

Chicago
Linguistic
Society 51



The 51st annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society
April 23rd – 25th, 2015

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Welcome

Welcome to the 51st annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, and a special welcome to this year's invited speakers: Diane Brentari, Michael Franke, Heidi Harley, Lori Holt, William Idsardi, Bernard Perley, and Anna Szabolcsi.

The conference will be held from Thursday, April 23rd to Saturday, April 25th, 2015, in Ida Noyes Hall at the University of Chicago (1212 E. 59th St., Chicago, IL 60637). Registration begins at 8:30 AM on Thursday and 8:00 AM on Friday and Saturday. Opening remarks will be at 9:45 AM on Thursday, and we will close with a banquet, held at 7:00 PM on Saturday. There will also be a graduate student mixer at 7:30 PM on Thursday, held at the University of Chicago Pub in the basement of Ida Noyes Hall.

Thank you to all of our invited speakers, presenters, graduate student and external reviewers, volunteers, and conference attendees: your hard work is what makes this conference possible. We are also extremely appreciative of the financial sponsorship of the Office of the Reynolds Club and Student Activities and the Franke Institute for the Humanities.

Enjoy the conference!

-The CLS 51 Organizing Committee

Ksenia Ershova
Joshua Falk
Jeffrey Geiger
Zach Hebert
Robert E. Lewis Jr.
Patrick Munoz
Jacob Phillips
Betsy Pillion

Our invited speakers

Diane Brentari is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago and one of three Directors of the Center for Gesture, Sign and Language. Currently her work addresses cross-linguistic variation among sign languages, particularly in the parameters of handshape and movement. She is also interested in how the mental lexicon emerges in historical time, which includes the relationship between gesture, homesign systems and well-established sign languages. In addition Brentari has developed the Prosodic Model of sign language phonology, and her work has also addressed the prosodic structure of signed and spoken languages.

Michael Franke obtained his PhD in philosophy in 2009 from the University of Amsterdam on applications of game theory within formal pragmatics. He has worked on formal semantics, pragmatics and models of language evolution, but his more recent work has grown ever more towards data-oriented modeling. He now is leader of a junior research group at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Tübingen. His current research is mainly concerned with interfacing theoretical and experimental approaches to semantics and pragmatics.

Heidi Harley is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Arizona. She works on morphology, syntax and lexical semantics, often within the Distributed Morphology framework. She is especially interested in verbal argument structure and verbal derivation, and the internal structure of the verb phrase. She has looked at problems in English, Italian, Persian, Korean and Hiaki, among other languages. She received her doctorate in 1995 from MIT under the supervision of Alec Marantz.

Lori Holt is a Professor of Psychology at Carnegie Mellon University. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The major focus of her research has been understanding the general sensory, perceptual, cognitive and learning mechanisms that support speech communication.

William Idsardi was born in Cleveland and lived there until he was eleven. He then lived in Southwestern Ontario and attended the University of Toronto, receiving a BA in Mathematical Linguistics in 1988. While an undergraduate, he also worked as a software developer in Toronto and Ottawa. He completed his PhD at MIT with Morris Halle in 1992; his thesis is a revision of the bracketed grid theory of stress. Since finishing his PhD, he has been on the faculty at the University of Delaware (1992-2005), the University of Toronto (1999, Fulbright Senior Scholar), York University (2006, Fulbright Chair) and the University of Maryland College Park (since 2005). He is currently Professor and Chair of the Linguistics department at UMCP and a Professor in the Neuroscience and Cognitive Science program. His research interests center on phonology, using a wide variety of research methods.

Bernard C. Perley is an associate professor of Linguistic Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He received his PhD in Anthropology from Harvard University. Dr. Perley's research and publications have focused on exploring the social and cultural factors in processes of language endangerment and identifying successful strategies for language revitalization in Indigenous communities. His current work seeks to integrate the fields of linguistics, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, cultural anthropology, and indigenous studies into research and programmatic projects designed to promote Indigenous language revitalization. This integration of emerging interdisciplinary research informs his research trajectory exploring the intersections of cognition, metaphors, narrative, and linguistic anthropology as an integrated approach to language revitalization.

Anna Szabolcsi is Professor in the Department of Linguistics at New York University. The main research interest she has pursued, from combinatory categorial grammar, through weak island (intervention) effects and quantification, to a unified analysis of particles that occur both inside and outside quantifier words, is how and why form and meaning work in parallel. Her books include *Ways of Scope Taking* (1997), *Verbal Complexes* (2000, with H. Koopman), and *Quantification* (2010). Her latest article *What do quantifier particles do?* is online in L&P.

Schedule

Thursday, April 23, Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.)

	3rd floor, Lobby	
8:30-9:45	Registration	
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	2nd floor, East Lounge	
9:45-10:00	Opening Remarks	
	SPECIAL SESSION: EXPERIMENTAL SYNTAX & SEMANTICS	
10:00-10:30	Lilia Rissman (University of Chicago) – Cinderella broke and broke: object deletion and manner-result complementarity	
10:30-11:00	Elena Gavrusseva, Garret Larson, Sarah Lowen, & Caleb Widmer (University of Iowa) – Not all determiners are acquired en masse: on the role of count/mass distinction in L2 acquisition of article semantics	
11:00-11:15	BREAK	
11:15-11:45	Polly O'Rourke & Gregory Colflesh (University of Maryland) – Individual neural response profiles and reanalysis of garden-path sentences: An ERP study	
11:45-12:15	Jana Häußler (University of Potsdam) & Tom Juzek (University of Oxford) – Lab or Armchair? The benefits of Formal Acceptability Judgements	
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12:15-1:45	LUNCH	
	3rd floor, Theater	
1:45-2:45	Invited Speaker: Michael Franke (University of Tübingen) – Expectations and thresholds: optimal lexical entries for 'tall', 'many', 'probably' and probably many more	
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2:45-3:00	BREAK	
	2nd floor, East Lounge	2nd floor, West Lounge
	GENERAL SESSION	SPECIAL SESSION: MOVEMENT
3:00-3:30	Xiao Li (CUNY) & Carlos Fasola (Rutgers University) – The semantics of yuè V yuè A in Mandarin Chinese: Coercion and the necessarily temporal reading	Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine & Hadas Kotek (McGill University) – Relative pronoun pied-piping, the structure of which informs the analysis of relative clauses
3:30-4:00	Alessandro Jaker (Alaska Native Language Center) – The Consonant Hierarchy in Dëne Sùliné	Nagarajan Selvanathan (Rutgers University) – Reconstruction, Reflexive Connectivity and LF Deletion
4:00-4:15	BREAK	
4:15-4:45	Laura Horton (University of Chicago) – Assembling nominal constituents: Evidence from an Intergenerational Family Homesign	Shintaro Hayashi & Tomohiro Fujii (Yokohama National University) – Predicate Ellipsis, Null Adjuncts, and Predicate Raising in Japanese
4:45-5:15		Jessica Brown (University of Cambridge) – Blackholes and subextraction from adjuncts in English and Norwegian
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5:15-5:30 BREAK

3rd floor, Theater

5:30-6:30 Invited Speaker: Diane Brentari (University of Chicago) – Sign Language Typology:
Can it be predictive?

University of Chicago Pub, Basement

7:30 Graduate Student Mixer

Friday, April 24, Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.)

	1st floor, Lobby	
8:00-8:30	Registration	
	2nd floor, East Lounge	2nd floor, West Lounge
	SPECIAL SESSION: PROSODIC PHONOLOGY	GENERAL SESSION: SYNTAX
8:30-9:00	Eleanor Glewwe (UCLA) – Tonal assignment in English loanwords in Mandarin Chinese	Ömer Eren (Boğaziçi University) – An articleless DP language: Pazar Laz
9:00-9:30	Juliet Stanton & Sam Zukoff (MIT) – Prosodic effects of segmental correspondence	Syed Saurov (USC) – Definiteness in terms of Identifiability and Inclusiveness: Splitting the D-domain in Bangla
9:30-10:00	Sharon Inkelas (UC Berkeley) & Stephanie Shih (UC Merced) – Tone melodies in the age of Surface Correspondence	Bryan Rosen (University of Wisconsin-Madison) – A Feature Stacking Analysis of Direct Modification in Hocak
10:00-10:15	BREAK	
10:15-10:45	Brian Hsu & Karen Jesney (USC) – Scalar Positional Markedness and Faithfulness in Harmonic Grammar	Hyosik Kim & Bum-Sik Park (Dongguk University) – Island Repair in Korean Fragments
10:45-11:15	Ryan Bennett (Yale University), Boris Harizanov (Stanford University), & Robert Henderson (Wayne State University) – Prosodic smothering in Macedonian and Kaqchikel	Yu-Yin Hsu (Hong Kong Polytechnic University) – Sentence-Initial Modals as Focus Operators at CP in Chinese
11:15-11:30	BREAK	
	1st floor, (Cloister Club)	
11:30-12:30	Invited Speaker: Lori Holt (Carnegie Mellon) – Auditory cognitive neuroscience as a tool for understanding phonetic perception	
12:30-2:00	LUNCH	
	1st floor, (Cloister Club)	
2:00-3:00	Invited Speaker: Bernard Perley (UW-Milwaukee) – Inside Jokes: Anomalous Utterances and the Ironies in “Language Endangerment”	

3:00-3:15 BREAK

2nd floor, East Lounge

SPECIAL SESSION: ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

3:15-3:45 Jenny Lee (Harvard University) – Valency alternation in Ranmo: Implications for split ergativity

3:45-4:15 Michelle Yuan (MIT) – Case competition and case domains: Evidence from Yimas

4:15-4:30 BREAK

4:30-5:00 Yuko Asada (Tokyo University of Social Welfare) – Transitive/ ergative alternations in the domain of P

5:00-5:30 Isabelle Charneval & Christina Zlogar (Harvard University) – English Reflexive Logophors

2nd floor, West Lounge

SPECIAL SESSION: BEYOND FIELD METHODOLOGIES

Luke Fleming (University of Montreal) & James Slotta (University of California-San Diego) – Social pragmatics and types of person reference: The case of proper names v. kin terms

Hannah Sarvasy (UCLA) – Monolingual fieldwork in and beyond the classroom: The Logooli experience at UCLA

James Costa (University of Oslo) – Is language revitalization really about saving languages? Some insights from 150 years of language revival in Occitania

Margit Bowler (UCLA) – ‘Might be something’: Information protection & epistemic assertions in central Australia

5:30-5:45 BREAK

1st floor, (Cloister Club)

5:45-6:45 Invited Speaker: Heidi Harley (University of Arizona) – Suppletion, agreement, reduplication and readjustment: Marking number on Hiaki roots

Saturday, April 25, Ida Noyes Hall (1212 E. 59th St.)

3rd floor, Lobby

8:00-9:00 Registration

2nd floor, East Lounge

GENERAL SESSION: PRAGMATICS

9:00-9:30 Ryan Doran (University of Regina) & Gregory Ward (Northwestern University) – Demonstratives with Distributed Interpretations

9:30-10:00 Frances Kane, Jacopo Romoli, Raffaello Folli (University of Ulster), George Tsoulas (University of York), & Dora Alexopoulou (University of Cambridge) – A scalar implicature-based account of the inference of pluralized mass (and count) nouns

10:00-10:15 BREAK

10:15-10:45 Andrea Beltrama (University of Chicago) – I'm totally cooperating here! Exploring intensification at the speech act level

10:45-11:15 Ting Xu (University of Connecticut) – On the ambiguity of almost: An intervention effect

2nd floor, West Lounge

SPECIAL SESSION: EXPERIMENTAL PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY

Jiwon Yun (Stony Brook University) & Hye-Sook Lee – Tonal determination for Korean wh-indeterminates when the theory is indecisive

Hyunsoon Kim (Hongik University), Shinji Maeda (Telecom ParisTech), & Kiyoshi Honda (Tianguin University) – Phonetic evidence for the articulator-bound feature [spread glottis]: ePGG, airflow, and acoustic data on the phasing of glottal opening

Anne Pycha (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) – Using false memories to characterize lexical representations: A test case from Spanish

Chung-Lin Yang & Isabelle Darcy (Indiana University-Bloomington) – The effect of the orthographic depth of English vowels and consonants on the learning of free variation in an artificial language

11:15-11:30 BREAK

3rd floor, Theater

11:30-12:30 Invited Speaker: Anna Szabolsci (NYU) – Can questions be directly disjoined?

12:30-2:00 LUNCH

2nd floor, East Lounge

GENERAL SESSION: PHONOLOGY

2:00-2:30 Adam Jardine & Jeffrey Heinz (University of Delaware) – Markedness constraints are negative: An autosegmental constraint definition language

2:30-3:00 Joe Collins (University of Tromsø) & Martin Krämer (University of Tromsø, UCSC) – Crazy Rules and Grounded Constraints

2nd floor, West Lounge

GENERAL SESSION: SEMANTICS

David Rubio Vallejo (University of Delaware) – Bare singular nouns in Spanish

Jon Nissenbaum (Brooklyn College, CUNY) – Unbuilding Statives

3:00-3:15	BREAK	
3:15-3:45	Charlie O'Hara (USC) – Never surfacing underlying representations in Klamath	Anastasia Giannakidou (University of Chicago) & Alda Mari (IJN, CNRS, University of Chicago) – Emotive factives in Greek and Italian and the puzzle of the subjunctive
3:45-4:15	John Sylak-Glassman (Johns Hopkins University) – Deriving natural classes using phonological entailments	Thomas Grano (Indiana University) – A coercion-free semantics for intention reports

4:15-4:30 BREAK

3rd floor, Theater

4:30-5:30 Invited Speaker: William Idsardi (UMD) – Repeating phonology

1st floor, (Cloister Club)

6:30 BANQUET

Sign Language Typology: Can It Be Predictive?

Diane Brentari
University of Chicago

In this paper I propose a typological classification for sign languages handshake preference that is implicational; specifically, knowing some properties of handshake behavior in nouns makes predictions about other aspects of the grammar. To be concrete, noun forms in one group of sign languages show a preference for Object handshakes, while another group shows a preference for Handling handshakes. The analysis that I will present shows that membership in one or the other of these groups predicts the particular ways that nouns are distinguished from verbs, as well as the behavior of some classifier constructions. This work suggests that typology can be employed as powerful a tool in explaining crosslinguistic variation in sign languages.

Expectations and thresholds: optimal lexical entries for ‘tall’, ‘many’, ‘probably’ and probably many more

Michael Franke
University of Tübingen

Much recent work has postulated lexical entries for such diverse items as gradable adjectives (e.g., ‘tall’, ‘big’), vague quantifiers (e.g., ‘many’, ‘few’), and probability expressions (e.g., ‘probably’, ‘likely’) in terms of a comparison with a contextually supplied threshold variable. I propose here a pragmatic account of the resolution of these elusive threshold values as a function of interlocutors’ contextually-variable prior expectations. More concretely, I introduce a model for computing thresholds from prior expectations that are (approximately) optimal under general pragmatic pressure towards informativity and generality. Despite its high level of abstraction, the model appears to be a surprisingly good predictor of experimental data on the use and interpretation of the items in question.

Suppletion, agreement, reduplication and readjustment: Marking number on Hiaki roots

Heidi Harley
University of Arizona

Number-sensitive suppletion occurs in 10-15 Hiaki transitive and intransitive verbs, conditioned by the internal argument. Borer (2015) questions whether this pattern should be characterized as part of the grammar, suggesting (with Corbett) that such patterns are lexico-semantic in character—semantic restrictions on almost-synonymous but independent verbs, not in a single paradigm. In this talk I show that Hiaki suppletion is conditioned by interpretable, not formal, plural marking. I argue that it should nonetheless be considered a formal contrast, i.e. ‘paradigmatic’, on the basis of evidence from idiomatic interpretations, speaker intuitions, historical patterns in the language family, and adjectival reduplication. Expanding the dataset to other Uto-Aztecan languages suggests parallel patterning for reduplication and suppletion in other members of the family as well.

Previous work has shown that canonical phi-feature agreement marking and suppletive alternations are independent from each other, in languages where the difference can be observed, such that suppletive alternations are conditioned by ‘deep’ grammatical relations and phi-feature agreement is conditioned by ‘surface’ relations. We see a this pattern in Hiaki as well. I argue that this shows that root suppletion is not triggered by an Agree relation, but rather represents locally conditioned allomorphy at Late Insertion, as proposed by Bobaljik and Harley (forthcoming). This conclusion is supported by the fact that different suppletive allomorphs belong to different stem classes for readjustment rules, as shown in Harley and Tubino-Blanco (2013). Second, the parallel between root suppletion and reduplicative number marking in Uto-Aztecan suggests that these two phenomena deserve a parallel treatment in the language family, distinct from inflectional agreement.

Auditory cognitive neuroscience as a tool for understanding phonetic perception

Lori L. Holt
Carnegie Mellon University

Experience deeply shapes how we perceive spoken language. For example, we learn long-term phonetic representations that respect the sound structure of our native language and, yet, we maintain enough flexibility to make sense of speakers with nonnative accents or speech from imperfect computer synthesizers. There are rich behavioral-science literatures that speak to the many ways that experience shapes speech perception. Yet, we understand quite little about the learning mechanisms involved in supporting speech communication. For the most part, contemporary neurobiological models of language are oriented toward characterization of the system in a stable state.

I will describe ongoing research that aims to better characterize the more dynamic aspects of speech communication. These approaches converge to suggest that progress in understanding speech processing can be made by understanding the principles of human neurobiological learning systems, in general. Long relegated as a special system that could tell us little about general human cognition, I will argue that the study of speech communication as a flexible, adaptive, experience-dependent skill that draws upon perceptual, cognitive, motor and linguistic systems has much to offer as a platform for understanding human behavior, quite generally. Reciprocally, knowledge from the broader field of auditory cognitive neuroscience can deeply inform our understanding of phonetic perception.

Reproving phonology

William Idsardi
University of Maryland

In his LSA plenary talk in 2013, David Pesetsky recounted the lack of basic knowledge outside the field about discoveries in syntax, and asked “Что дѣлать? What is to be done?” In my talk I will try to take up some of that challenge for phonology, where the same kinds of problems exist. As Pesetsky did for generative syntax, we can easily list some important discoveries in phonology: phonemes, distinctive features, phonological processes, opacity, and so on. But the problem outside the field can be seen, for example, in recent comments made by Andrew Ng regarding the Baidu speech recognition system. Ng said “... recently there has been a debate

whether phonemes are a fundamental fact of language or are they a fantasy of linguists? ... One of the things we did with the Baidu speech system was not use the concept of phonemes.” Ng is an extremely influential person: he is a professor at Stanford, he is chief scientist at Baidu, he founded the Google Brain project, he co-founded Coursera, and his machine learning MOOC has enrolled more than 100,000 students at a time. So people do listen when he says that phonemes are nothing more than a fantasy. One response to skepticism from other fields about results in linguistics is “if you can’t beat them, join them” by which I mean that we could (and should) reprove the results in linguistics using their research methods (behavioral and neuro-physiological experiments, machine learning and computational modeling). In the talk, I will review the architecture of the Baidu speech system and show that it does use phonemes, briefly review recent work re-proving some aspects of phonology, and briefly discuss the benefits and the dangers inherent in pursuing this strategy.

Inside Jokes: Anomalous Utterances and the Ironies in “Language Endangerment”

Bernard C. Perley
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Language death is no laughing matter. Linguists estimate 50% to 90% of the world’s languages will become extinct by the end of this century. Documentary linguists have responded by coordinating their efforts to document the last words of the last speakers before those speakers die and their languages become silent. The documentation strategy is most effective in severe cases of language endangerment where there are only a handful of elderly speakers. However, many communities whose languages have been diagnosed as endangered are grappling with the ironies of “language endangerment.” This anomalous utterance merits closer analysis. The semantic properties make “sense” as a metaphor but do they make even more “sense” as a joke? This paper examines the implications and consequences of “language endangerment” as both a metaphor and as a joke. From an Indigenous perspective some of the proposed strategies for saving languages seem like a cruel joke that ironically exacerbate rather than ameliorate the conditions of linguistic colonialism that propel Indigenous languages toward extinction.

Can questions be directly disjoined?

Anna Szabolcsi
New York University

The partition theory of the semantics of questions (Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984) requires that questions have unique complete and true answers, and thereby predicts a difference between the conjoinability and disjoinability of questions. The conjunction of questions continues to have a unique answer, but their disjunction does not, because it offers a choice. It is thus predicted that questions can be conjoined without further ado, but they can only be disjoined indirectly, i.e. by lifting and distributing them over embedding verbs. Szabolcsi 1997 argued that the conjunction / disjunction contrast and the significance of lifting were supported by both main and complement questions in Hungarian. In complements, the presence of a complementizer in each clause diagnoses coordination via lifting; this talk will boost the argument with reference to English. However, the original predictions get lost in more recent theories that argue against the partition semantics (Klinedinst & Rothschild 2011, George 2013, and Cremers & Chemla

2014, among others, as well as work in Inquisitive Semantics, starting with Mascarenhas 2009 and Groenendijk & Roelofsen 2009). Considering that the old predictions seemed correct, this talk asks what assumptions about questions and about disjunctions might bring them back.

Cinderella broke and broke: object deletion and manner-result complementarity

Lilia Rissman (University of Chicago)

Thursday, April 23, 10:00-10:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

The question of how much meaning can be contained within a single word is a central issue in semantic theory. Rappaport-Hovav & Levin (2010) propose that verbs display Manner-Result Complementarity: verbs can either describe what an agent does (e.g. run, sweep, scrub), or describe a change undergone by a patient (e.g. die, break, melt). In this paper, I argue that instrumental verbs such as slice and chop are counterexamples to complementarity. I focus in particular on the diagnostic of object deletion, specifically the X and X construction in (1):

- (1) a. To get the house ready for the party, Cinderella scrubbed and scrubbed all night.
- b. *To get rid of all the empty beer bottles, Cinderella broke and broke all night.

Object deletion is thought to be prohibited for result verbs such as break (Rappaport-Hovav, 2008; Beavers & Koontz-Garboden, 2012), accounting for the unacceptability of (1b). In this paper, I present experimental and corpus evidence that the X and X construction diagnoses not the presence of result but the presence of agentive meaning. I found in addition that instrumental verbs are acceptable in this construction given sufficiently supportive context. This result indicates that instrumental verbs encode both agent- and result-oriented meaning, inconsistent with complementarity.

Not all determiners are acquired en masse: on the role of count/mass distinction in L2 acquisition of article semantics

Elena Gavrusseva, Garrett Larson, Sarah Lowen and Chris Widmer (University of Iowa)

Thursday, April 23, 10:30-11:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper investigates what role the count/mass distinction plays in adult second language (L2) acquisition of English articles. Prior L2 studies (e.g. Ionin et al. 2004, 2010) identify English determiner errors that include only [+count] nouns and articles ‘a’ and ‘the’. We therefore ask what patterns are expected with [-count] nouns modified by a null article (e.g. ‘I like cold weather’). We present the results of an online task asking 50 L2 learners of Slavic (articleless) background to choose an appropriate determiner for a sentence embedded in a short dialogue (48 test items [24 count/24 mass nouns]; 48 distractors). Qualtrics software allowed us to time the participants’ responses (e.g. number of clicks). The control group included 16 native English speakers. We found differences in accuracy/timing rates by noun type (overall higher accuracy for count than for mass nouns and overall higher amount of time spent on mass than on count nouns) and by learner group: at chance for the null and definite determiners for intermediate/low-intermediate level learners. In addition, all learner groups (native-like, advanced, advanced intermediate, intermediate/low-intermediate) showed a difference in accuracy rates in indefinite contexts: significantly higher rates for ‘a’ than for the null determiner. We combine both linguistic and processing frameworks to account for the dissociation between mass and count nouns in determiner accuracy rates.

Individual neural response profiles and the reanalysis of garden-path sentences: An ERP study.

Polly O'Rourke (University of Maryland) and Gregory Colflesh (University of Maryland)
Thursday, April 23, 11:15-11:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Electrophysiological studies using the event-related potential (ERP) technique have shown that the reanalysis of garden-path sentences elicits the P600 and that this component is also modulated by working memory capacity. While the P600 is generally presumed to be a uniform response elicited consistently across individuals to specific syntactic contexts, Tanner and van Hell (2014) showed that this may not be the case. Using their response-dominance index (RDI), they observed that some individuals showed late posterior positivities as the dominant response to syntactic errors (P600 dominant) while others exhibited earlier broadly distributed negativities in the absence of late posterior positivities (N400 dominant). By applying Tanner and Van Hell's RDI analysis to garden path sentences, the current study found that P600 dominant individuals showed enhanced comprehension of garden-path sentences, even when controlling for working memory capacity. N400/P600 dominance may, therefore, reflect engagement of distinct language processing mechanisms or strategies during syntactic structure building. While further investigation is necessary, these findings provide a new perspective on individual variability in garden-path resolution.

Lab or Armchair? The Benefits of Formal Acceptability Judgements

Jana Häussler (University of Potsdam) & Tom Juzek (University of Oxford)
Thursday, April 23rd, 11:45-12:15, East Lounge (2nd floor)

For decades, informal ways of obtaining acceptability judgements dominated syntactic theory, with introspection (i.e. the linguist is her own informant) being the most common. There are several possible disadvantages of informal methods. Among them are the lack of a common scale (the number and types of diacritics that linguists use vary across authors and papers) and an increased effect of judgement errors (any judgement is subject to performance-“noise”; e.g. memory limitations, distractors, priming effects, etc.). In theory, the effects of scale biases and judgement errors are more amplified in informal methods than in formal methods (Schütze, 1996). However, a quantitative comparison of formal and informal acceptability judgements was long missing. Sprouse et al. (2013) filled this gap and presented results that suggest that informal and formal judgements concur to a large extent. However, Sprouse et al. focused on pairwise comparisons: They compared marked constructions to their unmarked counterparts and checked for each pair whether informal and formal results agreed. Though pairs play an important role in syntactic theory, pairwise comparisons do not, in our view, reflect best how syntactic research is conducted. Consequently, we designed an experiment, in which we randomly sampled constructions from the literature and then compared them at large (i.e. beyond pairs) to ratings from an acceptability judgement task. We found a non-trivial mismatch between introspective judgements and experimental results. We argue that both informal and formal judgements are affected by scale biases and judgement errors. However, while the impact on the formal results is reduced thanks to a higher number of participants and normalising the individual ratings, the impact on the results from introspection is unmitigated. The consequences can be damaging, specifically for syntactic theory building, which is why formal

methods, and acceptability judgement tasks in particular, should have their place in syntactic theory.

GENERAL SESSION

The semantics of *yuè V yuè A* in Mandarin Chinese: coercion and the necessarily temporal reading

Xiao Li (Queens College, CUNY) & Carlos A. Fasola (Rutgers University)
Thursday, April 23, 3:00-3:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

We show that in Mandarin Chinese *yuè V yuè A* (e.g., (2)) has a necessarily temporal reading that *yuè A yuè A* (e.g., (1)) does not have: (1) means that there is a positive correlation between the degree to which an apple is big and the degree to which it is sweet; (2), on the other hand, means: Zhangsan's running speed increases over time.

- (1) Píngguǒ yuè dà, yuè tián. yuè A yuè A
apple big sweet
'The bigger an apple is, the sweeter it is.'
- (2) Zhāngsān yuè pǎo yuè kuài. yuè V yuè A
run fast
'Zhangsan ran faster and faster.'

We argue that the semantic distinction between (1) and (2) is due to the gradability of the predicate following the first occurrence of *yuè*: in (1) *yuè*₁ precedes a gradable adjective (i.e., *dà* 'big'), while in (2) *yuè*₁ precedes a non-gradable verb (i.e., *pǎo* 'to run'). We propose that the necessarily temporal reading of *yuè V yuè A* falls out as a result of coercion that forces the non-gradable VP to have an ordered domain parallel to that of a gradable adjective, where events like degree intervals are totally ordered under the proper subinterval relation and have a common starting point. This analysis suggests that the proper subinterval relation is compatible with comparisons of both degrees and events, and therefore can encode a more general notion of comparison than the greater than relation.

The consonant hierarchy in Dëne Sų́líné: Verbal morphophonemics and synchronic variation

Alessandro Jaker (Alaska Native Language Center)
Thursday, April 23, 3:30-4:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Dëne Sų́líné is a Northeast Dene (Athabaskan) language spoken in northern Canada. Dëne Sų́líné exhibits a strength hierarchy of syllable-final consonants as shown in (1). To repair impermissible coda clusters, consonants lower on the hierarchy are deleted in favor of consonants higher on the hierarchy.

- (3) s,z >> ł,l >> th, dh

That is, alveolar fricatives rank above laterals, which outrank interdental; stop codas are not allowed in this language. In morphophonemic alternations, which simplify syllable-final fricative clusters, ł replaces th while s replaces ł, as in (2):

- (4) /ye-the-l-tɬɨ/ > yéltɨ ‘he/she made it’, /s-l-tɬɨ/ > hestɨ ‘I make’.

This would suggest either that alveolars are more specified than laterals or interdental, or that there are contextual markedness constraints that penalize laterals and interdentals in syllable-final position.

On the other hand, in some colloquial varieties of the language, all voiced fricatives are deleted syllable-finally, and all voiceless fricatives are neutralized to [s]. For example nałchéth ~ nosché ‘bag’. This would suggest that alveolars are the least specified segments in terms of place features, since fricatives neutralize to alveolar place syllable-finally.

I conclude that alveolars are indeed less specified than laterals and interdentals: alveolars bear only the features [coronal] and [anterior], while laterals and interdentals bear, in addition to these, the features [lateral] and [distributed], respectively. However, examples such as in (2) are not actually cases of consonant deletion, but rather coalescence: the output consonants in (2) have multiple input correspondents. As such, they are subject to DEP[feature] constraints which, if ranked DEP[distributed] \gg DEP[lateral] \gg MAX[distributed], MAX[lateral] will account for the hierarchy exhibited in (1) and (2).

Assembling Nominal Constituents: Evidence from an Intergenerational Family Homesign

Laura Horton (University of Chicago)
Thursday, April 23rd, 4:15-4:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Recent studies on emerging sign languages allow us to assess claims about the evolution of language, for example, that a phonological system, characterized by duality of patterning, must have preceded hierarchical syntax (Jackendoff 1999).

Some studies have suggested that sign languages may actually take longer than expected to evidence stable phonological patterns (Israel & Sandler, 2002; Sandler et al 2009). In a 2009 study of the emergence of a phonological level of structure in Al-Sayid Bedouin Sign Language, ABSL, Sandler, et al suggest that the language lacks a stable phonology, citing high phonological variability, violations of phonological constraints common across sign languages, and no minimal pairs. They propose that phonology might require a level of conventionalization of sign forms to emerge (526).

This study evaluates this hypothesis by documenting the sign lexicons of a “microcommunity” of users of a family homesign system in Guatemala. Homesign is the term used to describe deaf individuals whose hearing losses have prevented them from acquiring the spoken language of their community and who have not been exposed to an established sign language. Previous work on adult homesigners found that their systems were significantly less conventionalized than users of a Nicaraguan Sign Language, a language less than 50 years old (Richie, Coppola & Yang 2014). Unlike the homesigners in that study, the Guatemalan participants here do have a small community of users. This analysis asks whether that community affects the level of conventionalization in a small lexicon of signs.

Signs are analyzed for both their “conceptual component” (after Richie et al) and phonological features of the form (including: selected fingers, joint configuration, place of articulation and movement, after Brentari, 1998). This allows us to develop two measures of variability, and evaluate the proposal that young lexicons seem to be characterized by an “iconic prototype” that is less variable than its phonological realization (Sandler et al, 517).

Relative pronoun pied-piping, the structure of which informs the analysis of relative clauses

Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine & Hadas Kotek (McGill University)
Thursday, April 23, 3:00-3:30, West Lounge (2nd floor)

We investigate the structure of relative pronoun pied-piping (RPPP) in English restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. We argue that RPPPs in the two types of relative clauses are constructed and interpreted in fundamentally different ways. The relative pronoun is interpreted in-situ within non-restrictive RPPP, whereas there is a movement relation from the relative pronoun inside restrictive RPPP to the edge of the relative clause.

We support this analysis through novel data on the behavior of restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses with respect to focus intervention effects in pied-piping (Cable, 2010; Erlewine and Kotek, 2014; Kotek and Erlewine, to appear): only in-situ modes of interpretation (not variable binding or movement) are sensitive to intervention effects (Beck, 2006, a.o.), and indeed only RPPP in non-restrictive relative clauses show intervention effects. Restrictive relative clauses, on the other hand, are subject to much stricter size restrictions, and do not exhibit focus intervention effects.

Reconstruction, Reflexive Connectivity, and LF Deletion

Nagarajan Selvanathan (Rutgers University)
Thursday, April 23, 3:30-4:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

In this talk, I argue for two inter-related claims: First, I claim that copies of a movement chain need not be LF-deleted if each copy is crucial to interpretation in some sense. This is contrary to the Preference Principle (Chomsky 2001) but fully compatible with the notion of Full Interpretation. Second, I argue that dependence relations (for example, between a reflexive and its antecedent) is a distinct semantic operation from sentence composition. This is surprising given the copy theory of movement which posits that moved reflexives are licensed by virtue of interpreting a lower copy which is in the right configuration with its antecedent even if the higher copy is not. I motivate my claims based on a comparison of Tamil (Dravidian, SOV) copular clauses which roughly corresponds to English copular clauses like ‘What John_i saw was himself_i’.

Unlike English, I argue that reflexive connectivity in Tamil is licensed by syntactic reconstruction. In a copy theory of movement, this is taken to indicate that it is the lower copy of the reflexive that is interpreted. However, it is additionally shown that it is the higher (and not the lower) copy of the reflexive that feeds copular clause interpretation. This means that Tamil provides clear evidence that in a movement chain headed by a reflexive, both the higher copy and the lower copy must be present at LF and interpreted. This supports the first claim. The fact that the lower copy licenses the reflexive reading but not the copular clause meaning supports the second. The reflexive result also extend to Principle B and C effects. The result(s) of this paper, if correct, motivate a rethinking of how syntactic reconstruction is conceived in a copy theory of movement.

Predicate Ellipsis, Null Adjuncts, and Predicate Raising in Japanese

Shintaro Hayashi (JSPS/Yokohama National University) &
Tomohiro Fujii (Yokohama National University)
Thursday, April 23, 4:15-4:45, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Predicate raising in Japanese has long been controversial, partly because of the strictly head-final character of Japanese. Due to this trait, predicate raising in Japanese is expected to take place in a string-vacuous manner, with no obvious change in the word order. The goal of this talk is to argue for the presence of string-vacuous predicate raising in the grammar of Japanese. We first establish that two kinds of verbal predicates, native Japanese verbs (NJVs) and verbal nouns (VNs), behave differently with respect to ellipsis: predicate ellipsis and null adjunct phenomena. We then propose that the differences between the two are related to a difference in predicate raising. Our claim is that while NJVs undergo predicate raising string-vacuously, VNs do not.

Blackholes and subextraction from adjuncts in English and Norwegian

J. M. M. Brown (DTAL, University of Cambridge)
Thursday, April 23, 4:45-5:15, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Previous work suggests that locality regulates patterns of extraction, highlighting that some movement configurations are not local enough whilst other configurations are too local. Respectively these constraints trigger successive-cyclic movement through intermediate landing sites (the phase edge in Chomsky, 2001), and rule out very short steps of movement from complement to specifier of a single projection (anti-locality in e.g. Abels, 2003). I show that locality sometimes remains undefined, leaving ‘blackholes’ where parts of a projection are inaccessible to the projecting phase head.

I use one such area of inaccessibility inside free adjuncts to vP in English and Norwegian to provide a syntactic solution to the puzzle of why single eventhood appears to repair islands. The puzzle is illustrated in (1) and (2): whilst the transparent adjuncts in (1) form single events with the matrix predicate, the opaque adjunct in (2) does not (cf. Schmerling, 1975, De Vos, 2005, for pseudocoordination (1a); Truswell, 2007, 2011, for participial adjunction (1b); Sheehan, 2013, for prepositional adjunction (1c)).

- (1) a. Which car did I go and buy _{NP}? (cf. Ross, 1967:(4.108a,b,c), 170)
b. What did Monica arrive whistling _{NP}? (cf. Borgonovo & Neeleman, 2000:(3a,b), 200)
c. What temperature should I wash my jeans at _{NP}? (Sheehan, 2010:(16a))

- (2) *Which celebrity did Mary eat an ice cream before she saw _{NP}? (cf. Huang, 1982:503)

First, adverb scope tests show that opacity correlates with position of merger: whilst the transparent adjuncts in (1) merge with a projection of a non-phase head (VP), the opaque adjunct in (2) merges with a projection of a phase head (vP). Second, I use phase theory to provide a unified analysis: some nodes remain inaccessible to the phase heads in whose projections they stand.

Tonal Assignment in English Loanwords in Mandarin Chinese

Eleanor Glewwe (UCLA)

Friday, April 24, 8:30-9:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Words borrowed from a non-tonal language like English must be assigned tones in Mandarin. A previous loanword corpus study (Wu 2006) found that English syllables beginning with aspirated stops/affricates or sonorants tended to receive Mandarin rising tone (kui2ning2 ‘quinine’). Meanwhile, English syllables beginning with unaspirated stops/affricates or fricatives tended to receive high tone (bei1ge2 ‘boycott’; san1ming2zhi4 ‘sandwich’). I carried out a much larger corpus study and also found that adapted syllables whose onsets corresponded to obstruents in English were most likely to receive high tone while adapted syllables whose onsets corresponded to sonorants in English were most likely to receive rising tone. Unlike Wu, however, I did not find a tendency for rising tone assignment in adapted syllables with aspirated stop/affricate onsets. Rather, these syllables exhibited a dispreference for rising tone. Additionally, I uncovered a new determinant of tonal assignment: voicing. Loanword syllables whose onsets corresponded to voiced English obstruents most often received rising tone (bai2tuo1 ‘butter’) despite a Mandarin-internal bias against rising tone with unaspirated onsets, the expected segmental adaptation of voiced English stops and affricates (Wu 2006). Syllables whose onsets corresponded to voiceless English obstruents most often received high tone (tun1na2 ‘tuna’). These patterns are consistent with voicing’s depressive effect on F0 in obstruents (Hombert, Ohala & Ewan 1979). They held for both word-initial and word-internal voiced and voiceless obstruents and for both aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops. Though not previously considered in the literature, the voicing of English obstruents turns out to be the most reliable determinant of tone in Mandarin adapted forms. Low-level phonetic details of the English words affect their tonal adaptation and may override native tone-onset type associations in determining tonal assignment.

Prosodic effects of segmental correspondence

Juliet Stanton and Sam Zukoff (MIT)

Friday, April 24, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

In this talk, we examine how extensions of Correspondence Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1995) can be used to explain a class of misapplication effects arising in reduplication and copy epenthesis. In these domains, we frequently see exceptional patterning in the assignment of phonological properties relating to prominence (i.e. stress, pitch, length). We will argue that, in order to explain these effects, the phonological grammar must have the following two properties: (i) the existence of a Correspondence relation among surface segments, arising under particular structural configurations, and (ii) Output-Output faithfulness constraints that require identity among surface correspondents for prosodic properties.

We show that a grammar with these properties is sufficient and necessary to generate a range of effects, many of which have heretofore failed to receive satisfactory explanations in the literature, including: (i) stress-matching in Ngan?gityemmerri reduplication (Reid 2011) (ii) sub-categorical durational matching between copy vowels and their hosts in Scots Gaelic (Bosch & de Jong 1997) and Hocank (e.g. Miner 1989), and (iii) opaque interactions between copy epenthesis and stress placement in Selayarese (e.g. Broselow 2001), Tahitian (Bickmore 1995),

and Hocank (e.g. Miner 1989).

Tone melodies in the age of Surface Correspondence

Sharon Inkelas (UC, Berkeley) & Stephanie S Shih (UC, Merced)
Friday, April 24, 9:30-10:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper utilizes Agreement by Correspondence (ABC) to reexamine tone melody inventories, a landmark phenomenon in the development of Autosegmental Phonology (AP). We argue that, under a surface correspondence approach, tone melody inventories emerge naturally from the phonological grammar, rooted in independently-motivated principles of similarity and proximity, with proven effects in segmental phenomena. Our results, from a corpus of Mende lexical tone patterns, illustrate that generalisations about tone melody distribution that originally drove the development of AP in fact provide unique arguments in support of an optimizing, surface correspondence-based analysis.

Previous AP approaches to Mende tone melodies explained the commonality of certain surface tone patterns by positing a limited inventory of underlying melodies (Leben 1978), which were mapped to surface tone-bearing units via directional, one-to-one association conventions. A noted problem with the inventory and mapping approach, however, is that it is too restrictive, wrongly excluding attested though less frequent surface tone patterns. To account for additional tone patterns, AP must posit underlying associations of tone, language-specific modifications to representational well-formedness, and reference to tone contours as a unit. Taken together, the Mende data show that the assumption of limited melodic inventories and directional tone mapping cannot coexist without significantly weakening one or another fundamental element of AP.

We present here an alternative analysis in which Mende surface tone patterns and their lexical frequencies emerge from an optimizing grammar based on a single explanatory mechanism of phonological correspondence in ABC. Surface correspondence successfully models not only the limited distribution of non-final contour tones but also the observed alignment between tone and syllable boundaries, which results in more complex tone melodies as word length increases. An ABC-driven approach to tone melodies thus provides a united and more fine-grained treatment of the Mende tone system, without the representational mechanisms required in AP.

Scalar Positional Markedness and Faithfulness in Harmonic Grammar

Brian Hsu & Karen Jesney (University of Southern California)
Friday, April 24, 10:15-10:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper examines two types of positional asymmetries that arise at prosodic boundaries: ‘superset-at-edge’ patterns, where a marked structure (e.g., an onsetless syllable) is permitted at prosodic boundaries above some degree of prominence, and ‘subset-at-edge’ patterns, where a marked structure is banned at more prominent prosodic edges (Flack 2009). This paper proposes an account of these restrictions in a version of Harmonic Grammar (HG; Legendre, Miyata & Smolensky 1990, Smolensky & Legendre 2006) where constraint violations are scaled according to the prosodic prominence of the positions where they occur. The result is a system that more closely matches the attested typology and that uses fewer, and more general, constraints than is possible in Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004).

Positional asymmetries have generally been accounted for in OT using markedness and faithfulness constraints indexed to levels of the prosodic hierarchy. While effective, the interaction of these constraints in OT predicts the existence of unattested “level-skipping” patterns where a marked element is permitted at one level of prosodic structure even as that same element is prohibited at both higher and lower levels. We show that implicational patterns of repair vs. non-repair can be effectively captured using weighted scalar markedness and faithfulness constraints where the severity of violation increases with the strength of the prosodic boundaries involved. The HG system generates the full range of attested patterns while avoiding the overgeneration problem of indexed constraints; “level-skipping” languages are correctly predicted not to exist. This study provides further evidence that adopting a weighted model of constraint interaction yields positive typological consequences while increasing the simplicity of the overall system.

Prosodic smothering in Macedonian and Kaqchikel

Ryan Bennett (Yale University), Boris Harizanov (Stanford University), and Robert Henderson (Wayne State University)

Friday, April 24, 10:45-11:15, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Previous research has established that dependent morphemes (affixes, clitics) may idiosyncratically select for prosodic properties of their hosts. For example, the English comparative *-er* does not attach to stems of greater than two syllables in size (*sunni-er* vs. **insightful-er*). Prosodic subcategorization is typically understood to be lateral and local: dependent morphemes may select for prosodic properties of an immediately preceding or immediately following element. Less attention has been paid to the vertical dimension of prosodic subcategorization—the prosodic constituent produced by the attachment of a dependent morpheme to its host. We argue that vertical subcategorization is responsible for the heterogeneous prosodic behavior of certain functional items in Macedonian (Slavic, Macedonia) and Kaqchikel (Mayan, Guatemala). In short, the vertical subcategorization requirements of an outer morpheme can alter the prosodic parsing of an inner morpheme in the same complex. We refer to this phenomenon as prosodic smothering.

In Macedonian, preverbal clitics are typically unstressable (<go VId>‘(s)he saw him’, *<GO vide>). But in the presence of *wh*-words or sentential negation such clitics are parsed into the same prosodic word as the verb, and may then bear stress (<koj GO vide>‘Who saw him?’). This rather puzzling pattern can be analyzed as a case of prosodic smothering: the prosodic subcategorization requirements of sentential negation and *wh*-words force a deviation from the default prosodic parse that would otherwise be observed for the clitics.

In Kaqchikel, a variety of diagnostics indicate that absolutive agreement markers show a different prosodic parse depending on the presence or absence of outer aspect marking, e.g. <x-in-b’e>‘I went’ vs. <in=jwi>‘I am intelligent’. Exactly as in Macedonian, this prosodic variation owes to the vertical subcategorization requirements of an outer morpheme, in this case aspect. There is thus strong evidence that vertical subcategorization can induce prosodic restructuring of lower elements.

GENERAL SESSION: SYNTAX

An Articleless DP Language : Pazar Laz

Ömer Eren (Boğaziçi University)
Friday, April 24, 8:30-9:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

In the literature, there are mainly two types of approaches to DPs: i) the Universal DP-hypothesis (Abney, 1987, Szabolsci, 1983, 1987, Longobardi 1994, among others) which argues that DP is present for nominal arguments in every language, and ii) the Parameterized-DP analysis (Bokovic, 2005, 2008, 2010, among others), according to which not all languages require a DP layer in the nominal domain.

The main goal of this paper is to investigate the nominal structure of Pazar Laz (PL hereafter), an endangered South Caucasian language spoken in Turkey, and argue against the argument developed in Bokovic 2008 and 2010 whereby it is proposed that languages without overt morphological articles syntactically lack a DP projection. On the basis of evidence from binding, negative raising, left-branch extraction, inverse scope and radical pro-drop, I will show that PL, as an articleless language, patterns with languages with overt articles and seems to have a DP layer.

That there is a separate functional layer above nominals in PL is also evidenced by the binding facts illustrated below:

- (1) a. Himuşii qata-k Alii opşa noseri şinums.
his friend.ERG Ali.NOM very intelligent consider.PRES.3SG
'His friend considers Ali very intelligent.' [No condition C violation]
- b. Alişii qata-k himi opşa noseri şinums.
Ali.GEN friend.ERG him.NOM very intelligent consider.PRES.3SG
'Ali's friend considers him very intelligent.' [No condition B violation]

Despite the absence of articles, projecting a DP layer in PL would not only account for the binding facts observed above but also explain the lack of left branch extraction in PL, as DP constitutes a phase as argued by Boškovic (2005, 2008, 2010). This would then imply that there might not be a direct correlation between the presence of overt articles and that of a DP layer in a language.

A Feature Stacking Analysis of Direct Modification in Hocak

Bryan Rosen, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Friday, April 24, 9:30-10:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper provides a case study on direct adjectival modification from Hocak (Siouan). Cinque (2010) argues that DP-internal adjectives have two sources: direct modification is lower, ordered, and forms APs, whereas indirect modification is higher, unordered, and forms relative clauses (IPs/CPs). I show that direct adjectival modification is found in Hocak. I use semantic and agreement diagnostics to show that postnominal adjectives are bare APs. As a consequence, the data from postnominal adjectives suggest that lack of rigid ordering is not necessarily indicative of indirect modification (contra Cinque 2010). Furthermore, prenominal modifiers give rise to a strict ordering, which is a feature of direct modification. Following Manetta (2010), I argue that multiple features can stack on a single head. The order of features in the stacks on functional heads are assembled in the lexicon (i.e., language-specific principles). I propose that the ordering of adjectives in Hocak can be accounted for with two functional heads that each contain a stack of features. Since the functional lexicon is language specific (Borer 1984), the composition adjectival licensing heads is also language specific. Multiple features on a single

head create multiple specifiers, and adjective ordering depends on whether the functional head has an ordered stack of features. In sum, I argue that pre- and postnominal modifiers in Hocak are best treated as direct modification. This paper thus further advances our understanding of DP-internal adjectives.

Island Repair in Korean Fragments

Hyosik Kim & Bum-Sik Park (Dongguk University)
Friday, April 24, 10:15-10:45, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Two opposing views have been proposed regarding the island-sensitivity in elliptical constructions. Under the repair approach (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Lasnik 2001), eliding a (certain) island at PF literally repairs the otherwise illegitimate structure. On the other hand, under the non-repair approach the island-sensitivity tracks the availability of various evasion strategies that do not involve an island in the first place (Barros, Elliott and Thoms 2014, Merchant 2001, Fukaya 2007, Abels 2011,). In this talk, investigating various types of Korean fragments, we will provide various arguments in favor of the repair approach. We will first demonstrate the evasion strategies assuming alternative sources like short source, cleft source and predicational source for the elliptical site all fail to account for the island-insensitive Korean fragments, due to properties specific to Korean. For instance, Korean allows multiple fragments rather freely, but it does not allow multiplicity in either the short or the cleft source. These arguments suggest that island repair is real in Korean. We will show that the authenticity of island repair is supported by the following four main types of fragments in Korean: (1) Non-contrastive fragment answer to wh-question, (2) Contrastive fragment answer to Yes/No question, (3) Non-contrastive fragment answer to Yes/No-question, and (4) Fragmentary left branch extraction. Finally, we will propose an account of a certain asymmetry regarding the possibility of island repair in Korean. We propose that extraction out of an island has a PF-effect on the element outside of the island, and that presence/absence of the element at PF tracks the possibility of island repair.

Sentence-Initial Modals as Focus Operators at CP in Chinese

Yu-Yin Hsu (Hong Kong Polytechnic University)
Friday, April 24, 10:15-10:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Chinese modals can occur between the subject and the predicate (1), or precede the subject (2).

- (1) Zhangsan yinggai qu Meiguo.
Zhangsan should go USA
'Zhangsan should go to the USA.'
- (2) Yinggai Zhangsan qu Meiguo
should Zhangsan go USA
'It should be that Zhangsan is the one to go to the USA.'

In the literature, it has been argued that these two positions of modals result from optional subject to subject raising within TP (Lin, 2011), optional Topic A-movement within TP (Chou, 2013), or optional Topicalization of subject to CP (Tsai, 2014). Although these proposals have

their own theoretical merits, I will show that sentences like (2) should not be derived by an optional raising or Topicalization from (1). I will argue that sentence-initial modals are operators focus-marking the entire sentence (proposition) as Focus. I will show that pre-modal nominals in sentences like (2) do not have to be Topic (contrary to Chou, 2013 and Tsai, 2014), and that sentence-initial modals are at the CP domain (contrary to Lin, 2011 and Chou, 2013). I will also show that sentences like (1) have modals in the canonical position in the TP domain, licensing negative polarity items, whereas sentence-initial modals in sentences like (2) sit at the CP domain marking Focus, and not being compatible with *wh*-phrases nor negative polarity items. In turn, it will be shown that different positions of modals are not instances of free choices or a zero derivation, but instead, their structural differences represent specific information structures. The current proposal avoids wrong predictions and confusions brought by previous analyses and accounts for a wider range of data straightforwardly.

SPECIAL SESSION: ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

Valency alternation in Ranmo

Jenny Lee (Harvard University)

Friday, April 24, 3:15-3:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Ranmo shows an apparent split-S system in person/number agreement. This is not conditioned by aspect or person, but rather is correlated with the absence/presence of valency-changing morphology. I show that it reflects the syntactic division between verbs which are inherently intransitive (“unaccusatives”) and verbs which are derived from transitive verbs via reflexivization (“middles”). Crucially, I argue that this “reflexivization” is a specific kind of applicativization involving (i) theme object reduction and (ii) coreference between the applied argument and the external argument. The proposal accounts for the morphological syncretism (and productive syntactic alternation) between argument-reducing (e.g., anticausatives and antipassives) and argument-increasing (e.g., ditransitives and benefactive/source/recipient applicatives) constructions. I also propose that the middle marker is the morphological realization of default/failed object agreement, in support of Preminger’s (2014) “obligatory-operations” approach to phi-agreement. Finally, I relate the findings and implications of the proposal to current views on split ergativity. In particular, both split-S systems and aspect-based splits seem to have a common source, namely, object demotion.

Case competition and case domains: Evidence from Yimas

Michelle Yuan (MIT)

Friday, April 24, 3:45-4:15, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Under the dependent theory of case assignment (Marantz 1991, a.o.), morphological case is calculated on the basis of competition, in accordance with a realizational hierarchy: quirky/lexical > dependent > unmarked. This paper argues that Yimas (Lower Sepik; Papua New Guinea) supports the fundamentals of this model, but also motivates an extension of it. In Yimas, case is realized over a series of agreement clitics hosted on the verb. I demonstrate that the distributions of the case paradigms perfectly mirror the distributions of morphological case as predicted under the Marantzian model of case assignment: DAT is quirky, ERG is dependent,

and ABS is unmarked.

On the other hand, Yimas differs from other languages analyzed under this system in that case is realized solely on the clitics, not on the nominals they cross-reference. Moreover, clitic doubling is optional, and the case patterns that surface on these clitics (in particular, the patterns involving dependent case) are controlled by the number of clitics present on the verb, not the argument structure of the construction. Thus, in Yimas, the domain of case assignment is the span of clitics, meaning that case is calculated directly over these clitics while the nominals they double do not receive case at all. More broadly, the Yimas data demonstrate that the domain of case assignment is not universally clausal, as is generally assumed, but is subject to cross-linguistic variation.

Transitive-ergative alternation in the domain of P

Yuko Asada (Tokyo University of Social Welfare)
Friday, April 24, 4:30-5:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Ruwet (1978) argues that there are two types of absolute constructions (ACs) in French of the form *avec* ‘with’–DP–XP (*avec*-ACs), as illustrated by (1) and (2), showing that they do not involve the same semantic relation.

- (1) *Avec John Wayne pour Reagan, on va voir ce qu'on va voir.*
‘With John Wayne for Reagan, we will see what we will see.’
- (2) *Avec Pierre pour guide, nous avons visité Florence.*
‘With Pierre as a guide, we visited Firenze.’

In the first type, the DP–XP that follows *avec* can be paraphrased by a sentence of the form DP is XP (cf. *John Wayne est pour Reagan.*). This is not the case with the second type, however (cf. **Pierre est pour guide.*). Rather, the DP–XP corresponds to a phrase in a sentence of type YP has DP XP (cf. *Nous avons Pierre pour guide.* ‘We have Pierre for a guide.’). Ruwet also shows that the two types of *avec*-ACs as exemplified by (1) and (2) (‘be- and have-type’ *avec*-ACs, respectively) differ in their syntactic behavior: the possibility of quantifier float and the position of adverbs. In this paper, I propose an analysis of these differences in terms of a transitive/ergative alternation in the domain of P, analogous to the one in the verbal domain. I also deal with another type of AC in French, which appears without a preposition, ‘bare’ AC (BAC), as illustrated below.

- (3) *Perrette se promène [un panier au bras].*
‘Perrette walks with a basket in hand.’

It is suggested that BACs and *avec*-ACs can be treated in a unified way. Finally, an implication of the present proposal for the theory of small clauses is discussed.

English Reflexive Logophors

Isabelle Charneval and Chrissy Zlogar (Harvard University)
Friday, April 24, 5:00-5:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Under any version of Condition A of the Binding Theory, the antecedents of anaphors must occur in a structurally local domain, whether the notion of locality is argued to rely on c-command

in a specific domain (classical theory of Condition A, see Chomsky's 1986) or coargumenthood (predicate-based theories, see a.o. Pollard and Sag 1992, Reinhart and Reuland 1993). But for more than forty years, it has been observed that in various languages, some anaphors can be exempt from this locality constraint. The exact conditions under which exemption from Condition A is licensed are however debated and poorly understood. The goal of this paper is to examine this problem in English: we will strengthen the empirical evidence for English exempt anaphors and propose an account for them based on logophoricity: the antecedents of exempt anaphors have to be perspective centers, which come in three different kinds and are syntactically represented by logophoric operators. Specifically, we make the generalization that an exempt anaphor has to be anteceded by a perspective center, be it intellectual (attitude holder), emotional (empathy locus) or perceptual (deictic center), and we propose specific tests to identify them. To explain why exempt anaphors have to be anteceded by such centers of perspective, we next assume the existence of logophoric operators, drawing on work by Koopman and Sportiche (1989), Anand (2006), and Sundaresan (2012). On the one hand, this explains why exempt anaphors display such a specific interpretation despite having no intrinsic properties to impose it: their interpretation is wholly derived from their binder. On the other hand, this accounts for why such perspectival anaphors seem to be exempt: they are locally bound by silent logophoric operators, thus in fact obeying Condition A.

SPECIAL SESSION: BEYOND FIELD METHODOLOGIES

Social Pragmatics and Types of Person Reference: The Case of Proper Names v. Kin Terms

Luke Fleming (UdeM) & James Slotta (UCSD)
Friday, April 24, 3:15-3:45, West Lounge (2nd floor)

The study of social pragmatic variation in norms of use of person referring expressions has been foundational in the literature on politeness. In this paper we focus on an understudied, but particularly robust, paradigmatic alternation in types of person reference—asymmetries in the appropriate use of proper names and kin terms in address between consanguineal kin. We present findings from a survey of the use of kin terms [KTs] and proper names [PNs] in addressee-reference in 35 speech communities. In 28 communities, normative judgments of who should use which NP-type to address whom are conditioned by a simple sociocultural parameter: the relative-age of the speaker and the addressee-referent. In every community where we find a simple pragmatic alternation between the use of KTs and PNs, KTs are normatively used to refer to senior addressees and PNs are normatively used in referring to junior addressees. The strong cross-cultural tendency for KTs and PNs to function as pragmatic alternants and the cross-cultural uniformity in the way in which they alternate with each other call out for explanation. Reviewing folk explanations of usage and co-occurrence patterns with other social indexicals in the speech communities in our survey (e.g., the interaction of kin-address with T/V pronominal alternations, honorific registers, fictive kin term use, etc.), we observe that the alternating use of KTs for seniors and PNs for juniors is recurrently regarded as an indication of junior kin's deference toward and respect for senior kin. Indeed, seniority, which bisects the set of kinship relationships from the perspective of a given speaker, anchors and is reinforced by the pragmatic alternation. We argue that differences in the semantico-referential characteristics of these two NP-types constrain the attested metapragmatic conceptualizations of PNs and KTs as nonreferential social indexicals, motivating them to pragmatically alternate in a uniform way cross-culturally.

Monolingual fieldwork in and beyond the classroom: the Logooli experience at UCLA

Hannah Sarvasy (UCLA)

Friday, April 24, 3:45-4:15, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Monolingual linguistic fieldwork is fieldwork in which the researcher learns the target language and uses it for elicitation. The merits and drawbacks of monolingual linguistic fieldwork have been debated in many places (Everett 2001, Gil 2001, Newman and Ratliff 2001, Matthewson 2004, Aikhenvald 2007, Dixon 2007, Mosel 2012, inter alia). The debate centers around the time burden of language learning and the influence of intermediary languages on elicited material. Even many scholars who advocate monolingual fieldwork, however, neither teach graduate students how to employ this technique in the field (Mosel 2012), nor use the technique in their own Field Methods courses (Dixon 2007). In this paper, I show evidence from a successful graduate Field Methods course at UCLA that the monolingual fieldwork approach can be taught in such a course, to highly memorable effect. Further, I show that far from being inefficient, the monolingual technique may be much more efficient in elicitation than use of a contact language. Using a contact language for elicitation can itself add significant time to elicitation sessions, which under monolingual conditions are highly streamlined. This is shown through comparative analysis of recorded class sessions using monolingual and English translation methods. Finally, the creative use of extant materials and collaboration with other researchers are discussed in the context of expanding the Field Methods course data base to respectable proportions, representing a sizable community of speakers.

Is language revitalization really about saving languages? Some insights from 150 years of language revival in Occitania

James Costa (Center for Multilingualism in Society, University of Oslo)

Friday, April 24, 4:30-5:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper examines language revitalization movements and questions the traditional approach to language endangerment and revitalization, which frames its problematization of the issues at stake in terms of “What can be done?” Instead, based on a case study in the Occitan south of France, this paper defends the view that language revitalization movements are one instance of wider social movements that could potentially seize on a number of social issues to argue for group revitalization. The question this paper is centrally interested in thus becomes “Why language?” and not, say, religion or political institutions, and what ideological conditions make the use of language possible to that effect?

Language revitalization is thus, this paper argues, best approached as a set of processes through which some individuals constitute themselves as a minority group based on the semi-otization of language and primarily address a group of “others”, discursively constructed as the majority group during that process. Crucially, it addresses this outside group on its own terms: language becomes important to the minority group because it confers authority from the majority group perspective. In this paper I illustrate this approach by focusing on two historical moments (the 1960s and the 2000s) to show how language revitalization constitutes an attempt to renegotiate the very terms of historical contact between two groups which are

created in that very process.

“Might be something”: Information protection in central Australia

Margit Bowler (UCLA)

Friday, April 24, 5:00-5:30, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Strict cultural norms regulate the ownership and transmission of information in many central Australian cultures. The concept of “free speech” is anathema to the enforcement of these norms, which restrict the flow of information between men and women and between young and old speakers, among other contexts.

This paper describes uses of epistemic possibility modals and indefinite pronouns in Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan, Australia) which apparently violate the Gricean maxim of quantity (Grice 1975). I locate the source of these violations in adherence to information protection norms. I propose a preliminary analysis of these constructions that locates the differences in the availability of certain constructions in Warlpiri and in English in the pragmatics of Warlpiri speaker communities. The proposals in this talk can be extended to other Australian Aboriginal speaker communities, and well as to other American Indian and First Nations communities with similar information protection norms.

GENERAL SESSION: PRAGMATICS

Demonstratives with Distributed Interpretations

Ryan Doran (University of Regina) & Gregory Ward (Northwestern University)

Friday, April 24, 9:00-9:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

It has been observed (King 2001, Elbourne 2008) that certain demonstrative NPs receive a distributed interpretation:

- (1) Every father_i dreads that moment when his_i oldest child leaves home. [=King 2001, ex. 1.4]

Here, the value that the demonstrative receives co-varies with each member of the quantifier domain; i.e., corresponding to each father there is a particular dreaded moment. In this paper, we argue that the availability of such interpretations is not simply a matter of quantifier scope interactions (contra King 2001). Consider (2), in which the distributed interpretation is available in the absence of a preceding quantified NP:

- (2) Here are 3 steps to help getting you to take that first plunge underwater as a certified Scuba Diver. [corpus]

Based on a corpus examination of naturally-occurring data, we show that the availability of this interpretation is subject to pragmatic constraints. Specifically, we claim that the distributed interpretation of demonstrative NPs is available in the absence of a bound anaphor when (i) the discourse context licenses an interpretation in which the demonstrative specifies an entity associated with a significant event and (ii) that this event is assumed to be familiar to the hearer on the basis of shared cultural narratives. Consider (3):

- (3) a. Every pilot remembers that first flight.
b. #Every pilot remembers that first car.
c. Every teenager remembers that first car.

In (3a), given that pilots fly planes, it can be safely assumed that each pilot has had a first flight and that this flight constitutes a significant event in the pilot's narrative, hence the demonstrative's felicity. Conversely, in (3b), the demonstrative is infelicitous given that acquiring a first car is not a significant event in the pilot narrative. However, the demonstrative is felicitous when acquiring one's first car is a significant cultural narrative event, as in (3c).

Totally between epistemic and expressivity. Exploring intensification at the speech act level

Andrea Beltrama (University of Chicago)
Friday, April 24, 10:15-10:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Intensification has received considerable attention in semantics. Yet, most authors mostly focused on cases of degree modification, where intensifiers operate over degree scales lexically encoded by their argument. Instead, little has been said about cases of purely pragmatic intensification, where intensifiers target scales recruited from non truth-conditional dimensions like commitment, certainty, expressivity, and as such operate outside the realm of regular at-issue semantic content. The current talk aims to take a step towards exploring this flavor of intensification by discussing the licensing and distribution of totally in American English in examples like the following.

- (1) WTF Florida! Man in "I have drugs" shirt totally had drugs
(2) You should totally watch this movie.
(3) Dionne: There was a stop sign there!
Cher: I totally paused!

I argue that, in its usage as a pragmatic intensifier, totally operates as a device to intensify a dimension of the speech act, as opposed to the degree of a property. More specifically, by expressing a relationship between the speaker and a context-dependent scalar dimension associated the proposal that "p" (confidence about the proposal, emotivity about the proposal), totally intensifies the assertion itself. Moreover, in contexts where no relationship of either confidence or emotivity is made salient, totally can retroactively force the accommodation of one, serving as a device for the speakers to share evaluations about a particular proposition. Hence, its flexibility across contexts.

On the ambiguity of almost: An intervention effect

Ting Xu (University of Connecticut)
Friday, April 24, 10:45-11:15, East Lounge (2nd floor)

When English almost modifies a predicate like close (1), the sentence is argued to be ambiguous between a "counterfactual" and a "scalar" reading (Rapp & von Stechow 1999, Eckardt 2007): the former indicates that the subject came close to starting the action represented by the

predicate (1)a. The latter indicates that the action was initiated but the result state was not achieved (1)b. I present novel data on an intervention effect: When a manner adverb intervenes between almost and the predicate, the scalar reading becomes unavailable. (2) does not have the “scalar” reading that John started to perform a slow action of closing the door and got close to closing it fully. Building on previous scalar analyses of almost, I derive the intervention effect by examining the consequences when almost associates with one or two scalar items in its scope, which leads to ill-formedness. My analysis relies on (a) a posited minimality constraint such that almost cannot skip potential targets; and (b) an assumption that the scale associated with almost needs to have a fixed limit point.

- (1) John almost closed the door.
 - a. counterfactual: John come close to close the door, but did not start to close it.
 - b. scalar: John started closing the door, but did not close it fully.
- (2) John almost slowly closed the door.

SPECIAL SESSION: EXPERIMENTAL PHONETICS & PHONOLOGY

Tonal determination for Korean wh-indeterminates when the theory is indecisive

Jiwon Yun (Stony Brook University) & Hye-Sook Lee
Friday, April 24, 9:00-9:30, West Lounge (2nd floor)

The interpretation of a sentence containing so-called wh-indeterminates in Korean is known to be disambiguated by intonation. Several intonational factors affecting the interpretation have been identified, such as the tonal marking of phonological phrasing (Lee 1990, Jun & Oh 1996, Yun 2012), the relative prominence of wh-words (Chang 1973, Kang 1988, Kim 2000), or the sentence boundary tone (Martin 1951, Lee 1984, Hwang 2007). Among those factors, phonological phrasing has been argued to be the strongest cue to disambiguation (Jun & Oh 1996, Yun 2012). The intonation model in Jun (1993) predicts that the distinct phonological phrasing is usually manifested by distinct tonal patterns. However, the predicted tonal patterns can be identical for the two readings in certain cases (e.g. the same LHLH for a disyllabic wh-indeterminate followed by a disyllabic word at the end of the sentence). Thus, one might argue that in those cases the other intonational factors such as the relative prominence of wh-words or the sentence boundary tone that overrides the final AP tone would instead play a decisive role in disambiguation. In this study, however, we have found that the phrasing difference in terms of tonal pattern still maintains in such a case.

Phonetic evidence for the articulator-bound feature [spread glottis]: ePGG, airflow and acoustic data on the phasing of glottal opening

Hyunsoo Kim (Hongik University), Shinji Maedab (CNRS LTCI)
and Kiyoshi Honda (Tianjin University)
Friday, April 24, 9:30-10:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

This paper aims to elaborate on the articulator-bound feature [spread glottis], based on the phasing of glottal opening and the Korean lenis (/p t k/), aspirated (/ph th kh/) and fortis

(/p' t' k'/) plosives. For this purpose, we have simultaneously recorded external lighting and sensing photoglottograph (ePGG), airflow and acoustic data. From the simultaneous recording, we have investigated (a) the timing relations among glottal opening onset and peak, glottal closing onset, airflow onset and peak, and aspiration onset in relation to acoustic events such as a consonant release onset and a vowel onset; (b) how much the peak of glottal opening area, glottal closing speed and airflow peak height occur; and (c) what acoustic conditions arise in accordance with the three-way phonation contrast. The results of our experimental data have shown the laryngeal-oral coordination of glottal opening and a consonant release and the covariance of airflow, aspiration and VOT with glottal opening as well as that the peak of glottal opening area, glottal closing speed, airflow peak height and aspiration vary in the order fortis, lenis \downarrow aspirated plosives in both word-initial and word-medial positions.

Based on the results, we suggest that the acoustic-based feature [\pm aspiration] (e.g. C.- W. Kim 1965) and the feature [constricted glottis] in Halle and Stevens (1971) are not empirically motivated in Korean in that aspiration and VOT result from glottal opening and that invariant acoustic correlates of [\pm constricted glottis] for glottal closing are not observed. Rather, we propose that glottal opening is incorporated into the articulator-bound feature [\pm spread glottis] in line with Halle and Stevens (1971) and that the aspirated plosives are specified as [+spread glottis] and the fortis and lenis as [-spread glottis]. It is concluded that the present experimental data substantiate our previous MRI observations of glottal opening and the articulator-bound feature in Korean.

Using false memories to characterize lexical representations: A test case from Spanish

Anne Pycha (University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee)
Saturday, April 25, 10:15-10:45, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Free variation is typically restricted to certain phonemes and positions. In many dialects of Spanish, for example, the phoneme /s/ is realized as [s] initially (sopa ‘soup’), but exhibits free variation among [s], [h], and [ʔ] non-initially before C (busto ‘chest’) (Lipski 1984). Meanwhile, words without /s/ (nabo ‘turnip’) are realized with relative consistency. These asymmetries suggest that the lexical representation for /s/ in *sopa* differs from that in *busto*, and that the representation of /s/ differs from that of other phonemes which do not vary freely. As a way of investigating how free variation affects representations, we ask: do Spanish listeners create false memories at different rates for words like *sopa*, *busto*, and *nabo*?

Previous work shows that after hearing a list such as *bag*, *rack*, *book*..., people falsely remember hearing the lure back (Sommers & Lewis 1999). We selected Spanish lures, matched for frequency and density, across three conditions: s-initial (*sopa*), s-medial (*busto*), and controls without /s/ (*nabo*). For each lure such as *sopa*, we constructed a list of nine neighbors, differing in initial C (*ropa* ‘clothing’), medial V (*sepa* ‘that I know’), and medial C (*soda* ‘soda’). A Puerto Rican speaker recorded each word and produced [s] for all positions. Spanish-speaking participants (n=49) listened to each list and did recall and recognition tasks.

Listeners were more likely to falsely recognize any word that contains /s/, compared to a control word that did not. Thus, Spanish words such as *sopa* and *busto* were particularly effective lures – giving listeners a false sense of implicit familiarity – compared to words like *nabo*. This suggests that the acoustic signal associated with /s/ creates relatively indistinctive representations wherever it occurs. More broadly, it suggests that free variation impacts the manner in which listeners remember words – that is, it impacts lexical representations – in ways that go beyond mere activation.

The effect of the orthographic depth of English vowels and consonants on the learning of free variation in an artificial language

Chung-Lin Yang and Isabelle Darcy (Indiana University, Bloomington)
Saturday, April 25, 10:45-11:15, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Previous studies have shown that orthographic forms may help learners distinguish a novel phonemic contrast (e.g., Escudero et al., 2008), but the benefit of orthography on L2 word learning also depends on the L1-L2 orthography mapping (Erdener & Burnham, 2005). The goal of our study is to investigate whether exposure to L2 orthography can help learners associate two free variants with the same lexical entry, and whether a difference in performance between vocalic and consonantal free variants will arise due to the asymmetric grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence (GPC) of vowels and consonants in English.

We used a word learning paradigm modified from Hayes-Harb et al. (2010). In Experiment 1, Taiwanese participants, who were also advanced learners of English, learned an artificial language where [ɔ - u] were in free variation while [e - a] were contrastive (control condition). In terms of GPC, the free variants were “opaque” (one letter to two sounds) while the control items were “transparent” (one letter to one sound). During the word learning phase, orthographic forms were only provided to one subgroup of participants. Then in a picture naming task, participants were asked to name the pictures from the learning phase. In Experiment 2, the paradigm was the same as in Experiment 1, but the alternations were consonantal.

The results show that orthographic information helped Taiwanese participants produce fewer wrong minimal pairs, suggesting that exposure to L2 orthography may help learners encode and decode a novel phonological variation.

In addition, orthographic information also helped Taiwanese participants produce more correct responses in words containing vocalic but not consonantal alternations. One possible account for this difference is the mismatched GPC between English and the target language in this study. When they encountered the opaque GPC of vocalic free variants, facilitation arose. But when they encountered the opaque GPC of consonantal free variants, inhibition arose.

GENERAL SESSION: PHONOLOGY

Markedness constraints are negative: an autosegmental constraint definition language

Adam Jardine and Jeffrey Heinz (University of Delaware)
Saturday, April 25, 2:00-2:30, East Lounge (2nd floor)

This talk argues for a Constraint Definition Language (CDL, de Lacy 2011) over autosegmental representations that only allows negative markedness constraints banning substructures. This CDL is couched in mathematical logic, which allows for both explicit interpretation of the constraints and an understanding of their generative power. Logical languages admitting only negative statements are in this sense the most restrictive, but at the same time are sufficient for covering common phonological phenomena, such as culminativity constraints and tone association. However, some autosegmental phenomena—namely, contours and underspecification—can only be described by negative constraints if representations are enriched to make explicit some

potential associations which are not realized. We argue, however, that this additional structure is preferable to increasing the logical power of the formalism to include positive constraints, which we show generates unattested generalizations. It is thus more restrictive to enrich the structure than it is to increase the power of the formalism.

Crazy Rules and Grounded Constraints

Joe Collins and Martin Krämer (University of Tromsø)
Saturday, April 25, 2:30-3:00, East Lounge (2nd floor)

In this paper we propose an Optimality Theory (OT) analysis of unnatural or crazy rules by means of Local Constraint Conjunctions of functionally grounded constraints. So-called crazy rules (Bach & Harms 1972, Anderson 1981, Buckley 2000, Scheer 2015) are apparently unnatural phonological processes. In OT, processes are understood as strategies to avoid constraint violations. Constraints are grounded either functionally (Hayes 1999, Collins 2013), typologically, or ideally both (Prince & Smolensky, 1993). Buckley (2000) argues that phonetically grounded constraints are incapable of accounting for unnatural processes (see as well Anderson's 1981 criticism of Natural Phonology).

Our analyses of cases central in the discussion and related not so well-known cases show that taking the existence of seemingly unnatural processes as proof of an entirely substance-free and arbitrary phonological module is not warranted. Rather, we argue, these cases result from the interplay of phonetically grounded constraints that are organized by autonomous substance-free (i.e. non-phonetic) principles.

Never Surfacing Underlying Representations in Klamath

Charlie O'Hara (University of Southern California)
Saturday, April 25, 3:15-3:45, East Lounge (2nd floor)

In Klamath (Barker 1964) an alternation between [i] and nothing appears in final syllables of verb stems, i.e. [ʔe:ɰ-ta]-[ʔe:ɰi-tk^h]. The underlying form for these words cannot be consonant final, nor /i/ final, since forms of those shapes show different distributions. However, the short [e] vowel never surfaces in non-initial syllables of verbs (the only place where this alternation can be found.) Thus, I propose using an abstract underlying representation /ʔe:ɰe/ to represent this alternation. This analysis explains both the distribution of [e] and the [i]-[∅] alternation together. However, it has been questioned whether abstract underlying forms are readily learnable by phonological learners. I also supply an argument that due to an emergent property of MaxEnt learners, forms like /ʔe:ɰe/ are chosen over more abstract forms like /ʔe:ɰi/, because the contrasts between [e] and [i] are maintained in more positions than the contrasts between [i] and [∅].

Deriving Natural Classes Using Phonological Entailments

John Sylak-Glassman (Johns Hopkins University)
Saturday, April 25, 3:45-4:15, East Lounge (2nd floor)

Explaining the distinction between natural and unnatural phonological classes is a central goal of phonological theory, with the potential to elucidate which aspects of human speech sounds are most important in the organization of language (Chomsky and Halle 1968). The consensus view has been that natural classes are phonological classes that occur across multiple languages and are unified by a common phonetic characteristic (Sagey 1986/1990). The post-velar consonants (PVCs) are grouped into natural classes across languages, yet do not all share a common phonetic characteristic.

This study proposes a new method of deriving natural classes that defines naturalness in terms of the cooccurrence of phonological features within a phoneme, rather than shared features. These cases of featural cooccurrence are formalized as entailments, based on Burzio's (2005) Representational Entailment Hypothesis as applied to phonology by Wayment (2009). These entailments, in turn, are incorporated into a new family of Optimality Theory constraints which call for the inclusion of feature bundles in specific feature classes (Padgett 1995, 2002). Feature classes are sets of feature bundles in a union relationship, and are used as the formal representation of natural classes that can be included in later derivations.

This formal method of deriving natural classes is capable of deriving classes composed of post-velar consonants in a variety of languages in such a way that highlights the multiple phonetic connections between phonemes that appear to explain the naturalness of each class. In addition, the proposed method of deriving natural classes avoids problems with fragility in representational approaches to capturing natural classes while also providing an explanation for naturalness that derivational approaches lack.

GENERAL SESSION: SEMANTICS

Bare singular nouns in Spanish

David Rubio Vallejo (University of Delaware)
Saturday, April 25, 2:00-2:30, West Lounge (2nd floor)

Chierchia's (1998) typological approach to bare nominal arguments proposed that bare nouns in Romance are defined by the binary features [-argumental, +predicative], which entails that they cannot occur in argument positions without a determiner. However, that bare mass and bare plural nouns are frequently attested in Spanish had been widely known even before Chierchia's proposal. More recently, Espinal and McNally's (2011) (henceforth E&M) work on bare nouns semantically unmarked for number (BSgs) has further questioned Chierchia's typology. E&M concentrate on BSgs in object position, which they take to be pseudo-incorporated on the verb (i.e. they are its syntactic (but not semantic) arguments). For E&M, the availability of BSgs in Spanish is limited because they are only licensed by a subset of verbs that they call have-predicates and which denote a (rather abstract) relation of possession. This assumption leads to their strong claim that BSgs "are never licensed as subjects, not even of the passives of predicates that normally permit them" (E&M: 101).

Contrary to E&M, in this talk I argue that (i) BSgs can indeed occur as subjects in Spanish, (ii) that there are cases of BSgs in object position where they are true semantic arguments of the verb (i.e. where they are not incorporated), and (iii) that these instances could actually be couched within Chierchia's typology by allowing for the existence of a covert determiner licensed by subtriggering in the spirit of Dayal (1998).

Unbuilding Statives

Jon Nissenbaum (Brooklyn College, CUNY)
Saturday, April 25, 2:30-3:00, West Lounge (2nd floor)

I attempt to resolve a pair of nasty coincidences:

1. UN- prefixation. English has two seemingly distinct but homophonous “un-” prefixes. One of them attaches to adjectives and has the semantics (roughly) of simple negation (untrue, unavailable); the other attaches to transitive verbs and indicates “reversal of action” (unbutton, unlock).

2. Adjectival and Verbal Passives. English verbs have two seemingly distinct but homophonous passive participles. One is adjectival (1): it is stative rather than eventive, and carries no “agentive” implication. The other (2) has the same verbal (i.e. agentive/eventive) meaning as the active.

- (1) That wall is painted blue.
- (2) That wall was painted blue (in four hours).

Reduction of either of these pairs to a single element has proven elusive. I argue that both puzzles can be solved if we abandon a widespread assumption about eventive verbs, namely that their eventivity is part of their core meaning. Instead, the category V is uniformly stative: a VP like “paint blue” is a predicate that ascribes to an object the property of being painted blue. Consequently, the agentive little-v contributes not only the agent role but also the causative-eventive meaning.

This allows a simple characterization of adjectival passives which doesn’t require a stativizing participial affix: (1) is just the outcome for a clause that has a V stem but no little-v. What about verbal passives? I argue that (2), similarly, does not involve a passive morpheme; its eventive meaning comes from a agentive version of the auxiliary BE (independently motivated) that maps a state-description to an predicate of events.

Un-prefixation is always adjectival. The reversative meaning of verbal un- results from causative little-v selecting a (stative) un-passive. I sketch out a number of consequences, addressing some recalcitrant puzzles about un-prefixation.

A coercion-free semantics for intention reports

Tom Grano (Indiana University)
Saturday, April 25, 3:45-4:15, West Lounge (2nd floor)

In contrast with belief and desire reports, intention reports (like “Kim intended to go to bed early”) are not well studied in the formal semantics literature. This paper aims to begin to fill that gap, and in so doing, to take a stance on the analysis of intention reports that do not exhibit syntactic control (like “Kim intended for Sandy to go to bed early”), which previously have been argued to involve coercion. Drawing on insights from action theory and importing them into a possible worlds semantics for attitude predicates, I argue that once the causal self-referentiality of intention is taken into account (so that an intention for some outcome is satisfied only if that outcome obtains as a planned consequence of the relevant intention), the interpretive properties of non-control intention reports follow automatically with no appeal to

coercion needed. I furthermore show how “intend” fits into a broader class of control predicates that all bear the same basic signature.