

locality in language

CLS45



April 16-18, 2009

The Chicago Linguistic Society
45th Annual Meeting
Chicago, Illinois

April 16, 2009

Dear Conference Attendees,

It is with great pleasure that we welcome you to the fourth-fifth annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. During this year's conference, we will discuss the many aspects of this year's theme, locality in language, exploring the notion that local relationships are a central element for a variety of phenomena, both syntactic and phonological. The main session also features emerging research from all subfields of linguistics as well as related disciplines.

In this program you will find an overview of the schedule, invited speaker abstracts, as well as the short abstracts of all talks as well as alternate talks, in order of appearance.

We gratefully acknowledge the University of Chicago Student Government Graduate Council, the Frankie Institute for the Humanities, as well as the linguistics community for the funding that made this conference possible.

Please do not hesitate to address any of us with your questions, concerns, or comments. We hope you enjoy the conference!

Yours sincerely,

The officers of CLS 45

M. Ryan Bochnak
Alice Lemieux
Nassira Nicola
Peter Klecha
Jasmin Urban
Christina Weaver

The 45th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

Thursday, April 16, 2009 – Assembly Hall

8:00 – 9:15	Registration and Coffee
9:15	Welcome
9:30 – 11:30	Locality in Phonology
9:30	Sharon Gerlach (University of Minnesota): <i>Consonant harmony and non-local metathesis in phonological development</i>
10:00	Eric Bakovic (University of California San Diego): <i>Local blocking and minimal violation</i>
10:30	Adam Wayment (Johns Hopkins University): <i>Integrating preconditions on parasitic vowel harmony</i>
11:00	Max Bane & Ed King (University of Chicago): <i>Local predictability in the lexicon</i>
11:30-11:45	Break
11:45	Invited Speaker: Ivan Sag (Stanford University) <i>Localist Grammar</i>
12:45 – 2:00	Lunch
2:00 – 4:00	Locality in Syntax I
2:00	Yosuke Sato & Dwi Hesti Yuliani (University of British Columbia): <i>Phase-bound locality, deletion, and failure of vocabulary insertion at the syntax-phonology interface</i>
2:30	Hyon Sook Choe (Yeungnam University): <i>On Left-Branch Extraction (LBE) and Left-Branch Condition (LBC) effects</i>
3:00	Sverre Johnsen (Harvard University): <i>Non-local binding in tenseless clauses</i>
3:30	Alex Drummond (University of Maryland): <i>The unity of extraposition and the A/A' distinction</i>
4:00 – 4:15	Break
4:15	Invited Speaker: Kyle Johnson (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) <i>Why movement?</i>

The 45th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

8:00 Grad Student Mixer: Location: University of Chicago Pub in the basement of Ida Noyes, 1212 East 59th Street

Friday, April 17, 2009

8:00 – 9:00

Registration and Coffee

Home Room

9:00 – 11:00

Syntax I

9:00 Jeremy Rafal (The City University of New York):
*On the structure of associative plurals: a view from
Hawaiian Creole English*

9:30

Michael Diercks (Georgetown University):
*Subject extraction and anti-agreement effects in Bukusu: A
Criterial Freezing Approach*

10:00

Pei-Jung Kuo (University of Connecticut):
Differential object marking in Mandarin Chinese

10:30

Vincent Homer & Tomoko Ishizuka (University of
California Los Angeles):
Looking at Japanese causatives from a French perspective

11:00 – 11:15

Break

11:15

Invited Speaker: Paul Boersma
(University of Amsterdam)

Emergent phenomena with exhaustive constraint sets

National Room

Computational Phonology

Marc Ettlinger, Ann Bradlow & Patrick Wong
(Northwestern University):

The persistence and obliteration of opaque Interactions

Max Bane & Jason Riggle (University of Chicago):

*Evaluating strict domination: the typological consequences of
weighted constraints*

Silke Hamann (University of Düsseldorf), Diana Apoussidou
& Paul Boersma (University of Amsterdam):

*Modeling the formation of phonotactic restrictions across the
mental lexicon*

Peter Graff (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) & T.

Florian Jaeger (University of Rochester):

*The OCP is a pressure to keep words distinct: Evidence from
Aymara, Dutch and Japanese*

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12:15- 1:30	Lunch	
1:30 - 3:00	Locality in Syntax II	Pragmatics
1:30	Daniel Büring (University of California, Los Angeles): <i>The non-locality of predicate integration</i>	Jennifer Mack & Yael Fuerst (Yale University): <i>English optional expletives and the pragmatics of judgments</i>
2:00	Brent Henderson (University of Florida): <i>Anti-agreement: locality of movement or agreement?</i>	Rachel Szekely (Long Island University): <i>Existential dependencies: holes, problems and other flaws in the argument</i>
2:30	Jesse Harris (University of Massachusetts, Amherst): <i>Locality, event-construal and extraction: evidence from language processing</i>	Marina Terkourafi (University of Illinois): <i>Variationist methodology in pragmatics: (how) can it be done?</i>
3:00 - 3:15	Break	Break
3:15 - 4:45	Experiments in Structure and Meaning	Nothing but Nasals
3:15	Susannah Kirby (University of North Carolina): <i>Child passives: A-chain maturation or argument mismatches?</i>	Hiroki Nomoto (University of Minnesota): <i>More on Austronesian nasal substitution</i>
3:45	Erin Tavano and Elsi Kaiser (University of Southern California): <i>Eye-movement evidence of effort in scalar implicature processing</i>	William G. Bennett (Rutgers University): <i>The distribution & representation of nasalized clicks</i>
4:15	Hyun Kyung Hwang (Cornell University): <i>The role of prosody and pragmatics on wh-scope assignment in Korean and Japanese</i>	Caleb Everett (University of Miami): <i>Understanding the adjacency of nasal oralization and stress in Karitiana</i>
4:45 - 5:00	Break	Break
5:00	<p>Invited Speaker: Christopher Potts (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)</p> <p><i>Perspective-shifting with appositives and expressives</i></p> <p>jointly with Jesse Aron Harris (University of Massachusetts, Amherst)</p>	

The 45th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society

Saturday, April 18, 2009 – National Room & Home Room

8:00 – 9:00

Registration and Coffee

Home Room

9:00 – 11:00

Semantics

9:00 Carlos Balhana (Georgetown University):
What does this “even” mean? Modality, ordering and focus

9:30

Eun-Hae Park (University of Chicago):
Definite free choice analysis in Korean

10:00

Zhiguo Xie (Cornell University):
A two-layer analysis of ability modality -- a case study of ‘able to’

10:30

Olga Eremina (Michigan State University):
Ambiguity or unification? Choice Function approach to -TO indefinites in Russian

11:00 – 11:15

Break

11:15

Invited Speaker: Lenore Grenoble
(University of Chicago)

Losing it in Siberia: assessing the impact of contact

12:15- 1:30

Lunch

National Room

Phonology

Karen Jesney (University of Massachusetts Amherst):
Licensing in multiple contexts: an argument for Harmonic Grammar

James Gruber (Georgetown University):
The composition of phonological tone in Burmese

Olga Vaysman (Massachusetts Institute of Technology):
Mansi rhythmic allomorphy

Peter Jenks (Harvard University) & Sharon Rose
(University of California San Diego):
Syllable weight and high tone in Moro

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1:30 – 3:00

Syntax II

1:30 Kensuke Takita (Nanzan University/University of Connecticut/JSPS):

'Genuine' sluicing in Japanese

2:00 Vincent Homer (University of California Los Angeles):

Backward control in Samoan

2:30 Jackie Bunting (University of Chicago):

Comparing quality and quantity in Ewe: a look at the serial 'wu'

Language change

Matt Bauer (Illinois Institute of Technology):
Sound change and functionalism: The role of laryngeal height

Kelly L. Maynard (University of Chicago):
The aspect marker pe in Samsun Albanian

Ashley Lober (University of Texas at Arlington) & Brenda H. Boerger (Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics):
Spatial relationships in Natügu: micro-level directionals

3:00 – 3:15

3:15 – 4:45

Degrees and more

3:15 Marcin Morzycki (Michigan State University):

Degree modification of extreme adjectives

3:45 Julie Li Jiang (Harvard University):

Monotonicity and measure phrases in Chinese

4:15

Jozina Vander Klok (McGill University): *Indirect modification in Javanese: evidence from attributive comparatives*

Break

Discourse and Interaction

M. Catherine Gruber: *I just wanna apologize': The socio- interactional meanings of 'just' in defendants' apologies*

Matt Garley, Benjamin Slade & Marina Terkourafi (University of Illinois):

Hwæt! LOL! – common formulaic functions in Beowulf and blogs
Diana Marinova (American University):
Collaborators or underminers of the dispute resolution process?
Disputants' reaction to mediators' assessments

4:45 – 5:00

Break

Invited Speaker: Rachel Walker

(University of Southern California)

(Non-)adjacency in harmony systems

5:00

6:00 – 6:30

Break

Farewell Banquet and Entertainment

Assembly Hall

6:30

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Alternates:

Phonology

Daniel Michel (University of California San Diego): *Positional transparency in C'Lele*

Syntax

Christopher Straughn (University of Chicago): *Exceptional Case Marking in Uzbek complementizer clauses*

Computational Phonology

Kevin McGowan (University of Michigan): *Lexical reflexes of the Syllable Contact Law*

Nothing but Nasals

Kenneth Olson (SIL International & University of North Dakota) & D. Will Reiman (SIL International): *The voiced linguolabial plosive in Kajoko (Guinea-Bissau)*

Semantics

Yusuke Kubota (Ohio State University): *More on scale structure and degree modification: the case of 'kanari' in Japanese*

Language Change

E-Ching Ng (Yale University): *Singaporean English word-level tone assignment: an Optimality Theory account*

CLS 45 Grad Student Mixer

Calling all students! Come join us at the Pub after the first day of CLS 45 for some relaxation and a chance to meet students from different universities. Play pool, eat some curly fries, or just enjoy the wide selection of drinks! You get the cover (\$3) and we'll cover the first beer! Don't forget to bring your ID.

Who: All students

What: Grad Student Mixer

When: Thursday, April 16th, @ 8 PM

Where: University of Chicago Pub in the basement of Ida Noyes (1212 E. 59th St)

CLS 45 Farewell Banquet

To conclude this year's meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, please join us on Saturday evening in the Assembly Hall for our farewell banquet and entertainment. Enjoy the food and drink, mingle with your fellow conference attendees, and most of all, show what you've got at the karaoke machine!

Who: All conference attendees

What: Farewell Banquet

When: Saturday, April 18th, @ 6 PM

Where: The Assembly Hall of the International House

Localist Grammar

Ivan A. Sag
Stanford University

In this paper I will attempt to defend the thesis that grammar is a set of local constraints. I will review a forgotten literature on the locality of lexical sub-categorization restrictions (Kajita 1968, Chomsky 1965, Gazdar 1982), arguing that X theory still provides the power to eliminate both head movement and wh-movement, replacing these with a uniform theory of feature inheritance. Thus, mothers and their daughters obey general constraints and lexical information “percolates” to become information about phrases along the projection path, all through the very same principles that make verbs project VPs, prepositions project PPs, and so forth.

This local constraint architecture, allows an overall simplification of grammatical theory, eliminating destructive operations (e.g. movement; though, interestingly, permitting a kind of ellipsis). All of grammar acquires a model theoretic quality – one can see clearly the modeltheoretic denotation of the grammar: the set of (feature) structures that satisfy it. This is a highly desirable property for linguistic theories, as argued on theoretical and psycholinguistic grounds by Pullum and Scholz (2003), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), and Sag and Wasow (in press).

The grammatical architecture I present (quite compatible with the streamlined version of universal grammar articulated by Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002)) reduces grammar to constraints on the recursion of signs – a system of “external merges” that induces nonlocal constraints between sound and meaning without any autonomous system generating syntactic trees. Sign well-formedness is defined in terms of the well-formedness of ‘constructs’ – configurations of a mother sign and its daughter signs. The objects defined by grammatical theory are thus analogous to (a somewhat enriched version of) the local trees defined by a context-free grammar and in this way grammatical constructions are analogous to CFG rules.

I will examine a number of apparent problems for this pristine conception of grammar, exploring issues such as agreement, case assignment, idiomatic expressions, the control of overt pronominals, and cross-linguistic variation in lexical sensitivity to filler-gap dependencies.

References

- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Culicover, P.W., and R. Jackendoff. 2005. *Simpler Syntax*. Oxford: OUP.
Hauser, M, N. Chomsky, W. T. Fitch. 2002. The Faculty of Language: What Is It, Who Has It, and How Did It Evolve? *Science* 298, 1569.
Gazdar, G. 1982. Phrase Structure Grammar. In P. Jacobson and G. K. Pullum (eds.), *The Nature of Syntactic Representation*, pp. 131-186, Dordrecht: Reidel.
Kajita, M. 1968. *A Generative-Transformational Study of Semi-Auxiliaries in Present-Day American English*. Tokyo: Sanseido.
Pullum, G. K., and B. C. Scholz. 2003. Contrasting applications of logic in natural language syntactic description. In P. Hájek et al. (eds.), *Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science...* KCL Publications, 481-503.
Sag, I. A., and T. Wasow. in press. Performance-Compatible Competence Grammar. In R. Borsley and K. Borjars (eds.), *Non-Transformational Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell's.

Why Movement?

Kyle Johnson

University of Massachusetts, Amherst

There are now a variety of proposals about what is responsible for creating Islands for movement. Some of these blame semantic conditions, some blame processing bottlenecks, some blame an interaction between syntactic operations and how their results map onto strings. Interestingly, these different proposals do not seem equally well-suited for all of the islands that constrain movement.

That the Coordinate Structure Constraint has a semantic source, for instance, seems more compelling than does giving the Wh-Island Condition such an account. It seems probable that the Islands, which constrain movement have a variety of sources. Why should movement operations be subject to these island constraints? What property of movement is responsible for making it sensitive to islands? That islands have different sources presents a real puzzle about what the responsible property of movement is. If there is more than one source for Islands, then the property responsible for making movement sensitive to them must not be domain specific.

I will argue that movement creates multidominant representations, and that this is what makes it sensitive to islands. The evidence for a multidominant treatment of movement comes from how it invokes reconstruction effects, and how it requires that only one of the positions related by movement is capable of bearing phonological material. To capture these two properties from multidominant representations, I will argue that derivations in which movement occurs are required to form trees with two (or more) roots until the moved phrase is given all of its final positions. These derivations are ensured by a version of Chomsky's "Extension Condition," which allows structure-building operations, including movement, to only see root nodes. I will produce arguments for the Extension Condition, as well as a multidominant representation for movement, and demonstrate how the derivations that result could present a footprint that the alleged sources for Islands see.

Emergent phenomena with exhaustive constraint sets

Paul Boersma
University of Amsterdam

From Prince & Smolensky (1993) on, phonologists have been encoding their observations of phonological tendencies as innate constraints in Universal Grammar. For instance, the observation that languages tend to favour syllable onsets and to avoid syllable codas has been encoded as the innate *markedness constraints* ONSET and NoCODA. Sure enough, freely ranking these constraints with respect to faithfulness constraints does yield the major typology of syllable structures of the world's languages. But creating and handling the large set of innate constraints that phonologists have proposed throughout the years is very costly: in the explicit proposal by Soderstrom, Mathis & Smolensky (2006), for instance, each innate constraint has to be specified in the genome, and computing optimal surface forms from given underlying forms requires that each innate constraint comes with its own neurotransmitter substance!

How much easier would it be to have an *exhaustive set* of structural constraints, based on the phonological categories that are available. One can hypothesize that beside the constraints ONSET and NoCODA humans possess the constraints NoONSET and CODA (at least in languages that have onsets and codas). The burden of the explanation of the observed typology then shifts toward explaining why languages tend to rank ONSET above NoONSET, and NoCODA above CODA (this yields virtually the same typology as having only ONSET and NoCODA). I will show that with some relatively modest assumptions (a separation between phonological and phonetic representations, a bidirectional learning algorithm, noisy transmission between generations of learners), such universal rankings automatically emerge either in every learner or in the evolution of every language.

Now why is it so much easier to have the exhaustive set of structural constraints { ONSET, NoONSET, CODA, NoCODA } than to have the innate set of markedness constraints { ONSET, NoCODA }? The ease lies both in the creation and the handling of these constraints: following the reasoning by Boersma (1998), one can propose that all four constraints are created as soon as the learner creates the phonological categories /onset/ and /coda/ on the basis of the language data; and in computing optimal surface forms from given underlying forms, the constraints work not as specialized machines with their own specialized neurotransmitters, but as the connection strengths between phonological representations themselves. In phonology, simulations with exhaustive constraint sets exhibit the emergence of auditory dispersion (Boersma & Hamann 2008) and the emergence of 'markedness', i.e. the negative correlation between the frequency of occurrence of a phonological feature value and its degree of phonological activity (Boersma 2008).

Not surprisingly, the burden of explanation is again shifted: we have to explain how learners can create phonological categories from the language data. That is, our bidirectional multi-level model of phonology and phonetics has to be married with a model of category emergence. I will show that, in principle, category emergence can be handled in a natural way in a model where phonological elements are *distributed* across multiple atoms of representation, and constraints are distributed as the strengths of multiple connections between these atoms.

Perspective-shifting with appositives and expressives

Christopher Potts together with Jesse Aron Harris
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Background This talk explores the role of perspective in appositives and expressives, seeking to highlight the ways in which linguistic intuitions, large corpora, and human-subjects experiments can come together to yield a nuanced picture of linguistic meaning in context.

The issue Much earlier work claims that appositives and expressives are invariably speaker-oriented, in the sense that they always express speaker commitments, no matter where they are positioned syntactically. This generalization has recently been challenged persuasively. The questions we address: what are the underlying linguistic causes of non-speaker-oriented readings, and how widespread are such readings?

Experimental evidence for the sources of non-speaker-orientation We present two questionnaire-based studies that bear directly on the following competing hypotheses:

- i. **Configurational:** The source of non-speaker-oriented readings of appositives and expressives is semantic binding; their content can be bound by higher operators like attitude predicates, thereby shifting it away from the speaker.
- ii. **Contextual:** The source of non-speaker-oriented readings of appositives and expressives is the interaction of a variety of pragmatic factors. In general, these interactions favor speaker-orientation, but other orientations are always in principle available, regardless of syntactic configuration.

Experiment 1 focused on appositives used in perspectivally-rich contexts. We found that, in such contexts, non-speaker-oriented readings were *preferred*, both when the appositive was embedded inside the complement to an attitude predicate and when it was not. This finding supports the contextual hypothesis (ii), though (i) is an understandable conclusion: we found that embedded appositives are statistically more likely to support non-speaker-orientation. *Experiment 2* probed how the emotive dimension of epithets like *the jerk* is affected by prior context. We found that unembedded epithets could be non-speaker-oriented and that negative contexts significantly increased the likelihood of such readings. This finding supports contextual hypothesis (ii), and it also informs the question of which contextual factors are relevant for deciding on the intended perspective for expressives.

Corpus evidence concerning the prevalence of non-speaker-orientation This corpus resource focuses on appositives in attitude contexts. We began with 177 million words of novels, newspaper articles, and TV transcripts. With a regular expression search, we found 278 examples of appositives syntactically embedded inside the complements to attitude verbs. We went through these examples by hand, developing, where possible, *textual* arguments for what the intended appositive interpretation was. Our arguments were then evaluated by two independent annotators. No matter what perspective we take on the resulting annotated corpus, we find a strong bias for speaker-oriented readings.¹

Conclusions Our results are consistent with the multidimensional view of semantic composition I develop in *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures* (2005), but they suggest that the important interpretive questions about appositives and expressives concern where and how they are used—in particular, the pragmatics of perspective taking, and the contextual factors that create a general bias in favor of speaker-orientation, as well as those that can overcome this bias.

¹ The corpus and associated search tools are at <http://people.umass.edu/potts/data/embeddedappositives/>.

Losing it in Siberia: Assessing the impact of contact

Lenore A. Grenoble
University of Chicago

The Siberian linguistic landscape is characterized by a number of typologically and genetically different languages which have been in contact for centuries due to the historically nomadic lifestyle of many groups on the one hand and Russian colonization on the other. In this talk I focus on one of these languages, Evenki, a Tungusic language spoken by an estimated 5000 speakers, none of whom are monolingual. Evenki has been undergoing shift since the post World War II era, a shift which, if anything, has accelerated since the breakup of the Soviet Union. Changes due to attrition are found in all linguistic levels of Evenki (phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic). Yet in many instances it is difficult to determine where change is due to attrition and language loss; where it is the result of language contact (and yet not ascribable to attrition); where change is language-internal; and where current differences among speakers are more a reflection of variation.

One particularly thorny issue is clause combining. Both coordination and subordination are in a state of flux in many of the Siberian Tungusic languages and are moving toward more Indo-European- (or specifically Russian-) like patterns. According to standard descriptions (e.g. Cheremisina et al. 1986; Kolesnikova 1966; Nedjalkov 1997), Evenki is typical of Tungusic in its use of a range of formal strategies to combine clauses through coordination, clause chaining, and subordination, with extensive use of parataxis and converbs, and limited use of conjunctions and conjunctive particles. Yet modern usage shows significant use of conjunctions and finite subordinate. I consider these changes in Evenki from the standpoint of both morphosyntax and discourse and argue that they are systematic, not idiosyncratic, and can be fruitfully compared to the linguistic changes found in incomplete language acquisition of heritage speakers (with some differences). The analysis is based on three different sets of corpora: folklore texts, collected in the 1950's from monolingual speakers of Evenki; my own field recordings, collected in Sakha from speakers whose primary language is Evenki; and a set of frog stories, collected from speakers of a variety of regional dialects whose primary (day-to-day) language is Russian, but who self-identified as proficient or fluent speakers of Evenki. The study of language shift in the region raises two important methodological issues how to distinguish category loss which is attested by its absence (versus substitution or reinterpretation of another morpheme or category), and how to assess change as loss (as opposed to pre-existing absence) when historical documentation and description are incomplete.

References

- Cheremisina, M.I., L. M. Brodskaja, E. K. Skribnik, L/ A. Shamiha, N. N. Kovalenko, I. P. Sorokina, M. V. Ijun. 1986. *Strukturnye tipy sinteticheskix polipredikativnyx konstrukcij v jazykax raznyx system*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Kolesnikova, V. D. 1966. *Sintaksis èvenkijskogo jazyka*. Moscow-Leningrad: Nauka.
- Nedjalkov, Igor V. 1997. *Evenki*. New York: Routledge.

(Non-)Adjacency in Harmony Systems

Rachel Walker
University of Southern California

This paper investigates theoretical implications of adjacent and non-adjacent interactions in harmony systems along the dimensions of target scope, locality of assimilation, and trigger-target chains.

Target Scope. The scope for identifying a target can be restricted to adjacent elements. In Tuvan, round harmony targets only high vowels (1a-b), but a high vowel in a syllable non-adjacent to a trigger does not undergo harmony (1c). In contrast, Ascrea's height harmony, which raises stressed /e o/ preceding a high vowel, can target a non-adjacent syllable (2a) (compare (2b) without raising).

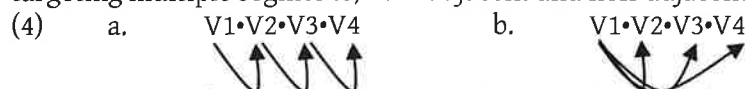
Adjacent targets only: Tuvan (Harrison 2000)	Non-adjacent targets possible: Ascrea
1. a. /nom-nɪ/ → [nom-nu] 'book' (acc.)	(Fanti 1938-1940)
b. [nom-dan] (abl.)	2. a. /toreu-u/ → [túreu-u] 'cloudy' (m.sg.)
c. [nom-ɯŋ-ar-nu] 'your book' (pl.acc.)	b. [tóreu-a] (f.sg.)

The Tuvan pattern is 'myopic,' that is, in [V1•V2•V3...] whether harmony proceeds from V1 to V2 does not depend on whether it continues to V3 or onward (Wilson 2003, McCarthy 2003). Myopia is problematic for classic OT, because a harmony-driving constraint like AGREE (Baković 2000) predicts that if harmony in a form is not satisfied for all vowels, it will affect none. Myopic harmony appears sensitive to well-formedness assessed in a succession of adjacent syllable windows. However, Ascrea's harmony requires that well-formedness be assessed in a window that includes non-adjacent syllables.

Locality of Assimilation. If a non-adjacent target is possible, a system may nevertheless require that assimilation proceed through adjacent elements. Ascrea's harmony can occur between non-adjacent syllables (2a). Central Veneto has a height harmony that, like Ascrea, can raise stressed mid vowels in a syllable that is non-adjacent to the underlying high trigger (3a), but both the stressed vowel and an intervening mid vowel raise (compare (3b)). (3c) verifies that the stressed vowel is the target: if the stressed vowel is low, it will not raise, in which case an intervening vowel does not raise either. Veneto indicates that non-adjacency can be distinct for target scope and the progression of assimilation.

Adjacent assimilation only: Central Veneto (Walker 2005)	Non-adjacent assimilation possible: Ascrea
3. a. /orden-i/ → [úrdini] 'order' (2sg.)	See (2)
b. [órden-o] (1sg.)	
c. [ázen-i] 'donkey' (m.pl.)	

Trigger-Target Chains. A third non-adjacency effect might arise in assimilations that effect multiple segments. Assimilations can be successively chained with each target forming the trigger for the next target, as schematized in (4a), or they can operate in a multi-pronged fashion with a single trigger simultaneously targeting multiple segments, both adjacent and non-adjacent (4b).



In Yakut, round harmony occurs except when the trigger is high and the target non-high (5a-b). Although /o/ triggers round harmony in a non-high vowel, it fails to trigger harmony in a non-adjacent vowel (5c), suggesting a relation like (4a). A multi-pronged relation is depicted for a hypothetical system. A high stressed vowel triggers raising of preceding mid vowels (6a) (compare (6b) without raising). Whether a system of this kind exists in Pasiego has been debated (e.g. Hualde 1989, Flemming 1993). If the pattern is attested, the failure of the high unstressed vowel to trigger raising in (6b) points to (6a) involving a relation like that in (4b). A harmony-driving constraint that assesses well-formedness in a succession of adjacent syllable windows is compatible with a successive chain pattern but not a multi-pronged one.

Successive chain (adjacent): Yakut (Kaun 1995)	Multi-pronged chain (with non-adjacency):
5. a. [ohox-tor] 'stove' (pl.)	Hypothetical stress-triggered harmony
b. [tynnyk-ter] 'window' (pl.)	6. a. /e•e•i.../ → [i•i•i...]
c. [tobuk-ka] 'knee' (dat.)	b. /e•i•e.../ → [e•i•é...]

Discussion. The existence of these differences with respect to adjacency are brought to bear on current theoretical proposals designed to address locality of assimilation, (non-)myopia of the harmony-driving constraint and its scope, and the nature of trigger-target chains. Implications for serial versus parallel frameworks are also examined, and directions for future research are discussed.

Thursday, April 16, 2009

Locality in Phonology

Consonant harmony and non-local metathesis in phonological development: The acquisition of consonant feature sequences

Sharon Gerlach
University of Minnesota

Consonant harmony involving major place of articulation as in coat [kok] is prevalent in child phonology. Non-local metathesis of these features as in cup [pak] is also reported. Both processes are unattested in adult languages. Using constraints on sequences of features for both tier and root adjacency (Bernhardt and Stemberger 1998), I present an analysis of longitudinal data in which both harmony and metathesis occur prior to cluster acquisition. The progression from non-local to local assimilation and metathesis and the fact that CVC precedes CCV syllable acquisition are both predicted since root adjacency entails tier adjacency, but not vice versa.

Local blocking and minimal violation

Eric Baković
University of California San Diego

The Elsewhere Condition (EC; Kiparsky 1973, 1982) blocks a rule B from applying when a more specific rule A has applied. Attested cases of EC-blocking are local: B is blocked from applying to a form only in those contexts where it conflicts with A's potential application, as opposed to being globally blocked everywhere in a form to which A has applied. The locality of blocking must be stipulated in the definition of the EC, but follows as a necessary consequence from the minimal violation property of Optimality Theory (OT; Prince & Smolensky 1993/2004).

Integrating preconditions of parasitic vowel harmony

Adam Wayment
Johns Hopkins University

I test the prospects for a similarity-based analysis of parasitic vowel harmony and explore how to integrate similarity effects with the locality issues fundamental to vowel harmony. The present survey indicates that 1) harmonic features are phonetically similar to parasitic features, and 2) locality is another kind of similarity - proximate segments being more similar than distal segments. Using proposed ATTRACTION constraints, these preconditions are integrated within an Optimality Theoretic framework. ATTRACTION designates a similarity-based feature 'tier', a harmonic region embedded in a phonetic space that extends across vowel sequences.

Thursday, April 16, 2009

Local predictability in the lexicon

Max Bane & Ed King
University of Chicago

We investigate the extent to which the contents of a language's lexicon can be described as optimized for local, statistical predictability. We consider the unigram and bigram statistics of a lexicon – the frequencies of segment-sequences of length $n \leq 2$ – and quantify each lexical item's predictability according to these frequencies through the pointwise mutual information (PMI) of its constituent pairs of adjacent segments. Examining the lexica of seven languages, we find that each is a near optimum for maximizing PMI within some space of "possible" alternative lexica, where a "possible" lexicon is one derived by permuting or editing words.

Locality in Syntax I

Phase-bound locality, deletion, and failure of vocabulary insertion at the syntax-phonology interface

Yosuke Sato & Dwi Hesti Yuliani
University of British Columbia

Cole and Hermon 1998 observe that in Indonesian, the movement of an NP cannot cross a verb marked with *meN*. I derive this generalization from Phase Theory. Specifically, the overt movement of an NP targets [Spec, vP] to check the D-feature. This D-feature checking, in turn, causes a change in the feature content of v, which blocks the insertion of *meN*-. Instead, the null \emptyset_{meN} is inserted as the elsewhere case, giving the appearance of "*meN*-deletion." This analysis not only provides morphological reflex of successive cyclicity but sheds light on "ellipsis", one of the most abused terms in recent work.

On Left-Branch Extraction (LBE) and Left-Branch Condition (LBC) effects

Hyon Sook Choe
Yeungnam University

Based on Korean (and English) A-bar movement data, I here suggest (A) that LBE is a case of regular overt A-bar movement (cf. Boškovic (2005)); and (B) that LBC effects are not a locality problem, but a lexically-restricted PF phenomenon, which interacts with a feature-copy/spreading process (that applies at the time of merger) which is triggered by lexical properties of the left-branches of particular category projections. Suggestion (B) will explain why unlike island effects, LBC effects exhibit particular language internal/cross-linguistic variations as well as a well-known category-sensitivity, and why they can be nullified by ellipsis, unlike island effects (cf. Grebenyova (2005)).

Thursday, April 16, 2009

Non-local binding in tenseless clauses

Sverre Johnsen
Harvard University

I present evidence in this paper that the binding domain of the 3.sg./pl. reflexive in a Norwegian dialect is constrained by semantic tense, irrespective of the morphological finite status of the clause. As a result, the reflexive can be bound out of both non-finite and finite clauses, as long as the embedded clause has no semantic tense. When the embedded clause has semantic tense, long-distance binding cannot obtain. I propose that non-local binding in this dialect is a pied-piping by-product of interclausal verb movement from tenseless clauses, parallel to what has been proposed for 'restructuring'.

The unity of extraposition and the A/A' distinction

Alex Drummond
University of Maryland

I will defend the traditional analysis of extraposition as movement to a right-adjoined position, arguing that this movement has both A and A' properties. A number of constraints on how high phrases of different categories may extrapose, together with "freezing" effects, are argued to follow from the sensitivity of extraposition to both A and A' intervention effects. I argue that the effects of extraposition on interpretation (e.g. binding, NPI licensing), together with its interaction with uncontroversially syntactic forms of movement, suggest that it is unlikely to occur at PF. The implications of the analysis for the constituent structure of vp/VP are also examined.

Friday, April 17, 2009

Syntax I

On the structure of associative plurals: a view from Hawaiian Creole English

Jeremy Rafal
The City University of New York

Associative Plurals (APLs) are DPs that refer to a group of humans identified by its most salient member(s). Although Standard English does not exhibit such construction, Hawaiian Creole English can readily attach an APL morpheme to a [+human] noun to form typical APLs. Its APL morpheme comes in two forms: a nominal form *-guys* or *-folks*, and a pronominal form *-dem*. This paper argues that these two forms reflect two basic ingredients in forming APLs: i. a predication relationship between two nominals corresponding to the FOCAL REFERENT and the GROUP REFERENT ii. a D-head that selects the resulting small clause, yielding to a definite reading of APLs.

Subject extraction and anti-agreement effects in Bukusu: A Criterial Freezing approach

Michael Diercks
Georgetown University

Bukusu (Bantu, Kenya) displays an anti-agreement effect (AAE) in subject extraction only with 3rd singular (animate) subjects. This paper links the presences of AAEs to the mechanism for movement out of a dedicated structural subject position (Rizzi and Shlonsky 2007: Criterial Freezing). In the subject-extraction configuration, agreement between the subject and the verb is mediated by an expletive in subject position, restricting the featural content of subject agreement inflection and yielding the AAE. Evidence includes the absence of AAEs in *wh-in-situ*, compound tense constructions, and locative inversion, as well as by the presence of AAEs in subject-to-subject raising constructions.

Friday, April 17, 2009

Evaluating strict domination: The typological consequences of weighted constraints

Max Bane & Jason Riggle
University of Chicago

We present algorithms for the automatic generation of non-harmonically bounded candidate forms in Harmonic Grammar (HG; Legendre et al 1990, et seq), and for computing the linguistic typology representable by a given constraint set in HG. This makes possible systematic comparisons of the typological predictions of Harmonic Grammar and Optimality Theory, which we illustrate with two case studies: the syllable structure theory of Prince and Smolensky (1993/2004), and Gordon's (2002) model of quantity-insensitive stress. In particular, we find that the constraint set of Gordon's model allows the predicted typology to explode from 152 languages in OT to 36,846 languages in HG.

Modeling the formation of phonotactic restrictions across the mental lexicon

Silke Hamann
University of Düsseldorf

Diana Apoussidou & Paul Boersma
University of Amsterdam

Artificial language learning experiments on phonotactic restrictions have shown that participants trained on many word types with few repetitions perform better than participants trained on fewer word types with more repetitions. Hence, phonotactic learning is sensitive to type frequency. We explain this computationally within an interactive multiple-level bidirectional model of phonology and phonetics. Each time a new word (form-meaning pair) appears, the virtual learner creates a new connection between underlying form and meaning and thereby automatically demotes a phonotactic constraint. Later occurrences of the same word cannot demote the phonotactic constraint any further, but occurrences of new similar words can.

Friday, April 17, 2009

The OCP is a pressure to keep words distinct: Evidence from Aymara, Dutch and Javanese

Peter Graff & T. Florian Jaeger

Massachusetts Institute of Technology & University of Rochester

In this paper we advance two claims about the nature of co-occurrence restrictions on consonants (OCP; Leben 1973). Based on studies of Aymara, Dutch and Javanese we show i) that belonging to the same perceptually salient natural class significantly decreases the likelihood of two consonants co-occurring, ii) that this penalty increases with the number of similar segments within a word evidencing cumulativity of OCP effects. Generalizing from perceptual experiments, we hypothesize that the OCP functions as a lexical optimization constraint to reduce word confusability.

Locality in Syntax II

The non-locality of predicate integration

Daniel Büring

University of California Los Angeles

Integration, the intonational phenomenon whereby (certain) predicates that immediately follow their arguments remain unaccented ('A TRAIN arrived'), has been argued to reduce to the phonological spell-out of the local syntactic internal argument+head configuration (Truckenbrodt 2006, Fery & Samek-Lodovici 2006 a.o.). We show that this is not feasible: integration can involve higher arguments, even external ones, can proceed across adjuncts, and can involve phrasal predicates. We present a constraint-based system, which refers directly to the notion of argument (like Gussenhoven 1983 and Zubizarreta 1998), and merges predicate integration as well as focus prominence into a generalized prominence principle.

Anti-agreement: Locality of movement or agreement?

Brent Henderson

University of Florida

Many attempts have been made to make locality restrictions on anti-agreement effects follow from more general locality constraints on movement or binding. In this talk, I argue that the source of anti-agreement's locality is agreement itself, namely locality restrictions on an agreement relation between the relevant heads in C and T involved in subject extraction. I show that Bantu languages offer more direct evidence for this approach than most languages with anti-agreement due to the ubiquitous presence of rich agreement morphology in the C and T domains.

Friday, April 17, 2009

Locality, event-construal and extraction: Evidence from language processing

Jesse A. Harris
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Much experimental work investigates whether 'syntactic island' constraints are active during parsing (Stowe, 1986; Bourdages, 1992; Traxler & Pickering, 1996; Wagers & Phillips, to appear). I present two experiments testing pseudo-coordination constructions (*I went and bought a computer*), constructions that describe a single event (de Vos, 2005) and permit asymmetrical extraction (*What did I go and buy?*), violating the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967). In contrast to Kehler (2002) and Truswell (2006, 2007), I propose event construal only *indirectly* licenses extraction. Two independent constraints must be jointly satisfied – a semantic constraint on Aspect and a syntactic locality constraint on movement.

Nothing but Nasals

More on Austronesian nasal substitution

Hiroki Nomoto
University of Minnesota

Nasal substitution (NS) in Austronesian languages is a process whereby the stem-initial consonant is replaced by a homorganic nasal. Previous analyses of NS within Optimality Theory (OT) (Pater 1999, 2001; Archangeli et al. 1998) do not account for several general patterns found across Austronesian languages. This paper proposes an OT analysis of three of the problematic cases pointed out by Blust (2004), and shows that these data are explainable within OT by extending Pater's (2001) analysis with a minimum of additional machinery, and no diachronic explanation is necessary at least for them.

The distribution & representation of nasalized clicks

William G. Bennett
Rutgers University

A survey of click consonants in 25 languages reveals a universal implication between oral clicks & nasalized clicks: anywhere oral clicks are allowed in a language, nasal clicks may also occur. Thus, there are languages that restrict oral clicks more than nasal clicks, but not vice versa. This implication cannot be explained by treating nasal clicks as [+nasal], since nasals typically show the opposite pattern (nasal → non-nasal). I propose that pulmonic airflow is what distinguishes oral & nasal clicks: nasal clicks are actually [+pulmonic] clicks. This representation derives the phonetic nasality in clicks, as well as the [!]→[n!] implication.

Friday, April 17, 2009

Understanding the adjacency of nasal oralization and stress in Karitiana

Caleb Everett
University of Miami

In Karitiâna, word-medial nasals occurring between oral vowels may surface as circum-oralized, post-oralized, or completely oralized phones. Significantly, the relevant variation in K is due to the highly variable duration of velic aperture, rather than to asynchrony between velic gesture and oral occlusion. Despite this variability, there is one overriding constraint on velic movement: the velum must be raised before stressed oral vowels, which generally exhibit more positive spectral tilt. K appears to constrain the highly variable velic movement by requiring the adjacency of nasal oralization and stressed oral vowels, so that the spectral tilt of such vowels is maintained.

Experiments in Structure and Meaning

Child passives: A-chain maturation or argument mismatches?

Susannah Kirby
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill

This paper evaluates the claim that semantic difficulties underlie English-acquiring children's poor performance on the passive construction.

I propose an account of children's comprehension of passives that rests on the prototypicality of subjects being agents and objects being patients, arguing against the view that difficulty with passives results from an inability to form A-chains. In two truth-value tasks, children who failed to comprehend matrix passives were still able to interpret passives embedded under raising-to-object verbs (Suki wanted/needed Neil-i [t-i to be kissed t-i by Louise]). These constructions contain double A-chains, but underlying objects remain surface objects, unlike in matrix passives.

Eye-movement evidence of effort in scalar implicature processing

Erin Tavano & Elsi Kaiser:
University of Southern California

A long-standing question concerns the cost or effort involved in processing scalar implicatures (e.g. "Some apples are red" triggers the inference that not all are). We used a novel combination of visual-world eye-tracking and picture verification to investigate the real-time processing of the "not all" implicature. We crossed quantifier type (some//all) and picture type (all apples are red//some apples are red). Participants' eye-movements revealed an early sensitivity to the "not all" meaning of "some", but at the same time, situations where scalar inferences were possible resulted in longer reaction times and fixations, suggesting that scalar implicatures are not costless.

Friday, April 17, 2009

The role of prosody and pragmatics on wh-scope assignment in Korean and Japanese

Hyun Kyung Hwang
Cornell University

This paper investigates how prosodic cues and pragmatics influence wh-scope assignment in potentially ambiguous wh-interrogatives. Varying judgments have been reported regarding the island effect of the embedded complementizers corresponding to whether in Korean and Japanese. I argue that the unacceptability of the matrix-scope interpretation is due to pragmatic factors and the difficulty of assigning a felicitous prosodic pattern for the reading based on experimental results with special attention to the pragmatic and prosodic factors separately. The critical role of pragmatics and prosody highlights the need for an expanded scope of analysis, one which can incorporate this interactivity observed here.

Pragmatics

English Optional Expletives and the Pragmatics of Judgments

Jennifer Mack & Yael Fuerst
Yale University

This talk examines a class of extraposition constructions in which the expletive subject it can be omitted, e.g. *Seems like he forgot to sign it* (cf. *It seems like he forgot to sign it*). Omission of the expletive triggers a wide range of pragmatically-motivated distributional effects, indicating that subjectless sentences conventionally express speaker-oriented epistemic judgments. We connect this to previously observed cross-linguistic correlations between subject omission and subjectivity, arguing that judgments are among the class of utterance functions that have systematic syntactic reflections, alongside e.g. interrogatives and exclamatives.

Friday, April 17, 2009

Existential dependencies: Holes, problems and other flaws in the argument

Rachel Szekely
Long Island University

Do we talk about metaphysically difficult entities such as holes, flaws and problems in the same way we talk about coats and tables? Although it has been claimed that we do, and that their behavior just shows that syntactic behavior persists in the absence of reference, I provide evidence that in certain contexts they do not behave like “ordinary” NPs and suggest that this is because they are existentially dependent on a host entity, i.e., a hole is a hole in something. I offer an analysis of the class of existentially dependent NPs that accounts for their distribution.

Variationist methodology in pragmatics: (how) can it be done?

Marina Terkourafi
University of Illinois

The study of pragmatic variation has been a moot point among variationists, not least because its object, the pragmatic variable, does not fit mainstream definitions of the linguistic variable. This paper investigates whether an interpretation of the linguistic variable appropriate to the study of pragmatic variation is possible, and what it might look like. Based on a survey of studies of discourse markers and speech act realization, it is proposed that these two loci of pragmatic variation are held together by expressing procedural meaning, defined in Relevance Theory as a set of instructions guiding the inferential phase of utterance interpretation.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Semantics

What does this *even* mean? Modality, ordering and focus

Carlos Balhana
Georgetown University

Traditionally, accounts of *even* propose that the focused phrase gives rise to an existential presupposition and a scalar presupposition through predominantly pragmatic means. However, if we are to interpret focus and likelihood as a contextually-determined, ranked set of alternatives, then one might expect the phenomena to be reconcilable with a theory of graded modality complete with an ordering source. I will therefore argue for a semantic analysis that better captures the modal nature of *even*. First, I introduce the view that *even* decomposes into two elements – a modal operator with wide scope, and an existentially quantified element of narrow scope. Secondly, I suggest that the modal operator imposes a context-sensitive ordering source that ranks alternatives relative to individuals in addition to worlds and times, thus engendering the subjectivity and “goodness of fit” intuition previously attributed to a scalar presupposition.

Definite free choice analysis in Korean

Eun-Hae Park
University of Chicago

The aim of the presentation is to propose that indeterminate pronoun *nwukwu* ‘who/someone’ combined with the particle *-na* in Korean (i.e., *nwukwu-na* ‘lit. who/someone-NA’) is a definite free choice item (definite FCI) adopting Giannakidou and Cheng (2006) (cf. Choi 2007, Kim & Kafummann 2006). Semantic definiteness in *nwukwu-na* introduces a contextually determined set of individuals, presupposes a non-empty domain (i.e., existence presupposition: Strawson 1950), and allows generic reference reading (Giannakidou and Rathert 2009). We can find similar support in other languages such as in Chinese, Greek (Giannakidou and Cheng 2006), Hausa (Zimmermann 2008), and Japanese (Yoshihara 2007).

Saturday, April 18, 2009

A two-layer analysis of ability modality – a case study of ‘able to’

Zhiguo Xie
Cornell University

A successful semantic account of ‘able to’ has to handle (i) modal force, (ii) conversational backgrounds, (iii) agent effort, and (iv) ‘able to’ as an implicative verb in past episodic contexts. I argue that ‘able to’ has universal quantification force. Its semantics has two components: (i) ability as ‘internal’ property of the agent, and (ii) possible ‘external’ realization of ability. Conversational backgrounds are defined for each component. The agent’s effort has to do with the second component. In past episodic contexts ‘able to’ has actuality implicature (not entailment). The semantics I define for ‘able to’ captures all four aspects.

Ambiguity or unification? Choice function approach to -TO indefinites in Russian

Olga Eremina
Michigan State University

In Russian, indefinites with postfix -to receive a wide-scope and a narrow scope interpretations. Indefinites with different apparent scope are usually analyzed as ambiguous between choice functional and quantificational. If -to indefinites were ambiguous, they would be able to be interpreted in any context. However, -to in-definites are not valid in genuine “non-specific” scenarios. Thus, they are not truly quantificational. Both scope options can be accounted for if Russian -to indefinites are analyzed as instances of Parameterized Choice Function (Kratzer) and the notion of PCF is extended to parameterization by times.

Phonology

Licensing in multiple contexts: An argument for Harmonic Grammar

Karen Jesney:
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Positional licensing constraints in Optimality Theory predict that there should be only a single privileged context per feature – e.g., onset or initial syllables licensing independent place, not both. Evidence from various languages shows this to be an empirically- problematic fact, however. Weighted-constraint models such as Harmonic Grammar (HG; Smolensky & Legendre 2006) avoid these undesirable predictions. Positional licensing constraints can license features in multiple contexts in HG, with the result that positional faithfulness constraints are not needed to model the attested asymmetries. A more limited constraint set may thus be possible if constraints are weighted rather than ranked.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

The Composition of Phonological Tone in Burmese

James Gruber
Georgetown University

In this study, I present an autosegmental analysis of tone in Modern Burmese that requires only the specification of an H tonal autosegment and a [+CONSTRUCTED GLOTTIS] feature to describe the tonal contrasts. This specifically differs from prior analyses (Yip 2002, Green 2005) that posit phonological L tones or contour tones (such as HL for Creaky tone). Instead, I argue that the moraic alignment of only H better captures the four tones' contrasting pitch peaks. This claim is supported by acoustic data where pitch contours reflect a High pitch target, but fail to indicate active Low or Mid pitch targets.

Maŋsi rhythmic allomorphy

Olga Vaysman
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

There are two views on representation of stress, where stress is represented as either foot heads vs. non-heads or as stress configuration directly without reference to metrical foot. Maŋsi displays two ostensibly contradictory patterns: quantity-insensitive stress and quantity-sensitive allomorphy. **Stress assignment is quantity-insensitive**: stress is assigned regardless of whether syllables are light or heavy. In suffixes with **rhythmic allomorphy**, the distribution of allomorphs is determined by the **quantity-sensitive** footing of the surface form. The allomorphy indicates the foot structure is independent from stress. Stress placement in Maŋsi depends on CLASH and LAPSE constraints, whereas the foot boundaries are not.

Syllable weight and high tone in Moro: Evidence for attraction

Peter Jenks & Sharon Rose
Harvard University & University of California San Diego

The interaction between tone and syllable weight has primarily focused on the distribution of contour tones (Gordon 1999, Zhang 2001). In this paper, we present new data from Moro (Kordofanian), which suggests that high tone is sensitive to a three-way distinction in syllable weight, including onset sensitivity. We argue for the weight hierarchy (C)VC > CV > V for Moro, which accords with the generalization in Gordon (2005) that onset-sensitive weight is subordinate to rime-sensitive weight. Moreover, we show that our analysis accounts for the behavior of onsetless light syllables better than an extraprosodicity account (e.g. Odden 2006).

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Syntax II

'Genuine' sluicing in Japanese

Kensuke Takita

Nanzan University/University of Connecticut/JSPS

There has been a controversy concerning Japanese sluicing whether it is pseudo-sluicing which cleft/copula construction underlies or it is genuine sluicing which results from TP-deletion preceded by *wh*-movement. We argue that although 'sluicing' with sentences involving finite complements are best analyzed as pseudo-sluicing, Japanese also has genuine one, based on a novel set of data that involve sentences that select interrogative non-finite complements. In particular, we show that 'sluicing' with the latter type of sentences behave quite well with respect to various diagnostics that distinguish genuine sluicing from pseudo-sluicing, contrasting them with that with the former type of sentences.

Backward control in Samoan

Vincent Homer

University of California, Los Angeles

Samoan, a nuclear Polynesian prepositional VSO language with Ergative-Absolutive Case marking, allows coreference between a Possessor-DP in an Absolutive object and an unpronounced Ergative Agent-DP or Oblique Goal-DP. So sentence (1) can mean either '*Sefulu rode his own bike*' (with a silent coreferential Ergative) or '*Sefulu's bike was ridden*.'

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|------|-----|------|------|-------------|
| (1) | Na | vili | le | uila | a | Sefulu. |
| | Past | ride | Abs | Det | bike | Poss Sefulu |

We propose that (1) involves Backward Control (Polinsky & Postdam 2002), the chain being formed through Possessor Raising.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Comparing quality and quantity in Ewe: a look at the serial 'wu'

Jackie Bunting
University of Chicago

Stassen's (1985) study of expressions of unequal comparison in exceed-comparative languages reports two distinct strategies – serializing and non-serializing – where verbal “adjectives” are expressed serially and nominal “adjectives” are not. Although Stassen does not say whether this observed correlation extends to comparisons of unequal quantities, one could expect to find such comparisons expressed non-serially or perhaps through an altogether different strategy. Instead, I present a study of the Ewe exceed comparative showing that predicative verbs and attributive modifiers are compared serially, abstract nominals compared non-serially, and comparisons of quantity more closely resemble the serial than the non-serial strategy expected with nominals.

Language Change

Sound change and functionalism: The role of laryngeal height

Matt Bauer
Illinois Institute of Technology

In some dialects of English, /æ/ is raised before /g/ but not /k/. The raising may be a functional attempt to reduce conflict between producing /æ/ before /g/ (speaker oriented account), or due to misapprehension (listener-oriented account). Among unaffected speakers, both /g/ and /k/ exert a coarticulatory (i.e. raising) effect on /æ/, but acoustic evidence for raising is seen only before /g/, which suggests the stimulus precipitating /æ/- raising was listener-oriented, not speaker-oriented. At issue is why /æ/ isn't acoustically raised before /k/. This paper shows the laryngeal positions for voicing explains why listeners might interpret /æ/ as raised only before /g/.

The aspect marker *pe* in Samsun Albanian

Kelly L. Maynard
University of Chicago

This paper is on the development of a second progressive aspect morpheme *pe* in Samsun Albanian. I will show that *pe* historically developed from the combination of the progressive morpheme *po* + the D.O. clitic *e* in a VP employing a transitive verb. Importantly, I will also show that the usage of *pe* has been extended into sentences without a known D.O., and I will argue that *pe* is evidence that a class of transitive verbs has developed mandatory object agreement, i.e. argument structure, in this variety of Albanian.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Spatial relationships in Natügu: Micro-level directionals

Ashley Lober & Brenda H. Boerger

The University of Texas at Arlington & Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics

This paper examines three pair of directionals in Natügu and their functions at the micro-level. Natügu is in the Reefs-Santa Cruz subgroup of Temotu, spoken on Santa Cruz, Solomon Islands. Its directionals bear a striking resemblance to directionals in Mwotlap (François 2003: 412-414), even though the two languages are from different branches of Oceanic. Diachronically, scholars derive Oceanic directionals from serial verb constructions. We show that synchronically Natügu directionals are bound verbal directional suffixes, and no longer verbs. Our findings help describe a little known language and have implications for both conceptions of space in language and Oceanic historical processes.

Degrees and More

Degree modification of extreme adjectives

Marcin Morzycki

Michigan State University

This paper strives to develop an explicit theory of the relationship between 'extreme' adjectives---such as *gigantic*, *horrifying*, *gorgeous* and *fantastic*---and their ordinary counterparts. The starting point will be the apparently novel observation that there is a class of degree words that can modify extreme adjectives exclusively. To account for this, I will argue that, contrary to one natural intuition, extreme adjectives are not simply adjectives with upper closed scales, and that their crucial property is instead that they introduce a presupposition of exceeding the contextually-provided standard by a large amount.

Monotonicity and measure phrases in Chinese

Julie Li Jiang

Harvard University

Schwarzschild (2006) has proposed a monotonicity constraint on Measure Phrases (MP), conjecturing that some version of it may be universal. By looking at Chinese facts we will see that Schwarzschild's proposed universal indeed is operative in classifier languages. I will offer an account of why this is so based on the claim that ClP (Classifier Phrase) must create 'atomic' structure (cf. Chierchia 1998). This has rich consequences for how number marking and measure phrases should be analyzed cross linguistically.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Indirect modification in Javanese: Evidence from attributive comparatives

Jozina Vander Klok
McGill University

This paper presents evidence from attributive comparatives to argue that Javanese has only indirect adjectival modification. Adjectival modification in Javanese seems consistent with both direct (true attributive) and indirect (relative clause) nominal modification. However, by using the degree morpheme as a probe into the structure of direct vs. indirect modifiers, data from Javanese attributive comparatives suggest that the scope of the comparative operator cannot reach beyond the modifier. Such scope island effects of the *than*-clause complement will be taken to indicate that post-nominal modification is syntactically realized as a relative clause, and suggests that only indirect modification is available in Javanese.

Discourse and Interaction:

'I just wanna apologize': The socio-interactional meanings of 'just' in defendants' apologies

M. Catherine Gruber

This paper examines the socio-interactional meanings of *just* in defendants' apologies at sentencing. The object of focus is the restrictive meaning that *just* applies to affective stance rather than to propositional content. Three main classes of meaning are identified: 1) *just* restricts a metapragmatic frame of speaking; 2) *just* restricts defendants' desiderata; and 3) *just* restricts a reference to the offense, thereby minimizing the offense. The paper addresses the implications for defendant stance that *just* conveys and proposes that, as a deictic index, *just* functions metapragmatically to draw attention to the speaker as a speaker, perhaps foregrounding individual identity.

Hwæt! LOL! – common formulaic functions in *Beowulf* and blogs

Matt Garley, Benjamin Slade & Marina Terkourafi:
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

We consider the functions that formulae perform in two types of written texts which maintain close links to oral forms: Old English epic poetry and blogs. Five orality-related functions of formulae are identified in both datasets: *discourse-structuring*, *filler*, *epithetic*, *gnomic*, and *tonic*. A sixth type of formulaic function, *theacronymic*, necessarily tied to the written medium, is also found in both datasets.

The common functions of formulae observed in *Beowulf* and blogs link them to oral and written genres simultaneously and constitute a prominent device that positions them as transitional between the macro-level genres of oral and written communication.

Saturday, April 18, 2009

Collaborators or underminers of the dispute resolution process? Disputants' reactions to mediators' assessments

Diana Marinova
American University

This project investigates how disputants involved in a mediation hearing engage with assessments proffered by the mediators and discusses their role in sustaining the image of the mediators as neutral facilitators of communication. It examines specific linguistic means disputants employ to express reactions to mediators' words, and how they affect the balance between the institutional character of the interaction and the empowering aspect of the mediation process. The study highlights the fact that the relationship between mediators and disputants emerges interactionally on a moment-by-moment basis and does not exist as a static *a priori* construct.

Alternates

Lexical reflexes of the Syllable Contact Law

Kevin McGowan
University of Michigan

The Syllable Contact Law (Vennemann, 1988) predicts that, diachronically, sound change will tend to enhance a drop in sonority across syllable boundaries. Synchronically, the SCL predicts only a categorical preference, but I hypothesize that the gradient underlying the diachronic preference must also operate synchronically in the grammar of a language. In this talk I examine CELEX corpus data for evidence of gradient lexical reflexes of the SCL in British English using pointwise mutual information (PMI), a metric familiar to computational linguists. In general, the evidence appears to support a gradient hypothesis and to be inconsistent with a strictly categorical model.

Positional transparency in c'Lela

Daniel Michel
University of California San Diego

This paper presents an account of vowel height harmony in c'Lela, a Benue Congo language spoken in Nigeria, in which high vowels participate in harmony when word final, but are transparent to harmony elsewhere. By providing a straightforward analysis of c'Lela using the constraints NoGap and align, I provide a more parsimonious account than analyses that are forced to rely on other mechanisms (Pulleyblank 2002) to account for non-local harmony. Although some researchers have rejected NoGap as too powerful, I argue that a NoGap/align analysis actually predicts the existence of systems like c'Lela.

Singaporean English word-level tone assignment: An optimality theory account

E-Ching Ng:
Yale University

It has recently been proposed that Colloquial Singaporean English (CSE) possesses tone at the word level, predictable from stress and morphology. This paper presents a principled optimality theory account of tone assignment, using data supported by pitch tracks. The factorial typology is compatible with two tone patterns observed in Hong Kong English, as well as much observed variation in CSE. It turns out that cross-linguistically attested constraints require only slight adaptations to account for some of CSE's more unusual features, such as the high word boundary tone and the apparent affinity between stress and mid tone.

Alternates

The voiced linguolabial plosive in Kajoko (Guinea-Bissau)

Kenneth Olson & D. Will Reiman

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In this paper we document a voiced linguolabial plosive in Kajoko (Guinea-Bissau), in which the front part of the tongue blade makes contact with the inner surface of the upper lip. The Articulator Model predicts the sound should be classified as a coronal, yet it functions as a labial in Kajoko. It replaces /b/ in the consonant system, and it contrasts with the other labial phonemes and /d/. Sound correspondences with /b/ in Bubaque demonstrate that the linguolabial plosive derived historically from *b. In addition, Crioulo /b/ is borrowed into Kajoko as the linguolabial plosive.

Exceptional case marking in Uzbek complementizer clauses

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Uzbek possesses an unusual ECM construction that employs an overt complementizer. Analyses of similar constructions of other languages (e.g. Japanese) have struggled to account for this type of construction, as neither A-movement nor case assignment should be able to occur with an intervening C. The analysis proposed here is that what appears to be a complementizer in these constructions is merely the form-identical head of a small clause. By employing a small clause analysis, other peculiarities of the Uzbek ECM construction are accounted for, including the lack of agreement and tense and the lack of verbs in these lower constructions.

More on scale structure and degree modification: the case of 'kanari' in Japanese.

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The Japanese degree word "kanari" 'quite' is compatible with both open-scale and closed-scale adjectives and it apparently means rather different things in the two cases. With an open-scale adjective, "kanari" characterizes the object in question as having the property to a degree that is around the average (for objects that have that property); with a closed-scale adjective, it means that the object almost (but not fully) has the property. This paper proposes a uniform analysis of "kanari" that attributes the apparent difference of its meaning(s) to an independently motivated difference in the properties of open-scale and closed-scale adjectives.