg**-Q
'What time is it?'

This paper shows that in Jingpo agreement with the grammatical subject and agreement with the conversation participants involve the same set of morphosyntactic features, except that the latter is also context-linked. Hearer-oriented agreement targets the ϕ -features of the closest conversation participant HEARER, whereas speaker-oriented agreement targets the ϕ -features of both SPEAKER and HEARER, computed as the inclusive *we*, as a way of targeting SPEAKER without violating MLC. Finally, it points out that the Jingpo data can be best analyzed in a framework where a uniform structure is assumed for various clause types.

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- The Franke Institute for the Humanities

We are especially grateful to our keynote speakers for presenting their research and to all of the session presenters for sharing their work with us. We appreciate the considerable effort involved in preparing for, traveling to, and presenting at our conference, not to mention the demanding work that their research entails. We are also very grateful to all who submitted an abstract for consideration but did not have an opportunity to present. With a three-day schedule with only one track on the first day, and nearly 200 submissions, it was necessary to leave out from the program many outstanding pieces of research. If the Chicago Linguistic Society conference maintains high standards, it is due in large measure to the notable authors who submit their work for consideration. Special thanks must also go to the faculty and students in the Department of Linguistics who offered their valuable advice and support from the very first to the very last stages of conference preparation. In addition, we want to express our deep gratitude to all of our anonymous abstract reviewers—external and internal—who provided helpful feedback to submitting authors. Thanks, too, to all the student volunteers who helped us with the conference logistics. Finally, we would like to thank all conference attendees for joining us here at the 49th annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, continuing the tradition of excellence.

Helena Aparicio Terrasa
Katie Franich
Gallagher Flinn
Asia Pietraszko
Tamara Vardoms kaya

CLS 49 Organizing Committee

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