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The Berkeley Linguistics Society
35th Annual Meeting
February 14-16, 2009
Berkeley, California

Schedule At-a-glance	1
Conference Location	4
Lunch.....	5
Copy Shops	6
Bookstores.....	6

Invited Speakers

William Croft	9
<i>The roles of aspectual structure and causal structure in argument realization</i>	
William F. Hanks.....	10
<i>The Formation and Spread of Colonial Yucatec Maya</i>	
Laurence R. Horn	11
<i>Hypernegation, hyponegation: Gluts, gaps, and parole violations</i>	
Adam Kendon.....	12
<i>Kinesic contributions to utterances</i>	
William A. Ladusaw	12
<i>Still puzzled why there are polarity items</i>	
Ulrike Zeshan	12
<i>Sign Language Typology – Towards a Theory of Variation</i>	

Papers

Patricia Amaral & Scott Schwenter.....	14
<i>Discourse and Scalar Structure in Non-Canonical Negation</i>	
Clay Beckner & Andrew Wedel	14
<i>The roles of acquisition and usage in morphological and phonological change</i>	
Theresa Biberauer & Hedde Zeijlstra	15
<i>Negative Concord in Afrikaans: in search of the missing language</i>	
Klinton Bicknell, Roger Levy, & Vera Demberg ..	15
<i>Correcting the incorrect: Local coherence effects modeled with prior belief update</i>	
M. Ryan Bochnak	16
<i>Promiscuous modification and cross-categorical part structures</i>	
Myriam Bouveret & Eve Sweetser.....	16
<i>Multi-frame semantics, metaphoric extensions, and grammar</i>	
Tine Breban	17
<i>English adjectives expressing “type-anaphora” in indefinite noun phrases</i>	
Winnie H.Y. Cheung	17
<i>Span of High Tones in Hong Kong English</i>	

Mary Copeland Johnson, Amy Franklin, & Susan Goldin-Meadow	18
<i>Getting Ahead in Development: Multi-Modal Acquisition of Negation</i>	
Jeruen E. Dery	18
<i>Temporal Interpretation and Tenselessness: The Case of Tagalog</i>	
Cathryn Donohue	18
<i>Pitch height vs contour/phonation in tonal perception in Fuzhou</i>	
Minta Elsman & Stanley Dubinsky	19
<i>Single and Double Modal Syntax: A Unified Account</i>	
Caleb Everett	19
<i>Negation and the untransitive category in Tupi-Karitiana</i>	
Asli Goksel, Meltem Kelepir, & Aslı Üntak-Tarhan..	20
<i>Decomposing the non-manual tier in Turkish Sign Language: Cross-modality generalisations</i>	
E. Mara Green.....	20
<i>Social and Linguistic Dimensions of a Case of Inter-Modal Language Contact</i>	
Michael Grosvald, Christian Lachaud, & David Corina.....	21
<i>Influences of linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the processing of American Sign Language: Evidence from handshape monitoring</i>	
Lauren Hall-Lew	21
<i>Ethnicity and Sound Change in San Francisco English</i>	
John B Haviland	22
<i>Portable signs: context (in)dependence and a cline of indexicality in an emerging manual communication system in a Mayan community</i>	
Elena Herburger & Simon Mauck.....	22
<i>NPIs pragmatically</i>	
Jisup Hong	23
<i>Event Structure Integration: Korean -ese Constructions</i>	
Jong-Bok Kim	23
<i>The Big Mess Construction: Revisited</i>	
Iskra Iskrova	23
<i>Exploring Intonation in Guadeloupean Creole</i>	
Cristin Kalinowski	24
<i>Multidirectional Vowel Harmony in Esimbi</i>	

Reiko Kataoka	24	Yoonsook Mo	31
<i>A study on perceptual compensation for /u/-fronting in American English</i>		<i>F0 and formants (F1, F2) as perceptual cues for naive listeners' prominence perception</i>	
Takaomi Kato	25	Sumiyo Nishiguchi	32
<i>Two types of covert wh-movement</i>		<i>Bipolar Items and Attitude Predicates</i>	
Hrayr Khanjian.....	25	Bozena Pajak	32
<i>Stress Dependent Vowel Reduction</i>		<i>Contextual constraints on geminates: the case of Polish</i>	
Susannah Kirby	25	Roland Pfau.....	33
<i>Do what you know: "Semantic scaffolding" in biclausal raising and control</i>		<i>Typological variation in sign language negation: A generative perspective</i>	
Yumiko Konishi.....	26	Ginger Pizer.....	33
<i>Fluidity of Categorization: The Multifunctionality of Soo in Japanese Conversation</i>		<i>Constructed Dialogue and Code Choice in the Narratives of Hearing Adults with Deaf Parents</i>	
Bahar Koymen & Amy Kyratzis	26	David Quinto-Pozos, Kearsy Cormier, & Claire Ramsey	34
<i>Format Tying and Acquisition of Syntax in Toddlers' Peer Interactions</i>		<i>Constructed Action of Highly Animate Referents: Evidence from American, British and Mexican Sign Languages</i>	
Bogetic Ksenija.....	27	Haj Ross.....	34
<i>As long as you're not effeminate or fat: Perpetuating the heteronormative discourse in personal ads of Serbian gay youth on the web</i>		<i>As-ing</i>	
Iksoo Kwon.....	27	Sai Samant.....	35
<i>A Tautology is a Tautology: Specificity and Prototypicality in Construing Nominal Tautological Constructions</i>		<i>We're all Arab here: Ethnic identity and language</i>	
Karen Lahousse	28	Osamu Sawada & Thomas Grano	35
<i>Information structure and epistemic modality in embedded clauses</i>		<i>Investigating an asymmetry in the semantics of Japanese measure phrases</i>	
Silke Lambert	28	Ludovica Serratrice	36
<i>So close yet so far: External possessors in German and Estonian</i>		<i>Structural priming in the production of null and overt pronouns in Italian acquisition</i>	
Marika Lekakou & Kriszta Szendroi.....	29	Michelle St-Amour	36
<i>Greek Determiner Spreading without a DP-internal Focus Phrase</i>		<i>Focused N-Words and Double Negation Readings in Negative Concord Languages</i>	
Yingshing Li.....	29	Jasmin Urban	37
<i>Incomplete neutralization of alveolar and retroflexed sibilants in Taiwan Mandarin</i>		<i>A Modal Approach to Open Questions</i>	
Gujing Lin.....	30	Elisabeth Wehling.....	37
<i>Verb serialization and non-unified argument structure? The Predicatehood of Tsou serial verbs</i>		<i>Argument is Gesture War: Form and Function of Interactive Gestures in Political Discourse</i>	
Bethany MacLeod	30	Chen-huei Wu & Chilin Shih.....	38
<i>The Acquisition of Vocalic Sequences by English-Speaking L2 Learners of Spanish</i>		<i>Mandarin Vowels Revisited: Evidence from Electromagnetic Articulography Study</i>	
Anita Mittwoch	31	Nina Azumi Yoshida.....	38
<i>How to measure the length of telic eventualities</i>		<i>An Analysis of Modal Nominalized Predicate Constructions in Japanese</i>	
		Alan C. L. Yu.....	39
		<i>Tonal mapping in Cantonese vocative reduplication</i>	

Gwanhi Yun	39
<i>Effects of coda-voicing on the production of onsets by second language learners</i>	
Hedde Zeijlstra	40
<i>On French negation</i>	

Acknowledgements

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Division of Social Sciences

The ASUC Disabled Students Accommodation Fund

The Institute of Cognitive and Brain Sciences

Department of Anthropology

Department of Linguistics

8
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Registration & Coffee - 371 Dwinelle

Opening Remarks - 370 Dwinelle

9
50 ...

Phonetics 1

Yoonsook **Mo**: F0 and formants (F1, F2) as perceptual cues for naive listeners' prominence perception

Reiko **Kataoka**: A study on perceptual compensation for /u/-fronting in American English

Bethany **MacLeod**: The Acquisition of Vocalic Sequences by English-Speaking L2 Learners of Spanish

Gwanhi **Yun**: Effects of Coda Voicing on the Onsets with L2 Learner

Syntax 1

Marika **Lekakou**, Kriszta **Szendroi**: Greek Determiner Spreading without a DP-internal Focus Phrase

Minta **Elsman**, Stanley **Dubinsky**: Single and Double Modal Syntax: A Unified Account

Jong-Bok **Kim**: The Big Mess Construction: Revisited

Gujing **Lin**: Verb serialization and non-unified argument structure? The Predicatehood of Tsou serial verbs

10
50 ...

11
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Ulrike Zeshan – 370 Dwinelle
Sign Language Typology – Towards a Theory of Variation

12
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1
50 ...

Semantics 1

M. Ryan **Bochnak**: Promiscuous modification and cross-categorical part structures

Myriam **Bouweret**, Eve **Sweetser**: Multi-frame semantics, metaphoric extensions and grammar

Jeruen E. **Dery**: Temporal Interpretation and Tenselessness: The Case of Tagalog

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Cristin **Kalinowski**: Multidirectional Vowel Harmony in Esimbi

Hrayr **Khanjian**: Stress Dependent Vowel Reduction

Alan **Yu**
Tonal mapping in Cantonese vocative reduplication

2
50 ...

3
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Parasession: Negation 1

Patricia **Amaral**, Scott **Schwenter**: Discourse and Scalar Structure in Non-Canonical Negation

Michelle **St-Amour**: Focused N-Words and Double Negation Readings in Negative Concord Languages

Theresa **Biberauer** & Hedde **Zeijlstra**: Negative Concord in Afrikaans: in search of the missing language

Roland **Pfau**: Typological variation in sign language negation: A generative perspective

Special Session: Non-Speech 1

M. **Grosvald**, C. **Lachaud**, D. **Corina**: Influences of linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the processing of American Sign Language...

A. **Goksel**, M. **Kelepir**, A. **Untak-Tarhan**
Decomposing the non-manual tier in Turkish Sign Language: Cross-modality generalisations

Ginger **Pizer**: Constructed Dialogue and Code Choice in the Narratives of Hearing Adults with Deaf Parents

D. **Quinto-Pozos**, K. **Cormier**, C. **Ramsey**:
Constructed Action of Highly Animate Referents: Evidence from American, British and Mexican Sign

5
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6
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Laurence R Horn – 370 Dwinelle
Hypernegation, hyponegation: Gluts, gaps, and parole violations

Room 370

Sunday

Room 3335

8

50-...

Registration & Coffee - 371 Dwinelle

9

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Cognitive Linguistics

Jisup **Hong**: Event Structure Integration: Korean -ese Constructions

Tine **Breban**: English adjectives expressing "type-anaphora" in indefinite noun phrases

Nina Azumi **Yoshida**: An Analysis of Modal Nominalized Predicate Constructions in Japanese

Iksoo **Kwon**: A Tautology is a Tautology: Specificity and Prototypicality in Construing Nominal Tautological Constructions

Parasession: Negation 2

Caleb **Everett**: Negation and the untransitive category in Tupi-Karitiana

Sumiyo **Nishiguchi**: Bipolar Items and Attitude Predicates

Elena **Herburger** and Simon **Mauck**: NPIs pragmatically

Hedde **Zeijlstra**: On French negation

10

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11

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William Ladusaw – 370 Dwinelle
Still puzzled why there are polarity items

12

50-.....

1

50-...

Takaomi **Kato**: Two types of covert wh-movement

Karen **Lahousse**: Information structure and epistemic modality in embedded clauses

Haj **Ross**: As-ing

Psycholinguistics

K. **Bicknell**, R. **Levy**, V. **Demberg**: Correcting the incorrect: Local coherence effects modeled with prior belief update

Ludovica **Serratrice**: Structural priming in the production of null and overt pronouns in Italian acquisition

Susannah **Kirby**: Do what you know: "Semantic scaffolding" in biclausal raising and control

2

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3

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Elisabeth **Wehling**: Argument is Gesture War. Form and Function of Interactive Gestures in Political Discourse

Mary Copeland **Johnson**, Amy **Franklin**, S. **Goldin-Meadow**: Getting Ahead in Development: Multi-Modal Acquisition of Negation

E. Mara Green: Social and Linguistic Dimensions of a Case of Inter-Modal Language Contact

Semantics 2

Jasmin **Urban**: A Modal Approach to Open Questions

Silke **Lambert**: So close yet so far: External possessors in German and Estonian!

Anita **Mittwoch**: How to measure the length of telic eventualities

Osamu **Sawada**, Thomas Grano: Investigating an asymmetry in the semantics of Japanese measure phrases

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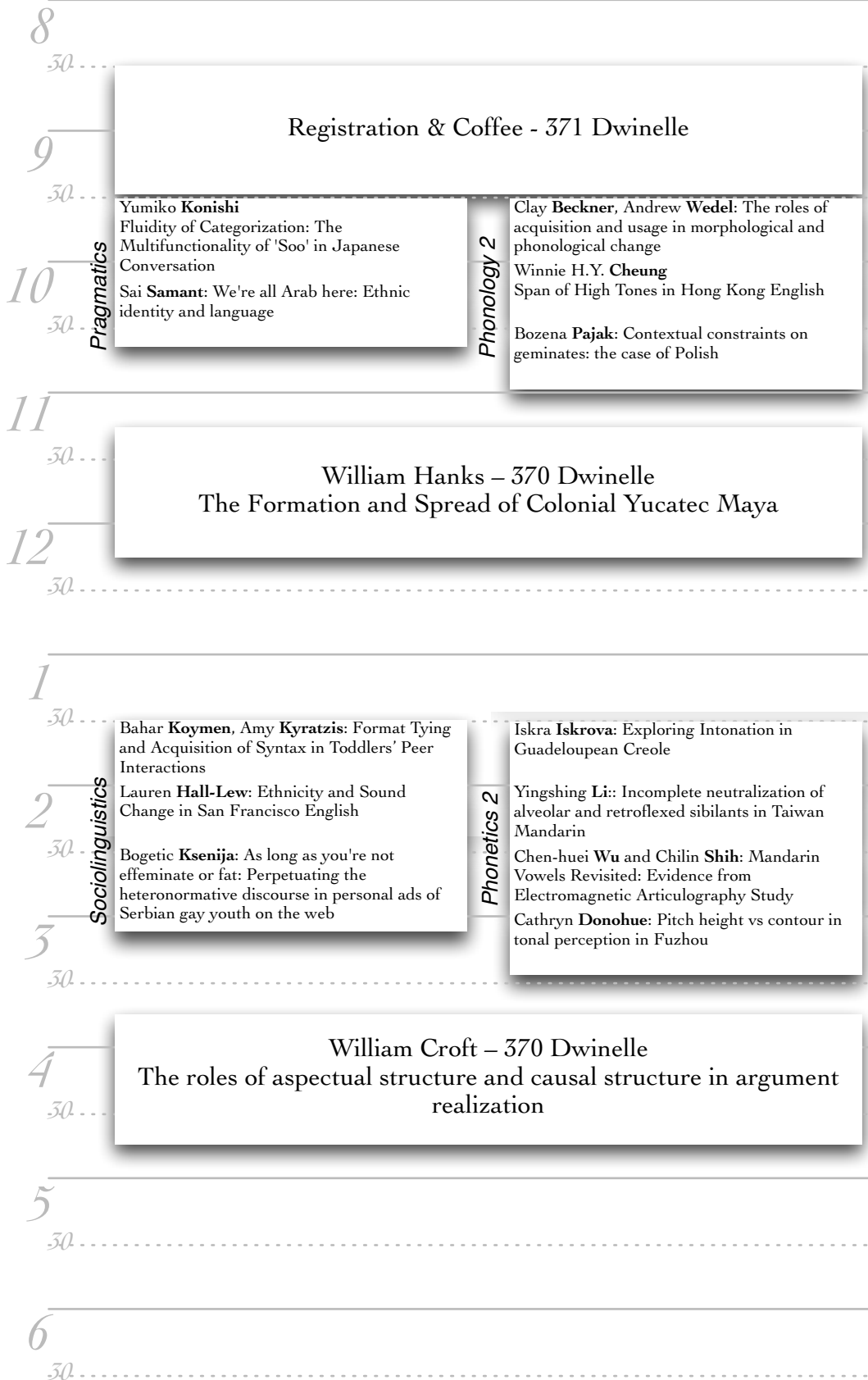
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Adam Kendon – 370 Dwinelle
Kinesic contributions to utterances

6

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Reception & Dinner – 7:00pm-9:00pm



Registration & Coffee - 371 Dwinelle

Pragmatics

Yumiko Konishi
Fluidity of Categorization: The Multifunctionality of 'Soo' in Japanese Conversation

Sai Samant: We're all Arab here: Ethnic identity and language

Phonology 2

Clay Beckner, Andrew Wedel: The roles of acquisition and usage in morphological and phonological change

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Bozena Pajak: Contextual constraints on geminates: the case of Polish

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Sociolinguistics

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Lauren Hall-Lew: Ethnicity and Sound Change in San Francisco English

Bogetic Ksenija: As long as you're not effeminate or fat: Perpetuating the heteronormative discourse in personal ads of Serbian gay youth on the web

Phonetics 2

Iskra Iskrova: Exploring Intonation in Guadeloupean Creole

Yingshing Li: Incomplete neutralization of alveolar and retroflexed sibilants in Taiwan Mandarin

Chen-huei Wu and Chilin Shih: Mandarin Vowels Revisited: Evidence from Electromagnetic Articulography Study

Cathryn Donohue: Pitch height vs contour in tonal perception in Fuzhou

William Croft – 370 Dwinelle
The roles of aspectual structure and causal structure in argument realization

Conference Location



If you enter Dwinelle Hall from the main, front entrance, follow the signs to registration: Take a right and walk to the elevator, on your left. Take this to Floor F/G for registration in room 371.

The immediately adjacent room, Dwinelle 370, will hold half of the talks. The others are in Room 3335 on Floor C. To get to Room 3335, take the indicated elevator just outside Room 370 down to Floor C, then take a short walk down the hallway to the right. If the door is closed, please knock, and note that not every stairwell in Dwinelle reaches every floor - sticking to the elevator or the immediately adjacent stairwell is wisest.

Despite the impression it may give, Dwinelle Hall is neither a test nor a trick (nor, as some legends suggest, was it built by twin architects who held a bitter grudge).

Lunch

[Numerous restaurants](#) on Telegraph Avenue and Bancroft Way serve excellent lunches. Some are listed here, and a stroll down Telegraph Avenue will reveal many more.

Café Milano: 2522 Bancroft (just up the hill from Telegraph). Sandwiches with good side salad for \$6-7.

Smart Alec's: Corner of Durant and Telegraph. Good deals on combination meals for around \$7 (burger + drink + fries; large salad + half sandwich, etc.), excellent veggie burgers and chicken patties.

Café Durant: On Durant just up the hill from Telegraph, up some stairs, w/ great sundeck. Excellent burgers, crepes, and omelettes, with rock bottom prices. Passable Mexican food also.

Gypsy's Trattoria Italiana: 2519-A Durant, in the Durant Food Court up the hill from Telegraph. It's the first restaurant on the left as you walk into the court. Excellent, enormous Calzones. Lots of tasty pasta dishes.

Student food court: The closest food to Dwinelle, beneath the MLK Student Union. Enter from Lower Sproul Plaza. Get a quick, tasty sandwich at "The California Sensation", or a toasted bagel at the Coffee Spot. Head over to the Bear's Lair on the end closest to Bancroft for a much needed pint before returning to the conference.

Café Intermezzo: 2442 Telegraph, near the corner of Haste and Telegraph. A bit crowded, but lots of food for cheap prices (enormous salad + half sandwich for \$6.25).

Great China: 2115 Kittredge between Oxford and Shattuck. According to many, the best Chinese food in Berkeley. Not a good place for vegetarians, though.

Raleigh's: 2438 Telegraph, near the corner of Haste and Telegraph. Large variety of burgers, sandwiches, wraps, etc., great onion rings and an excellent variety of beers, with very reasonable prices on pitchers. Good atmosphere, lovely open-air garden in back.

Naan 'n Curry: 2366 Telegraph. Cheap Indian food (not all of the dishes are good—ask someone who's been there before for advice). Free chai in back which is good with some sugar.

Top Dog: On Center St between Oxford and Shattuck. If you've got a craving for a hotdog, you'll find one here.

Long Life Veggie House: On University between Shattuck and Milvia. All vegan menu of Chinese food, excellent lunch special, with very reasonable prices: large entrée, rice, and soup for \$4.95.

Racha's Café, "Thai Herbs Cuisine": On Telegraph just past Dwight. A little bit farther from campus, but better Thai food than some of the closer choices, which are too numerous to bother listing here.

Udupi Palace: Corner of University and Martin Luther King. A longer walk from campus, but fantastic South Indian food at quite reasonable prices.

Sunrise Deli: On University just down the hill from Telegraph. Middle Eastern cuisine at reasonable prices.

House of Curries: Durant Avenue between Telegraph and Bowditch (uphill from Telegraph). Tasty and affordable Indian food.

Copy Shops

Copy Edge
2121 University Ave. (at the corner of University & Shattuck)
510-845-5702
Hours: M-F 8-7, Sat 10-6, Sun closed

Copy Central
2560 Bancroft Way
Berkeley, CA 94704
Open 7 Days

Bookstores

Afikomen--Jewish Books Gifts & Arts. 2842 Prince St., Berkeley. (510) 655-1977. New Judaica books. Open M-Th 10-6, F 10-2, Sun. 11-5.

Ajanta Enterprises. 1624 University Ave. (& California), Berkeley. (510) 845-6651. New books on Indian philosophy. Open M-Sat 12-6.

ASUC Bookstore. MLK Student Union Building, Berkeley Campus. (510) 642-7294. General selection of books, including linguistics, philosophy, foreign languages. Located at the corner of Bancroft and Telegraph. Open M-F 9-6, Sat. 10-6, Sun. 12-5.

Black Oak Books. 1491 Shattuck Ave. at Vine, Berkeley. (510) 486-0698 or 1-800-378-2665. General selection of new and used books, including linguistics, philology and foreign language. 10 blocks north of Berkeley BART. Open M-Th 11-9, F 11-10, Sat. 10-10, Sun. 10-9.

Comic Relief. 2026 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 843-5002. Comic books, cartoon books, etc. Open M, Tu 11-8, W-Sat. 11-10, Sun. 12-8.

Dark Carnival. 3086 Claremont Ave. (& The Uplands), Berkeley. (510) 654-7323. Materials "on cutting edge" of imaginative fiction. Open M-Sat. 10:30-7, Sun. 12-6.

Eastwind Books of Berkeley. 2066 University Ave. (& Shattuck). (510) 548-2350. Books and magazines from Taiwan, Hong Kong, China. Open M-Sat. 11-6.

Half Price Books. 2036 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley. (510) 526-6080. New and used books, magazines, etc. Open Daily 9-11.

(Friends of the) Library Bookstore. 2433 Channing Way (& Telegraph), Berkeley. (510) 841-5604. Used books on a plethora of subjects. Great prices! Open Tues.-Sat. 10-4.

Moe's. 2476 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley. (510) 849-2087. General; new and used books, including linguistics and foreign languages. Open daily 10-11.

Ned's Berkeley Bookstore. 2480 Bancroft Way (& Telegraph), Berkeley. (510) 204-0900. New and used books; primarily textbooks. Open M-Thurs. 9-6, F 9-5, Sat.-Sun. 10-5.

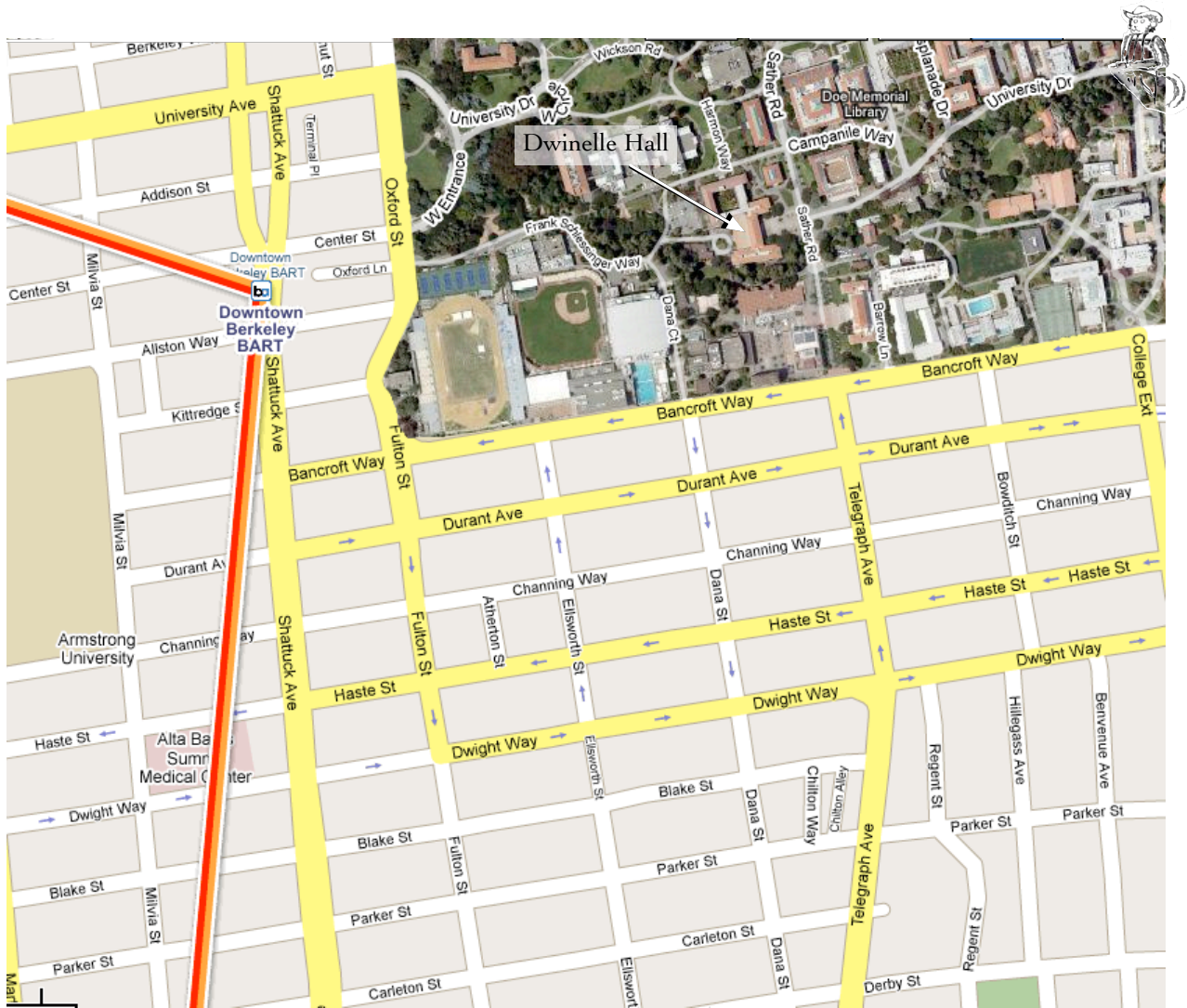
Pegasus Books. 1855 Solano Ave., Berkeley. (510) 525-6888. Large selection of used books and magazines (foreign and domestic). Second location at corner of Durant & Shattuck has smaller selection. Both stores are open M-Th. 9-10, F-Sat. 9-10:45, Sun. 10-10.

Shakespeare & Co. 2499 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley. (510) 841-8916. General used and discounted books. Open M-W 12-8, Th 10-8, F-Sat. 10-9, Sun. 11-8.

Serendipity Books. 1201 University Ave. (at Curtis), Berkeley. (510) 841-7455. Antiquarian books and modern literature. Open M-Sat. 9-5.

Turtle Island Booksellers. 2041 Center St., 1/2 block from Berkeley BART. Also at 3032 Claremont (& Prince), Berkeley. (510) 655-3413. Out-of-print, rare & unusual scholarly books. Both open Tues.-Sat. 10:30-6.

University Press Books. 2430 Bancroft Way, Berkeley. (510) 548-0585. Devoted to new and used books published by more than 100 University Presses. M-F 10-8, Sat. 10-6, Sun. 12-5.



Invited Speakers

William Croft

University of New Mexico

The Roles Of Aspectual Structure And Causal Structure In Argument Realization

In *Syntactic categories and Grammatical Relations* (Croft 1991, ch. 4-7; see also Croft 1998; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005:117-25, 168-70, 213-15), I argue that the primary semantic factor determining argument linking is the causal chain. Participants in an event are construed as ordered in a sequence of transmission of force. Argument linking/realization is determined by the causal ordering of participants and the part of the causal chain that is profiled or denoted by the verb.

However, my earlier accounts do not take into consideration any aspectual complexity apart from a basic distinction between state and process. In this talk, I present a rich model of the aspectual structure of events that provides a framework for understanding the range of aspectual types identified in the linguistic literature (see Croft in press). This model distinguishes two dimensions for the analysis of events unfolding over time: the timeline and a dimension of qualitative states and changes of state.

A proper representation of event structure requires the integration of causal structure and aspectual structure. This is achieved by adding causal structure as a third dimension, so that each participant has its own aspectual subevent (corresponding to what the participant does/undergoes during the time that the event unfolds). This three-dimensional model clearly differentiates aspectual and causal structure. It also allows us to identify the contributions of one or the other to a number of current issues in argument realization. In particular, I argue that an aspectual property of "directed change", which cuts across the Vendler classification and the usual aspectual features, is relevant for understanding the distribution of resultatives in English and Japanese (Washio 1997), the differing argument realization potentials of manner and result verbs (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1991). If time permits, I will also reanalyze the distinction between the two types of resultatives analyzed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001), and the hypothesis of manner-result complementarity (Levin 2008).

Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations: The cognitive organization of information*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Croft, William. 1998. Event structure in argument linking. The projection of arguments: lexical and compositional factors, ed. Miriam Butt and Wilhelm Geuder, 1-43. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Croft, William. In press. Aspectual and causal structure in event representations. *Routes to language development: in honor of Melissa Bowerman*, ed. Virginia Gathercole, 139-66. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 1991. Wiping the slate clean: a lexical semantic exploration. *Cognition* 41.123-51.

Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav. 2005. *Argument realization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rappaport Hovav, Malka and Beth Levin. 2001. An event structure account of English resultatives. *Language* 77.766-97.

Washio, Ryuichi. 1997. Resultatives, compositionality and language variation. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6.1-49.

William F. Hanks

University of California, Berkeley, Dept. of Anthropology

The Formation And Spread Of Colonial Yucatec Maya

This paper briefly outlines the formation and spread of colonial Yucatec Maya between the mid sixteenth and mid eighteenth centuries. In colonial Yucatan, both the missionization of Maya people and the daily business of local government were conducted in Maya. As a result the language continued to be used and develop in a social world increasingly dominated by European institutions. In the Spanish plan for what they called “peaceful conquest,” linguistic reform played a central role. The missionaries were at the vanguard of analyzing the native language, translating between Maya and Spanish, formulating Christian doctrine in Maya, and training the native scribes who went on to keep the records of local government. The result is a substantial archive of documents written in the language. This archive includes five bilingual dictionaries, three practical grammars, three catechisms, a two volume collection of sermons, approximately 2,000 notarial documents (all written by Maya scribes), a major collection of ritual prescriptions and nine books of Chilam Balam (native histories). Through this corpus, we can trace the initial formulation of Maya neologisms for European concepts, the grammatical analyses on which translations were based, several versions of the catechism (reflecting both language change and changing missionary understandings of Maya) and the dispersal of this new register of Maya into texts written by native authors. Far from a familiar case of “syncretism” or language mixture, the Christianized variety of Maya looks securely indigenous at first blush, with relatively little borrowing or calquing from Spanish, yet the meanings of Maya words and phrases come to shift towards their Christian referents. Due partly to the social value of the new variety in the colony, it was adopted by Maya scribes and ultimately by those who wrote the native texts outside the surveillance of colonial authority.

I will present a selection of examples that demonstrate key principles followed by missionary linguists in their descriptions of Maya, as well as the pivotal role of Christian doctrine in propagating language change. Among the claims I will make is that colonial dictionaries of native languages, at least in Spanish America, are unintelligible without a knowledge of the doctrinal backdrop of the missions. Moreover, the far reaching consequences of “christianizing” Maya can be seen most clearly in the indigenous Books of Chilam Balam. Usually taken to be based on ancient language and beliefs, these books are permeated by the colonial version of Maya, and what they show is not the persistence of pure indigeneity, but the nativization of the colonial language.

Laurence R. Horn
Yale University
Hypernegation, Hyponegation: Gluts, Gaps, And *Parole* Violations

The traditional dictum “*Duplex negatio affirmat*” predicts the occurrence of mutually canceling double negatives, although in many cases the effect of double negation is the negation of an actual or virtual contrary, hence incomplete cancelation (even with sequential analytic negatives: “We’re not not friends” ≠ ‘We’re friends’). But a more dramatic problem for the dictum is of course when *duplex negatio negat*.

While negative concord (as in “I can’t get no satisfaction” or “I’m not giving it up for bleepin’ nothing”) has been widely studied in numerous languages and dialects including non-standard English, the investigation of varieties of spoken English and other languages reveals a panoply of less familiar non-isomorphisms between overt negative markers and interpretable logical negation across clause boundaries. This presentation surveys a number of constructions that either contain an unexpected and uninterpreted negative marker or fail to contain an expected one. I will term these phenomena HYPERNEGATION and HYPONEGATION respectively.

Hypernegation often involves the occurrence of a so-called pleonastic negative in the scope of an inherently negative predicate. The locus classicus for this is the *ne* following comparatives, “before” clauses, or verbs of fearing in French, Russian, Yiddish, and other languages; a standard feature in earlier stages of English, some resumptive negatives persist in informal English: “I miss not seeing you around”, “Don’t be surprised if it doesn’t rain”, “I don’t think”-type parentheticals.

Excrescent nonce negations in spoken, published, and electronic discourse eloquently support Hodgson (1885)’s dictum, “Piled up negatives prove easy stumbling-blocks.” The appearance of such apparently superfluous negatives is often attributed to the difficulties of processing negatives as confirmed in psycholinguistic studies. But at least some hypernegatives are not entirely pragmatically empty, including the one in the “So Auxn’t NP” construction: if A claims “I can do X”, B’s reponse “So can’t I” signifies that B can do X as well—at least if B inhabits New England, upstate New York, or another area where this construction is attested. As with positive “anymore”, “So Auxn’t NP” serves as both a regional shibboleth and a target of opprobrium for outsiders.

On the morphological side, hypernegation yields affixal lexical items—“unloosen”, “unthaw”, “debone”, “irregardless”—with apparently redundant morphology but transparent semantics. While the prefix is informationally otiose, it serves to render the lexical item unambiguously negative or source- (as opposed to goal-) oriented, although this has not prevented centuries of vilification.

In hyponegation, a tacit negative is semantically accessible but formally unrepresented; cf. “I’m still unpacked” denoting ‘not unpacked’ (“I’ve been here a week and I’m still unpacked”), “That’ll teach you to [= ‘not to’] VP”, or the notorious “I could [= ‘couldn’t’] care less.” It will be shown that the hidden negation in some (but not all) hyponegations can be exposed by inspecting the distribution of negative polarity items.

I will seek to provide linguistic and psychological motivations for the persistence of both hypernegation and hyponegation in the face of centuries of proscription.

Adam Kendon

University of Pennsylvania

Kinesic Contributions To Utterances

When people speak they commonly engage in bodily movements usually deemed to be 'coexpressive' with what is expressed in speech or 'semantically coherent' with it. Examples will be presented to illustrate the complexity of this relationship and to suggest that some 'semantically coherent' bodily movements operate much more like words than others do, suggesting that the distinction between the 'categorical' character of linguistic expression and the 'imagistic' character of gestural expression is not always easily sustained. The implications of this for the debate about 'gesture' in sign language will be noted.

William A. Ladusaw

University of California, Santa Cruz

Still Puzzled Why There Are Polarity Items

Negative polarity items and their ilk have been productive stimuli for linguistic theory and analysis for nearly half a century. Spreading out from the question of how to ensure that certain words always co-occur with clausal negation, they have revealed uniformities across languages and "fine structure" variation within them. They have supported the relevance of semantic properties to structural well-formedness and revealed the limitations of logical entailment. They have atomized (or at least fractured) the definition of negation and rendered it *primus inter pares* to a family of licenses. And they have called for careful attention to the nuances of what is claimed, implied, and suggested by using a linguistic expression.

Given that so much has been learned about polarity items and their licenses, what kinds of answers (or at least responses) can we frame for the "big question": Why are there polarity items?

In this talk, I will explore three topics in this respect: the interaction between limited distribution and compositional combinatorics, a contrast between licensing and alignment/concord, and questions about use and allusion.

Ulrike Zeshan

Director, International Centre for Sign Languages and Deaf Studies

Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

University of Central Lancashire

Sign Language Typology – Towards A Theory Of Variation

Sign Language Typology is concerned with the systematic comparative study of sign languages. With increasing availability of information about grammatical structures in a larger range of sign languages, it has become possible to conduct cross-linguistic investigations of

structural target domains across a diverse sample of sign languages, at times with surprising results.

In this lecture, I focus on the link between data and theory development in Sign Language Typology. One of the aims of Sign Language Typology is to synthesise linguistic patterns we find in our data into a "theory of variation", both across sign languages and, secondarily, across language modality (signed vs. spoken). I give examples of this ongoing development in this lecture, drawing on two selected target domains, negation and possession.

In two large typological studies (interrogative and negative constructions in 2000 – 2005, and possessive and existential constructions in 2003 – 2008), data have covered 45 sign languages from all over the world, including sign languages in small village communities with a high incidence of hereditary deafness (cf. Nyst 2007, Marsaja 2008). The patterns of variation that we find compare with the findings of spoken language typology in interesting ways, and can be used to make progress towards a "theory of variation" that accounts for similarities and differences both within and across language modalities. Among the questions to be addressed are the following:

- a) What is the range of linguistic variation found across sign languages with respect to significant parameters of comparison?
- b) How can we account for the patterns of linguistic variation that emerge from the empirical data?
- c) How do sign languages as a group differ from spoken languages and what, therefore, would it mean if we were to speak of sign languages as a distinct linguistic type?

Both studies discussed here clearly demonstrate that there is much more structural variation across sign languages than previously anticipated. However, the conclusions drawn from the data are different in each case. Results from studying negation (Zeshan 2004) show that while there is considerable diversity across sign languages, there are nevertheless common traits that differentiate the group of sign languages from the group of spoken languages. This applies to a diverse range of observations such as intonational features, word order, morphological negation, and the form of negatives. In the domain of possession, on the other hand (Zeshan & Perniss 2008), the diversity of sign language structures makes it difficult to identify particular features that would set possessive constructions in the signed modality apart from the spoken modality as a whole. Rather, patterns of linguistic variation seem to be largely independent of language modality in this domain, cutting across both signed and spoken languages in a similar way.

I use these conclusions to sketch out the complex route towards a better understanding of a "theory of variation" in Sign Language Typology, a route that has a strong data driven focus. Importantly, the systematic comparison of a wide variety of sign language data allow us to make empirically substantiated inductive generalizations. Covering a large range of diversity in both signed and spoken languages thus serves to address the question of linguistic universals in human language in a more informed way.

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Papers

Patricia Amaral & Scott Schwenter

The Ohio State University

Discourse And Scalar Structure In Non-Canonical Negation

We examine two cases of non-canonical, “strengthened” negation in English and European Portuguese (EP), the negative readings of *hardly* and EP *mal* ‘barely, hardly.’ The distribution of these “strengthened negators” is considerably more constrained than that of canonical negation (e.g. Engl. *not*), for instance, both *hardly* and *not* may occur in proposition denials, but only *not* is acceptable in metalinguistic negation (Horn 1985, 1989). Also, redundant affirmation (Horn 1991) is acceptable with *no*, but not with *hardly*. As for *mal*, its negative interpretation is restricted to a specific construction in which the adverb modifies an epistemic stative verb. Despite the fact that the negative readings of these adverbs are not equally lexicalized, they place similar requirements on the discourse structure: *hardly* and *mal* contribute the denial of a discourse-old proposition (Prince 1992) which pragmatically entails a high scalar value of a property under discussion. The licensing of the negative interpretations is related to the scalar semantics of *hardly* and *mal*: the strengthened negators effect an inversion of the scale by depicting a value on its opposite polar end.

Clay Beckner & Andrew Wedel

University of New Mexico, University of Arizona

The Roles Of Acquisition And Usage In Morphological And Phonological Change

Traditional accounts of language change have assumed that change arises either via imperfect learning, or via gradual shifts in adult usage. However, we argue for an inclusive view, and perform two sets of computer simulations to investigate ways in which acquisition and usage may both contribute to change.

We first present an exemplar model of morphological change in the lexicon based on the iterated learning paradigm (Kirby 2001). We find that expected frequency-based patterns of morphological irregularity may arise either via intergenerational acquisition, via gradual, usage-based modifications within a single generation, or via both mechanisms.

Our second simulation incorporates alternating phases of acquisition and usage in a model of vowel contrast maintenance. During acquisition, sound category labels are abstracted de novo from input, while during usage, stored label mappings are used to organize new input, allowing shifts in category contents over time. We find that usage-driven shifts in category contents set the stage for changes in the number of categories in subsequent acquisition, and changes in the number of categories in turn permit further shifts in category contents through usage. We argue that usage and acquisition are complementary mechanisms of change that may interact over time.

Theresa Biberauer & Hedde Zeijlstra

Cambridge University / University of Stellenbosch & University of Amsterdam / MIT

Negative Concord In Afrikaans: In Search Of The Missing Language

Many languages exhibit Negative Concord (NC), i.e. the phenomenon where multiple morphosyntactic instances of negation correspond to one semantic negation. Traditionally, NC languages have been divided in Strict and Non-strict NC languages (cf. Giannakidou 2000). In Strict NC languages, like Czech, multiple negative elements may or even must precede the finite verb, whereas in Non-strict NC languages, like Italian, only one negative element may precede the finite verb.

In a recent analysis of NC (Zeijlstra 2004, 2008), NC is analyzed as an instance of syntactic agreement between one or more negative elements that are formally but not semantically negative and a single semantically negative operator that may be phonologically empty. Under this analysis the difference between Strict and Non-strict NC languages reduces to the semantic value of the negative marker. In Strict NC languages, negative indefinites and negative markers are semantically non-negative; in Non-strict NC languages on the other hand negative markers, as opposed to negative indefinites, are semantically negative.

Such an analysis however predicts the existence of a third type of NC language, namely a language where negative indefinites are semantically negative, but negative markers are not. In this talk we demonstrate that a particular variety of Afrikaans is exactly such a language: every two negative indefinites in this language yield a Double Negation reading, but negative markers can be stapled incrementally without giving rise to a new negation.

Klinton Bicknell, Roger Levy, & Vera Demberg

Department of Linguistics, UCSD; Department of Linguistics, UCSD; School of Informatics, University of Edinburgh

Correcting The Incorrect: Local Coherence Effects Modeled With Prior Belief Update

Most models of incremental sentence processing assume that the processor does not consider ungrammatical structures. However, Tabor, Galantucci, and Richardson (2004) showed evidence of cases in which a syntactic structure that is ungrammatical given the preceding input nevertheless affects the difficulty of a word, termed local coherence effects. This paper fills two gaps in the literature on local coherences. First, it demonstrates from two experiments with an eye-tracking corpus that local coherence effects are evident in the reading of naturalistic text, not just rare sentence types like Tabor et al.'s. Second, it specifies a new computational model of local coherence effects under rational comprehension, proposing that local co-

ferences arise as a result of updating bottom-up prior beliefs about the structures for a given string to posterior beliefs about the likelihoods of those structures in context. The critical intuition embodied in the model is that larger updates in probability distributions should be more processing-intensive; hence, the farther the context-conditioned posterior is from the unconditioned prior, the more radical the update required and the greater the processing load. We show that an implementation of our model using a stochastic context-free grammar (SCFG) correctly predicts the pattern of results in Tabor et al.

M. Ryan Bochnak

University of Chicago

Promiscuous Modification And Cross-categorical Part Structures

In this paper I provide an account for promiscuous modifiers, i.e., proportional modifiers such as *half*, *complete*(ly) and *most*(ly) that can modify multiple categories, both syntactically and semantically. I propose that these modifiers require from their semantic input an appropriate internal structure over which to operate, but that the exact source of this structure remains unspecified. This account correctly predicts that these modifiers may modify one category syntactically while modifying another semantically, such as in the sentence *The cake is half baked*. This sentence is ambiguous in that *half* may be construed as modifying either the adjective *baked* or the DP *the cake*. The analysis takes into account the internal structures of the items being modified: for adjectives, this is scale structure; for nominals, the part-whole relation; and for verb phrases, event structure. The links between these internal structures across categories is what is responsible for the multiplicity of modifications by these proportional modifiers.

Myriam Bouveret & Eve Sweetser

Université de Rouen; University of California Berkeley

Multi-frame Semantics, Metaphoric Extensions, And Grammar

In a corpus-based study of French verbs of breaking, focusing on *casser*, *briser* and *rompre*, we argue that each verb evokes *multiple* frames, which determine metaphoric mappings that in turn shape lexical polysemy; and that metaphoric mappings also influence the accessibility of syntactic valences to a given verb. We first examine frame-contrasts between these verbs : e.g., *rompre* tends to indicate irreversible change: *se rompre le cou* (« break one's neck »), while unmarked *casser* describes a (heal-able) broken ankle. However, multiple competing frames participate in a single verb's semantic matrix. So *briser* contrasts with *casser* along several parameters : (a) Is the object broken into still-integral segments (*casser*), or into small bits (*briser*) ? (b) Is the broken entity a negative confining structure? (c) Is it intentional?

Lexical and grammatical semantics must be construed as (complementary and) compatible, for a coherent interpretation. Semantic extensions can thus license new syntactic possibilities. Lexical items can be conventionally associated with more than one framing, so multiple framings may guide the mappings of a physical BREAK verb onto abstract senses – and eventually motivate its use in new syntactic constructions.

Tine Breban

KULeuven – Research Foundation – Flanders

English Adjectives Expressing “type-anaphora” In Indefinite Noun Phrases

According to the standard definition, indefinite determiners express non-identifiability of the referent denoted by the noun phrase. Recent cognitive approaches (Langacker 1991, Gundel & al. 1993, Davidse 2004) have amended this view: the identity of the instance denoted is presumed unknown, but the type it instantiates is accessible or identifiable. Indefinite determiners as such however do not convey how the type can be identified. Davidse (2001) suggested that if the type is available through other instantiations, i.e. type-anaphora, this can be expressed explicitly by postdeterminer uses (Halliday 1994) of certain adjectives. For example, in “*I don’t like this apple ... I want a different apple*”, a *different* expresses that the apple is a new instance of a type that has already been talked about.

The aim of this paper is: (1) to present a theoretical description of the phenomenon of type-anaphora in indefinite noun phrases, (2) to provide a comprehensive inventory of the different adjectives that can be used to express type-anaphora and (3) to describe and motivate their more fine-grained semantic differences, on the basis of the in-depth analysis of contemporary English corpus data.

Winnie H.Y. Cheung

Hong Kong Baptist University

Span Of High Tones In Hong Kong English

The English as spoken by most Hong Kongers (typically called Hong Kong English, HKE) has a distinct Cantonese flavor, part of which come from the presences of tonal contrasts as shown in (1-3).

- (1) a. **v**áriablè b. **C**ánadá c. locátìon d. partícipàte
 (2) a. **b**áll b. **p**îrch
 (3) a. **í**nfórmátìon b. **í**déntíficátìon c. **r**épréséntative d. **á**ntí-**ú**ltrámícróscópíc

Legend: “á” indicates H tone “à” L tone bold typeface indicates stress

“â” falling tone “a” M tone

This paper argues that the tonal patterns of HKE are derivable through multiple associations of single high tone autosegment to all syllables in a domain (call it stress domain) defined by the first and the last stressed syllable of a given utterance. At the end of the utterance, there is a boundary low tone (L%) that is always associated with the final syllable. All residual syllables outside the stress domain get tones by default phonetic implementation. Within an Optimality Theoretic framework, an autosegmental account for the distribution of tones in HKE can be derived by careful ranking of relevant universal constraints. When reordered, these constraints make typological predictions about another possible (and attested) HKE dialect.

Mary Copeland Johnson, Amy Franklin, & Susan Goldin-Meadow
Rice University; Rice University; University of Chicago
Getting Ahead In Development: Multi-Modal Acquisition Of Negation

This paper investigates multi-modal development of negation in English speaking children. Research in multi-word speech (Goldin-Meadow et. al., 2003) and vocabulary development (Rowe et. al., 2008) finds that gesture provides a stepping-stone for verbal development. Here we extend these studies to explore the role of side to side headshakes in the development of negation. To that end, videotaped recordings from eight English-learning children and their mothers from 14 months to 38 months were analyzed considering both spoken and nonverbal negation. As with other areas of language development such as vocabulary growth, we find a gesture first pattern in which negative functions emerge first in gesture and later the same function is found in speech. Additionally when we consider parental input, children follow the usage patterns established by their parents' speech and their gestures. We would like to suggest that function-based, input-driven learning of negation is a multi-modal process.

Jeruen E. Dery
University at Buffalo - SUNY
Temporal Interpretation And Tenselessness: The Case Of Tagalog

Interpretation of narrative discourse involves ordering events described by sentences. Temporal anaphora, presentational order, and causal relations are all claimed to affect this ordering. It is thus worth knowing how temporal interpretation occurs in a language that has no tense.

This paper experimentally investigates presentational order and causal relations in Tagalog, while considering two aspect markers, PERFECTIVE and PROSPECTIVE. In order to test the influence of aspect marking, presentational order, and world knowledge in ordering events, two sets of octuples were constructed, one set describing causally-related events and the other set describing non-causally-related events. After norming for the likelihood of temporal order, the octuples were counterbalanced across 8 lists. Participants marked on paper where the events described by each member of a pair of sentences fell with respect to the present time and with respect to each other.

Binary logistic regression analyses showed that aspect marking and world knowledge affect temporal interpretation, suggesting (i) that anaphoricity may not be playing a role in temporal interpretation in tenseless languages, (ii) that speakers of tenseless languages more easily assume a temporal interpretation that contradicts presentational order and (iii) world knowledge has a stronger influence in tenseless languages than in tensed languages.

Cathryn Donohue
University of Nevada, Reno
Pitch Height Vs Contour/phonation In Tonal Perception In Fuzhou

The Fuzhou dialect of Chinese has seven citation tones. Three of these tones are considered phonologically level. An acoustic quantification revealed consistent changes in pitch contour in addition to pitch height for these tones, with the highest tone rising slightly and the lower

two tones dropping slightly. Moreover a non-modal phonation was found to occur consistently with the lowest tone.

This study focuses on the role of pitch height vs. contour and phonation as relevant for tonal identification. Actual tokens were altered to modify the pitch height of these tones, maintaining their inherent contours and phonation. Native speakers were then asked to identify the 'word' that they heard (from a list). The results show that both contour and phonation, in addition to pitch height, play a role in tonal perception.

Minta Elsmann & Stanley Dubinsky

University of South Carolina

Single And Double Modal Syntax: A Unified Account

Double modal constructions (DMCS) such as *I might could go* occur in non-standard American English. These constructions challenge traditional analyses of English, which treat all modals as tensed, and allow only one tensed element per clause. Previous analyses of these constructions treat only one of the modals as tensed, or treat DMs as single lexical units, and therefore fail to account for the fact that tense-related processes apply variously to either modal, or both. We argue that DMs consist of a P(OLARITY)-modal (*might*), which requires sentential scope at LF, and a V-modal (*could*), which undergoes overt V>T movement when tensed. Either may bear tense. When a tensed V-modal (*could*) selects an untensed P-modal (*might*), the latter left-adjoins to the former, forming a complex V-head ([_V[_{POL}might][_Vcould]). This complex V-head moves to T, simultaneously satisfying the overt movement required by the V-modal, and bringing the P-modal to a position from which it can achieve the sentential scope required for its interpretation. In this construction, tense-related processes affect the V-head (*could*) or the complex V-head (*might could*), but not the P-modal (*might*) alone. When a tensed P-modal selects an untensed V-modal, tense-related processes affect the former; the latter remains in-situ.

Caleb Everett

University of Miami

Negation And The Untransitive Category In Tupi-Karitiana

Tupí-Karitiãna verbs are classified as either semantically intransitive or semantically transitive, i.e. according to whether the denoted events typically affect only one referent or more than one referent. This distinction is reflected morphologically, for instance in the permissibility of *i-* verbal prefixation in semantically intransitive affirmative clauses. Interestingly, the negation of clauses with semantically transitive predicates is also established via *i-* verbal prefixation. As a result of this and several other structural properties delineated here, negative clauses with semantically transitive verbs can be formally isomorphic with affirmative clauses containing semantically intransitive verbs. In general, the *i-* prefix is added to semantically transitive verbs in those cases in which there is not a real or affected second referent, i.e. in negative clauses as well as in interrogative and imperative clauses with semantically transitive verbs. The data presented suggest that the relevant semantic category subsuming all K. predicates that are either affirmative intransitives or irrealis-like transitives might best be described as one of *untransitivity*, a semantically and formally cohesive category subsuming all predicates, including negated transitives, without a real or affected second referent.

Asli Goksel, Meltem Kelepir, & Asli Üntak-Tarhan

Bogazici University, Bogazici University, Cornell University

Decomposing The Non-manual Tier In Turkish Sign Language: Cross-modality Generalisations

In this talk we investigate the non-manual tier in interrogative constructions in Turkish Sign Language (TİD) and propose that the signs making up this tier have designated semantic/pragmatic functions. Our findings show that (a) interrogatives are semantically made up of two components, one that identifies the utterance as the type which seeks a response, the other particularizing the type of response which is sought (confirmation/denial vs. the presentation of content), and (b) these semantic components are signalled by designated prosodic contours (head tilt and nodding vs. headshake). This corresponds to our earlier findings on Turkish interrogative intonation, schematized below:

TİD			TURKISH	
<i>Demand-for-a-response</i>	head tilt (chin up) head forward/ head backward		H-	
<i>Subgroups of questions</i>	<i>yes-no-Q</i>	<i>content Q</i>	<i>yes-no Q</i>	<i>content Q</i>
	nodding	headshake	H*L%	H*LH%
<i>Mode of encoding</i>	simultaneous partitioning		sequential partitioning	

We propose that analyses of the non-manual tier in SLs and intonation in spoken languages as the locus of clause-typing is more fine grained than what has been suggested in the literature. We shift the emphasis of the ‘meaning’ of interrogatives from syntax-based notions to prosody-based notions, and discuss these findings in the light of recent work on simultaneity vs. sequentiality of information across modalities.

E. Mara Green

Department of Anthropology, UC Berkeley

Social And Linguistic Dimensions Of A Case Of Inter-Modal Language Contact

My paper examines a case of inter-modal language contact between Nepali Sign Language (NSL), the only standard sign language in Nepal, and Nepali, the native language of about half of all Nepalis and the country’s primary lingua franca. Drawing on six months of field-work, I will argue that standard NSL exploits modality-specific resources in adapting lexical, semantic, and syntactic material from spoken and written Nepali. I will also address the social relationships that give rise to Nepali influence on NSL, as well as signers’ socially productive use of contact phenomena in inter-modal code-switching and/or register shifts. Finally, I will explore the particular theoretical and methodological problems that arise in analyzing cross-modal language influences.

Michael Grosvald, Christian Lachaud, & David Corina

University of California at Davis:

Influences Of Linguistic And Non-linguistic Factors In The Processing Of American Sign Language: Evidence From Handshape Monitoring

We investigated the relevance of linguistic and non-linguistic factors to sign processing by comparing hearing individuals and deaf signers as they performed a handshape monitoring task, a sign-language analogue to the phoneme-monitoring paradigms used in many spoken-language studies. Each subject saw a series of brief video clips, each of which showed either an American Sign Language sign or a phonologically possible but non-lexical “non-sign,” and responded when the action shown was formed with a particular handshape. The viewed actions varied with respect to the linguistic factors of lexicality and handshape markedness (Trubetzkoy, 1939/69; Jakobson, 1941/68; Battison, 1978) as well as the perceptual factor of type (defined according to whether the action is performed with one or two hands and for a two-handed sign, whether it is symmetrical).

We found linguistically-based effects in the deaf group but not the hearing group, while perceptual effects were seen in both groups. This is one of the first psycholinguistic demonstrations of an implicit measure (handshape monitoring) being used successfully to explore lexical access in a sign language. This is also the first sign language study to find phonological markedness effects in the context of a lexical decision task.

Lauren Hall-Lew

Stanford University

Ethnicity And Sound Change In San Francisco English

This talk analyzes three phonetic variables of California English: the merger of the low back vowels, the fronting of (uw) and the fronting of (ow). Data come from sociolinguistic interviews with Asian American and European American San Franciscans. Despite copious evidence for the prominence of the low back merger across the Western U.S., as well as its early presence in San Francisco, these results show that the low back merger is still in progress for older speakers, with more advanced merger among older European Americans. While there is no difference among younger speakers according to ethnicity, the data show a suggestive trend where older Asian Americans have more distinct low back vowels relative to European Americans of their same age cohort. Results for the mid- and high back vowels find that the fronting of (ow) is still in progress across all age groups, while (uw) appears to have stabilized at a fronted position. Neither vowel shows significant ethnic differences. A closer look at the back vowel system further reveals interesting variable production across the community in that some speakers occasionally produce extremely backed, monophthongal variants of both (uw) and (ow), effectively expanding the phonetic and stylistic range of variability.

John B Haviland

University of California San Diego

Portable Signs: Context (in)dependence And A Cline Of Indexicality In An Emerging Manual Communication System In A Mayan Community

This paper presents preliminary results from a first generation “family” sign language developing in a Tzotzil(Mayan)-speaking village in highland Chiapas, Mexico. The family includes three profoundly deaf individuals who have never met other deaf people, never been exposed to another sign language, never been to school, and, indeed, virtually never had contact with speakers of any language other than Tzotzil. The deaf individuals range between 18 and 28 years of age, and there is one intermediate hearing sibling who has grown up using and contributing to a shared communicative system. Finally, an 18 month old child is simultaneously acquiring his mother and uncles’ homesign and spoken Tzotzil.

The paper concentrates on a central issue in the emergence of linguistic signs: the interplay between iconic, indexical, and symbolic modalities. Previous research on manual gesture in Tzotzil allows direct attention to putative semiotic sources for this homesign, as well as potential conceptual commonalities between the matrix Mayan language and the emerging sign language. In particular this paper will discuss experimental results about emerging color discriminations, referential symbols, and the nature of “portable” lexicalized signs which can be emancipated from the immediate context of speaking.

Elena Herburger & Simon Mauck

Georgetown University

NPIs Pragmatically

Per Ladusaw (1980), NPIs are (widely) held to be licensed in downward entailing (DE) contexts: Why should this be the case? Recent analyses attempt to answer this question by exploiting the internal semantics of NPIs (cf. Krifka 1995, Lahiri 1998, Chierchia 2006). We point out some questions these analyses give rise to. Building on Israel’s (1996) distinction between emphatic low-scalar NPIs and understating high scalar NPIs, we then argue that the rung that an NPI occupies on a scale does actually not derive its distribution. It has, however, pragmatic consequences that help explain how the distribution came about. We argue that which scalar expressions become NPIs and which do not is to some extent arbitrary, as shown by the contrast between any and some and the variation between NPIs cross-linguistically and historically. We also discuss high scalar NPIs in this context (e.g. I don’t have much time.) We argue that such NPIs too are pragmatically useful in DE contexts because they either allow for a rather weak, evasive claim, or for understatement (when I don’t have much time really is meant as ‘I don’t have any time’.) The latter we claim to arise when the maxim of Quantity is flaunted.

Jisup Hong

U.C. Berkeley

Event Structure Integration: Korean -ese Constructions

The connective verbal suffix *-ese* is very commonly recognized in Korean as establishing one of two relations between clauses: temporal sequence and forward causality. Although there is widespread agreement that these senses occur in near-complementary distribution—i.e. any particular instance of a *P-ese Q* construction conveys specifically one of the two senses—a descriptively adequate and explanatorily satisfying analysis has proven elusive. I present a cognitive-functional analysis of the semantics of *-ese* constructions based on Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1991), combining Langacker’s verbal semantic model with Narayanan (1997)’s phased aspectual structure. This model predicts behavior deemed exceptional by earlier analyses and accounts for why sequential *-ese* cannot be used to connect just any pair of plausibly sequential events, as well as why, given certain variations in the connected clauses, *-ese* constructions can also convey other relations which have largely been ignored, such as temporal simultaneity, manner of motion, instrument, and means of causation.

Jong-Bok Kim

Kyung Hee University

The Big Mess Construction: Revisited

The so-called Big Mess Construction (BMC) exemplified in corpus examples like “It was [so] prominent a punctuation (*so a prominent punctuation) in the landscape” is peculiar in that it has a predeterminer adjective followed by an NP with the indefinite article *a/an*. The BMC construction can be introduced only by a limited set of degree words like *so, as, too, how, this, that*, and so forth, as seen from examples like “a somewhat underdeveloped country/ *somewhat underdeveloped a country” or “a very big house/*very big a house”. Van Eynde (2007) and Kay and Sag (2008) attribute such idiosyncratic properties of the BMC to the existence of a special construction. Our approach follows these previous analyses in that degree words are functors selecting their head, but differs from them in that degree expressions can select more than one dependent: a modifier phrase, a nominal, and even an extraposed CP clause. It is true that every language employs a certain number of constructions that can be hardly predicted from general grammar rules. However, we need to be careful for the proliferation of ‘constructions’ since there exist many constructions that come from the lexical properties and further general constructions, rather than from specific ones.

Iskra Iskrova

Indiana State University

Exploring Intonation In Guadeloupean Creole

This talk will present results from the first systematic instrumental study of intonation in a French-based creole. Data was collected from speakers on the island of Guadeloupe using a conversation like style. The elicited declaratives and questions were analyzed with Praat using the framework of Autosegmental-Metrical phonology. The analysis reveals that Guadeloupean

Creole has two types of accentual phrases, rising and falling, which can alternate in different ways within an intonational phrase. An intermediate level of organization, the intermediate phrase, ensures smaller groupings of accentual phrases within the utterance. The comparative analysis of peak alignment in French shows that Guadeloupean Creole prosody has little to share with its lexifier despite the continuous contact between the two languages in the French Antilles. Downstep occurs in declaratives and questions, but it has different realizations in each context, witnessing for a very controlled manipulation of pitch by speakers. At the end of the talk I will summarize the current tonal inventory, towards the shaping of a FBC-ToBI (French-based creoles-ToBI) system.

Cristin Kalinowski

University at Buffalo - SUNY

Multidirectional Vowel Harmony In Esimbi

This paper presents an analysis of vowel harmony in Esimbi. Height spreads from root to prefix, right to left. Backness primarily spreads from prefix to prefix, left to right. Esimbi is unusual in that harmony is neither always strictly directional nor always root-controlled. There are seven vowels which exhibit a three-way height distinction. However, stem vowels always surface as high. This paper focuses on the progressive verbal paradigm, which exhibits root-controlled height harmony as well as prefix-controlled backness harmony. What is of interest here is the progressive vowel, which harmonizes in height to the stem but in backness to the subject prefix. Moreover, while some prefixes have a fixed vowel, other subject prefixes are underspecified for height. These harmonize in height with the stem vowel. However, when the stem vowel is Mid-front, the progressive vowel is fronted, overriding the subject prefix harmony.

This means that the subject prefix is weak enough to harmonize with the stem in height but prominent enough to control backness harmony in other prefixes. In order to account for the Esimbi data, then, a theory of vowel harmony is needed which allows both multiple sources of harmonizing features and spreading of these features in multiple directions.

Reiko Kataoka

University of California at Berkeley

A Study On Perceptual Compensation For /u/-fronting In American English

Listener's identification of speech sounds are influenced by both perceived and expected characteristics due to the influence of surrounding sounds. For example, Ohala and Feder (1994) showed that American listeners judged a vowel stimulus which is ambiguous between /i/ and /u/ more frequently as /u/ in alveolar context than in bilabial context, and did so with both acoustic and cognitively "restored" contexts. This paper reports the results of three-part experiment with American listeners, aiming to extend Ohala and Feder's study with additional measures to reveal the locus of perceptual compensation.

Results from a pilot study with 31 subjects were as follows: Experiment 1 replicated the findings of Ohala and Feder. Further, it showed that Reaction Time for /u/ judgment is shorter than in bilabial context. Experiment 2 showed that perceptual compensation became greater as the speech rate of the precursor sentence increased. From Experiment 3, moderate correla-

tion between the magnitudes of /u/-fronting in the listener's own productions and perceptual boundaries of /i/-/u/ categories. The same set of experiments with improved stimuli is currently underway to collect more finely controlled data. The findings will shed some light on how human listeners use both bottom-up and top-down processing.

Takaomi Kato

Japan Society for the Promotion of Science/Sophia University

Two Types Of Covert Wh-movement

Noting some similarities in syntactic behavior between overtly moved wh-phrases and in-situ wh-phrases, Huang (1982) claimed that the latter also undergo wh-movement, though covertly, or in LF. Within the Minimalist Program, three different ways of implementing the "covert wh-movement" have been proposed. The first approach is to take it to be a movement of only the formal features of the in-situ wh-phrase (cf. Chomsky 1995). The second is to assume that the "covert wh-movement" is no different from its overt counterpart except that it involves pronunciation of the lower copy of the moved phrase (cf. Chomsky 2004). The third is to assume that an in-situ wh-phrase does not undergo any movement and that it is licensed through pure Agree (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001). The aim of this presentation is to argue that (i) "covert wh-movement" cannot be reduced to pure Agree and (ii) we need to assume both phrasal and featural covert wh-movement (cf. Pesetsky 2000).

Hrayr Khanjian

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Stress Dependent Vowel Reduction

This talk identifies a typologically unique vowel reduction pattern. Cross-linguistically, vowel contrasts collapse in unstressed positions, which is not the case for Armenian. The vowel reduction pattern in Armenian is unique since it only applies to destressed high vowels. In a paradigm if a high vowel is stressed in one of the lexical items then this high vowel either deletes or surfaces as ə. At first glance this phenomenon looks like reduction but on close examination it is deletion. The surface ə's conform to the distribution of all the ə's in Armenian and are a result of a ə-epenthesis process used to repair disallowed clusters. For some of the derived forms the ə is in a different location than the deleted high vowel, favoring deletion and insertion. This output-output interaction of Max-F constraints with a faithfulness to stress, Ident[+stress] and the Armenian phonotactics will drive this deletion. Deletion and epenthesis work together to get the desired forms of a paradigm.

Susannah Kirby

UNC-Chapel Hill

Do What You Know: "Semantic Scaffolding" In Biclausal Raising And Control

Learning raising-to-object and object control verbs poses a special challenge, since a single biclausal string can be mapped onto two underlying structures (*Bob gorped Timi... [ti to eat*

steak] (RO); [*PRO*i to eat *steak*] (OC)). I hypothesized that on their way to adultlike knowledge and processing power, children may capitalize on the syntax-semantics interface by parsing only the smallest complete proposition within a RO/OC utterance, in their assessment of the sentence as a whole. Two judgment tasks (semantic anomaly: *The teacher needed the books to weigh less*/#*The girl told the soup to have carrots in it*; and grammaticality: *The girl wanted there to be cookies in the bag*/**The boy asked it to be time for bed*) with 32 children (ages 4-5) supported the hypothesis. For 4s, the smallest acceptable proposition comprised the embedded clause alone, but 5s preferred to parse the embedded VP with the next c-commanding lexical (not expletive) NP. I propose that children acquire adultlike knowledge of RO/OC via a process of “semantic scaffolding”: a non-adultlike cluster of strategies which rely on the semantics of an utterance to support syntactic interpretation.

Yumiko Konishi

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Fluidity Of Categorization: The Multifunctionality Of *soo* In Japanese Conversation

The Japanese token *soo* has generally been considered an anaphor (*shoososhi*) and an affirmative response particle (*ootososhi*). Recent studies have identified *soo* as an interjection (*kandooshi*) and a filler (Sadanobu 2002, Sato 2005). Due to these wide-ranging functions of *soo*, much work has attempted to classify the functions and assign categorical terms or part of speech into distinguishable roles (Moriyama 1989, Sadanobu 2002, etc.). Despite the sizable scholarly attention to this token and its frequent occurrence in conversation, studies which examine *soo* in the naturally occurring conversation have been rather scarce. The present paper, therefore, conducts a discourse-based analysis of *soo* from a collection of cases taken from videotaped interaction among Japanese speakers, thereby obtaining a more empirical understanding of how it appears in on-line interaction. It will then (i) identify yet-unrecognized interactional roles of *soo* through the interactional/sequential analysis informed by the conversation-analytic approach (Sacks et al. 1974), demonstrating that the token serves to manage the conversational-floor (cf. Iwasaki 1997) within one’s storytelling, and (ii) argue that the roles of *soo* in spontaneous conversation cannot reasonably be classified into either of the previously postulated categories and the categories, therefore, have not fixed but fluid boundaries (Thompson & Hopper 2001).

Bahar Koymen & Amy Kyratzis

University of California Santa Barbara, Department of Education

Format Tying And Acquisition Of Syntax In Toddlers’ Peer Interactions

Goodwin (1990) defines “format tying” as speakers’ strategic use of the surface [syntactic, semantic] structures of the prior talk of another. This study examines how toddlers use format tying in their peer interactions. The data come from an ethnographic study which followed toddler peer interactions in one daycare center over two years. All instances of format tying of 4 target children (aged 18-30 months) were extracted. From this collection, a subset of examples were identified in which target peers engaged in a distinctive practice – repeating the claims of one another over several turns making subtle syntactic modifications. Modifications seemed to serve to top the claim of the prior speaker. For example, one child said “I go up five”, specifying the direction (“up”) and distance (“five”) of climbing stairs. A peer tied to this claim, deleting the direction and distance, and adding the speed of movement (“I go faster and

faster”). The first child then incorporated all three elements (“I’m go up five faster”). The examples bear similarities to a practice, “variation sets”, identified in mother-child conversations (Kuntay & Slobin, 1996), and suggest some ways in which children can learn aspects of verb argument structure dialogically through strategically tying to the talk of peers.

Bogetic Ksenija

University of Novi Sad

As Long As You're Not Effeminate Or Fat: Perpetuating The Heteronormative Discourse In Personal Ads Of Serbian Gay Youth On The Web

Recent research on the linguistic practices of sexually marginalized groups has moved beyond the essentialist approaches to investigate the ways in which such groups use language to construct various identities (Podesva et al. 2002; Cameron & Kulick, 2003; Cameron, 2005). Much of the research on the topic has focused on the marginalization and stigmatization of gay men from the heteronormative society; in response to this tendency, the present study aims to explore the discursive manifestations of the marginalization of effeminate gay men within the gay community itself. The data analyzed is comprised of internet personal ads written by Serbian gay male teenagers.

The approach taken is social constructionist. Drawing on linguistic anthropological perspectives of indexicality (Ochs, 1992) this study aims to expand the growing body of work on language and sexuality outside the English speaking world. The analysis of the ads suggests that language here serves to create a cohesive community in which masculinity is prized and femininity shunned and subordinated. Distancing from the homosexual stereotype is effected through various linguistic means. Further, observation of slang used in the ads reveals not only linguistic, but also ideological characteristics of this community. Its primary function here is evaluation, involving strong stance-taking: positive evaluation of “macho” men and negative evaluation of effeminate men. I argue that in such subtle, but salient ways the ideological construct of hegemonic masculinity is upheld by the very members of this group, which also points to the need for studying sexuality as a wider sociocultural phenomenon.

Iksoo Kwon

University of California, Berkeley

A Tautology Is A Tautology: Specificity And Prototypicality In Construing Nominal Tautological Constructions

The construal of nominal tautologies has been a controversial issue with regard to whether the critical cues belong to semantics or pragmatics or both since the 1980's (Wierzbicka 1987; Levinson 1983; Fraser 1988). Supporting a mixed semantic/pragmatic approach, Okamoto (1993) plausibly argues that grammatical elements such as case markers determine the construal of nominal tautologies [NP1-Case.Marker NP2-Copula] using Japanese examples. However, there are important exceptions not covered by her proposal.

Based on the observation, this paper claims, focusing on Korean examples, that the construal of nominal tautologies ‘X IS X’ depends on the speaker’s categorization of the NP1 entity as specific or generic and on the speaker’s categorization of the NP2 referent as prototypical or peripheral, rather than on grammatical markers. I argue that within the framework of Mental

Spaces Theory (Fauconnier 1997), we can adequately track how the speaker refers to a (non-) specific entity and how she evaluates the entity's prototypicality based on interlocutors' cognitive mental accessibility. Specifically, this paper shows (restricted) linking among roles in spaces and tracks which value the referred entity in the current discourse space corresponds to.

Karen Lahousse

Catholic University of Leuven & Research Foundation - Flanders (Belgium)
Information Structure And Epistemic Modality In Embedded Clauses

In this talk it will be argued (i) that, contrary to what is often claimed, embedded clauses (ECs) have an information structure (IS) articulation independent from that of the main clause, and (ii) that the specific way in which IS is expressed in ECs interacts with epistemic modality. These claims will be based on empirical evidence concerning the distribution of a clearly IS-driven syntactic configuration: verb-subject word order (VS) in French.

It will be shown that VS is allowed without an additional factor (e.g. the indefiniteness of the postverbal subject) in ECs without epistemic commitment, contrary to ECs with epistemic commitment. Hence, the syntactic expression of IS in a clause type depends on the presence or absence of epistemic modality. This observation will be explained by the potential conflict that arises when VS appears in a clause type with epistemic commitment: such a clause is challengeable and will prototypically be challenged with respect to the grammatical subject, while the postverbal subject in VS can crucially not be the element against which the truth of the proposition is evaluated. No such conflict arises when VS shows up in a clause without epistemic commitment, given that such a clause cannot be challenged.

Silke Lambert

University at Buffalo (SUNY)

So Close Yet So Far: External Possessors In German And Estonian

This study compares external possessor (EP) constructions in German and Estonian and shows that, despite formal and distributional similarities, the semantic factors governing their use are different. These differences are subtle and have scarcely been discussed in cross-linguistic research (König and Haspelmath 1998, Haspelmath 1999).

In German, EPs can be marked by dative; in Estonian, by adessive, a locative case. The dative-marked EP in German is understood as personally or emotionally affected; in Estonian EP adessives, affectedness is irrelevant, but the existence and nature of the possessive relation itself are crucial. E.g., Estonian allows EP adessives with inanimate reference if the possessive relation is inalienable (such as part/whole), whereas German restricts its EP datives largely to animate referents. Even more strikingly, Estonian allows EP adessives in contexts entirely free of affectedness ('My friend is singing' can be expressed as 'I-ADESS friend is singing') whereas the German counterparts are ungrammatical.

These phenomena show that the two EP constructions have different semantic functions: the German EP dative is an affectedness construction (Smith 2005), whereas the Estonian EP

adessive is vaguer – it expresses indirect involvement. The EP constructions of German and Estonian are thus different linguistic entities, regardless of their superficial similarity.

Marika Lekakou & Kriszta Szendroi

Meertens Institute, University College London

Greek Determiner Spreading Without A DP-internal Focus Phrase

We propose a novel account of Greek polydefinites/determiner spreading, as in (1). We treat DS as an instance of close apposition, as in (2) (cf. Kolliakou 2004, Stavrou 1995). CA is distinguished from loose apposition on syntactic and semantic grounds. Our proposal treats both (1) and (2) as involving two DPs, with DS, but not CA, containing noun ellipsis.

Determiner spreading (DS)

- (1) a. to kokino to podilato b. to podilato to kokino
 the red the bicycle the bicycle the red

Close Apposition (CA)

- (2) a. o aetos to puli b. to puli o aetos
 the eagle the bird the bird the eagle

The operation that forms a bigger DP out of two smaller ones is R(eferential)-role identification (cf. Higginbotham’s proposal (1985) for adjectival modification). Syntactically, the two DPs in DS and CA stand in a symmetric relationship. This captures the well-known ordering freedom of DS (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998), illustrated in (1) and (2). Finally, we provide an empirical argument against a DP-internal Focus Phrase in DS: focus-related properties which would always be expected in DS are not manifested in the absence of contrastive stress. This suggests that it cannot be DS per se that involves focus.

Yingshing Li

Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan

Incomplete Neutralization Of Alveolar And Retroflexed Sibilants In Taiwan Mandarin

In this study, we investigate multiple factors that might influence the merging of the alveolar sibilants [ts, ts^h, s] and the retroflexed sibilants [tʂ, tʂ^h, ʂ] in Taiwan Mandarin (e.g., Kubler, 1985; Chung, 2006), including phonological contexts (i.e., different adjacent consonants and vowels), lexical status (i.e., lexical frequency and neighborhood density), listening conditions (i.e., presence or absence of the listener), and individual speakers’ identities (i.e., gender and language background). First, native speakers shadowed visual stimuli in the carrier sentence. The tokens were then acoustically analyzed to exact the duration and four spectral moments (i.e., mean, variance, skewness, and kurtosis) of the fricatives of the sibilants (Forrest et al., 1988). Compared with the fricatives of alveolar sibilants, those of retroflexed sibilants had shorter duration, lower spectral moment mean and kurtosis, and higher spectral moment variance and skewness. Crucially, neutralization tended to occur when fricatives were pronounced without the preceding plosives or followed by high vowels, when sibilants occurred in higher frequency words with fewer phonological neighbors, when the listener was absent, and when participants were males who didn’t acquire Mandarin from their families.

The tokens from the above experiment were given to native hearers to write down the corresponding spelling forms (Zhuyinfuhao). The result showed that native hearers made a poor distinction of alveolar and retroflexed sibilants, as opposed to the clear production cues (cf. Labov, 1994). The misperception of native hearers seemed to come from the weakness of the inverted interpretation of production cues: Only the duration of the fricatives of the sibilants was correlated with their judgments.

Gujing Lin

Rice University

**Verb Serialization And Non-unified Argument Structure?
The Predicatehood Of Tsou Serial Verbs**

This study argues that serial verbs in Tsou do not constitute a single predicate licensing a unified argument structure, contra the general understanding that individual verbs in serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) act together as a single predicate and involve argument sharing (cf. Foley and Olson 1985, Baker 1989, Durie 1997, Aikhenvald 2006; Tsou is an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan). Using evidence from focus-marking and nominal morphology, the present study illustrates that arguments of individual verbs in the Tsou SVCs are not fused into a fully unified argument structure governed by the entire verb series, although the individual verbs are encompassed in a monoclausal structure sharing one specification of tense, aspect, person, and polarity values. In the Tsou SVCs, although the individual verbs each show formal resemblance to independent finite verbs, only one verb displays the predication functions normally associated with a finite verb, determining the argument structure of the entire verb series. The other verb(s) is restricted in predication functions, whose arguments are not truly incorporated into the serialization structure. The non-finiteness of serialized verbs, except one, points to the functional similarities between SVCs and other complex predicates such as converbial expressions, arguing against the proposals that serial verbs make a distinct construction among complex predicates due to the lack of syntactic dependency (cf. Aikhenvald 2006).

Bethany MacLeod

University of Toronto

**The Acquisition Of Vocalic Sequences
By English-Speaking L2 Learners Of Spanish**

While previous studies have investigated the acquisition of Spanish vowels by English speakers, none has examined how sequences of vowels are acquired. Spanish incorporates a contrast between two vowels syllabified as a diphthong or as a hiatus, which is not found in English.

This study seeks to determine the developmental path of acquisition of the diphthong/hiatus contrast by English speakers with respect to the acoustic manifestation of the contrast (in terms of two acoustic correlates of the contrast: duration and %-transition) as well as in terms of the effects of phonological transfer (in the form of an English syllabification constraint) and phonetic transfer (in the form of the acoustic realization of English glides).

Through an experiment testing beginning and intermediate learners, it was found that the duration of vowels in sequence is somewhat exaggerated by learners and that while phonological transfer was not evident, a positive effect of phonetic transfer occurred, resulting in an almost native-like pronunciation of certain Spanish syllables that are illicit in English.

The conclusions of this study contribute to the gap in the literature regarding acquisition of vocalic sequences and illustrate the need for a consistent clarification between phonological and phonetic transfer.

Anita Mittwoch

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

How To Measure The Length Of Telic Eventualities

Why can durational adverbials like *for an hour* not modify quantized predicates, like *write three letters*? The paper argues that the reason is that counting/measuring requires the possibility of alternatives. When an event of writing three letters is over its temporal length is fixed. Therefore it can only be measured indirectly. In

(1) She wrote 3 letters in an hour

the hour is not a measure of the event but of an interval into which the event can fit. This explains the peculiarities of such *in-* adverbials: a) they work on a descending rather than a rising scale, so that (1) entails *She wrote three letters in an hour and ten minutes*, and is not falsified by *She wrote three letters in fifty minutes*; the reversal of scalar implicatures ensures that the lower the value on the scale for which a claim is made, the stronger the claim. b) they are subject to a number of constraints on what can modify the temporal NP, for example *She wrote three letters in at most / # at least an hour*.

Yoonsook Mo

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

F0 And Formants (F1, F2) As Perceptual Cues For Naive Listeners' Prominence Perception

The present study, based on the transcriptions of nearly 100 untrained listeners, asks whether F0 peaks and vowel formants cue prosodic prominence in spontaneous speech of American English. Listeners marked printed transcripts of 54 excerpts (11-54s) from nearly 40 speakers for the locations of "prominent" words on the basis of auditory impression in real-time. A probabilistic prominence score (P-score) was assigned to each word according to the number of listeners who marked it as prominent. The following acoustic measures were taken from the 14 stressed vowels (N=3400; i,ɪ,ɑɪ,əʊ,æ,ɛ,eɪ,ɑ,ʌ,ɜ,ɔ,ou,v,u): F0 peak and F0 at the vowel's right edge, F1 and F2 at the vowel mid-points for monophthongs and at both the nucleus and glide positions for diphthongs. Correlation and regression analyses between P-scores and the acoustic measures were performed.

The results showed that (1) untrained listeners reliably perceive prominence in ordinary speech, where prominence typically marks new information and (2) a word is perceived as

prominent when the stressed vowel contains a higher F0 peak, greater sonority (F1) and more peripheral front/back articulation (F2), indicating that prominence is cued by F0 peaks, hyperarticulation and sonority expansion. Further, the results showed that sonority expansion prevails over hyperarticulation for the height of high vowels.

Sumiyo Nishiguchi

Osaka University

Bipolar Items And Attitude Predicates

This paper discusses *bipolar items* (BPI), which demonstrate the combined features of NPIs and PPIs (van der Wouden 1997). I will argue that the both overt and covert factive emotives license BPIs.

The Dutch *ooit* 'ever,' Serbo-Croatian *i*-series 'also/even,' and their Hungarian counterpart demonstrate NPI-hood, which occurs when licensed in medium or weak negative environments or extra-clausal negation. On the other hand, they exhibit PPI-hood when anti-licensed by strong clausemate negation (van der Wouden 1997, Progovac 1994, Szabolcsi 2002). BPIs are also licensed by non-monotonic negative emotives such as *doubt*. In Serbo-Croatian, positive attitude predicates such as *be happy* also license BPIs.

I claim that the use of Japanese *mo* 'also/even,' Korean wide-scope *to* 'also/even,' and Chinese *ye* 'also' in simple sentences—which I refer to as discourse-initial sentence focus—are BPIs licensed not only by overt emotives such as *regret* or *be sorry* but also covert emotives. They are anti-licensed by clausemate negation but licensed by extra-clausal negation, monotone decreasing contexts, emotives, and crucially, implicit speaker attitudes.

Therefore, BPI licensers are monotone decreasing or anti-additive contexts, extra-clausal antimorphic negation, and nonmonotonic explicit/implicit emotives. The distribution of BPIs can be explained by a feature-checking mechanism such as the one in Bernardi (2002), which discusses NPIs and negative contexts. I propose that the $[\text{wP}\square\text{wN}\square\text{mN}]$ feature of BPIs be checked by weak negation $[\text{wN}]$ or medium negation $[\text{wN}\square\text{mN}]$ but not by the strong negative $[\text{wN}\square\text{mN}\square\text{sN}]$.

Bozena Pajak

UC San Diego

Contextual Constraints On Geminate: The Case Of Polish

I argue from typological and perceptual evidence that the constraint against geminates (*Gem) should be split into constraints that incorporate contextual information (word position & adjacent segments). I show that splitting *Gem accurately captures the distribution and conspiratorial behavior of geminates in Polish.

Typological evidence shows that geminate consonants are most common in a word-medial intervocalic environment (Thurgood 1993) and least common when at a word-edge not adjacent to a vowel (Muller 2001, among others), yielding the following markedness hierarchy (GG=geminate): $\{\#GGC, CGG\#, CGGC\} > \{\#GGV, VGG\#, VGGC, CGGV\} > VGGV$. I demonstrate (Pajak 2009) that this hierarchy can be in part explained by perceptual restric-

tions: obstruent geminates are easiest to distinguish from singletons in the intervocalic environment, and hardest in the non-vowel-adjacent context.

Based on the above evidence, I propose to amend the constraint on geminates (*Gem) by incorporating contextual information: word position and adjacent segments. Specifically, I propose to split *Gem into at least three contextual constraints: *Gem/NVA >> *Gem/IVA >> *Gem/V_V (NVA=non-vowel-adjacent, IVA=one-sided vowel-adjacent). I show that these contextual constraints correctly account for the distribution and behavior of geminates in Polish, where two processes (consonant deletion & vowel epenthesis) conspire to avoid non-intervocalic geminates.

Roland Pfau

University of Amsterdam

Typological Variation In Sign Language Negation: A Generative Perspective

Patterns of sentential negation have been described for a large number of unrelated sign languages (SLs). The available data suggest that there are striking similarities across SLs: SLs have at their disposal manual and non-manual negative markers and frequently, manual and non-manual markers are combined to negate a proposition. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that there are also interesting differences.

I will discuss and compare negation data from American SL (ASL), Catalan SL (LSC), German SL (DGS), Italian SL (LIS), Hong Kong SL (HKSL), and Turkish SL (TİD). I adopt Zeshan's (2006) basic typological distinction between manual dominant and non-manual-dominant SLs. In the former, the use of a manual particle is obligatory while in the latter, the use of a manual particle is optional and a sentence is commonly negated by a headshake only. Moreover, the domain of the non-manual marker (a headshake) may differ from SL to SL.

I will argue that these patterns as well as the (non)availability of manual negative concord can be accounted for by assuming that there is cross-linguistic variation with respect to (i) which elements occupy the head and/or specifier of a negative phrase and (ii) whether the headshake is affixal in nature or not.

Ginger Pizer

Mississippi State University

Constructed Dialogue And Code Choice In The Narratives Of Hearing Adults With Deaf Parents

This study analyzes code choice in constructed dialogue in spoken-English narratives produced by ten hearing adults with deaf parents. Codeswitching in reported speech is sometimes considered unremarkable, in that a switch to the language of the original utterance simply provides a more accurate quotation (Myers-Scotton, 1993). However, language choice is less automatic if reported speech is considered to be "constructed dialogue" (Tannen, 1989, 1995). Bimodal bilinguals—people with skills in both a signed and a spoken language—have the additional resource of "code-blending," simultaneously producing elements of both languages (Emmorey, Borinstein & Thompson, 2005). The narrators in this study often recounted originally signed utterances using only spoken English. They sometimes simultaneously produced

a gestural representation of signing or the sign SIGN, thereby indicating the original language and providing cues to the manner of signing. Reported utterances produced with code-blends additionally allowed metalinguistic reference to particular signs and provided heightened emphasis. Finally, codeswitching—signing without simultaneous speech—allowed narrators to recount utterances using ASL grammatical structures that are not parallel to those in English. Flexibility in the ways that the narrators reported originally signed utterances gave them resources in the construction of dialogue far beyond simple quotation.

David Quinto-Pozos, Kearsy Cormier, & Claire Ramsey
University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, University College London,
University of California San Diego
Constructed Action Of Highly Animate Referents: Evidence From
American, British And Mexican Sign Languages

Constructed Action (hereafter CA), or a signer’s use of “...body, head, and eye gaze to report the actions, thoughts, words, and expressions of characters” (Metzger, 1995) is a common feature of signed discourse. Yet, little crosslinguistic work on CA production is available. We investigate CA produced by native Deaf signers of three signed languages: American Sign Language, British Sign Language, and Mexican Sign Language. We also consider the interaction of CA with entity classifiers (hereafter, CL).

Five signers from each language provided signed portrayals of 20 elicitation videos. We analyzed renditions signed in response to four videos, all rated as highest in animacy by hearing non-signers. Instances of CA were coded for use of the eyes, head, torso, arms/hands, and various uses of the mouth. We also documented CL production.

In all three languages signers produce CA using all coded body parts. Some videos elicit similar use of some body parts from nearly all the signers, highlighting similarities of CA across different languages. However, inter- and intra-linguistic variation of CA and CL production was also evident.

Haj Ross
Department of Linguistics and Technical Communication, University of North Texas
As-ing

This paper concerns the syntax of tensed as-clauses like that in (1).

(1) •(ok) He •(??) can •(ok) afford •(?) a •(*) Buick, as we can a Jeep.

Externally, this clause behaves like a sentence adverb, and can be inserted (between comas) at those places in (1) marked by ‘•,’ the resulting grammaticality shown by the following parenthesized symbol.

As-clauses often exclude negatives (*as they (*don't) know* vs. *as they seem (not) to know*). They exhibit strange tense restrictions: *as I [had forgotten/*forget/*forgot]*. They seem to wrinkle their noses at adjectives: *as I [fear/*am afraid]*; *She may be [a genius/ brilliant], as may he [a moron/ *stupid]*. They can refer back to find a positive “inside” a negative clause (*Pat is not sick, as I had*

thought – this can mean I thought that he **was** sick), but only if the *as*-clause follows the negation: thus *Pat, as I had thought, is not sick* means only I thought that he was not sick. The rule forming *as*-clauses converts a verb to *as*, under identity, preposing it, then a mop-up rule deletes any other coreferential elements: *I showed the iPhone1 to Sam, as Sal did (*iti) to Mike*.

Sai Samant

University of Michigan

We're All Arab Here: Ethnic Identity And Language

This paper discusses the spread of the Northern Cities Shift (NCS), a well-studied, regional set of vowel changes documented in speakers from New York to the Midwest, among Arab American youth. To date, no sociolinguistic research has been done on the language practices of Arab

Americans. Data come from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with students at a high school in Dearborn, Michigan. Approximately 80-90% of students at the high school are Arab American; students' families come largely from Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, and Syria. Using sociophonetic methods, I analyze the acoustic patterns of 8 vowels in the speech of 16 speakers (8 men and 8 women) who all identify as Arab American. Four of the vowels (/ɛ, æ, a, ʌ /) are part of the NCS. Initial statistical analysis suggests that speakers do use NCS variants of the selected vowels. Though the students identify generally as Arab or Arab American, further analysis will investigate the effect of locally-relevant distinctions along lines of national origin on the use of NCS variants. Distinctions not relevant to one aspect of ethnicity (Arab American vs. European American) may be constructed and expressed linguistically for another (e.g. Lebanese vs. Iraqi).

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Investigating An Asymmetry In The Semantics Of Japanese Measure Phrases

It is often claimed that in Japanese when a measure phrase combines directly with an adjective, it has only a differential interpretation, with a contextually determined standard (Snyder et al. 1995):

- (1) Kono tana-wa 2-meetoru takai.
This shelf-TOP 2-meter tall
'This shelf is 2 meters taller.'
NOT: 'This shelf is 2 meters tall.'

Although this observation about Japanese is correct, we find that Japanese does allow the 'direct measurement' reading in certain environments:

- (2) Kono sao-wa 5-do maga-
This rod-TOP 5-degree bend-PERF

'This rod is 5 degrees bent.'

NOT: 'This rod is 5 degrees more bent.'

This paper investigates the asymmetry between (1) and (2) and argues that the 'direct measurement' in Japanese is possible only when the adjective is an absolute gradable adjective with a lower closed scale. The implication of this finding is that the interpretation of measure phrases in Japanese is sensitive to the scale structure of gradable adjectives and that the difference between Japanese and other languages (e.g. English) can be captured as a matter of variation in the inventory of Measure heads (Svenonius and Kennedy 2006).

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Structural Priming In The Production Of Null And Overt Pronouns In Italian Acquisition

The aim of this project was to investigate whether structural priming can account for Italian-speaking children's distribution of pragmatically infelicitous pronouns.

Two groups of 6-year-olds (N= 80) and 8-year-olds (N= 70) participated in two production priming studies where they were required to provide descriptions of target pictures after listening to prime descriptions. Children in the "null condition" heard sentences containing null pronouns, and those in the "overt condition" heard sentences with overt pronouns. In the "overt condition" half of the pronouns in the prime sentences matched in gender the referent in the children's targets. In Study 1, but not in Study 2, children also repeated the experimenter's prime before their target description.

At both ages children used significantly more pragmatically infelicitous overt pronouns when the prime included an overt pronoun. This was true regardless of gender matching between prime and target, suggesting that priming was not just lexical. At both ages, children resorted to null pronouns significantly more often when the prime sentence also included a null pronoun, and they did so even in contexts in which an overt pronoun would have been more appropriate. In the absence of prime repetition, the findings of study 1 were replicated in study 2.

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Focused N-Words And Double Negation Readings In Negative Concord Languages

This paper investigates the Double Negation (DN) readings of focused n-words in languages that are typically Negative Concord (NC).

Zeijlstra (2004) accounts for NC readings by arguing that n-words are syntactically marked for negation, carrying an uninterpretable [UNEG] feature which must be licensed by an interpretable iNEG feature.

Under a Zeijlstra-type analysis, a focused n-word moves covertly above the null operator to SpecFocP, where it is not properly licensed. As a repair strategy, another null operator with interpretable features is inserted. Thus there are two [INEG] features and a DN reading arises:

1. $[_{\text{FocP}} Op \neg_{[\text{INEG}]} [\text{nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}] [_{\text{TP}} Op \neg_{[\text{INEG}]} [\text{nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}] [_{\text{VP}} \text{ama nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}]]]$
 ‘Nobody loves nobody’ = ‘Everybody loves somebody’

However, we also find DN readings in sentences such as *[Nessuno]_F non ama nessuno*. In a Zeijlstra-type analysis, this structure would require three iNEGs, thus incorrectly yielding NC:

2. $[_{\text{FocP}} Op \neg_{[\text{INEG}]} [\text{nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}] [_{\text{TP}} Op \neg_{[\text{INEG}]} [\text{nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}] [_{\text{NegP}} \text{non}_{[\text{iNEG}]}] [_{\text{VP}} \text{ama nessuno}_{[\text{uNEG}]}]]]]]$

This paper presents an alternative solution to these DN readings. Following Rooth (1992), I argue that the focus value of (2) would be *non ama nessuno*, a negative predicate. The statement asserts that *nobody* has this property of *loving nobody*. Thus, there are only two negative operators present, which yields a DN reading.

Jasmin Urban

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A Modal Approach To Open Questions

Open questions are a type of interrogative that display a number of different properties from their informative and yes-no counterparts. I show that the answers to open questions, contrary to traditional analyses of informative questions, are not true or false, exhaustive, or mutually exclusive. The analysis draws on insights from truth-relativity, modality, and dynamic semantics, while maintaining a standard semantic core. Specifically, I propose that the propositions that make up the answer space are ranked, rather than representing a set of mutually-exclusive possibilities. I use the notion of individual anchor developed by Farkas (1992) to pick out only those propositions that are compatible with the speaker’s beliefs to ensure that answers are agent-relative. Further, the contextually-determined question under discussion will act as an ordering source on these propositions, ranking them according to how well they resolve the question under discussion, allowing answers to vary across contexts. The approach presented here is amenable to dealing with context-sensitivity in informative and yes-no questions to yield a unified theory of interrogatives.

Elisabeth Wehling

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**Argument Is Gesture War: Form And Function Of
Interactive Gestures In Political Discourse**

Traditional accounts of interactive gestures (IG, henceforth) are based on dialogue settings and define them as referential in form and discourse-maintaining in function (Bavelas, 1999). I argue towards a modified definition of IG for the case of argument.

My research shows that IG in argument settings often differ significantly from those in dialogue settings. The reason, I argue, lies in embodied concepts (Lakoff, 2008) that underlie mental simulation in argumentative discourse, structuring speech and non-speech pragmatics.

My data are a Bill Clinton FOXnews interview and footage from the Clinton/Obama '08 debates. The analysis focuses on (i) the form IG take (ii) the function they serve and (iii) their relation to conceptual metaphors.

Aside from IG typically found in conversation and based on the concept COMMUNICATION IS OBJECT TRANSFER (Bavelas, 1999), I account for a category of IG that establish and modify speaker hierarchies in the struggle over speaker role and discourse content.

Those are based on the primary metaphor ARGUMENT IS PHYSICAL STRUGGLE and related metaphors such as CONTROL IS UP and SPEAKING IS FORWARD MOVEMENT as well as PRESENTING CONTENT IS PHYSICAL OFFENSE and REJECTING CONTENTS IS PHYSICAL DEFENSE. Respective concepts structure non-speech modality beyond gesture iconicity, including style.

Chen-huei Wu & Chilin Shih

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Mandarin Vowels Revisited: Evidence From Electromagnetic Articulography Study

According to various theoretical approaches, linguists have debated the issue of how many vowels there are in the Mandarin phonemic inventory and its surface reflexes. In this paper, the production of Mandarin vowels in context is examined with an Electromagnetic Articulograph AG500. The goal of this study is to illustrate the phonological output of Mandarin vowels in terms of the articulatory positions of the tongue, the jaw and the lips, as well as the corresponding acoustic properties of the articulatory data.

The analysis of the articulatory positions of the tongue and formant frequency reveals some discrepancies between traditional phonetic descriptions of vowels and the actual tongue positions. The acoustic and articulatory data show that the tongue height does not completely correspond to the vowel height in formant values. In addition, the coarticulation effects of onset consonants and nasal codas demonstrate the variation in constriction location and degree of constriction in vowels [i] and [a]. Furthermore, the evidence from acoustic and articulatory properties of vowels trigger us to rethink vowel categories in Mandarin.

Nina Azumi Yoshida

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An Analysis Of Modal Nominalized Predicate Constructions In Japanese

Past studies have noted that Japanese employs the morphosyntax of nominalized predicates as a conventional way of expressing deontic and epistemic modality. Such constructions characteristically take the form of a predicate nominalized by a *keisiki meisi* ('formal noun')—e.g., *no*, *koto*, *mono*, *hazu*, etc.—followed (optionally) by the copula *da*. This study selectively focuses on the

four Modal Nominalized Predicate (MNP) constructions of *no(da)*, *koto(da)*, *mono(da)*, and *hazu(da)*.

The MNP construction's formal resemblance to a topic-comment (A *wa* B [*da*]) type construction is proposed to be a key structural factor contributing to its discourse pragmatic capabilities. It is claimed that the primary role of *no*, *koto*, *mono*, or *hazu* within these constructions is to denote the existence of an authoritative "voice" behind the validity of propositions so marked. Moreover, the "existence = (epistemic) truth/ (deontic) necessity" interpretation is hypothesized to arise via metaphorical extension (e.g., SPACE > TIME, PHYSICAL > SOCIAL) of the underlying semantics *no* (=indefinite pronoun), *koto* ('mental/abstract conceptualization'), *mono* ('physical/material object'), and *hazu* ('notches on a bow or arrow') each reference as nominals.

A contextualized analysis of collected tokens of these four MNP constructions from authentic Japanese discourse data is presented in support of these claims.

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Tonal Mapping In Cantonese Vocative Reduplication

One method of forming vocatives in Cantonese is via reduplication. Such reduplicative vocatives often exhibit tone changes, though non-tone-changing alternatives are often possible. A major puzzle comes from the non-tonal-transferring nature of tone change. Tone change might take place on the first syllable, the second, or both syllables, all resulting in tonal non-identity between the reduplicant and the base. This paper advances a morphological-doubling-theoretic account (Inkelas and Zoll 2005) of vocative reduplication in Cantonese, arguing that vocative reduplication is a matter of double-stem formation (i.e. a form of stem-compounding), where identity holds at the morphosyntactic level rather than at the phonological level. The nature of tone change is governed by a set of fixed tonal templates that is mapped onto the stem compound.

Gwanhi Yun

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Effects Of Coda-voicing On The Production Of Onsets By Second Language Learners

This study examines whether English learning Korean speakers reveal coarticulatory effects from coda voicing to onset consonants. In order to see whether L2 speakers reach native-like degree of coarticulation within the syllable, two acoustic features of /l/ were measured depending on the voicing of coda consonants. First, F2 values of /l/ in onsets were not significantly different regardless of voicing of codas unlike the finding with L1 speakers (Hawkins & Nguyen 2003). Such result indicates that Korean L2 learners did not utilize anticipatory voicing coarticulation from codas to the onset. Second, with respect to duration of /l/, interestingly, /l/ in onsets was longer before voiced (e.g. *lead*) than voiceless codas (e.g. *leat*) (91 ms vs. 86 ms). It suggests that at least by some acoustic cues, Korean learners attempt to adopt the length of onsets to assist listeners to distinguish voiced from voiceless consonants (Lindblom 1996). In sum, even L2 learners' production partly supports Auditory Enhancement Theory

by showing that longer onset /l/ and longer vowels before voiced codas contribute to the perception of an abstract feature [voicing]. This study also implies that voicing can be partly viewed as a syllable feature rather than as a segmental feature with L2 learners.

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On French Negation

Two main characteristics of French negation are (i) that the language is a so-called Negative Concord (NC) language; and (ii) that French exhibits so-called embracing negation. NC refers to the phenomenon where multiple negative expressions yield only one negation. Embracing negation means that the language exhibits two negative markers that embrace the finite verb. This is illustrated in (1) where both *ne* and *pas* together express sentential negation.

- (1) Jean (*ne*) mange *(*pas*)
Jean (NEG) eats NEG

At first sight the two phenomena seem to behave on a par. Both in combination with French negative and with French *pas*, *ne* may co-occur. But co-occurrence of *pas* with an n-word always yields a Double Negation (DN), i.e. a non-NC, reading.

In this paper I argue that French n-words carry the same feature as n-words in other languages (following Zeijlstra (2004)): [uNEG]. However, I argue that French *ne* does not carry any formal feature and is a plain Negative Polarity Item (NPI). Due to the NPI status of *ne* it follows that *ne* cannot invoke the presence of an abstract negative operator as that is restricted to n-words only (by virtue of their [uNEG] feature). Moreover, it also follows why *pas* cannot establish an NC relation with n-word. Since cases of *ne ... pas* can no longer be seen as cases of syntactic agreement, these constructions cannot act as a cue for language learners to assign a formal negative feature to *pas*. *Pas* is thus only lexically and therefore semantically negative, but not formally (i.e. morphosyntactically).