

bls 38

Berkeley Linguistics Society
38th Annual Meeting
Berkeley, California
11–12 February 2012

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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 Student Opportunity Funds
- UC Berkeley Slavic Department

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 38 Executive Committee:

Christine Sheil, Florian Lionnet, Kayla Carpenter, Kyung-ah Kim, Oana David, Tammy Stark, Vivian Wauters

BLS 38 Schedule

Saturday, Feb. 11

8:15am Registration, Coffee, & Breakfast – 371 Dwinelle

8:45 Opening Remarks – 370 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Syntax I

Thematic Session I: Language Contact

9:00 Giorgio Iemmolo: *Are dislocated direct objects clause-external? Evidence from differential object marking systems*

Andrew Dombrowski: *Multiple relative marking in 19th century West Rumelian Turkish*

9:30 Priyanka Biswas: *Reanalyzing the default classifier in Bangla as a degree function*

Nadine Borchardt: *Color categories in language contact: “Pygmy” hunter-gatherers and Bantu farmers*

10:00 Rebekah Baglini: *Reduced clausal structure in comparatives: Evidence from Wolof*

Donna Gerdt: *On the (lack of) impact of English on Halkomelem Salish*

10:30 CANCELLED - Kuo-Chiao Jason Lin: *Morphological locality: Prefix concord as contextual allomorphy in Saaroa*

Nate Maddux: *Phonological adaptation of Spanish loanwords in Salasaka Kichwa: Integration strategies and the effects of bilingualism*

11:00 Break – 371 Dwinelle

11:10 JOHN H. ESLING – 370 Dwinelle
The Articulatory Function of the Larynx and the Origins of Speech

12:10pm Lunch (see p. 8 for nearby options)

1:10 SARAH G. THOMASON – 370 Dwinelle
Contact-Induced Language Change and Typological Congruence

2:10 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Pragmatics

Phonetics

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 2:15 | Yong-cheol Lee: <i>Prosodic correlation between the focus particle ocik 'only' and focus/GIVENNESS in Korean</i> | Gwanhi Yun: <i>Prosody-based word recognition for L2 speakers</i> |
| 2:45 | David Y. Oshima: <i>Iconicity, implicature, and the manner interpretation of coordinating structure: Through comparison of English and French</i> | Marc Garellek, Patricia Keating, & Christina Esposito: <i>Relative importance of phonation cues in White Hmong tone perception</i> |
| 3:15 | Linda Konnerth: <i>Additive focus and additional functions of Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) =ta 'also; even; etc.'</i> | Yukiko Sugiyama: <i>Perceiving pitch accent in the absence of F₀</i> |

3:45 Break – 371 Dwinelle

3:55 PATIENCE EPPS – 370 Dwinelle
On Linguistic Diversity and Large-Scale Contact Effects: The Case of Amazonia

4:55 Break – 371 Dwinelle

3401 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Sociolinguistics

Historical Linguistics

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 5:00 | David Eddington & Matthew Savage: <i>Where are the mountains in Utah?</i> | Stefanie Ramos Bierge: <i>From demonstrative to nominalizer: The suffix -gai in Northern Tepehuan</i> |
| 5:30 | Tridha Chatterjee: <i>Bilingual compound verbs: So what's new about them?</i> | Tatiana Nikitina: <i>"External" perspective in conceptualization of spatial relations</i> |

Psycholinguistics

(Historical Linguistics continued)

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 6:00 | Ying-Shing Li: <i>Lexical effects in phonemic neutralization in Mandarin Chinese</i> | Yi-Yang Cheng: <i>Verbal reduplication and grammaticalization: A study of Mandarin VV-kan and V-kankan constructions</i> |
| 6:30 | Katya Pertsova: <i>Logical complexity in morphological learning</i> | Aimee Lawrence: <i>Reconstruction of Proto-Kampa verbal morphology</i> |

7:00 Wine & Cheese – 371 Dwinelle

7:30 BLS Banquet – 370 Dwinelle

Sunday, Feb. 12

8:00am Registration, Coffee, & Breakfast – 371 Dwinelle

8:30 VICTOR FRIEDMAN – 370 DWINELLE
Languages are Wealth: The Sprachbund as Linguistic Capital

9:30 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Semantics I

Thematic Session II: Language Contact

9:40 Zhiguo Xie: *Weak generic sentences: Partitioning and comparison* Justin Spence: *Code switching and mixed language genesis in Tiwi*

10:10 Sylvia L. Reed: *Beyond states and events: A semantics for verbs of spatial configuration* Keri Miller: *Language contact influence on the morphological typology of the Arabic of Bukhara*

10:40 Nicole Palffy-Muhoray: *Future reference in Hungarian* Harald Hammarström: *Inferring bilateral contact scenarios: An Arawak case study*

11:10 CANCELLED - Fernanda Pratas & Marleen van de Vate: *Tense and modality in two creole languages: Capeverdean and Saamáka* Gregory A. Key: *Differential object marking in Turkic and Persian as a contact phenomenon*

11:40 Break – 371 Dwinelle

11:45 DOMINIQUE SPORTICHE – 370 DWINELLE
Binding Domains

12:45pm Lunch (see p. 8 for nearby options)

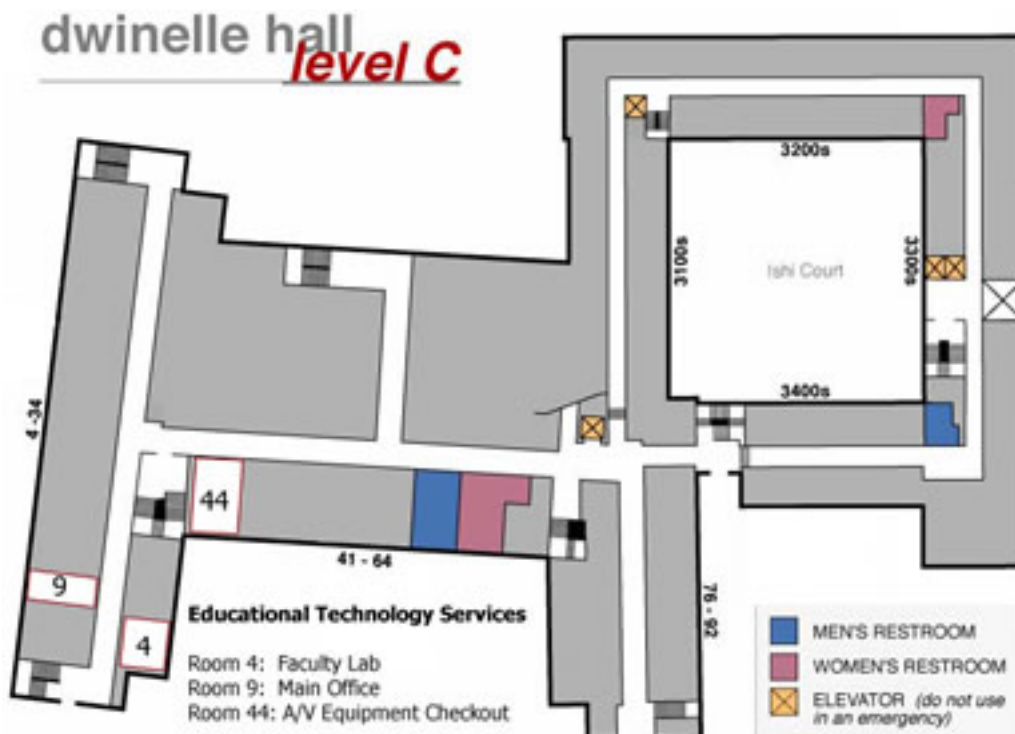
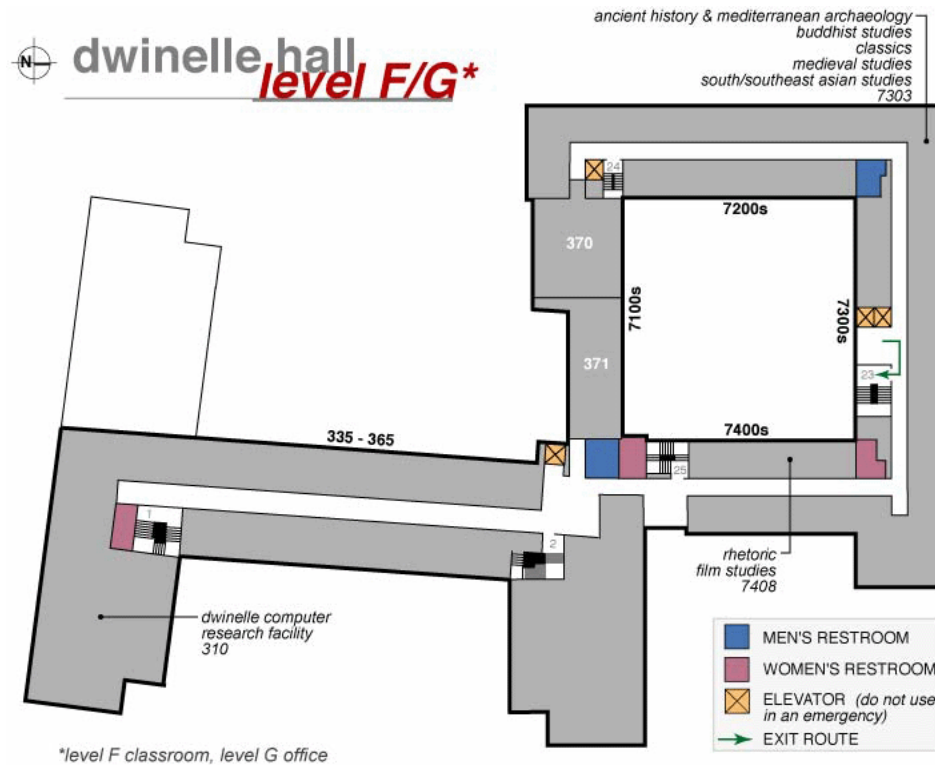
Cognitive Linguistics

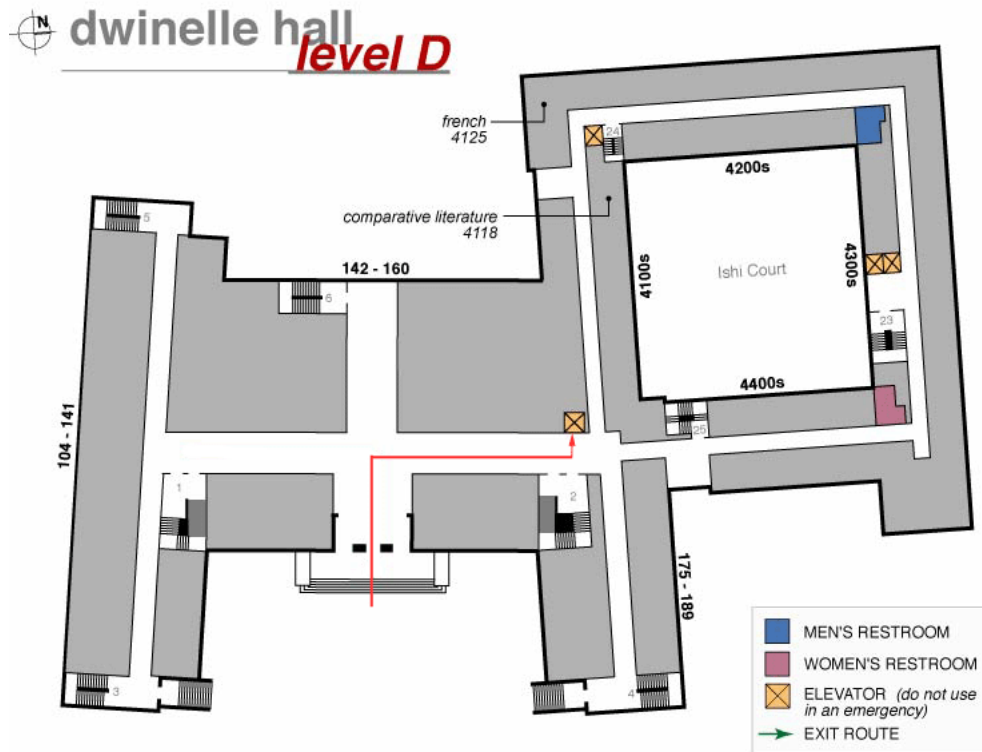
Phonology

1:45 Yuki-Shige Tamura: *Epistemicity and deixis: Perspectives from Central Alaskan Yup'ik* Eva Zimmermann: *Templates as affixation of segment-sized units: The case of Southern Sierra Miwok*

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| 2:15 | Hiromi Oda: <i>On the process of establishing cognitive mappings in artificial gestural dialogue experiments</i> | Matthew Faytak: <i>Logical sonority scales and turbulence in fricative-vowel languages</i> |
| 2:45 | Tiffany Ying-Yu Lin & I-Hsuan Chen: <i>How visual perception links to semantics: Image schemas in the art of Chinese calligraphy</i> | Darya Kavitskaya: <i>Opacity in Crimean Tatar: Vowel harmony, syncope, palatalization</i> |
| 3:15 | Kristina Štrkalj-Despot, Julia Ostanina-Olszewska, & Inna Skrynnikova: <i>Cross-linguistic analysis of metaphoric conceptions of DUSHA ('soul') in Slavic (Russian, Polish, and Croatian)</i> | Jackson Lee: <i>The representation of contour tones in Cantonese</i> |
| 3:45 | Break – 371 Dwinelle | |
| 3:55 | MARK DONOHUE – 370 Dwinelle
<i>Studying Contact without Studying the Languages Involved</i> | |
| 4:55 | Break – 371 Dwinelle | |
| | 370 DWINELLE | 3335 DWINELLE |
| | Morphology | Syntax & Semantics II |
| 5:00 | Doris Ching-Jung Yen & Loren Billings: <i>The cluster-internal ordering of clitics in Kavalan (East Formosan, Austronesian)</i> | Tomoko Ishizuka: <i>The extra-thematic passive in Japanese</i> |
| 5:30 | Kimi Akita: <i>Register-specific morphophonological constructions in Japanese</i> | Vincent Homer: <i>As simple as it seems</i> |
| 6:00 | Ryo Otaguro: <i>Constructional paradigm in constraint-based morphosyntax: A case of Japanese verb inflection</i> | Juwon Lee: <i>Multiple interpretations and constraints of causative serial verb constructions in Korean</i> |
| 6:30 | Closing Remarks – 370 Dwinelle | |

Conference Venue : Dwinelle Hall





Enter Dwinelle Hall from the main entrance near Sather Gate, on Level D. Upon entering, take a right and walk to the elevator on the left (indicated by the red arrow on the Level D map). 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.

Other talks will be in rooms 3335 and 3401 on Level C. To get to 3335 and 3401, 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. 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. Room 3401 is adjacent to room 3335 on the right as you approach from the elevator.

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 and 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 Undergraduate 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 Banana Pecan Muffin). This is a good place to hang out, relax, and get a feel for UC Berkeley.

Cafe Milano : Slightly uphill from Telegraph Ave. and 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.

Bars & Restaurants in Downtown Berkeley

Jupiter : On Shattuck Ave between Center St. and 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. and 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.

THE GOURMET GHETTO : Slightly far from campus on Shattuck Ave between Hearst St. and Rose St, this area is famous for its upscale dining. Around Shattuck and 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 and Kittredge St. 510-843-5251. 2.5 cents per black and 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 and 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. and 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 and 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 and Co. : 2499 Telegraph Ave. (510) 841-8916. General used and discounted books. Open F-Sat 10a-9p, Sun 11a-8p.

Invited Speakers

MARK DONOHUE

Australian National University

Studying Contact Without Studying the Languages Involved

Thematic Session: Language Contact

Sunday, 3:55 pm

Studies of contact have revealed that all manner of language material can, in the right circumstances, be borrowed. Detecting, describing, and analysing such situations typically involve the detailed study of at least two languages. An alternative involves detecting contact situations through database analysis. This cannot supplant the detailed work that requires detailed descriptive work in particular fields, but can allow us to examine large enough samples of languages that we can start to better understand, through calibration against known histories and other non-linguistic data types, likelihoods of different “social contact” scenarios resulting in different kinds of linguistic traces, and also allow for the more targeted investigation of specific areas and language-to-language interactions. I shall describe the method, and illustrate its application in a number of case studies in regions for which we have good samples of language data.

PATIENCE EPPS

University of Texas at Austin

On Linguistic Diversity and Large-Scale Contact Effects: The Case of Amazonia

Thematic Session: Language Contact

Saturday, 3:55 pm

The Amazon region is home to remarkable linguistic diversity, but also to shared features of culture and language that cross-cut linguistic and ethnic divisions. Some of these similarities have led to suggestions that the Amazon region generally may be a linguistic area, but there is little consensus regarding the extent to which linguistic features may be shared widely but exclusively within Amazonia (Derbyshire and Pullum 1986: 16–19; Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999: 8–10; Payne 1990; Campbell 1997: 348–351). This talk investigates the dynamics of large-scale language contact in Amazonia, and presents evidence for widespread areal effects. Turning first to lexical borrowing, I present the results of a cross-linguistic study of loanwords, which indicates that Amazonia has significantly lower rates of lexical borrowing than are found in many other parts of the world. This observation applies widely across semantic domains, including basic vocabulary (Bower et al. 2011), flora and fauna terms (Bower et al. in preparation), and numerals (Epps et al. forthcoming). These findings suggest that, intriguingly, the repression of lexical borrowing is itself an areal phenomenon, probably linked to a regional view of language as a salient ethnic marker. I then move on to a closer look at numerals, which (unlike basic vocabulary) are known to be prone to contact effects (Comrie 2005). Despite low rates of lexical borrowing, Amazonian numeral terms do indeed provide clues to contact, particularly involving calquing. Most notably, a broad survey of numeral systems across the region reveals an Amazonia-wide distribution of terms for 4 (and occasionally other values) that are derived from expressions of social relations, typically ‘companion’ or ‘sibling’ (but also ‘spouse’, ‘friend’, and even ‘enemy’; Epps and Hansen in preparation). These ‘relational’ numeral expressions provide further evidence for large-scale contact effects. Moreover, they offer a rare opportunity to track the path of spread, which I argue originates in the Tupi-Guarani diaspora in the centuries prior to the European arrival.

JOHN H. ESLING
University of Victoria

The Articulatory Function of the Larynx and the Origins of Speech

General Session
Saturday, 11:10 am

The laryngeal articulator, consisting of the glottal mechanism, the supraglottic tube, the pharyngeal/epiglottal mechanism, and including three levels of folds: the vocal folds, the ventricular folds, and the aryepiglottic folds, is shown to be responsible for the generation of multiple source vibrations and for the complex modification of the pharyngeal resonating chamber that accounts for a wide range of contrastive auditory qualities. Many languages of the world exhibit features that can be classified in terms of 'laryngeal quality.' The acoustic cues of these features illustrate an extensive range of use of the pharyngeal resonator and the laryngeal constrictor mechanism (controlling changes from the glottis through the aryepiglottic folds). Elements of the fine control of laryngeal constriction have been observed laryngoscopically in over 20 languages and modelled to illustrate the parameters of movement available in the laryngeal/pharyngeal space. Laryngoscopic evidence drawn from e.g. Tibeto-Burman, Semitic, Cushitic, Kwa, and Gur languages demonstrates the distinctive use of the laryngeal articulator in pharyngeal trilling combined with glottal voicing, voiceless pharyngeal trilling, and epilaryngeal tube shaping to create opposing vocal register series. One such series is the [ATR/–ATR] contrast.

The 'Laryngeal Articulator' has also been identified as the principal articulator that infants first start to control as they test and practice their phonetic production skills from birth through the first several months of life. The auditory/acoustic cues generated in the pharynx in the range of languages we have observed are the same elements of sound production observed in early infancy. The infant vocalization data illustrate that laryngeal quality is primal, that control of the articulatory and perhaps acoustic cues of speech originates in the pharynx, and that the acquisition of the ability to produce manners of articulation spreads from the pharynx in a process that parallels and complements the ability of infants to discriminate speech sound categories perceptually.

Our research into the earliest vocalizations by infants in a research project including English (Victoria), French (Paris), Arabic (Morocco), and Bai (China) shows that (1) speech begins in the pharynx, (2) the production of phonation begins with laryngeally constricted settings, (3) infants explore their phonetic production capacity by employing 'dynamic alternations' and 'pharyngeal priming.' Evidence from the Infant Speech Acquisition (InSpA) Project illustrates instances of 'phonetic play' that demonstrate how infants systematically acquire basic control over the speech mechanism and over the arrays of place and manner of articulation during their first year of life.

VICTOR A. FRIEDMAN
University of Chicago

Languages are Wealth: The Sprachbund as Linguistic Capital

Thematic Session: Language Contact
Sunday, 8:30 am

In their still much-cited 1988 work on language-contact, Thomason and Kaufman, like Weinreich (1953:§3.1) before them, avoided the sprachbund as “notoriously messy.” More recently, scholars such as Stolz (2006) have challenged the very necessity of the concept, although already as far back as Weinreich (1958) and Emeneau (1956) scholars were arguing about how to translate or modify Trubetzkoy’s (1923, 1928) original term, and Masica (1976, 2001) introduced anxieties about setting boundaries to the phenomenon. More recently, some typologists (Haspelmath 1998, 2001) and grammaticalizationists (Heine and Kouteva 2006) as well as EU funded projects (Siewerska 1998) have resuscitated a version of Jakobson’s (1931) Eurasian sprachbund, only with the Holy Roman Empire/European Economic Community (instead of the Russian Empire) as the putative center, and with the Balkans—Trubetzkoy’s original example of the sprachbund—as a periphery. Drawing on my own recent field work in Macedonia, Enfield’s (2005) research in Mainland Southeast Asia, and additional research on Insular Southeast Asia (Errington 1998), as well as Hamp’s (1977) clearly articulated distinction between typological and areal linguistics, on the one hand, and his notion of “crossroads of sprachbünde” on the other (Hamp 1989), I shall argue that the notion of sprachbund (which, like pretzel, I treat as a borrowing rather than a codeswitch), remains a useful heuristic device. Moreover, there are parts of the Balkans where the old Balkan sprachbund is still alive and well and worthy of further investigation. Finally, a comparison of Southeast Europe and Southeast Asia can give us some useful parallels, and even connections, in investigating language contact.

DOMINIQUE SPORTICHE
University of California, Los Angeles
Ecole Normale Supérieure (Paris)

Binding Domains

General Session
Sunday, 11:45 am

From a detailed study of some anaphoric expressions building on Isabelle Charnavel's independent, as well as collaborative work on French, and on Byron Ahn's work on English, I conclude that the behavior of anaphoric dependencies involving reflexive like elements is due to three interacting and overlapping systems (and not just two as is customary):

A first system regulating locally bound anaphors within a single clause very close to Chomsky's 1986 Condition A. A second system regulating locally bound *subject* oriented anaphors (close to ideas defended by Reinhard and Reuland 1993 or Pollard and Sag 1992 proposals). A third system (possibly further diversified) dealing with so called exempt anaphors (including logophoric usages).

SARAH G. THOMASON
University of Michigan

Contact-Induced Language Change and Typological Congruence

Thematic Session: Language Contact
Saturday, 1:10 pm

Questions are frequently raised about whether typological congruence facilitates contact-induced language change and, conversely, about whether certain kinds of contact phenomena are rare or even nonexistent in situations where the languages in contact are very dissimilar typologically. This paper provides tentative answers to these questions. I argue that although there is no simple correlation like “more congruent languages = more feature transfer,” it is true that some features—perhaps most notably in the inflectional morphology—are more easily transferred between typologically congruent languages. However, attitudinal factors can counteract any tendency toward increased homogeneity in the structures of (for instance) closely-related languages in contact, so that one cannot predict with any confidence that more similar languages will become even more similar over time. Moreover, profound contact-induced changes often affect typologically dissimilar languages, especially when the agents of change are fluent in both the source language and the receiving language. And finally, when speakers in a contact situation deliberately change their language(s), there seems to be no established effect of typological congruence on the process of change.

Papers

KIMI AKITA

Osaka University

Register-specific morphophonological constructions in Japanese

REBEKAH BAGLINI

University of Chicago

Reduced clausal structure in comparatives: Evidence from Wolof

A central topic in the study of comparative constructions cross-linguistically is the syntactic complexity of the standard constituent: whether a simple nominal standard is base generated as a phrase or derived from a full clause. Clausal standards are assumed to be typologically rarer and restricted to certain grammatical strategies. Although underlying clausal structure has been demonstrated in particle comparatives in English, German (Lechner 2001), and Greek (Merchant 2009), Stassen (1985) claims that exceed comparatives (a cross-linguistically widespread strategy in which comparison is expressed via a transitive verb meaning ‘exceed’) are categorically restricted to phrasal standards.

This paper represents the first formal challenge to Stassen’s prediction, and introduces novel evidence that the primary comparative construction in Wolof is in fact a reduced clausal comparative, in which both the target and standard of comparison are moved to a clause peripheral position to license ellipsis. This finding has significant implications for the study of comparatives cross-linguistically, indicating that clausal comparatives are not as typologically rare as is often assumed, nor incompatible with exceed strategies of comparison.

PRIYANKA BISWAS

University of Southern California

Reanalyzing the default classifier in Bangla as a degree function

This paper explores puzzling behaviors of the Bangla ‘default classifier’ *-Ta* and its interaction with mass/count interpretation. Non-canonical placements, such as post-nominal *-Ta* yields definite reading with both prototypical count and mass nouns, whereas post-quantifier *-Ta* restricts the count/mass distinction. With some quantifiers only count interpretation arises while with the other, only mass interpretation arises. With the underlying assumption that *-Ta* is a classifier (Bhattacharya 1999 *et seq*, Dasgupta 1985, Ghosh 2010), that it appears with mass nouns, attributes to definite reading, and interacts with quantifiers in such way are intriguing. Establishing that Bangla has two types of quantifiers: a degree quantifier and a numeral-embedding quantifier, I propose that *-Ta* is a degree determiner. *-Ta* takes predicates of individuals and returns degree expressions, whose measure along a particular scale is the degree (following Hackl 2001 for *many*). Without quantifiers, existential closure binds the degree variable while a null definite determiner binds the individual variable. With quantifiers present, count nouns are measured on cardinality scale, while mass nouns are measured on non-cardinality scale. With numeral quantifiers, the scale will be one of cardinality resulting only count interpretation, while with the other, the degree variable is bound by an amount quantifier, yielding a mass interpretation.

NADINE BORCHARDT
Humboldt University, Berlin

Color categories in language contact: “Pygmy” hunter-gatherers and Bantu farmers

When speakers adopt color categories from another language, do they only borrow certain lexical forms or do they absorb whole concepts? In this paper, I address the question of how color categories are borrowed, providing evidence from Gyeli “Pygmy” hunter-gatherers (PHGs) in contact with Bantu farmers in southern Cameroon, all speaking Bantu A languages.

My findings suggest that either a lexical term or a color category can be borrowed without necessarily borrowing both at the same time. Two distinct patterns were observed, depending on which community is the borrower and which is the donor. While Gyeli PHGs are adopting color terms such as “yellow” and “green” from farmers’ languages, farmers’ languages are adopting color categories from colonial languages (French and English). Yet, PHGs do not borrow color categories in toto, i.e. the resulting color category in the recipient language only partially coincides with the color category in the donor language. On the other hand, farmers adopting color categories are reluctant to borrow the exact lexical term, i.e., the borrowing of a color category may or may not coincide with the borrowing of a color term.

YI-YANG CHENG
National Taiwan University

Verbal reduplication and grammaticalization: A study of Mandarin *VV-kan* and *V-kankan* constructions

Previous works on Mandarin verbal reduplication have focused on the expression of the “delimitative” aspect of a designated event, which can be roughly translated as ‘do a little’ in English (Li & Thompson 1981, Tsao 2001). However, a related topic that has received little attention is the interaction between verbal reduplication and the perception verb *kan* ‘see.’ This study investigates two constructions in Mandarin, *VV-kan* and *V-kankan*, which show an interesting formal asymmetry between verbal reduplication and grammaticalized *kan*, but denote the same meaning ‘try (and find out).’ Synchronic data reveal that while the former is a relatively stable construction, the latter is unstable in terms of morphology and syntax, and displays ambiguity in the specific context of serial verb construction—a typical case of “layering” (Hopper 1991), which indicates that it is undergoing grammaticalization. It is demonstrated that grammaticalization of the two constructions involves the pragmatic implicature ‘try’ being semanticized in different morphological and syntactic environments, and that the development has led to a competition of the two constructions for the expression of ‘try (and find out)’ in Mandarin—a result of language as a complex adaptive system (Bybee 2010).

TRIDHA CHATTERJEE
University of Michigan

Bilingual compound verbs: So what’s new about them?

New code-switching (CS) data from Bengali-English bilinguals show bilingual compound verb (BCV) constructions that are slightly different from the structure of BCVs that have been reported so far. BCV constructions are characterized by two verbs occurring contiguously, the first verb

being an embedded language lexical verb and the second verb a matrix language helping verb such as ‘do’ or ‘make’ (Muysken 2000, Backus 1996, Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007). For example, *educate kora* ‘to do educate’ is a regular BCV in Bengali-English bilingual speech where the first verb is in English, or the embedded language, and the second verb is a helping verb in Bengali, the matrix language. However, some BCVs in Bengali-English CS speech have three verbs occurring adjacent to each other, where each verb performs a specific function. For example, *organize kore diec^he* ‘has organized’ has three verbs; the English verb gives meaning, the Bengali verb *kore* is a helping verb and the third verb *diec^he* expresses aspectual as well as semantic information. This paper shows how the three-verb compounds differ from their two-verb counterparts and how knowledge of two Bengali structures, *conjunct* and *compound verbs* influences the formation of these compounds in bilingual speech.

ANDREW DOMBROWSKI

University of Chicago

Multiple relative marking in 19th century West Rumelian Turkish

DAVID EDDINGTON & MATTHEW SAVAGE

Brigham Young University

Where are the mountains in Utah?

One stigmatized feature of Utah speech is that Utahns “drop the t” in words such as *kitten* and *mountain*. We investigated three possible phonetic correlates of “t-dropping” by recording participants from Utah and other western states reading a document containing several instances of /t/ followed by a syllabic nasal. The first possible correlate, actual deletion of /t/, was uncommon, but occurred slightly more often in the mouths of Utahns. The second possible correlate was realizing /t/ as a glottal stop, which was actually done more often by non-Utahns than Utahns (89% versus 81%). The third correlate, releasing the glottal stop orally rather than nasally (e. g. [k^hɪʔən] and [mawʔən]), is the most likely candidate for “t-dropping” since Utahns did this in 17% of the cases compared to less than 1% in non-Utahns. Logistic regression analysis of the data indicates that age, percentage of life lived in Utah, and gender were strong predictors of oral release; it was used most often by young females who had lived the majority of their life in Utah.

MATTHEW FAYTAK

University of California, Berkeley

Logical sonority scales and turbulence in fricative-vowel languages

Syllabic nuclei may manifest as segments of widely varying levels of sonority. An emergent property of syllabification, as it is canonically described, is that a given language’s syllabic segments occupy a single, unbroken range of sonority levels, with no segment barred from syllabicity that is more sonorous than the least sonorous syllabic segment (Blevins 1995). Here, I aim to introduce languages which diverge from this canonical pattern in allowing fricatives as syllabic nuclei despite barring syllabification of more sonorous segments.

I discuss two ways of approaching the apparent contradiction of phonetic obstruents with anomalously high sonority. On one hand, I argue that in *fricative-vowel* languages—languages having these apparently sonorous syllabic obstruents—syllabification processes operate with ref-

erence to scales that are not *substantive*—directly phonetically grounded. Instead, these scales are purely *logical*, reflecting only a historical similarity between the synchronically present fricative vowels and more canonically sonorous segments. A typological survey of fricative-vowel languages supports this approach: fricative vowels almost always result from the assimilation of a high vowel to an initial fricative in manner of articulation, and it can be said that they behave phonologically like the vowels they once were.

The second approach concerns phonetic correlates of sonority. I speculate that the turbulence and aperiodic noise characteristic of fricatives are referenced in deriving fricative vowel languages' sonority scales. This does not, however, preclude an account based on logical sonority scales: turbulence-based sonority may help to maintain the logical relationship among historically high-sonority vowels when some become fricatives.

MARC GARELLEK,^a PATRICIA KEATING,^a & CHRISTINA ESPOSITO^b

^a*University of California, Los Angeles*; ^b*Macalester College*

Relative importance of phonation cues in White Hmong tone perception

This study investigates the relative importance of phonation cues in White Hmong tone identification. Hmong has seven productive tones, two of which involve non-modal phonation. The breathy tone is usually produced with a mid- or high-falling pitch contour similar to the high-falling modal tone (Ratliff, 1992; Esposito, 2010). Similarly, aside from some pitch differences between the low modal tone and the low-falling creaky (or checked) tone, production studies have shown that the phonation differences (e.g. differences in spectral tilt) between the two tones are large (Esposito, 2010; Garellek, 2011). In this study, 15 native listeners participated in a perception task, in which they were asked to identify the word they heard. Participants heard natural stimuli with manipulated F_0 and duration (the phonation remaining unchanged). The results indicate that the phonation of the stimulus is important in identifying the breathy tone, but not the creaky one. Duration and F_0 were more closely tied to creaky tonal identification than phonation. Creaky phonation can therefore be seen as a secondary cue used to reinforce the low F_0 target at the end of the low-falling tone, whereas breathy phonation is used as a primary cue to contrast between the two falling tones.

DONNA B. GERDTS

Simon Fraser University

On the (lack of) impact of English on Halkomelem Salish

Halkomelem has remained relatively “pure” despite two centuries of contact with English and despite the fact that the Halkomelem community has now shifted to using English. Borrowings are expected, since the exchange of words is the most common way that languages influence each other, though what is unexpected is how few English loanwords exist in Halkomelem. Post-colonial contact yielded a plethora of new items and the data show these strategies, employed over time in this order, for accommodating them: (1) loans, (2) neologisms (adapting an already existing word), (3) coinages, (4) code-switching. Ironically, most of the borrowings from English happened at the point of earliest contact, before many Halkomelem spoke English, and they thus show phonological, morphological, and semantic adjustment. Much more popular for accommodating items acquired after 1910 were strategies (2) and (3). In some cases we see whole lexical

domains neologized, for example, the shift of of the vocabulary of canoe culture to automobile culture. Halkomelem has rich morphological sources for coining new words and actively does so, though to an ever diminishing degree today; over 1000 post-contact items are accommodated via coinage.

HARALD HAMMARSTRÖM

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen; Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig

Inferring bilateral contact scenarios: An Arawak case study

Suppose a language *A* comes into contact with another language *B*. Suppose the following generation of *A* survive to speak a language *X*. We may distinguish the following scenarios and their expected impact on *X* in terms of grammatical (*G*) and lexical (*L*) similarity to *A/B*:

Scenario	G(X,A)	L(X,A)	G(X,B)	L(X,B)	Comment
<i>A</i> do not speak <i>B</i>	high	high	low	low	<i>X</i> is a direct continuation of <i>A</i> with no input from <i>B</i>
<i>A</i> learn <i>B</i> as young	high- <i>t</i>	high- <i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>X</i> is <i>A</i> influence by <i>B</i> :s lexicon and grammar to a parallel degree <i>t</i>
<i>A</i> shift to <i>B</i> as adults	$G(X,A) \gg L(X,A)$		$G(X,B) \ll L(X,B)$		<i>X</i> is <i>B</i> :s lexicon inserted into an <i>A</i> -matrix
<i>A</i> nativize an <i>A/B</i> pidgin	$G(X,A) \ll L(X,A)$		$G(X,B) \ll L(X,B)$		<i>X</i> has <i>A/B</i> :s lexicon but little to do with either <i>A/B</i> :s grammar
-	low	low	low	low	<i>X</i> has nothing to do with either <i>A</i> or <i>B</i>
-	high	high	high	high	<i>A</i> and <i>B</i> are the same language
?	high- <i>t</i>	high- <i>t</i>	$G(X,A) \gg L(X,A)$		<i>X</i> is <i>A</i> with grammatical but not lexical borrowing from <i>B</i>
?	high- <i>t</i>	high- <i>t</i>	$G(X,A) \ll L(X,A)$		<i>X</i> is <i>A</i> with lexical but not grammatical borrowing from <i>B</i>

Now, given $G(X,A), L(X,A), G(X,B), L(X,B)$, can one infer the scenario of *X*'s history? (High and low values are an idealization for pedagogical purposes – in the real world these properties are gradient).

The Arawak language family is widely believed to involve a lot of orthodox and unorthodox contact and is therefore an ideal testing case for the above model. Thanks to a number of recently amassed databases, lexical, grammatical and ethnohistorical information for a large number of Arawakan languages and their neighbours is now available.

VINCENT HOMER

Ecole Normale Supérieure—Institut Jean Nicod (Paris)

As simple as it seems

Even when linearized after it, *seem* can take scope over the modal *can* in configurations that involve a downward-entailing expression, e.g.: '*John can't seem to lose weight.*' Though it is tempting to regard this syntax-semantics mismatch as idiomatic, there are strong reasons to aim for a compositional analysis. Not least among these reasons is the unifying property of the triggers of the scope reversal, namely downward-entailingness. The main explanandum, I submit, is the wide

scope of *seem*, not only over *can*, but also over the trigger; I propose that reordering takes place, covertly: *seem* is a mobile positive polarity item, which has the ability to raise above a potential anti-licenser. This movement permits aspectual configurations in the complement of *seem* that are otherwise disallowed. If it is on the right track, this analysis could pave the way for new insights on covert movement, complementation and subordinate tense.

GIORGIO IEMMOLO

University of Zürich

Are dislocated direct objects clause-external? Evidence from differential object marking systems

The aim of this paper is to discuss the frequent cross-linguistic correlation between Differential Object Marking (DOM) and dislocated position. DOM is the phenomenon whereby some direct objects (DOs) are overtly coded based on some semantic and pragmatic properties they exhibit (such as animacy, definiteness, topicality).

A current tenet shared by many linguists of all theoretical persuasions is that left-dislocated elements are clause external (Aissen (1992), Baker (2003), Bresnan (2001)). In this view, left-dislocated elements are deemed not to fulfill any argument function within the clause. Such an argument function is instead fulfilled by the resumptive clitic that is commonly found with left-dislocated constituents.

The assumption that dislocated DOs have an extra-clausal status is problematic when data from DOM systems are taken into account. Indeed, if dislocated DOs are clause-external, it is not clear why in many languages DOM is found obligatorily only on dislocated DOs, which should not be linked to the clause, while it is optional with DOs in their canonical position.

Based on data drawn from a number of genetically and geographically unrelated languages, I show that dislocated DOs cannot be deemed clause-external, since they get DOM and are very often the first NP category to show DOM diachronically. In addition, I argue that agreement markers should be seen as discourse-driven constructions, which serve to relate a syntactic element (be it an NP, a pronoun, etc.) and a discourse referent (see Barlow 1992, 1999) in order to ensure topic-continuity.

TOMOKO ISHIZUKA

Tama University

The extra-thematic passive in Japanese

This paper examines extra-thematic passives in Japanese—a subset of indirect passives whose subject does not correspond to the direct object of the passivized verb. It is well-known that some indirect passives (a.k.a. gapless passives) require supportive context in order to be well-formed and exhibit great interspeaker variability (Shibatani 1994). However, which indirect passives require context has never been identified. For example, although the intransitive passives in (1) and (2) have different properties, literature does not distinguish them.

- (1) Ken-ga Naomi-ni nige-rare-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT escape-PASS-PAST

'Ken was escaped from by Naomi. (cf. Naomi escaped from Ken.)'

- (2) Ken-ga Naomi-ni oyog-are-ta.
Ken-NOM Naomi-DAT swim-PASS-PAST

Lit. 'Ken was swam by Naomi. (Int. Ken was affected by Naomi's swimming.)'

Only type-(2) passives require context, and they exhibit great interspeaker variability (even with supportive context). This raises several questions: what brings about the differences between the two types? What are the characteristics of contexts that license type-(2) passives? How can context license type-(2) indirect passives for some speakers (i.e. what is its syntactic implication)? Where does the variability come from? This talk provides answers to these questions, drawing on the questionnaire data I collected.

DARYA KAVITSKAYA

University of California, Berkeley

Opacity in Crimean Tatar: vowel harmony, syncope, palatalization

Crimean Tatar (CT) is a Northwestern Turkic language spoken in Crimea, Ukraine (Berta 1998; Bogoroditskii 1933; Kavitskaya 2010). The Central dialect of CT exhibits height harmony typical for Turkic, typologically unusual bounded rounding harmony that is active in the initial two syllables of a word, and preferential syncope of high vowels, as well as opaque (counterbleeding) interactions between the harmony processes and syncope. The palatalization of consonants before one of the high front vowels and the syncope of this vowel are also in a counterbleeding relation. In addition, from two high vowels in consecutive syllables, it is the leftmost one that deletes. The difference in directionality for vowel harmony and syncope shows that in Central CT the prominence status of the initial syllable is different for these processes. Vowel harmony treats the initial syllable as strong (a common privileged position, according to Barnes 2006; Beckman 1997; Kaun 1995, 2004). The same position is also weak, the furthest away from stress and is thus the best syncope site. The conflicting requirements on prominence are the source of opacity in the system.

GREGORY A. KEY

University of Arizona

Differential object marking in Turkic and Persian as a contact phenomenon

Turkish and Persian have virtually identical differential object marking (DOM) patterns. Definite direct objects are obligatorily accusative-marked regardless of animacy. Indefinite direct objects may be marked or unmarked. Non-referential objects are obligatorily unmarked. In this study, it is argued that this shared pattern is a contact phenomenon, and that the trait was copied from Turkic into Persian, and furthermore that northwestern Iran is an isogloss for this trait.

Classical Persian exhibits a pattern found in other Indo-Iranian languages such as Hindi-Urdu: objects are marked if they are both animate and specific (Key, 2008, Paul 2003). Examples of unmarked definite inanimate objects persist through at least the 16th century (Paul, 2008). In the present study, textual evidence is provided showing that Southwestern Turkic had a DOM pattern very close to the modern one as early as the 14th century. It is proposed that this was a substrate feature in the Persian used by the Azerbaijanian-speaking rulers of the Safavid Dynasty (1501–1722), and by the Azeri population in northwestern Iran.

LINDA KONNERTH
University of Oregon

Additive focus and additional functions of Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) =*ta* ‘also; even; etc.’

Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) =*ta* marks both additive (‘also’) and scalar (‘even’) focus, but also occurs in a number of other constructions with different semantic and pragmatic functions. By discussing the different constructions that =*ta* occurs in, this paper intends to shed light on the versatility of additive focus markers, which is a widespread characteristic among Tibeto-Burman languages (Bickel 1993, King 2008: 263, Post 2007: 618).

Karbi =*ta* belongs into a paradigm with three other, more general focus/topic markers. As a noun clitic with scope over its preceding NP, =*ta* marks additive and scalar focus as well as exhaustiveness or totality. For example, *jat* ‘type, kind’ with =*ta* becomes *jat=ta* ‘everything’ or, if negated, ‘nothing’. When =*ta* follows an NP including a numeral, it will specify that the amount constitutes the total of a given set (‘the five of them / all five’).

In narratives, =*ta* frequently appears to mark a switch in subject as could be translated into English as “X, in turn, ...” or “X, on the other hand, ...”

AIMEE LAWRENCE
University of Texas at Austin

Reconstruction of Proto-Kampa verbal morphology

This paper presents a reconstruction of Proto-Kampa verbal morphology and presents evidence for subgroupings within the Kampan branch. Kampa is a branch of the Arawak language family made up of six languages—Nomatsigenka, Nanti, Matsigenka, Kakinte, Ashéninka, and Asháninka. These languages are spoken in the Andean foothills and Amazonian lowlands of Peru and Brazil. Michael (2011) presents the results of a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Kampa. I build on this work, reconstructing verbal inflectional and derivational morphology, working from data found in grammatical sketches (Shaver 1996; Michael 2008; Snell 1998; Swift 1988; Kindberg 1980; Payne 1980). I demonstrate that Proto-Kampa marks both subject and object on the verb for five different grammatical persons. With respect to valence-changing morphology, I reconstruct three causatives and five applicatives. Other derivational morphology consists of two trajectal morphemes and desirable and undesirable extremals. In addition to the reconstruction, I also discuss subgrouping within the Kampan branch. Like Michael (2011), I suggest a subgroup consisting of Nanti, Matsigenka, Kakinte, Ashéninka, and Asháninka (all languages but Nomatsigenka), based on an innovation in the first-person subject/possessor marker.

JACKSON LEE
University of Chicago

The representation of contour tones in Cantonese

Yip (2001) and Barrie (2007) propose that the Chinese contour tone be represented as a unitary entity with the register [\pm upper] specified as well as only the tonal onset for [\pm raised]. This paper argues, however, that this is incorrect for Cantonese. Specifically, the correct representation of contour tones in Cantonese is an Africanist one where tonal onset and offset have separately specified [\pm upper]. Three arguments converge to this conclusion. First, in pop music lyrics, the tones 55 and

25 pattern together by their common tonal offset '5' (Chan 1987, Ho 2006), a generalization that would be missed if '5' in 25 were not formally specified. Second, acoustic studies suggest there are two distinct high-rising tones, 35 and 25 (Yu 2007). While 35 is [+upper], 25 should begin in [-upper] and end in [+upper]. Third, productive tonal alternation results in derived tones with the offset of '5'. Following the floating-tone approach adopted by Yip (1980) and Chen (2000), the unified analysis of tonal alternation requires formally specifying the tonal offset separately from the onset. This paper is a reminder of not endorsing the long-standing aberrant assumption that all Chinese languages somehow share the same grammar (Yue-Hashimoto 1993, Matthews 1999).

JUWON LEE

University of Texas at Austin

Multiple interpretations and constraints of causative serial verb constructions in Korean

Most research on periphrastic causative constructions is only concerned with the canonical resultative reading (see Shibatani, 1973; Comrie, 1981; Kim, 1994; Song, 2001; *inter alia*). However, in fact, such the Korean causative constructions are ambiguous between purposive and resultative readings. In addition, the construction with 'coffee' object has more interpretations than the construction with 'milk' object, since the common noun *khephi* 'coffee' has two associated predicates (i.e. *brew* as agentive role, and *drink* as telic role), but *wuyu* 'milk' has no such qualia role (see Pustejovsky, 1991 for qualia roles, and a formalization in Copestake, 1993). However, if the causative constructions are situated in a serial verb construction, the possible interpretations of the Causative SVCs are restricted to resultative readings. Addressing the origins and constraints of the multiple interpretations, I show that 1) the specific meaning of the light verb *ha-* 'do' gets picked up from a common noun object, 2) the light verb *ha-* 'do' in the causative construction is not giving the standard small clause type reading for the causative, 3) SVCs do not allow the event cancellation of non-final verbs, and 4) how all the three issues are interconnected with each other in the Causative SVC.

YONG-CHEOL LEE

University of Pennsylvania

Prosodic correlation between the focus particle *ocik* 'only' and focus/GIVENNESS in Korean

This study investigates the issue of whether or not the element that associates with *ocik* 'only' is prosodically weak in Korean. The question is addressed by a perceptual experiment in which the pitch contours of the target sentences were manipulated using Praat. Target sentences include examples such as: *Cenun ocik kichalul thapnita*. 'I only take the train.' and *Cenun ocik tayhanhangkongul iyonghapnita*. 'I only take Korean Air.' The manipulated sentences were embedded in two competing contexts, in which focus or GIVENNESS on the element that associates with *ocik* (i.e. *kichalul* 'the train,' *tayhanhangkongul* 'Korean Air') was elicited. The results of this study demonstrate that when the element that associates with *ocik* is focused in discourse, the prosody model that is most favored is one in which both the focus particle and the object have prosodic prominence. However, when the element that associates with *ocik* is GIVEN in discourse, the best prosody model is one in which the focus particle *ocik* has prosodic prominence. On the basis of this result, we argue that the element that associates with *ocik* does not always have to be prosodically prominent, but instead the prosodic status of focus/GIVENNESS is determined by the discourse.

YING-SHING LI

*Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica***Lexical effects in phonemic neutralization in Mandarin Chinese**

Recent disputes of lexical variability in speech production are whether these effects are due to lexically selective encoding processes, or post-access phonological and phonetic compression routines. This study explored the mechanisms underlying the incomplete place neutralizations of sibilant onsets (retroflexes and dentals) and nasal codas (velars and alveolars) in Taiwan Mandarin. Speakers produced monosyllabic words containing sibilant onsets, nasal codas, or both in the immediate or delayed naming tasks. The results of regression on acoustic measurements revealed that (1) while sociolinguistic, phonological, orthographic, and processing variables were factored out, lexical variables (higher word frequency and higher neighborhood density) reduced sibilant onset neutralization but enhanced nasal coda neutralization. (2) A significant proportion of variation in nasal coda neutralization was predicted by both of lexical and processing variables, suggesting that lexically-driven nasal coda neutralization was susceptible to phonological and phonetic processes. (3) The delayed naming task increased lexical effects in sibilant onset neutralization but decreased those in nasal coda neutralization, as compared to the immediate naming task. Assuming that the delayed naming task lessened the pressure of phonological preparation, tending to reflect the distributions in the lexicon, we thus suggested that sibilant onset neutralization was the product of lexically selective encoding processes.

KUO-CHIAO JASON LIN

*New York University***Morphological locality: Prefix concord as contextual allomorphy in Saaroa**

(– Cancelled –)

TIFFANY YING-YU LIN^a & I-HSUAN CHEN^b^a*National Taiwan University*; ^b*University of California Berkeley***How visual perception links to semantics: Image schemas in the art of Chinese calligraphy**

This study investigates the correlation between visual perception and semantics in Chinese Calligraphy and proposes that CONTAINER SCHEMA integrated with FORCE SCHEMA and SIGNIFICANCE IS SIZE underlie the art of Chinese Calligraphy.

By analyzing two varieties (Fig. 1) by Master Wang Hsi-chih (303–361 AD, Jin Dynasty), we discover the topological structure and the cognitive mechanism of CONTAINER SCHEMA in Calligraphy. Our analysis shows each Mandarin Character in Calligraphy is structured by a CONTAINER SCHEMA, having the gestalt structure of an interior, an exterior, and a boundary; the primary metaphor, SIGNIFICANCE IS SIZE, is the main principle determining the size of the boundary, which can be larger, smaller, or distorted, depending on the significance of its semantic meaning. In addition, FORCE SCHEMA (Johnson 1987, Lakoff & Johnson 1980) structures different degrees of boldness of the characters, indicating the intensity of writing force. Unlike “frame script,” the “cursive script” is understood as a gestalt based on its indivisible and context-dependent characteristics. Our findings show how visual perception can be linked to semantics in Chinese Calligraphy, hoping to shed light on cross-modal features of image schema and cognition in the interface between fine

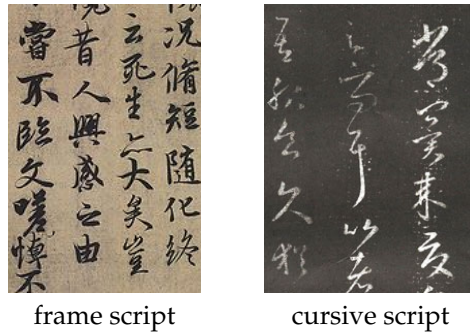


Figure 1: Two varieties of Chinese Calligraphy

art and language.

NATE MADDUX
University of Wisconsin

Phonological adaptation of Spanish loanwords in Salasaka Kichwa: Integration strategies and the effects of bilingualism

The study of loanword nativization provides an opportunity to observe otherwise latent constraints in a language's phonology while contributing to a broader understanding of the adaptation process itself. Motivated by this dual purpose, the present study analyzes various outcomes of loanword nativization based on a corpus of 796 lexical borrowings from Spanish into Salasaka Kichwa (SK), a highland Ecuadorian variety of the pan-Andean Quechua language family. Focusing on loanwords present in the naturalistic speech of five monolingual SK speakers and six Spanish/SK bilinguals, the study first provides a descriptive account of the repair strategies utilized by monolinguals as they bring foreign lexical items into compliance with the segmental and phonotactic constraints of their own native system. The study also investigates the relationship between bilingual proficiency and the degree of phonological integration of borrowings in the speech of adapters who have access to a fully developed L2 phonology, with an eye to how monolingual and bilingual outcomes might inform competing models of loan assimilation in the current theoretical literature. The study concludes with a discussion of factors that may account for the presence of a number of 'fossilized' loanwords which endure as fully assimilated forms in the Kichwa of balanced bilinguals.

KERI MILLER
University of Arizona

Language contact influence on the morphological typology of the Arabic of Bukhara

The variety of Arabic spoken in the Bukhara region of Uzbekistan displays an unusual integration of three distinct language families: Semitic, Indo-Aryan, and Turkic. This paper proposes a principal parts analysis of Bukhara Arabic based upon data collected by Tsereteli and Vinnikov between 1935 and 1943. The data considered for analysis are the verbs with all of their derivative participles and related deverbal nouns. The data are classified according to a static, adaptive and dynamic analysis drawing on the principal parts theory of Finkel and Stump (2007). The three

types of analyses form a continuum, the purpose of which is to determine no less and no more than the essential principle parts needed to predict the remaining forms in a lexeme's paradigm. The aim of the principal parts analysis is to exemplify the relationships between these morphological elements. Additionally, the productivity of the nominal and verbal nonconcatenative derivative systems is examined to reveal the changes involved in the partial adoption of concatenative systems. Together, the results of these analyses help shed further light on the morphological processes of Semitic languages under strong contact conditions with other language families.

TATIANA NIKITINA

University of Oslo

"External" perspective in conceptualization of spatial relations

One of the most striking features of ancient Indo-European languages is the use of ablative expressions (which normally encode sources of motion) in descriptions of static spatial relations (e.g., literally, "from the right of x" for "on x's right"). Most modern Indo-European languages, on the other hand, prefer to describe spatial relations by allative, rather than ablative prepositional phrases (literally, "to the right of x"). This paper explores the gradual shift from the ablative to the allative strategy in the encoding of static spatial relations focusing on Greek and Romance. It argues that the change in the preferred strategy was related to the typological shift from a satellite-framed to a verb-framed system. As previously satellite-framed languages were reducing their use of case for the encoding of spatial relations, they were neutralizing the goal vs. location distinction. This neutralization resulted in the ultimate replacement of the archaic ablative-prolocative model with the alternative allative strategy. Languages that have preserved their original (case-based) goal vs. location differentiation tend to retain the ablative-prolocative model (Slavic).

HIROMI ODA

Waseda University

On the process of establishing cognitive mappings in artificial gestural dialogue experiments

This paper offers an analysis of the process in which subject pairs in Gesture Language Game (GLG) experiments cooperatively invent new gestural signs for objects, locations, movements, and discourse functions. In GLG, two participants are asked to use only gestures to communicate the order of picture cards, locations of objects, and object movements against background.

Usually gestural signs start with descriptive, imitative signs, but they quickly develop into more compact and quick signs as sessions proceed. Other important observations include:

1. There seem to be finite patterns and variations from there in the emerged gestural signs.
2. Gestural signs often agree among subject pairs. In fact, many signs agree between U.S. and Japanese subject pairs, although there are cultural variations.
3. Some signs emerged in GLG agree with the signs used in some sign languages.
4. Some gestural signs with discourse or grammatical functions in GLG have counterparts in sign languages.

Thus, GLG seems to be able to simulate the processes in which new signs emerge. After reviewing these points, it will be discussed that the overall process can be seen as a dynamic process of joint

problem solving and optimization task with restrictions.

DAVID Y. OSHIMA
Nagoya University

Iconicity, implicature, and the manner interpretation of coordinating structure: Through comparison of English and French

This paper discusses conditions under which VP-coordination structure (“Subj. VP₁ and VP₂”) may conversationally implicate a manner relation between the two described events, based on data from English, where the VP-coordination structure with *and* allows manner interpretation under certain conditions (e.g. *David pressed the button and opened the automatic door*), and French, where the corresponding structure with *et* does not readily allow manner interpretation. It will be pointed out that two factors affect the availability of manner interpretation. First, the principle of iconicity dictates that subordination structure is more suitable than coordination structure in describing two actions standing the manner relation, and also that motivation for choosing subordination structure increases when the relation between the two events is both “fusional (one is fused into the other)” and “asymmetric”; this explains why *David used chopsticks and ate fried noodles* does not allow the manner interpretation. Second, whether the VP-coordination structure in a given language allows the manner interpretation at all is determined by its “niche,” i.e., its standing in the network of constructions. The contrast between the two languages can be attributed to the fact that English has a stronger orientation toward parataxis (coordination) than French.

RYO OTOGURO
Waseda University

Constructional paradigm in constraint-based morphosyntax: A case of Japanese verb inflection

It is a well-known fact that tense, aspect and mood/modality (TAM) are encoded in morphosyntactically diverse ways across languages. Japanese is one of the languages that exhibit TAM feature realisations by a combination of verb inflection, auxiliary/copula constructions and sentence final particles in complicated manners. The language, therefore, poses a serious challenge to any grammatical theory as to how those formatives are located in morphosyntactic structures, and how they are related to TAM functions in relevant components of the grammar. This paper aims to give an account of controversial behaviours of complex interaction of modal expressions in Japanese in a constraint-based lexicalist formalism, Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG). Building on the insight from a construction-based approach to morphosyntax, the paper proposes that multiple lexical items interact with each others to realise a set of TAM features, while maintaining their phrase-structural autonomy. In this framework, although the items of V category independently inflect for FIN(iteness), TENSE, NEG(ation) and POLITE(ness), the sub-structures in the construction are dependent on each other as represented by morphological dependency feature. By this way, the paper illustrates how a constructional paradigmatic organisation of TAM realisation can be captured without abolishing the independence of morphosyntactic components.

NICOLE PALFFY-MUHORAY
Yale University

Future reference in Hungarian

There are two main expressions of future reference in Hungarian. The *fog* construction, which consists of an auxiliary verb and an infinitival main verb (similar to the English *will* future), is obligatorily associated with future interpretations. The second expression, the non-past, consists of a verb inflected for person and number, with no grammatical marker of temporal reference. Interestingly, atelic predicates give rise to event-in-progress readings in the absence of future context or adverbs, and most telic non-past predicates give rise to future readings.

I argue that *fog* is a simple existential quantifier over future intervals, whereas the non-past restricts the time that the predicate can hold to the interval extending from *now* to infinitely in the future. There are three logical possibilities for how an atelic predicate like "john run" can hold of this interval. Either the predicate holds only over the the moment of speech, *P* holds over some interval after speech time, or *P* holds of the interval where John's running would begin at speech time and extend into the future. I argue that because telic predicates do not have the Subinterval Property, they cannot hold punctually of *now*, and so do not give rise to ongoing readings.

KATYA PERTSOVA

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Logical complexity in morphological learning

The notion "complexity" is often invoked in explaining a pattern's frequency or learnability. Complexity effects have been extensively studied in the psychological literature on categorization, but no explicit connection has been made between this literature and linguistic pattern learning. This project seeks to make such a connection. The specific questions addressed in this study are (1) whether the classical conjunctive bias found in non-linguistic experiments (Neisser and Weene, 1962, Hunt and Kreuter 1962) is also active in the learning of linguistic patterns, in particular, patterns of syncretism in morphological paradigms, and (2) whether paradigms with null morphemes are easier to learn than those with overt morphemes, analogous to the effect of "biased labeling" found in non-linguistic experiments (Peters and Denny, 1971; Gottwald, 1971). We address these questions in an artificial language experiment in which subjects must learn the distribution of two suffixes as a function of two morpho-semantic properties. The experiment replicates the classical complexity ordering: suffixes describable with conjunctions or disjunctions of features are easier to learn than those describable with an exclusive disjunction; and the effect of labeling (null vs. overt marking). We discuss the implications of these findings for linguistic typology and learning models.

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Tense and modality in two Creole languages: Capeverdean and Saamáka

(– Cancelled –)

STEFANIE RAMOS-BIERGE

University of Colorado at Boulder

From demonstrative to nominalizer: The suffix *-gai* in Northern Tepehuan

Clausal nominalization defined as the process by which a finite verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase has been the object of a number of studies (Givón 2009: 66), especially identifying the sources of nominalizing morphemes. Northern Tepehuan has at least three means of nominalizing clauses: suffixes *-ra*, *-karo*, and *-gai*. The last one is of particular interest for this paper because of two main reasons: (i) it is used mainly for nominalizing clauses and in a very few cases for creating lexical nouns, and (ii) it has not been found in related languages except for Nevome. The aim of this paper is to propose the path of grammaticalization of *-gai*: *igai*: ‘DEM’ > 3_{SG/PL} > *-gai* ‘NMLZ’. This element may have started to grammaticalize into a nominalizing morpheme due to the relative free order position of the subject in subordinate clauses. Further evidence is presented with the suffix *-go*, which seems to have a similar path of grammaticalization, as well as with data from Rinaldini (1994) and Pima Bajo (Uto-Aztecan; Hale 2002; Estrada 2010).

SYLVIA L. REED

University of Arizona

Beyond states and events: A semantics for verbs of spatial configuration

Predicates like ‘sit,’ ‘stand,’ and ‘lie’ have been argued to be either event-like states or state-like events. I argue based on data from Scottish Gaelic that these predicates are best analyzed as having eventuality arguments, but that they share the same level of homogeneity with “true” states. The aspect particle *ann* in Scottish Gaelic appears with sit/stand/lie predicates and with certain nominal predicates. To analyze the predicates *ann* selects for, I draw on four concepts: (1) States are different from events (Davidson 1967, a.o.); (2) Sit/stand/lie predicates are like states in some ways (Bach 1986; Maienborn 2005, 2007) but like events in other ways (Maienborn *ibid.*); (3) Predicates that are locatable in space and time have Davidsonian arguments (Maienborn *ibid.*); (4) Stativity involves a fine-grained subinterval property (Taylor 1977, Dowty 1979, Maienborn 2005). I claim that *ann* selects for predicates that are locatable in time and space (like events) and that are homogeneous to the moment level (like states). This analysis establishes a semantics for a group of verbs that has been notoriously difficult to pin down, and presents a unified account of otherwise unexplained data in Scottish Gaelic.

JUSTIN SPENCE

*University of California, Berkeley***Code switching and mixed language genesis in Tiwi**

A central issue in the study of mixed languages is their relationship to other language contact phenomena. Recently, McConvell (2008) has elaborated a “center of gravity” model according to which mixed languages emerge from grammaticized patterns of code switching, patterns influenced in turn by a language’s typological status as head-marking versus dependent-marking. The present study considers McConvell’s theory in light of data from Tiwi, a head-marking language of northern Australia. Modern Tiwi is a contemporary mixed language that retains Traditional Tiwi TAM marking, as predicted by McConvell’s model; the question is whether code switching was the means by which this was achieved. Evidence bearing on the issue is found in a transcript of a public meeting containing 76 clauses with elements drawn from more than one language. Just over half are clearly code switches, but there is no preference for maintaining Tiwi TAM marking. These results are at odds with the view that TAM marking in Modern Tiwi emerges directly from patterns of code switching. While the head-marking versus dependent-marking typological parameter may nonetheless influence the outcomes of language mixing, the case considered here suggests that code-switching is not the vehicle by which this happens.

KRISTINA ŠTRKALJ-DESPOT,^{a,d} JULIA OSTANINA-OLSZEWSKA,^{b,d} & INNA SKRYNNIKOVA^{c,d}^a*Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics*; ^b*University of Warsaw*; ^c*Volgograd State University*;^d*University of California, Berkeley***Cross-linguistic analysis of metaphoric conceptions of DUSHA (‘soul’) in Slavic (Russian, Polish, and Croatian)**

It has already been discussed by a number of authors that the Russian word *dusha* (‘soul’) has much wider range of use and much higher frequency than the English word *soul* (Wierzbicka 1989, Zalizniak 1996). It is most often translated as ‘soul’ but is sometimes better rendered as ‘heart’ or ‘mind.’ This fact is partly explained by differences in folk psychology. Since in other Slavic languages *dusha* has a similar range of use and frequency to its equivalent in Russian, we assume that the relevant conceptual structure is not just Russian but pan-Slavic. In this paper we examine that assumption by providing a detailed corpus-based analysis of metaphorical and metonymic conceptions of DUSHA in three Slavic languages: Russian (East Slavic), Polish (West Slavic), and Croatian (South Slavic). We apply conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Grady 1997, Lakoff 1999, Kövecses 2000, Lakoff 2009). The research corpus consists of Russian National Corpus, Polish National Corpus and Croatian Language Repository.

Analysis showed that the cultural model of DUSHA is indeed very similar in Russian, Polish and Croatian, and that it integrates bodily and cultural (especially religious) experiences. All three languages have two types of Idealized Cognitive Models (ICM) (Lakoff, 1987) for SELF and metaphorical conceptions of DUSHA are tightly related to those models.

YUKIKO SUGIYAMA

Keio University

Perceiving pitch accent in the absence of F_0

This study examined the perception of Japanese pitch accent using “whispered” speech in which the F_0 was artificially removed. While the F_0 is said to be the primary cue for pitch accent in Japanese, it is not certain whether acoustic correlates other than F_0 exist. Since previous production studies that examined amplitude, vowel duration or devoicing have failed to identify a secondary cue for Japanese pitch accent (e.g. Beckman 1986), the present study turned to perception. A native speaker of Tokyo Japanese produced 14 disyllabic minimal pairs that differed only in accent (e.g. /hana*/ ‘flower’ when accented vs. /hana/ ‘nose’ when unaccented) in a carrier sentence. The utterances were then edited by replacing the F_0 by random noise. The perception experiment found that the word identification was more than 90 percent accurate for the unedited natural speech. On the other hand, accuracy was only over 60 percent for the “whispered” speech. However, a planned *t*-test found that the “whispered” speech was identified reliably better than chance. The result clearly indicates that some acoustic cues other than the F_0 were in the signal to convey the accent information.

YUKI-SHIGE TAMURA

Shiga University

Epistemicity and deixis: Perspectives from Central Alaskan Yup’ik

With the essential notions of Cognitive Linguistics (Bybee 2010; Croft 2001; Fauconnier and Sweetser 1996; Langacker 2008), this presentation argues that typologically unique properties observed in Central Alaskan Yup’ik (Eskimo) spatial demonstratives can be captured in a unified perspective rather than being regarded as exceptional cases (e.g. Levinson 2003). The Yup’ik demonstrative system embraces spatial deictic morphemes with both angular and non-angular specifications in a single category, and we need a discussion on what uniform factors operate to produce cross-linguistically regular patterns and the derivations. After examining essential data of Yup’ik demonstratives (e.g. Jaconson 1995; Rukeyser 2005; my field notes) and reviewing theoretical discussions on the indivisibility of epistemicity and reference in Cognitive Linguistics, we propose a semantic map that places prototypical functions of definiteness (epistemicity) and prototypical functions of reference point at both ends. We show how Yup’ik demonstratives are distributed across the scale while comparing it with the English and Japanese counterpart expressions. We suggest that the distributional tendencies observed on the semantic map can be regarded as reflecting the differences in subjectivity, or the degree of subjectification (Langacker 1990).

ZHIGUO XIE

Ohio State University

Weak generic sentences: Partitioning and comparison

This paper proposes a new semantic analysis of weak generic sentences of the form *As are B*, best represented by the Port Royal Puzzle sentence “Dutchmen are good sailors.” The sentence is true even though most Dutchmen do not know how to sail and *a fortiori* do not sail well. Two observations motivate my analysis. One is that weak generic sentences express a property that

“distinguishes the subject referent from other entities that might belong to the same category” (Krifka *et al* 1995). The other is that the scale structure of the predicate B affects the availability of weak generic reading for sentences of the form *As are B* (Nickel 2009). I argue that the interpretation of weak generic sentences involves: (i) partitioning the set denoted by the bare plural subject based on the property denoted by the predicate B; (ii) similarly partitioning the set alternative to the denotation of the subject; and (iii) comparing an appropriate partition in (i) to its counterpart in (ii) with respect to the predicate B. The Port Royal Puzzle sentence is true iff among all the Dutchmen whose sailing skills are good relative to their compatriots who can sail, there are generic-many whose sailing skills overtake those people of alternative nationalities whose sailing skills exceed the contextual standard of having good sailing skills within these nationalities.

DORIS CHING-JUNG YEN & LOREN BILLINGS

National Chi Nan University

The cluster-internal ordering of clitics in Kavalan (East Formosan, Austronesian)

Two classes of Wackernagel clitics are attested in Kavalan: adverbials—including FUTURE /=pa/ and ASPECTUAL /=ti/—and NOM pronouns. With one of each type, the relative order is invariably =adverbial=NOM: (i) /=pa/=NOM; (ii) /=ti/=NOM. If adverbials co-occur, their relative ordering is fixed: (iii) /=pa=ti/. However, if NOM co-occurs with two adverbials, we find (iv) /=pa/=NOM/=ti/ (rather than the expected */=pa=ti/=NOM): /=ti/ precedes =NOM in (ii) but follows it in (iv). We further discuss an exception to NOM interpolation: if the adverbials differ in syllabic parity.

These data constitute an important addition to the typology (primarily in Austronesian languages) of clitic clusters, the internal ordering of which is by nonsyntactic means. Again, we see exceptional ordering (known in the literature as *special syntax*) among the clitics, not found with free elements.

We attribute this variation in positioning to the Obligatory Contour Principle, which prohibits adjacent similar elements. Namely, to satisfy the OCP, prohibiting consecutive monosyllabic adverbials in Kavalan, the NOM appears between the adverbials. However, if there is no NOM pronoun present, as in (iii), then no repair is available. An Optimality-theoretic model is proposed. (An OCP constraint dominates constraint subhierarchies ordering adverbials relative to each other and to NOM pronouns.)

GWANHI YUN

Daegu University

Prosody-based word recognition for L2 speakers

This study investigates whether Korean L2 learners of English recognize English words on the basis of fine differences in stress (primary vs. secondary). Previous studies have shown that L1 English speakers recover the source words on the basis of fine prosodic distinctions between primary and secondary stresses. Such results led to suggestion of prosody-based word recognition model. Given that, our research focuses on the test of the application of such model on L2 Korean listeners of English. The results of word-recognition tests showed that Both Korean female and male listeners identified the source words when they heard the primary-stressed syllable alone more correctly than when they heard secondary-stressed syllable alone. However, there was no significant difference between the shorter fragments (first primary or secondary stressed syllable)

and the longer fragments (i.e., primary or secondary stressed syllables followed by unstressed syllables). This interesting finding implicates that even L2 learners restore or activate target words on the basis of prosodic information such as subtle stress distinction without reference to the full segmentation like native speakers' pattern (Mattys 2000). Furthermore, it implies that prosodic information is stored coupled with segmental information in the L2 learners' mental lexicon.

EVA ZIMMERMANN
University of Leipzig

Templates as affixation of segment-sized units: The case of Southern Sierra Miwok

In SSM (Broadbent 1964, Sloan 1991), suffixes can require the preceding stem to conform to a certain shape (=template-requiring affixes). I focus on three interesting classes of affixes discussed in Sloan (1991) that all require a preceding bisyllabic LH stem but vary in the shape of the final syllable, summarized in (1). Sloan (1991) argues that the need to distinguish final CVC and CV:-syllables is strong evidence for an analysis where the three templates in (1) are represented as (partially) syllabified X-slots.

(1) *LH-requiring suffixes*

	biconsonantal stem	three-consonantal stem
class I requires	CV.CVC	CV.CVC
class II requires	CV.CV:	CV.CV:
class III requires	CV.CV:	CV.CVC

In contrast, I argue that the three LH templates in SSM are the simple result of affixing segment-sized defective phonological structure (μ and underspecified segmental nodes) that is independently argued for in numerous analyses for non-concatenative morphology (cf. Bermudez-Otero 2011). I argue that all three LH templates follow from the demand that the first syllable is light, a requirement that is predicted from mora affixation and moraic overwriting. The specifications of affix classes I and II for final CVC or CV: respectively is predicted from affixation of a radically underspecified segmental root node (Bermudez-Otero 2011, Svenonius 2011) that is specified as vowel or consonant. These defective segments cannot be interpreted on their own and minimally need a place feature due to HAVEPLACE (Itô and Mester 1993, Padgett 1994).