In this presentation, I argue that the two major theories of the formal feature responsible for licensing structural Case cannot account for Case checking facts in Standard Arabic (SA). I argue against Schutze’s (1997) and Chomsky’s (2001) proposal that Case is valued on the DP as a reflex of valuing φ-features on T; I call this the φ-approach. I also argue against Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2001, 2004) proposal that Case is valued as a result of valuing a [uT] on the DP; I call this the T-approach. I assume that while post-verbal DPs in SA are subjects, preverbal DPs are topics, which take default Nom (Soltan 2007). The φ-approach is untenable for three reasons. First, SA verbs are not allowed to fully agree with the subject, as (1) shows. Second, SA verbs, which agree with the subject only in terms of [Person] and [Gender], can realize only [Person], as (2) shows, reflecting a φ-defective T. Third, SA verbs never φ-agree with the object, even partially, as (3) shows. Therefore, φ-features are not involved in the licensing of structural Case in SA. The T-approach is untenable for three reasons. First, SA has a 3rd person imperative construction which has a lexical DP subject that appears with Nom Case morphology, as in (4), despite the fact that imperative clauses are tenseless, for two reasons; first, SA imperative verbs lack tense morphology; second, SA imperative verbs cannot show the past vs. non-past tense distinction that other verbs show, thus lacking the feature [Precedence], hence lacking a TP; as a result, SA imperative clauses have only one interpretation, ‘future orientation’, which is an illocutionary force already supplied by the clausal mood of ‘command’, thus making reference to ‘modality’, rather than to ‘tense’ (Cowper 2005). Second, the T-approach is untenable because Pesetsky & Torrego (2001) argue that Nom Case is a [uT] on D based on (among other things) the fact that Nom Case suffixes in SA are identical to the ‘mood’ suffixes of the verb form that carries tense, the indicative. However, this reasoning is flawed because if this morphological similarity has theoretical utility, it must indicate connection between Nom Case and mood, not tense. Third, the fact that some Acc Case suffixes in SA are identical to the ‘mood’ suffixes of a verb form that does not realize tense, the subjunctive, argues against Pesetsky & Torrego’s (2004) proposal that Acc Case is a [uT] on D. With these theories lacking, SA provides a more plausible alternative. To illustrate, SA verbs are licensed by verbal particles (in the same manner DPs are licensed), as (5-6) show. This means that, like DPs, verbs receive a form of Case, which I call ‘Verbal Case’ (VC), and which is realized morphologically, bold-faced in (5-6). This relation is formalized in the sense that once the verb is licensed into the numeration, the functional heads associated with it, T and v*, automatically obtain unvalued [vVC] features. These features are valued via Agree with a valued [vVC] feature on Fin, which represents the particle. Given the observation that structural Case is only licensed when the verb is licensed via VC assignment (compare 7 and 8), then DPs are licensed by the same element that licenses verbs, which is VC. Thus VC, valued/licensed by Fin, is assigned to T and v* in the form of a valued [vVC], and later assigned to DPs in the form of structural Case, Nom and Acc, respectively. In other words, the valuation of [VC] on T and v* results in valuing [Case] on the subject and object, respectively, via Agree. This is supported by the fact that when VC is not assigned, as with participles, structural Case is not licensed, as (9-11) show; this indicates that VC and Case are of the same species.
EXPANDING ON ASPECT IN ONONDAGA

Gabriela Alboiu (York University) and Michael Barrie (University of Ottawa)

Introduction. Iroquoian expanded aspect constructions are well-documented in the descriptive literature (Chafe, 1961, Lounsbury, 1949, 1953, Michelson & Doxtator, 2002), but they have received little attention from a generative perspective. Fieldwork data from Onondaga suggest these constructions correlate with situations where the Reichenbach-ian (1947) time of event is distinct from the time of reference. This paper offers a generative analysis of simplex and expanded aspect in Onondaga based on the analyses of Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2004), Mezhevich (2008), Stowell (2007) which view Tense and Aspect as dyadic temporal ordering predicates (AFTER, BEFORE, WITHIN) taking time-denoting arguments (TS, TR, TE).

Analysis & Conclusions. Simplex constructions in Onondaga consist minimally of a verb root, agreement and one of three aspect markers: habitual (HAB), stative (STAT), and punctual (PUNC). Of these, only PUNC is temporally deictic and requires a modal prefix, such as future (FUT) or factual (FACT), shown in (1). HAB and STAT, on the other hand, are durative (imperfective and perfective, respectively), so they are not used with modal prefixes (see 2).

(1) *(wa’)-ha- yethw-a’
  FACT- 3SG.M.NOM- plant- PUNC
  ‘He planted it.’

(2)a. ha- yethw- as  b. ho- ahtq- h
  3SG.M.NOM- plant- HAB 3.SG.M.ACC- disappear- STAT
  ‘He plants / He is planting.’ ‘He has disappeared.’

The durative aspect forms can express past reference only if this base structure is augmented by additional aspect markers, HAB+HAB.PST (past imperfective reading) & STAT+STAT.PST (pluperfect reading), not shown here for lack of space. In addition, these expanded aspect suffixes and modalizer (MOD), -(e)k, can appear with FUT but not FACT. FUT+HAB.PST/STAT.PST is irrealis, while with MOD the preferred readings are realis, see (3).

(3) a. e- wak- ek- ih- na’
  FUT- 1.SG.ACC- eat- STAT- STAT.PST
  ‘I might have eaten it’

  b. e- wak- ek- ih- ek
  FUT- 1SG.ACC- eat- STAT- MOD
  ‘I will have eaten it.’

MOD establishes temporal deixis, hence is a T element on a par with PUNC, while both simplex and expanded STAT and HAB are unmarked for temporal deixis, hence purely Asp. This yields the summary in (4), with the paper elaborating on the difference between Asp₁ & Asp₂ and illustrating each case via a syntactic tree and discussion.

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<th>STAT</th>
<th>Asp₁₀ inserted when T/Asp₂₀ is [AFTER]</th>
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<td>HAB</td>
<td>Asp₁₀ inserted when T/Asp₂₀ is [WITHIN]</td>
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<td>PUNC</td>
<td>T₀ inserted when Asp₁₀ and Asp₂₀ are fused (as in Giorgi &amp; Pianesi, 1997)</td>
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<td>STAT.PST</td>
<td>Asp₂₀ inserted when Asp₂₀ is [AFTER], T₀ and Asp₂₀ are split projections</td>
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<tr>
<td>HAB.PST</td>
<td>Asp₂₀ inserted when Asp₂₀ is [WITHIN], T₀ and Asp₂₀ are split projections</td>
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<td>MOD</td>
<td>T₀ inserted when T₀ is independent, temporally deictic (i.e., realis)</td>
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<td>FUT</td>
<td>Mood₀ T₀ is [BEFORE], either irrealis (with modal flavour) or realis</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACT</td>
<td>Mood₀ T₀ is [AFTER], T₀ is independent, temporally deictic (i.e., realis)</td>
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How to BE in Spanish: the acquisition of copula and existential constructions by Spanish speaking children

Alvarez, Yadira; Pérez-Leroux, Ana T.

Is structural complexity a factor in functional omission? Becker (2004) finds English-speaking children omit copulas at higher rates in locative than nominal predicates, and in stage level adjectives than individual level adjectives. Becker proposes that with aspectual predicts tense is anchored by binding Asp. Do this omission pattern extend to languages with a dual copula system? Spanish possess two copulas for predicative constructions (ser/estar), and a third type for existential constructions (hay). Schmitt (1996) proposes the two copulas do not encode temporariness/permanence directly. Ser makes no reference to temporal intervals/subevents, but Estar, on the other hand, contributes a subevent of the type STATE, with the implication that the state holds for the relevant interval. The structures are as below:

Neutral copula: SER [ vp BE Predicate ]
Aspectual copula: ESTAR [ vp BE+STATE Predicate ]
Existential construction: HAY [ vp BE+STATE [ sc = ∃ [ LOC y ] [ NP ]] ]

If the omission patterns detected in English are universal, higher omission rates are expected with the more complex estar and hay. A study of copula contexts in a Spanish child, Maria, from 1;7 to 3;11 suggests early mastery of copula insertion and copula selection, but an initial omission stage that phases out by 2;4. During this early phase, children’s copula insertion rates for SER contexts is around 40% for both predicate nominal’s and SER-adjectives, but around 80% for ESTAR contexts (locative contexts and ESTAR-adjectives). With haber, we found no omissions, but, initially, it only appears in a fixed expression no hay ‘(there is)no more’ or with a modal interpretation Existential hay is not produced until 2;9, when it emerges with full productivity. Prior to that, the child uses estar for various instances of existential contexts (1)-(2)

(1)  Father: No, ¿Y de qué tienes? ‘What kind (of ice cream) do you have? Maria: No (e)stá. ‘There is no (icecream)’ (María 2;0)
(2)  *CHI: Entonces (es)taba una niña mala, ¿Sabes?
       ‘Then, there was a bad girl, do you know?’ (María 2;01) These findings suggest Becker’s temporal anchoring analysis for English cannot be extended to Spanish, where aspectual predicates do not result in higher copula omission rates, rather, the opposite is true. There are few substitution errors, and the only systematic gap in the paradigm is the substitution of existential hay by estar, which indicates that children are aware of the complex nature of existential contexts, and its component parts, including an aspectually delimited BE. While uncertain of the semantics of the polisemous haber, they creatively generate existential sentences by using the aspectually marked estar. From a psycholinguistic perspective, this provides evidence that children are not hampered by structural complexity. Furthermore, they do not treat words as unbreakable entities with rigid association to contexts (both situational and linguistics), but instead they actively make inferences about the syntactic and semantic atoms that compose words.
Nominalization as evidence for categorization
Solveiga Armoskaite

Research context It has been argued (Armoskaite in prep) that ROOTS may be categorized or category neutral (cf Marantz 1997, Borer 2005, Arad 2005):

(1) Categorized ROOTS
   a. Wool is a soft yarn.  
      Adjective
   b. To soften the yarn, one can wash it with a hair conditioner.  
      Verb
   c. Nothing can match the softness of Merino sheep wool.  
      Noun

(2) Category neutral ROOTS
   a. The banker goes to sleep with a clear conscience.  
      Adjective
   b. The banker wants to clear his name.  
      Verb
   c. The fraud charges are dropped, and the banker is in the clear.  
      Noun

The categorization is based on feature Category (henceforth C) which is a meta-label for language specific features inherent to n, v and a. The variance in categorization of ROOTS is determined by the content (deixis, gender, animacy, number and so on) interpretability (interpretable or not) and locus (categorizing head or not) of feature C. The following represents the logical combinations of categorization structure:

(3) a. \( xP \) b. \( xP \) c. \( xP \) d. \( xP \)
    \( xuC \) \( uC \) \( xC \) \( uC \) \( xC \) \( uC \) \( xC \) \( uC \)

Research question If feature C defines categorization, where else (besides ROOT level derivations) can one find evidence for the content & function of feature C?

Proposal Re-categorization of categorized stems (ROOT+affixes) further substantiates the claim of existence, content & function of feature C. Specifically, I show that nominalization structures in Blackfoot, English & Lithuanian encode feature C. E.g., if the ROOT level categorization relies on Animacy, Number or Gender, then the re-categorization of stems will mirror the ROOT level categorization in that the category distinguishing feature C will be assigned by the nominalizers, either overt or covert. The prediction is borne out. Not only the nominalizers assign the relevant feature (Animacy, Number or Gender) respectively, but they are also sensitive to the subcategories of the category in question. For example, in case of Animacy, nominalizers assign either animate or inanimate values, in case of Number, either count or mass value is given; and in case of Gender either animate or inanimate value is added.

References
Armoskaite, S. In prep. Categorisation of Blackfoot ROOTS. University of British Columbia, Ph D thesis.
Aspectual microvariation: the case of Slavic

Arregui, Ana; Rivero, Maria Luisa

1. **Proposal.** We study variation in Imperfectives (Impfs), arguing that Slavic (Sl) languages differ with respect to the modal bases (MBs) available to Impfs: in South Sl, Impfs allow both Extensional and Intensional MBs, whereas in West Sl/Russian they allow only Extensional MBs. We argue that one effect of such a microvariation is observed in Involuntary States (ISs) which contrast in meaning in the two groups (Rivero 2003,09, Rivero & Sheppard 2003a.o.)

2. **Imperfective Variation.** Sl Impfs share ongoing, habitual, and generic readings, but not intentional readings, which are found in South Sl, but not in Russian / West Sl. Thus, (1) with an Impf past V encodes a past plan for the future, but (2) is deviant since Intentional Impfs are unavailable in this group (for modality and Impfs see Cipria & Roberts 2000, Ippolito 2004, ao.):

   (1) *Dnes, po plan, Ivan leteše za Sofia.* Bulgarian (South Sl) Today, per plan, Ivan fly.Past.Impf to Sofia ‘Today, according to plan, Ivan was flying to Sofia.’

   (2) *Ivan ęhał v Moskvu na sledujushej nedel.* Russian John go.Past.Impf to Moscow on following week ‘*John was going to Moscow the following week.’

1. **Semantic Variation in Involuntary States.** Slavic languages exhibit ISs with similar syntax: dative subject, default V (neuter), and reflexive, as in (3a-b)-, but different readings (Rivero 2003, 2009, Rivero & Sheppard 2003). South ISs must be Impf, and are desiderative: (3a). Russ /West Slavic ISs may be Impf or Perf, and are factual: (3b). (see Goląb (1975), Dziwirek (1994), Wierzbicka (1988) a.o.). In §3, we tie this to variation in the availability of Intentional Impfs.

2. **The imperfective operator (IMPF).** Following Cipria & Roberts (2000) we propose a situation-based analysis for Impfs, collapsing modality and time. We provide a modal analysis of IMPF relative to Kratzer-style MBs (simplified) (Kratzer 1981, 91). We argue that crosslinguistic variation arises because languages differ regarding the MBs available to IMPF:
(4) \([\text{IMPF}] = \lambda_{s,t}. \lambda_{s'.} \forall s': MB_{\alpha}(s)(s') = 1. p(s') = 1\). (MB_{\alpha} = \text{a contextual accessibility relation}) The interpretation of an Impf sentence depends on choice of MB. There are (a) \textbf{Extensional MBs} that allow for quantification over situations in the evaluation world/situation, and (b) \textbf{Intensional MBs} that allow for quantification over situations parts of other worlds, resulting in a ‘modal’ accessibility relation for IMPF. In Sl, \textbf{Extensional MBs} include MB_{\text{ongoing}}, and MB_{\text{generic}}. \textbf{Intensional MBs} are available in South Sl but not in West Sl / Russ, and include MB_{\text{inertia}} and MB_{\text{plan}}. \textbf{Ex.} MB_{\text{generic}} = [\lambda_{s}. \lambda_{s'.} s' \text{ is a characteristic subsituation in } s] \text{ (others will be presented).}

\textbf{4. Deriving Semantic Variation in ISs.} The contrast in interpretation between Impf ISs in (3a) and in (3b) derives from the (un)availability of intensional MBs to IMPF. In South Slavic, intensional MBs are available, so IMPF can access the subject’s urges, and ISs can be desiderative: (3a). In West Slavic /Russ, intensional MBs are not available, so IMPF can only be extensional, and Impf ISs remain factual: (3b). Differences in the readings of ISs are derived from the interaction of different types of MBs and the semantics of the IS itself (for the latter, see Rivero et al. 2009, where a theory regarding the internal composition of ISs is proposed).
Polish Acquirers of L2 Spanish Gender

Barski, Ewelina

This research investigates the acquisition of the abstract feature [gender] in the second language (L2) Spanish of L1 Polish speakers. Previous research on the acquisition of gender found that gender was difficult to acquire resulting in persistent problems in agreement. For some researchers this is evidence for a deficit related to functional categories (Franceschina 2001; Hawkins 1998). Other scholars, however, attribute problems realizing gender to a ‘mapping’ mismatch between surface realizations and abstract features (Lardiere 2000; Prévost and White 2000; White et al. 2003). Spanish is a language that has a gender feature for nouns and gender agreement for determiners and adjectives, as illustrated in (1). Polish constitutes an interesting contrast to Spanish, one that has never been studied. Like Spanish it exhibits gender, but it does not have articles. Gender is expressed morphologically on nouns and on certain types of determiners such as demonstratives and adjectives, as shown in (2).

1  a. el libr-o thMASC book-MASC ‘the book’
b. la mes-a theFEM table-FEM ‘the table’

2  a. ten telefon-ø this-MASC-demonst. telephone MASC ‘this telephone’
b. ta książk-a this-FEM-demonst. book-FEM ‘this book’
c. te dzieck-ø this-NEU-demonst. child-NEUT ‘this child’

We will report on an empirical study that examines knowledge of gender in Spanish by Polish L1 speakers. There were two groups of speakers, a Spanish control group (n=9) and an experimental group (n=11) at three levels of proficiency, (beginner, intermediate-advanced, near native). All participants completed two tests: An oral production task and a picture-matching task. Both tasks include nouns with overt gender marking, and are aimed at testing whether or not gender is acquired on the noun itself and if mapping problems are more likely to occur in production. Preliminary results indicate that problems realizing gender are present even when the L1 also marks grammatical gender. Nevertheless, the language level of the speaker is what aids in the overall acquisition of gender.
La question de l’interférence de l’anglais en français dans le contexte canadien provoque un grand intérêt des sociolinguistes. Dans les études antérieures, l’emploi de la variante *char* dans le français canadien a été attribué au contact avec l’anglais (Poirier 1998) ou à l’effet combiné de deux facteurs (convergence interlinguistique de *char* avec la forme anglaise *car* et, exposition au français vernaculaire, donc à la forme non-standard *char*, Nadasdi et al. 2004). Les recherches sur une variante vernaculaire *job* dans le français canadien, n’ont pas payé beaucoup d’attention aux questions de convergence interlinguistique et/ou des contraintes internes du français. Les chercheurs se sont limités à l’observation que les francophones montréalais préfèrent la variante *job* au détriment de *emploi* (Sankoff et al. 1978), tandis que les anglophones montréalais (FL2) font la préférence de la variante *emploi* au détriment de *job* (Sankoff 1997).

Nos recherches sociolinguistiques sur les variables lexicales « automobile » et « travail rémunéré » démontrent que dans la région de la capitale nationale du Canada le vocabulaire français a un caractère plus vernaculaire que dans d’autres variétés canadiennes étudiées (Martel 1984, Sankoff et al.1978, Nadasdi et al. 2004), ce qui se reflète dans la haute fréquence des formes vernaculaires *char* (65% d’occurrences de la variable « automobile »), *job* (40% d’occurrences de la variable « travail rémunéré »). Les multiples analyses factorielles réalisées (*GoldVarb*) ont mis en valeur (parmi d’autres résultats) une forte signification statistique du facteur d’intensité de contact français-anglais (statut minoritaire vs. majoritaire du français, bilinguisme équilibré).

Mood in Upper Necaxa Totonac

Beck, David

Upper Necaxa Totonac, a member of the Totonac-Tepehua family spoken in the Sierra Norte of Puebla State, Mexico, has a complex system of TAM inflection, shown in the following table:

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**Optative**

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**Potential**

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**Irrealis**

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This paper will focus on the system of moods, which recognizes four values, indicative, optative, potential, and irrealis, and will argue that the restrictions on the combination of the nonindicative moods with tense and aspectual values falls out from their semantics:

a) The optative mood, which does not combine with tense-markers, expresses desired events and as such refers to non-real events that can not be located with respect to the time of the speech act, although the desired events can vary in their aspectual profile;

b) The irrealis mood is used to express events that have not occurred or could never have occurred at the time of reference; the event is treated as completed and temporally bounded, requiring the perfective aspect and precluding other aspectual inflections; the reference time at which the event is judged to be impossible can be located temporally in the past, present, or future with respect to the speech act;

c) The potential mood refers to events that are not realized at the reference time but could potentially be realized; as the reference time could be in the past, present, or future with respect to the speech act, and the desired event could have any aspectual profile, it shows the same combinatorial potential as the indicative mood.

These combinatorial principles reveal a logical pattern underlying what otherwise seems to be a fairly opaque and overly-constrained system, and sheds some light on the morphological facts, which also seem at first sight to be rather puzzling, especially with respect to the expression of the irrealis mood. This paper will also present new facts, based on recent fieldwork, that substantially improve upon previous accounts of Upper Necaxa modal inflections (Beck 2004).
Much L2 research has shown that adult language learners succeed in acquiring certain subtle L2 properties (see White (2003) for an overview), including knowledge of what constructions are ungrammatical. As many studies have examined L2 properties that are uninstructed, explanations appealing to direct negative evidence only can be dismissed. However, it is possible that another kind of negative evidence is operative: indirect negative evidence (INE) (Chomsky 1981); since certain constructions do not occur in the L2 input, learners can arguably infer that such constructions are ungrammatical (e.g. Plough 1995). The question is, however, whether L2ers actually end up effectively using INE.

The current paper presents results from a study looking into adult L2 acquisition of French reflexive verbs by Russian native speakers. French reflexive verbs are derived with the clitic se, which productively attaches to most transitive verbs (1). Resulting se-verbs behave as intransitives (based on diagnostics involving passives, ellipsis constructions, etc.), i.e. se functions as a detransitivity marker rather than a reflexive pronoun (e.g. Reinhart & Siloni 2005). The actual reflexive pronoun lui-même ‘himself’ is not used independently of se (2) (except for rare contexts).

(1) a. Il se lave. b. Il se dessine.  
he washes(refl) he draws(refl)  
(2)a. *Il lave lui-même.  b. *Il dessine lui-même.  
he washes(trans) he draws(trans) himself  

Regarding the input that French L2 learners are exposed to, intransitive se-verbs are productively used, while transitive constructions with anaphors do not occur in reflexive contexts. On the other hand, reflexive verb formation in Russian (L2ers’ L1) with the suffix -sja is less productive than French (3); instead, combining transitive verbs with anaphors is often the only way to express reflexivity (4). If INE is operative in adult L2 acquisition, the prediction is that advanced L2ers should reject transitives with anaphors (and accept se-verbs) in reflexive contexts (thus overcoming initial L1 transfer). Alternately, if INE is largely ineffective, L2 learners might fail at rejecting the ungrammatical construction despite potentially available indirect negative evidence. Note that grammars allowing both productive reflexive verb formation and transitive constructions with anaphors are found in existing languages (e.g. Serbian).

he washes(refl) he draws(refl)  
(4)a. (?)On moet sebja  b. On risuet sebja.  
he washes(trans) he draws(trans) himself  

19 advanced L2 learners and 19 native controls completed a contextualized acceptability judgement test. Participants were presented with short contexts, followed by a sentence to be judged as possible/impossible in French, and were asked to make corrections as necessary. Test items (86 altogether) include se-reflexives and transitives with anaphors in different conditions (see below), as well as items testing whether L2ers converge on the correct representation of se as a detransitivity marker. In sum, L2ers accepted se-verbs and transitive verbs followed by lui-même 89.3% and 59.2% of the time, respectively. Reflexive verbs that also exist in Russian were more readily accepted (97.3%) than those that do not (81.6%). More importantly, L2ers clearly treated transitive verbs differentially: transitive verbs that undergo -sja reflexivization in Russian were accepted with lui-même only 34.2% of the time, while verbs that do not were accepted with lui-même 84.2% of the time. Taking stock, the productivity of se-reflexives is largely acquired by L2ers, suggesting restructuring of the interlanguage grammar triggered by positive evidence. At the same time, the ungrammaticality of transitives with anaphors is generally not acquired, suggesting relative ineffectiveness of INE and persistence of L1 transfer, at least when the current state of the interlanguage grammar falls within the range permitted by human languages.
References


Les réalisations multiples du cas INSTR en ukrainien

Bilous, Rostyslav

En ukrainien l’usage du cas INSTR, qui s’utilise dans toutes sortes de contextes, représente un vrai casse-tête pour n’importe quelle approche linguistique. Le but de la présente étude est donc d’offrir une classification sémantique et syntaxique de ses usages. À partir des données empiriques on constate qu’en ukrainien l’INSTR peut apparaître tant après les verbes actifs qu’existentiels. En cas des copules, le cas NOM peut être assigné à un DP postposé aussi, ce qui rend notre analyse plus difficile (voir aussi Pereltsvaig 2007). Pour les verbes actifs on propose que l’INSTR se réalise dans deux types d’usage : au moyen d’un DP faisant partie du VP et d’un DP en dehors du VP (constituant un INSTR adverbiaлизé). Autrement dit, il s’agit d’une distinction dérivative entre les DP sélectionnés, soit à fonction valente, et les DP adjoints, à fonction non-valente. La fonction non-valente – c’est la fonction spatio-temporelle (voir aussi Janda 2002, Nuckols 2007) :

EX. 1 časom misstiamy
       temps-INSTR endroits-INSTR
   ‘parfois’ ‘dans certains endroits’

Les DP à fonction valente sont de deux sous-types : a) ceux qui ont le rôle thématique d’Instrument (une fonction prototypique de l’INSTR : après la préposition z ‘avec’ dans le sens ‘en compagnie de’ ou sans cette préposition – dans le sens ‘avec un instrument, à l’aide de’) (EX. 2a), et b) ceux qui ont le rôle thématique de Thème (EX. 2b/c/d) :

EX. 2 a) rizaty nožemINSTR (‘couper avec un couteau’)
       b) keruvaty krajinoujINSTR (‘gouverner, régir le pays’)
       c) rozmovliaty ukrajinskojoujINSTR (‘parler ukrainien’)
       d) kynuty kamenemINSTR (‘jeter une pierre’)

Le cas INSTR assigné aux DP à rôle thématique de Thème est de trois sous-types : l’INSTR inhérent (après les verbes d’autorité) (EX. 2b), l’INSTR de défaut (après les anciens verbes inergatifs ou inaccusatifs ou ceux qui sont transitivisés) (EX. 2c), et l’INSTR de manière (EX. 2c/d). L’INSTR inhérent est un cas obligatoire, les autres cas peuvent être soit obligatoires soit optionnels, dépendant du verbe qui les gouverne.

Quant aux verbes copulatifs, il faut expliquer : 1) pourquoi c’est un DP à l’INSTR qui apparaît après une copule, et non, par exemple, le GÉN ou le DAT, et 2) la différence entre les copules assignant le cas NOM à leur objet et ceux qui requièrent le cas INSTR. On propose que les verbes suivis d’un nom à l’INSTR soient des verbes transitivisés qui requièrent un cas de défaut. On démontrera que le verbe buty (‘être’) a un statut spécial et que le choix de cas est relié à deux phénomènes différents. Le verbe buty est alors de deux types : 1) un verbe transitivisé, réalisé de façon manifeste dans n’importe quel temps et suivi d’un DP à l’INSTR (structuré), dont la structure phrastique contient la projection fonctionnelle de transitivité TrP (voir Bowers 2002), et 2) un verbe déficient (non-transitivisé) nul qui n’apparaît qu’au présent, réalisant le trait sémantique [+identification] (qui bloque le processus de transitivisation), et assigne le NOM à son objet, sa structure phrastique est ‘appauvrie’, puisqu’elle manque de la projection TrP.
Spatio-temporal Topics and Fixed Quantifier Scope: An Analysis of Blackfoot *it*-Bliss, Heather; Louie, Meagan

The Problem Quantifier relations in Blackfoot (Algonquian) usually show scope ambiguity as in (1).

(1)  Om-iksi imitaa-iksi ii-okhsaask-iiksaas-yii-yaax niookskam-iks poos-iksi.
    DEM-PL dog-PL IC-all-chase.TA-DIR-3PL three-PL CAT-PL
    ‘All the dogs chased three cats.’

However, utterances with the preverb *it*- (2) only permit readings where the theme scopes wide.

(2) a. Om-iksi imitaa-iksi ii-okhsaask-iiksaas-yii-yaax niookskam-iks poos-iksi.
    DEM-PL dog-PL IC-all-LOC-chase.TA-DIR-3PL three-PL CAT-PL
    ‘All the dogs chased three cats.’

   three-PL dog-PL IC-all-LOC-chase.TA-DIR-3PL DEM-PL CAT-PL
   ‘Three dogs chased all the cats.’

We address why *it*- fixes scope, as it typically licenses adverbials of space/time (3a), or is translated as 'then' or 'there' (3b) in the absence of overt adverbials.

(3) a. Nit-áák-*(it)*-ipsst-ioooyi omi ksikookooyiss.  b. Nit-áák-(it)-ipsst-ioooyi.
   1-fut-LOC-inside-eat.AI DEM tent
   ‘I will eat in that tent.’
   ‘I will eat (there).’

Main Claims We propose *it*- signals that the event argument, e, is anchored to a spatio-temporal context, overt or implicit, and that this anchor functions as a stage topic (Erteschik-Shir 2007), realized in TopicP. e is merged VP-internal, and when it raises to TopicP, VP acts as its restriction, likewise raising. The VP-internal theme thus raises with e, above the agent, deriving its wide-scope. We assume agents associate with e via secondary predication (Kratzer 1996), external to e's VP-restriction.

Deriving Ambiguity We assume, following Glougie (2000), that the universal quantifier *okhsan*- merges with the clausal spine (projecting a QP), binding a nominal argument in its c-command domain. We propose that i) a #-quantified argument may QR either directly above or below *okhsan*- (deriving the ambiguity in (1)), and ii) *okhsan*- only QRs to satisfy a ban on vacuous quantification (cf. Louie 2009).

Inverse Scope with *it*- *it*- surfaces when e and its VP-restriction raise to TopicP. If TopicP is higher than VP, in a sentence with a "-quantified agent and a #-quantified theme, the theme scopes wide as it raises to TopicP along with e. The agent, not #-quantified can't QR, deriving frozen THEME>AGENT scope in (2a). With a #-quantified agent and "-quantified theme, the agent can QR either directly above or below *okhsan*. But, because the theme raises with e to TopicP, *okhsan*- is left without a nominal in its c-command domain to bind. To satisfy the ban on vacuous quantification, *okhsan*- raises above TopicP, where it binds the theme, and also c-commands the agent, deriving frozen THEME>AGENT scope in (2b).

The “Inverse” Under this analysis, *it*- forces the theme to scope wide because the theme is part of e's VP-restriction. But in inverse constructions as in (4), the theme undergoes A-movement to a VP-external position, PoVP(Bliss 2005; Bruening 2001). The theme, nonetheless, scopes wide.
(4)  *Niookskam-ikspos-iki ot-ohkana-it-oksisaisko-ok-yaa om-iksi  imitaa-iksi.*
three-PL  cat-PL  3-all-LOC-chase.TA-INV-3PL  DEM-PL  dog-PL

‘Three cats were chased by all the dogs’

Note, however, that raising the remnant VP results in an unbound trace of the theme (5a). We suggest a ban on unbound traces (cf. May 1977) forces the theme to raise further so it binds its trace, but also c-commands ohkan-, thus yielding wide-scope (5b).

(6)  

a.  *[[V t] ... [ohkan ... [THEME]]*  
    TopicP  VP  i  j  QP  PoVP  DP  i

    ... t ] ]]

b.  [[THEME] [V t] ... [ohkan ... t]  
    XP  DP  i  TopicP  VP  i  j  QP  PoVP  i

    ... t ] ]]

Conclusions  We argue that *it*- marks a dependency relation between the event argument and a spatio-temporal anchor in TopicP. Our analysis captures the fact that *it*-fixes scope relations, and offers a theoretic model for further investigation of *it*-'s distributional and licensing properties.
Cross-linguistic differences in the acquisition of lexical structure: an investigation of Canadian French

Bouchat-Laird, Natasha; Zamuner, Tania

Previous research with adult and child English has demonstrated that although both lexicons have higher proportions of words that contrast word initially, the pattern is more predominant in child language (De Cara & Goswami, 2002; Zamuner, 2009). In other words, both grammars have many words that differ in rhyme neighbors such as ‘cat’ and ‘bat’, however children’s grammar appear to rely more heavily on such contrasts (Storkel, 2004). As a child’s vocabulary grows, more specificity is needed in order to deal with the abundance of words that contrast in word-onset position, for without such processes lexical retrieval would be inhibited (Storkel, 2002).

Although current research has begun to explore these issues in child language, the literature remains quite scarce. Relatively fewer studies have looked at this cross-linguistically. Consequently, the present paper aimed to further cross-linguistic research in this area by examining phonological neighborhoods in L1 French children’s lexicons, and to investigate potential similarities and differences in the acquisition process in children learning different languages. The last goal was to determine whether the neighborhood densities in children’s early lexicons are reflective of the patterns observed in infant speech perception. For example, infant speech perception research has demonstrated that infants are sensitive to language specific phonotactic patterns in speech (Jusczyk et al., 1994), and studies of children’s lexical development has shown that phonotactic probabilities is a factor influencing lexical development (Storkel, 2004).

To address these question, analyses of neighborhood densities were conducted on the lexical norms of words from the Canadian French version of the MacArthur-Bates Communicative Development Inventory (M-CDI) (Trudeau, Poulin-Dubois, & Frank, 1997). The Canadian French M-CDI is a way of measuring children’s early lexical development, by evaluating the words in children’s expressive and receptive vocabularies. The analysis of neighbors were carried out on the early CVC words of children between the ages of 1;3 and 2;6. These analyses were conducted in order to establish the proportion of rhyme neighbors (/fɛr/ (faire) and /vɛr/ (verre)), consonant neighbors (/bɛl/ (bulles) and /bɛl/ (balle)), and lead neighbors (/l̃ag/ (langue) and /l̃ap/ (lampe)). Interestingly, a different pattern arose in comparison to the data collected for English (De Cara & Goswami, 2002; Zamuner, 2009). In the early vocabularies of children acquiring Canadian French, the highest densities were for rhyme neighbors (.50), followed by consonant neighbors (.28), and lead neighbors (.22). These findings are different from what is found for English, where the highest densities were for rhyme neighbors (.56), but consonant and lead neighbors were of the same density (.22, and .22 respectively). Across both Canadian French and English, a preference is found for word-initial contrast. However, in Canadian French, more emphasis seems to be found for vowels in children’s early vocabularies than in English (as demonstrated by the higher consonant neighbors in Canadian French than in English).

Although there are similarities in children’s perceptual sensitivities during word learning across languages, there remain some interesting differences. Such differences suggests
that there may be language specific influences in addition to general perceptual biases involved throughout early lexical acquisition.
Age and Orthographic Effects on Lexical Access in Japanese-English Bilinguals

Bowers, Caelan

According to Dijkstra & Van Heuven (2002), the interactions between first and second languages (L1 & L2) occur on visual and auditory levels during lexical decision. They also claim that where there is no orthographic similarity between a person’s L1 and L2, there is evidence in favour of language specific access. I hypothesize, however, that for Japanese-English bilinguals, a primary semantic relation remains, regardless of age of L2 acquisition. I expect to find evidence in favour of this hypothesis through a visual word recognition task.

This study looks at interactions between primes and target words during visual word recognition when shared spelling and pronunciation cues are unavailable to an individual. Since Japanese and English come from two entirely different categories of writing system, Japanese-English bilinguals store two languages that share no analogous system for mental representation. Silverberg & Samuel (2004) claim that for orthographically similar languages, semantic information is relied upon in such a manner only when the second language was learned before the age of seven, and that if the L2 is learned after that, bilinguals rely on orthographic and phonological information instead. It seems then, that in the case of Japanese-English bilinguals who have learned their L2 after the age of seven, there should only be evidence of language specific access during visual word recognition.

During the task, Japanese-English participants are shown low frequency English target words that have been primed by presenting the participant with a Japanese word. The Japanese primes are related to the English targets in one of four ways: semantic connection, form connection, mediated form connection or are control items.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prime Target Relation</th>
<th>Prime</th>
<th>Target</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Semantic</td>
<td>光 hikari ‘light’</td>
<td>CANDLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td>寬大 kandai ‘generous’</td>
<td>CANDLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediated Form</td>
<td>萬子 kashi ‘candy’</td>
<td>CANDLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>論理 ronri ‘logic’</td>
<td>CANDLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sample prime-target relationship

These priming conditions have been chosen in order to observe the priming facilitation and inhibition caused by written form and semantic mediation during lexical decision. The reduced necessity of phonological decoding of the Japanese written form, in comparison to English, leads to a higher reliance on semantics. If facilitation is found based on semantic connection between prime and target under these language circumstances, then this provides evidence for a semantic method of bilingual language interaction, regardless of age of L2 acquisition.

Preliminary evidence from eight speakers supports this hypothesis. As would be expected, early learners of English as a second language show the highest level of facilitation from semantic form primes and, to a lesser extent, mediated form primes. This group also shows null effects from facilitation and inhibition from form primes. As I expected, the late L2 learners in this experiment differ from those in the Silverberg & Samuel study (2004).
These late L2 learners show signs of facilitation from semantic primes and mediated form primes. These preliminary data are evidence that during the visual word recognition task, both early and late Japanese-English bilinguals connect their L1 & L2 through semantic mediation.
Grammatical analysis in early morphological development:

Evidence from (Northern East) Cree

Brittain, Julie; Rose, Yvan; Terry, Kevin

In this paper, we discuss the development of verbal inflection for one child acquiring Cree as a first language (code-named A1) over a 19 month period (ten video-recorded sessions made at regular intervals between 2;01 (two years, one month) and 3;08). We consider the data in light of a current theoretical debate about the nature of the lexicon. On the one hand, the generative approach (e.g. Aronoff 1976) posits a lexicon comprised of a set of morphemes which are dynamically combined through grammatical rules or constraints that govern the shape of outputs, such that word pairs like *electric* and *electricity* are derived from a single root form. On the other hand, the exemplar-based approach (e.g. Bybee 2001) rejects the underlying/surface dichotomy; all grammatical forms associated with a given lexeme are memorized as separate entries in the lexicon. On this view, morphological relatedness arises from generalizations on segmental and/or semantic similarities between memorized forms. These competing approaches make different predictions in the context of language acquisition. Within the generative approach, the learner’s initial grammar should reflect the most grammatically transparent aspects of the target system. Conversely, the exemplar-based approach predicts a strong correlation between input frequency and language development, irrespective of any grammatical analysis.

We argue that, while the memorization of unanalyzed chunks of language (amalgams) is required to build an initial lexicon, the generative approach to morphology enables a better account of the Cree data under investigation. Our study focuses on A1’s production of conjunct versus independent inflection for animate intransitive verbs. Starks (1994) finds for (Woods) Cree that in a conversation text 48% of verbs are conjunct, 45% are independent, while for a narrative text 75% are conjunct, 23% are independent. Appealing to frequency only, A1 should produce independent verbs in at least roughly equal rates to conjunct. If frequency is not a factor, and if she merely selects at random, she should still produce independent forms roughly 50% of the time. However, if the child’s productions reflect an understanding, if only basic, of the system, we expect the independent order to emerge first, as it is arguably more transparent from a grammatical perspective. While independent inflection is relatively agglutinative, conjunct morphology is more fusional (and thus less transparent). Moreover, the independent is arguably the default inflection, other inflectional orders being associated with specific syntactic environments (Brittain 2001).

Cree has a small set of “child form” verbs (e.g., *miimii* ‘s/he sleeps’), A1’s treatment of which provides us with evidence of productive rule use. From ages 2;01 to 3;01, she produces these forms without inflection; from 3;04 years onward, she inflects them. Crucially, child forms are not inflected in caregiver speech, showing that A1 engages in productive grammatical analysis by age 3;04. Other acquisition studies of polysynthetic languages attest to children undertaking grammatical analysis of inflectional systems: Pye (1980, 1983) (Quiché Mayan), Mithun (1989) (Mohawk) and Courtney & Saville-Troike (2002) (Navajo and Quechua).

Data further indicate that prior to 3;04 A1 was already engaging in grammatical analysis, identifying (and evaluating) the inflection and favouring the independent. Between 2;01 and 3;01, 67% of A1’s attempted productions are independent, 7% are conjunct. Between 3;04 and 3;08, 55% of her attempts are independent, 26% are conjunct. This preference runs counter to expectations if frequency is a significant force in
acquisition, because conjunct forms occur in frequency equal or greater to independent forms. We conclude that A1, prior to age 3;04, was able to identify the verbal inflection in her vocabulary, favouring the more grammatically transparent independent inflection over conjunct inflection. Our findings also support earlier research showing that morphological analysis operates in the receptive lexicon before it manifests in language productions (e.g. Ingram 1989).
Gender and number mismatches in ellipsis in L2 Spanish:
What they tell us about learners' competence

Bruhn de Garavito, Joyce

A lively debate centers on the status of gender in L2 acquisition (Antón-Méndez et al. 2002; White et al. 2004; Barber and Carreiras 2005 and others). On the one hand it is argued that problems with gender are an indication of a deficit at the functional level (Franceschina 2001), while on the other the explanation is related to mapping from form to function (White et al 2004).

Most studies on gender have looked at agreement between nouns and determiners or nouns and adjectives. The present study will examine the question of gender from a different perspective. It has been argued that gender is a lexical phenomenon originating in the noun root (Roca 1989). As such, nouns enter the derivation with the gender features in place, in contrast to number, which is resolved later (Masullo and Depiante, 2004). Evidence for this is found in ellipsis. As shown in the examples below (from Masullo and Depiante 2004), gender mismatches are not allowed in elliptical constructions (1b), while number mismatches are (2).

(2) Juan visitó a sus tíos y María visitó al suyo.

In contrast to nouns like tío/tía ‘uncle/aunt’, adjectives are not lexically marked for gender and therefore enter the derivation unmarked. Agreement, therefore, takes place in the syntax. As Masullo and Depiante show, the expectation that gender mismatches are allowed with adjectives under ellipsis is fulfilled (3).

(3) a. Pedro es bueno y María también. Peter is good-masc and Maria also.
b. Los problemas son muchos y también las soluciones. The problems are many-masc and also the solutions.

In previous research on ellipsis I found that lower intermediate learners rejected gender mismatches, but they also rejected number mismatches equally, which would seem to indicate they have not acquired the difference between number and gender features and their role in syntax. This paper will focus on advanced and near native English L1 learners of Spanish (n=15) who completed a Grammaticality Judgement Task and a Completion Task. Preliminary results show the L2 speakers of this level do distinguish between number and gender and are very close to native speakers (n=10) on their rejection of gender mismatches.
This research investigates the acquisition of the abstract feature [gender] in second language (L2) Spanish. Spanish nouns carry an inherent gender feature, and gender agreement for determiners and adjectives. Although previous research on knowledge of L2 gender found that it was difficult to acquire, resulting in persistent problems in agreement (Franceschina 2001; Hawkins 1998), the question of whether the main difficulty lies in the gender feature of the noun, as suggested by Carroll (1995) or whether it is agreement itself which is somehow the root of the problem (Hawkins 1998) has not been addressed due to the methodological difficulty (White et al 2004). Learners clearly do not have problems assigning the correct endings to nouns, but this cannot be interpreted as meaning that they have assigned the correct gender, as the relationship between gender and noun endings is indirect at best (Harris 1991). Therefore, researchers are usually constrained to examining agreement. However, in what we believe to be an innovative approach, we have tried to get around this problem by looking at the production of diminutives.

As is well known, Spanish nouns can end in –o, the default ending for the masculine, or –a, which frequently is associated with the feminine (but there are over 600 ‘exceptions’, see Harris 1991). There are also many nouns that end in consonants or another vowel, mainly –e. These nouns can belong to either gender; the form of the word does not provide a clue. However, when the diminutive morpheme is added, a choice has to be made for all nouns between the masculine –o or the feminine –a, as shown in (1). The diminutive thus proves an interesting diagnostic for the acquisition of gender that has so far remained unexplored.

(1)  
   a.  el libr-o
       the-MASC book-MASC  
       ‘the book’
   b.  la mes-a
       the-FEM table-FEM  
       ‘the table’
   c.  el puente
       the-MASC bridge-MASC  
       ‘the bridge’

Assuming the learners have acquired the relationship between –o as the masculine and –a as the feminine, a relation which is not only taught but is also frequent in the input, the correct assignment of the ending to the diminutive would serve as evidence for knowledge of the gender feature on the noun. The gender problem would clearly be one of agreement. However, variability of assignment of the correct ending of the diminutive would point to at least partial difficulty with the inherent gender of the noun.

In order to investigate this issue we designed two tasks: an oral elicited production task and a written elicited production task. Both tasks include nouns with and without overt gender marking. Subjects were 17 intermediate learners of L2 Spanish (L1 English), as well as a control group. Results show that the assignment of the correct ending to the diminutives was almost native-like. However, agreement with the diminutive nouns was also higher than previously found. We conclude that, although agreement is the main source of error, the act of producing a diminutive serves as an aid to establishing agreement.
References


Exploring the locus of transfer in L2 pronunciation of novel words

Carroll, Susanne

It is a well-documented fact that L1 phonology influences L2 behaviour in both speech perception and production (Brière 1968; Erdmann 1973; Broselow 1984; Flege & Wang 1989). The locus of transfer in pronunciation could have several sources: activation of L1 lexical entries, activation of L1 syllables stored in a syllabary (Levelt 1999), or deployment of individual phones computed in real time. This study looks at the locus of transfer in L2 pronunciation when adult learners are exposed to auditory input of a foreign language for the first time. Unlike much of the literature on sound transfer, our data are not influenced by effects of sound-grapheme mappings. We also controlled completely the acoustic and phonological properties of the input and know exactly how many exposures our subjects had to the words they produced.

Twenty adult English L1 speakers with no prior exposure to German were trained on 20 German utterances consisting of a deictic presentational frame + a proper name, e.g. Da steht Dietmar ‘There stands Dietmar’ while simultaneously looking at line drawings. They then heard questions containing a compound NP, e.g. Ist das Georg oder Gregor? and indicated which name went with the picture by pressing a computer key. Along with accuracy and response latency data, we gathered production data during the test and re-test phases of the experiment. The production data (more than 1200 items) will be analysed for this presentation.

Names were either cognate or non-cognate. Prior research shows a facilitating effect of cognate words on both perception and production in first exposure learners (Rast 2008). Our receptive data (accuracy and response latencies) suggested that learners were activating L1 lexical entries when processing the input. Our production data provide strong support for this claim. We found clear differences by word type of the extent of L1 influence, with participants tending to produce the L1 pronunciation of many cognate names. Particularly revealing in this regard are the pronunciations of names like Albert and Georg where the pronunciations were not mediated by the L1 words. In the case of the non-cognate names, participants tended to be more target-like in their pronunciations. Analysis of specific segments suggest that participants were able to construct enriched phonetic representations, thus words containing /r/ reveal differentiated pronunciations depending on whether the consonant was syllable-initial (input = [ʁ]) or syllable-final (where the consonant is replaced by schwa or compensatory lengthening). Analysis of other deviations from the input suggests that participants are constructing fairly accurate input representations. The picture that emerges shows a complex interaction of lexical activation and gestural transfer. In my presentation I will provide a qualitative analysis of both correct and non-target-like pronunciations to shed light on the psycholinguistic source of the pronunciation.
Attentional weighting of Polish and Taiwanese Mandarin sibilant perception
Chiu, Chenhao

The present study investigates the role of acoustic cues of Taiwanese Mandarin listeners in perceiving sibilants and the distinct perceptual cue weighting across different sibilant types. Polish (PL) and Taiwanese Mandarin (TM) have three-way distinction of sibilants [1]: dental [s], retroflex [ʂ], and alveolo-palatal [ɕ]. Research has shown that frication noise and formant transition both contribute to the perception of the sibilant contrasts [2]. Others, however, suggest that cues present in the vocalic context may override those generated from the fricative noise [3, 4]. For PL, [ʂ] and [ɕ] have similar centre of gravity values which may be responsible for the identification confusion [3, 5]. In TM, the three sibilants all have distinct centre of gravity values and formant transitions [5]. The question arises how these acoustic cues determine or influence the perception of these sibilants. The goal of the study is to investigate cue weighting in TM listeners’ perception of sibilants. An additional manipulation (described below) examines whether TM listeners are flexible in their cue weighting.

The experiment employed an identification task. Stimuli recorded from both PL and TM are sequences of one sibilant followed by a low back vowel [a]. These auditory stimuli were crossspliced to form congruent (i.e., matched transition information, [sa]s, for example) and incongruent (i.e., mismatched transition information, examples like [sa]s) stimuli. Twenty-one TM subjects were divided into three groups. Each group received different language information. The first two groups received the instruction stating that they would hear either all TM sounds or all PL sounds. The third group, to serve as control, did not receive any language-specific information.

The analyses include $d'$ values (i.e., sensitivity measurement) based on frication noise and vocalic information of different sibilants across conditions, criterion $c$ (i.e., bias), and reaction time. The results demonstrate that TM listeners rely heavily on the frication noise in perceiving sibilants regardless of the language information given. The results also show that the formant transitions are crucial to the identification of alveolo-palatals. This vocalic information, however, also interferes listeners’ perceptual abilities to other sibilants. Among all three sibilants, TM listeners are particularly sensitive to the retroflex sibilants as opposed to the other two sibilants. Their sensitivities and bias towards the alveolo-palatals are the weakest. Despite of the fact that TM listeners are more sensitive and faster in responding to TM sibilants, their sensitivity and bias in perceiving PL show similar patterns across different sibilant types. The study suggests that for TM listeners the perceptual weighting of sibilant cues is not dependent on language context. TM listeners mostly depend on frication noise to identify [s] and [ʂ], but the cues available in formant transitions are heavily used in identifying [ɕ].
Revisiting Verbal –s: A Combined Formal/Variationist Analysis
Comeau, Phil

Previous accounts of generalized verbal –s (i.e., –s marking on present temporal reference verbs in non-third person singular contexts) have argued for a wide range of constraints conditioning its use in a number of varieties of English (e.g., Poplack & Tagliamonte 1989; Montgomery, Fuller & DeMarase 1993; Walker 2000, 2001, etc.). However, in Vernacular Newfoundland English (VNE), verbal –s has been argued to be conditioned predominantly by habitual aspect (Clarke 1997, 1999, 2010; Van Herk, Childs & Thorburn 2009) as well as by verb stativity (Van Herk et al. 2009). The VNE data in (1) and (2) come from a corpus for the small community of Petty Harbour, some 15 km from St. John’s.

(1) I loves me cup of tea. (PH 9)
(2) I still love molasses. (PH &)

The dataset for the present study consists of the same 24 Petty Harbour sociolinguistic interviews reported on by Van Herk et al. (2009) along with 5 interviews added to increase the sample size for each age cohort. The sample is stratified by age (under 30, 30 to 59, 60+) and sex with a total number of 1268 occurrences of the variable. In the earlier study, Van Herk et al. found a decrease in verbal –s usage across time in the Petty Harbour corpus. The additional 5 interviews did not change this finding: younger and middle-aged speakers use verbal –s less (both at a rate of 6.6%) than older consultants (12.5%). This paper is concerned with two research questions: (1) Does the linguistic behaviour of the different age cohorts reflect a change in the linguistic system (i.e., change in progress)? (2) Can the variable be modelled formally?

I adopt here a combination of formalist and variationist approaches. In terms of the variationist aspects of the study, a range of measures is used to capture the effect(s) of aspect. For sentential aspect, I consider overt, adverbial specification (see Van Herk et al. 2009) as well as a more general measure of habitual aspect (Poplack & Tagliamonte 1989; Walker 2001). For lexical aspect, I adopt Walker’s (2001, following Dahl 1997) approach, which draws on a verb classification system involving privative features. In terms of the formal aspects of the study, I adopt a Distributed Morphology perspective (Halle & Marantz 1993; Embick & Noyer 2007) to investigate how variation may be captured in terms of the featural specification on –s. While the –s marker always appears suffixed to the verb, it is unclear whether a higher head (such as Asp°) is responsible for –s or whether it is a formal feature on the verb itself, or both.

Quantitative results obtained with the Goldvarb X statistical program reveal that while older consultants’ use of verbal –s is conditioned by both habitual aspect and stativity of the verb, only stativity of the verb remains significant for the middle-aged cohort, suggesting that with decreased usage its productivity becomes more restricted. For the younger consultants, verbal –s is even more restricted than for previous generations: only particular habitual constructions (e.g., whenever, every time, etc.) favour verbal –s usage. In addition, a closer analysis of the disfavouring contexts across age cohorts reveal a consistent effect: all non-stative occurrences of verbal –s are habitual (by at least one of the measures for sentential aspect) and all non-habitual occurrences of verbal –s are stative. These results suggest that generalized –s bears both [+habitual] and [+stative] features. As such, variation arises in habitual contexts with –s varying with other markers of habitual aspect (e.g., bees, do be, etc.). For lexical aspect, –s varies with –Ø to mark stativity of the verb. However,
within stative and habitual contexts, the question arises as to whether it is the [+stative] or [+habitual] feature which triggers $-s$ insertion, or whether a common feature (such as [Imperfective]) may account for all cases of $-s$ insertion. A solution to this problem based on close inspection of relevant data will constitute the final stage of the analysis.
Morpho-Semantics of Nominal Compounds

Conroy, Laura Elizabeth

This study makes use of polysemy in novel noun-noun compounds to inform and evaluate theories which seek to account for morphological productivity. Similar endeavors have been made in the past (see Lees, 1966, 1970; Li, 1971; Downing, 1977) however earlier attempts have assumed the type of polysemy exhibited by compound relations to be ambiguous, whereas this study makes use of tests developed in semantics (see Gillon, 2004) to determine whether this is the case. This study includes a discussion of the logical and practical limitations which faced previous studies attempting to exhaustively list and then classify compound relations on the basis of semantic content. It then makes use of empirical data collected with respect to true/false judgments and acceptability judgments in VP Ellipsis and Quantifier constructions to argue that the type of polysemy exhibited by novel noun-noun compounds may not be characterized as either ambiguous or underspecified. Finally, it explores a number of preliminary hypotheses which could account for these facts and discusses their implications for theories of morphological productivity and the lexicon as presented in Aronoff (1980), Chomsky (1970), Clark & Clark (1979), Katz (1964), and Moravcsik (1998).

Novel compounds consist of a modifier and a head, where the head is the rightmost constituent in English, and denotes a superset of the possible referents of the compound. It is generally accepted that the polysemy exhibited by noun-noun compounds are derived from the relationship that holds between these two elements. What is unknown is exactly how this relationship is established, and whether it may be characterized as underspecified or ambiguous. An utterance is considered to be ambiguous just in case each of its multiple paraphrases corresponds to distinct representations in the mind. In contrast, paraphrases associated with an underspecified lexical item correspond to a shared representation in the mind, in that they are derived from the same underlying broad interpretation.

Crucial to this study is the observation that canonical cases of ambiguity and underspecification pattern in systematically different ways with respect to speaker judgments of acceptability and truth/falsity in some environments. By eliciting judgments of novel noun-noun compounds in similar environments, we may then compare their behaviour to that observed of canonical examples of ambiguity and underspecification in the same contexts, in the interest of making empirical claims about the type of polysemy exhibited by nominal compounds. There are three grammatical and contextual environments which distinguish canonical ambiguity from underspecification. Generalizations formed on the basis of the distribution of ambiguous and underspecified lexical items in these contexts are presented below as (1)-(3) and form the basis of the tests conducted in this study.

(1) Utterances which may be both true and false in the same context are ambiguous
(2) With respect to ambiguous terms, speakers judge VP ellipsis constructions containing multiple tokens of different paraphrases to be unacceptable. With respect to underspecified terms, VP ellipsis constructions are perfectly acceptable.
(3) With respect to ambiguous terms, speakers judge as unacceptable sentences in which multiple tokens of different paraphrases are quantified over as a group. With respect to underspecified terms, such quantification is perfectly acceptable.

Research was conducted on 254 English speaking undergraduate students on the basis
of judgments across three types of questionnaires. Canonical ambiguous and underspecified terms were used as a basis against which to measure the patterning of four novel noun-noun compounds on tests involving true/false judgments, VP-Elipsis constructions, and quantification. This study controlled for fluency, overall comprehension and performance on the task (by means of control questions), priming effects due to the ordering, type readings (on the quantification test), the interference of other types of polysemy (such as the ambiguity of definite descriptions), the relative saliency of alternative paraphrases of the polysemous terms, distributional clues in the context, and lexicalization.
A Cline of Subject Clitic Doubling: Grammaticalization in Small Steps
Ailis Cournane

Previous approaches to the rise of agreement from pronominal elements have assumed a single formal reanalysis from clitic to agreement marker (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Fuß 2005). I argue for a more finely articulated grammaticalization cline based on evidence from subject clitic-doubling Romance languages. The varying degrees of agreement-like properties of subject clitics in these languages are synchronic evidence for a cline that is nestled between the clitic and agreement stages on traditional clines. One of the most striking findings of this cline is that clitics become morphological affixes well before they become agreement markers, confirming dissociation between affixal status and agreement status.

Drawing upon cross-linguistic studies of subject doubling languages (Rizzi 1986; Roberge 1990), and work on Quebecois (Auger 1994; Bouchard 1982) my cline is articulated using two varieties of Quebecois, Standard French, Pied Noir French, and Northern Italian dialects. There are well-known differences between the subject clitics of these languages. I show that these differences, plus lesser known differences, show a striking sub-setting effect which is evidence for a more finely articulated diachronic grammaticalization cline than is traditionally assumed for the development of subject agreement (see Table 1 for the fine differences between each language’s/dialect’s subject clitics).

Table 1. Cross-linguistic variation amongst Romance languages with subject clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Clitic_{SF}</th>
<th>Clitic_{1}</th>
<th>Clitic_{2}</th>
<th>Clitic_{3}</th>
<th>Clitic_{4}</th>
<th>AGR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Standard French</td>
<td>Quebecois{1}</td>
<td>Quebecois{2} (Auger 1994)</td>
<td>Pied Noir Fr (Roberge 1990, Vinet, p.c.)</td>
<td>Northern Italian Dialects (Rizzi 1986)</td>
<td>Agreement (i.e. suffixal agreement in French)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that can be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doubled by subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affixal status of</td>
<td>Clitic can scope into conjunction</td>
<td>Clitic cannot scope into conjunction</td>
<td>Clitic cannot scope into conjunction</td>
<td>Clitic cannot scope into conjunction</td>
<td>Clitic cannot scope into conjunction</td>
<td>Agreement cannot scope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clitic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Smaller formal differences between stages of grammaticalization are argued to be advantageous as language acquirers are not likely to radically misjudge evidence from the PLD, predicting minimal changes with each reanalysis and more finely articulated grammaticalization clines, which appear gradual but remain discrete, like the one proposed here.
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Where Auxiliary Verbs Come From

Cowper, Elizabeth

This paper argues that the English auxiliaries *have*, *be*, and *do* are inserted to support stranded inflectional heads; the choice of verb depends on structural properties of the insertion context. *Have* and *be* are inserted in the syntax to support Infl heads whose c-selectional features cannot be checked on Merge, while *do* is inserted at PF to permit the pronunciation of T outside TP. *Have* appears if the stranded head has a TP complement, and *be* appears otherwise.

I adapt Cowper’s (2005) feature-geometric theory of Infl (1), where “>” indicates a dependency relation. The English Infl, schematized in (2), also includes NegP (clausal negation), toP (infinitival phrase), and MP (modal verbs), though not every projection appears in every clause. [epp] characterizes Infl as a whole, appearing on the highest Infl head in the clause.

Merge is triggered by s-selection, while c-selection requires each head’s uninterpretable category feature (uV, uv/V, or uT) to be checked immediately on Merge (cf. Adger in press). Some, but not all heads checked by V assign it an inflectional value, spelled out at PF as a verbal affix (3). A single V may check [uV] of more than one head, until V receives a value. In addition, Neg and the interrogative Comp (C[Q]) have a strong T feature that overtly attracts T.

*Have* is inserted in (4a) to support the higher T, whose complement is a TP; *be* is inserted to support T in (4b). A clause may lack a verb entirely, as in (4c), triggering *be*-support. There may be several stranded Infl heads, as in (4d). If a T without verbal content moves to Neg or to C, *do* is inserted, as in (4e). The analysis just outlined accounts for the full range of possible auxiliary verb combinations in English, as well as copular *be*. Main verb *have* is set aside here; Kim (2010) argues, in a somewhat similar vein, that *have* spells out an applicative head.

If correct, this proposal it raises the questions of a) whether semantically vacuous elements—expletives, for instance—should always be inserted for purely structural reasons, and b) exactly where the boundary lies between this sort of insertion process and Vocabulary Insertion of functional elements in Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993).

(1) a. Mood: Proposition > Finite/Deixis > Modality. (Maps to TP in syntax)
   b. Narrow Tense: Precedence. (Maps to TP in syntax)
   c. Viewpoint Aspect: Event > Interval. (Maps to EventP (Travis in press) in syntax)
   (2) [Neg[to[T[M[Event[ v [ VP ]]]]]]]
   (3) a. T [uV]. Fin/Dx and/or Precedence value V as [-ed, -es, or -en].
   b. Event [uv/V]; Interval values V as [-ing] c. to: [uV] d. Neg: Strong [uT]
   e. V passive [uV], values V as [-en] f. C[Q]: Strong [uT]
   (4) a. [TP Kelly [T[fin/dx] [TP T[prec][E[VP leave-en]]]] (Kelly has left.)
   b. [TP Kelly [T[fin/dx] E[int][VP leave-ing]]] (Kelly is leaving.)
   c. [TP Katie [ T[fin/dx] AP <Katie> happy ]] (Katie is happy.)
   d. [TP Chris [ T[fin/dx, prec] T[prec] E[int][VP watch-en]]]) (Chris had been being watched.)
   e. [NegP Alex [Neg T[fin/dx, prec] Neg [TP <T> [VP arrive]]]] (Alex did not arrive)
In Upper Sorbian (and to varying degrees in other Slavic languages; see Corbett 1987), there are two non-prepositional ways to mark possession within a nominal phrase: the possessor can be either a postnominal genitive phrase (1), or a (normally prenominal) ‘possessive adjective,’ or PA (2). Possessive adjectives are so called because, to a large extent, they pattern like other adjectives: they agree in gender, number, and case with the head noun (2), and can be used predicatively (3). However, the internal structure of a PA is syntactically accessible in ways uncharacteristic of true denominal adjectives. In (4), the noun wučer ‘teacher’ inside the PA wučerjowa is itself possessed, and the possessive pronoun našeho that expresses this shows masculine genitive singular marking, rather than agreeing with the feminine noun zahrodka. Furthermore, ‘our teacher’ in (4) is referential, and can antecede a pronoun, unlike the noun koža ‘leather’ inside the denominal adjective in (5).

While PAs have attracted considerable attention in the literature on Slavic, they await a detailed formal syntactic treatment. Faßke (1981) proposes that Upper Sorbian PAs are derived from adnominal genitives, but gives no specific structures. Rappaport (2000), who discusses Slavic in general but provides structures only for Russian, places the PA in the specifier of a PossP between NP and DP. Our proposal expands on these two ideas as follows. All possessor DPs are merged as NP-adjuncts. Adnominal genitives are KPs and thus have case in situ. If no K appears, the DP moves, receiving genitive case in the specifier of nP from a special n head; the possessor and the n head together are spelled out as the PA. Because the possessor in a PA is phrasal, it can be recursive, as in (6), and because it moves, it can strand a relative clause, as in (7). The parallel between nP and vP is consonant with Rappaport’s (2000) observation that when an action nominal contains both a PA and an adnominal genitive, the PA is an external argument and the adnominal an internal argument.

The cross-linguistic facts argue against a unified pan-Slavic analysis of PAs. In Czech, prenominal possessors cannot be possessed or modified in any way; the meaning of (6) must be expressed with an adnominal genitive. We propose that in Czech, PAs are non-phrasal, the possessor being instead head-adjoined to n. Other Slavic languages display a range of other patterns, suggesting that despite the common diachronic origin of Slavic PAs, their synchronic representations have diverged.

\[ (1) \text{dźowk+a} \quad \text{wučer+ja} \] daughter+F.NOM.SG teacher+M.GEN.SG
\quad \text{‘the daughter of a teacher’ (Faßke 1981: 384)}
\[ (2) \text{wučer+jow+a} \quad \text{dźowk+a} \] teacher+PA+F.NOM.SG daughter+F.NOM.SG
\quad \text{‘the teacher’s daughter’ (Faßke 1981: 384)}
\[ (3) \text{Kłobuk} \quad \text{je nan+ow+y.} \] hat&M.NOM.SG is father+PA+M.NOM.SG
\quad \text{‘The hat is Father’s.’ (Faßke 1981: 381)}
\[ (4) \text{To je naš+ebo} \quad \text{wučer+jow+a} \quad \text{zabrodk+a.} \] that is our+M.GEN.SG teacher+PA+F.NOM.SG garden+F.NOM.SG he a lot in it he works
\quad \text{‘That is [our teacher’s] garden. He works in it a lot.’ (Faßke 1981: 385)}
\[ (5) \text{To je kožany płašć.} \quad \text{*Wona je droba.} \] that is leather coat it is expensive
\quad \text{Intended: ‘That is a leather coat. It is expensive.’ (Faßke 1981: 385)}
\[ (6) \text{naš+ebo} \quad \text{nan+ow+ebo} \quad \text{bratr+ow+e} \quad \text{dźěč+i} \] our+M.GEN.SG father+PA+M.GEN.SG brother+PA+N.NOM.PL child+N.NOM.PL
\quad \text{‘our father’s brother’s children’ (Faßke 1996: 68)}
\[ (7) \text{Słysetaj … Wićaz+ow+y bkós, kotryž je zastupił.} \] hear.3RD.PL.PRES Wićaz+PA+M.ACC.SG voice.M.ACC.SG who is gone-in
\quad \text{‘They hear [...] the voice of Wićaz, who has gone in.’ (Corbett 1987: 304)}
References


ON THE INCOMPLETE ACQUISITION OF THE SPANISH CP: EVIDENCE FROM DOUBLY-FILLED COMP STRUCTURES

Cuza, Alejandro; Frank, Joshua

Previous research on L1 attrition and incomplete acquisition has documented transfer effects and L2 convergence patterns limited to syntax-discourse/pragmatics interface structures (external interfaces). The syntax proper or syntax-semantic interface structures (internal interface) are proposed to remain unproblematic and completely acquired (Montrul, 2004; 2009; Sorace, 2005; Tsimpli et. al 2004). Other researchers have contested this claim by documenting complete acquisition of syntax-pragmatic interface structures and transfer effects on the acquisition of purely syntactic properties (e.g., Bohnacker, 2007; Ivanov, 2009; Pérez-Leroux, Cuza & Thomas, forthcoming). The goal of this study is to examine this proposal further and whether it makes the correct predictions for the acquisition of doubly-filled complementizer phrase structures, a presumably unproblematic domain (syntax-semantics, internal interface), among US born heritage speakers.

In Spanish, embedded wh questions introduced by ways of speaking verbs (i.e., to tell, to yell, to reply) must have the complementizer que “that” before the wh word (e.g., Plann, 1982; Rivero, 1980; Suñer, 1991). This is known as “doubly filled COMP” and it is common in all varieties of written and oral Spanish (e.g., Demonte & Soriano, 2009). The use of the complementizer que in this type of construction is not optional due to its semantic implications, as shown below:

(1)  a. Maria le dijo a Juan [dónde fueron los niños. ] [statement]
     “Mary told John where the children went.”

     b. Maria le dijo a Juan [que [dónde fueron los niños. ] [embedded interrogative]
     “Mary asked John when the children went.”

In (1a), there is no complementizer que and thus the sentential complement is interpreted as a reported assertion or statement. In (1b), however, the sentential complement is interpreted as a reported question due to the use of the complementizer que before the wh word. In contrast to Spanish, English disallows doubly-filled COMP structures and the difference in meaning (assertion vs. question) is often marked by the type of verb.

If, as suggested, syntax-semantics interface structures are not vulnerable to transfer we would expect heritage speakers not to show difficulties in this domain. However, if syntax-semantic interfaces are vulnerable to L2 convergence and patterns of incomplete acquisition, we would expect the participants to show difficulties. Preliminary results from an elicited production task, an acceptability judgment task and a preference task administered to 12 US-born heritage speakers showed difficulties in the production and judgment of doubly-filled COMP constructions, in contrast with the predictions of the interface hypothesis. Participants failed to produce indirect questions where the use of que was necessary and showed no differentiation in their judgment of grammatical and ungrammatical sentences in the AJT. However, in the preference task, most participants (67%) opted for the double que construction which indicates certain level of sensitivity to this grammatical domain. We discuss the implications of these findings in relation to
current debates on the vulnerability of interface-related structures and the role of transfer in heritage language development.
Processing quantifier scope

Dwivedi, Veena Dhar; Goldhawk, Matthew; Wood, Patrick

Recent work in language processing (Christianson et al., 2001; Sanford & Sturt, 2002; Swets et al., 2008) suggests that interpretive processes are often incomplete, such that comprehenders do not commit to a particular meaning during a parse. Underspecified representations have implications for understanding ambiguity at the syntax-semantics interface, particularly for scope ambiguous sentences, such as (i). Is the meaning of (i) underspecified, or is a particular scope assignment preferred? Also, how would this representation impact anaphoric resolution downstream? Previous behavioral studies are equivocal regarding the interpretation of (i). Kurtzman & MacDonald (1993) (see also Anderson, 2004) showed that plural anaphors in continuation sentences (ii), consistent with a surface scop e interpretation of (i), are preferred over singular continuations (iii), consistent with the inverse scope interpretation. However, this effect was not replicated in Tunstall (1998). Moreover, Kemtes & Kemper (1999) showed that judgments for sentences like (i) are modulated by age and working memory (WM) span. In a recent self-paced reading study (Exp 1), 80 participants read 24 2-sentence discourses such as (ii), (iii) vs. Controls (iv) & (v). In addition, a verbal working memory task (modified from Daneman & Carpenter, 1980) was administered to participants prior to the on-line study. Reading times were examined at the critical post-verbal disambiguation region in S2 (as underlined below). No significant differences were found in RTs for S2, however, the final word in Context sentences (S1) did show a difference such that Ambiguous conditions (ii), (iii) were read faster than Control disambiguated contexts (iv),(v). Furthermore, no interactions were found with WM. Thus, the RT advantage found for ambiguous contexts indicated that these constructions are left as underspecified. In a follow-up experiment (Exp 2), 48 participants viewed the same stimuli as in Exp 1 except that these were now followed by an explicit question (see (vi)). A WM task was administered prior to on-line testing (N=24 high WM; 24 low WM). Unlike the findings of Exp 1, no main effects of Context were found for S1, indicating that the ambiguity advantage was attenuated in the present study. Therefore, when readers are required to disambiguate scope ambiguous sentences as dictated by task demands, scope ambiguous sentences are no longer processed in a superficial manner. In addition, results for RTs at S2 revealed a Context x WM interaction; such that only the Low WM group had longer RTs (42ms difference) for Ambiguous conditions vs. Control (difference for High group was only 8 ms). Thus, when ambiguity results in a disadvantage (Exp 2), this is only the case for the Low WM group, not the High group. Finally, we note that in Exp 1, both High and Low WM groups left scope ambiguous sentences as underspecified, even though the High group clearly had the resources to compute the meaning. Taken together, these findings highlight the fact that shallow processing is not the result of a parser that lacks the allocational resources to conduct a detailed parse but instead shows that underspecification is a strategic use of computational resources. Examples (i) Every kid climbed a tree.

(ii) S1: Every kid climbed a tree. S2: The trees were in the park.

(iii) S1: Every kid climbed a tree. S2: The tree was in the park.

(iv) S1: Every kid climbed those trees. S2: The trees were in the park.

(v) S1: Every kid climbed that tree. S2: The tree was in the park.
(vi) How many trees were climbed? ONE SEVERAL
Syncope in East Cree: phonological or phonetic?
Carrie Dyck, Alethea Power, and Kevin Terry
Department of Linguistics
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Is syncope in East Cree (EC) phonological or phonetic? On one hand, if it is phonological — deleting a nucleus — then syllable structure could be difficult to learn. This is because paradigmatic alternations like English [ˈtʰɛləfon] vs. [təˈlɛfəni] rarely occur in EC: the words in (1) each contain a word-medial, unsyllabified consonant as a result of syncope of the second syllable, which occurs regardless of other relevant factors such as word length or affixation.

1. Lack of alternation in NEC paradigms

1. LACK OF ALTERATION IN NEC PARADIGMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthographic form</th>
<th>Phonetic realizations</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. nitįhtutáanaatik</td>
<td>[n.tʰ.tu.ta::na::.dikʰ]</td>
<td>I do it in the distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. nitįhtutaanáatik</td>
<td>[n.tʰ.tu.ta::na::.dikʰ]</td>
<td>we do it in the distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. nitįhtutimwaanaatik</td>
<td>[n.tʰ.tu.da.mwa::na::.dikʰ]</td>
<td>we do it in the distance (relational)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. nitįhtutimwaanáátik</td>
<td>[n.tʰ.tu.ta.mwa::na::.dikʰ]</td>
<td>you do it in the distance (relational)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, on the other hand, syncope is phonetic, and syllable structure is unaffected, then EC could have a more easily learnable (C)V(C) syllable structure.

We show that syncope in Northern East Cree (NEC) has the hallmarks of a phonetic rule: its outcomes are gradient, as suggested by the impressionistic transcriptions in (2).

2. NEC syncope — gradient outcomes

We also provide the results of an acoustic study, which shows that /p,t,k/ in NEC have little aspiration when followed by a full vowel (M=0.0168, SD=0.0000), but are heavily aspirated in syllables that have undergone syncope (M=0.1319, SD=0.0008); (t(27)=18.87, p<0.01).

3. Degree of aspiration of word-medial plosives in NEC

The data suggest that aspiration is in complementary distribution with full vowels, that syllable nuclei are realized with either a full vowel or aspiration, and that syllable structure is unaffected by syncope.

We analyse EC syncope as a type of phonetic syllable shortening, where compression of the syllable results in shortening of the vowel, ultimately to the point where consonants in the syllable margin completely eclipse the vocalic nucleus. (Browman & Goldstein 1990; Coleman 1992, 1994, 2001; Goad et al. 2003; Dirksen & Coleman 1997).

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Prosodic structure above the word level bears at least some resemblance to syntactic structure. However, the extent to which syntactic constituency and prosodic phrasing correspond is less clear. Under the Strict Layer Hypothesis (SLH, Selkirk 1981; Nespor & Vogel 1986), prosodic structure is assumed to differ from syntactic structure in several fundamental ways, the most prominent being that, unlike syntactic structure, prosodic structure is non-recursive. A competing view sees prosodic phrasing as dependent on syntactic structure, such that prosodic domains may be read directly off the syntax itself and where there may not be a need for a separate prosodic system with its own set of constraints (recently, Wagner 2005, Pak 2008). Recent work by Selkirk (2009, to appear) argues for a third view: that prosodic structure mimics syntactic structure in its ability to show recursivity, but that correspondence between syntactic constituency and prosodic phrasing is not always one-to-one. As in the SLH, prosody remains a separate phonological system with its own set of constraints. In this paper, I present new data from a phonological process of H tone insertion in Conamara Irish (CI) that supports this last view. Specifically, I argue that H tone insertion in CI crucially distinguishes recursive and non-recursive phonological phrases (ϕ) by targeting the left-most word in each recursive ϕ, and that prosodic phrasing is predictable based on syntax-prosody correspondence constraints (Selkirk 2009, to appear) and their interaction with prosodic constraints on binarity. The data support a theory of the interface in which prosodic structure can be recursive and closely mirror syntactic structure, but where prosody can deviate from the syntax to satisfy prosodic constraints.

The basic word order in CI is VSOX, where X is an adverb or adjunct; the syntactic structure is given in (1)a (McCloskey 2001, 2009). (1)b-c illustrate hypothetical recursive prosodic representations where ϕs represent prosodic constituency. Recursive prosodic structure is built under pressure from syntax-prosody correspondence constraints that call for correspondence between syntactic phrases and ϕs (Selkirk 2009, to appear), with the result that prosodic structure closely resembles syntactic structure. Tonal prosody in CI is marked by the presence of prominent H tone targets that align with the second (post-tonic) syllable of some, but not all, lexical words. Under the hypothesis that ϕs are recursive and are built on the basis of syntax-prosody correspondence constraints, the distribution of the H tones is such that an H tone falls on left-most word in a recursive ϕ, which can be defined as any ϕ that dominates another ϕ. For example, in VSO sentences, an H tone appears on V and S, but not on O. This contrasts with what is found in a VSOX sentence, where V, S, and O, but not X, are each marked with an H tone. The presence of the X element creates an additional layer of recursive prosodic structure not present in the VSO sentence, necessitating the presence of the H tone on the object in (1)c but not in (1)b. The analysis is further supported by a comparison of sentences with branching and non-branching DPs (N+Adj vs. N), where a constraint on prosodic binarity interacts to determine prosodic phrasing and whether or not an H tone is inserted.
References:
A Minimalist Account of the French Double Object Construction

Fournier, David

The Double Object Construction (DOC) (*John gave Mary the book*) is well known in linguistic research, with particular attention to the English variety. Most analyses assume the construction is absent in Romance (*Jean a donné Marie le livre*). However, reasoning for the absence of such a salient construction has never adequately been provided. The present research addresses this question and shows that its absence in Romance is only apparent. The construction exists, but with a different surface form (namely, *Jean a donné le livre à Marie*).

Larson (1988) proposes an English-based transformational analysis of the DOC, unavailable in French, while Kayne (1984) attributes the disparity between the languages to contrasting Case-assigning properties of English and French prepositions. Both analyses fail to account for important semantic differences between the derived and deep structures of a transformational approach, and assume incorrectly that object order and lack of morphological Case marking are inherent properties of the DOC. However, when the properties of the DOC are scrutinized from a semantic angle following Goldberg (1995), a construction in French (and more generally, Romance) is identified as possessing all of the basic ingredients necessary for consideration as the DOC.

The present paper builds upon research of applicative arguments and multiple object constructions (e.g., Pylkkänen 2002). We show the morpheme à in French to be a mark of inherent Case and not a preposition (following e.g., Kayne 1975, Jaeggli 1982, Miller 1992). We then verify the sense of the construction in French as congruent with that of the DOC in English and present an applicative Case-driven analysis of the DOC in both languages to explain the most visible differences in morphology and word order. In Minimalist terms (Chomsky 1995, 2001), the low Applicative head in French checks inherent dative Case of the indirect object in its Specifier position. In English, however, this Case is absent and the same head checks accusative Case of the direct object in its complement position, which we show to be the default checking pattern. Word order differences fall out naturally from this Case checking distinction across the languages.

Our analysis accurately predicts surface generalizations for the DOC cross-linguistically without resorting to semantic understating or positing language-specific transformations or empty prepositions. We provide a clear answer for the apparent lack of DOCs in Romance and other languages while developing a set of universal properties of the construction. This in turn, allows us to conceive of a methodology and diagnostic for determining whether a language possesses a certain construction or not. The analysis predicts in particular a locus of variation of applicative structures permitted in a given language and a natural transitivity requirement of verbal predicates.
Split Scrambling in Polish: A Compositional View.

Frackowiak, Ewelina

I. Proposal. In this paper, I propose a compositional analysis of Polish split noun phrase constructions of the types shown in (1a,b). I argue that such sentences include unpronounced focus operators in the sense of Wagner (2008, in press). The interpretative properties of such operators and the way they compose provide an argument for syntactic patterns observed in phrasal splits. The proposal explains certain phenomena associated with phrasal discontinuity in Polish which remain a challenge for theories based on hierarchy of topic and focus CP projections in the sense of Rizzi (1997) (c.f. Sekerina 1997, Bašić 2004, Bošković 2005). Namely, it accounts for the fact that the word order of the split (phrasal) elements is relatively free and that the second element of a split DP may remain unfocused.

II. Contrastive Topic and Contrastive Focus. It has often been noted that phrasal discontinuity in Polish and Russian serves the purpose of contrast (Siewierska 1984, Pereltsvaig 2008 a.o.). A specific focus structure is established by discourse context and communicative intentions as shown in (1). (1a) is associated with a focus value (c.f. Rooth 1992), i.e. a set of alternatives, while (1b) has a topic semantic value (c.f. Büring 1997, 2003) – a set of questions.

III. Analysis. In my view, the characteristic of (1) mentioned above can be captured by a compositional semantics of covert focus operators. According to Wagner (in press), unpronounced focus operators (FOCs) take two arguments: a Focus Constituent, and a proposition with a variable. Their LF mirrors that of overt focus operators like English only and even. In clauses with Contrastive Focus as in (1a), the modifier (here RED) is the Focus Constituent and undergoes movement in order to take scope over the proposition. In clauses with Contrastive Topic as in (1b), each of the elements of a split phrase is associated with its focus operator. The configuration involves now two recursively nested operators: the element associated with the wider scope FOC becomes a Contrastive Topic. The formation of (1b) requires a double movement: first, the modifier czervona ‘red’ moves to the left of the FOC₁ operator and takes scope over the proposition; then, the second operator (FOC₂) is merged and the proposition moves to its argument position; finally, koszulę ‘shirt’ adjoins to the left as the FOC₂ Constituent. (see the schema in (2) and the LF in (3)). This analysis correctly predicts that the part B of the split phrase must be the most embedded element of the clause if there are two FOC operators available. The proposal provides new insights into ordering and interpreting the elements of split DPs and is an argument in favour of the compositional approach to the syntax of topics and focused constituents.

(1) Słyszałam, Ŝe kupiłeś niebieską koszulę. ‘I heard that you had bought a blue shirt.’
   a. CZERWONA kupiłem koszulę. RED.Acc bought.1Sg shirt.Acc ‘I bought a RED shirt.’
   Contrastive Focus
   b. KOSZULĘ kupilem CZERWONA. SHIRT.Acc bought.1Sg RED.Acc ‘I bought RED SHIRT.’

\[
\text{\texttt{[czervona FOC₁ kupilem Koszulę]}} \text{ Contrastive Topic}
\]

(2) [Koszulę FOC₂ kupilem shirt I bought red
(3) [\lambda P \text{FOCUS}_2 (\text{shirt})(P)]((\lambda x. (\text{FOCUS}_1(\text{red})(\lambda y. I \text{ bought } x \text{ and } x \text{ is } y))))

\]
L’omission de l’objet direct en acquisition de la langue maternelle.
Une étude comparative du français, de l’anglais et du russe.
Frolova, Anna

Les études expérimentales récentes dans des langues variées (Pérez-Leroux et al., 2007 ; Schaeffer, 1997, 2000 ; Wexler et al., 2004 ; Jakubowicz et al., 1997 entre autres) ont démontré l’existence d’une période dans le développement de la langue maternelle pendant laquelle les enfants omettent les objets directs (OD) d’une manière optionnelle diffèrent de l’omission permise dans la grammaire adulte.

Une étude comparative des langues typologiquement différentes, comme, par exemple, le français, l’anglais et le russe, doit aider à distinguer les mécanismes de transitivité qui sont universaux et innés de ceux qui sont spécifiques à la grammaire d’une langue particulière et doivent être acquis, et permettre de faire des prédictions testables sur le développement du système complexe de la transitivité verbale sur l’exemple des objets nuls.

En comparant les omissions de l’objet en français et en anglais à l’étape initiale du développement et dans la production adulte, Pérez-Leroux et al. (2007) propose de considérer un N nul en position d’OD comme le dénominateur commun qui existe initialement par défaut dans la Grammaire Universelle et qui est utilisé par les enfants dans tous les contextes, référentiel et non-référentiel. Afin d’acquérir les relations sémantiques particulières entre le verbe et l’objet, l’input doit servir à bloquer la sémantique référentielle du N nul. Les traits spécifiques des objets nuls (ON) seront acquis plus tard dans les langues avec plus de possibilités d’omissions.

Pour obtenir les données du russe directement comparables aux études faites sur le français et l’anglais, j’ai mené une étude expérimentale en Russie en 2008. Le protocole de l’expérience suit celui de Pérez–Leroux et al. (2007) où l’expérimentateur lit une histoire avec une image et une marionnette. Les histoires contiennent une scène transitive avec un agent et un objet. Pour corriger des réponses incorrectes de la part de la marionnette, l’expérimentateur répète la question et demande à l’enfant d’aider la marionnette à comprendre correctement l’histoire. Dans le contexte référentiel, l’OD est explicitement mentionné dans l’histoire pour l’introduire comme un antécédent discursif potentiel (Qu’est-ce que x fait avec y ?). Dans le contexte non-référentiel, l’objet n’est pas mentionné directement dans l’histoire et les erreurs de la marionnette font référence à un événement complètement différent sans impliquer l’objet cible (Qu’est-ce que x fait ?). Environ 50 enfants à l’âge de 3-5ans et un groupe de contrôle de 12 adultes ont pris part dans l’étude.

Les résultats de cette étude montrent qu’en russe les ONs sont employés par les adultes et par les enfants plus fréquemment qu’en français ou en anglais. Un grand nombre d’ONs dans le contexte référentiel, qui ne change pas significativement avec l’âge, ne permet pas de voir si les objets nuls enfantins se diffèrent de ceux des adultes. Par contre, c’est dans le contexte non-référentiel qu’on constate un changement graduel dans le développement : les omissions diminuent en tant que les objets lexicaux deviennent de plus en plus fréquents.

À l’étape prochaine, il s’agira de comprendre et d’examiner en détails le rôle de la morphologie riche du russe dans l’expression de la transitivité et le fonctionnement des ONs.

Je vais me concentrer plus spécifiquement sur l’aspect qui est marqué morphologiquement sur le verbe en russe, et qui représente un intérêt particulier pour l’étude des ONs si on accepte, suivant Borer (2005), que l’aspect est similaire à une marque d’accord entre le verbe et son objet interne.
Since May (1977, 1985), it is often assumed that quantificational expressions undergoing the Quantifier Rule (QR) are rather free (barring general movement constraints) w.r.t. their scope-taking site. More recent work offers a different perspective (Hornstein, 1995; Szabolcsi, 1997; Beghelli & Stowell, 1997; Bruening, 2001). We follow the latter tradition, suggesting that the syntax imposes strict constraints on the relative scope of quantifiers.

We consider the unusual behaviour of quantificational noun phrases (QNPs) with epistemic modals (EMs). von Fintel & Iatridou (2003; henceforth F&I) observe that certain QNPs only take narrow scope relative to EMs. Consider (1), in a scenario in which we are certain that some of the relevant students have left, and certain that some have not, but we don’t know which is which for any particular student:

(1) #Every student may have left (F&I, p175) The only reading of (1) is reported to be It’s possible that all the students have left, which is false in the above scenario. This is quite surprising if QNPs move more or less freely, especially since EMs do not always take widest scope (consider e.g. Some student must have left). To account for this, F&I propose the condition in (2).

(2) Epistemic Containment Principle (ECP; a condition on QR) At LF, a quantifier cannot bind its trace across an epistemic modal *$Q_i \ldots [\text{Epistemic Modal} (\ldots t \ldots)]$ Conceptually, this is somewhat suspicious, since it targets a quite specific semantic configuration. Why should it, as opposed to any other, be ruled out at LF? F&I face empirical challenges also, since e.g. QNPs headed by each do not respect it:

(3) Each student may have left

As a report of the scenario discussed above, (3) may be judged true – the missing reading of (1) here seems to occur: For each student x, it is possible that x left. Beghelli & Stowell (1996; henceforth B&S) provide a number of tests that reveal the differential ability of the distributive universal quantifiers each and every to take scope w.r.t. other quantificational expressions (e.g. negation) in a given structure. Applying these tests, we demonstrate to what extent quantifiers subject to the putative ECP pattern with every. We identify a structural location in the syntactic hierarchy for EMs and suggest that, just as with the operators discussed by B&S, EMs can bind QNPs of the every variety. In this, we extend the discussion of Lewis (1975) and Heim (1982) on the phenomena of modals binding individual variables, to a new class – that of set variables (see Szabolcsi, 1996 for this interpretation of every-QNPs). In contrast, each-QNPs may not be so bound: following B&S, each bears a strong [+Distributive] feature which must be checked at a position higher than the EM.

In sum, we adopt a classification of QNPs according to which scope possibilities are determined by the interaction of the feature make-up of the quantifier classes with an articulated clausal topology. In this way we propose to account for facts such as those in (1) and (3), casting doubt on the existence of the ECP as a constraint on QR.
Possessive Constructions in Tigrinya
Gebregziabher, Keffyalew

This paper focuses on the syntax of possessive constructions (e.g. John's house, the house of a friend) in Tigrinya, a Semitic language spoken in Ethiopia and Eritrea. Why possessive constructions? Possessive constructions are not only complex and diverse, but also universal (Heine 1997). Across linguistic frameworks, possessive constructions have been the focus of scrutiny and various language-specific possessive constructions present an opportunity for the advancement of linguistic research. Indeed, possessive constructions have proven to be a vital testing ground for syntactic theories (Barker 2008). Thus, research on language-specific possessive constructions has potentially significant implications for a general theory of grammar.

In many languages, possession is expressed in one or two ways. For example, English shows a two-way contrast (one with the preposition of and the other with ’s) (Abney 1987). Tigrinya employs five different constructions to convey possession. For example, Tigrinya employs a prepositional-like element nay (cf. 1a-b) (like English of and ’s). Like its close relatives, Arabic and Hebrew, Tigrinya has possessives that involve the movement of the noun head across the possessor (Ritter 1991, Borer 1999), as in (1b-c). Tigrinya also resembles Hungarian (Szabolcsi 1994) and Turkish (Cagri 2005) in encoding possession by directly affixing a possessor (-u) on the possessive marker (nat-) (cf. 1d) and by attaching a suffix that carries agreement of the possessor on the possessed (1e). Tigrinya, thus, offers a rich source of data for linguists and language experts as it has more structures to express possession than many other languages.

(1) a. Ɂɨ- [nay Joni] goza b. (Ɂɨ- i) goza [nay Joni]

The-3msg nay John house The-3msg house nay John
“John’s house” “That/the house of John”
c. (Ɂɨ- i) goza Joni d (Ɂɨ- i) nat-u goza
The-3msg house John The-3msg nay-his house
“The house of his” “The house of John’s”
e. Ɂɨ- i goza-(ʔ)u
The-Agr house-his
“his house”

Tigrinya possessive constructions present a unique challenge to determine a plausible analysis that accounts for the variety of constructions and their syntactic properties. Although many argue that possessive constructions are derived from the same underlying structure (e.g. Szabolcsi 1994, Kayne 1994, Longobardi 1996, Ogawa 2001), I hypothesise that there is no universal linguistic structure common to all possessive constructions, and in particular that the different Tigrinya possessive constructions illustrated in (1) must be assigned different underlying structures. Using data from Tigrinya and other languages, I will determine the range of variation in possessive constructions, with a view to building a formal theory of possessives along the lines of Alexiadou et al. (2007).

This research, both theoretical and descriptive, contributes to the debate about the internal architecture of possessive nominals. Importantly, it expands the empirical base for the development of a theory of possessive constructions and lays the groundwork for future study of Tigrinya.
Loving but not living the vernacular: Linguistic culture in Mazandaran

Reza Ghafar Samar, Reza; Mirhosseini, Seyyed-Abdolhamid

The traditional top down concept of language policy and planning has been questioned by recent perspectives that advocate more localized accounts of language policy concerns in real life social contexts. Schiffman’s (1996) conception of linguistic culture is one of these bottom up oriented approaches that focuses on covert language policies. This study investigates some aspects of such covert orientations of speakers of the Mazandarani (an Iranian language) towards their local vernacular in a bilingual Mazandarani–Farsi context. It specifically attempts to explore the current linguistic culture atmosphere in terms of assumptions, prejudices, attitudes, and stereotypes with regard to Mazandarani. These aspects of public belief are particularly investigated as referring to language use in ‘social situations’, ‘professional contexts’, ‘education’, and ‘media’. Public ‘attitude’ towards Mazandarani is also tackled by the study. A group of 106 participants responded to a questionnaire that was aimed at eliciting their views on these five linguistic culture domains. The study indicates that although the participants show very positive emotional orientations towards their local language, their actual linguistic culture appears to be strongly in favor Farsi, the national official language. Some concerns are raised as to the implications of such a ‘loving but not living’ linguistic culture.
The study of nominalizations is a very productive and informative research area (Chomsky 1970, Grimshaw 1990, Roeper, and other). This presentation contributes to the general discussion in this area by providing descriptive and analytical insights into nominalization patterns found in Shona, a Bantu language (S10) spoken in Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on the distribution of the so-called final vowels (FV). First, I argue that a simple way of capturing the descriptive generalizations about the distribution of FV (Fortune 1955, Hannan 1984) is in terms of animacy-encoding, whereby FV “-i” encodes +ANIMATE, FV “-o” encodes –ANIMATE, and FV “-a” a default final vowel. Second, I show that nominalizations in “-i” systematically get a core argument reading, while nominalizations in “-o” systematically get a non-core argument reading. See be seen in 1.

1. a) mu-tamb-i  
   cl1-play-FV  
   “player”  
   b) mu-tsvair-o  
   cl3-sweep-FV  
   “broom”  
   c) ku-d-a  
   cl15-love-fv  
   “(to) love”

To derive these two descriptive generalizations, I propose an analysis in which nominalization can target various layers of the verbal structure, which final vowels are sensitive to. More specifically, I argue that FVs are heads of a Class Phrase (ClP) and have to match the animacy of the nearest argument position in the structure they dominate. If the nearest argument position is that of an AGENT (spec-vP), for instance, then the head of ClP must be +ANIMATE, yielding an agent reading. If, on the other hand, the closest argument position is that of an INSTRUMENT (spec-AppIcf. Bliss 2008), then the head of the ClP must be –ANIMATE, yielding an instrument reading. I further argue that the animacy-matching relation must hold only locally, and if the locality condition is not met, the default final vowel “-a” is found instead. This is systematically the case for the so-called infinitive nominalizations. This is predicted by the analysis given that, in infinitives, additional layers of structure intervene between the ClP head and the highest argument position, as the presence of negation(2) and object markers(3) indicate.

2. ku – sa – d – a  
   cl15-NEG-love-FV  
   “to not love”  
3. ku – va – p – a  
   cl15-cl2obj-give-FV  
   “to give them”

Some variability is found between FVs “-i”, and “-a” in nominalized passives as illustrated in 4-5. In this case, I argue that VoiceP is the structure being nominalized, and that the variability is a consequence of the fact that when ClP dominates a VoiceP. In this configuration, the “distance” between the ClP head and the highest argument position is not sufficient to systematically require the default FV (as with infinitive), nor is it small enough to require the +ANIMATE “-i”, whence the variability.

4. mu – bat – w – a  
   cl11-catch-PASS-FV  
   “captive”  
5. mu – dy – w – a  
   cl11-eat-PASS-FV  
   “the eaten one”

Finally, I discuss ways of formalizing the (locality and feature matching) relations between FV and arguments, expose some issues that remain unsolved.
References
Decomposing Shona Noun Classes: Evidence from Augmentative/Diminutive Constructions

Girard, Raphael; Mudzingwa, Calisto

Bantu noun class systems are characterized by a set of prefixes that encode the class of a particular noun, number, diminutive-augmentative, locative, abstractness inter alia, (Bleek 1862, Guthrie 1948 Maho 1999). In this paper, we examine the different augmentative/diminutive alternations found in Shona, a Bantu language spoken in Zimbabwe. The bantuist tradition has highlighted the similarities between noun class prefixes: they are all agreement triggering, low-toned, generally CV among others (Hyman 2005, Katamba 1995). In contrast, we provide three arguments to show that noun class prefixes do not form a uniform set but that fine morphological distinctions exist. First, some prefixes are in complementary distribution (1) while others are not (2).

1. | AUGMENTATIVE | *zi21 – komana1 | *mu1 – komana1 | *mu7 – Ø5 – gomana1 | ‘big boy’ |
   | DIMINUTIVE   | chi7 – komana1  | *chi7 – mu1 – komana1 | *mu1 – chi7 – komana1 | ‘small boy’ |

2. | NEUTRAL       | chi7 – koro7    | ‘school’ |

prefixes are in complementary distribution (1) while others are not (2).

**Complem. Dist. Stacking Gloss**

AUGMENTATIVE *zi21 – koro7 zi21 – chi7 – koro7 ‘big school’

Second, when two prefixes co-occur, they always do so in a fixed order, and not every two prefixes can co-occur. Fortune (1955) says that the augmentative prefix *zi21-occurs on forms that have already undergone an augmentative alternation (3). However, we show that *zi21-is not limited to derived augmentative contexts, and that the conditions on its distribution are more general (4a-b). Third, we provide evidence that substitution in augmentatives is

3. | NEUTRAL       | mu1 – komana1  | ‘boy’ |

available only to underived nouns, but not to deverbal nouns (5).

4a. | NEUTRAL       | mu3 – sasa3    | ‘musasa’ |

4b. | NEUTRAL       | Ø5 – datka5    | ‘frog’ |

5. | NEUTRAL       | mu1 – tamb – i | ‘player’ |

**Complem. Dist. Stacking Gloss**

AUGMENTATIVE *zi21 – komana1 zi21 – Ø5 – gomana1 ‘big boy’ *zi21 – mu1 – komana1

AUGMENTATIVE *zi21 – sasa3 zi21 – mu3 – sasa3 ‘big musasa’

AUGMENTATIVE *zi21 – tatka5 zi21 -Ø5 – datka5 ‘big frog’

AUGMENTATIVE *Ø5 – damb – i zi21 – mu1 – tamb–i ‘big player’
DIMINUTIVE *chi7 – tamb – i ka12 – mu1 – tamb–i ‘small player’

These observations are evidence of the existence of at least two sets of class prefixes in Shona: root-level and stem-level. We argue that this translates into two structural positions, and hence there are at least two distinct morphological “slots” in the Shona noun class system. We conclude by laying out the ground for future research and possible extension of our analysis to other noun class alternations such as the singular-plural and locative.
This paper discusses the so-called ‘definite’ adjectives in Slavic, that are formed by addition of the \(-i\) morpheme to the base form of an adjective, cf. (1): (1) nov\(-i\) klobuk (Slovenian) Kramsky, 1972: 180 new\(-i\) hat ‘the new hat’ I propose that \(-i\) is a LINK morpheme akin to adjectival determiners in Balkan and (strong) agreement morphemes in Germanic languages and then solve the resulting mystery of why \(-i\), not being a definiteness marker, induces a definite interpretation for the DP in which it occurs. This paper provides answers for three questions: 1. What is \(-i\) NOT? Based on diachronic and synchronic evidence, I argue that \(-i\) in Slavic is not a definiteness marker, as it has been traditionally analyzed (cf. Kramsky, 1972; Lyons, 1999; Marušič & Žaucer, 2006; Mladenova, 2007; Progovac, 1998; Rutkowski & Progovac, 2005, among others). 2. What is \(-i\)? Starting with the observation that \(-i\) shares its properties with adjectival determiners in Balkan languages, cf. (2), (Alexiandou et al., 2007; Androustopoulou, 2001; Campos & Stavrou, 2004; Kolliakou, 1999) and (strong) agreement morphemes in Germanic languages, cf. (3), (Weber, 1964; Leu, 2006; Kester, 1996), I develop a general structure for the adjectival modification in (1)-(3) along the lines of Kayne (1994), Alexiandou et al. (2007), Androustopoulou (2001), Campos & Stavrou (2004), Leu (2006), among others, cf. (4): (2) to vivlio to kalo (3) d-er schön\(-e\) Tisch the book DET good the\-AGR pretty \(\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_) (Greek) Androustopoulou, 2001: 161 (German) Leu, 2006: 3

(4) ...D ...X [\(xP\) [\(FP\) \(t\) \(NP\) \(\text{LINK}\) \(AP\)] \(X\) \(\Sigma\) \(P\) \(NP\) \(t\) \(FP\)] \(\text{LINK}\) in (4) is a cover term for Slavic \(-i\), Balkan adjectival determiners and Germanic strong inflection, that I argue to be an instance of den Dikken’s (2006) RELATORs in structures such as a jewel of a village or un drôle de type. With respect to the semantics of LINK, I follow Larsen’s (2007) analysis (echoing Higginbotham, 1985) and propose that adjectival modification in (1)-(3) involves ‘linking’ of NP and AP in such a way that only their intersection is considered when the referent is looked for.3. Why is \(-i\) definite? The mysterious fact that \(-i\) gives rise to definite interpretation, given that it does not mark definiteness by itself, is accounted for by claiming that the landing site of the movement of the projection containing the adjective is Spec, FocusP, cf. (5):

(5) ...[\(\text{FocusP}\) [\(FP\) \(t\) \(NP\) \(\text{LINK}\) \(AP\)] \(\text{Focus}\) \(\text{[\(DP\) \(D\) \(\Sigma\) \(P\) \(NP\) \(t\) \(FP\)]}\)] (presuppositional domain) According to the Split-DP hypothesis (e.g. Aboh, 2004; Alexiandou et al., 2007) based on Rizzi’s (1997) proposal for CPs, the complement of FocusP is the part of the informational structure that is presupposed. As illustrated in (5), the movement of FP leaves NP in the presuppositional domain; this results in the whole DP being interpreted as definite. This unified analysis of the so-called ‘definite’ adjectives in Slavic, adjectival determiners in Balkan and (strong) agreement morphemes in Germanic languages adds to our understanding of the architecture of adjectival modification and illuminates the notion of definiteness in languages that do not have definiteness markers, i.e. most Slavic languages.
The count-mass distinction in Turkish
Görgülü, Emrah

This paper investigates the count-mass distinction in the nominal domain and the verbal domain in Turkish. The main objective here is to answer the question of what is the true nature of the count-mass distinction that surfaces in these domains in the language. Based on new data from Turkish, I propose that the distinction in the nominal domain which primarily manifests itself in the morpho-syntax has a strictly semantic basis as suggested in Chierchia (1998ab) and later elaborated in Rothstein (2007), among others. Specifically, I argue that count nouns are different from mass nouns in that the latter are inherently plural in the sense that they come out of the lexicon already pluralized while the former have both singular and plural forms. A further extension of the proposal entertained here is that it also accounts for the count-mass distinction in the verbal domain in the language. In other words, the difference between the verbal elements can be captured if we assume that they show characteristics similar to the one observed in the nominal domain.

When we consider count and mass nouns in Turkish, we see that they differ in certain respects. For instance, mass nouns do not usually appear with the indefinite article (i.e. ‘*bir şeker’ one sugar) and they do not take plural morphology (i.e. ‘*et-ler’ meat-PL) unless they refer to a countable unit, instance or serving of the entity in question. Moreover, in order to ask the number of count entities, the interrogative pronoun that is used is kaç tane? ‘how many?’ whereas the interrogative pronoun that co-occurs with mass nouns is ne kadar? ‘how much? In addition to that, certain quantifiers such as birkaç ‘a few’ modify only count nouns whereas and certain others like bir miktar ‘an amount of’ occur with only mass nouns. The distributional difference of these nominals needs to be accounted for. Chierchia (1998ab) analyzes the count-mass distinction mainly in the nominal domain in certain languages and argues that the distinction between these nominals is due the fact that mass nouns are in fact lexically plural. Adopting some idea by Link (1983) who suggests that mass nouns behave like plural count nouns in certain respects, Chierchia proposes that the denotation of a mass noun is a set of singularities and their pluralities thereof. For instance, the mass noun furniture denotes any single piece of furniture such as that chair or any set that includes a plurality of furniture such as this wardrobe and that dresser. Following Chierchia (1998ab), I propose that the different behaviour that count and mass nouns exhibit in the language is uniformly accounted for since mass nouns come from the lexicon already pluralized. In other words, a mass noun such as ‘mühimmat’ ammunition or ‘erzak’ provisions refers to an ordinary set of individuals plus all possible sets thereof. That is why they cannot appear with plural morphology nor do they co-occur with an indefinite article.

It has also been noted that this distinction surfaces in the aspectual properties of the verbal elements in languages, as extensively discussed in Krifka (1998) and Rothstein (2007, 2008). When we look at the behavior of verbal elements in Turkish in terms of the count-mass distinction, we observe that case marking on a NP inside the verbal domain heavily affects the reading that the entire VP has, suggesting a close interaction between the count and mass readings of the verbal expressions. In other words, case-marked NPs inside the VP domain give rise to a count reading such as ‘Ali kitab-ı okudu.’ Ali read the book while those NPs with no case marking yield a mass reading like ‘Ali kitap okudu’ Ali did book reading/Ali read books. This distinction can be captured if we assume that
the idea of plurality also applies to the verbal domain. In other words, the former sentence behaves like count nouns in the sense that the event is countable while the latter sentence is true in cases where one or more book-readings are done.
Le futur incertain du futur fléchi dans le français parlé en Ontario

Grimm, Rick

La présente communication concerne la variation en temps réel de la référence temporelle au futur dans le français parlé à Hawkesbury, Ontario (population francophone : 80 %). Deux variantes sont prises en compte, soit le futur périphrastique (FP, en 1) et le futur fléchi (FF, en 2):

(1) Je **vas** les **recevoir** par après. (H2-20)
(2) Ils **sauront** pas c’est où. (H2-09)

L’expression du futur figure au cœur de nombreuses études quantitatives menées à partir de données du français laurentien, à la fois en temps apparent (Grimm & Nadasdi, sous presse; Poplack & Turpin, 1999; Emirkanian & Sankoff, 1985; Deshaies & Laforgé, 1981) et en temps réel (Sankoff & Evans Wagner, 2006; Blondeau, 2001). L’ensemble de ces recherches ont conclu que la représentation proportionnelle du FP surpasse celle du FF et que, parmi les facteurs linguistiques pouvant conditionner les variantes, la polarité phrastique est de loin le plus influent (p. ex., le FF est fortement favorisé par la négation).


Pendant la communication je discuterai de la distribution des deux variantes, soulignant les facteurs linguistiques et sociaux (1978 vs 2005) identifiés comme significatifs par le logiciel GoldVarb, et présenterai les tendances d’emploi des variantes selon différents types de locuteurs (locuteurs pour qui le français est la langue dominante et locuteurs bilingues). Enfin, je montrerai en quoi les résultats obtenus pour Hawkesbury diffèrent de ceux des autres régions au Canada où le français est également la langue de la majorité.
High vowel contrasts among bilingual children learning English and French

Haines Kusumoto, Brenna

This study compared the perception and production of English and French high vowels [i, ɪ, u, ʊ, y, ʏ] by three groups of eight to twelve year old children in the Greater Toronto area. The three groups were comprised of simultaneous bilinguals (SBs), consecutive bilinguals (CBs) and English monolinguals. The crucial differences between French and English vowel inventories with regard to high vowels are: (1) in English, the tense-lax alternation is phonemic and contrastive, while in Canadian French, the alternation is allophonic; and (2) there are two phonemes /i/ and /ɪ/, occupying the high front phonetic vowel space in English, while in Canadian French there are two phonemes /i/ and /y/, but four allophones [i, ɪ, y, ʏ].

Nineteen participants took part in a picture-naming production study and a paired discrimination perception study. In the production study, the first, second and third vowel formants were measured from elicited data containing the target vowels in both languages. The results of the AX perception experiment were analyzed using signal detection (d’) (Macmillan & Creelman, 1991). The goals of these studies were to investigate: (a) the differences in perception and production by each group; (b) the effect of age of exposure to French; (c) the effect of experience on production; and (d) the effect of phonetic similarity of the two languages in the case of [i, ɪ, u, ʊ] and dissimilarity in the case of French [y, ʏ]. The primary aim was to gain insight into the autonomy and interdependence of the phonological system(s) of bilingual children (Best, 1994; Flege, 1995; MacLeod, 2006).

The results were considered in light of two models: Flege’s Speech Language Model (SLM) (Flege, 1995) and Best’s Perception Assimilation Model (PAM) (Best, 1994). Unlike MacLeod’s (2006) findings, the majority of applicable SLM hypotheses were validated, as was PAM’s hypothesis that both amount of experience and age of exposure contribute to the ability to produce and perceive both languages with native like ability.

Taken together, the results of the perception and production studies provide individual profiles of the organization and interaction between sets of high vowels at the phonetic and phonological levels for SBs, CBs and English monolingual children. Among the bilingual children, effects of French allophony on English production and French perception by SBs, in addition to effects of English phonemic categories on the perception and production of French vowels by CBs suggest that these bilinguals have interdependent phonological systems. For example, CBs and English monolinguals outperformed SBs in discriminating between [y] and [ʏ], with SBs producing [y] and [ʏ] on average as high front rounded vowels, and CBs producing [y] as high backrounded vowel [u], and [ʏ] as high front lax unrounded vowel [i]. This effect of equivalence classification on the part of CBs (Flege, 1995) suggests that they have two seemingly autonomous but interdependent phonological systems, with L1 English as the dominant system. The evidence from [y] and [ʏ] suggests that there is more overlap between the two phonological systems in CBs than SBs at this stage of development. The SBs, however, produced the vowels [i, ɪ, u, ʊ] with more overlap between tense-lax pairs and more similarly across the two languages and than did the CBs, suggesting that the SBs have more integrated phonological systems than do the CBs.
On the realization of contrastive labial place
Daniel Currie Hall

1. The dubious ubiquity of labial consonants  Roman Jakobson, in his exploration of the connections between acquisition, aphasia, and phonological typology, claimed that the most basic place contrast in consonants is between dentals and labials, and that this contrast “cannot be lacking anywhere, provided that there is no mechanical deformation of the speech apparatus (dyslalia labialis)” (1968: 48). Indeed, even the systematic presence of such a deformity need not eliminate the contrast entirely; Jakobson (1968: 48) mentions that in Tlingit, whose speakers traditionally wore “a large and heavy labret” in the lower lip, the labials are realized as “velar consonants with an accompanying u-sound: in this way, e.g., yâk (‘shell fish’) and yâk’u (‘canoe’) are distinguished.” An obvious challenge to Jakobson’s generalization is posed by Iroquoian languages such as Mohawk, which appears to have no consonantal labial segments at all. While Mohawk does have labial consonants in words borrowed from French and English (e.g., raparoêt ‘wheelbarrow’ < Fr. la brouette; Bonvillain 1984: 320), the language as it was before the arrival of Europeans remains an evident counterexample.

2. /p/ as in Postal  However, Postal (1964, 1968) proposes that Mohawk does have /p/ natively in underlying representations. The primary evidence for this claim comes from the existence of surface [kw] sequences that behave as though they were single segments. Stressed vowels lengthen in open syllables; a stressed vowel followed by a [kw] sequence derived from underlying /ko/ remains short (1a), but before a [kw] sequence derived from what Postal analyzes as /p/, it lengthens (1b).

(1) a. /hra+ko+as/ [ˈrakwas] ‘he picks it’ (Postal 1968: 247, 258)
   b. /rupeh/ [ˈruːkweh] ‘man’ (Postal 1968: 247)

Postal identifies Mohawk /p/ with the Proto-Siouan-Iroquoian *p reconstructed by Chafe (1964), and uses comparisons between Mohawk and Oneida to show that while earlier consonant-sonorant clusters, including *kw, were subject to epenthesis in Mohawk (but not Oneida), monosegmental *p gave rise to modern surface [kw] with no epenthesis (in both languages):

(2) Mohawk | Oneida
   a. *kw [kewistos] [kwistos] ‘I am cold’ (Postal 1968: 247)
   c. *tw [tewanu:weʔs] [twanu:weheʔ] ‘we several like it’ (Postal 1968: 246)

3. Another interpretation  While Postal makes a good case that this /p/ is monosegmental, it is less obvious that it is indeed /p/. If Mohawk already had an underlying /p/ and a rule converting it to [kw], then why did contact with French and English prompt it to develop new surface bilabials, rather than simply assimilating foreign p/b as instances of native /p/ [kw]? Suppose instead that the native segment was /kʷ/, and that features are assigned in a contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 2009), with Dorsal taking scope over Labial, yielding the representations in (3):

(3) /t/ | /k/ | /kʷ/ | /ʔ/
     Coronal Dorsal Dorsal Labial

Given these native representations, it would be fairly easy for Mohawk to create new segments specified with only Labial place (a subset of the specifications of /kʷ/). The system in (3) is also similar to that of Wichita (Rood 1975), which also has /kʷ/ contrasting with /t, k, ʔ/ while lacking both bilabial consonants and other examples of contrastive secondary labialization. The Wichita and Mohawk systems—together with the Tlingit example mentioned above—suggest that Jakobson may have been right that contrastive labial place is a universal, but with the proviso that in some languages, the only contrastive labials may be dorsals.
On the realization of contrastive labial place
Daniel Currie Hall

References
Long-distance voicing assimilation in Berber: spreading and/or agreement?

Hansson, Gunnar

The question of locality has long been a topic of interest and controversy in phonology (Steriade 1986, 1987, Odden 1994, Gafos 1999, Ni Chiosáin & Padgett 2001). Simplistic locality principles are challenged by the seemingly non-local interactions evidenced by many harmony systems. The trigger and target may be separated by a number of intervening segments, and are often located several syllables apart, as in Finnish vowel harmony (1a; Kiparsky & Pajusalu 2003) or Ineseño Chumash consonant harmony (1b; Applegate 1972).

(1) a. /sy-oske-nte-le-mi-se-ni-kO/ → [syɔskentelemiseni] ‘my constant eating?’
   b. /ha-s-xintila-waŋ/ → [haɔxintilawaŋ] ‘his former Indian name’

On the assumption that all feature spreading is strictly local (Ni Chiosáin & Padgett 2001), long-distance consonant assimilations like (1b) have been argued to involve not spreading but featural agreement between potentially non-adjacent segments (Walker 2000, Hansson 2001, Rose & Walker 2004). It is often thought to follow from this that intervening segments are necessarily transparent, such that opacity effects are a diagnostic of spreading as opposed to agreement. Advocates of relativized locality have instead sought principled definitions of what can license the transparency (“invisibility”) of intervening segments. Foreexample, Vaux (1999) and Nevins (2005) assume that rules are parametrized as “seeing” all [±F] values, only contrastive values, or only the marked value (Calabrese 1995). Consequently, segments that contrastively carry the marked value should always be opaque.

Several of the Berber languages display a long-distance sibilant voicing assimilation that defies both this version of relativized locality and the assumption that long-distance agreement cannot yield segmental opacity effects. In these languages, causative /s-/ assimilates in voicing (and anteriority) to a sibilant in the base. In the Tuareg branch (Alojaly 1980), voiced and voiceless obstruents alike are transparent to this interaction (2c–d).

(2) a. [s-ә lmә] ‘teach, inform’ c. [z-әbzәg] ‘drive mad’
   b. [s-әdәr] ‘cause to betray’ d. [z-әlәz] ‘cause to squash’

By contrast, in the Imdlawn dialect of Tashlhiyt (Elmedlaoui 1995), this long-distance voicing assimilation is blocked by an intervening voiceless obstruent (3a–b), whereas voiced obstruents remain transparent (3c–d). Note that the blocking obstruent need not be adjacent to either the trigger or the target member of the interacting sibilant pair (3b).

(3) a. [s -ukz] ‘recognize’ c. [z-bruz ә] ‘crumble’
   b. [w/-mә-hәrәmә] ‘get angry with e.o.’ d. [w/-gәrәuәmә] ‘be extinguished’

We develop a formal analysis of these sound patterns (drawing on a proposal by Hansson2007) in which the driving force behind the assimilation is a constraint demanding [±voice] agreement between co-occurring sibilants. Interaction with other ranked and violable constraints determines whether this agreement demand can be met by means of [+voice] “copying”, as in (2), or must instead be achieved by means of (strictly-local) spreading of [+voice] from one sibilant to the other, via all intervening segments, as in (3).

Our analysis helps shed light on the nature and scope of locality relations in phonology, and on the relationship between the notions of “spreading” and “agreement”. Finally, theBerber facts raise problems for the recent proposal (Gallagher & Coon 2009) that genuinely long-distance consonant assimilations consistently involve a (categorical) demand for total trigger-target identity rather than featural agreement as such.
Weaseling out the Wedge:
Lexical geography in the *Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica*

Heap, David

The geographical distribution of words for WEASEL (*mustela nivalis*) in Romance varieties across the Iberian Peninsula allows us to shed light on the complex history of this word using unpublished dialect data from surveys conducted in the first half of the last century (*Atlas Lingüístico de la Península Ibérica* www.alpi.ca, Cuaderno II #516). There exists a wide range of lexical variants for this animal: alongside standard Spanish *comadreja*, one finds *mustela*, *donicela*, *paniquesa* and *bonuca*, in different Spanish, Galician-Portuguese, Catalan and related dialects. The resulting lexical map can be compared to data from some of regional Spanish atlases (*Atlas Lingüístico y Étnográfico de Aragón, Navarra y Rioja* and the *Atlas Lingüístico y Étnográfico de Cantabria*) which also include this term in their questionnaires. Although the complex history of these terms reflects in part traditional superstitions about this particular animal (Alinei 1992), their geographic distribution compares strikingly well with one of the few maps which Menéndez Pidal includes in his monumental *Orígenes del español* (1919). This distribution appears to lend clear support to Mendéndez Pidal’s longdebated “wedge theory” (*teoría de la cuña*) whereby the “Distinctive Castilian character acts as a wedge that, as it is hammered into the northern area, breaks the old unity of some shared Romance features, splitting a certain original dialect uniformity” (1919: 513, cited in Villena Ponsoda 2004:1203) as it is ‘driven’ southward from its original northern territory during the reconquest of Spain from the Muslims. This promising historical interpretation of one word’s geographical distribution leads us to consider additional lexical items (such as *ciruela* ‘plum’ #467-469, *cría de la vaca* ‘cow’s young’ #539, *matarife* ‘butcher’ #577, *vajilla para guisar* ‘cookware’ #691, *cubrecama* ‘bedcover’ #706b) from the unpublished ALPI surveys (Cuaderno II *Vocabulario*) in order to test the applicability of Menéndez Pidal’s ‘wedge theory’ with a broader dataset.
Wh-Questions, Prosody and D-Trees

Hedberg, Nancy; Sosa, Juan M.; Görgülü, Emrah; Mameni, Morgan

In previous research, we extracted 200 wh-questions from the CallHome and Fisher corpora of telephone speech in American English, and annotated their intonation according to the ToBI Guidelines (Beckman & Ayers-Elam 1997). We defined five binary-valued dimensions that generated 11 pragmatic subcategories of wh-questions from our corpus, and we suggested ways that this system maps onto the intonation patterns that we found. In the first part of the present paper, we present a refinement of our system of dimensions and pragmatic subcategories, with a view towards better accounting for how the dimensions relate to the subcategories, thereby making a contribution towards explaining the contextual meaning of wh-questions. We also explore how both the dimensions and categories correlate with the intonation patterns, thereby making a contribution towards explaining intonational meaning.

We use the term Floor to designate an extended turn that can accommodate only one participant at a time. The (S)peaker refers to the participant who has the floor in the conversation, and the (A)ddressee as the participant off the floor. The Interrogator designates the person who asks a question, whereby asking a question does not require having the floor. Therefore, the (I)nterrogator can designate either S or A. We find that the choice of nuclear tune is sensitive to the six pragmatic dimensions described in (1).

(1) INFORMATION SEEKING: Given the information available in context c, does the question q require a response? This dimension broadly distinguishes information questions from rhetorical questions. FLOOR PASS: By asking q, does I intend to pass the floor (if I = S) to A, or does I ask q without claiming the floor (I = A) from S? TOPIC CHANGE: Does q retain the topic of the discourse or change it? INTERRUPTION: Does I interrupt the question under discussion? IN RECORD: Does q seek information that is already present in the conversational record, or does it seek new information?

In our corpus, we found that these five dimensions gave rise to 11 pragmatic categories for wh-questions. For example, questions that seek elaborative detail on the topic under discussion contrast with questions that are used to change the topic. Supplementary information questions and clarification questions differ from the previous two categories in their [INTERRUPTION] value, but differ from each other in their [IN_RECORD] value. We show that the pragmatic categories correlate strongly with choice of L% or H% boundary tone. For example, supplementary and clarification questions were primarily rising, a pattern characteristic of only 18% of our tokens. The other pragmatic categories favored L%.

In the second part of the paper, we pursue an integration of our system with current frameworks in formal semantics that dynamically model the information content of discourse hierarchically as a question-answer game. We employ the discourse tree representation of Büring 2003. Following Roberts 1996, 2004, we assume that acceptance of a question commits interlocutors to answering it completely. Moves that further this goal are relevant, and so questions that serve as sub-questions developing the current topic are expected. An H% on an immediately non-relevant question serves as a signal to access a previous question
or accommodate a relevant super-question, as a strategy aimed at answering the question under discussion. An L%-marked non-relevant question, on the other hand, changes the current topic in favor of a new one.
Use of prosodic boundaries in attachment ambiguity resolution: ERP evidence in Japanese
Hirotani, Masako

In Japanese reading, there is a high (main clause) attachment preference for a locally ambiguous dative phrase in a sentence like (1) (c.f. Kamide & Mitchell 1999). This paper investigated whether such an attachment preference is maintained in auditory sentence comprehension. Specifically, it investigated how listeners use prosodic boundaries during on-line auditory comprehension. We hypothesize that packaging two elements in the same prosodic unit guides the processor to parse them as a part of the same clause (Prosodic Construal Hypothesis). We further hypothesize that the strength of prosodic phrases (Intonational Phrase (IPh) vs. Major Phrase (MaP)) influences the initial syntactic construal of a phrase (Prosodic Strength Hypothesis). Two ERP listening experiments tested these hypotheses and explored brain signatures in prosodic processing.

(1) Braces below indicate Intonational Phrase Boundaries.

a. \{John-ga Mary-ni\} \{Bill-ga hon-o katta-to itta\}
{John-NOM Mary-DAT} \{Bill-NOM book-ACC bought-that said\}

b. \{John-ga\} \{Mary-ni Bill-ga hon-o katta-to itta\}
{John-NOM} \{Mary-DAT Bill-NOM book-ACC bought-that said\}

“John said to Mary that Bill bought a book” or “John said that Bill bought a book for Mary”

Experiment 1 tested the Prosodic Construal Hypothesis. This hypothesis predicts that the dative phrase should be interpreted as part of the main clause when it and the main subject share the same prosodic unit, as in (1a), but as part of the embedded clause when the dative phrase and embedded subject share the same prosodic unit, as in (1b). As expected, the syntax-prosody mismatch condition, created by changing the verbs “bought-said” to “bought-thought” or “trashed-said”, elicited an N400-P600 pattern at the embedded and main verbs, respectively, when compared to either their matched unambiguous conditions or the globally ambiguous conditions.

Experiment 2 tested the Prosodic Strength Hypothesis by replacing the IPh used in Experiment 1 with a MaP. The size of Closure Positive Shift (Steinhauer et al. 1999) after the dative phrase as well as the amplitude of the N400-P600 effect at the main verb in the matched vs. mismatch conditions was smaller when the boundary was a MaP than an IPh. The listener’s commitment to the initial syntactic analysis of the dative phrase.

These studies show that prosodic information is utilized on-line before the verb is encountered and that the general high (main clause) attachment preference is maintained only when prosodic conditions are met.
Null Subject Variation in Heritage Russian
Meghan Hollett

In the study of language both from diachronic and synchronic perspectives, contact between languages has been shown to be a factor motivating linguistic change. Given that multilingual communities are a much more common phenomenon globally than monolingual communities, it is perhaps surprising that they are uncommon as the object of study within sociolinguistics (11% of articles in *Language Variation and Change*, 28% *Journal of Sociolinguistics*; Meyerhoff and Nagy 2008). This inclination in the direction of monolingual communities is apparent in variationist studies on subject pronoun realization, the majority of which have focused on monolingual speakers of so-called 'pro-drop' languages (Portuguese, Paredes Silva 1993; Spanish, Cameron 1993). Among the few analyses of multilingual communities to be conducted up to the present are Bayley and Pease-Alvarez (1997) and Silva-Corvalán (1994), which respectively investigated null pronoun variation among children of Mexican descent and adult immigrants living in California. The outcome of these studies yielded mixed results, the former suggesting that greater contact with English was correlated with greater rates of null pronouns, contrary to what might be expected if contact is to be understood as incurring approximation of phenomena found in the model language (in this case, overt pronouns in English). The latter found that contact with English was not associated with change in the overalls rates of null pronoun usage among Spanish speakers, but may cause a weakening of certain linguistic constraints.

The study at hand investigates null pronoun usage among heritage speakers of Russian in Toronto. Importantly, Russian is not a pro-drop language, usually being classified as semi pro-drop. The data used to this end is taken from sociolinguistic interviews with 12 speakers of the Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto project, who are stratified by age, sex, and generation. Preliminary results based on 700 of a projected 5000 tokens show a notable distributional distinction between 1st generation speakers (38%) who have acquired Russian in a monolingual homeland context and 2nd and 3rd generation speakers (24% and 21%) who acquired Russian amidst intense contact with English. This presentation will discuss the interaction of generational change with internal linguistic and discourse factors, as well as the implications of pro-drop/non-pro-drop status of model and replica language for contact-induced change.

References
The Semantics and Prosody of Post-nominal Focus Particles

Howell, Jonathan

Introduction. I investigate the semantic-grammatical conditioning and phonetic realization of “postnominal” focus particles, specifically NP alone and emphatic reflexives such as NP himself (cf. 1) using naturally occurring speech data harvested from the web. I argue these expressions are primarily “evaluative” and serve to order alternative (sets of) individuals, in contrast to analyses which take them to order alternative propositions. (1) The president {himself/alone} ate the quiche. Propositions vs. Individuals. A common first-attempt analysis of the emphatic reflexive assigns himself and alone a semantics analogous to the scalar, additive particle even and exclusive particle only, respectively. Roughly, even orders alternative propositions ranked according to some contextually-provided scale of likelihood or expectancy and only excludes all but one alternative proposition.

Often, however, the NP referent of himself is more or equally likely than other alternatives (cf. 1-2), and alone has a scalar, rather than exclusive interpretation (cf. 4). The scale on which the NP is ranked does not necessarily depend on the prejacent proposition, but sociological or situational importance of its referent.

(1) a. The king himself wore a crown. b. # Even the king wore a crown. (Eckardt 2001)
(2) All of the employees of that company will have to appear before the grand jury, where they will be asked what they know about the {alleged illegal trash disposal / # alleged check-kitting scheme}. The custodians themselves will testify late Thursday afternoon, the other employees on Friday. (Baker 1995)
(3) A: Was the road trip expensive? B: The parking alone cost $75. / # Only the parking cost $75.

Scope and Phonological Prominence. Following König (1991), I take post-nominal focus particles to be focus operators with co-extensive scope and focus (viz. the NP). The speech corpus study, described below, addresses putative prosodic evidence against this analysis. The first, acknowledged by König as an idiosyncratic property of post-nominal focus particles, is an intuition that the would-be focus associate lacks phonological prominence. Second, many authors intuit, instead, phonological prominence on the particle, and not on the preceding NP. This intuition informs an analysis of emphatic reflexives according to which x-self is not a focus operator, but the focus associate of a clause-level focus operator (Eckardt 2001, Hole 2002, Siemund 2000). X-self is purely syncategorematic and, oddly, is informative only when in focus.

Web Corpus Study A total of 237 naturally occurring tokens of the string “he himself” were harvested from the web using commercial audio indexing. Qualitative analysis revealed two general prosodic patterns with greatest prominence on he (n=126) (cf. 4) and self (n=111) (cf. 5,6), respectively. The second category is further classified according to the presence of prominence in the rest of the clause. As an independent verification of the experimenter’s classification, a machine classifier was trained using acoustic data and achieved 91.1% identical classification using a one-held-out cross-validation. Preliminary results for a harvest of the string “he alone” suggest a similar pattern.

(4) As HE himself has admitted, the science scares him.
(5) He packs a truck full of explosives, drives it into an army base outside of Mosel and thirteen Iraqis are killed. And he himself was apparently killed.
(6) But he’s so remarkable for the fact that he’s guided groups for 30 years, to histories sitesthat he
**himSELF has never SEEN. Nested Focus.** This evidence removes prosody-based objections to the focus operator approach: the NP can indeed have phonological prominence. Additionally, nothing prevents the focus operator (i.e. *himself* or *alone*) from itself being the focus of a higher operator with clausal scope (although this may cause a deaccenting of the NP relative to the utterance as a whole when licensed by prior discourse cf. 5). A more complex configuration (cf. 6) known as “contrastive topic” will involve two of these clause-level operators.

I conclude with discussion of configurations predicted to disfavor the *he himSELF/alone* pattern, including conjunction and particle stacking, and of sortal restrictions preventing some occurrences of postnominal focus particles with quantifier phrases.
The phenomenon labeled *secondary predication* (SP), mostly discussed under its *depictive* (1) and *resultative* (2) variants, is pervasive across human languages:

(1). **ROMANIAN DEPICTIVE**


beet supărați.

Drunk.m.sg. upset.m.pl.

‘Lit. The friends brought John home drunk upset’ (the friends were upset when they brought John home drunk).

(2). **ENGLISH RESULTATIVE**

They pounded the metal flat.


In order to account for SP syntactic properties, one prominent line of research attributes to direct object hosted SPs (2) the structure of small clauses (Stowell 1983, Den Dikken 1995, et al.) as in (3). The same analyses also predict that subject-oriented SPs are implemented using a control configuration, whose construal involves PRO or movement into theta-positions via a copy mechanism (Hornstein 1999, et subseq.)

(3). **SMALL CLAUSE (SC) ANALYSIS**

   a. Direct-object hosted b. Subject-oriented

   [VP [SC the metal flat]] [TP DP1 T [VP V [SC PRO1 drunk]]]

   One of the main claims in this paper is that the considerations above do not offer a complete image of SPs. This paper assumes, instead, that enriching the alternative account in which the main verb and the secondary predicate are merged under a complex predicate construct (*the complex predicate* account, Marantz 1984, Johnson 1991, et al.) makes better predictions. Some aspects current complex predicate analyses do not account for are agreement patterns, event structuring, and case marking. This paper appeals to an interesting property of SPs: the presence of idiosyncratic (overt) markers, functional in nature. It is assumed that their contribution is not only to case-mark the SPs, but also to act as a connector between the main predicate and the secondary predicate, in order to mediate feature transmission which can delete the uninterpretable features on the adjectival secondary predicate. The result of this operation is the morphological agreement, as in (1). The presence of reiterated SPs is explained in this paper by appealing to a layered-structure of the VP, where various aspectual specifications are computed, via the mediation of the functional element. The various interpretations secondary predicates can obtain, as well as cross-linguistic differences, are the result of the selection of distinct functional heads.
Hungarian Vowel Harmony Meets OT
Jensen, John; Stong-Jensen, Margaret

Neutral vowels in Hungarian vowel harmony have proved challenging to numerous phonological frameworks. Ringen & Vago’s (1998) OT account designates the neutral vowels arbitrarily in one crucial constraint, Ident-IO_harm/root. Different designations would allow an impossible language with neutral front rounded vowels that allows sofőrnak and tőknak.

Kiparsky & Pajusalu (2003) treat vowel neutrality in terms of Markedness (neutral vowels bear the unmarked value of the harmonizing feature), Uniformity (all neutral vowels with a given value [αF] of the harmonic feature will be either opaque or transparent), and Asymmetry (transparent vowels have a predictable feature value: in front/back harmony systems it is [–back].) Two key constraints, GENERALIZED MH and CORE MH, penalize conjunctions of markedness and disharmony. Rather than alignment (as in R&V), K&P state harmony as agreement in the harmonizing feature in adjacent vowels, thus better conforming to locality.

In Hungarian, doublets such as konkrétnak/konkrétnek ‘concrete (dat.sg.)’ do not conform to Uniformity, since a neutral vowel (here é) is both transparent and opaque to back harmony. In K&P’s OT system, doublets need different constraint rankings: for konkrétnak, IDENT LO » GENERALIZED MH; for konkrétnek, GENERALIZED MH » IDENT LO, in the standard dialect.

In the languages that K&P examine, roots containing only neutral vowels can trigger front harmony, or fail to trigger front harmony, but not both. In Hungarian, neutral-vowel roots like víz ‘water’ trigger front harmony (víznek ‘dative sg.’), while neutral-vowel roots like híd ‘bridge’ require back-vowel suffixes (hídnak ‘dative sg.’). The híd class (about 50 roots) requires a lexically specified ranking *ä,*ö,*ü » CORE MH. R&V account for these with a floating feature [+back] and a constraint MAX_subseg/rt requiring realization of floating features. Accounting for híd in K&P’s model with a floating [+back] is undesirable, since a revised grammar with appropriate reranking of MAX_subseg/rt would predict *tőknak. A stratal OT account with an underlying abstract vowel /i/ requires a constraint IDENT_SUFFFIXBK unique to this class of roots.

In the suffix -höz/-hëz/-hoz, the vowel ë is unmarked for [Back]. Hence, GENERALIZED MH cannot distinguish, for example, radirhöz from *radirhëz, since all vowels are unmarked, and additional constraints are needed, here IDENT_ROUND. But then, the rankings are different for vízhëz ((AGR(BK) » IDENT_ROUND) and radirhöz (IDENT_ROUND » AGR(BK))), which ought to have the same rankings, as do the corresponding [i]ä and [ai]a sequences in Finnish.

We suggest a more traditional solution using abstract underlying representations for the híd class (/hi:d/), underspecification of inputs (only [+back] can be specified in inputs, except where [–back] is contrastive, as in the second vowel of sofőr; suffixes carry [+back] specifications when they are back in personal forms (nál-am); otherwise they are unspecified (nek-em)); and the Redundancy Rule Ordering Constraint (Archangeli 1984), by which a redundancy rule inserts [–back] where it is contrastive; i.e., on the first vowel of roots; since Vowel Harmony is a more specific rule, it takes precedence in other contexts. Vowel Harmony is a left-to-right iterative rule that applies
to all vowels in its domain. Underlying and derived back neutral vowels /ɨ, ʌ/ are fronted by a later rule. In cases like Tibor, only the second vowel o is specified in underlying representation, predicting back harmony (Tibornak); the diminutive Tibi is predicted to have front harmony (Tibinek). The Strict Cycle Condition blocks feature-changing harmony within roots such as sofőr, where the vowels are marked [+back] [−back], but permits feature-changing harmony in derived environments /víz+hoz/ → víz-höz → vízhöz.

Doublets (Ágnes-nek/Ágnesnak) have the second root vowel optionally marked [−back], allowing both possibilities to emerge. This solution accounts for doublets and back-neutral-vowel roots with lexical feature specifications, rather than resorting to co-grammars.
Variation of consonant-final nouns in Heritage Korean in Toronto: Default preference or statistical knowledge
Kang, Yoonjung; Park, Seung-Joon

Introduction: In Korean, due to various neutralization rules that target coda, underlying contrast of noun-final consonants is neutralized in unsuffixed forms of nouns: e.g., /nas/ [nat] ‘sickle’, /nac/ [nat] ‘day’, and /nacʰ/ [nat] ‘face’. This led to various reanalyses of the UR of nouns, resulting in diachronic and synchronic variation. The pattern of the reanalysis closely mirrors the statistical distribution of the nouns in the existing lexicon (cf. Zuraw 2000, Albright 2002, Ernestus and Baayan 2003), sometimes giving rise to (new) alternation (/pʰatʰ>/pʰas/: [pʰatɿ]~[pʰas-ɨn]~[pʰas-ɐ]) and other times leveling the alternation (/hɪlk/>/hɪk/: [hɪk]~[hɪk-ɨn]~[hɪk-e]) in the paradigm (Kang 2003, Jun and Lee 2007, Albright 2008 among others). In this study, we examine the production of consonant-final nouns by heritage Korean speakers in Toronto. Heritage language is characterized by limited access to learning data, incomplete acquisition and regularization or overgeneralization (cf. Polinsky & Kagan 2007). A main question posed is whether heritage speakers show similar sensitivity to the statistical distribution of existing lexicon or use a more general strategy of leveling (paradigm uniformity), the latter of which is purported to be the innate default preference (McCarthy 1998, Hayes 2004, Tessier 2006).

Methodology: Data were gathered from 13 heritage Korean speakers in Toronto (6 female & 7 male) and 12 native Korean speakers (4 female & 8 male). The test items included 85 consonant-final nouns representing a range of possible noun-final consonants in Korean (/m n l p pʰ, k, kʰ, k’, s, c, cʰ, tʰ, l, p, s, k/). Each noun was presented in isolation form (where the final contrast is neutralized) and the subjects were prompted to use the noun in two frame sentences, one with a subject marker (/i/) and another with a topic marker (/ɨn/), resulting in 170 responses from each subject (85 nouns * 2 suffixes). The subjects were also asked to translate 74 Korean words of different frequency of occurrences in order to measure their lexical knowledge in Korean. The subjects also completed questionnaires about language background, level of Korean usage and self assessment of Korean language competence.

Findings: The heritage speakers fell into two groups in their response patterns. Low-fluency group (LH, Green bar, N=4) strongly preferred the “leveling” strategy and high-fluency group (HH, Blue bar, N=9) showed a balance of “leveling” and “alternation” strategies, comparable to the Native group (N, Beige, N=12). While on average the LH group lagged behind the HH group in most measures of competence in Korean, what distinguished the two groups most clearly was not their lexical knowledge (middle column) but their error rate in the suffixation task (right-most column)—namely, their ability to form noun+suffix combinations without error. Errors attested in the LH group included wrong suffix, wrong allomorph, suffix stacking, and pause between the noun and the suffix.

The bars represent ranges.
Implications: The result of the study is compatible with the assumption that a default preference for paradigm uniformity plays a role at the early stage of acquisition, i.e., before the rules based on lexical statistics are established. At the same time, the “leveling” preference was employed only by the speakers who haven’t fully mastered the noun + suffix formation, regardless of their level of lexical knowledge. This suggests that the statistical information in the learning input is registered by the learner only when the grammar has the relevant structure in place, in agreement with the view that learner pays selective attention to the aspects of learning data relevant for the particular stage of acquisition (Dresher 1999).
Les modificateurs de degré des verbes en français non standard :
les cas des adjoints que-CP
Karenova, Kristyna

Un des aspects importants de la modification de degré est la notion de gradabilité : les modificateurs de degré ne s’associent en général qu’avec des prédicats gradables, prédicats qui expriment lexicalement une échelle sur laquelle le modificateur peut opérer (Kennedy et McNally 2005). Typiquement une propriété attribuée aux adjectifs, la gradabilité s’étend aussi aux verbes qui expriment des propriétés, comme les verbes statifs (e.g. aimer, apprécier) et certains verbes dynamiques (e.g. rallonger, baisser) (Beavers 2008 ; Rappaport Hovav 2008). Un autre aspect non-négligeable est la nature syntaxique des modificateurs de degré. Les prédicats verbaux se combinent le plus souvent avec les modificateurs de degré adverbiaux (e.g. trop/beaucoup/extrêmement apprécier) et prépositionnels (e.g. aimer à la folie). Or, il existe en français des constructions de modification de degré où les prédicats verbaux qui y sont impliqués n’appartiennent pas aux prédicats verbaux considérés lexicalement scalaires et où la valeur de degré est évaluée par une proposition tensée introduite par que :

(1) Il danse [qu'il en peut plus].
(2) Il tousse [qu'il en secoue toute sa maison].
(3) Luc boit [que c’en est une honte].
(4) Il donne au pauvre [que plus on pourrait pas].

Nous proposons d’examiner premièrement les propriétés des prédicats verbaux qui subissent ce type de modification. Nous allons démontrer que cette modification concerne surtout les prédicats dynamiques qui expriment une activité durative et qui peuvent apparaître dans les constructions syntaxiquement intransitives. Deuxièmement, nous allons identifier les déterminants sémantiques des prédicats verbaux qui gouvernent la présence des propositions en que en rôle de modificateurs de degré. Étant donné l’importance que tient la scalarité des prédicats impliqués dans la modification de degré et le fait que les prédicats en (1) à (4) ne sont pas considérés lexicalement scalaires, une des questions plus larges qui se posent est de savoir si la scalarité lexicale doit réellement sous-tendre tout phénomène de modification de degré.
Final devoicing & (in)complete neutralization: the role of task-specific factors

Kharlamov, Viktor

The prevailing view on languages with final obstruent devoicing (Dutch, German, Russian) is that phonological rules or constraints result in underlyingly voiced final obstruents surfacing as their voiceless counterparts (e.g., word-finally, both /d/ and /t/ are thought to be pronounced as [t]; Lombardi 1991, among many others). However, a number of experimental studies have claimed that the underlying voicing contrast is in fact maintained in both production and perception, with speakers producing small but significant durational differences between underlyingly voiced vs. voiceless final consonants and listeners demonstrating above-chance level identification performance on such incompletely neutralized data (see Pye 1986 for Russian, Piroth & Janker 2004 for German, Ernestus & Baayen 2007 for Dutch). These incomplete neutralization findings have been repeatedly cited in support of the argument against the need for a formal phonological account of final devoicing (Port 1996, Port & Leary 2005), yet other studies have claimed that the lack of complete neutralization is likely to be nothing more than an experimental artefact which arises at least in part due to the influence of spelling (Fourakis & Iverson 1984, Warner et al. 2004). Warner and colleagues, for example, showed that durational effects similar in magnitude to those of incomplete voicing neutralization can be found in the case of orthographic gemination in Dutch.

The present talk will review the methodologies of the studies that found support for incomplete neutralization and will present the findings of an acoustic production study in which multiple experimental procedures and conditions are tested to specifically examine the impact of task-related factors on the degree of final obstruent voicing in Russian (e.g., comparing the results of wordlist-reading vs. picture-naming tasks; testing conditions involving presence vs. absence of immediate exposure to orthographic forms, exposure to one vs. both members of a minimal pair contrasting in final voicing). Pilot data show that, for several durational parameters associated with the final consonant and its preceding vowel, there is a clear interaction between devoicing and the presence of orthographic inputs. Namely, differences in total duration, consonantal closure duration, burst duration and voicing into closure duration between items ending in underlyingly voiced vs. voiceless obstruents are all significantly higher when participants name stimuli items while being exposed to their orthographic forms vs. when no longer seeing the orthographic representations and recalling the same items from memory (all p’s<.01). Based on these pilot findings, the present talk is expected to confirm that speakers’ performance does not necessarily reveal the preservation of an underlying voicing contrast but is instead strongly affected by the mode of stimulus presentation and the selection of stimuli items. Implications of the current findings for formal phonological theory will also be addressed.
Morphological Word: Suspending or Not Suspending Affixes?

Kharytonava, Volha

Suspended affixation (SA) in Turkish occurs when two (or more) conjuncts can potentially be affixed (in 1a), but only the rightmost is (in 1b). The affix appended on the last conjunct has scope over all the preceding conjuncts:

1. a. doğum yer-i ve tarih-i
   birthday place-CM and date-CM (compound marker)
   b. doğum yer ve tarih-i
   birthday place-Ø and date-CM
   „birth place and date”

Although very prominent in Turkish, this phenomenon has only recently been brought up to light in the generative framework (Kornfilt 1996, Orgun 1996, Kabak 2007, Hankamer 2008). Kabak proposes that there is a well-formedness constraint for SA to be realized: non-final conjunct has to be a morphologically well-formed word; while Kornfilt and Hankamer relate SA to coordination of complements of a functional head. I argue that these explanations do not account for coordinated compounds and the notion of a morphological word needs to be redefined. Based on the examples with monosyllabic words as the head of a compound, I follow the theory of word minimality (Piggott 2009) and claim that the requirement of the minimal morphological word in compounding occurs late in the derivation.

New data from the context of coordinated possessive compounds collected from a range of Turkish native speakers show that the SA in (1b) is not the most common and regular pattern. In fact, there are two types of SA for possessive compounds: total (in 2a) and partial (in 2b).

2. a. doğum yer ve tarih-iniz
    birthday place-Ø and date-poss2pl
   (total SA)
   b. doğum yer-i ve tarih-iniz
    birth place-CM and date-poss2pl
   „your birth place and date"
   *„a birth place and your date”

It is often assumed (van Schaaik 2002) that in possessive compounds CM is deleted when the possessive suffix is present. Therefore, when possessive suffix is suspended (in 2a), nothing appears on the bare conjunct „yer” which is called total SA. Partial SA occurs when CM stays on the first conjunct when the possessive suffix is suspended.

Contrary to the common belief in generative theory (Orgun 1996, Kabak 2007), Turkish speakers use partial SA as a default SA pattern, and not total SA. However, this is the type of SA that is not predicted by the previous analyses (Kornfilt 1996, Orgun 1996, Kabak 2007).

None of these analyses treats specifically nominal compounds and none of them clearly defines what a morphologically well-formed word is for compounding in Turkish. Formulated as “a word that can occur in isolation” (Kabak 2007), this definition of a morphological word is not tenable. First, the compound *doğum yer in (2a) cannot occur in isolation, but can still appear without a suffix in a coordination. Second, doğum yer-i in isolation can never have a possessive meaning unlike in the context of coordination (2b). Finally, it is not clear what exactly a morphological word is for coordinated compounds in (2ab): doğum yer or yer.
Est-ce une conjonction de coordination au début ?

Kliashchuk, Mikalai

Cette communication a pour but d’analyser une des particularités essentielles des constructions à mots-QU coordonnées en russe (1a), notamment, l’impossibilité de la coordination initiale (1b) à la différence de la coordination typique (2).

(1) a. Kto i kuda uexal ? (2) (i) Petia i Lena čitaiut.
qui et où est parti et Petia et Lena lisent
‘Qui est parti et où ?’ ‘Et Petia et Lena lisent.’
b. * i kto i kuda uexal ?

Répandue dans les langues à mots-QU multiple (langues slaves, roumain, hongrois), la coordination des mots-QU initiaux fait l’objet de plusieurs recherches en syntaxe (Gribanova 2009, Liptak 2003 entre autres), pourtant l’impossibilité de coordination initiale (1b) reste toujours problématique pour l’analyse de ces constructions.

Dans ce travail, je souligne que les questions coordonnées ne sont pas un phénomène unique tout en présentant quelques nouvelles données – structures de coordination des pronoms négatifs (3) non étudiées jusqu’à présent. Ces constructions démontrent les mêmes particularités que les questions coordonnées – l’impossibilité de coordination initiale (3a vs 3b). On peut expliquer ce comportement similaire en termes de parenté étymologique et sémantique des mots-QU et des pronoms négatifs (Haspelmath 1997), étant donné que ces deux groupes de mots font partie d’une catégorie plus large des mots indéfinis.

(3) a. Nikto i nikuda ne idet b. *i nikto i nikuda ne idet.
‘Personne ne va nulle part’

Pour rendre compte de l’impossibilité de coordination initiale, je me réfère à Skrabalova (2003) et je soutiens son hypothèse selon laquelle la conjonction de coordination initiale est en réalité un morphème distributif. Une fois utilisé, ce morphème impose une lecture distributive (plusieurs événements) dans une phrase autrement ambiguë (4). Pourtant, l’emploi de ce morphème entraîne l’agrammaticalité (5) si la situation implique une lecture de groupe (un seul événement). Je suppose qu’il se passe un même conflit dans le cas des questions coordonnées avec la coordination initiale (1b). En effet, c’est uniquement l’interprétation d’une paire unique (single pair reading) qui est acceptée pour une question coordonnée (Gribanova 2009 ; Liptak 2003) et elle correspondrait à la lecture de groupe. La lecture distributive à son tour correspond à l’interprétation d’une liste de paires (pair list reading).

L’impossibilité de la coordination initiale dans les questions coordonnées viendrait donc de l’impossibilité de lecture distributive dans un contexte où une autre interprétation est déjà demandée (dans notre cas l’interprétation de paire unique).

(4) (i) Petia i Lena gulaiut (5) (*i) Petia i Lena potselovalis’.
et Petia et Lena se promènent et Petia et Lena se sont embrassés

‘(et)Petia et Lena se promènent.’ ‘(*et) Petia et Lena se sont embrassés.’
Sibilant Harmony: Investigating the connection between typology and learnability through artificial language experiments

Kosa, Loredana Andreea

Since Linguistics concerns itself with potential languages not just existing languages, typology has often been a source of great insight into the real constraints on what is possible in human language. Furthermore, absence or unlikelihood of certain phenomena has been used as support for the presence of innate constraints which shape the realm of what a child can acquire. These innate constraints can also be investigated by looking at the learnability of rules and constraints, both existing and made-up. Some of the phonological and phonetic research in the last decade has concentrated on this very question by testing the learnability of existing and absent phenomena; for example Moreton (2008) investigated the learnability of different patterns of assimilation of vowel height, while Wilson (2003) looked at nasal harmony patterns.

The current work aims to add further support to the idea that learnability can account for the existing patterns in typology. Sibilant harmony [assimilation at a distance between sibilants] is an interesting phenomena as its typology offers a strong preference towards palatalization type harmony (s → ) while there still being an actual case for the opposing harmony, fronting type harmony (s → s), in Tepehua. The question becomes less about whether humans are incapable of acquiring the fronting type harmony and more about whether or not there is a learning bias that makes palatalization type harmony more prevalent because it is easier to acquire. In order to answer this question, two experiments were run on two groups of 12 participants each. Both experiments used the artificial language design; in experiment A participants were told to try to memorize words they heard and were asked to identify if test words were from the exposure group or not, while in experiment B participants were told to listen to and repeat words in order to acclimatize themselves with this made-up language and then were asked to identify the word in a pair that would be correct in that language.

Results from experiment A showed that participants exposed to the palatalization type language significantly preferred the grammatical items over the ungrammatical ones and therefore could be considered to have acquired the harmony. The participants exposed to the fronting type language did not significantly prefer grammatical items over ungrammatical ones and therefore couldn’t be considered to have acquired the harmony. These results support the hypothesis that palatalization type harmony is easier to acquire, at the very least, and that there is a learning bias for it. Interestingly, though, the results from experiment B showed that both groups of participants performed significantly better than chance at choosing the grammatical item from a pair and that there was no significant difference between the groups. At face value, these results suggest that both harmony rules are learnable and that neither is easier to learn. However, experiment B uses a type of task that calls the participants’ attention to the fact that they are trying to pick up a foreign language while in experiment A participants are not aware they are trying to learn a language. Perhaps both types of harmony are learnable by a second language speaker, but the palatalization type is easier to acquire by children.

The presence of a learning bias for palatalization type harmony can provide support for the inclusion of fixed ranking or preferential ranking in theories such as Optimality Theory (Rose & Walker, 2004). Theoretical models can benefit from research into the learnability of phenomena with interesting gaps or imbalances in typology in order to define the innate constraints which form Universal Grammar and the process by which some biases can be counteracted to arrive at the exception languages. While the original intent of this work was not to test effectiveness of methodology, the diverging results suggest the importance of future work comparing the varying types and methods of artificial language experiments.
Les nouveaux verbes défectifs du russe
Elena Kulinich

Ce travail amène à l’attention des chercheurs de nouveaux cas de verbes défectifs du russe, qui mettent en doute les explications purement diachroniques de ce phénomène proposées par certains chercheurs (Daland et al. 2007, Baerman 2008). En russe, le phénomène consiste en l’absence de forme de la 1ère personne du singulier au non-passé. Par exemple, le verbe pobedit’ ‘vaincre’ est remplacé par l’expression oderžat’ pobedu ‘obtenir la victoire’ dans la forme en question. Notre étude des néologismes informatiques, apparus en russe dans le langage des utilisateurs d’ordinateurs dans les années 80-90, indique que la défectivité est productive en russe, et qu’il faut donc chercher des raisons synchroniques de cette défectivité.

La défectivité pose un problème particulier pour les théories morphologiques (Albright 2003, Baronian 2009), mais les analyses particulières se divisent en deux camps. Le premier ne voit pas comme pertinents les facteurs pouvant jouer un rôle synchronique, tels que l’évitement de l’homophonie, la compétition entre deux modèles morphologiques ou des raisons sémantiques (Daland et al. 2007, Baerman 2008). Dans le cas du russe, comme tous les verbes attestés comme étant défectifs dans la langue standard appartiennent à la 2e conjugaison et comme ils sont associés à un changement phonologique ancien, c’est-à-dire que leurs radicaux se terminent par une consonne coronale qui subit la palatalisation dans la forme en question, il semble, pour ces chercheurs, qu’il faille chercher l’origine de ce phénomène dans l’histoire de la langue. Cependant, dans les langues autres que le russe, un deuxième camp de chercheurs a trouvé avec succès des conditions synchroniques expliquant certains aspects de la défectivité (e.g. Baronian 2009 pour le français, Albright 2003 pour l’espagnol).

Nous avons soumis un test de production avec des phrases contenant l’infinitif de 37 verbes (10 verbes défectifs attestés, 9 verbes nouveaux, 10 verbes rares et 8 verbes non défectifs fréquents) à 23 participants, tous les locuteurs natifs du russe. Tous ces verbes appartiennent à la 2e conjugaison et sont candidats potentiels à une palatalisation. Voici quelques exemples de ces nouveaux verbes :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbe en russe</th>
<th>Translitération</th>
<th>Origine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>флудить</td>
<td>fluudit’</td>
<td>to flood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>чатить(-ся)</td>
<td>čatit’(-sja)</td>
<td>to chat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коннектиться</td>
<td>konnekkit’ja</td>
<td>to connect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(от-) роутить</td>
<td>(ot-) routit’</td>
<td>to route</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>френдить</td>
<td>frendit’</td>
<td>make friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>апгрейдить</td>
<td>apgrejdit’</td>
<td>to upgrade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Les résultats de l’enquête nous montrent que les locuteurs ont de la difficulté à produire la forme de la 1ère personne du singulier au non-passé des verbes défectifs, nouveaux et rares. Cependant, dans les cas des verbes défectifs et nouveaux on voit un partage plus égal entre les formes avec alternance et sans alternance que dans les cas des verbes non fréquents. Ce partage (statistiquement significatif) nous suggère que des explications synchroniques de la défectivité sont possibles. En particulier, le fort degré de compétition entre formes palatalisées et non palatalisées nous apparaît être déterminant. Ainsi, notre analyse du russe se rapproche des résultats précédents obtenus par Albright (2003) et Baronian (2009) pour l’espagnol et le français, respectivement.


What Greek DETs do: The restrictive DP
Kyriakaki, Maria

In this work, I look at an interesting case of DPs of Greek. These DPs are known as polydefinites (Androuitso, 1996) and they contain multiple instances of the definite article each followed by an adjective (cf. (1)). As described by Kolliakou (2004) and Lekakou & Szendroi (2009), polydefinites can involve both restrictive and non-restrictive readings. My purpose is to determine the environments where these readings arise, and to propose a modern syntactic account that captures their similarity to restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

I propose that these restrictive and non-restrictive readings arise from word order: (i) a postnominal Det+Adj is interpreted either restrictively or non-restrictively; (ii) a prenominal Det+Adj is always focused, whether contrastively or informationally, and is thus interpreted restrictively. This suggests that the restrictive Det+Adj has two syntactic positions, a postnominal, where it is generated, and a prenominal where it can move to. I assume that the syntactic category of Det+Adj is a DP that contains an empty nominal (e). I argue that despite its similarity with the English one (as in ‘the car the red one’), the nominal e is not a pronoun. Unlike one, the nominal e is used in both count and mass DPs. Also, if e corresponds to one we would wrongly predict [Det+e] to be grammatical. I thus conclude that the restrictive DP does not contain a pronoun, but rather phonologically null noun.

Turning to the syntactic derivation, I assume that the restrictive DP adjoins to the NP. This assumption contrasts with analyses which take the restrictive DP to be a complement (Lekakou & Szendroi 2009, and references cited therein). The restrictive DP is syntactically optional – there can be more than one – and an actual complement can also be present. Hence, following previous work on restrictive relative clauses (Jackendoff 1977 and later), I conclude that the restrictive DP adjoins to the NP. Next, the head noun moves from the NP (cf. structure [1]) to the Number head. In this c-commanding position, it binds the null noun in the restrictive DP. If an adjective is present, it adjoins higher, above the Number Phrase, since it can never be post-nominal. Thus, the post-nominal order of polydefinite adjectives is derived. For the prenominal restrictive DP, I assume that there is a Focus Phrase scoping over the main DP. The focused restrictive DP moves to the specifier of FP and thus, the prenominal restrictive reading now easily follows.

Such DPs are not the only type of restrictive DPs in Greek. Similar facts arise with proper/count DPs (e.g. the English ‘My sister Elia’), but also with demonstrative and possessive pronominal DPs. The demonstrative in particular, requires an accompanying definite article if a noun is present. For this reason, it has been argued that there is a split of features of D, according to which the DemP ends up in the spec DP (Stavrou & Horrocks 1989, Panagiotidis 2000). However, this does not seem to be true. The fact is that the demonstrative is used as a third person pronoun, it can be anaphoric and it appears on its own. Moreover, like the restrictive DP discussed above, the DemP also has both restrictive and non-restrictive interpretations. Similar facts hold for the pronominal possessor. I therefore propose that these nominals are types of restrictive DPs derived in the same way as polydefinite adjectives.

Consequently, the restrictive nominals of Greek can all be derived in the same way. To sum up, this analysis nicely captures the properties of the restrictive DPs of Greek. Furthermore, it will be interesting to look at restrictive DPs in other languages and examine if these pattern alike. If this is the case, this analysis provides a basis for a unified treatment of restrictive DPs cross-linguistically.
Dans la présente communication nous aimerions aborder la question du focus contrastif en russe. King (1993, 1995) présume qu’il existe une position (préverbale) associée avec le focus contrastif. Junghanns et Zybatow (1995) et Zybatow et Mehlhorn (1999) soutiennent qu’il n’y aurait aucune position spécifique dans la structure de la phrase qui puisse être associée avec le focus contrastif. Selon ces auteurs, le focus contrastif peut être réalisé dans la périphérie gauche ou droite, ou à l’intérieur de la phrase. Contrairement aux analyses précédentes, nous démontrons qu’il existe deux positions syntaxiques en russe pour focaliser un syntagme à partir d’une phrase déclarative neutre (1a) : une dans la périphérie gauche et l’autre dans le domaine IP (1b-c) :

enfants lisent livres  
‘Les enfants lisent les livres’.  
舒e sont les livres que les enfants lisent (et non pas les revues)’.

c. Deti knigi čitajut.  
enfants livres lisent  
‘Ce sont les livres que les enfants lisent (et non pas les revues)’.


Le russe permet également un syntagme focalisé dans la position finale de la phrase suivi d’un élément auquel le syntagme focalisé s’oppose comme en (2). Si l’élément auquel le syntagme focalisé s’oppose est absent en (2), il s’agira d’un focus qui exprime juste l’identification sans aucun contraste comme en (3). Si cette position finale était le site des syntagmes contrastivement focalisés, la phrase (4) devrait être acceptable étant donné que le clitique že est un marqueur du contraste. L’agrammaticalité de (4) nous démontre que le focus de la position finale de la phrase n’a pas le même statut que celui du domaine IP et de la couche CP.

(2) Deti čitajut knigi, a ne žurnaly.  
enfants lisent livres-Foc et NEG revues  
‘Ce sont les livres que les enfants lisent et non pas les revues.’

(3) Deti čitajut  
(4) Deti čitajut knigi že.
Depuis Horvath (1986), il est devenu une pratique standard dans la grammaire générative de considérer les syntagmes wh- comme porteur du trait [focus], ce qui leur permet de cibler la même position que les éléments focalisés. En conclusion nous démontrons que les syntagmes wh- en russe présentent un comportement similaire. Et, comme dans le cas du focus contrastif qui ne peut pas apparaître in-situ, le syntagme wh- dans une question régulière ne peut pas apparaître non plus dans la même position.
Evidence for Different Levels of Representation in Blackfoot:

The 'means' linker *iiht*

Louie, Meagan

1.0 Introduction

The Blackfoot 'means' linker *iiht-* functions to license an additional nominal to the clause structure, where this nominal is usually interpreted as an instrument [1].

(1) *iiht*-ipi'kst-yii omi ot-inaka'siim om-istsi á-ipakk-ihka-istsi

*means-decorate-3>3’* dem 3-car *dem-pl0 dur-burst.vrt-vii-0pl*

“He decorated his car *with those balloons*”

I propose *iiht-* is a preposition that takes the nominal it licenses as its complement, where the resulting PP first merges low in the clause structure (as in [2]), then raises to a higher position.

(2) 

Here I provide data from variable binding (VB) and quantifier scope (QS) that reflects the *PP iiht* DP's first-merge and raised position respectively, showing that the c-command restrictions on variable binding and quantifier scope in Blackfoot must hold at different levels of representation.

2.0 Evidence for a Low Merge Position

Variable binding being a diagnostic for c-command, the proposal in [2] predicts that agents will be able to variable-bind *iiht*-DPs, but that *iiht*-DPs and themes should not be able to variable-bind each other. This is borne out by the data in [3]:

(3a) *om-iksi ninaa-iksi* *iiht-ohkana-yiststini-m-yaa* ot-istowaan *om-yi pisatsskiitaan*

*dem-pl man-pl means-all-use.vti-3>0-3pl 3-knife* dem-0 cake

“Every man, used his*ij* knife to cut the cake.”

b) *o'-sis* nit-oohk-ihkan-iikki-a'-yaa *om-iksi ninaa-iksi 3-y.sister* 1-means-all-trap.vta-1>3-3pl *dem-pl man-pl*

“I used his*ij* sister to trap all those *menij*” or “I used all those *menij* to trap his*ij* sister.”

3.0 Evidence for a Higher Raised Position

The variable binding data contrasts, however, with quantifier scope data, where we see that *iiht-* DP always take wide-scope. This is shown for a universally-quantified agent and numerically quantified *[iiht-* DP] in [4]:

(4) ana A niyookskaami isttowan-iksi *iiht-ohkana-yistsstini-m om-istsi sitokihkiitaan-istsi* dem A three knife-pl *means-all-cut.vti-3>0* dem-0pl pie-0pl

“A(melia) cut all of those pies with three knives.”

This in turn contrasts with agent-theme interactions, which show free scopal relations (eg. [5]):

(5) *om-iksi imitaa-iksi ii-ohkana-oksisaisko-yii-yaa niookskaami poos-iksi dem-pl dog-pl ic=all-chase.vta-3>3’-3pl three* cat-pl

“All the dogs chased three cats”

Following Glougie (2000), I assume that Blackfoot's universal quantifier *ohkan-* merges directly with the clausal spine, binding a DP within its c-command domain. I propose the
[PP iiht DP] raises to a position above ohkan- (illustrated in [6]). This is supported by the surface morphological order where iiht- precedes ohkan- (see data in [3], [4]).

(6) \[ XP [PP iiht- DP] [QP ohkan- ..... [VP AGENT [VP ti [V (THEME)]]]] \]

Assuming QS is a reflection of c-command relations between quantificational elements, I propose that a numerically quantified agent/ theme can QR either above or below ohkan-, deriving the ambiguity in [5]. Because the iiht-DP is already structurally superior to ohkan- (as in [6]), it can only QR to a position even higher above ohkan-, accounting for the lack of ambiguity in [4].

4.0 Conclusion

Hornstein (1995) attempts to do away with QR, citing it as "non-minimalist." He instead proposes an account of English QS ambiguity based on covert movement to Agr positions, relying on English data where VB and QS indicate the same structural relations. Because VB and QS in Blackfoot don't converge, however, his account can't be trivially adopted for Blackfoot. This argues against the elimination of QR, non-minimalist though it may be.
The Lenition and Fortition Connection: Velar Insertion in Buenos Aires Spanish

MacLeod, Bethany

Many details surrounding the fortition of the Spanish labiovelar glide [w] to the sequence [gw] ([w]-fortition, eg. huevo ‘egg’ ['we.βo] as ['gwe.βo]), remain unclear. Given that Spanish has a labiovelar glide [w] that can appear without a preceding consonant (as in ahuecar ‘to hollow out’ [a.wε.'kaf]), it is uncertain why a consonant should be inserted in front of the glide, and further, why that consonant should be the velar /g/. No concrete proposal for why the process occurs has been put forward. The purpose of the present study is to clarify the details of where and how often the process occurs and to propose an explanatory account with a focus on the dialect of Buenos Aires Spanish (BAS).

This study explores a connection between lenition of /g/ to [w] (Harris 1969) and fortition of [w] to [gw] (Hammond 2001). I propose that [w]-fortition results from a reanalysis of the underlying forms such that /g/ comes to be present in the underlying representation (UR), giving /guebo/. Differences in lexical frequency mean that BAS speakers hear [w] as the result of weakening of /g/ (eg. guantes ‘gloves’ /guantes/ ['wan.tes]) more often than where [w] is an allophone of /u/ (eg. hueso ‘bone’ /ueso/ ['we.so]) (Davies 2002). As a consequence, BAS speakers have a stronger association with the glide as an allophone of /g/ than as an allophone of /u/. This could result in confusion regarding the source of [w] in infrequent words such as huerta ‘vegetable garden’ /ueɾta/ ['weɾ.ta], causing a change in the underlying form in that the velar stop /g/ comes to be present in the UR, giving /gueɾta/.

This analysis depends on the acoustic and perceptual similarity of [w] as an allophone of /g/ and [w] as an allophone of /u/. A perception experiment investigated how surface [w] is perceived by BAS speakers and found that the participants were not able to discriminate reliably between [w] as an allophone of /g/ and [w] as an allophone of /u/. This result suggests that there is no significant acoustic difference between the two [w]s. This indicates that BAS speakers may indeed become unsure of the source of [w] in relatively infrequent words like hueso ['we.so] ‘bone’ and, using their much more common experience with [w] as an allophone of /g/, they come to reanalyze the underlying forms as containing /g/. The /g/ in the UR then conforms to the general pattern of lenition (Harris 1969).

This research provides some insight into the understudied phenomenon of [w]-fortition by proposing an account that unifies lenition and fortition by suggesting confusion as a motivation for reanalysis.
Multilingualism and speech perception advantages: effects of language learning experience on processing native contrasts
Mah, Richard; Tremblay, Marie-Claude; Sabourin, Laura

Multilingual speakers have been seen as having an advantage over their monolingual counterparts in many areas relating to language and processing (Nayak et al., 1990), but do these advantages benefit them in their native language? The aim of the experiment is to determine if language learning experience has an effect on the way native contrasts are processed and if multilinguals have increased perceptual sensitivity. Previous studies have explored the perception of non-native contrasts using only behavioural data (Werker, 1986); however, little is known about their abilities to perceive contrasts in their native language.

Through the combination of behavioural (AX discrimination task) and electrophysiological (event-related potential experiment using an oddball paradigm) methods, monolinguals and multilinguals are compared in their ability to discriminate a native contrast (k/p). Preliminary results show both groups performing at ceiling levels on the behavioural experiment. With regard to the electrophysiological experiment, multilinguals appear to exhibit a late mismatch negativity (MMN) on the right fronto-central electrodes, whereas monolinguals do not appear to show any discernable pattern as a group. Bilateral or right lateralized MMN has been associated with an acoustic mode of processing, whereas a left lateralized MMN is associated with a phonemic mode (Näätänen, 2001). The abilities of monolinguals to be able to discern a native contrast without a MMN has been seen before (Pettigrew et al., 2004), but without an explanation as to how. These results may indicate that multilinguals are not relying as heavily on phonemic processing in their native language, conferring increased sensitivity to acoustic details. Furthermore, this could also indicate that speech perception is not as influenced by their L1 phonological system and thus these participants are better at processing speech at a purely acoustic level.
1. Introduction. In this study I draw a linguistically relevant distinction between two uses of polar questions that is often overlooked and requires a systematic analysis. I thereby contribute to the semantics of questions at large, and biased questions in particular. I explain this distinction with respect to a speaker’s epistemic state that gives rise to a polar inquisitive utterance. I use the term ‘agnostic interrogator’ to refer to an inquisitive speaker in the epistemic state $\varsigma: \diamond p \& \diamond \neg p$. I use the term ‘partial interrogator’ to refer to an inquisitive speaker in the epistemic state $\varsigma: \phi$, who is presented with contextual evidence for $\neg \phi$. I argue that these epistemic states are a projective property of question meaning that commit the speaker to their content. I implement my proposal within a multidimensional semantic framework, drawing on dynamic theories that view conversation as an enterprise in exchanging information aimed at enhancing the C(ommon) G(round) (Stalnaker 1978, Groenendijk & Roelfson 2009).

1. The Proposal. Contrary to the standard view (e.g. Hamblin 1973, Groenendijk & Stokhof 1984), according to which questions denote sets of propositions (or a partition over worlds G&S), this study outlines an approach in which the semantic denotation of a polar question is treated as a single proposition embedded under a question operator, modified by CI content (Potts 2005). As a consequence, I distinguish the “proffered content” (Roberts 1996) of a polar question, which I take to be the prejacent proposition determined by the question’s syntax, from propositions in the CI dimension, expressing the speaker’s epistemic state. The interpretation of a polar question will be shown to follow from the presentation of the prejacent in the presented set (Portner 2006), coupled by the corresponding CI content, which directly enters CG. The proposed analysis equips us with a precise and cross-linguistically testable account of the distribution of polar questions in discourse, which, under alternate analyses remain puzzling and poorly explained. I draw on new data from Persian, a language with distinct inquisitive morphemes for neutral and biased questions, to explicate my analysis. I will then extend the analysis to English, and demonstrate its advantage over previous approaches, both in its explanatory coverage of the distribution of polar questions in discourse, and for their prosody.

2. Negative Questions. The problem of biased negative questions, which the present analysis is designed to explain, has been the subject of a number of studies with widely diverging approaches (Büring & Gunlogson 2000; van Rooy & Safarova 2003; Romero & Han 2004; Romero 2005; and Reese & Asher 2007). The problem may be summarized as follows: the standard semantic treatment of questions predicts a logical equivalence between positive and negative polar questions. For example, the questions in (1a-b) both denote the sets of worlds represented in (1-c), even though speakers are aware of a marked contrast in their meaning.

\begin{align*}
(1) \ a. & \text{ Did the conductor cough?} \\
\ b. & \text{ Didn’t the conductor cough?} \\
\ c. & \{\lambda w [\text{the conductor coughed in w}], \lambda w [\text{the conductor didn’t cough in w}]\} \end{align*}

I discuss the problems with previous accounts that attempt to explain the contrast and provide a radical improvement on the semantic analysis of polar questions. I also discuss how such empirical facts pose a challenge for current approaches in inquisitive semantics (e.g. Groenendijk &
Roelofsen 2009), who circumvent the problem by eliminating negative questions from their inquisitive logic. As such, the multidimensional perspective of questions defended by the current approach also makes a contribution to inquisitive semantics.
Difficult vowel contrasts, native dialect and experience in non native perception: Cuban and Peninsular Spanish learners of English

Marinescu, Irina

This study investigates the effects that experience and native dialect have on the perception of non-native vowel contrasts. Two groups of Spanish native speakers from Cuba (CS) and Spain (PS) were tested on how they perceived contrasts among the English vowels /Q, A, √/. These contrasts are perceptually difficult (Lindblom, 1986) and both native and non-native listeners often misperceive them. Additionally, Guitart (1985, 1996) found that inexperienced Spanish learners of English identified the /Q, √, A/ vowels differently depending on the learner’s native variety. For instance, /√/ was perceived as /a/ by Peninsular learners, but as /o/ by Caribbean learners. This study tested 3 hypotheses regarding the inherent difficulty of back vowel contrasts in L2 perception (H1), the role of experience in discriminating L2 contrasts (H2) and the effects of the native dialect in non-native perception (H3). H1 predicts the following hierarchy of difficulty: /√-A/>/Q-√/>/Q-A/, in which back vowel contrasts are more difficult than back-front vowel contrasts. Similar confusion patterns are expected for Spanish monolinguals, advanced learners, and English native listeners. Error rates decrease with experience, at least for some of the ‘easier’ L2 contrasts (H2). For the L2 ‘difficult’ contrast /√-A/, H3 states that Cuban and Peninsular Spanish listeners use the same perceptual strategy – a boundary shift between their L1 vowels /a/ and /o/. However, PS listeners shift their /a-o/ boundary towards /a/ whereas CS listeners towards /o/. An AX discrimination task was administered to 28 Spanish (controlled for native dialect, PS/CS and experience with L2, monolinguals/advanced) and 4 English native speakers. Error rates and response time were measured. Results confirm the hierarchy of difficulty in H1, as the confusion pattern is similar for each group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spanish monolinguals</th>
<th>advanced learners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>error rates</td>
<td>0.41 0.38 0.1</td>
<td>0.27 0.12 0.025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Experience influences quantitatively the learners’ perception. However, the error rate drops less dramatically for the ‘difficult’ contrasts. Qualitatively, perception improves with the ‘easy’ /Q-A/ contrast, which 70% of the experienced listeners discriminate accurately. Results also point to dialectal effects in L2 perception. Differences in the error rates with the /A-√/ contrast (CS 0.4 vs. PS 0.29) indicate different category boundaries for learners with distinct native dialects. More errors for Cubans suggest that for them /√-A/ is a within-category contrast closer to their L1 /o/ whereas for Peninsular listeners the contrast is closer to their L1 /a/ or it represents a between-category contrast. This study showed that English back vowel contrasts are difficult for L2 Spanish listeners and that the hierarchy of difficulty proposed for L2 listeners reflects universal tendencies reported for L1 (Syrdal and Gopal, 1986). Perception improves with experience for some of the less confusable L2 contrasts. The experiment confirmed that the native dialect plays a role in non-native vowel perception, which complements a similar finding for Mexican and Peninsular dialect effects in perception of the English high front vowels (Morrison, 2008).
On the Status of Inversion in an Inverse Language
Massam, Diane

Introduction: This paper examines the structure of focus (pseudo-)clefts, questions and equatives in Niuean, an Oceanic language with VSO word order. There is a long and complex literature on the structure of clefts and pseudo-clefts in general, with a key question being whether specificalional pseudo-clefts are to be derived via inversion or via a particular equative syntax (e.g. Williams 1983, Moro 1997, Heycock and Kroch 1999, to mention just a few). A key debate within the Austronesian literature is whether information questions in languages such as Malagasy and Malay are to be derived via wh-movement (e.g. Sabel 2003), clefting (e.g. Law 2005) or pseudo-clefting (e.g. Paul 2001, Potsdam 2005, Cole, Hermon and Aman 2008). This paper will address these issues by looking at an Oceanic language, which raises similar issues to those found in Malagasy and Malay, but which also differs in an interesting way, as it is a language with VSO order, which I assume to be derived by inversion, that is by remnant predicate fronting, as in Massam (2000).

Background: Niuean wh-questions, focus constructions and nominal predication sentences are structured with an initial phrase preceded by the particle ko (e). (1) shows a question example.

(1) Ko e heigoa ka ta e lautolu? Ko C what Fut.Rel build Erg.P they “What are they going to build?” [C=common, P=proper, Fut=future, Rel=relative, Erg=ergative]

I first provide arguments against a wh-movement analysis for (1), based on Seiter (1980) who argues for a bi-clausal analysis in which the ka-phrase is a headless relative clause. Next, I consider cleft and pseudo-cleft analyses. Given that Niuean has no copular verb ‘be’ and no expletive subject ‘it’, the string (1) could match either a pseudo-cleft (2a) or cleft (2b) structure, where (2a) would further involve (normal) predicate fronting in Niuean (to derive VSO).

(2) a. [that which they are going to build] is what
b. It is what [that which they are going to build] Analysis: I will follow Cole, Hermon and Aman, Paul, and Potsdam (dates above), who argue for a pseudo-cleft analysis of questions in other Austronesian languages, providing new arguments particular to Niuean to support this view. I then turn to the issue of whether Niuean pseudo-clefts shed light on the general issues of the nature of pseudo-cleft constructions. A common analysis is that in pseudo-clefts, the headless relative clause is the predicate of a small clause (SC) constituent, and the other NP, often termed the counterweight, is the subject. Then, a key feature of these constructions is that they can involve inversion, whereby the SC predicate moves to subject position, rather than the SC subject, to derive the inverse order “What Mary likes is apple pie.” Alternatively, the SC subject can raise to derive “Apple pie is what Mary likes.” In Niuean, a VSO language that normally involves predicate fronting, it is clear that the counterweight (the wh-word in (1)) is at least the surface predicate. An inverse analysis, then, would have to involve either: inversion of the SC predicate to subject, followed by a second inversion, of SC subject to predicate, OR, an inverse inversion of subject to predicate. I argue against both of these analyses, leaving us to conclude that inversion is not an option in Niuean. Instead, Niuean supports an analysis that includes a special equative structure in which the counterweight is the predicate and the headless relative is the subject, as in Heycock and Kroch (1999), for example. This sheds doubt on the general analysis of pseudo-clefts as inverse constructions. Putative counterexamples are shown to involve topicalization of the subject.
Visibilité et détermination : le cas des de N modifiés en français

Mathieu, Eric

The following facts are well-known: i) French de nominals (deNs), which have been argued since Kayne (1981) to contain an empty category, are licensed by c-commanding negation, quantifiers such as beaucoup, and the interrogative word combien (Obenauer 1984, 1993), ii) In each case, de nominals are licit in object positions, but not in subject positions. This is illustrated here for negation: a. Je n’ai pas lu de romans cet été/b. *À De romans n’ont pas été publiés cet été; iii) Unlicensed deNs are simply not possible objects in a sentence as shown by *J’ai lu de romans. A determiner les is necessary in addition to de for the sentence to be well-formed: J’ai lu des romans. The present paper deals with the following puzzle: if we modify unlicensed de romans, then it becomes acceptable in a subject position: De bons romans n’ont pas été publiés cet été. This has been noticed before (cf. Curat 1999, Bouchard 2002), but has never been fully explained. This astonishing fact appears to be connected to the fact that, although deNs have no choice but to be licensed, it is possible for a deN to appear without a licensor of the usual kind (e.g. negation, combien, beaucoup) if that de nominal is modified: J’ai lu de bons romans. While Jones (1996:228) notices this, he admits that: ‘it is not clear why the presence of a pronominal adjective should favour or allow the use of de without a definite article to indicate indefiniteness.’ There are three possible solutions for this puzzle. First, we could propose that de is here simply an allomorph of des so that J’ai lu de bons romans is really J’ai lu des bons romans. This is what Kayne (1981) has proposed for similar facts. I will argue against this idea. Second, we could propose to relate the above puzzle to certain facts noticed in the distribution of bare nouns in languages like Italian or Spanish. Although, bare nouns are not normally possible in subject positions in these languages, they become licit if (strongly) focussed (Contreras 1986): a. *Escritores han aceptado su invitación. (‘Writers have accepted his invitation.’)/ESCRITORES han aceptado su invitación (pero periodistas no...) (‘WRITERS have accepted his invitation (but not journalists).’) On the assumption that adjectives in non-contrastive contexts are nevertheless weakly focused, we can argue that bare nouns in Romance languages can be licensed either by a lexical head or by a functional head like focus. This is what Chierchia (1998) and Landau (2007) propose. I will argue, however, that this solution will not work for French modified dens (e.g. post-nominal adjectives are focused, yet *J’ai lu de romans français is impossible). My account will instead build on Androutsopoulou and Echevarría’s (2003) insight that the adjective in deNs come to play the part of a determiner. On their account, the adjective in fact raises to the D position. I will argue instead that the adjective raises not via head movement to D but via XP movement to a specifier of CardP. Following Lyons (1999) and others, I treat the indefinite article as a cardinal/numeral rather than a proper determiner. Evidence for the idea that the adjective raises via XP movement comes from the fact that the adjective can be itself modified by intensifiers or comparatives. My main claim will be that the adjective has the power to actually determine the noun; in other words, it saturates the predicative noun’s variable. This means that modified deNs are not bare nominals at all. They have in fact, as we shall see, exactly the same scope properties as des nominals. My proposal has important theoretical ramifications: it showcases the importance of specifiers (contra Starke 2001), it argues against head movement, and it illustrates the flexibility of lexical categories to act as functional categories (arguing that the traditional distinction between lexical and functional categories is not well-motivated). It also argues, against Dayal (2004), for the need of a formal licensing relation between the modifier and the noun it modifies for an explanation of the French facts. Finally, although it reinforces Landau’s
recent idea that the traditional Empty Category Principle (ECP) effects (e.g. subject-object asymmetries) can be reanalysed and explained in terms of the PF requirements of the EPP (Extended Projection Principle) and that consequently the EPP is purely morpho-syntactic rather than semantically motivated, I will show and argue contra Landau (2007) that there are cases in the grammar where, provided a specifier is filled, the head of a phrase can be empty.
Cyclic Spell-out in Armenian and Maybrat: an alternative to lexically specified syllable structure
Melkonyan, Eva

Introduction: Through cross-linguistic examination of phonologically conditioned suppletive allomorphy (PCSA), Paster (2006) shows that PCSA is not necessarily phonologically optimizing and furthermore that it can never be sensitive to phonological derivation. Her conclusion supports the idea that the output of morphology is the input to phonology. In Armenian and Maybrat, however, plural allomorphy seems to be sensitive to such phonological processes as epenthesis. For example, it is generally assumed that Armenian plural allomorphy depends on the syllabic structure of the noun: -er is chosen in case the noun is monosyllabic and -ner otherwise (Vaux, 1998; Garibyan & Garibyan, 1987). However, if a stem becomes polysyllabic through phonological derivation, -ner is generally chosen over -er. Based on the Armenian and Maybrat data, I show that PCSA can be sensitive to phonological derivation and that this sensitivity is derived through cyclic Spell-out of phases.

Data: According to Vaux (1998), in Armenian complex onsets and rising sonority consonant clusters in coda position are avoided through schwa epenthesis:

(1) /arevn/ → [arevәn] 'sun'
(2) /tɾaktor/ → [tәɾaktor] 'tractor' Crucially, if potentially monosyllabic stems are split through epenthesis, -ner is chosen over -er:
(3) Input Singular Plural

/tәkә/ [tәkә] [tәkә-ner] 'boys' In Maybrat, person marking is phonologically realized through prefixation (Dol, 2007).
(4) /m-kai/ → [mә-kaj] 'they meet' However, it is only phonologically realized when the stem is monosyllabic. Thus, the example below is ambiguous:
(5) [xawe] 'you refuse, they refuse, I refuse, etc.' If phonological derivation forces epenthesis in a potentially monosyllabic stem, person marking is not phonologically realized:
(6) /snuk/ → [sәnuk] 'you count, I count, they count, etc.'

Spell-out and allomorphy: The Armenian and Maybrat data is puzzling under the assumption that the input to phonological derivation is the output of morphology. However, this assumption leads Vaux (2003) to conclude that in Armenian the plural allomorph is sensitive to the syllabic structure present in the lexicon. In this talk I show that syllable structure is not lexically specified but rather derived from the interaction of phonological constraints with cyclic Spell-out at word-level syntax. Marantz (2001), Skinner (2009), Newell (2008) and many others argue that category-defining phrases constitute phases whose heads send their Spell-out domain to the PF interface (Chomsky, 2001). I propose, then, that PCSA in Armenian and Maybrat is sensitive to phonological derivation at word-level phases where full syllabic structure is derived through the interaction of constraints, including syllable well-formedness constraints that trigger ә-epenthesis. Once the stem's syllabic structure is defined it becomes visible to the morpheme in question, which is Spelled-out at a later phase under an appropriate allomorph. Conclusion: In this talk I aim to show that PCSA cross-linguistically can be sensitive to phonological derivation (contra Paster). Furthermore, on the basis of Armenian and Maybrat data I argue that this sensitivity does not stem from lexically specified syllabification but from cyclic Spell-out of phases at word level. I show that the input of phonology does not necessarily constitute the output of morphology, but that morphology and phonology can interact with each other through the derivation of the word.
The role of syntax/phonology and syntax/pragmatic interfaces in the acquisition of French accusative clitics by L2 adult Japanese learners

Mercier, Steeve

The goal of this study is to explore the acquisition of Functional Categories (FCs), the role of Universal Grammar (UG) and the role of interface phenomena in L2 acquisition by analyzing Japanese speaking adult learners’ ability to understand and produce French accusative clitics (e.g. Je le prends; ‘I it take’). These pronouns are strongly associated with FCs and they involve interface phenomena: clitic production occurs only when the acquisition of specific multi-component properties has occurred; in this case: syntax, phonology and pragmatics.

Previous studies on the L2 acquisition of French accusative clitics show that they are difficult to acquire, for they are often omitted or replaced by a lexical DP in the canonical object position. However, these studies are problematic because they only deal with written production and they do not take interface phenomena into consideration. Furthermore, studies on the acquisition of interface phenomena are limited because: 1) they only deal with one simple combination of two components at a time; 2) they do not test intuition, perception, comprehension and proficiency simultaneously. In the case of the acquisition of accusative clitics, two interfaces (syntax/phonology and syntax/pragmatic) play a significant role and thus should be analyzed together. In other words, research that only examines the syntactical aspect of the acquisition of clitics is no longer plausible. A look at intuition, perception, comprehension and production is necessary, because if the difficulties occur in production but not in intuition and comprehension for example, it would suggest that the constraints on interface phenomena are present. In order to compensate for these methodological limits, this study proposes a rich multi-interface methodology testing intuition, comprehension, perception and production at three levels of proficiency (beginner, intermediate, advanced) in order to investigate the acquisition process.

The combination of languages (French/Japanese) is motivated by the fact that the specific multi-component properties related to French accusative clitics are absent from the Japanese system. This study adopts Sportiche’s (1996) hypothesis, according to which accusative clitics project their own FC, AccV, situated above VP. For the accusative clitics found in French, there is no functional position in Japanese syntax. Japanese also differs from French phonologically since its phonotactic properties do not allow the same consonantal sequences, and there is no segment /l/ (crucial for clitic le for instance) in the Japanese consonantal inventory. Pragmatically speaking, Japanese is a discourse-oriented language. Thus, in Japanese, it is unnecessary to repeat a known object, but in French, it is necessary (except in some semantic cases).

In this study, the main hypothesis is that Japanese learners are able to acquire AccV due to UG and the inventory of categories made available during L2 acquisition, following the Full Access hypothesis (White 2003). Concerning clitic emergence, it is anticipated that, during the early phase of L2 acquisition, complete transfer of L1 grammar will occur. This includes the phonological system and the pragmatic allowances for omitting arguments. We expect the acquisition of L2 properties will occur gradually, considering the computational cost interfaces involve (Sorace 2005). Thus, learners can acquire the new category without yet being able to systematically produce clitics.

To verify these hypotheses, five tasks were administered to 45 Japanese learners as well as to one group of 15 native speakers of French. When evaluating the syntax/phonology interface, the exercises varied phonological contexts (consonant and vowel sequences, syllable number and weight, etc.) in which the clitics occur. The evaluation of syntax/pragmatic interface effects included a grammaticality judgment task and a story completion task, which contained sentences
that elicited an accusative clitic to complete the story. Knowledge of French’s phonological system was evaluated by administering a separate auditory discrimination and repetition tests.

The results show that UG still guides L2 acquisition and that considering the role of interface phenomena is crucial for our understanding of language development. The current study suggests: 1) that the interface syntax/phonology is still not mastered by advanced learners, and 2) that object drop, when it occurs (at any level of proficiency), is triggered not by L1 transfer, but by computational costs too high to process (in particular at interfaces when the length of stimuli is longer).
A feature-learning algorithm

Mielke, Jeff

This talk presents a learning algorithm for acquiring distinctive features from ambient data. The view that distinctive features are emergent rather than innate has become increasingly mainstream in recent years (Boersma, 1998; Pulleyblank, 2003; Mielke, 2008). Computational models of phonological acquisition have become increasingly sophisticated during the same time period, but many of these models continue to treat distinctive features as primitives (Hayes and Wilson, 2008; Albright, 2009), often for methodological rather than theoretical reasons. This study is intended to provide a front-end for learning models that require features and to generate testable predictions about the acquisition of phonologically-relevant contrasts and classes.

Phonetic data for feature learning come from a database involving acoustic similarity and articulatory data from ultrasound, electroglottography, and aerodynamic measurement (Mielke, 2009). Phonological information for particular languages is based on distributional patterns induced from word lists using the Hidden Markov Model technique described by Goldsmith and Xanthos (2009) and the patterning of segments in P-base (Mielke, 2008).

The model presupposes the segmentation of the speech stream into segment-sized units, and the association of phonetically distinct sounds with phoneme categories, a task which is modeled by Peperkamp et al. (2006) and Dillon and Idsardi (2009). The algorithm makes use of different types of data in the order they are thought to become available to the learner. Making use of distributional information almost invariably results in the consonant-vowel distinction, because consonants and vowel tend to alternate with each other.

Next, acoustic information is used to make smaller clusters. This approach is based on feature induction algorithms by Lin (2005) and Lin and Mielke (2007), but with non-hierarchical clustering and more types of articulatory data. K-means clustering is used to iteratively partition the set of segments within acoustic dimensions. The same clustering algorithm is then used with articulatory data.

Finally, the learner attempts to define classes involved in sound patterns in the language in terms of the phonetic features discovered through this clustering. Classes that are not definable in this way are accommodated by warping the existing phonetic dimensions (e.g. by shifting category boundaries), or by positing phonetically-arbitrary categories.

Table 1 shows selected features learned from the data for Blackfoot (Frantz, 1991).

Table 1: Selected features induced from phonetic and phonological data for Blackfoot

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Bare singulars in Persian
Modarresi, Fereshteh

Persian bare nouns, like English bare plurals, can have a kind, generic or existential reading. But they also have a definite reading in subject position. This paper intends to describe the conditions under which each reading is permitted. The factors that play major roles in the interpretation of bare singular (henceforth BS) in Persian include, Information Structure, Predicate type, aspechual properties of the predicate, as well as the position of the BS in the sentence. I will argue that with stage level predicates in episodic sentences Persian BS subjects are interpreted as definite when they are in Topic position and existential when they are focused.

The definite reading of BS can be explained by Chierchia, 1998 blocking principle but is motivated for Information Structure (IS) reasons; The lack of definite marker (definite singular) in Persian allows the BS expand its interpretive range and include definite interpretation as well. For Persian, a language with a relatively free word order, a movement of BS to Topic position makes definite reading available.

In this paper I have adopted Deising (1992) mapping structure: focused BS subjects are mapped in to nuclear scope and Topic BS subjects are mapped in to restrictor clause. Further modification is done to account for Persian data. With Individual Level Predicates (ILPs), an abstract generic operator (Gen) binds free variables on BS in the restrictor clause. With ILPs BS is either within the binding scope of Gen and interpreted quasi-universally or it moves higher up to a topic position (a Topic Phrase above IP), where it is interpreted as definite. Persian data show that BS objects follow the same mechanism; non-ra marked BS objects are interpreted VP-internally undergoing semantic incorporation as they lack quantificational force to move higher up to IP or Topic position. However if BS objects are marked by object marker-ra, they can be QRed out of VP domain and move either in to the restrictor clause (IP) where BSs are interpreted as generic or a topic position higher up where it is interpreted as definite similar to the behavior of BS subjects.
Diachrony and Synchrony of /l/ Gemination in Quebec French

Annick Morin

Introduction In this paper, I propose that /l/ gemination affecting clitics le and la in intervocalic position in Quebec French (henceforth QF) is a case of synchronic compensatory lengthening (henceforth CL) which arose from a diachronic sound change which is not CL in nature: While synchronically this phenomenon can be explained by mora preservation (using Hayes' (1989) model), diachronically it is rather the result of reanalysis. Building on a suggestion by Dumas (1987), I argue that the /l/ belonging to the third person singular masculine pronoun /il/ was reanalyzed as part of the clitics: [il-l-V] → [i-I-V], as the subject pronoun il, which frequently precedes the object clitics, was undergoing variable deletion in the 16th century. The development of /l/ gemination in QF demonstrates that reanalysis can be powerful enough to allow a seemingly arbitrary (or “crazy”) restriction of gemination to clitics (not to articles), but it is also constrained by phonological plausibility in that the gemination reanalysis is restricted to the context where it can be construed as a result of CL of clitic vowel deletion.

Data In QF, when object clitics le or la occur between vowels, they lose their vowel and their /l/ is geminated, as in (1). If the verb is not vowel-initial, as in (2), no gemination occurs.

(1) a. /a la aprkə/ allapsə she it:fem learns ‘She learns it.’
   b. /mari la aprkə/ marilapsə Mary it:fem learn ‘to learn it’
   c. /a la aprkəd/ allapkapəd to it:fem learn ‘to learn it’

In similar phonological environments, the /l/ of the articles le or la do not undergo gemination (3).

(3) /a la ekəl/ alekəl at the:fem school ‘at school’

Analysis I propose that when the clitics lose their vowel due to hiatus, they undergo CL (4).

(4) Mora assignment

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Vowel deletion and compensatory lengthening

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Historically, it is likely that, as suggested by Dumas (1987), the gemination process is the result of reanalysis, illustrated in (5a), of the objects clitics le and la, following final /l/ deletion which affected the third person singular masculine subject pronoun il as of the 16th century.

(5) Stage 1: /il/
   a. il lá aprkə b. il la prkə

Stage 2: /il/ ~ /i/
   a. il lá aprkə il la prkə

Stage 3: /i/
   a. il lá aprkə il la prkə *i il la prkə

This reanalysis, however, is not totally unconstrained: it is restricted to the environments where CL occurs. In (5b), there is no CL, because no vowel is lost. As for the articles le and la, the environments in which they occur did not trigger such a reanalysis, and thus they never geminate.

Conclusion The phenomenon of /l/ gemination in QF shows how reanalysis can create an arbitrary restriction of a phonological process (namely, restriction of CL to clitics) but at the same time, it also shows how reanalysis is not so ‘crazy’, being constrained by certain grammatical principles. Moreover, being a case of synchronic CL which does not originate from diachronic CL, it supports the view that synchrony and diachrony are not necessarily isomorphic.
References

A puzzle for the syntax and semantics of depictives

Motut, Alexandra

A lot has been said about the syntax & semantics of resultative secondary predicates (SPs) (1a),
(e.g. Rothstein 2004), but much less about the syntax/semantics of depictive SPs (1b).
(1) a. John burnt the toast black. (Resultative)
b. John drove the car drunk. (Depictive) Pylkänen (2008) has argued convincingly for a syntax-semantics of depictives employing Geuder’s (2000) ‘overlap’ function to define how the state denoted by the depictive adjective modifies the event denoted by the verb; however, a few things remain unexplained. The syntax-semantics suggested by Pylkänen, without modification, overgenerates the distribution of English depictives. Her theory predicts that English indirect objects/applied arguments cannot be modified by a depictive phrase (2c), while direct objects (DOs) and subjects can (2a,b).
(2) a. John ate the fish raw. (Object-oriented depictive)
b. John ran the race naked. (Subject-oriented depictive)
c. John gave Mary the gift drunk. (*Indirect object-oriented depictive)

(3) John followed Bill drunk. (Depictive cannot modify DO of activity verb) What is unexpected in Pylkänen’s (2008) framework is the pattern in (3). Rapoport (1999) notes that many verbs that allow depictives to be predicated of their subjects/external arguments do not allow depictive modification of their direct objects/internal arguments. She classifies the verbs which exhibit this behaviour as ‘activity’ verbs, in Vendler’s (1967) sense. Although Vendler diagnostics such as those proposed by Rothstein (2004, 2008) are useful for testing groups of verbs for the restrictive depictive pattern, I argue that it is really a more specific property of the verbs which does not allow them to combine with depictives, leading to the question of how relevant the Vendler classes are as diagnostics for this purpose. I demonstrate that the ‘class’ of verbs which cannot have their direct objects modified by depictives is broader than Rapoport originally observed, including any verb that does not denote an event of a defined interval. Intuitively, this makes sense: the depictive phrase (DepP) denotes a state which, when properly defined, holds of the event participant (i.e. the object or subject) for the duration of the event denoted by the verb. It is thus necessary that the event denoted by the verb have a defined interval. This predicts that the Vendler class of achievement verbs as well as semelfactives should not be able to have (direct) object-modifying depictives. This is indeed borne out by the data:
(4) John reached Jane drunk. (Achievement verb)
(5) *The drunk blinked his eyes (once) bloodshot. (Semelfactive verb) I argue that depictives must have a selectional restriction sensitive to whether the verb denotes an event of a defined interval. Further evidence that the depictive targets a semantic property of the verb or VP comes from the fact that subject-oriented depictives do not show the same selectional restrictions vis à vis the verb. In Pylkkänen’s framework, subject-oriented depictives are attached higher (at Voice’). In sum, semantic and syntactic evidence indicates that the selectional restrictions on depictives are finer-grained than is predicted by Pylkkänen’s (2008) framework, and provides support that object-oriented depictives are
compatible only with verbs denoting an event of a defined interval.
Apparent Reconstruction Effects and Fronted Clauses
Keir Moulton, McGill University

We provide a novel argument that clauses do not move leftward, thus contributing to a long-standing debate about sentential subjects and topics (Koster 1978, Alrenga 2005). New data shows that sentential subjects and topics (SS and ST, respectively), in contrast to other leftward moved categories, do not exhibit reconstruction effects expected of moved constituents (cf. Takahashi 2009). We offer a base-generation account of SSs and STs. We then show that bound variable interpretations of pronouns, as in (1), are not derived by reconstruction of the topic CP but are rather “mimicked” by the semantics available to argument clauses in contrast to nouns.

(1) That he is too old for that, every man’s wife believes.

**Absence of Reconstruction**

Movement is diagnosed when reconstruction for variable binding feeds Condition C (Fox 1999). In contrast to (2)b, there is no position in (2)a to which the wh-phrase can reconstruct that will simultaneously allow the pronoun he to be c-commanded by the quantifier but keep the r-expression Madonna in a position that obviates Condition C:

(2) a. *Which part that he played with Madonna did she think __ that every aspiring actor had failed at ___?

   b. Which part that he played with Madonna did every aspiring actor wish __ that she would support __? (Lebeaux 1991:223(43)) Fronted clauses fail to show such interactions. (3)a, analogous to (2)a in design, allows a bound variable interpretation for the pronoun and yet no Condition C violation obtains. Such a conflict would be predicted if variable binding in this case were derived by syntactic reconstruction.

(3) a. …but that he might be too old to work for Mrs. Brown, I don’t think __ she would want any man to believe __.

   b. …but that he might be too old to work for Mrs. Brown, I don’t think __ any man would want her to believe __. **Binding from within the CP** Following Kaplan (1968) a clause-taking verb, such as believe in (1)/(3), denotes a 3-place relation between the subject, a property type 〈e, st〉 complement clause P, and a res argument y (4). It is the res argument, saturated by pro, that is bound by the quantifier. The pronoun in the topic CP merely serves to create a property (5), bound by a lambda-operator heading the topic CP (à la Chierchia 1989).

(4) \[ \text{believe} \] = \[ \lambda P \ldots \lambda w. \text{believe}(P)(y)(x)(w) \approx x \text{ believes } P de re of } y \text{ in } w \]

(5) \[ \text{[that}_x \ \text{he} \text{ is too old for that }] = \lambda x. \lambda w. \text{Too-old-for}-that(x)(w') \]

The base-generated topic composes with the matrix verb via a property-type null operator (6)a. The resulting (6)b gives the correct interpretation as indicated by the informal paraphrase (6)c.

(6) a. [ [ [ critical that \_ x \text{ he} \_ \text{is too old for that } ] \text{OP}, every man believes } e_i ] ]

   b. = \lambda w. \forall y (\text{man}(y)(w) \rightarrow \text{believe}(\lambda x. \lambda w. \text{Too-old-for}-that(x)(w'))(\text{proy})(y’s \text{ wife})(w))

   c. ≈ For all men y, y’s wife believes of y that y has the property of being too old for that.

**Independent evidence** for this binding strategy is provided by (7):

(7) That he would be accused of the crime, no boy had any clue. While a bound variable interpretation for the pronoun in the CP topic is available, the position of that CP cannot be derived by movement as that counter-exemplifies the well-established generalization that the traces of fronted clauses must be nominal (Alrenga 2005), something nouns like clue do not
tolerate as objects. We conclude that there must be syntactic derivations of STs (and SSs) that do not involve movement and that a parsimonious theory rules out movement of clausal arguments altogether. The source for this restriction is discussed.
Blocking effects of object clitics in Old Irish and Literary Welsh

Noonan, Maire

0. INTRODUCTION. This paper explores a phase theoretic approach to a curious intervention effect that second position object clitics (ObjCl) appear to create in Old Irish (OI) and Literary Welsh (LW). I argue that each language provides evidence for analysing the ObjCl as a head between C and T. This head has different properties in each language, whence different ways of surfacing of the blocking effect and different strategies of circumventing it. For OI it will be argued that ObjCl blocks movement of T to C. For LW ObjCl blocks Agree between C and T.

1. VSO IN OLD IRISH. Based on a variety of arguments, Carnie, Harley and Pyatt 2000 (CH&P) propose that VSO order in OI derives from T-to-C movement, a rule lost in Modern Irish. When C is filled by a complementizer element or preverbal particle, the verb remains in T and is inflected in what is called the conjunct form. One piece of evidence in their analysis is the position of object enclitics, which they claim follow the verb in initial position but precede it when in conjunct form. CH&P’s analysis has recently been challenged by Newton (to appear), who points out that the order V > ObjCl is unproductive and restricted to 3 Pers Sing environments of both the verb and the ObjCl. In other circumstances, the verb never appears left of ObjCl, and instead a dummy element no is inserted in C (see (1)). Newton concludes from this that the verb in OI generally remains in T.

(1) a. no-s nguid-som
    NO-INF.3PL beseech.PRES.3SG.CONJ-EMPH.PART.3SG.M ‘He beseeches them’ (Wb 25b9, cited in Netwon p. 6)
    b. ni hed no-t beir í nem NEG IT NO-INF.2SG carry.PRES.3SG.CONJ in heaven
    ‘It is not this that brings you into heaven’ (Wb 6e9, cited in Netwon p. 6) I nevertheless will follow CH&P in deriving VSO order with the verb in first position (exhibiting absolute inflection) through T-to-C movement, but propose that this movement is blocked when an ObjCl intervenes. We can make sense of this blocking effect by adopting Skinner’s (2009) hypothesis of Triggered Spell Out and assume that merger of ObjCl, a head that is part of the discourse related domain (e.g. Uriagereka 1995, Sportiche 1998), triggers Spell out of TP. Since ObjCl does not attract T (except possibly for the 3rd person ObjCl), C, once merged, can no longer probe T (due to the PIC). As a result, the dummy element no is inserted, similar to do-support in English (see Newton op. cit.). When ObjCl is not present, C (which also triggers spell out of TP) can still probe T.

2. LITERARY WELSH. In LW, ObjCls (a.k.a. infix pronouns) are subject to two restrictions: they occur only in the presence of a presentential particle, and they may only occur if the tensed verb carries person-number marking, which is in turn restricted to pro subjects (Sadler 1988).

(2) a. ni’ th gosba pro neg2s will-punish3s you ‘He/she will not punish you.’
    b. *Ni’im gwelodd Siôn.
    NEG-1S saw John ‘ John didn’t see me’ [Sadler 1988:76]

The first restriction follows from the assumption that ObjCls need a phonological host in the phase they are spelt out in. As for the second, I propose that the verb in (2a) is in a higher position than the verb in (2b), where it lacks subject person-number marking. This movement
to a higher head (a clitic head in the sense of Sportiche) is able to piggyback the ObjCl. The details of this derivation are such that the intervention effect of ObjCl between C and T is circumvented, and C can enter an Agree relation with T (now in a higher position).
What exactly does outer aspect encode?

Nossalik, Larissa

Recent studies on aspect reveal that natural languages encode temporal boundaries of events syntactically. Researchers recognize at least two types of syntactic projections related to aspect. One is a vP-internal or inner aspect projection (AspP) and the other is a vP-external or outer AspP (Verkuyl 1993, Borer 2005, Ramchand 2008, Travis 2010). While both of these projections encode temporal boundaries of events, inner aspect is standardly assumed to encode (a)telicity – the information about the inherent boundaries of events, and outer aspect is standardly assumed to encode (un)boundedness – the information about the actual boundaries of events (Depraetere 1995, Smith 1997, Slabakova 2001). To demonstrate, in Slabakova’s (2001) system, a syntactic structure that contains an inner AspP with the [+telic] feature encodes a telic event or an event that contains inherent boundaries in its temporal structure, while a syntactic structure that contains an inner AspP with the [-telic] feature encodes an atelic event or an event that lacks inherent boundaries in its temporal structure. When it comes to outer aspect, a syntactic structure that contains an outer AspP with the [+bounded] feature encodes a bounded event or an event that contains actual boundaries in its temporal structure, while a syntactic structure that contains an outer AspP with the [-bounded] feature encodes an unbounded event or an event that lacks actual boundaries in its temporal structure.

Borer (2005) questions a system where inner aspect is linked to the binary [±telic] feature, claiming that only verbs that encode telic events (i.e., events delimited in time) contain an inner AspP filled with the monovalent [quantity] (i.e., [telic]) feature and verbs that encode atelic events (i.e., events unlimited in time) lack this projection entirely. In this presentation, I argue that the same holds true of the outer AspP. Only verbs that encode unbounded events (i.e., event unlimited in time) contain an outer AspP filled with the monovalent [unbounded] feature, while verbs that encode bounded events (i.e., events delimited in time) generally lack this projection.

In the system that I advocate, telic events are interpreted as delimited in time by virtue of being telic. But even atelic events that receive a delimited (in time) interpretation do not contain in their syntactic structure an outer AspP filled with the [+bounded] feature. In fact, I believe that there is no [+bounded] feature related to outer aspect to begin with, just as there is no [-telic] feature. The postulation of the [+bounded] feature relies on the assumption that (un)boundedness correlates with actual or real-world boundaries of events. However, this assumption is inaccurate. Take, for instance, the progressive aspect – aspect that is standardly associated with the outer AspP. This aspect does not care what aspectual value the ongoing event it encodes has in the real world (Parson 1990). In the real world, the event may be either delimited or unlimited in time. Thus, Peter was working does not tell us whether he is still working or he is no longer working at the speech time. If so, the claim that the outer AspP encodes actual boundaries of events stands in need of correction. As a consequence, the [+bounded] feature linked with the outer AspP can no longer be motivated on theoretical grounds. Neither can it be motivated on empirical grounds. A close inspection of ‘atelic bounded’ events reveals that their delimited reading is supplied by elements other than the outer AspP filled with the [+bounded] feature: durative adverbials, e.g., Peter worked in his office for two hours, ‘phase’ verbs that describe the end-point of events, e.g., Peter finished working and past tense, e.g., Last week, Peter worked in his office.

Overall, this presentation contributes to an ongoing debate concerning the two aspectual projections that encode temporal boundaries of events. The claim is that while the vP-internal or inner AspP encodes telic events (i.e., events delimited in time), the vP-external or outer AspP encodes unbounded events (i.e., events unlimited in time). Neither of these syntactic
projections encodes the temporal boundaries that the event has in the real world.
Dependent verbal morphology in Modern Irish: a Distributed Morphology approach

Oda, Kenji

This paper account for a peculiar complementary distribution between the “dependent” verbal form (hereafter d-form) and a past tense preverbal particle in Irish within a framework of Distributed Morphology (DM). More precisely, this work claims that two tense specifications are available in the Irish clausal architecture. The d-form subsumes the two tense specifications while the independent (i.e., regular) form (hereafter i-form) subsumes only one. This analysis shows that the dependent verbal morphology is dealt with thoroughly within the domain of morphology, and it has very little to do with syntax.

Irish has a rich inventory of preverbal particles, and most of them make a past/non-past tense distinction. For example, the negation particle is *ní in the present or future environment, while níor appears in the past. The wh-extraction marker *a, however, does not alternate. Some of irregular verbs, such as *bí ‘to be’, have d-forms, which emerge only when they follow a tense alternating particle, such as *ní. For instance, the verb *bí in the present tense following the question particle an is realized as bhfuil, as in (1), but otherwise as tá.

What is more puzzling is that the availability of the d-form in the past tense environment deprives the preverbal particle of the past tense marking. Thus, we observe the data in (2), where the past tense form of the negation particle níor is incompatible with the past d-form raibh ‘was.DEP’ of *bí (cf., (3) with a regular verb). This complementary distribution is what we wish to address in this paper.

(1) An bhfuil/*tá tú … ? (2) Ni */Níor raibh tú … (3) Nior/*Ni chreid … Q
is.DEP/is.IND you NEG/NEG.PAST was.DEP you believed ‘Are you … ?’ ‘You did not do … ’ ‘… didn’t believe …’

In this analysis, we assume the following points (McCloskey 1996, 2001): First, the preverbal particles occupy the C₀ position. Second, the morphosyntactic content of C₀ lowers and adjoins to the T₀ after Spell-Out, creating the morphological structure [tC[tT+V]].

We argue that there may be up to two tense specifications available in a finite clause in Irish, and one of them appears on C₀, and is valued under an Agree relation with the true tense on T₀ (hereafter T-tense). The availability of tense on C₀ (hereafter C-tense) is an accidental lexical property; hence the resumptive particle a has it while the extraction particle a lacks it, despite their functional similarities. It is also argued that the morphosyntactic features of the C+T+V complex undergo fusion and fission; they are maximally morphologically realized in one position. We propose that non-past particle forms are underspecified for tense, and only past particle Vocabulary Items (VIs) carry a tense specification; hence we have VIs shown in (4) for negation. When [NEG, C-PST] is spelled out from syntax, the past tense VI is selected, while the non-past VI is the only available option when [NEG, C-FUT] is spelled out. Regular verb (i.e., i-form) VIs are assumed to be fully specified for (T)-tense, as exemplified in (5).

(4) ⟨[NEG] ↔ *ní⟩, ⟨[NEG,C-PST] ↔ níor⟩ (5) ⟨[believe,T-PRS] ↔ creideann⟩

Very crucially, we claim that d-form VIs requires both T-tense and C-tense for realization, as shown in (7a), unlike i-form VIs which require only T-tense, as in (7b). Thus, an i-form is correctly inserted when the verb comes either with no particle or with a tense-invariant particle (e.g., wh-extraction a) since C-tense is not available, as shown in (8). On the other hand, a d-form is selected when it comes with a tense-sensitive particle, and since the C-tense specification is
‘used up’ by the verb, the particle now surfaces as non-past.

(7) a. ∥ [be,T-PST,C-PST] ↔ raibh (Dependent) ∥
b. ∥ [be,T-PST] ↔ bhí (Independent) ∥

(8) [WH,be,T-PST] ⇒ [WH] [be,T-PST] 
(9) [NEG,C-PST,be,T-PST] ⇒ [NEG] [be,T-PST,C-PST]

a. bhí ni raibh
Redefining the Prosodic Hierarchy
Ozcelik, Oner

It is commonly assumed that the “foot” is an essential constituent of the Prosodic Hierarchy. It is also believed that certain constraints such as HEADEDNESS are inviolable across languages (see e.g. Selkirk 1995; Vogel 2009). This is despite the fact that children’s first utterances do not contain any evidence of foot structure. Children first go through the Sub-minimal Word stage where their utterances have the unmarked form of Core (CV) syllables (Demuth 1995). If the foot came as part of the Prosodic Hierarchy, and thus the UG, and if children receive positive evidence containing foot structure from the beginning of the acquisition process, it is a mystery why they don’t start with the unmarked form of prosodic words (PWds), words composed of binary feet. If, however, the foot was a parameter, available only in some languages, children could, then, start with footless utterances first, and can then construct the foot based on positive evidence, that is, if the target language has foot structure, such as English. This would solve the problem posed by language acquisition research, but would require the existence of footless languages.

In this paper, I argue that such languages do exist. Though previous research has tried to illustrate this with fixed stress languages such as French, these languages can also be analyzed as having unbounded feet; both analyses could, for example, correctly predict word- (or rather phrase-) final stress in French. Having both regular and exceptional stress, Turkish could, however, shed some light on this issue. Regular stress in Turkish falls on the final syllable of words, with no secondary stress. There are, though, several exceptions to this. The most well-known cases involve words with (a) pre-stressing suffixes (see (1)), and (b) stressed suffixes (see (2)).

Several researchers attempted to account for these facts, mostly focusing on pre-stressing suffixes (see e.g. Inkelas & Orgun 1998, Inkelas 1999, Kabak & Vogel 2001, van der Hulst et al.1991). I propose a single grammar for the two types of exceptional stress, as well as the regular final stress: Given that monosyllabic exceptional suffixes are always pre-stressing (i.e. never stressed or post-stressing) (see (1)), and that stressed exceptional suffixes are always bisyllabic and stressed on their first syllable (i.e. never on the second) (see (2)), I argue that these suffixes are footed in the input (e.g. /(me)Ft/, /(ince)Ft/, etc.), and given certain high ranking prosodic faithfulness constraints, they are footed in the output, too (more specifically ANCHOR-RIGHT >> ANCHOR-LEFT to capture the pre-stressing nature of (1)): The grammar, then, assigns TROCHAIC stress. Regular suffixes, on the other hand, come into the computation without foot structure, and given a low ranking PARSE-σ, they are not footed in the output, either, and TROCHAIC is vacuously satisfied. Final prominence, then, must be intonational prominence, falling on the last syllable of PWds. This is supported by the fact that whereas exceptional stress is cued by both a sharp F0 rise and greater intensity, final prominence is, at best, only a slight rise in F0 (Levi 2005, Pycha 2006), and, sometimes, a plateau with no acoustic correlates (Konrot 1981, 1987, Levi 2005).

This proposal finds further evidence from the higher-level prosody of Turkish and its interaction with exceptional stress: Turkish stress falls on the first PWd in a phonological phrase (PPh) (Kabak & Vogel 2001), and on the last PPh in an intonational phrase (I) (Özçelik & Nagai2009). Details aside, in a sentence such as (3) Adam gel-di “A man arrived,” where the subject adam stays in SpecVP in syntax (i.e. under the same VP projection as the verb), there is only one PPh, and adam, the first PWd in the PPh, gets the PPh-level prominence, and since this is the only PPh within the I (and thus the rightmost
one), this word also receives the I-level prominence. In a sentence like
(4) *Adam gel-di “The man arrived,”* however, there are two PPhs, since the definite subject
*adam* here moves out of the vP/VP up to SpecTP. And out of the two PPhs, the latter bears
the I-level stress, for it is the rightmost in the I. Crucially, however, when an exceptional
suffix is present in the second word, as in (5) *Adam gel-*me-di “A/the man didn’t arrive,” the
dichotomy observed between
(3) and (4) is lost, and the only footed word available, i.e. *(gél.me)*di, gets stressed,
irrespective of whether the subject is definite or indefinite. That is, when a foot is available, it
attracts the PPh- and I-level prominence (heading the PPh and I). Note that if there was foot
structure in *adam*, we would expect, under the indefinite reading of (5), this word to get the
PPh- and I-level prominence.

All things considered, there seems to be enough evidence that Turkish assigns no
foot structure, except when a morpheme comes already as footed in input, in which case
the foot is kept, given certain high ranking prosodic faithfulness constraints. Among other
things, this proposal accounts for the language acquisition facts mentioned above: Foot is
not an essential part of the Prosodic Hierarchy, but only arises on the basis of positive
evidence.
In this presentation, I propose that Innu-aimun—an Algonquian language commonly assumed to lack the category of adjectives entirely—does, in fact, possess a class of “functional adjectives”: nominal modifiers corresponding to English *same, other, first,* and *last.* The goals of the presentation are (1) to describe the nature and properties of this class, and (2) to examine its relevance for research on the structure of the DP. I will argue that the existence of functional adjectives in Innu-aimun casts a new light on the class of adjectives in English and other languages.

It is well-known that Algonquian languages lack adjectives (e.g. Bloomfield 1946), and that “adjectival” notions are instead expressed using intransitive verbs (e.g. Innu-aimun *minuàu* ‘it is beautiful’; *ishpânishîu* ‘s/he is tall’). However, a closer examination of Innu-aimun reveals that there is nevertheless a class of words, given in (1), that act as nominal modifiers:

(1) *kutak* ‘other’, *peikûtâu* ‘same (one)’, *tâpishkû* ‘same (sort)’, *natamik*‘*u* ‘any (sort)’, *ushkat* ‘first’, *mâshten* ‘last’

Except for *kutak* ‘other’, which inflects like a pronoun, the words in (1) are all morphologically indeclinable particles. All occur within the DP as a modifier of the noun, as exemplified in (2).

(2) *Utâkushît [DP peikûtâu nîsh’ auenîshtenat ] nuâpâmâtîht.*
    yesterday [DP same two someone.PL ] I.saw
    ‘I saw the same two people yesterday.’

The English correlates of the words in (1) have received little attention in generative work, but are typically labelled as adjectives in traditional grammar—likely reflecting the fact that, like prototypical lexical adjectives, they can act as attributive nominal modifiers, as shown in (3). In other respects, however, they are quite different: unlike lexical adjectives, they cannot act as predicates, as shown in (4); as well, the two classes are positionally distinct, as shown in (5).

(3) a. The { happy / tall / nice } man. (4) a. The man seems { happy / tall / nice }
    b. The { same / other / last } man.          b. *The man seems { same / other / last }

(5) a. the { same / other / last } three { happy / tall / nice } men
    b. *the { happy / tall / nice } three { same / other / last } men

It seems useful, then, to distinguish between `<LEXICAL_ADJECTIVES>` such as *happy* and `<FUNCTIONAL_ADJECTIVES>` such as *same*—the latter being a class of function words akin to demonstratives or quantifiers. In this light, we can say that Innu-aimun lacks a class of lexical adjectives, but does possess a class of functional adjectives. In English, which has both classes, the distinction encourages us to examine the functional adjectives as a category in their own right, rather than as “misbehaving” adjectives (cf. Quirk et al.’s

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1 In the functionalist literature, adjectives like *same/other* have been examined in a series of papers by Breban and colleagues (e.g. Breban 2003, Breban and Davidse 2003, Breban 2006), focusing mainly on grammaticalization.
(1985) term “peripheral adjectives”). In this presentation, I will sketch an analysis along these lines, in which functional adjectives occupy dedicated functional projections in the DP. The analysis takes into account some interesting similarities between functional adjectives in English and Innu-aimun: (1) they appear to follow the same word order in both languages, suggesting an extension of Cinque’s (2005) template for the DP; and (2) the word other and its Innu-aimun equivalent kutak both exhibit exceptional behaviour (other fuses with the indefinite article to become another, while kutak carries pronominal inflection), which suggests that ‘other’ may enjoy a particularly close relationship with D.
This paper explores the nature of nominal compounds in Malagasy, a domain that has received little attention in the literature. There are essentially two types: one that involves simple juxtaposition (1a) and one that involves a linker (1b) (Rajemisa-Raolison 1971).

(1) a. dokotera vehivavy
   doctor woman
   ‘a woman doctor’

   b. dokotera-m behivavy
     doctor-LNK woman
     ‘a doctor for women’

Compounds with the linker are interpreted as possessive (broadly construed), while those without the linker permit a range of modificational readings (but not possessive).

I follow a Distributed Morphology approach to compounding (Harley 2009) for examples such as (1a): these involve a root dokotera ‘doctor’ that selects for an nP vehivavy ‘woman’. The result is in turn selected by a head n˚, giving rise to an nP. Examples such as (1b), on the other hand, are true possessive constructions: the non-head vehivavy is merged as the specifier of the nP dokotera. The head raises above the non-head and the linker (nasalization) is inserted, as is typical in possessive structures in Malagasy (2).

(2) ny dokotera-n ilay vehivavy
    DET doctor-LNK DEF woman
    ‘the doctor of the aforementioned woman’

The only difference between (1b) and (2) is that in the former an nP is merged in the specifier position, while in the latter, the specifier is a DP ilay vehivavy ‘the woman’. Thus in (2), the possessor is fully referential, unlike in (1).

Note that both the head and the non-head can be morphologically complex, as is expected under a purely syntactic approach to compounding. In (3a), the head is an agent nominalization and in (3b), the non-head is a compound.

(3) a. mpivaro- kena
    NM.sell meat
    ‘meat seller, butcher’

   b. trano- n’ afokasika
     house-LNK fire.rub
     ‘match box’

Both the head (4a) and the non-head (4b) can be modified by adjectives:

(4) a. mpivaro- kena arabo
    NM.sell meat arab
    ‘Arab meat seller, butcher’

   b. trano- n’ afo-kasika mainty
     house-LNK fire-rub black
     ‘box of black matches’

Note, however, that in linking compounds (4b), only the non-head can be modified, not the head. This is due to a Malagasy-particular constraint that blocks modifiers and possessors from co-occurring. Thus linking compounds pattern with possessives, as hypothesized in this paper.
References
Syncretism in the pragmatic field in first language acquisition
Mihaela Pirvulescu & Virginia Hill

Previous work on L1 acquisition of monolingual French reveals two observations in the production of object (clitics) by children in relation to discourse context: (i) optionality in obligatory contexts: late 3 year-olds / 4 year-olds (Jakubowicz et al. 1997; Van der Velde 2003; Pérez-Leroux et al. 2008); (ii) Extensive use of the object clitics as contextual anaphora, i.e., with reference retrieved from the situational context (Belzil et al. 2008). At the same time, context sensitivity is observed in studies across languages: the null objects are preferred whenever the object (clitic) is recoverable from the discourse background (Allen 2000; Guerriero et al. 2006; Serratrice et al. 2004). The question we ask in this paper is how contextual factors such as the context of direct address influence object clitic omission. We present data indicating that conversational pragmatics plays a triggering role for object clitics in French.

An analysis of two spontaneous corpora reveals that the object clitic is mostly produced in a context of direct address: the child is engaged in a dialogue with an interlocutor. The results are presented below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Total object clitics</th>
<th>Context of direct address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Para, Anne; 2;2-2;10.18</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mona, Max; 2;0-2;6.27</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>90.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Task manipulation of this conversational context reveals drastic changes in the production of object clitics. We conducted a cross-sectional elicited production task with “type of answer” as a between-subject factor (statements concerning third person vs. targeted direct address). 30 children were recruited from the Montréal area, divided in three groups: 3, 4 and 5 year-olds. We find that there is a contrast in object clitic omission according to whether the answer comes or not as a direct address to the tester: when 2nd person tu ‘you’ is used instead of 3rd person in subject position there is almost no clitic omission. In contrast, children show between 30-50% omission when using a 3rd person subject il ‘he’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>Null</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Traditional task (3rd person subject)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 year olds; n=12</td>
<td>27.12%</td>
<td>11.86%</td>
<td>57.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 year olds; n=11</td>
<td>46.59%</td>
<td>10.23%</td>
<td>35.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New task (2nd person subject)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 year olds; n=12</td>
<td>83.49%</td>
<td>6.42%</td>
<td>5.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 year-olds; n=11</td>
<td>81.44%</td>
<td>14.43%</td>
<td>2.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 year olds; n=7</td>
<td>86.57%</td>
<td>4.48%</td>
<td>4.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Adults</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Our analysis relates the object clitic production in French to the computation of functional projections that cover features of conversational pragmatics. In adult grammars the production of clitic pronouns is directly related to the projection of TopP in the information structure field (Delfitto 2002). Accordingly, children who produce clitic objects must be able to derive TopP, which seems correct (de Cat 2004). However, the observations in (i) and (ii) and our results indicate a difference in the derivational mechanism for topical elements in child vs. adult grammar. The difference must concern the role of conversational pragmatics (in the sense of Speas and Tenny 2003; Speas 2004) in the syntactic mapping, since children display sensitivity to the conversational context very early (Wittek & Tomasello 2005). We propose that in child grammar formal features from discourse pragmatics cluster with formal features from conversational pragmatics and are merged as syncretic nodes; thus, the checking of the pragmatic role feature of addressee (which also involves specificity) may trigger the licensing of clitic pronouns as a free-ride operation. The way such features are syntactically mapped at the high left periphery of clauses must provide the first clues for the organization of the information structure.
References


Consonant Harmony (CH) across major place features is extensively discussed in the literature on child language (see e.g. Smith 1973, Vihman 1978, Levelt 1994, Goad 1997, Rose 2000, Pater & Werle 2001, 2003, Fikkert, Levelt & van de Weijer 2002). This is partly because this process is common in child language and similar processes are rarely attested in adult languages. Thus, the study of CH is at the center of much acquisition research as it addresses the questions of whether children’s grammars are formally different from those of adults. There are, however, more questions than answers concerning child CH. Disagreements range from whether or not this process is grammar driven to what exactly in children’s grammars drives the process.

In this work, I focus on regressive CH as it is more commonly attested in child languages. By introducing a new set of data from a monolingual English acquiring girl, Julia, I argue that child CH is grammar driven. I propose that the prosodic licensing principle combined with the constraints on the segmental structures that children can build at different developmental stages induces child CH. On one hand, I follow Rose (2000) and Goad (2001, 2003) in arguing that it is the prosodic licensing principle that drives child CH: prosodic heads cannot be featurally less complex than their dependents. On the other hand, I follow Rice & Avery (1995) in regarding early phonological representations as underspecified. I propose that children’s segmental structures are elaborated through stages (see Fikkert & Levelt (2006) for a different view). Specifically, I argue that children’s segmental structure is initially minimal; structure is added at each stage, following the hypothesis of minimality and monotonicity proposed by Rice (1996).

For children who are acquiring a language with a three-way place contrast among labial, coronal and dorsal, I argue that there are three stages that children go through. At stage 1, children have only a two-way place contrast between labial and non-labial (placeless) as in (1), similar to the two-way place contrast observed in Hawaiian. Regressive CH is not usually attested, as most of the tokens children produce at this stage are core syllables or reduplicates.

At stage 2, two learning paths are possible. For children taking learning path 1, a three-way place contrast among labial, coronal and placeless is set up as in (2a), similar to the place contrast observed in Yakut. CH is triggered when prosodic heads are featurally less complex than their dependents; thus, coronal harmony targeting foot-initial placeless segments and labial harmony targeting foot-initial coronal and placeless segments are predicted to apply in children’s systems of this type, as observed in Julia’s outputs (this work). For other children taking learning path 2, a three-way place contrast among labial, dorsal and placeless is established as in (2b), similar to the place contrast observed in Korean. CH is applied to satisfy the prosodic licensing principle; thus, labial harmony targeting foot-initial placeless segments and dorsal harmony targeting foot-initial labial and placeless segments are predicted to apply in children’s systems of this type. This holds of Daniel’s outputs (Menn 1971).

At stage 3, a three-way place contrast among labial, coronal and dorsal is set up as in (3), similar to the major place contrast in English-type languages. CH is triggered by the prosodic licensing principle. Labial and dorsal harmony both targeting foot-initial coronals are predicted to apply, as is attested in Amahl’s grammar (Smith 1973).

Patterns of CH change when the child leaves stage 2 and enters into stage 3, as observed in Trevor’s outputs (Pater & Werle 2001, 2003, Compton & Streeter 1977). Trevor takes learning path 2 at stage 2. Dorsal harmony targeting foot-initial labials attested at stage 2
ceases to apply when Trevor enters into stage 3, conforming to the prediction of the proposal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Stage 1</th>
<th>(2) Stage 2</th>
<th>(3) Stage 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lab placeless</td>
<td>a. Lab Cor placeless</td>
<td>b. Lab placeless Dor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab Cor Dor</td>
<td>Lab Cor Dor</td>
<td>Lab Cor Dor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
<td>R R R R R R</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>½ ½ ½ ½ ½ ½</td>
<td>½ ½ ½ ½ ½ ½</td>
<td>½ ½ ½ ½ ½ ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-Pl C-Pl C-Pl</td>
<td>C-Pl C-Pl C-Pl</td>
<td>C-Pl C-Pl C-Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑</td>
<td>↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑</td>
<td>↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab Dor Lab Dor</td>
<td>Lab Dor Lab Dor</td>
<td>Lab Dor Lab Dor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Stress and Tone Sandhi in Contour Tone Languages
Qu, Chen; Goad, Heather

It has been widely observed that there is a relation between prominence and tone in register tone languages: stressed position attracts high tone and high tone attracts stress (Liberman 1975, Selkirk 1984, 1995, Goldsmith 1987); low tone attracts non-prominence and non-prominent position attracts low tone (de Lacy 1999). However, nothing is yet known about the relationship between stress and tone in contour tone languages. Given that contour tone languages constitute the other major type of tone system in the world and that both contour and level tones exist in such languages, we have missed half of the picture if we draw conclusions on the relationship between tone and stress solely from register tone languages. This paper strives to fill an important gap in our understanding by examining the relationship between tone and stress in contour tone languages.

The language under focus is Mandarin. Mandarin is probably the most widely studied contour tone language in the world (see Chen 2000 and references cited therein); the existing literature thus provides a valuable resource to begin an examination of the relation between prominence and tone in contour tone languages. In addition, Mandarin has an extensive tonal inventory that includes both level and contour tones, and the permitted contour tones are both rising and falling. Such a diversified tonal inventory provides an ideal opportunity to further our knowledge of the relation of tone and stress.

To undertake this investigation, it is essential to consider how tone is affected by varying the prosodic context. As the only tone sandhi process in Mandarin uniformly agreed as being triggered by stress assignment, Tone 2 (T2) Sandhi is the optimal place to begin the investigation. According to Luo & Wang (1981), in T2 Sandhi, the T2 (high rising tone) present on the medial syllable in a tri-syllabic expression becomes T1 (high level tone) when both the initial and final syllables carry any tone except T0 (low tone). An example is provided in (1).

(1) paɨz pʰiiz sɨu1 → paɨz pʰi1 sɨu1 “white covered book”

Due to the lack of a well-supported theory of stress for Mandarin and disagreement concerning some of the basic facts of T2 Sandhi, this paper starts with a detailed examination of Mandarin stress and a carefully controlled experiment on T2 Sandhi. The results of the experiment are quite uniform. From these, we argue that the syntactic structure and underlying tonal profile, two factors which are suggested in previous research to affect T2 Sandhi (e.g. Wu 1984), are instead the factors governing stress assignment in Mandarin. The relation between tone and stress becomes clear once these arguments concerning T2 Sandhi are coupled with an examination of the other three tone sandhi processes in Mandarin (T0 Sandhi, T3 Sandhi and yi-bu-qi-ba Sandhi). T2, the only rising contour in Mandarin, never occurs in non-prominent (unstressed) positions; T0 and T3, the two low register tones, never occur in prominent (stressed) positions.

Taking all aspects of our proposal together, we conclude the following: (A) Mandarin optimally builds uneven trochees. (B) All tone sandhi processes in Mandarin are stress-driven. (C) Following from (B), T2 Sandhi applies only when T2 syllables occur in prosodically non-prominent (foot-dependent) positions, as is shown for [pʰiiz] in (2). (D) In contour tone languages more generally, it appears that the relation between tone and stress is twofold: there is a relation between high/(low) register and stress/(lack of stress) and a relation between contour/(level) tone and stress/(lack of stress). In Mandarin, prominence makes tone high and rising; non-prominence makes tone low or level. (E) Finally, it is stress and prosodic structure more generally that governs the realization of tone in both register and
contour tone languages.

(2) \([\text{pa} \text{i} \text{z} \text{h} \text{i} \text{z} (\text{su} \text{u} \text{u})_{\text{FT}}]_{\text{PWD}} \rightarrow [\text{pa} \text{i} \text{z} \text{h} \text{i} \text{z} (\text{su} \text{u} \text{u})_{\text{FT}}]_{\text{PWD}} \quad \text{“white-covered book”} \)
Sociolinguistic variation in the use of the present subjunctive in Canadian English
Restorick, Audrey

According to Hardie and McEnery (2003), the most recent grammatical research on English language neglects the subjunctive, particularly the dialectal variation of this mood. In Old English, verbs in the subjunctive were morphologically distinct from the imperative and the infinitive, used in a similar manner to that of modern French. However, in contemporary English, flexional contrast between the subjunctive and the indicative can only be found in the following cases (Hurford 1994):

a. The third person singular of a verb in the present tense located in the subordinate clause after a verb or impersonal expression expressing a command or a recommendation as shown in (1):

(1) The policeman orders that the criminal answer (SUB)/answers (IND) his questions.

b. In all persons of the verb “to be” in the present tense located in the subordinate clause after a verb or impersonal expression expressing a command or a recommendation as shown in (2):

(2) They ask that we be (SUB)/are (IND) on time.

c. The first or third person singular of a verb in a subordinate clause expressing a condition or a desire as in (3):

(3) I wish that I were (SUB)/was (IND) rich.

d. In certain fixed expressions as in (3):

(4) God save (SUB)/saves (IND) the queen!

Nevertheless, it is important to note that Anglophones often substitute the indicative for the subjunctive in most of the contexts. Since previous studies of the subjunctive in English have focused on morpho-syntactic and lexical factors, my exploratory study of the use of the present subjunctive in Canadian English examines the role of sociolinguistic factors in mood alternation. As structures prescriptively requiring the subjunctive are not frequent in oral English, I used a grammaticality judgment task as my source of data. The grammaticality judgment task consisted of 35 minimal pairs, 25 contrasting the subjunctive and the indicative in contexts similar to those found in (1) and (2), as well as 10 distractors. The sample population consisted of 3 participants from British Columbia, 1 from New Brunswick, and 25 from Ontario. There were 15 males and 14 females. 2 participants were aged between 14 and 19, 24 between 20 and 29, 1 between 40 and 49, and 2 between 50 and 59. The majority of the participants were university students from a range of different faculties.

The results of this exploratory study suggest that links exist between the social and demographic characteristics of a speaker and mood alternation in the structures which, according to prescriptive rules in English, require the subjunctive. The sociolinguistic traits which seem to favour the use of the subjunctive include: male, older and university studies in literature. The morpho-syntactic structure which seems to favour the subjunctive is the verb “to be” introduced by verbs expressing a command or a recommendation.
On Persian epenthesis in suffixation: an experimental study
Rohany Rahbar, Elham

Persian has an epenthesis process that occurs when a consonant-initial suffix is added to a consonant-final stem. Whether or not epenthesis is found is partially conditioned by vowel quality. Considering a, e, o to be lax vowels and \( \ddot{a}, \acute{i}, \acute{u} \) to be tense vowels, epenthesis does not occur when the root has a \( CV_{\text{tense}} \) structure (e.g., \( \ddot{g}o\acute{l} \) ‘flower’ + \( \ddot{d}an \) ‘gold’ \( \ddot{g}o\acute{a}l\ddot{d}an \) ‘vase’). It may, however, occur when the root has one of the following structures: \( CV_{\text{lax}} \), \( CV_{\text{tense}} \), and \( CV_{\text{tense}} \) (e.g., \( b\ddot{a}g \) ‘garden’ + \( b\acute{a}n \) \( \ddot{b}a\acute{g}\ddot{a}n \) ‘gardener’). The observation that epenthesis may occur in suffixation with \( \ddot{a}, \acute{i}, \acute{u} \) lead some to consider the environment for epenthesis to be conditioned by properties of the vowel (e.g., Samareh 1977, Lazard 1992). However, while epenthesis is never found in the \( CV_{\text{lax}} \) environment, it is not required in the other environments. Compare (i) \( m\ddot{e}h\acute{r}b\ddot{a}n \) ~ \( m\ddot{e}hr\acute{b}an \) ‘kind’; \( k\acute{a}r \) ‘work’ + \( g\ddot{a}r \) \( \acute{a}k\ddot{a}r\ddot{e}g\acute{a}r \) ‘kargar’ ‘worker’; \( x\ddot{a}st \) ‘desire’ + \( g\acute{a}r \) \( \ddot{x}\acute{a}st\ddot{g}\acute{a}r \) ‘xastgar’ ‘suitor’; with (ii) \( x\acute{a}f\ddot{m} \) ‘anger’ + \( n\acute{a}k \) \( \acute{x}\ddot{a}f\acute{m}\acute{n}\ddot{a}k \) ‘angry’ (*\( x\acute{a}f\acute{m}\acute{n}\ddot{a}k \)); \( d\ddot{a}d \) ‘justice’ + \( g\ddot{a}r \) \( \ddot{d}a\acute{d}\ddot{g}\acute{a}r \) ‘just’ (*\( d\acute{a}d\acute{e}g\ddot{a}r \); \( \ddot{i}\ddot{s}\ddot{t} \) ‘stop’ + \( g\ddot{a}h \) \( \ddot{a}\acute{i}\ddot{s}\acute{t}\acute{g}\ddot{a}h \) ‘station’ (*\( \ddot{i}\ddot{a}st\acute{g}\ddot{a}h \)). The words in (i) and (ii) share the same structures (i.e., structures other than \( CV_{\text{lax}} \)), but do not pattern identically with respect to epenthesis. If the occurrence of epenthesis is motivated by the properties of vowels and the difference in the syllable structure due to these properties, why does epenthesis not occur with all cases which include roots with those vowels/syllable structures? In order to determine whether the conditions under which epenthesis occurs are systematic, I examined a variety of factors including frequency, productivity of the suffixes, and type of clusters created at the stem-suffix boundary, and found that they do not explain the variations in epenthesis. I also investigated the historical status of the suffixes and the suffixed forms involved and concluded that we cannot fully account for epenthesis based on historical facts. In order to determine whether epenthesis is productive in the language, I conducted an experiment using both real and nonsense words with 10 Persian speakers, in both production and perception. The production part included three tasks: reading, question and answer, and wug test. The perception part included an acceptability rating task. The results of the experiment are as follows:

Production: (i) For nonsense words, the no-epenthesis pattern is the general pattern. (ii) For real words, for those words with which we can get epenthesis the division between no-epenthesis version and with-epenthesis version is close to equal (with a difference which is not significant). For those real words which do not take epenthesis we do not see epenthesis.

Perception: (i) For nonsense words, no epenthesis is the general pattern both for words with \( CV_{\text{lax}} \) structures and for words with other structures. If the speaker accepts the version with epenthesis, this is more likely with words with structures other than \( CV_{\text{lax}} \). (ii) For real words, for the words which can get epenthesis both versions are fine. For real words which do not take epenthesis, the version without epenthesis is by far more acceptable, and the version with epenthesis is highly unacceptable. Given the limited number of words which have both epenthesis-including and no-epenthesis versions and the results of the experiment, I argue that epenthesis is not an active synchronic process in Persian and is limited to some frozen cases, and therefore is not dependent on vowel properties. This is important for our understanding of the structure of the Persian vowel system.
Inflectional morphology and the temporal dynamics of visual word recognition

Royle, Phaedra; Drury, John E.; Bourguignon, Nicolas; Steinhauer, Karsten

INTRODUCTION. We address two questions: How is the processing of inflectional morphology situated in the temporal dynamics of visual word recognition and what are "morphological effects"? These effects in visual word processing have been argued to be pre-lexical (or "morpho-orthographic"), supra or post-lexical (or "morpho-semantic"), or both (Diependaele et al. 2005). Opposing views on this question include those that eschew any reference to morphology per se in favor of a (graded) overlap of orthographic and semantic information processing (Seidenberg & Gonnerman 2000), and approaches that instead claim that reference to morphological structure is indispensable for lexical processing (McQueen & Cutler 1998). Here we combined masked priming and event-related potentials (ERPs) to study these issues. 24 participants performed lexical decisions on French verbs (e.g., CASSE ‘break’) which followed briefly presented (50 ms) forward and backward masked primes. Primes were either semantically (brise ‘break’), orthographically (cassis ‘blackcurrant’), or morphologically (cassait ‘broke’) related to the target verbs, or unrelated controls. EEGs were recorded starting at target onset.

PREDICTIONS. Based on prior findings using similar masking and short prime exposure we predicted that semantic effects would be absent in response latencies and ERP measures (Holcomb & Grainger 2009). Facilitation for morphological and orthographic priming, in the absence of semantic effects, was expected on the basis of behavioral work (Feldman & Prostko 2002). However, though no previous ERP masked priming study has compared orthographic to inflectional morphological effects. Other research led us to expect modulation of two ERP components: the N250 and the N400. N250 effects have been observed in masked repetition priming (table-TABLE), partial repetition (table-TABLE; Holcomb & Grainger 2006), and transparent derivations (hunter-HUNT; Morris et al. 2008). The N250 has been suggested to index the sub-lexical/lexical interface at which ordered letter N-grams are mapped to both sub-lexical phonology and word-level orthographic representations (Holcomb & Grainger 2006). This could be interpreted here as indexing a pre-lexical effect. We thus expected N250 reductions for morphological priming. We also expected to find a reduced N400 for morphology (i.e., facilitation at the form-meaning interface; a supra or post-lexical effect). However, interpretation of such effects also depends on the results for orthographic priming: here we expected to replicate Morris et al.’s (2008) finding that orthographic overlap without semantic relationship (scandal-SCAN) yields only weak trends toward N250/N400 effects.

RESULTS. There were no semantic priming effects on any measure, while both morphological and orthographic facilitation effects were observed. Morphological priming yielded robust N250 and N400 effects. Orthographic priming yielded a weak N250 effect, and a short-lived (but significant) N400 reduction. However, direct comparisons of the two types of priming in the N250 time-window yielded no significant interactions with the factor prime-type, suggesting a shared (and graded) effect. In contrast, the N400 effect had a significantly longer duration for morphology (375-575 ms) than orthography (375-425 ms), and robust priming by type interactions where obtained at 475-575 ms post target onset.

CONCLUSIONS. This pattern is consistent with morphology having both pre- and post-lexical reflexes (indexed by both N250 and N400 effects). However, the data do not
allow us to resolve the question of whether special reference to morphology *per se* is required. Though the data are consistent with this, they are also in-line with the possibility that semantic facilitation – which is successfully suppressed in our paradigm when on its own – could arise just in case there is *also* orthographic overlap, yielding more robust N400 effects for our morphological condition and (if there is feedback from semantics to orthography) also more robust N250 effects.
Mapping a perceptual vowel terrain

Russell, Kevin

A series of papers by Kuhl and colleagues (e.g., Kuhl, 1991; Kuhl et al., 1992; Iverson and Kuhl, 1995) have argued that language-specific vowel categories warp listeners’ perceptual space, the “perceptual magnet effect” — specifically that listeners are less able to discriminate the difference between two vowel sounds that are close to the “prototype” for the vowel /i/ than between two vowel sounds that are aren’t. All subsequent attempts to replicate the effect, however, have been, at best, only partially successful. Researchers either failed to find the same differences in discriminability (Sussman and Lauckner-Morano, 1995), or failed to confirm that any differences were caused by the prototypes (“centres”) of the vowel categories rather than by their boundaries (Lotto et al., 1998), or failed to replicate the effect with any vowel other than /i/ (Sussman and Gekas, 1997; Thyer et al., 2000). At the same time there have been compelling demonstrations that the effect should arise almost automatically under a wide range of theoretical models of speech perception (e.g., Lacerda, 1995; Guenther and Gjaja, 1996; Kröger et al., 2007; Feldman et al., 2009), making the meagre empirical evidence for the effect even more troubling.

One of the difficulties in establishing the generality of the effect beyond /i/ is that it is difficult to obtain enough data from any one listener and pooling data from several listeners (with different perceptual prototypes and boundaries) can obscure any patterns that might exist within individuals.

The study reported on here attempts to find evidence for or against the perceptual magnet effect and its various explanations, using the results of tens of thousands of identification, discrimination, and categorial goodness trials, covering the entire vowel space, being conducted with a single English-speaking listener over the course of several weeks.

The 1165 stimuli used in this study are synthesized vowel tokens (following the parameters of those used in earlier studies) arranged 30 mel apart in a grid of equilateral triangles covering the entire F1–F2 space used by male speakers, plus a margin of unnaturally extreme vowels.

Each stimulus is presented to the listener 15 times each for identification as belonging to one of the categories of the listener’s dialect: /i, I, e, E, æ, A, o, U, u, 2, @/. Multiple category goodness ratings are obtained for each stimulus for each vowel category that it or one of its neighbours was identified as at least once. Finally, each pair of 30-mel and 60-mel neighbours is presented six times (three times in both orders), together with an equal number of same-stimulus pairs, in almost 80,000 same–different discrimination trials with an interstimulus interval of 250 ms.

The listener’s discrimination ability at each point in the vowel space grid is estimated by d’ calculated from the 90 same–different trials involving that stimulus. Category ambiguity (the extent to which the vowel’s location falls in the overlap between two or more categories) is estimated as the entropy of the 15 identification responses to the vowel. Prototypicality is estimated from the category goodness ratings. If the perceptual magnet effect exists, discriminability should be correlated with either prototypicality or category ambiguity — which one tells us which theoretical explanation is on the right track.

Using regression modelling, it is determined whether discrimination ability is better explained by prototypicality (as originally proposed by Kuhl), by category ambiguity (as
proposed by Lacerda, 1995; Feldman et al., 2009), by neither (i.e., the perceptual magnet effect does not exist), or whether both prototypicality and ambiguity contribute independently to discriminability (along with other possible factors, such as the general F1 gradient noted by Sussman and Lauckner-Morano (1995))
Dueling Banjos and Going Nuts: Linguistic Ideologies in Online Comments

Sawyer, Sheryl

‘Talk in action’ can illuminate a great deal about what a group values and how speech or cultural communities build consensus and common-sense understanding. Using analytical tools and data collection techniques from discourse analysis and drawing from understandings in linguistic anthropology, I show that language use in an online forum is a vehicle by which ideologies are expressed. The online comment genre is intriguing because, like blogs and other web forums, it is positioned between formal writing and casual speech. From the online comments posted to a particularly controversial online news story, insults are of particular interest.

Differences in linguistic form and content can show which attitudes are held as common-sense ideals within given groups. Untangling these differences yield surprisingly clear divisions within groups. For example, a common insult aimed at one group is characterized by the reference to conservatives as Americans, especially stereotypically ‘hillbilly’ Southerners, as evidenced by comments like the following statement from a commenter self-identified as the reverse-spelled ‘Tsiehta’: “Most of the kids will be in the classroom learning about evolution, but those kids who were excluded because their parents don’t want learn science will be sent over to the music room. To learn how to play dueling banjos.”

On the other hand, comments from an opposing group take the moral high ground, with much subtler insults and responses like this from an online commenter who self-identifies as the aural pun, ‘Hugh Jass’: "Notifying the parents is reasonable. People go nuts when certain subjects are taught that violate the faiths of Muslims and Sihks (sic), so why are Christians being singled out as "hicks" for wanting the same rights?"

This presentation identifies key features of these different camps and illustrates the different ways in which linguistic ideologies are stated, inferred and supported. In an analysis of over 3,000 comments over a period of approximately three weeks, preliminary data show a pattern of presupposition statements from one group while the opposing group employs more rhetorical questions and condescension in their responses.

Core ideas behind these ideologies have become or are in the process of becoming ‘common-sense’ concepts within given communities. Religious and cultural indoctrination can have both positive and negative repercussions throughout society, particularly where opposing views interact. Understanding the process by which cultural ideas are transmitted and become ingrained may help toward cross-cultural understanding, particularly in moments of conflict or great debate. The scope of my project at hand is of course much smaller, but it is a first step in the direction of this larger understanding.
New evidence for a grammatical distinction between contrastive focus and discourse-new in English
Selkirk; Elisabeth; Katz, Jonah

In this paper phonetic evidence from patterns of prosodic prominence in English is presented that supports the hypothesis that the theory of grammar makes a representational distinction between contrastive focus and discourse-newness (or “informational focus”) in the syntax and in its interface with phonology/phonetics. Many treatments of the focus-phonology interface adhere to the position that there is no such distinction (e.g. Selkirk 1995, Ladd 1996, 2008; Gussenhoven 2004). And current formal theories of the semantics of focus conflate the two, taking either contrastiveness or discourse newness/givenness (but not both) as the basis for focus meaning (Jackendoff 1972, Rooth 1992, Schwarzschild 1999, Büring 2007).

The evidence comes from an experimental investigation of English comparing productions of all-new sentences with sentences that combine (putative) focus of contrast (FoC) and constituents qualifying only as discourse-new (New), as in (1):

(1)  
   a. [ …. FoC New ] : e.g. We only asked [Mánny]_{FoC} to work on the [ánnex]_{New}  
   b. [ …. New FoC ] : e.g. We only asked [Mánny]_{New} to work on the [ánnex]_{FoC}  
   c. [ …. New New ] : e.g. We asked [Mánny]_{New} to work on the [ánnex]_{New}

Earlier phonetic studies of the contrastive-new distinction employed a paradigm where the material surrounding the FoCus is discourse-given, as in responses to alternative questions (Cooper et al 1985), in correction statements (Breen 2007) and responses to wh-questions (Eady and Cooper 1986, Xu and Xu 2005, Breen 2007).

(2)  
I    II    III 
   a. New  New  New  
   b. FoC  Given  Given  
   c. Given FoC  Given  
   d. Given  Given  FoC 

These studies report greater duration and higher pitch for FoC constituents as compared to New in between-sentence comparisons, and would therefore seem to support a FoC-New distinction. Yet, this findings may not hold up in the end. A design flaw of these earlier experiments is that fully controlled comparison of the prosody of FoC and New constituents is not possible, since the FoC constituent in the contrastive sentence types and its corresponding New constituent in the all-new sentence type do not appear in phonologically identical environments within the sentence. Our experiment doesn’t share this flaw, and moreover allows within-sentence comparison of FoCus and New.

Between-sentence comparison of the data from FoC and New constituents in the current experimental paradigm shows that FoC constituents have significantly greater duration than New constituents in both positions compared. Within-sentence comparison of degree of pitch protrusion in the three sentence conditions shows a significant three-way contrast, with the steepest downtrend for the FoC-New sequence, a lesser downtrend for the New-New case, and least downtrend or none at all with the New-FoC sequence. So the data supports a grammatical distinction between FoCus and discourse-new. It can be accounted for through the combined effects of (i) a syntax-phonology interface theory that calls for a FoC-marked constituent in the syntax to bear maximal local prosodic...
prominence in phonological representation (e.g. Truckenbrodt 1995) and (ii) a theory of phonetic interpretation that allows for interpretation of greater phonological prominence in terms of greater duration and greater pitch protrusion.
The loss of Old French Juxtaposition Genitive and Case: corpus study

Simonenko, Alexandra

This paper presents empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis that the loss of the Juxtaposition Genitive and Case in the 16th century French was not caused by the loss of the morphological case, as suggested in Gianollo (2009) and contra what is proposed in Arteaga (1995). We propose that JG (le fîz Héliud ‘the son (of) Eliu’, QLR) ‘lost’ to its competitors, aNP (fîz a la bonuré Anne lit. ‘son to the blessed Anne’, QLR) and deNP (en terre de promissiun lit. ‘into land of promise’, QLR), as the construction used for the lexically smallest set of nominals.

As stated in the traditional grammars, JG was limited to animate referents. Baril (1998) notes that aNP modification was used with antecedents that were not prominent on the social hierarchy. According to Foulet (1919), deNP was preferably used with animals or inanimate referents or (human) kinds. In our data gathered from the Corpus MCVF and its Penn supplement the ratio of proper names (which we assume to correlate with human referents) is 67% for JG, 51% for deNP and 19.5% for aNP. Among JG, the 10 most frequent proper names are accountable for 45.8% of all the proper names (413 out of 762). 10 most frequent common nouns, all denoting prominent social roles (rei ‘king’, empereur ‘emperor’) or kinship terms (pere ‘father’, mere ‘mother’), constitute 29.5% of common nouns in JG (112 out of 380). We argue therefore that the choice between the three possible constructions of nominal modification was dependent on the properties of the modifying noun.

Our data show that the decline of JG forms a tail of an S-shaped curve, going from 50% of the total number of nominal modification in the earliest text in our data (ST. L. GER, 980) to 0.06% in the latest one (VALOIS, 1572).

Since JG is traditionally assumed to be marked by the oblique case (cas r’égime), Arteaga (1995) proposes that the loss of JG in Middle French was connected to the loss of the morphological case. The two-case system of Old French is thought to have started degrading in the late 12th century, Baril (1998), and ceased to exist in the written language by the mid-15th century, Schösl (1984). We examined the distribution of nominative and oblique singular forms of the word rei (‘king’). The consistency of nominal marking of the subject in the corpus data measured as the ratio of the ‘correct’ marking to the overall number of subjects in each text, drops abruptly from 96% to 0 from 1373 (FROISSART) to 1450 (CNNA), i.e. over a period of about 80 years. The case marking of definite determiners looks very much the same. This contrasts with the gradual decline of JG. Based on these observations, coupled with the assumption that the morphological case opposition is present only when there is a significant consistency in case marking, we argue that the morphological case was not at stake in licensing JG.

Unlike Delfitto and Paradisi (2009), we do not consider the features [+definite] and [+human] as being a sufficient condition to license JG and as distinguishing JG from aNP. About 40% of aNP are definite and a significant number of them have human referents. Instead, we propose that a restricted set of lexical items that involved title terms, kinship terms and proper names was inherently specified as being able to license a genitival relation in JG construction. These nouns would unmistakably be interpreted as possessors even in the absence of a case-assigning preposition.

To conclude, a lexically determined nominal hierarchy was temporarily holding the place of Latin Genitive, with nouns inherently specified as possessors being able to license JG.
During Old F. and the beginning of Middle F. this lexically constrained construction was loosing grounds to more universal modifiers aNP and deNP. The latter one eventually won as having the least lexical restrictions.
Towards an acquisition hierarchy in L2 English wh-movement

Slavkov, Nikolay

This presentation addresses the question whether constructions with long-distance (LD) wh-movement in L2 English pose higher degree of acquisition difficulty than constructions with lower derivational and processing complexity. The proposal is that in order to overcome the computational burden of long-distance wh-movement, L2 learners at the early stages of acquisition resort to a variety of semantically and pragmatically near-equivalent utterances, which I call avoidance strategies. Avoidance structures are often similar in length to their long-distance counterparts but involve only short wh-movement or lack of wh-movement altogether (i.e. a simpler derivation).

The idea that the derivational complexity of a given construction affects its acquisition and processing status has been advanced with varying degrees of success since early generative grammar. Recently, Jakubowicz and Strik (2008; see also Jakubowicz 2004; 2005), focusing specifically on wh-movement, propose the Derivational Complexity Metric (DCM), shown in (1).

(1) Derivational Complexity Metric (DCM)
A. Merging $\alpha_i$ $n$ times gives rise to a less complex derivation than merging $\alpha_i$ $(n+1)$ times.
B. Internal Merge of $\alpha_i$ gives rise to a less complex derivation than Internal Merge of $\alpha + \beta$.

According to the DCM, long-distance wh-movement is more complex than short movement, and moving more than one constituent is more complex than moving just one. Citing French and Dutch L1 acquisition data, Jakubowicz and Strik argue that children’s productions of wh-questions show acquisition patterns or orders consistent with the DCM.

The goal of the current study was to extend the testing of the Derivational Complexity Hypothesis, as defined by Jakubowicz and Strik, to L2 acquisition data. The participants were two groups of (low-)intermediate learners of L2 English, whose first language was either Canadian French (n=26) or Bulgarian (n=30), respectively. A native control group was also recruited (n=10). An elicited production experiment was administered in which the participants played a guessing game designed to elicit complex wh-questions (i.e. long-distance wh-movement). While the native controls consistently and uniformly produced target long-distance wh-questions of the type *What do you think Mary is eating?*, both L2 groups produced more limited long-distance wh-movement and used a much wider variety of structures including a) sequential questions (*What do you think...what is Mary eating?*); b) embedded wh-questions (*Do you know where Mary is?*); c) monoclausal short wh-movement (*What is Mary eating?*) and d) no wh-movement (*Do you think Mary is eating a pizza?). I propose that such utterances represent avoidance strategies used (consciously or unconsciously) by L2 learners as an alternative to long-distance wh-movement because the latter is more complex from a derivational and processing perspective. Interestingly, despite some typological differences with regards to wh-constructions in the two L1s (Bulgarian and French), the avoidance structures produced by the two populations were strikingly similar. This seems to indicate that L1 transfer has relatively limited effects on the particular phenomenon, and, more generally, that L2 learners with typologically distinct native languages may follow similar, possibly universal, acquisition patterns.
Constructions of Local and Non-Local Identity in Canadian Hip Hop Lyrics

Spieker, Jessica

Although a growing body of research on linguistic variation in Hip Hop has emerged in recent years (Alim 2004, 2006; Cutler 1999, 2007; Morgan 2001; O’Hanlon 2006; Omoniyi 2006; Smitherman 1997), relatively little sociolinguistic research focuses on Hip Hop in Canada. Examining phonetic variation in Canadian Hip Hop artists’ lyrics allows us to better understand how artists use subtle variations to construct and project a local and/or non-local (read: Americanized) identity. I examine two variables, one considered indexical of Canadian English, and one generally considered indexical of African American Vernacular English (AAVE, see Labov 1971), and their frequency of use by Canadian Hip Hop artists. The feature under examination which indicates a Canadian identity is diphthong raising (“Canadian Raising”, see Chambers 2006):

“Struck by lightning brand new exciting dance/writing grants we mighta had a fighting chance” [lʌŋtn] [ɛksʌŋtn] [mʌŋtn] [mʌŋtn] [mʌŋtn] (Terfry 2005)

On the other hand, although r-lessness is a strictly non-Canadian feature, it occurs frequently in the speech of Canadian Hip Hop artists, regardless of their ethnicity and the fact that they are not American:

“See me on the bill better follow me there/I solemnly swear I’ll make it back to Oliver Square” [bɛtə][œa] [swea] [aliva skwea] (Pemberton 2006)

My corpus includes 12 artists from across Canada: Swollen Members and Moka Only (Vancouver), Cadence Weapon (Edmonton), K-Os, Kardinal Offishall, and Choclair (Toronto), Thesis Sahib and Shad (London), Buck 65, Classified, Jesse Dangerously and Wordburglar (Halifax). Using GoldVarb (Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith 2005), I extract 825 tokens of Canadian Raising and 2528 tokens of r-lessness. Each token of a Canadian or non-Canadian variant is coded for the artist’s age, ethnicity and region in Canada in which they live. I analyze the frequency of Canadian Raising and r-deletion, as well as effects of age, ethnicity and region on these variables. Preliminary results suggest that Canadian Hip Hop artists are constructing multiple, complex identities, using significant rates of unraised diphthongs and r-deletion to index a non-Canadian (possibly American or pan-Hip Hop) identity, while also using high rates of Canadian-sounding variants (raised diphthongs, and retained postvocalic r’s). Surprisingly, age, ethnicity and geographic region have no significant effect on rates of these variants; rather, the individual is the most important factor conditioning the rates of the variants under investigation.

The extent to which Canadian artists use distinctly Canadian and/or non-Canadian phonetic variables gives insight into what kind of identity the artist is strategically (and perhaps consciously) constructing and projecting. My findings on the identities that Canadian Hip Hop artists choose to project within this imported (non-local) musical genre provide valuable insight into the nature of Canadian linguistic identity.
On Being Definitely Unique in Inuktitut

St-Amour, Michelle

This paper investigates definiteness in Inuktitut, a morphologically-rich, agglutinative language that employs an ergative case system and lacks determiners. I argue against Hallman (2008), who proposes that the uniqueness restriction in Inuktitut definites is asserted, not presupposed.

Hallman (2008) assumes that all ergative and absolutive nouns carry a uniqueness restriction; he argues that this uniqueness is not a presupposition, as in English, but a Russellian-type definite, which contains a uniqueness assertion (Russell 1905):

\[
\exists x C(x) \land \forall y [C(y) \rightarrow y=x]
\]

The uniqueness assertion forces discourse anaphoricity; in other words, all ergative-and absolutive-marked nouns must obligatorily refer back to a previously introduced member of the same predicate. If the ergative-or absolutive-marked noun is the first occurrence in the discourse, the noun introduces the referent to the context and the uniqueness restriction is satisfied by the new discourse referent itself.

Whether or not the uniqueness restriction is an assertion can be straightforwardly tested by using negation; if it is indeed an assertion, then it will be affected by negation, unlike a presupposition which survives negation. More specifically, Hallman (2008) predicts that (2) should be true in the case that there exists a bear that is sleeping, but is not unique:

\[
\text{nunuq sini-ngit-tuq} \\
\text{bear.abs sleep-neg-ind:3A‘Bear is not sleeping’}
\]

If the definite noun *nunuq*, ‘bear’, contains two conjuncts (both an existential and a uniqueness assertion), then negating one of the conjuncts, such as the uniqueness restriction, should satisfy the truth-conditions for the statement in (2).

In this paper, I present data from original fieldwork on the South Ba:n dialect of Inuktitut, showing that (2) is in fact false in a situation where there is a non-unique sleeping bear. Therefore, negating only the uniqueness conjunct of the definite does not satisfy the truth-conditions of (2). In conclusion, I argue that the uniqueness restriction cannot be an assertion, contra Hallman (2008).

Instead, I argue that the uniqueness restriction must be a type of presupposition, which is unaffected by negation. Since Inuk absolutive and ergative nouns can appear discourse initially, this leads to an analysis in which the presuppositions introduced by definites are more easily accommodated in Inuktitut than in English, much like the informative presupposition of the genitive in (3):

\[
\text{I had to take my daughter to the doctor.} \quad \text{(von Fintel 2000)}
\]

In conclusion, I argue that the uniqueness restriction in Inuktitut definites is not an assertion, but a weak presupposition. The question of why the presupposition of discourse-initial absolutive and ergative nouns in Inuktitut is weak and so easily accommodated, unlike in English, currently remains unclear.
When is a Conspiracy Not a Conspiracy? A Case from Icelandic
Stong-Jensen, Margaret

Calabrese (2005, 22) describes conspiracies as: “In the case of a conspiracy, a variety of different phonological processes have in common the avoidance of a given configuration.” Conspiracies have been accounted for by output constraints in various theories. In Icelandic, two phonological processes, Preaspiration and Spirantization, appear to conspire to avoid an output configuration:

(1) V C⁶ (in the syllable rhyme)

Preaspiration derives [maiht] from /mætʰ tʰ + / mætti ‘meet’ (past)’ (mæta [mai:tʰə] ‘to meet’) and [vakna] from /vakʰ na/ (vakna ‘awaken’); Spirantization derives [vaxtʰ] from /vakʰ + tʰ + / (vakti (past) ‘be awake’). Both processes result in outputs that do not violate (1).

Working within Optimality Theory, which is designed to account for conspiracies, Ringen (1999) proposes an analysis of Preaspiration and Spirantization, using the highly ranked constraint: *µptk[sɡ] (obstruent stops that are [spread glottis] may not be moraic). Ringen’s analysis does not account for vowel lengthening found in the genitive singular of strong masculine and neuter nouns and adjectives ending in p or k, which derives [lɑːks] from /lɑkʰ + s/ (laks ‘bedsheet’ gen.sg.), and thus provides a third “repair” or way to avoid (1). In her analysis, the constraint No-Long-V (*VV) (Benua 1995), ranked below Stress-Weight (S → W » *VV » *µptk[sɡ]) would select [lɑks], instead of [lɑːks], since S → W is satisfied by a closed syllable CVC.

Using Pater’s (2006) OT model, a lexically indexed faithfulness constraint (Ident-IO(v-length)-L) » (*VV) » Ident-IO(v-length), where L refers to /lækʰ/ /laks ‘bedsheet’ gen.sg.,) and thus provides a third “repair” or way to avoid (1). In her analysis, the constraint No-Long-V (*VV) (Benua 1995), ranked below Stress-Weight (S → W » *VV » *µptk[sɡ]) would select [laks], instead of [lɑːks], since S → W is satisfied by a closed syllable CVC.

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In an Optimal Paradigms analysis (McCarthy 2005) we would obtain the correct definite paradigm skápurinn (nom. sg.) [skauːpʏrɪn], skápsins (gen.sg.) [skauːpsɪns], skápnum (dat.sg.) [skauːpɪnʏm] with the ranking (S → W » OP-ID-v-length » *VV); however, for nouns that are not strong masculines and neuters ending in p or k, the same ranking would select a definite paradigm with the incorrect genitive singular (dómurinn ‘judgement’ (nom.sg.def.) *[touːmʏrɪn]; dómsins (gen.sg.def.) *[touːmsɪns], (correct is [toumsɪns]); dómnum (dat.sg.def.) *[toumɪnʏm]).

If these OT analyses are not successful, is it possible that the Icelandic data do not form a conspiracy? Using a derivational approach, Calabrese (2005) accounts for conspiracies (like avoidance of vowel hiatus) by a set of ranked repairs that correct an ill-formed structure, i.e. one that violates a negative constraint. A deterministic derivation leads through the ranked repairs until a well-formed structure is obtained. The repairs in Icelandic for violations of (1) are, following Calabrese’s system, fission (preaspiration), delinking (spirantization, deaspiration), and mora addition (vowel lengthening). They are not ranked. Preaspiration and
spirantization are generally the best repairs, phonologically and morphologically, for their respective inputs. The wrong repairs are generally ill-formed; for example, spirantization applied to /mætʰ + tʰ + u/ ([maihtʰ]) would yield ill-formed *[mai00tʰ] (*00). But not always: applied to /kʰæpʰʰ u/ kappi [kʰəhpi] ‘hero,’ spirantization would give [kʰəfï], which is well-formed phonologically but is actually the word kaffi [kʰəfï] ‘coffee.’ Preaspiration applied to /vakʰ + tʰ + u/ would yield *[vahktʰ] (*stop[−cor]− stop [iː])]. In other cases, repairs are selected on a dialectal basis: for tk clusters, as in notkun /nɔtˈkʰyn/ ‘use,’ all four repairs are attested ([nɔhtkʰyn], [nɔhkʰyn], [nɔtkʰyn], [nɔtʰkʰyn]), in dialectal variation; the genitive singular strong masculines and neuters allow three dialectal variants: [laks], [laks], [laks]. I conclude that (1) does not represent a conspiracy, but that it is a language-specific constraint, which triggers repairs but not in a deterministic or fully predictable way.
French Wh-questions in child L2 acquisition

Strik, Nelleke

In French, there is considerable variation with respect to interrogative structures. In this study, I examine the production of root Wh-questions by young Dutch-speaking learners of French. Three of the most common Wh-structures in French are Wh fronted questions with or without subject-verb inversion (“Qui tu dessines?” versus “Qui dessines tu?” - “Who do you draw?”) and Wh in situ questions (“Tu dessines qui?”). In terms of economy or syntactic complexity, it has often been argued that Wh in situ questions are less complex than Wh fronted questions and therefore acquired first (see Hamann 2006, Jakubowicz in press, among others). Syntactic complexity does seem to play a role in the important number of Wh in situ questions produced by Anglophone children acquiring French (cf. Scheidnes et al. 2008). In Dutch, there is much less variation in question formation: Wh fronted questions with inversion are the only grammatical option. If transfer from Dutch occurs, children would produce questions with inversion. With respect to the first exposure to the L2, it is generally assumed that there is a ‘cut off’ around age 4: children who start learning a second language before this age would be similar to monolingual children, while children who start after this age would behave more like adult (or child) second language learners (cf. Herschensohn 2000 among others). However, it is hard to determine this ‘cut off’ and the period between age 3 and 4 seems to be a transitional period, giving rise to mixed data (cf. Meisel 2009, 2010). In order to clarify the issues raised here, I present data from an elicited production task of root Wh-questions, using the same methodology as Scheidnes et al. (2008) do for monolingual French children and Anglophone learners of French. Subjects are 15 Dutch-speaking children acquiring French as a second language (mean age 6;3, S.D. 1.6 – mean age of first exposure 3;5, S.D. 1.8 – mean length of exposure 3;11, S.D. 1.8).

The results show that the children produce few Wh in situ questions (8.5% on average in the object Wh-questions) and even fewer Wh-questions with inversion (4.5% on average in the object Wh-questions). The majority of their responses are Wh fronted questions without inversion. As for the low number of Wh in situ questions, the Dutch L2 learners behave like monolingual French children of the same age and they are different from the Anglophone L2 learners of Scheidnes et al. (2008). The preference for Wh fronted questions could be attributed to transfer from Dutch, although absolute transfer from Dutch would have resulted in a high number of questions with inversion, which is clearly not the case.

Neither syntactic complexity nor transfer from Dutch seems to be a decisive factor in the production of French Wh-questions by Dutch L2 learners. What seems to be more relevant is the age of the first exposure to French which is low for the Dutch-speaking learners and much higher for the Anglophone learners (3;5 versus 6;11, cf. Scheidnes et al. 2008). Therefore, if the acquisition of a second language begins before the age of 4, this appears to result in a native-like behavior, at least with respect to syntactic operations such as Wh movement. It is worth noting that the Dutch L2 learners make errors, which clearly distinguish them from the monolingual French children (12% of the overall responses contain any type of error). Errors occur in the form of Wh-words and of object pronouns, in gender agreement and the lexicon, and are mostly of a morphological nature. This can be taken as evidence against the claim made by Schwartz (2004) that L2 children are more similar to L1 children with regards to (inflectional) morphology, whereas they are more similar to L2 adults with regards to syntax. This result, in turn, confirms the conclusion reached by Meisel (2010), that differences with monolingual children take place in the morphological domain. On the basis of the results presented here, I conclude that first
exposure to a second language between age 3 and 4 gives rise to a similar syntactic development as in monolingual acquisition, while differences can occur in the morphological domain.
Lexical vs. Functional Predicates in Japanese and their Agreement Domains
Sugimura, Mina

In this paper, I argue that domains for agreement do not coincide with domains for movement, in support of Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (2005). Departing from their analysis, however, I further argue that agreement domains are insensitive to phases, along the lines of Bošković (2007).

Bobaljik & Wurmbrand (B & W) argue that there is a domain mismatch between AGREE/MOVE (Chomsky 2000, 2001). According to them, a lexical head taking a clause as its complement renders the clause inaccessible for agreement but accessible for movement.

In Japanese, although accusative is a default case morphology for objects, the potential morpheme (ra)re occupying the highest position assigns nominative case (Kuno 1973).

(1) [TP Midori-ga [VP aisu-dake-ga]i [VP sono cafe-ni [VP tate-ni] ike]-re-ru] Midori-NOM ice cream-only-NOM that cafe-to eat-to go-can-PRES ‘Midori can only go to that cafe to eat an ice cream.’ *can > only; only > can

(2) [TP Midori-ga [VP aisu-dake-ga tabe]-bare-ru] Midori-NOM ice cream-only-NOM eat-can-PRES ‘Midori can only eat an ice cream.’ can > only; only > can

In (1), the lexical head ike ‘go’ takes the VP as its complement, whereas there is no such head involved in (2). Strikingly, the object necessarily takes scope over (ra)re in (1), whereas it can take scope below (ra)re in (2). This is so because the VP in (1), being the complement of a lexical head, is opaque for agreement, and thus the object must move to the vP spec to obtain case (Wurmbrand 2001), taking scope over (ra)re. On the contrary, in (2), AGREE should suffice since the VP is transparent, allowing for the object to take scope below (ra)re. Reconstruction of the A-moved object in (1) is excluded under the standard assumption (Chomsky 1995).

Although B & W’s generalization of a domain mismatch seems robust, in both (1) and (2), neither MOVE nor AGREE happens across a phase. Thus, it is worth questioning if a relaxed domain for AGREE is ever obtainable across a phasal domain. In fact, this is possible:

(3) [TP Taroo-ga [VP [VP Hanako-ni [VP keeki-dake-ga tabe]-sase]-bare-ru] -NOM -DAT cake-only-NOM eat-CAUSE-can-PRES.

‘Taroo can make Hanako eat only a piece of cake’ can > only; only > can

In (3), there are at least two vP domains (Harley 2006). The fact that the object can take scope below (ra)re suggests that the intervening vPs are accessible for AGREE between the object and (ra)re, allowing for the object to stay in-situ, taking scope below (ra)re. This indicates 1) that the causative morpheme sase is not a true lexical head, but is rather a functional-like element, and 2) that AGREE is insensitive to phases.

I claim that B & W’s generalization is due to (un)availability of head movement of the embedded predicate all the way up to (ra)re. I argue that the fact that (ra)re ‘cancels’ the default accusative case normally assigned by the embedded predicate (eg. ringo-o tabe-ru ‘(I) eat an apple.ACC’) is due to head movement of the embedded predicate so that (ra)re can absorb its case-assigning property. I further argue that this head movement expands an agreement domain where an object can agree with a higher predicate across a phase. In (1), the relevant head movement involves ‘improper’ movement in Li’s (1990) sense since it involves mixed types of movement: the lexical head tabe first moves to what I assume as a functional head ni ‘to’, and then to the lexical head ‘go’, and then finally to the functional head rare. Thus the agreement domain is restricted within the VP so the object must MOVE instead of AGREE. On the contrary, in both (2) and (3) tabe does not undergo improper movement, and only undergoes lexical-to-functional movement on its way to the potential.
Thus, the agreement domain is consequently expanded and the object can AGREE without movement.
Short, Not Sweet: A Markedness Reversal for Coda Sonority in Men’s Hypocoristics
Tessier, Anne-Michelle

Introduction This paper reports some novel segmental asymmetries in attested and preferred forms of men’s English first-name truncations (e.g. Peter → Pete, Terance → Terry). The central focus is a generalization that men’s monosyllabic truncations prefer to have less sonorous codas, in direct contradiction to the cross-linguistic preference for more sonorous codas (e.g. [2].) The paper argues for an analysis in which a markedness hierarchy can be co-opted to create process-specific constraints, and thus process-specific markedness reversals.

Data English hypocoristics have been studied in some detail (esp. [5], [6], [7], [11]). These studies reveal that English creates hypocoristics either by truncation to one heavy syllable (1a) or two syllables including -y (1b). Many men’s names can undergo either process, while others resist monosyllabic truncation in many dialects (1c; putting aside the dialect studied in [3]):

(1a) ‘Abraham’ → ‘Abe’ [əb] ‘Jacob’ → ‘Jake’ [dʒək]
[prəmi] ‘Clifford’ → ‘Cliff’ [klɪf]
* [wəɾ] ‘Albert’ → ‘Al’ [æl]
*[ɾəɬ]

(1b) ‘Martin’ → ‘Marty’ [mæɾi] ‘Thomas’ → ‘Tommy’

(1c) ‘Wallace’ → ‘Wally’ [wəɾi], ‘Terance’ → ‘Terry’ [tʰɛɹi],
*[tʰɛɹ]

The main categorical explanation for the (1c) pattern is a prohibition on [r]-final monosyllabic truncations (esp. [5]). To further investigate, a corpus of 183 current men’s names was built from [10] and [12]. This small sampling provides initial confirmation of an intuition that masculine truncations preferably end with low sonority (also [4]). As one example: names which provide a potential singleton coda for truncation (eg. Peter → [pi], Terance → *[ɾɛɬ] ) were tabulated. Table (3) provides the proportion of these names with attested (1a)-type truncations, arranged by decreasing coda sonority. (A rating study is now in progress to confirm and quantify the effect):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coda Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stops (t, k)</td>
<td>13/15</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stops (b, d, g, ɹ)</td>
<td>16/18</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricatives (s, f)</td>
<td>10/19</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricatives (z, v)</td>
<td>4/9</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals (m, n)</td>
<td>15/26</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɹ]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɬ]</td>
<td>0/17</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis The low-sonority coda effect is captured here with a family of stringent constraints derived from the Margin sonority hierarchy ([9]) and indexed to the (1a) truncation process:

(4) *[ʃ]-CODA-1σTRUNC
*SONORANTCODA-1σTRUNC (etc.)
*APPROXCODA-1σTRUNC
*CONTINUANTCODA-1σTRUNC

The most stringent of these constraints, affecting only rhotics, is ranked above M-PARSE, and conspires with the Minimal Word requirement to block monosyllabic truncation (5a). With the remaining coda constraints ranked indeterminately (e.g. [1]) with respect to M-
PARSE, a name’s likelihood of undergoing (1a) truncation is a function of its potential coda sonority – this makes rankings that allow low-sonority forms quite likely (5b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(5a) ‘Terrance’</th>
<th>(5b) ‘Clifford’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* COD A</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEXWD =PWd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-PARSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*CONTCODA 1σTRUNC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(t^h\ɛJ)</th>
<th>(t^h\ɛ)</th>
<th>[null parse]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This analysis thus offers insight into both process-specific markedness, as well as to grammatical approaches that aim to generate both categorical prohibitions and lexical trends (e.g. [8].)
Future Expressions in Siamou

Toews, Carmela

This paper describes and analyzes future expressions in Siamou, a Niger-Congo language of the Kru family. In most modern treatments, future expressions are believed to have a modal component (Marchese, 1984; Enç, 1996; Copley, 2002; etc.). I demonstrate that Siamou futures are also modal, and I explore the nature of this modality. No previous work exists on the modality of future expressions in this language.

Siamou has at least three morphemes which interact to form future expressions: an auxiliary, bè, and two verbal suffixes, -a and bɛ, which are currently labeled as distant future (DF) and near future (NF), respectively (Paul Thiessen, p.c.). These suffixes attach to the infinitive of the main verb. The auxiliary, bè, may co-occur with either of the two suffixes.

It has been observed (Copley, 2002) that only some future expressions are compatible with making an offer. For example, in English, the will future can be used to make an offer, while the be going to future can not. This has been analyzed as an aspectual difference—will being a barelike future (no aspect) and be going to a progressive-like future. In Siamou, the distant future is felicitous as an offer (1a), while the near future is not (1b). This suggests that the distant future is a bare-like future (1a), and the near future is a progressive-like future (1b).

1. context: A group of people in the desert have found a water source. Someone needs to drink it to see if it's safe.

   a. I offer to do it.
   
   ñ bè à yeṃ gbɛ-a.  
   1SG AUX DEF mouth drink-INF-DF
   I will drink the water.

   b. I decide to do it and I inform the group of my decision.

   ñ bè à yeṃ gbɛ-bɛ.  
   1SG AUX DEF mouth drink-INF-NF
   I am going to drink the water.

The claim that Siamou futures are modal is strongly supported by the fact that both the bare-like future and the progressive-like future may be truthfully uttered even if the event expressed by the proposition does not actually occur. An utterance like (2), for example, which combines the affirmative of one future with the negation of the other, is not contradictory. In this case, the -bɛ future refers to what the speaker believes to be the subject's intentions. Similarly, in (3), the -a future refers to what the speaker predicts the subject will want (to drink water), even though this will be impossible (because there is no water).
1 à bè nun gbe-bè kè à bè nun gbe-à bo. 3SG AUX water drink.INF-NF but 3SG AUX water drink.INF-DF NEG He is planning to drink water, but he won't drink water (because I won't let him).

2 à ni byè à bè nun gbe-à kè nun fon bo

3SG if come.PERF 3SG AUX water drink.INF-DF but water be.here NEG If he comes, he will (want to) drink water, but there isn't any water.

These data demonstrate that Siamou futures impart meaning beyond merely a future time for an event. Rather, they include modal notions such as planning, intention, or desire. They also pose a challenge for current theories because although usually English futures (among others) are analyzed as modal, nevertheless, utterances like *He is going to drink water, but he won't drink water* are infelicitous.
PROLIFÉRATION DE COMME DANS LA GRAMMAIRE DES ENFANTS EN MILIEU FRANCOPHONE MINORITAIRE
Tsedryk, Egor

Cette présentation porte sur le marqueur discursif comme, dont l’usage excessif caractérise le discours propre à l’adolescence (Chevalier 2001). En examinant le parler des élèves d’une école primaire francophone à Halifax (Conseil scolaire acadien provincial de la Nouvelle-Écosse), on constate que ce marqueur peut se retrouver dans différentes positions syntaxique. Plus précisément, on l’observe devant un syntagme Qu- (1), devant un sujet (2), entre un sujet et un verbe (3), entre un auxiliaire et un syntagme verbal (4), devant un infinitif (5), devant un syntagme prépositionnel (6), nominal (7) et adjectival (8).

1 Il a des questions pour comme quand il a des mauvaises lettres.
2 On joue beaucoup de choses, comme on joue avec des poupées.
3 Tu comme dessines la tête de lui.
4 J’ai allé à son travail un peu de fois et j’ai comme vraiment aimé.
5 J’aime comme lire.
6 Il va comme à des places.
7 On va aller à comme Cap-Breton.
8 Mes cheveux étaient comme tout brillants.

Les exemples (1)-(8) sont tirés des énoncés des enfants bilingues issus des familles exogames (un parent est francophone et l’autre anglophone). En fait, on peut supposer qu’une prolifération de comme découle du contact étroit avec l’anglais qui, à son tour, connaît une grammaticalisation progressive de like (D’Arcy 2005). D’après D’Arcy, like n’est pas inséré d’une manière aléatoire, mais cible tout d’abord la projection maximale des catégories fonctionnelles de base, comme C (complémenteur), v (verbe causatif) et D (déterminant). Par la suite, il se propage graduellement vers des catégories lexicales. S’agit-il d’un phénomène similaire dans le cas de comme?

En comparant les élèves bilingues de la première/deuxième année (6-7 ans) avec ceux de la cinquième/sixième année (11-12 ans), on observe une différence dans l’usage de comme. Dans le groupe des plus jeunes, comme est employé surtout dans les cas d’incertitude linguistique pour remplir le discours en cas d’hésitation ou de lacunes lexicales (ex. : des fois on fait ... comme fait ...). Si on y ajoute les emplois figés (c’est comme...), on obtient environ 44% de tous les emplois attestés dans ce groupe d’âge. Les cas de grammaticalisation, comme ceux en (1)-(8), ont une plus faible proportion, 35%. De l’autre côté, dans le groupe plus âgé, ces cas représentent 63%, tandis que les cas d’hésitation et les emplois figés se réduisent à 22%. Il s’avère que comme « pénètre » de plus en plus dans la grammaire des enfants.

Pour conclure, cette étude ne prétend pas de trancher sur la question concernant la grammaticalisation de comme en français d’une manière générale. Elle nous amène plutôt à l’hypothèse que comme se grammaticalise chez les enfants bilingues dans le milieu francophone minoritaire. D’abord comme fonctionne comme un simple moyen de remplir le discours et se fossilise graduellement dans le système grammatical de ces enfants. Il reste à voir s’il s’agit d’un processus isolé, qui ne concerne que comme, ou c’est plutôt un signe d’un processus de fossilisation plus global.
Some Preliminary Grounds for a Grounded Morphology

A great deal of attention has been paid to the role of functional explanations in understanding phonological patterns. When phonological patterns can be accounted for in terms of articulatory, perceptual or aerodynamic reasons, the explanation is commonly referred to as grounded (Archangeli and Pulleyblank 1994). This paper puts forth arguments in favour of having an analogous model of morphology, in which patterns of word-structure can best be understood by referencing functional explanations. However, rather than being grounded in phonetic terms, morphological explanations are grounded in what is known about the mental lexicon, along the lines of work by Bybee (1985 et seq.), Hay (2003), and others. This paper begins by presenting evidence that morphology cannot be morpheme-based or constructive; rather it is based on analogical, relational patterns within the lexicon (as per Blevins 2006). That morphology is word-based and relational is a foundational assumption of a grounded morphology. Other tenets and principles of morphological grounding are then discussed.

In Halkomelem (Central Salish) a range of word-formation processes are used to express progressive aspect including: reduplication (1a), metathesis (1b), apophony (c), vowel deletion (1d), and resonant glottalization (1a-b). All data from Hukari and Peters (1995).

(1) a. ˙aœø;m rotten ˙aœø;m rotting
   b. ˙œøamθøt turn rotten ˙œø;mθøt getting rotten.
   c. çå†œøt grind it çå†œøt grinding it,
   d. çå†œø;m crumble, fall to pieces. çå†œøm falling apart...

The choice of allomorph is phonologically conditioned, depending on the related base, not the root, as comparison of (1a) and (1b) – with the root √˙aœø illustrates. With a C1VC2… sequence C1V- reduplication occurs, with a C1C2V… base metathesis occurs. Apophony occurs with schwa-vowelled stems as in (1c). Morphological operations like metathesis, deletion, and ablaut are problematic for morpheme-based approaches, though not impossible to formulate. The pattern in (1) also poses difficulties for constructional word-based approaches, in which there is a base to which an operation applies (c.f. Matthews 1972; Anderson 1992; Aronoff 1992).

Examine (1c) and (1d), which share the same triconsonantal root, but differ in having the control transitive suffix /-t/ and middle suffix /-øm/. While in (1c) the progressive is formed with apophony [a], in (1d), the perfective is also formed with apophony [a]. This mismatch between form of [a] and progressive and perfective meanings is problematic for models in which meanings are assigned to specific forms, as with morpheme-based approaches, and stem-based non-relational approaches. On the other hand, it is not problematic where the expression of meanings is determined relationally, via consistent subpatterns in the lexicon: those patterns that are well suited to proportional analogies. The pattern in (1d) is consistent for all triconsonantal roots with the middle suffix, showing the analogical pattern: <PERF>C1aC2aC3aøm :
<PROGR>C1aC2aC3aøm. The relational nature of words in the mental lexicon is well motivated, and thus we have established a basis for a grounded approach to word-formation.

A further pattern will also be explored which shows that the base varies, depending on the affix attached. As seen in (2b), while metathesis is expected, reduplication occurs instead.

(2) a. ˙pêøt ‘sew it’ ˙pêøt ‘sewing it’
   b. ˙ptøels ‘sew’ ˙pêøtøels ‘sewing’

The factors relevant to determining the base, such as frequency (c.f. Bybee 1985), will also be discussed, providing another grounded condition for this approach to word-formation.
References
Le nombre en langue des signes québécoise (LSQ)

Voghel, Amélie

Il a été proposé pour la LSQ que les valeurs ‘singulier’ et ‘pluriel’ du nombre grammatical s’expriment par la forme de l’association spatiale lors de l’association initiale d’un nom avec un locus spatial à l’aide du signe POINTÉ. Ainsi, la valeur ‘singulier’ est exprimée par un POINTÉ désignant un point de l’espace et la valeur ‘pluriel’ est exprimée par un POINTÉ désignant une zone circulaire de l’espace (Parisot et Bouchard, 2008). De plus, en LSQ, il est possible d’exprimer la pluralité en pointant individuellement chacun des référents inclus dans le pluriel, ou en utilisant un mouvement linéaire balayant une série de loci (Parisot et Bouchard, 2008).

Par ailleurs, il existe plusieurs stratégies permettant d’associer un nom du discours à un locus spatial. Parmi ces stratégies, trois d’entre elles ont été attestées et décrites pour la LSQ (Parisot, 2003 ; Parisot et Rinfret, 2007; Rinfret, 2009), soit la localisation directe d’un élément sur un locus spatial, la direction du regard, et l’inclinaison du tronc en direction d’un locus spatial. Cela nous amène à poser la question à savoir si ces trois stratégies d’association spatiale, au même titre que le POINTÉ, peuvent servir à exprimer le nombre grammatical dans le syntagme nominal en LSQ.

Les données sur lesquelles repose notre analyse sont issues d’un corpus de productions de deux signeurs natifs de la LSQ élicitées à partir de vidéos dans lesquelles un ou plusieurs personnages effectuent des actions et manipulent des objets (Parisot et al., 2008). Chaque vidéo est accompagnée d’un ensemble de questions en LSQ. Dans les productions, nous avons relevé tous les noms et avons décrit : 1) la présence ou l’absence d’association spatiale, 2) la stratégie d’association spatiale utilisée, 2) la forme du locus spatial assigné. Pour tous les noms, nous avons demandé à 3 signeurs sourds de nous donner l’interprétation de la quantité. Les signeurs avaient en leur possession les phrases dans lesquelles se retrouvaient chaque noms, ainsi qu’une grille à remplir avec des choix tels que quantité déterminée (1, 2, 3 ou autre), quantité indéterminée (plusieurs). Les signeurs pouvaient utiliser plus d’une réponse.

Dans un premier temps, nous présentons une analyse descriptive des valeurs du nombre en LSQ ainsi que de leurs moyens d’expression à l’aide d’exemples de notre corpus. Nous montrons qu’en plus du pointé, la localisation directe d’un élément sur un locus spatial permet d’exprimer les valeurs ‘singulier’ et ‘pluriel’. À la lumière de nos données, nous discutons ensuite des cas où il y a absence d’association spatiale, qui semblent suggérer une interprétation indéterminée du point de vue de la quantité. Pour terminer, nous proposons une analyse unifiée de l’expression des valeurs ‘singulier’ et ‘pluriel’ dans le SN en LSQ, sur la base de la portion de l’espace à laquelle est associé un référent (point vs zone).
Psycholinguistic evidence for lexicalized foot structure in German
Silke Weber

It is widely accepted that word stress in German is partly lexically specified because words with identical phonological structure sometimes differ with respect to the position of main stress, e.g., ‘Safran ‘saffron’ vs. So’pran ‘soprano’ or ‘Tenor ‘purport’ vs. Te’nor ‘tenor’ (Wiese 1996/2000). However, it remains an unresolved issue, which aspects of German word stress are regular and which are lexically specified. Wiese (1996/2000), for instance, assumes that German word stress is quantity insensitive and that penultimate stress is regular whereas Giegerich (1985) and Féry (1998) among others assume that heavy syllables attract stress.

In this presentation, I will argue that, despite obvious regularities, word stress and foot structure are always lexically specified in German. To support this hypothesis, I will present evidence from a lexical decision experiment investigating how stress errors by non-native speakers affect word recognition by native speakers. The stimuli were trisyllabic monomorphemic German nouns whose target stress was either on the initial, penultimate or final syllable. Experimental stimuli were created where the actual stress placement on the items presented to native speakers was systematically varied. For instance, items with correct initial stress, like (Dy.na)(mo) ‘generator’, were also produced with penultimate and final stress. This allows two possible types of stress errors: Stress on the wrong foot, as in (Dy.na)(mó) or a violation of foot structure as in (Dy)(ná.mo). The participants, native speakers of German, were asked to listen to these items and to indicate as quickly and as accurately as possible whether an item was a German word or not. The response times indicated that the stress errors only inhibited recognition times if the stress error resulted in a violation of foot structure, not if the other foot of the word was stressed.

I propose that in perception, the phonetic input is parsed into feet incrementally from left to right. As German is strictly trochaic (e.g., Knaus & Domahs 2009), every strong syllable will head a trochee. If the resulting foot structure conforms to that of the underlying representation, word recognition is not impeded. If on the other hand the foot structure of the underlying and surface representation do not match, recognition times are slower. Crucially, stress errors that do not violate foot structure do not affect recognition times. I suggest that these phenomena can be represented in an OT-like processing grammar, in which Ident-Foot (e.g., Davis 2005) is ranked higher than Ident-Stress (e.g., Pater 2000).

References
Adjectives that are attributive are an illusion that is transparent:
Evidence from Tlicho Yatii
Welch, Nicholas

1. **The Problem.** Th chó Yatìi, an Athabaskan language of the Northwest Territories, appears to have an asymmetry in the behaviour of adjectives. Attributive adjectives may apparently modify inanimate nouns (1a) but not animate (1b).

   (1)  
   a. Dzéę edı nì-hò-kw’ì ha. (author’s field data) **_day hot_** come-FUT ‘Hot days will come.’  

   In Kayne’s (1994) view of adjective syntact, all adjectives are underlyingly predicative; attributive constructions are the result of predicate raising. This claim predicts the existence of languages where only predicative adjectives occur. Such a language is Slave, a closely related neighbour of Tlı́cho Yatı́i (Rice 1989). I suggest that this is the case in Tlı́cho Yatı́i as well.

2. **My proposal.** I propose that apparently attributive constructions such as (1a) are in fact predicative. I claim animate nouns are syntactically distinguished from inanimate by a number feature and that the need to check this feature accounts for the asymmetry between (1a) and (1b).

3. **Motivating the proposal.** There is a parallel asymmetry in the context of predicative adjectives. When an adjective is predicated of an inanimate subject, a copula does not appear (2a); when the subject is animate, a copula is obligatory (2b). The grammatical version of (1b) also requires a copula (2c). I claim that (1a, b) are predicative uses just as are (2a, c).

   (2)  
   a. Dì₁ dzę ę edı. (author’s field data) **_this day_** hot ‘Today is hot.’  
   b. Edì *(eh-l̓). Hot 1SG.SBJ.IMPF-be ‘I am hot (feverish).’  

   A third asymmetry occurs in verbal predication: number agreement in Tlı́ cho Yatìi does not occur with inanimate nouns, as in (3a), but only with animates (3b).

   (3)  
   a. T’asìı hodà-e-tłì̄ so ̀o. (TCSA 2007) **_things_** 3.PL.IMPF-fall-many.objects PROHIB ‘Make sure things do not fall down.’  
   b. …dèè k’e nà-gú-tłì. (CBS 2003:Matthew 17:6) **_earth_** LOC down-3PL.SBJ.PF-fall ‘…[the disciples] fell to the earth.’

(4)

4. **Analysis.** Following Rice & Saxon (2005), I assume that number agreement is expressed overtly in the syntax. I suggest that a predicative adjective in Tlı́ cho Yatìi forms a small clause (SC) with its subject, and that the if the subject is animate (and therefore number-featured), the SC merges with a (number-featured) copula at vP, as in (4). Inanimate DPs are unspecified for number and therefore the copula is unexpressed (5).

Constructions such as the subject of (2c) have been shown to be relative clauses (Saxon 2000), where the predicate is nominalized and relativated before it can modify the head noun. It is my contention that the subject of (1a) is similar, and the structure of the modifier is that of a relative clause.

5. **Consequences.** Under my treatment, the facts of Tlı́ cho Yatìi fall into line with those of its close relative Slave, and constitute evidence in favour of both
Kayne’s analysis of attributive adjectives and Rice & Saxon’s treatment of number agreement. Further, I provide a unified analysis of adjectival modification of both animate and inanimate nouns.
Articulatory Undershoot in an ASL Corpus: Initial Findings

Wilkinson, Erin; Janzen, Terry; Russell, Kevin

Many ASL signs that are made on the face or head in citation form are often made with a lower location in connected signing. One obvious analysis is that signers are undershooting the targets of the gestures, just as speakers often do in spoken language (e.g., Lindblom 1963, Browman and Goldstein 1992, Kirchner 1997). Indeed, laboratory studies using optical tracking have shown that undershoot is happening in at least some ASL signs made on the face or head (Mauk et al., 2004; Mauk and Tyrone 2007). At the same time, sociolinguistic studies in the variationist tradition have found many social and linguistic influences on such sign lowering (Lucas et al., 2002; Schembri et al., 2009). Unfortunately, neither approach alone can establish undershoot as a general explanation for sign lowering. It is uncertain whether findings from the artificial tasks and narrow linguistic contexts used in the laboratory will generalize to natural discourse. The variationist studies do not make fine-grained enough measurements to establish that what they’re counting are even cases of undershoot. A fuller picture requires combining the natural discourse and wide variety of contexts of the variationist studies with the precise and continuous (not artificially dichotomized) measurements of the laboratory studies.

The corpus for this research consisted of one hour each from ten native ASL signers engaged in free conversation and telling personal narratives. Within this corpus, all tokens of signs with canonical positions on the face or head were identified. For each token, the video frame where the selected fingers came the closest to the canonical location (the attainment point) was identified, and the vertical displacement and the euclidean distance (in pixels) between the canonical position and the attainment point was measured – this is considerably less exact than infrared tracking, but likely at least as precise as using acoustic measurements to infer the position of vocal articulators.

Mixed-effects regression modelling is used to account for the amount of reduction as a function of a number of linguistic predictors. Sign frequency is estimated from a panel of native signers’ subjective frequency ratings (which have been shown to correlate strongly with logfrequency in spoken languages). Other potential predictors included are lexical category of the sign (noun, verb, etc.); the previous and next locations that the contacting hand is required to be at in the present sign and (if different) the preceding/following sign; whether the sign occurs before/after a pause; the number of previous uses of that sign in the discourse and the time since the most recent use; and whether the sign co-occurs with non-manual topic marking.

Preliminary results based on a portion of the corpus suggest a strong effect of frequency on reduction for verbs (in particular those high-frequency verbs with grammatical/discourse marking functions, such as KNOW, SEE, THINK, SUPPOSE), but a much smaller effect of frequency for nouns; a strong effect of non-manual topic marking encouraging reduction; and the expected effect of a lower location in the preceding/following sign encouraging reduction.

While there is clearly plenty of undershoot, as in the Mauk studies, some patterns are more difficult to square with the idea that articulatory undershoot is the only factor that underlies sign lowering. Very many lowered signs continue to contact the face – which would suggest that in those tokens the hand is successfully reaching a lower target rather than undershooting a higher target. Some of the more frequently lowered signs have clear secondary clusters of attainment points (e.g., a cluster of tokens with contact at the cheek in addition to a cluster at the canonical position of the forehead). This would suggest that signs’
lexical entries contain more than a monolithic phonological representation – e.g., multiple abstract representations (cf. Connine 2004), exemplars, or non-Gaussian distributions of contact locations.
Goal: The contrast between count and mass nouns is sometimes assumed to derive from the presence or absence of a feature or function, F, such that a count noun is N[F] and a mass noun is simply N (ex. Borer, 2005). We present evidence that the mass interpretation is a marked construction rather than the absence of F such that a count noun is N[F1] and a mass noun is N[F2]. The marking of mass nouns is achieved via the presence of an XP which we identify as inner Asp (1)a, the nominal equivalent of inner Asp in the verbal domain (1)b, (Travis, 2005).

Mass nouns are marked: We present two pieces of evidence for the marked status of mass nouns: (i) Not all languages have a grammaticized mass/count distinction; and (ii) in some languages mass nouns are overtly marked. With respect to (i), we review evidence that the mass/count distinction is not universally grammaticized. In Halkomelem (Salish) and Blackfoot (Algonquian) the difference between nouns encoding individuals vs. substance does not correlate with a grammatical distinction, (Wiltschko, 2009). If mass were universally derived from the absence of marking it would follow that in such languages all nouns are mass nouns. On our view, the absence of a mass/count distinction in these languages follows from the absence of nominal inner aspect (as in Halkomelem).

Turning to (ii), we note that while in many languages the mass/count distinction is not overtly marked, there is evidence that such marking is possible. The evidence comes from Asturian Spanish, where mass nouns are overtly marked (Corbett, 2000, Hualde, 1992, Penny, 1970). For example, object clitics differ depending on whether the referent is count or mass (2). Similarly, masculine nouns differ depending on whether they are count or mass (3). Further evidence that mass is syntactically active in this language is that mass nouns can trigger a special form of agreement on adjectives, (4). Assuming that only a marked contrast can participate in AGREE, it follows that mass nouns must be marked, rather than being the result of the absence of marking.

Mass/count = nominal inner aspect: Following Rijkhoff (1991), we assume that the mass/count distinction is the nominal equivalent of inner aspect (see also Acquaviva, 2004, Dressler, 1968). We assume that verbal inner Asp is defined in MacDonald (2009) and extend this to nominal inner Asp. We follow Rijkhoff (1991) in assuming that the relevant dimensions according to which nominals differ are structure <strc> and shape <shp>. This derives 4 types of nominal aspectual classes. Accordingly, nominals, like verbal predicates, can be unbounded in two ways: either via the lack of inner aspect as in abstract nouns, or else via the presence of inner aspect which encodes just <strc>, without <shp>.

abstract: \( n \) mass: \( \text{Asp}_{\text{strc}} > n \) \( \rightarrow \) both unbounded/“mass”
collective: \( \text{Asp}_{\text{strc},<\text{shp}} > n \) individual: \( \text{Asp}_{\text{strc}} > n (X),<\text{shp} \) \( \rightarrow \) both bounded/“count”

Conclusion: We conclude that mass nouns are not derived through the absence of marking. Instead the mass/count contrast is a result of nominal inner Asp. Accordingly, there are two types of unbounded (“mass”) nouns: abstract nouns which lack AspP and mass nouns which lack <shp>. In our system, mass is marked in a similar way as atelic events are marked.

1. Nominal inner asp \( [\text{NP} \ n \ [\text{AspP} \ Asp \ [\text{NP} \ n]]] \) b. Verbal inner asp \( [\text{VP} \ v \ [\text{AspP} \ Asp \ [\text{VP} \ v]]] \)
2. a. lu [MASC, COUNT] b. lo [MASC, MASS]
3. a. pil-u (‘hair’, COUNT, MASC) b. pél-o (‘hair’, MASS, MASC)
4. a. nigr-u [SG, MASC] nég-r-a [SG, FEM] nég-r-o [MASS]
   b. el kafé nég-r-o ‘the black coffee’
   the.MASC coffee.MASC black-MASS
c. la boróna nég-r-o ‘the black cornbread’
   the.FEM cornbread.FEM black-MASS
d. la maéra táb-a sék-a ‘the piece of wood was dry’
   the.FEM piece.of.wood.FEM was dry-FEM

How to be a mass and other cases of nominal aspect
Martina Wiltschko and Michael Barrie
The so-called Chinese VV compounds: a continuum between lexicon and syntax

Yin, Hui

Whether Chinese VV compounds are lexicalized units or derived syntactically has been a long-time debate among Chinese linguists. Traditional analyses assume that Chinese VV compounds are either in the realm of lexicon or syntactic phenomena but are not both. This study proposes that Chinese VV compounds are not a discrete category. Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1989, 1991) holds that lexicon and syntax form a continuum. In fact, Chinese VV compounds display a continuum between lexicon and syntax. Some so-called VV compounds are best analyzed as lexicalized items while others are really serial verb constructions (Paul, 2004).

In the VV compound category, some items are simply fixed lexicalized units. These compounds are mostly parallel VV compounds in which two verbs either are synonymous or signal the same type of predicative notions (Li & Thompson, 1981). The constituents of these verb compounds are of the same syntactic category. The meanings for most compounds in this category are not directly or only partially related to those of their components such as chu ru ‘exit enter – (have) differences’, and li kai ‘separate-open – leave’. Such compounds abide by Lexical Integrity Principle (Huang, 1984) and nothing can intervene between their two constituents. For these somewhat opaque compounds, their compositional value may not remain a significant factor in their meanings and it is better to list them in the lexicon as fixed units.

However, other so-called VV compounds are pretty transparent semantically and each of their constituent can be used freely as a word on its own. These transparent VV compounds can be classified into three groups, which display various degrees of syntactic properties. The first type is phase compounds in which the second verb constituent indicates the phase of the first verb such as chi wan ‘eat finish – eat up’. In phase VV compounds, bu ‘not’ or de ‘achievable’ can be usually inserted between these compounds to indicate that the result can be obtained (e.g. chi de wan ‘eat de finish – can be eaten up’) or can not be achieved (e.g chi bu wan ‘eat bu finish – cannot be eaten up’). In this kind of compound, except bu ‘not’ or de ‘achievable’ nothing else can intervene between the constituents. The second type is resultative compounds, in which the second constituent signals the result of the first constituent such as da shui ‘hit break (to pieces)’. Like phase compounds, resultative compounds allow the insertion of bu ‘not’ or de ‘achievable’ between their constituents. Moreover, in such compounds some adverbs such as quan ‘completely’ can insert between the constituents to indicate degrees (e.g. beizi da de quan sui le ‘cup hit de completely break to pieces PERF – the cup was hit completely broken to pieces). The third type is directional verb compounds, in which the second verb indicates the direction of the first verb and the typical directional verbs are lai ‘come’ and qu ‘go’. In addition to allowing the insertion of bu ‘not’ or de ‘achievable’ between their constituents, this type of compound also permits the perfective aspect marker to intervene between the two constituents (e.g. ta ba yi ben shu na le lai/qu le ‘he OBJ one book take PERF come/go PERF – he has taken a book here/away’). Moreover, in the so-called directional compounds, it is possible for their objects to occur between the first constituent and the directional complement (e.g. he na le yi ben shu lai/qu ‘he take PERF one book come/go – he has taken a book here/away’).

The so-called VV compounds are not a homogenous category. Parallel VV compounds are typical lexicalized compounds while phase and resulative compounds display...
characteristics of syntactic compounds though resulative compounds display more syntactic properties. Directional compounds show typical syntactic properties and some linguists argue that they are serial verb constructions. In terms of Chinese VV compounds, the continuum between lexicon and syntax is: parallel compounds >> phase compounds >> resultative compounds >> directional compounds.
Les limites de la partitivité :
L’exemple de partitif sujet en Français Standard
Zgati, Amal

Le syntagme nominal (DP) est généralement associé à la quantification. Il y’a plusieurs façons d’envisager cette quantification : l’idée de massif, de dense, de comptable, de collectif et d’assemblage.
Nous nous intéressons, dans notre travail, à la partitivité illustrée sous l’angle de l’opposition massif/comptable (Kleiber, 1997) et étudiée en relation avec la détermination (Wilmet, 1974) ; notre objectif est d’examiner de proche la tournure partitive (du/de la) + N massif en position sujet :

1 a. De la fumée noircit les poutres.
   b. * De la fumée est sur les poutres.
2 a. Du beurre fondait dans la marmite.
   b. *Du beurre est comestible.
3 a. De l’aggressivité est repérée chez les toxicomanes.
   b. * De l’agressivité est une modalité de comportement chez les êtres vivants.

Nous analyserons quelques caractéristiques de la tournure partitive en mettant plus particulièrement en relief la nature sémantique de (du / de la), cela nous permet d’avancer pour traiter des points importants qui touchent de plus proche cette tournure partitive. Nous essaierons dans notre deuxième partie d’extraire :
(i) Les contraintes qui influencent l’emploi du partitif sujet tels que le choix d’une classe des verbes dits inaccusatifs ainsi que les temps verbaux qui se combinent parfaitement avec cet emploi.
(ii) De proposer que le partitif sujet peut être expliqué par le sémantisme du verbe et de la substance qui entraîne intrinsèquement la forme de la substance dénotée par N massif.
(iii) Et, finalement de démontrer que l’existence des SN (référents) est fortement liée à la présence de prédicat spécifiant, et de ce point de vue interprétatif la suppression de ces repères spatiaux fait que les SN partitifs sujet perdent leur statut de SN spécifique.
Preuves à l’appui d’une approche monosémique :
le cas des verbes de mouvement malgaches

Beau Zuercher


Références bibliographiques


