

bls 37

Berkeley Linguistics Society
37th Annual Meeting
Berkeley, California
12–13 February 2011

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Acknowledgments

The Berkeley Linguistics Society thanks the following organizations for their generous support and sponsorship:

- UC Berkeley Department of Linguistics
- UC Berkeley Graduate Assembly
- UC Berkeley Social Sciences Division of the College of Letters and Sciences
- UC Berkeley Department of Gender & Women's Studies
- The Li Ka Shing Foundation

The BLS Executive Committee would also like to thank the committees of past years for their continued support and collaboration. We are also tremendously grateful to our volunteers, without whom the execution of the conference would be quite impossible, and to the UC Berkeley linguistics faculty and staff for their perennial support for BLS.

We would also like to extend special thanks to our invited speakers and to everyone who has made the trip to present their work. We are also grateful to all those who submitted abstracts—thank you for thinking of BLS!

BLS 37 Executive Committee:

Roslyn Burns, Chundra Cathcart, I-Hsuan Chen, Emily Cibelli, Greg Finley, Shinae Kang, Eric Prendergast, Clare Sandy, Elise Stickles.

BLS 37 Schedule

Saturday, Feb. 12

7:45 am Registration, Coffee & Breakfast – 371 Dwinelle

8:15 Opening Remarks – 370 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Syntax I

Phonetics

8:30 Jong-Bok Kim & Peter Sells: *The English binominal NP as a nominal juxtaposition construction* Carissa Abrego-Collier: *Liquid dissimilation as listener hypocorrection*

9:00 Julio Villa-García: *Different subject positions in the preverbal field in Spanish* Elizabeth Hume, Frédéric Mailhot, Andrew Wedel, Kathleen Hall, Dahee Kim, Adam Ussishkin, Martine Adda-Decker, Cédric Gendrot, Cécile Fougeron: *Anti-markedness patterns in French deletion and epenthesis: An information-theoretic account*

9:30 Dong-yi Lin: *Interrogative serial verb constructions in Kavalan* Rika Aoki & Fumiaki Nishihara: *Sound feature interference between two second languages: An expansion of Feature Hypothesis to the multilingual situation in SLA*

10:00 Helge Lødrup & Marianne Hobæk Haff: *Another overt surface anaphor: Norwegian 'and that'* Young Ah Do: *Interaction of the top most and the bottom most: Pragmatic bias and phonetic perception*

10:30 Break – 371 Dwinelle

10:45 BERNARD COMRIE – 370 Dwinelle
Alignment Typology, Reflexives, and Reciprocals in Tsezic Languages

11:45 Lunch (see p. 7 for nearby options)

Special Session (I):
Languages of the Caucasus

Historical Linguistics

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| 1:00 pm | Karine Megerdooomian: <i>Focus and the auxiliary in Eastern Armenian</i> | Rachele Delucchi: <i>Vowel harmony and vowel reduction: The case of Swiss-Italian dialects</i> |
| 1:30 | Ümit Atlamaz: <i>Cyclic agreement and empty slots in Pazar Laz</i> | Sverre Stausland Johnsen: <i>A diachronic account of phonological unnaturalness</i> |
| 2:00 | Johanna Nichols: <i>Causativization and contact in Nakh-Daghestanian</i> | David Mortensen: <i>Two series suffice: Lexical prefixes and Proto-Tibeto-Burman laryngeal contrast</i> |
| 2:30 | Break – 371 Dwinelle | |
| 2:45 | GREVILLE G. CORBETT – 370 Dwinelle
<i>Canonical Typology Meets Ultimate Morphology</i> | |
| 3:45 | Break – 371 Dwinelle | |

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Special Session (II):
Languages of the Caucasus

Semantics

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 4:00 | John Sylak: <i>Pharyngealization in Chechen is not just pharyngeal</i> | Alex Djalali, Scott Grimm, David Clausen, Beth Levin: <i>What can be ground? Noun type, constructions, and the Universal Grinder</i> |
| 4:30 | Thomas Wier: <i>Typological rara (and rarissima) in Khevsur and Tush</i> | Martin Port: <i>Grammaticalized discourse connectivity</i> |
| 5:00 | Ayla Applebaum & Matthew Gordon: <i>A comparative phonetic study of the Circassian languages</i> | Jungmin Kang: <i>How short form functional reading answers are derived – focusing on their unavailability in multiple wh-questions</i> |
| 5:30 | Break – 371 Dwinelle | |
| 5:45 | SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE – 145 Dwinelle
<i>Let's Bury the Pidgin-to-Creole Evolutionary Myth Once and for All!</i> | |
| 6:45 | Wine & Cheese – 371 Dwinelle | |
| 7:15 | BLS Banquet – 370 Dwinelle | |

Sunday, Feb. 13

7:45 am

Coffee & Breakfast – 371 Dwinelle

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Phonology

Pragmatics

- 8:30 Seongyeon Ko: *A contrastive hierarchy approach to Tungusic and Mongolic labial harmony* Koichi Nishida: *Logophoric first-person terms in Japanese and generalized conversational implicatures*
- 9:00 Toni Cook: *The status of the Macrostem in reduplication in Ndebele and Zulu* Elsi Kaiser: *Demonstrative adjectives in spoken Finnish: Informational sufficiency and the speaker-addressee dynamic*
- 9:30 Eric Russell Webb & Kristen Kennedy Terry: *Modeling the emergence of a typological anomaly: Vowel nasalization in French* Shiao Wei Tham: *When motion and location yield direction: The case of Mandarin*
- 10:00 Erez Volk: *Depression as register: Evidence from Mijikenda* Marisa Tice & Patrícia Amaral: *Learning cues to category membership: Patterns in children's acquisition of hedges*

10:30

Break – 371 Dwinelle

10:45

MARY BUCHOLTZ – 370 Dwinelle
Language, Gender, and Sexuality in the Material World

11:45

Lunch (see p. 7 for nearby options)

Parasession:

Syntax II

Language, Gender and Sexuality

- 1:00 pm Chris VanderStouwe: *The linguistic negotiation of heterosexuality in the same-sex marriage movement* Barry C.-Y. Yang: *On topic/focus agreement and movement*
- 1:30 Julia Thomas: *The role of gender in monophthongization of /aɪ/ in African-American English* Asya Pereltsvaig: *On morphological, semantic and syntactic number*

(Parasession continued)

Psycholinguistics

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 2:00 | Donna B. Gerdt: <i>The Purview Effect: Feminine gender on inanimates in Halkomelem Salish</i> | Helen Stickney, Chelsea Mafrika, Jordan Paul Lippman: <i>Variability in the syntax of DP and the partitive structure</i> |
| 2:30 | Luke Fleming: <i>Kinship semantics and the origins of gender indexicality in the Americas</i> | Bethany Keffala: <i>Resumption in English: Relative acceptability creates an illusion of 'saving'</i> |

3:00 Break – 371 Dwinelle

3:15 ROBERT PODESVA – 370 Dwinelle
Gender and the Social Meaning of Non-Modal Phonation Types

4:15 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

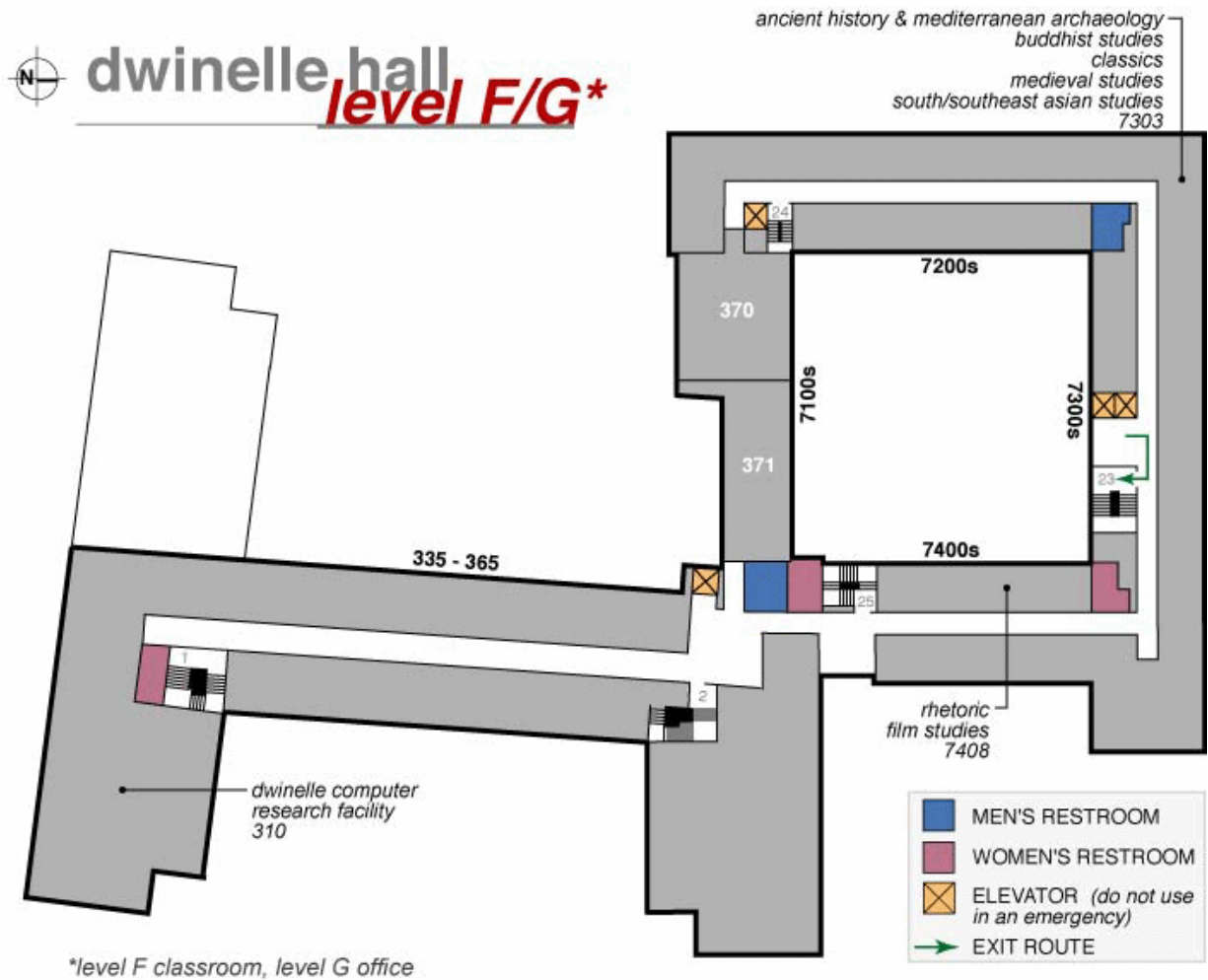
Morphology

Cognitive Linguistics

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 4:30 | Kyle Gorman: <i>Intraparadigmatic leveling as phonology and allomorphy</i> | Caleb Everett: <i>Linguistic relativity and numeric cognition: New light on a prominent test case</i> |
| 5:00 | Gujing Lin: <i>Variation in Tsou numeral expressions: Multipliers, exponents, and related issues</i> | José Manuel Ureña & Pamela Faber: <i>Socio-cultural aspects of terminological metaphor: An English-Spanish contrastive analysis</i> |
| 5:30 | Jaïmé Dubé: <i>Reconsidering the 'isolating proto-language' hypothesis in the evolution of language</i> | Terry Dean Klafehn: <i>Myth of the wug test: Japanese speakers can't pass it</i> |
| 6:00 | Jingxia Lin: <i>A figure's final location must be identifiable: Localizer distribution in Chinese</i> | Iksoo Kwon: <i>Evidentials and epistemic modals in a causal event structure</i> |

6:30 Closing Remarks – 370 Dwinelle

Conference Venue : Dwinelle Hall



Enter Dwinelle Hall from the main entrance near Sather Gate. Upon entering, take a right and walk to the elevator on the left. Take this to Level F/G for registration in room 371, behind you as you exit the elevator. Dwinelle 370, where half of the conference talks are held, is just beyond 371.

The other talks will be in room 3335 on Level C. To get to 3335, take the elevator outside of room 371 (Registration) down to Level C, then take a walk down the hallway to the left. If the door is closed, please knock, and note that not every stairwell in Dwinelle reaches every floor—sticking to the elevator is safest.

If you use the elevator on the other side of room 370 (at the top of the map), take it to Level C, then exit to the right and follow the corridor to the right. Walk all the way down the hallway, then take another right and room 3335 should be directly in front of you at the end of the hall.

Salikoko Mufwene's plenary talk will be held in 145 Dwinelle, which is a large lecture hall on Level D. Exit the elevator and turn right, and the entrance for 145 will be a short distance ahead and to the right. It is also directly forward from the Dwinelle main entrance.

Nearby Restaurants & Coffeeshops

Lunch Restaurants Bordering Campus

La Val's & La Burrita : Euclid Avenue just north of campus through the North Gate. Good pasta, pizza and sandwiches, or great cheap Mexican food with free chips and salsa.

Sunrise Deli : Across from Lower Sproul Plaza on Bancroft Way a five minute walk from Dwinelle. Great, fresh middle-eastern cuisine. Try the vegetable combo or the falafel if in doubt.

Musical Offering : Across from Lower Sproul Plaza on Bancroft Way a five minute walk from Dwinelle. Very good sandwiches with a full cafe offering of drinks. A little pricier and classier than the normal student hang-outs.

You'll also find many, many more options around Euclid & Hearst north of campus (through North Gate), Telegraph Ave immediately south of campus (continue out through Sather Gate), and on Center St west of campus.

Coffeeshops

The Free Speech Movement Cafe : Housed inside the Moffitt Undergrad Library a short walk from Dwinelle. Good coffee, lattes, espressos, etc. Also available are juices and soda. The pastries are good and reasonably priced (we recommend the Espresso Brownie, the Apple Cloud, and the Carrot Cake). This is a good place to hang out, relax, and get a feel for UC Berkeley.

Cafe Milano : Slightly uphill from Telegraph Ave & Bancroft Way. Offers a wide variety of drinks in addition to pastries and sandwiches. Find a spot on the second floor to stay and relax to classical music.

Brewed Awakening : On Euclid Ave just north of campus. Wide variety of coffee drinks, fruit juices, smoothies, as well as pastries and sandwiches. Also a good spot to sit and stay awhile.

Cafe Intermezzo : This spot on Telegraph Ave near Haste St serves great sandwiches, salads (esp. the Veggie Delight), and a variety of fresh coffee.

Bars and Restaurants in Downtown Berkeley

Jupiter : On Shattuck Ave between Center St & Allston Way. A gastropub with great pizza and in-house brewed beers. Beautiful interior and courtyard space in back with a firepit.

Triple Rock : On Shattuck Ave near Hearst St. This is a classic bar that serves a variety of beers including its own homebrews. Good burgers in addition.

Bobby G's Pizzeria : At the intersection of Shattuck Ave & University Ave. A casual, cheaper spot with wonderful made-to-order pizzas or pizza by the slice. Full bar and many rarer non-alcoholic beverages as well.

Beckett's : On Shattuck Ave just north of Bancroft Way. This Irish pub serves a variety of beers including Belgian whites along with its famous garlic fries and classic bangers and mash.

THE GOURMET GHETTO : Slightly far from campus on Shattuck Ave between Hearst St & Rose St, this area is famous for its upscale dining. Around Shattuck & Vine St are the legendary Cheeseboard (not open Sunday) and Chez Panisse, as well as many other great restaurants.

Copy Shops

Note: As Berkeley is a college town, it will be very difficult to find copy shops open early on weekends. Please plan accordingly!

Zee Zee Copy : on Durant Ave 1 block downhill from Telegraph Ave. 510-705-8411. Open 10a-7p.

Copygrafik : On Fulton St between Bancroft Way & Kittredge St. 510-843-5251. 2.5 cents per black & white page. Closed Sunday.

Copy Central : on Bancroft Way 1 block uphill from Telegraph Ave. 510-848-8649. Open 10a-6p Saturday, 10a-8p Sunday.

Bookstores

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

Pegasus Books : 1855 Solano Ave. (510) 525-6888. Large selection of used books and magazines (foreign and domestic). Second location at corner of Durant & Shattuck has smaller selection. Open Fri-Sat 9a-10:45p, Sun 10a-10p.

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

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

Turtle Island Book Shop : 3032 Claremont at Prince. (510) 655-3413. Out-of-print, rare, and unusual scholarly books. Open Tu-Sat 10:30a-6p.

Half Price Books : 2036 Shattuck Ave. (510) 526-6080. New and used books, magazines, etc. Open daily 9a-11p.

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

Friends of the Berkeley Library Bookstore : 2433 Channing Way & Telegraph Ave (under Channing and Durant Parking Garage). (510) 841-5604. Used books on a plethora of subjects. Great prices! Open Tu-Sat 10a-4p.

Shakespeare & Co. : 2499 Telegraph Ave. (510) 841-8916. General used and discounted books. Open F-Sat 10a-9p, Sun 11a-8p.

Invited Speakers

MARY BUCHOLTZ

University of California, Santa Barbara

Language, Gender, and Sexuality in the Material World

Parasession: Language, Gender and Sexuality

Sunday, 10:45 am

Nearly two decades ago, poststructuralist feminist scholars ushered in the discursive turn in gender theory, creating the promise of a new convergence between linguistics and feminism. However, the materialist critique of poststructuralism conceived language as antithetical to feminist concerns with embodiment and political economy. This paper, based on an ongoing collaboration with Kira Hall, seeks to reconcile this ongoing debate in gender theory via contemporary linguistic scholarship on language, gender, and sexuality. Uniting strands of language-oriented research that are often disengaged from one another, the paper demonstrates that linguistic materiality is made visible when language is examined not as an abstract system but as embodied discourse, grounded in the sociocultural contexts which it serves to create.

BERNARD COMRIE

*Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology
University of California, Santa Barbara*

in association with Diana Forker and Zaira Khalilova,
Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

Alignment Typology, Reflexives, and Reciprocals in Tsezic Languages

*Special Session: Languages of the Caucasus
Saturday, 10:45 am*

The Tsezic languages, which form a sub-group of the Nakh-Daghestanian languages, provide a close to classic case of ergative-absolutive alignment in terms of morphology: All or nearly all noun phrases use the Absolutive case for the single argument (S) of an intransitive verb and the more patient-like argument (P) of a transitive verb, and the Ergative case for the more agent-like argument (A) of a transitive verb. In addition, there is an affective construction (with predicates like ‘see’, ‘want’) with an experiencer (E) in the Dative (or equivalent case) and a stimulus (St) in the Absolutive. Clause-level agreement is almost invariably with the absolutive (S/P) argument. Most of the behavioral properties of Tsezic noun phrases, however, do not follow this ergative alignment, but are more profitably stated in terms of notions like “most prominent argument”, e.g. preferred (but by no means exclusive) controllers and targets of zero anaphora are S in intransitive clauses, A in transitive clauses, E in affective clauses.

In the linguistic literature on reflexives and reciprocals, it has been hypothesized that where two noun phrases are linked by a relation of reflexivity or reciprocity, it will always be the case that the more prominent argument (e.g. A, E) will be antecedent and the less prominent one (e.g. P, St) the anaphor. This seems to hold even across a wide range of languages with substantial ergative alignment.

Adyghe and other West Caucasian languages have already been noted as a potential counterexample to this generalization, but in these languages reflexives and reciprocals are indicated by bound morphemes within the verb morphology, and it has been argued that this “inverted” relation between (less prominent) antecedent and (more prominent) anaphor is restricted to bound morphemes, reflecting the more clearly formal underpinning of morphology in comparison with syntax.

Data on reflexives and reciprocals in Tsezic languages are surprising from this perspective. To differing degrees in the different individual languages, and with differences between reflexive and reciprocal constructions, it is possible but dispreferred, or preferred, or even obligatory, for the antecedent to be the less prominent argument (P, St), the anaphor the more prominent one (A, E). Relevant examples from the various Tsezic languages are presented. The hypothesis is advanced that such unusual antecedent-anaphor relations will only be possible in languages that have substantial ergative alignment – a hypothesis that is now open to further empirical testing.

GREVILLE G. CORBETT
Surrey Morphology Group, University of Surrey

Canonical Typology Meets Ultimate Morphology

Special Session: Languages of the Caucasus
Saturday, 2:45 pm

The languages of the Caucasus present particular challenges to the typologist; and yet, though the data are startling, they have become so familiar to Caucasianists that they are sometimes hardly noticed. By taking a canonical perspective, in which we first set up a theoretical space of possibilities and only then consider the distribution of real examples within the space, I intend to highlight some remarkable aspects of morphosyntax in these languages of interest to linguists with other specialisms and also to remind Caucasianists of their cross-linguistic importance. In particular, I will propose specifications for canonical morphosyntactic interactions and describe what it means to be a canonical lexeme; then we can discuss key examples from the languages of the Caucasus against this background.

I shall look at two main areas. First, I shall consider the consistency of morphosyntactic features and values across the lexicon, where information from a database of Archi allows us to quantify the Daghestanian propensity for huge paradigms with limited lexical range. Then I shall concentrate on uniformity within the paradigm, discussing externally relevant lexical splits in Georgian, items falling between deponency and syncretism in Tsez, and the non-canonical interaction of morphosyntactic features in Archi. The latter shows, in the interaction of person-number and gender-number agreement, a series of typologically unusual characteristics. We shall see that the languages of the Caucasus are indeed extreme in their morphology; however, it is not the size of the paradigms which is most challenging but the more subtle aspects of their structure.

SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE
University of Chicago
Collegium de Lyon

Let's Bury the Pidgin-to-Creole Evolutionary Myth Once and for All!

Saturday, 5:45 pm

It's been assumed since the late 19th century that creoles evolved from pidgins. Although no one has ever witnessed this particular evolution, the mistaken hypothesis is based on the assumption that, like the phylogenetic emergence of language in mankind, systems evolve from simpler to more complex ones. The generalization to the emergence of creole vernaculars just looked so normal that no proof has been required for it. However, the pidgin-to-creole evolutionary trajectory is disputed by various kinds of historical evidence, including the following: 1) For some of us, creoles and pidgins evolved in parallel; both represent "extreme" outcomes of the evolutionary trajectory of their lexifiers toward simpler and simpler morphosyntax. Witness the morphosyntaxes of modern English and modern French, for instance, in comparison with those of Old English and Old French, respectively. 2) Since Portuguese functioned as the trade language on the coast of Africa all the way to the late 18th century, if not into the 19th century, it is very likely that Atlantic creoles emerged before their pidgin counterparts. We have no documentation of Portuguese, English, French, or Dutch pidgins spoken on the coast of Africa before 19th century. 3) The earliest documentation of communication in European languages in the plantation colonies evidences closer approximations of these lexifiers, suggesting that creoles evolved by gradual basilectalization, i.e., by continuous structural divergence from them, not by some language "pulverization" and rebuilding from scratch. 4) There was never a break in the transmission of the lexifier, because there were plenty of Creole Blacks and Mulattoes (locally born residents of the plantations) around who spoke the European colonial vernaculars natively and could transmit them even after race segregation was instituted. 5) The term creole emerged in the late 16th century in Iberian American colonies, in reference to humans and entities other than languages. It is in the 17th century that it was first applied to language, in Senegal; whereas the term pidgin emerged in the late 18th century, thousands of miles away, in Canton, where the emergent variety never evolved into a creole. 6) Documentation is now increasing of the use of interpreters in the earliest stages of trade colonization (in Africa, Asia, and the Americas), suggesting that both creoles and pidgins evolved gradually by structural divergence away from the lexifier. 7) Recently, some creolists have highlighted similarities between interlanguage and pidgin features in order to maintain the myth. Unfortunately, interlanguages are individual learners' phenomena and are transitions toward an end point, viz., improved competence in the target language. Yet, both creoles and pidgins are communal phenomena, which have developed norms produced by inter-idiolectal convergence, through competition and selection from the communal feature pool and mutual accommodations.

And there are a host of other reasons why the pidgin-to-creole evolutionary myth is mistaken. As much as we cherish this traditional position, largely because it would provide a convenient simpler account for the emergence of creoles (notwithstanding its racist origins in the 19th century), it just does not square well with the relevant history. Let's give it up.

ROBERT J. PODESVA
Georgetown University

Gender and the Social Meaning of Non-Modal Phonation Types

Parasession: Language, Gender and Sexuality
Sunday, 3:15 pm

Previous studies have both directly and indirectly associated gender with particular non-modal phonation types. Creaky voice, due to its characteristically low fundamental frequency, has been iconically associated with masculinity (Henton and Bladon 1988) and related stances like toughness (Mendoza-Denton 2007). This paper argues that (a) in spite of strong associations between phonation type and gender, social meanings are arbitrary and can be subverted and (b) even when phonation indexes gender in iconically expected directions, it often does so in culturally specific ways.

The data analyzed consist of 32 sociolinguistic interviews with residents of Washington, DC, with speakers balanced for gender, age, and race. To control for the effects of topic, only segments of interviews discussing the local community were considered. The phonation type of approximately 55,000 syllables in 10,000 intonational phrases was coded auditorily, and the effects of several linguistic (distance from beginning and end of IP, length of IP, whether the IP contains reported speech) and social factors were considered.

Contrary to several earlier studies (e.g. Henton and Bladon 1988, Stuart-Smith 1999), and consistent with a recent study of Northern Californians (Yuasa 2010), creaky voice was found to predominate in the speech of women, suggesting that the ideological association between creaky voice and masculinity has weakened. Further, though it was found that falsetto was more prevalent in the speech of women, but an interaction between race and gender reveals that the higher incidence of falsetto among women is attributable to African American women in particular. An analysis of the discourse contexts in which falsetto was used suggests that African American women's higher rates of falsetto may stem from the doubly marginal positions they occupy in many DC communities.

In sum, even though phonation indexes gender, it does so in non-iconic and culturally specific ways. I stress the importance of including diverse speaking populations in investigations of phonetic variation and advocate an approach that grounds interpretations of patterns in contextual factors such as the community and type of talk under investigation.

Papers

NOTE: *Paper presentations listed as “cancelled” in the schedule will still be published with the proceedings and while their titles are listed here, their short abstracts are not included.*

CARISSA ABREGO-COLLIER

University of Chicago

Liquid dissimilation as listener hypocorrection

The listener misperception hypothesis of sound change (Ohala 1981, 1993, 2003) has been a fruitful area of inquiry over the past several years, in part because it makes testable predictions. One prediction is that long-distance dissimilation such as liquid (lateral) dissimilation should be a result of listener hypercorrection. While a number of studies have found experimental evidence for the perceptual origins of assimilation, to date no work has shown empirically that the origins of dissimilation are perceptual. The present study focuses on understanding the origins of liquid dissimilation by testing listener categorization of liquids along an /r-/l/ continuum to explore perceptual patterns of co-occurring liquids, which have been shown to have robust long-range coarticulatory effects (Tunley 1999, Heid & Hawkins 2000, West 1999, 2000).

Listeners have long been known to have perceptual access to the fine-grained acoustic details that accompany coarticulation, and to use these acoustic cues in phoneme discrimination (e.g. Whalen 1990, Kingston & Diehl 1994, Gaskell 1997, Beddor et al. 2007). A novel aspect of this study is that, while past studies have generally found that listeners perceptually “undo” the acoustic effects of coarticulation (e.g. Mann & Repp 1980 et seq.), the results here suggest that for liquids, listeners adjust their perception in the same direction as coarticulation, strengthening rather than undoing the effect. Furthermore, since for liquids listeners are shown to compensate in an assimilatory direction, dissimilation would result from a failure to compensate normally, suggesting dissimilation may be a result of hypocorrection rather than hypercorrection.

RIKA AOKI & FUMIAKI NISHIHARA

University of Tokyo

Sound feature interference between two second languages: An expansion of Feature Hypothesis to the multilingual situation in SLA

This study claims that interference exists between one L2 and another L2 in monolingual as well as bilingual societies. Although the existence of interference between multiple L2s has been presented in several previous studies, these were largely conducted in bilingual societies, such as with Basque speakers in Spain, and such interference within monolingual societies was not considered. In order to confirm that such interference can be found in monolingual societies, we conducted an experiment examining the pronunciation of Japanese learners of English with experience of learning Chinese in Japan, a monolingual society. In particular, we investigated whether it is valid to extend the existing SLA theory of “Feature Hypothesis” to account for this interference. According to this hypothesis, L2 features not used in L1 will be difficult to perceive and produce for the L2 learner, and it has hitherto referred only to the relationship between L1 and L2. The present experiment compared English Voice Onset Time by two groups of Japanese learners

categorized by the presence or absence of Chinese learning experience. The results showed that there was interference caused by one L2 (Chinese) on the other (English). In addition, it suggests that the Feature Hypothesis is relevant when learners study two different L2s in a monolingual society. This study contributes to a more profound understanding of the process of L2 phonological acquisition, and suggests that future studies on phonological acquisition by learners in largely monolingual environments should also consider interference between L2s.

AYLA APPLEBAUM & MATTHEW GORDON

UC Santa Barbara

A comparative phonetic study of the Circassian Language

The Circassian languages possess strikingly large consonant inventories, which include a number of typologically rare sounds and contrasts, e.g. ejective fricatives, aspirated fricatives, extensive coronal fricative contrasts, and a four-way laryngeal contrast in plosives (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and ejective). This paper reports results of a comparative phonetic study of languages comprising the Circassian branch of Northwest Caucasian. The study is based on a list of 196 words containing all the phonemic contrasts reconstructed for proto-Circassian (Kuipers 1975). Nine members of the Circassian family were examined, including the Abzekh, Temirgoy (literary Adyghe), Bzhedugh, Hatukuay, and Shapsugh varieties of Adyghe, which comprises the western branch of Circassian, as well as Diaspora Kabardian (as spoken in Turkey, Syria, and Jordan), Russian Kabardian, Russian Besleney, and Turkish Besleney, which together constitute the eastern branch of Circassian. Results indicate several sources of variation of both a dialectal and idiolectal nature. For example, laryngeal contrasts among the plosives vary considerably. Although ejective stops (at least the non-uvulars) have been preserved throughout Circassian, most languages (with the exception of certain eastern Circassian varieties, e.g. Hatukuay) have collapsed the remaining three stop series (voiced, voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated) to two. The nature of this merger depends on the dialect, the idiolect, and the context. We also examine acoustic characteristics of the fricative series of Circassian, which includes (depending on the dialect) up to nine primary places of articulation, secondary labialization and palatalization, and laryngeal contrasts involving aspiration and glottalization.

ÜMIT ATLAMAZ

Boğaziçi University

Cyclic agreement and empty slots in Pazar Laz

This paper focuses on mutual exclusivity of morphemes and competition among agreement prefixes in Pazar Laz, an endangered Caucasian language spoken in Turkey, reviewing Anderson's (1992) analysis of Georgian verb agreement in terms of emptiness, dummy insertion and cyclicity of agreement, based on a templatic morphology point of view. It introduces the following questions: *Is templatic morphology compatible with cyclic agreement? Can agreement slots on the verb remain empty through the steps of cyclic agreement? Is there a dummy element insertion in cases when arguments are deficient in terms of agreement? If so, when and how is a dummy element inserted?* It concludes that templatic morphology is compatible with cyclic agreement. Furthermore, it argues that agreement slots in Pazar Laz remain empty when the arguments are deficient in terms of agreement.

OLEG BELYAEV & NATALIA SERDOBOLSKAYA

Moscow State University; Russian State University for Humanities

Correlative clauses all across the syntax: Subordination in Iron Ossetic

(– Canceled –)

TONI COOK

University of Pennsylvania

The status of the Macrostem in reduplication in Ndebele and Zulu

In Bantu, the Macrostem is the portion of the verb consisting of the stem + object marker(s); in Ndebele, the disyllabic reduplicant may not include material from outside the Macrostem (Hyman et al. 2009). However, in novel Zulu data, once Macrostem material is exhausted, non-Macrostem prefixal morphemes may be included. This is because the augmentative morpheme *-yi-* is available in Ndebele reduplication, but not in Zulu.

Roots larger than CVC reduplicate identically in these languages. However, for sub-minimal roots (VC or C), there are differences (Ndebele data from Downing 2001).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| (1) | a. | <i>u-ya-dl-a</i> ‘you are eating’ | → <i>u-[ya-dl-a+ya-dl-a]</i> | <i>*u-ya-[dl-a-yi+dl-a]</i> | (Zulu) |
| | b. | <i>u-ya-dl-a</i> | → <i>u-ya-[dl-a-yi+dl-a]</i> | <i>*u-[ya-dl-a+(ya)-dl-a]</i> | (Ndebele) |

We see the non-Macrostem focus marker *-ya-* permitted in Zulu RED, while *-yi-* is not, and the reverse for Ndebele. Even in constructions where it’s not appearing in RED per se, *yi-* may not appear verb-internally in Zulu (Ndebele data from Sibanda 2004).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| (2) | a. | <i>w-enz-a</i> ‘you make. . .’ | → <i>w-enz-a+w-enz-a</i> | <i>*w-enz-a+y-enz-a</i> | (Zulu) |
| | b. | <i>z-akh-a</i> ‘we build. . .’ | → <i>s-akh-a+y-akh-a</i> | <i>*s-akh-a+s-akh-a</i> | (Ndebele) |

In (2), the contrast is *not* in RED, but in the base. We conclude that if the subject marker may appear internal to the RED+base complex (as in (3a)), it may also appear on RED. Both languages prioritize the Macrostem in reduplication, but in Ndebele the requirement that material come exclusively from the Macrostem is unviolated, while in Zulu, the absence of *-yi-* forces the reduplicant to ‘go up’ to non-Macrostem prefixal material to fill out the disyllabic template. Suffixal Macrostem inflectional material is barred from RED in both languages.

RACHELE DELUCCHI

Universität Zürich, UC Berkeley

Vowel harmony and vowel reduction: The case of Swiss-Italian dialects

Despite considerable research on vowel harmony (VH), there still are several outstanding issues concerning its nature and diachronic source, as for example its relation with V-to-V coarticulation and vowel reduction (Hyman 2001, Barnes 2006).

Asymmetries in V-to-V coarticulation between stressed and unstressed (more reduced) vowels have been posited as the starting point for the development of stress-dependent VH systems (Majors 2006).

On the other side, it has been claimed that in languages with both vowel reduction and VH, processes of the latter kind are only sporadic (Schiering 2007).

The Northern Italo-Romance dialects of Southern Switzerland offer an excellent laboratory for studying both the genesis of VH and its relation to vowel reduction. These dialects, like most other Northern Italo-Romance varieties (with the exception of Ligurian and Central-Southern Venetian), underwent deletion of Proto-Romance final unstressed vowels except *-a/*, which is usually preserved as such (Loporcaro 2006–7). However, there are some Swiss-Italian varieties in which this segment has undergone total or partial VH (eg. *Claro LUNAM* > [ˈlunu] ‘moon’, *TERRAM* > [ˈtɛrɛ] ‘earth’), whereas in other dialects VH is still in its earliest, if not incipient, stages (eg. Indemini, cf. Delucchi 2010). In this paper, based on personal field work in 40 Swiss-Italian dialects, I’ll provide a comprehensive, comparative picture of the changes affecting final *-a/* in the Swiss-Italian area, showing how reduction is necessarily involved in the genesis of VH in these varieties and how VH has developed from phrase-medial to phrase-final position.

ALEX DJALALI, SCOTT GRIMM, DAVID CLAUSEN, & BETH LEVIN

Stanford University

What can be ground? Noun type, constructions, and the Universal Grinder

The thought experiment known as the “Universal Grinder”, whereby count nouns within particular morphosyntactic contexts surface as mass expressions (e.g. *There is apple in the salad*), plays a central role in argumentation in the mass/count literature. Its “universality”, however, has not been systematically investigated, though its operation has been observed to be restricted. We present the results of a sentence rating task which investigates the grinding operation across five nominal types and three constructions. Grinder sentences were on average given quite low acceptability ratings (2.33/7; SD 1.81) compared to filler sentences (5.68/7; SD 1.85). Although the different constructions did not reliably influence acceptability, acceptability was affected by noun type, from worst to best: group terms < shape, simplex artifacts, complex artifacts < animals < foodstuff. Foodstuff and animals are likely more felicitous in grinder sentences due to the dual life of food nouns as natural entities or food stuff and of animate nouns as natural entities or their flesh.

The results argue for a more nuanced view of the semantics of the mass/count distinction than the prevalent contextualist view countenances, as on this view a noun may be realized with either mass or count morphosyntax, with the choice determined largely by context; consequently, interactions between noun type and constructions of the type examined here are unexpected. The differential felicity of grinder sentences reflects the relationship between situational context and noun type; these in turn reflect intrinsic nominal properties and world knowledge conventionally associated with the referents of nouns.

YOUNG AH DO

MIT

Interaction of the top most and the bottom most: Pragmatic bias and phonetic perception

It is well known that multiple linguistic levels interact in language processing (e.g. lexical knowledge to phoneme perception, Ganong 1980; pragmatic contexts to syntactic parsing, Crain & Steedman 1985). This study explores a very challenging case; the interaction of the top most level, pragmatics, and the bottom most level, phonetics. I conduct an experiment in which (a) pragmatic contexts (i.e. implicit causality:IC) bias coreference of nouns and (b) the nouns are acoustically confusable with various degrees (i.e. velar palatalization before front and back vowels).

An experiment Among Korean last names, three pairs were selected that begin with velar stops and palatoalveolar affricates such as *ki/chi*, *ko/cho* and *kan/chan*). I designed four acoustically ambiguous nouns on the continuum of each pair. They were given in sentences containing IC verbs (Garvey and Caramazza, 1974). I expected IC verbs to bias listeners' expectation on the cause of event (e.g. *ko* apologizes *cho* because ? –expectation: *ko* vs. *ko* admires *cho* because ? –expectation: *cho*).

Results Pragmatic contexts do bias the perception: listeners perceive confusable nouns more as a subject in subject-biased context. At the same time, acoustic confusability also affects the interpretation of the nouns: [k~ch] before a front vowel *i* shows higher perception as *chi* than before back vowels *o* or *a*. Therefore front vowel context affects pragmatic bias toward (1.68 enhancement) or against *chi* (–2.04 interference) more than back vowel context.

JAÏMÉ DUBÉ

Université de Montréal

Reconsidering the 'isolating proto-language' hypothesis in the evolution of language

Taking all affixal morphology to be the result of the agglutination of free words and morpho-phonemic alternations to be the morphologization of regular phonological processes, recent work on the evolution of language assumes that the original language was without morphology. The aim of this talk is to suggest that morphology is not just the result of language change, that there is in fact no basis for the "isolating proto-language hypothesis" either on diachronic or typological grounds, and that the evolution of morphology remains an interesting question for which there is some relevant information that has unfortunately been overlooked.

Diachronic justifications for this hypothesis will be shown to pose many problems in addition to the obvious problem of time depth. For example, all non-affixal morphology cannot be traced back to concatenation plus sandhi (cf. PIE ablaut and Afroasiatic templatic morphology). Typological justifications based on the labels "isolating", "agglutinative", and "fusional" ignore the fact that this 19th century typology has little empirical support (no language expresses its morphology exclusively in one of these ways) or theoretical significance.

I conclude that typology and language change in fact provide evidence for a non-isolating proto-language: both the (almost) unidirectional paths of change (phonology > morphology; syntax > morphology) and the presence of compounding and/or derivation in so-called isolating languages suggest that morphology is a more central and more archaic form of grammar.

CALEB EVERETT

University of Miami

Linguistic relativity and numeric cognition: New light on a prominent test case

Gordon (2004, *Science*) suggested that speakers of Pirahã, an anumeric language, were unable to accurately perform exact one-to-one matching between more than three objects, and offered a strong Whorfian interpretation of this fact. Frank et al. (2008, *Cognitive Science*) also presented experimental data suggesting that the Pirahã do not accurately match quantities in tasks requiring temporal recall or auxiliary spatial manipulation. Crucially, however, they found the Pirahã to be adept at a simple one-to-one matching task, contra the strong relativistic claims offered in Gordon (2004).

To better elucidate this interesting test case of linguistic relativity, we replicated the crucial one-to-one matching task among 14 members of two Pirahã villages not tested in Gordon (2004) or Frank et al. (2008). We also conducted two control tasks carried out in both previous studies. Our results are remarkably consistent with those of Gordon (2004). We suggest a plausible motivation for the divergent results in Frank et al. (2008): Unbeknownst to those researchers, the Pirahã participants in their study had previous training by a missionary for the one-to-one task, training that included the introduction of innovated number words.

Our results suggest that untrained Pirahã are incapable of recognizing correspondences between quantities over three, for any task so far conducted. This case appears to exemplify a particularly strong sort of linguistic relativity. While our results are consistent with a relativistic account, more research must be done to account for the possibility of more general cultural (non-linguistic) influences on Pirahã numeric cognition.

LUKE FLEMING

Eckerd College

Kinship semantics and the origins of gender indexicality in the Americas

Most linguistically mediated gender indexicality is “indirect” (Ochs 1992), relating “gender to language through some other social meaning indexed” (Ochs 1992:343). There are, however, a few cases of “direct” non-referential gender indexicality (the most famous being Yana [Sapir 1929] and Koasati [Haas 1944]). These instances of what McConnell-Ginet (1988) calls “gender deixis”—morphological or phonological variants that index speech-participant gender—are most prevalent in the native Americas. Indeed, there are over twenty well documented cases from the Americas (ranging across nine language families and two linguistic isolates) as compared with only a few cases—Kurux (Dravidian), Yanyuwa (Pama-Nyungan), and Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan)—in the rest of the world. What accounts for this prevalence of gender deixis in the Americas? The answer, I argue, is to be found in the uniquely complex semantics of kinship terminologies present in the region. A highly marked feature of kin terminologies is the marking of possessor- or ego-gender. This feature—possessor-gender—is far more widespread in kin terminologies of the Americas than anywhere else in the world (Dziebel 2007). It is this feature which is both structurally analogous and historically related to the indexicals of speaker-gender characteristic of most systems of Amerindian gender deixis. I illustrate the relationship between kinterm semantics and gender deixis in the Americas, drawing in particular on kinship term data from Chiquitano

and gender-deictic 3rd person pronominal paradigms from Kayabi, Kokama, and Yuchi. All of these cases show evidence for how the denotation of possessor-gender has been reanalyzed as speaker-gender discourse indexicality.

DONNA B. GERDTS

Simon Fraser University

The Purview Effect: Feminine gender on inanimates in Halkomelem Salish

Halkomelem has been described as having a natural gender system: singular female humans take feminine determiners and other nouns take masculine determiners. However, feminine gender “leaks” onto hundreds of inanimate nouns, especially if they fit into the following semantic categories: SMALL ROUND OBJECTS, SMALL ROUND BODY PARTS, FIRE AND ASSOCIATED THINGS, SMALL FAUNA, FLEXIBLE OBJECTS, SMALL OR FLEXIBLE SEA LIFE, CONTAINERS, FLUIDS, ABSTRACT OBJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH METAPHOR OF FLOWING, FORCES OF NATURE, AFFLICTIONS. Interestingly, feminine gender is optional for inanimates as they often also appear with masculine determiners. This raises the question: when will an inanimate appear in the feminine gender?

Research based on text counts and elicitations has revealed three factors that effect gender choice. First, if an NP appears in a cognitive setting that moves it closer to one of the core feminine categories, it will tend to be feminine. A second factor relates to the sex of the possessor of an object. If a man possesses an object usually marked feminine, the gender can shift to masculine. In contrast, nouns that are truly masculine cannot appear with feminine determiners, even if they are possessed by a female. A third factor is the sex of the speaker: there are certain nouns with which female speakers tend to use feminine determiners while males tend to use masculine determiners. In sum, inanimate NPs that come into the feminine purview—that is, they are semantically feminine, possessed by a female, or spoken by a female—are more likely to appear with feminine determiners.

KYLE GORMAN

University of Pennsylvania

Intraparadigmatic leveling as phonology and allomorphy

The *Paradebeispiel* of intraparadigmatic analogy is the change from antique Latin nouns like *honōs* ‘honor’ (nom.sg.), which forms a gen.sg. in *honōris*, to a later stage where the nom.sg. is *honor*. The earlier [s ~ r] alternation is traditionally analyzed as a synchronic process of rhotacism (e.g., s → /V _ V), which later underwent intraparadigmatic leveling. The problem is that the only strong evidence for a synchronic process of rhotacism (which would have many exceptions) is eliminated by an independently motivated process: [–NASAL, CORONAL] → ∅ / _ s]_σ (e.g., earlier /hono:r-s/ → [hono:s]). This process generates countless other coronal/zero alternations that occur in the context of /s/ in other parts of speech, as well as final degemination. By this analysis, the “analogy” is an allomorphic change (and thus “interparadigmatic”), not a phonological one: nom.sg. /-s/ is replaced by competing /-∅/ (e.g., later /hono:r-∅/ → [honor], with concomitant vowel shortening after tautosyllabic /r/). The expansion of the zero variant, also seen in nouns like *mōns* ‘mountain’ (gen.sg. *mōntis*), reveals the underlying coronal in the nom.sg. (e.g., Italian *monte*). The Tolerance Principle (Yang 2005) correctly predicts that /-∅/ will expand at the expense of /-s/, thanks to the

progression of variable final-/s/-deletion; this development is traced through the Latin corpus. Tolerance also predicts nominal paradigmatic gaps (e.g., the incomplete paradigm of *nefas* ‘evil deed’) described by Latin grammarians during the period of change.

ELIZABETH HUME,^a FRÉDÉRIC MAILHOT,^a ANDREW WEDEL,^b KATHLEEN HALL,^c DAHEE KIM,^a ADAM USSISHKIN,^b MARTINE ADDA-DECKER,^{d,e} CÉDRIC GENDROT,^e & CÉCILE FOUGERON,^e

^a*Ohio State University*; ^b*University of Arizona*; ^c*College of Staten Island/CUNY*; ^d*LIMSI-CNRS*; ^e*Université Paris 3*

Anti-markedness patterns in French deletion and epenthesis: An information-theoretic account

It is widely observed that the quality of the deleted or epenthetic segment is unmarked. However, French vowel deletion and epenthesis challenge this view since the vowel in question is front rounded ([ø] or [œ]), widely considered to be universally marked. In terms of markedness, one would predict deletion/epenthesis to involve one of the front unrounded vowels such as [i], [e] or [ɛ], which also occur in the French inventory.

We suggest that the information theoretic concepts, information content (or surprisal) and entropy (Shannon 1948), allow for a straightforward account of the French patterns: the epenthetic/deleted segment contributes little to the entropy of the system thus best satisfying the competing demands of robustness and efficiency in communication.

Drawing on a formant data from French vowel productions, we show that a model combining frequency and acoustic data points to [œ] as the vowel with the lowest entropic contribution, with [ø], the other commonly epenthesized vowel in French, close behind. Further, a corpus study shows that whether measured at the lexical, triphone or segment levels, the average change in entropy is lower for the front rounded vowels than for their unrounded counterparts, supporting the former’s lower entropic contribution. The results suggest that the unexpected preference in French for epenthesizing/deleting front rounded vowels can be explained by reference to entropic contribution.

SVERRE STAUSLAND JOHNSEN

Harvard University

A diachronic account of phonological unnaturalness

Markedness theories of phonology attempt to explain the content of phonological operations with phonetically motivated synchronic principles. Yet many languages exhibit processes that in one way or another lack synchronic phonetic motivation, and they are therefore dubbed ‘unnatural’. These need to be explained otherwise, typically with a historical account.

In this talk, I present an unnatural rule from Norwegian. This rule changes alveolar coronals into postalveolars, triggered not only by a postalveolar, but also by another alveolar, and even by a uvular. I show that historically, the rule started out as a typical assimilation, where a postalveolar triggered the change of alveolars to postalveolars. Through subsequent layered independent changes to the target and the trigger of this rule, it has successively telescoped into a rule that now allows alveolars, postalveolars, and uvulars to trigger a change from alveolar coronals to postalveolar coronals.

For this and other cases of unnatural rules, it is not clear what phonetically motivated synchronic principles can explain that a historical account hasn’t already explained. Since the different approaches furthermore make the same predictions about ‘natural’ processes, it questions the need to operate with phonetically motivated principles in synchronic phonology altogether.

ELSI KAISER

University of Southern California

Demonstrative adjectives in spoken Finnish: Informational sufficiency and the speaker-addressee dynamic

This paper explores the referential properties of a specific indefinite in colloquial Finnish, *sellainen*+NP (lit. *such*+NP). On the basis of naturally-occurring corpus data and elicited narratives, I suggest that seemingly contradictory/unrelated uses of the demonstrative adjective+NP (*sellainen*+NP) structure, used to introduce specific indefinites, are in fact unified by a common property: A speaker uses *sellainen*+NP in situations involving informational insufficiency. In other words, *sellainen*+NP is used to introduce a new referent when the speaker realizes that more information than what is provided by the NP is necessary for the addressee to arrive at the intended denotation of the NP or to locate the intended referent. Thus, this construction signals a need for more elaboration in the immediately subsequent discourse. In addition to providing insights into the interplay between referring expressions and the speaker-addressee dynamic, this work relates to the notion of referential persistence, as it suggests that a referent’s immediate persistence – how likely it is to be mentioned in the immediately subsequent discourse – is inversely correlated with the informational sufficiency of the form used to introduce it into the discourse.

JUNGMIN KANG

*University of Connecticut***How short form functional reading answers are derived – focusing on their unavailability in multiple wh-questions**

This paper provides an account for the unavailability of short form functional reading answers (SFR) to multiple wh-questions (1), contrary to their availability with wh-questions with a quantifier (2). I suggest that a question can be interpreted either as a set of propositions (Karttunen 1977) or as a proposition (Groenendijk and Stokhof 1984), producing long and short form answers, respectively. I propose that there are two types of Q-operators, Q1 for long answers and Q2 for short answers, (3). (4a) can be interpreted as either (4b) or (4c). I also argue that there are pronunciation rules determining which part of the structure is pronounced in the answer. For the long answer (4b), we pronounce the complement of Q1 by replacing the trace of the wh-phrase with individuals that verify the proposition. For the short answer (4c), we pronounce the complement of Q2 by naming individuals in the set of those who left in the actual world. Importantly, I show that Q2 is not compatible with multiple wh-questions due to a type mismatch, resulting in the unavailability of SFR to multiple wh-questions.

- (1) a. Which philosopher likes which linguist? b. *His rival linguist. SFR
 (2) a. Who does every philosopher like? b. His rival linguist. SFR
 (3) a. $[[Q1]] = \lambda p. q=p$
 b. $[[Q2]] = \lambda P1\lambda P2\lambda w'. \iota x_{\sigma}[P1(w')(x)\&P2(w')(x)] = \iota x_{\sigma}[P1(w)(x)\&P2(w)(x)]$
 (4) a. Who left?
 b. $\{p: \exists x [p = \text{'that } x \text{ left'}]\}$
 c. $\lambda w'. \iota x_e[\text{person}(x, w') \& x \text{ left in } w'] = \iota x_e[\text{person}(x, w) \& x \text{ left in } w]$

BETHANY KEFFALA

*UC San Diego***Resumption in English: Relative acceptability creates an illusion of 'saving'**

While previous literature on resumptive pronouns asserts that they are capable of 'saving' island violations, meaning speakers should find structures that use resumptives in place of an illicit gap more acceptable than corresponding gap-containing structures (Ross 1986, Chomsky 1977, Sells 1984), recent experimental literature challenges this claim. Alexopoulou and Keller (2007) found that object resumptives were never more acceptable than gaps, even in cases where gaps violated island constraints. McDaniel and Cowart (1999) found that subject resumptives were more acceptable than gaps that incurred both island and ECP violations, while object resumptives and island-violating object gaps were equally acceptable.

The present study examines the interaction of three factors: sentence type (plain relative, that-clause, wh-island, relative clause island), resumption (gap, resumptive), and position (subject, object). If resumptives are a last resort strategy to avoid ECP effects, subject resumptives should be found more acceptable than all subject gaps in every condition other than the plain relative condition.

Participants (121 UCSD undergraduates) completed a systematically designed acceptability judgment task (11-point scale, 96 sentences, 2:1 filler to experimental ratio). While the acceptability of sentences containing gaps fluctuates in expected ways across conditions, resumptive conditions are given a consistent, flat rating regardless of embedded structure. This finding suggests that, rather than resumptives ‘saving’ islands or ECP effects, cases in which gaps create ECP effects and violate island constraints are found to be less acceptable than sentences with resumptive pronouns in general, creating the illusion that resumptives ‘save’ sentences in which a gap would be ungrammatical.

JONG-BOK KIM & PETER SELLS

Kyung Hee University; SOAS

The English binominal NP as a nominal juxtaposition construction

As attested in naturally occurring data in “Deep lines grooved [his prune of a face]”, English Binominal NPs (BNPs) with the structure ‘Det1 N1 of Det2 N2’ display complex syntax and semantics. In this paper, we show that the regular and idiosyncratic properties of the BNP construction lead us to an account in the spirit of construction grammar; we specifically argue that the English BNP is a nominal juxtaposition construction linked to a special semantic relation. In dealing with the BNP, the first puzzle is what is the head of the overall structure. The headedness issue is central in three different approaches to the preposition of: as a preposition selecting the following NP headed by N2 (Abney 1987, Napoli 1989), as a pragmatic marker forming a unit with the preceding N1 and following ‘a/an’ (Aarts 1998, Keizer 2007), and as a prepositional complementizer F selecting a small clause (Kayne 1994, Den Dikken 2006). Each of these three approaches has its own merits, but is not fully satisfactory to capture the BNP’s regular as well as idiosyncratic properties. Departing from the previous analyses, in this paper we propose that the BNP is a type of nominal juxtaposition construction where the two nominals parallel in many respects including number, gender, and selectional restrictions. This paper shows that once we accept the view that the English BNP construction is a type of nominal juxtaposition construction (cf. Jackendoff 2008), many distinctive properties of the construction follow in a simple and straightforward manner.

TERRY DEAN KLAFEHN

University of Hawaii at Manoa

Myth of the *wug* test: Japanese speakers can’t pass it

How do Japanese speakers learn and produce inflected verbs? Berko (1958) concluded that English-speaking children make productive use of combinatory rules (stem + suffix). Berko’s findings are widely accepted as evidence that regular verbal inflection is accomplished by the use of rules. However, it is important to recognize that similar findings have not been demonstrated for different language typologies.

Japanese has an agglutinative typology and lacks the contrast between regular (*walk/walk-ed*) and irregular (*run/ran*). Japanese manifests several patterns of regularity and no bare roots (Vance 1987). These typological characteristics are problematic for rule-based approaches (RBAs), which allow only one productive rule per inflectional suffix (Prasada and Pinker 1993, Pinker 1999, Pinker & Ullman 2002).

Bybee (2001, 2010) proposes an alternative Usage-Based Approach (UBA) and assumes the mental representation of fully inflected regulars. New forms are produced by analogical reference to previously experienced utterances. Productivity, the ability to produce novel forms, is determined by the interaction of schematicity (Clausner and Croft 1997, Bybee 2010), the degree of dissimilarity of forms in a category, and type-frequency.

55 native speakers of Japanese (children and adults) were tested for the ability to produce novel verbs. RBA productivity was not observed. Only about 8% of responses from the 21 children (ages 5 and 6) and about 28% of responses from the 34 older participants (ages 7 to 71) were correct. As predicted by a UBA, production was gradient with best performance on high type-frequency verbs.

SEONGYEON KO
Cornell University

A contrastive hierarchy approach to Tungusic and Mongolic labial harmony

As observed by van der Hulst and Smith (1988), Tungusic /i/ is opaque whereas Mongolic /i/ is transparent to labial harmony (/u/ and /ʊ/ are opaque in both languages). Within the framework of *contrastive hierarchy* (Dresher 2009), I argue that this ‘minimal’ contrast between the two languages is due to the minimal difference in the language-specific *contrastive hierarchy*: Tungusic [low] > [coronal] > [labial] > [RTR] (Zhang 1996) vs. Mongolic [coronal] > [low] > [labial] > [RTR] (Ko 2010). These hierarchies in Tungusic and Mongolic assign different output specifications for /i/: [-low, +cor] for Tungusic /i/, [+cor] for Mongolic /i/. Assuming that ‘high’ vowels (with [-low] specification) block labial harmony (cf. Kaun 1995), it follows that Tungusic /i/ is contrastively high thus opaque, while Mongolic /i/, albeit phonetically high, is not contrastively so thus transparent. On the other hand, /u/ and /ʊ/ in both languages specified with [-low] are contrastively high thus opaque. This result is a strong piece of empirical support for the *contrastive hierarchy* approach, as well as a solution to a well known problem in the theory of harmony systems.

IKSOO KWON
UC Berkeley

Evidentials and epistemic modals in a causal event structure

Evidentiality (EV, henceforth) markers in languages assert the presence of evidence in the given context, whereas epistemic modals (EM, henceforth) evaluate the evidence based on which a cognizer can secure a certain degree of certainty (De Haan 1999:84). Despite their seemingly transparent definitions, the conflation or non-conflation of EV with EM has been a controversial question since Boas’ (1911) statement that EVs fall within the general system of EMs.

Rather than taking either a conflationist or a non-conflationist position, this paper aims to provide a common ground within the framework of a causal event structure that accommodates both the categories. I further argue that *what the debate should actually be about is not the separability of the two functional categories, but the question of which portion of the causal event structure is profiled and becomes salient in the construal in languages*. In order to support the claim, this paper first explores different types of languages that package EVs and EMs differently, including languages where all-or-none definitions of the two functional categories do not work perfectly, such as Korean, Nanti, and Imbabura Quechua. Secondly, this study revisits Sweetser’s (1990) metaphoric force

dynamic accounts of modality, expanding the schematic causal structure to accommodate EV and EM. Based on the discussions, this paper proposes that one schematic causal structure can account for the wide range of EV and EM semantics, assuming that specific forms and languages can differ in referring to different part of this schematic structure.

DONG-YI LIN

University of Florida

Interrogative serial verb constructions in Kavalan

Interrogative verbs in Kavalan, an Austronesian language in Taiwan, can not only be used as intransitive or transitive verbal predicates but also be followed by a lexical verb in a Serial Verb Construction (SVC), as shown in (1) and (2) below (Lin 2010).

- (1) **naquni-an**-su m-kala ya/tu sunis a yau
do.how-PV-2SG.ERG AV-find ABS/OBL child LNK that
'How did you find that child?'
- (2) **tanian-an**-su m-nubi ya/*tu kelisiw-ta
V.where-PV-2SG.ERG AV-hide ABS/OBL money-1PI.GEN
'Where did you hide our money?'

The present paper investigates the structural relationship between the interrogative verb and the lexical verb in this Interrogative Serial Verb Construction (ISVC).

Although a Kavalan ISVC conforms to the cross-linguistic properties of an SVC and thus involves verb serialization, (1) and (2) exhibit significant semantic and syntactic differences in terms of their subordination types. While an ISVC headed by *naquni* takes a complement VP, the lexical VP in an ISVC headed by *tanian* should be analyzed as an adjunct. Moreover, a *naquni*-ISVC is a raising structure in which the theme DP can move from the embedded clause to the matrix interrogative clause, whereas a *tanian*-ISVC involves adjunct control and sideward movement of the theme DP (Hornstein 1999; Nunes 2001). The peculiar patterns of complementation and adjunction in different types of ISVC imply that our current syntactic treatment of complements and adjuncts needs a thorough re-examination (Bierwisch 2003; Dowty 2003).

GUJING LIN

Tzu Chi University

Variation in Tsou numeral expressions: Multipliers, exponents, and related issues

This paper investigates the structure of numeral expressions in Tsou,¹ focusing on how two sets of lower cardinals collaborate for constructing higher cardinals in the multiplier-base relation. I argue that the use of the two numeral sets is regulated in relation to different exponentiations of the base 10. While one set of cardinals (set A) is used for the first decade (1~9) and the hundreds ($x*100$), the other set (set B) is employed for the multiples of ten ($x*10$) and the thousands ($x*1000$). Together the two sets of numerals collaborate with the arithmetic concepts of addition and multiplication for constructing higher numerals such as *posi-po-psohi ho m-pusku veiau-eso* "2022"

¹Tsou is an Austronesian language spoken in south-western Taiwan.

(thousand-REDU-2(B) and ten-2(B) ADD-2(A)) and *seʔ-coni-a ho m-asku veiau-cni* (hundred-1(A)-hundred and ten-1(B) ADD-1(A)).² Tsou numerals thus present an unusual case where expressions of multipliers register the exponentiation of the numeral base. By introducing a rarely reported phenomenon, this finding highlights a new source of variation which hopefully will bring in more inclusive understanding of numeral expressions.

JINGXIA LIN

Stanford University

A figure's final location must be identifiable: Localizer distribution in Chinese

A language sensitive to a thing-place distinction (e.g., cup vs. Paris) may use some thing-to-place conversion devices so that a thing can be conceptualized as a place. For instance, *indlu* 'house' in Zulu is a thing noun, so it must take a prefix and suffix so that it is understood as a place, as in *ngena endlini* 'enter the house' (Talor 1996). However, Mandarin Chinese behaves inconsistently in the use of the conversion device—the addition of a localizer (e.g., *li* 'inside') to a thing noun—in that the device is not required in every situation where a thing is understood as a place, cf. *dao chezi-*(li)* 'arrive car-inside' and *jin chezi-(*?li)* 'enter car-inside'. I argue that such inconsistent use is closely related to the other function of localizers: specifying the search domain of a ground that a figure is located with respect to at the end of a motion event. Specifically, Chinese adheres to a Localizer Condition according to which a localizer is not required if the information conveyed in the path verb and the (thing) ground is sufficiently specific to identify the figure's final location with respect to the (thing) ground. This condition is sensitive to both the figure-ground spatial relationships specified by path verbs and the physical and functional properties of grounds (Stosic 2007, Tutton 2009, among others). In addition, I show that the effects of the Localizer Condition are observed in other languages, despite differences in encoding spatial relations (Ameka 1999, Choi and Sarda 2007).

HELGE LØDRUP & MARIANNE HOBÆK HAFF

University of Oslo

Another overt surface anaphor: Norwegian 'and that'

A surface anaphor must have a linguistic antecedent, and it must have an internal structure in syntax (Hankamer and Sag 1976). English surface anaphora are often realized as zero, as in VP ellipsis. In Scandinavian, the overt pronoun *det* 'it/that' is often used (Houser et al. 2007).

The topic of this paper is another construction with the overt surface anaphor *det*. Consider this Norwegian example.

Han løp hjem, og **det** i full fart
'He ran home, and that at full speed'

This construction consists of a regular clause coordinated with the pronoun *det* 'it, that' and an adjunct. The pronoun takes the first clause as its antecedent. This construction also exists in some

²The alternations between *psohi* vs. *pusku* 'two' and *coni* vs. *cni* 'one' are governed by rules of vowel deletion and vowel harmony.

other languages (French, German, English), but to our knowledge, it has hardly been discussed.

The construction allows the pronoun to be replaced by zero in some cases, which is natural when the pronoun is a surface anaphor.

The traditional account for surface anaphora assumes that (a copy of) the antecedent is available at a ‘deep’ level, which is here the functional structure of LFG. This approach gives the correct predictions. Agreement and binding belong to functional structure, and work as if the antecedent has replaced the anaphor.

The adjunct cannot enter into scope relations with anything in the antecedent clause. We assume that this follows from a semantic condition of identity between the antecedent and the structure underlying the surface anaphor.

KARINE MEGERDOOMIAN

MITRE

Focus and the auxiliary in Eastern Armenian

The auxiliary verb in Eastern Armenian is a clitic that carries tense and agreement and is used to form all the indicative forms of the verb with the exception of the aorist tense. Although the auxiliary typically follows the participle, it is also able to be fronted and attached to various, seemingly unrelated elements such as the direct object, the manner adverb, the first component of a compound verb, negation, and questioned elements or *wh*-phrases in the clause. The close relationship between the auxiliary and contrastive focus has been noted by several researchers (Comrie 1984, Tamrazian 1994, Tragut 2009). A purely focus-based analysis of the auxiliary, however, fails to explain the obligatory fronting of the auxiliary in neutral sentences involving nonspecific objects, measure adverbs, and preverbs.

The goal of this paper is to account for the puzzling positional distribution of the auxiliary clitic. A closer investigation reveals that the elements that host the auxiliary in neutral sentences occupy the leftmost position within the vP domain, while the marked elements are in a focus position and are structurally higher in the sentence (cf. Kahnemuyipour and Megerdooimian 2010). The paper then contrasts the Armenian data to the mobile auxiliary clitics in Udi (Harris 2002) and Talyshi (Stilo 2008) where similar phenomena have been noted, pointing to the possibility of focus-marking auxiliaries as an areal feature in the southern Caucasus.

DAVID MORTENSEN

University of Pittsburgh

Two series suffice: Lexical prefixes and Proto-Tibeto-Burman laryngeal contrast

This paper addresses an ongoing dispute regarding the number of laryngeal contrasts to be reconstructed for Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB), contending that PTB had only a two-way voiced-voiceless distinction in obstruents and that additional distinctions in Tibeto-Burman languages are secondary developments. These distinctions are argued to be secondary because they are (1) geographically and genetically local and (2) where an obvious conditioning environment is lacking, they can be attributed to the effect of lexical prefixes on the initial consonants of roots.

JOHANNA NICHOLS

UC Berkeley

Causativization and contact in Nakh-Daghestanian

Nichols, Peterson, and Barnes 2004 (NPB) surveyed derivational processes across a fixed list of plain and semantically causative verb pairs ('fear' and 'scare'; 'eat' and 'feed'; 'catch fire' and 'set afire'; etc.) in a worldwide sample and typologized languages as transitivity, detransitivizing, neutral, etc. NPB and Creissels 2010 proposed correlations of these derivational types with morphosyntactic alignment, word order, other morphosyntactic properties, and processing considerations; NPB, Koontz-Garboden 2009, Haspelmath 1993 discuss correlations with lexicalization patterns and lexical semantics. NPB also report evidence of moderately strong genealogical stability of lexical derivational type.

I survey the NPB wordlist in all Nakh-Daghestanian (ND) languages for which adequate lexical resources are available (18 to 20 total; 15 done so far). The languages range from very strongly transitivity (e.g. Akhvakh, Godoberi, Avar, where causativized pairs number significantly above the world average) to weakly transitivity (e.g. Ingush, Hinukh, Akusha Dargi, where causativized pairs are the majority but not greatly above the world average) to neutral (e.g. Lezgi, Xinalug, where double derivation, change of light verbs, and suppletion predominate). Neutral predominates elsewhere in the Caucasus and generally in southwestern Eurasia.

I tested for correlations of transitivity/detransitivity in ND with known typologically and historically relevant factors. There is no correlation with alignment, word order, morphological properties, or geography (altitude, east/west, south vs. north slope, vegetation—factors that do correlate with other structural properties in the Caucasus [anonymous 2010]). There is strong genealogical stability only within lower branches, where it is indistinguishable from geographical clustering (see just below); there is much disparity between higher-level branches.

There is a strong correlation with known contact patterns. There is a geographically compact, genealogically diverse causativizing cluster (Avar and the Andic, Tsezic, and Nakh branches) in the Avar cultural sphere reflecting contact in the Avar khanate/Sarir kingdom, which lasted from the early first millennium BCE to 1859; Avar continues to function as influential inter-ethnic language in the area. Outside of this cluster, languages mostly exhibit double and neutral derivation, the likely Proto-Nakh-Daghestanian type (since across the family simplex verbs are a closed class and the lexicon is generally noun-based), possibly reinforced in the south by contact with the Persian cultural sphere or the Araxes Sprachbund (Stilo 2008) in the southeastern Caucasus. Contact in the Avar sphere was long-standing and intense, involving community-wide asymmetrical bilingualism, local secondary spreads of military and bazaar varieties, and likely multiple language shift back and forth. There is no identifiable external source for the causativizing type around this area.

There is also a strong correlation with structural transparency. Causativization in ND is strongly associated with high morphological transparency of gender agreement markers and with semantic predictability of gender classes in nouns; this package characterizes the Avar sphere and no other ND languages. There is some correlation with structural complexity: within the Avar sphere, languages with a known history of functioning as inter-ethnic languages and spreading by language shift are less complex and more consistently causativizing (anonymous 2009). (When the survey is complete we should know whether Lezgi and Udi, the other two Nakh-Daghestanian languages with histories of spread and inter-ethnic use, both notably non-complex, neither in

the Avar sphere, use causativization more than their non-spreading neighbors.) Transparency and non-complexity characterize languages that have absorbed many second language learners (Trudgill 2009, Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009), and this is exactly consistent with their distribution in ND.

NPB found that the causativizing lexicon is remarkably consistent and transparent cross-linguistically and (on informal observation) easily learned. I suggest that for this reason the transi-tivizing type, specifically causativization, has expanded as a pure contact effect in the Avar sphere. I also mention three possible parallels outside of the Caucasus.

KOICHI NISHIDA
Tohoku University

Logophoric first-person terms in Japanese and generalized conversational implicatures

This study discusses the logophoric use of first-person terms (FPTs) in Japanese like *watasi* 'I.' Unlike *I* in English, Japanese FPTs can indicate coreference with other third-person terms in the same context, instead of referring to the actual speaker. Logophoric FPTs are observed cross-linguistically. In Japanese, they occur both inside and outside of complement clauses. Japanese does not formally distinguish between direct speech and indirect speech complements, and the complements that accept logophoric FPTs are selected based on the logocentric verb hierarchy (cf. Stirling 1993). In the hierarchy, the occurrence of the inherent logophoric term *zibun* ranges from the complements of highest-ranked communication verbs like *iu* 'say' to those of lowest-ranked perception verbs like *kiku* 'hear,' but logophoric FPTs occur only in the former complements in which they are taken to be coreferential with the matrix subject functioning as a message source. They also occur in the titles of magazine articles, which are formally noun phrases with relative clauses whose verbs denote activities with which the topic person is regarded as a message source. It is argued that the logophoric reading of FPTs is a generalized conversational implicature (cf. Levinson 2000) which is attached, not to the FPTs themselves, but to the function of a message source. This suggests that the so-called monster operator (cf. Kaplan 1977, Schlenker 2003) is pragmatically analyzed as the hearer's inference for an independent message source, as distinguished from the actual speaker.

ASYA PERELTSVAIG
Stanford University

On morphological, semantic and syntactic number

Several recently proposed accounts directly relate morphological number to semantic number, specifically by assigning morphologically plural nouns an inclusive ('one or more') rather than an exclusive ('more than one') interpretation. The inclusive plural reading is said to come to the fore in certain, e.g., downward-entailing, contexts. However, if cross-linguistic data is considered, these accounts miss: (a) the link between number-neutrality and certain syntactic properties, which are symptomatic of these nominals being bare NPs (cf. Pereltsvaig 2006); (b) the possibility of "inclusive singulars" (i.e., nominals which are number-neutral but morphologically singular rather than plural); and (c) the disconnect between number-neutrality and the semantic properties that are said to encourage the "inclusive plural" reading (i.e., downward-entailing context).

In this paper, we consider data from Russian, Norwegian and Armenian and argue for an alternative proposal that relates morphological number and semantic number via the intermediary of syntactic number. We propose that both morphological and semantic number are interface interpretations of the syntactic number feature projected in the functional projection NumP (specifically, its head Num^o). Bare NPs (i.e., nominals lacking NumP) are number-neutral in semantics; in the morphology, the absence of the number feature can be spelled out as either singular or plural form, resulting in the possibility of both “inclusive singulars” and “inclusive plurals”. Which form serves as the morphological default is a parameter, set differently in Russian vs. Norwegian/Armenian. The other crucial difference across languages involves contexts in which bare NPs are allowed to surface.

MARTIN PORT

City University of New York

Grammaticized discourse connectivity

In general, studies of coherence relations have identified two ways in which sentences in a discourse may be connected: (i) a pragmatic process of defeasible inference; and (ii) an explicitly stated relation, as with an adverbial discourse connective such as *then*. This schema is less than optimal, because it assumes that discourse connectivity is based exclusively on reasoning processes. It does not cover cases in which illocutionary force is given purely by grammatical means: anaphoric or configurational relations in particular. Examples are:

Adverb-fronting constructions	Zero anaphor constructions
(1) Q. What did you do at 5:12?	(2) I. Paige fell on Rachel’s property.
a. *Slowly I crossed the room.	a. Paige sued Rachel (but not for that reason).
b. I saw Mack. Slowly I crossed the room.	b. Paige sued (*but not for that reason).

—(1) shows that adverb fronting creates the effect of a discourse connective with narrative force.

—(2) shows that the use of a zero anaphor gives a discourse-adverb denotation—here, “for that reason”.

We propose that these discourse relations can be accommodated in the framework of Discourse-level Lexicalized Tree-Adjoining Grammar (Webber et al. (2003)). Our claim is that for both cases, the connective element is an operator that is moved from within the VP to a position in which it constitutes the anchor of a discourse-connective tree. For (1), the operator is the adverb itself. For the zero-anaphor case of (2), operator movement is covert.

HELEN STICKNEY, CHELSEA MAFRICA, & JORDAN PAUL LIPPMAN^a

University of Pittsburgh; ^aLRDC, University of Pittsburgh

Variability in the syntax of DP and the partitive structure

We investigate whether adult English speakers perceive partitives like (1) as containing two distinct DPs or as a single nominal projection like the pseudopartitive (2) (as predicted by Selkirk 1977 *inter alia*).

- (1) [a glass of [John's wine]] ("glass"=N1, "wine"=N2)
- (2) [a glass of wine]

DP is the outermost limit of the noun phrase. In English, an adjective outside of the DP cannot modify nominal material inside the DP (Bošković 2008). This predicts that "moldy" should not modify "chocolates" in the partitive in (3).

- (3) John bought [_{DP} a moldy box_{N1} of [_{DP} those famous chocolates_{N2}]]

97 English-speakers rated 48 partitives on a scale of 1(unnatural) to 5(natural). The adjectives preceding these partitives were designed to be felicitous with either N1 (4) or N2 (5).

- (4) N1-item: a cardboard box_{N1} of the chocolates_{N2}
- (5) N2-item: a semi-sweet box_{N1} of the chocolates_{N2}

A purely syntactic approach predicts that subjects will find N2-items infelicitous because the determiner blocks the adjective from modifying N2. N1-items overall received significantly higher ratings than N2-items. However, a sizable minority found N2-items more acceptable than N1-items. A post-hoc analysis suggests that the likelihood that a subject accepts a particular N2-item is significantly affected by the frequency of the related pseudopartitive.

We claim that subjects are treating partitive as if it were pseudopartitive and that there is interspeaker and intraspeaker variation in the representation of DP in these partitive constructions. We discuss underspecification of the DP and grammaticalization of partitives as the underlying sources of the variability.

JOHN SYLAK

UC Berkeley

Pharyngealization in Chechen is not just pharyngeal

Researchers have been unable to agree on how to analyze pharyngealization in Chechen. Nichols and Kingston (1987) describe pharyngealization as a secondary articulation in the pharynx that involves compaction of the acoustic spectrum and are the only authors to provide instrumental phonetic data to justify their conclusions. Other researchers believe that pharyngealization should be analyzed as a consonant cluster in which the second consonant is pharyngeal.

I have found evidence that "pharyngealization" in Chechen is the acoustic result of a single, plateau-like tongue configuration. I extract F1-F3 measurements from 14 minimal pairs of the form CV-CPV (P = "pharyngeal" articulation) from 5 native Chechen speakers. To determine the places of articulation involved in these pairs, I use predictions from acoustic tube modeling (Stevens and House 1955, Stevens 1998, Shahin 2002) to determine whether the "pharyngeal" articulation is most

likely uvular, pharyngeal, or epiglottal. I find that labial and glottal consonants involve mostly pharyngeal articulations while dental and alveolar consonants involve epiglottal and pharyngeal articulations. High vowels utilize uvular articulations; mid vowels utilize uvular and pharyngeal articulations; and low vowels utilize pharyngeal and epiglottal articulations. I conclude that a single, plateau-like tongue configuration can attest for these observations.

Because the mapping from acoustics-to-articulation is one-to-many, additional evidence is needed to back up any claims based on acoustic tube modeling. I show that the proposed tongue configuration accounts for the impossibility of pharyngealizing velar or uvular consonants and the post-consonantal allophony between /q'/ and pharyngealization.

JULIA THOMAS

University of Chicago

The role of gender in monophthongization of /aɪ/ in African-American English

This study explores /aɪ/ monophthongization in Chicago-area African-American English (AAE). Monophthongization of /aɪ/ in specific phonetic environments has been widely recognized as a characteristic of AAE and Southern English, which differentiates these dialects from the Standard American English (SAE) spoken by White, middle-class speakers in Northern Cities such (Bailey and Thomas 1998, Rogers 2000, Anderson 2002, etc.). This study describes extent of /aɪ/ monophthongization, identifies predictors and contributes to an understanding of gender differences by examining speakers' deliberate usage of meaningful sociophonetic variables with respect to their local communities. Phonetic context was found to be the best predictor of monophthongization: namely, the pre-voiceless environment serves to preserve the diphthong, while pre-voiced and word-final environments facilitate monophthongization. However, speaker gender was found to play a sizeable and significant role in predicting monophthongization. Females produced tokens with greater diphthongization than males, meaning their realizations of /aɪ/ were more similar to canonical /aɪ/ pronunciation in SAE. Women also showed a greater variation and dynamicity across distinct phonetic and conversational environments than men. Rather than making claims about whose speech is more standard, the current study views the local community and conditions as fundamental to understanding how gender groups pattern differently in terms of the identities they construct (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). In this light, the differences between men and women in this community suggest greater social mobility for females and a greater in-group pressure among men resulting in a divergence in usage of monophthongal /aɪ/.

MARISA TICE & PATRÍCIA AMARAL

Stanford University; University of Liverpool

Learning cues to category membership: Patterns in children's acquisition of hedges

Linguistic "hedges" like "sort of" or "almost" encode vagueness or fuzziness in category membership (Lakoff, 1973). Adults often use hedges when offering children information about categories (e.g. "A moth is sort of a butterfly, but..."). Little is known about the acquisition of hedges and their role in word learning, yet learning about differences between members of a category is important in mapping words to their referents. We investigate whether children are sensitive to the use of these modifiers and whether they associate hedges to non-prototypical or

incomplete objects. Our results show that children aged three to five are significantly more likely to choose non-prototypical objects in response to hedged frames than to un-hedged ones, especially for the older children ($p < 0.001$). Additionally, younger children are significantly more likely to choose non-prototypical objects in response to a contrastively long un-hedged description (“In here there’s an [Obj]”), suggesting that length of description is used as a cue to modification, and hence as a signal to naming a non-prototypical object. We interpret this finding in terms of a pragmatic strategy, using Grice’s maxim of Manner to infer degree of category membership: a contrastively longer description indicates distance from the category prototype. Children’s spontaneous commentary and hesitations during the experiment further support our findings. We show that even by age three, children are sensitive to hedge phrases and contrastive length in the speech of others, using hedges to distinguish between more and less prototypical category members.

SHIAO WEI THAM
Wellesley College

When motion and location yield direction: The case of Mandarin

This talk investigates factors facilitating a directional interpretation for motion-encoding sentences in Mandarin that do not contain a directional morpheme (1).

- (1) ... wuya fei-zai qiang-shang
crow fly-be.at wall-upon
The crow flew onto the wall

Analogous interpretations have been observed across languages, including both those traditionally classified as verb-framed (e.g. Italian (Folli and Ramchand 2005)) or satellite-framed (e.g. English (Nikitina 2008)) in Talmy’s (1975) original two-way typology.

Using naturally-occurring data from the Peking University online corpus, I show that the factors favouring a directional interpretation in Mandarin motion+location sentences correspond to those noted for other languages (e.g. Cummins 1996, 1998, Baicchi 2005, Nikitina 2008). These include: (i) aspectually, a description of short, punctual motion to a proximal goal; (ii) a less specific path description, e.g. lower frequency of source phrases; (iii) a less specific manner description, e.g. without further adverbial modification. Moreover, a directional interpretation is more likely if (iv) the motion clause occurs within a narrative sequence of clauses.

Mandarin shows a variety of path-encoding options, including path-encoding coverbs (preposition-like morphemes with main verb uses e.g. *dao* ‘arrive/to’, *jin* ‘enter/into’), path-encoding verbs *diao* ‘drop’, and serial verbs. Yet directional interpretations of motion + location sentences are found here as in languages with fewer encoding options, facilitated by the same factors. This indicates such interpretations are not tied to the lack or availability of particular lexical or constructional means of encoding path but is rather a cross-linguistically general phenomenon.

JOSÉ MANUEL UREÑA & PAMELA FABER
University of Granada

Socio-cultural aspects of terminological metaphor: An English-Spanish contrastive analysis

The relationship between embodiment and sociocultural aspects is a subject of debate in Cognitive Linguistics. One body of research approaches metaphor from a purely neurophysiological and neurocomputational viewpoint (e.g. Lakoff's Neural Theory of Language). This theory downplays sociocultural factors involved in (metaphor-induced) embodied conceptualisation, and focuses on the analysis of metaphor and other cognitive phenomena in terms of neural circuits, axonal firings, and parietal-hippocampal networks (Rohrer 2006: 121).

This physico-biological reductionism is currently losing ground in favour of the second body of research, which highlights the situated nature of metaphor. Scholars such as Gibbs (1999), Kövecses (2005, 2006), and Yu (2008) opt for a metaphor description model that integrates both bodily and cultural experiences.

Nevertheless, cross-linguistic studies addressing the significance of cultural factors to form specialised concepts through metaphor are still rare. Research in terminological resemblance metaphor is even scarcer. To fill this gap, this paper offers a typology of resemblance metaphors according to their level of socio-cognitive situatedness. It distinguishes between: (i) culture-specificity; (ii) culture-typicality; (iii) unconstrained angles of referent perception; (iv) and degree of specificity. The framework is a contrastive study between English and Spanish resemblance metaphor terms extracted from a corpus of marine biology academic journals. The results show that: (i) body and culture blend with each other to shape scientific knowledge through metaphor; (ii) social cognitive patterns involved in terminological metaphor give rise to inter-linguistic variation and similarities.

CHRIS VANDERSTOUWE
UC Santa Barbara

The linguistic negotiation of heterosexuality in the same-sex marriage movement

The issue of same-sex marriage in the United States has created a large-scale social movement seeking equal marriage rights for same-sex couples throughout the country. Amidst shifting societal views, there is a need to understand heterosexuality and heterosexual participation in the same-sex marriage debate. Using the tools of corpus linguistics to examine a context in which heterosexuality is non-normative, this paper looks at how heterosexual supporters of same-sex marriage present their identities and negotiate their participation as minorities in a predominantly homosexual setting. Using survey data collected through the non-profit Marriage Equality, USA, the analysis focuses on first- and third-person copular constructions, examining frequency and collocate information to highlight patterns of how heterosexual members of the same-sex marriage movement use language to negotiate their presence and participation in a movement not intrinsically linked to their own identities. The data show that through the use of identity descriptors and stance-taking based on pronoun reference, heterosexual respondents provide justification for participation in the movement, while maintaining a level of distance from the movement not seen in LGBT responses. This is helpful to gain an understanding of how marginal groups negotiate linguistic identity and participation in social settings, especially for groups not canonically consid-

ered to be so. This research thus has implications not only for understanding and changing public discourse about issues of sexuality, but also more broadly for language use within other political movements involving coalition formation and peripheral membership.

JULIO VILLA-GARCÍA

University of Connecticut

Different subject positions in the preverbal field in Spanish

The status of subjects in null-subject languages like Spanish has been a major topic of debate. This paper provides novel evidence that (i) preverbal subjects in null-subject languages like Spanish can be either in Spec,TP or in the CP and that (ii) preverbal subjects and cases of topics/CLLD do *not* exhibit the same distribution, *contra* the influential line of research that locates preverbal subjects in CP in Spanish. Spanish third-person imperative configurations involve an obligatory complementizer and a subjunctive verb (*¡Que se vaya!* LIT.: that cl. 3rd Sg-Subj.; ‘I demand that s/he leave’). Left-dislocated material can precede *que* (*¡Si llueve que no vengan!* LIT.: if rains that not come_{3,Pl-Subj.}), but *cannot* follow it (**¡Que si llueve no vengan!*). Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009) argue that *que* in the above examples is the lexical realization of the subjunctive mood and heads the lowest left-peripheral projection for Rizzi (1997), i.e., FinitenessP, which is the locus of mood features (cf. [_{ForceP} [_{For} [_{TopicP} (LEFT-DISLOCATED) XP [_{Top} [_{FinitenessP} [_{Fin} *que* [_{TP} . . . [_T V_{Subjunctive}]]]]]]]]). Unlike uncontroversially left-dislocated phrases, subjects can readily appear in preverbal position between *que* and the verb (*¡Que la niña se calle!* LIT.: that the girl cl. shut-up_{3,SG-Subj.}). This contrast reveals a disparity between preverbal subjects and unambiguously left-dislocated constituents, since dislocated elements other than subjects can only occur above *que* (cf. ii). Likewise, given the above analysis and the standard assumption that Spanish displays V-to-T movement, the position occupied by the subject when it occurs between *que* and the verb is most likely Spec,TP (cf. (i)).

EREZ VOLK

Tel-Aviv University

Depression as register: Evidence from Mijikenda

I present evidence from Mijikenda that supports the view of depressor consonants as a register effect (Rycroft, 1980; Downing, 2009), as opposed to the view that depression and voicing are a single feature (Bradshaw, 1999).

Depressors in Mijikenda—basically the voiced, non-prenasalized obstruents—interact with several tonal processes, most prominently High Tone Shift: compare Giryama a-na-rí-tála ‘(s)he’s counting [cl.5]’ with a-ná-ga-tála ‘(s)he’s counting [cl.6]’. Depression is not identical to voicing in Mijikenda, which has voiceless depressors as well as voiced non-depressors. This alone argues for the “depression-as-register” view. But several of the Mijikenda dialects offer even more compelling evidence. In Rihe and Kauma we see a phenomenon dubbed “Fission” by Cassimjee and Kisseberth (1992): a high tone surfaces before every depressor it “shifts over”. Compare ni-na-saga ma-gondolowe ‘I’m pounding grains’ with a-na-sága má-gondolówe ‘(s)he’s pounding grains’ (a single underlying high tone from the a- is heard on *three* non-consecutive vowels). Fission is problematic not only for analysis but for the very representation of tone: it is impossible

to represent a-na-sága má-gondolówe autosegmentally as a single H associated with three non-consecutive TBUs.

As I show, Mijkenda supports both the depression-as-register analysis and the domains representation of tone (Cassimjee and Kisseberth 1998). By partitioning the phonological phrase into maximal spans of depressed and non-depressed syllables—i.e., low and high *register* domains—the phenomenon of fission immediately falls out, as high tones are pronounced on the rightmost element of every high register domain.

ERIC RUSSELL WEBB & KRISTEN KENNEDY TERRY

UC Davis

Modeling the emergence of a typological anomaly: Vowel nasalization in French

This analysis models the unusual trajectory of vowel nasalization in the history of French in a broad OT framework. We situate the locus of change in the parsing and categorization of speech signals characterized by high levels of synchronic variation. We also incorporate notions of sociolinguistic preference and token frequency into a Gradual Learning Algorithm (GLA, adapted from Boersma and Hayes 2001) to demonstrate how a linguistic norm, and the target of language acquisition, may shift over time. The restricted set of nasalized vowel phonemes of Standard Modern French (SMF) represents a typological anomaly in that it includes only mid and low nasalized vowels (Ruhlen 1973); therefore, an analysis based on universal principles of articulation and perception fails to explain the emergence of the nasalized vowel phonemes of SMF (\tilde{a} , \tilde{e} , \tilde{o} , $\tilde{\epsilon}$). Instead, we propose the GLA which models language acquisition through a series of adjustments to constraint ranking values based on the probability of occurrence of adult surface forms. Over the long term, when exposed to a full range of representative surface forms, the GLA adjusts constraint ranking values and “will ultimately achieve the right grammar” (Boersma and Hayes 2001: 52). Our proposal mimics the establishment of a constraint ranking and the generation of surface forms by language learners; multiple evaluations are conceived of as the establishment of a constraint ranking by each new generation, as well as the continual adjustment by adult speakers to changing norms within the speech community.

THOMAS WIER

University of Chicago

Typological rara (and rarissima) in Khevsur and Tush

Khevsur and Tush are endangered highly divergent dialects (perhaps separate languages) of Georgian spoken in eastern Georgia near the border with Chechnya and Ingushetia in the Russian Federation. They are interesting for a number of reasons, not least among which the intimate and not fully understood contact they have long had with Nakh-Daghestanian languages that lie north of the Caucasus Mountains. In this talk we will show from a new dialectological corpus being produced that this question of language contact is also connected to a number of highly unusual grammatical features: unusual forms of question formation, ditropic (aka Klavans type five) clitics, degrammaticalization and case-stacking.

BARRY C.-Y. YANG

National United University

On topic/focus agreement and movement

Chinese is peculiar or sometimes “cool” (Huang 1984) in terms of agreement and movement. A case in point is the existence of null subjects/objects. Another well-known case is its in-situ *wh*-construal. A third case runs quite to the opposite. That is, though Chinese does not overtly move its *wh*-items, it has at least two ways, i.e., object shift and focus fronting, to overtly move its object to the preverbal, IP-internal position. This study re-investigates into the above mentioned, well-known yet peculiar and seemingly unrelated constructions in Chinese, an “agreementless” language, and shows that they are not coincident since they can all be subsumed into the Top/Foc feature agreement system, a parametric version of phi-feature agreement per Miyagawa (2005, 2009). I show that the Top/Foc feature plays a crucial role with respect to EPP licensing in the “agreementless” languages such as Chinese, in contrast to the phi-features in agreement languages whose “subject-of” function of the phi-features on T is reinterpreted as the “topic/focus-of” function of the Top/Foc feature in Chinese, a discourse configurational language (Kiss 1995). By so doing, we are able to bridge some gaps between the agreement languages and the agreementless languages in a uniform way.