

BLS 39

Berkeley Linguistics Society
39th Annual Meeting
Berkeley, California
16–17 February 2013

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Acknowledgments

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

- UC Berkeley Department of Linguistics
- UC Berkeley Graduate Assembly
- UC Berkeley Student Opportunity Fund
- UC Berkeley Cognitive Science Program

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. It has been our pleasure working with you and your contributions to the conference.

BLS 39 Executive Committee:

Nico Baier
Erin Donnelly
Matthew Faytak
Joseph Giroux
Matthew Goss
Jevon Heath
John Merrill
Kelsey Neely
Melanie Redeye

BLS 39 Schedule

Saturday, February 16

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

8:45 Opening Remarks – 370 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Space & Directionality I

Morphology

9:00 Tatiana Nikitina: *When language and gesture do not converge: Spatial construal of time by speakers of Wan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire)* Matthew Adams: *Morphosyntactic variation and the English comparative: conflict between prosodic levels*

9:30 Şeyda Özçalışkan & Susan Goldin-Meadow: *How speaking shapes the native language of gesture in describing motion* Oana David: *The optimal construction-building properties of Kannada consonant augments*

10:00 Jefferson Barlew: *Anchored to what? An anaphoric approach to frames of reference* Beata Moskal: *The Curious Case of Archi's father*

10:30 Benjamin Fagard, Jordan Zlatev, Anetta Kopecka, Massimo Cerruti & Johan Blomberg: *The semantics of space and directionality: cross-type similarities and within-type differences* Peter Smith: *On the cross-linguistic rarity of endoclitics*

11:00 Break – 371 Dwinelle

11:10 JÜRGEN BOHNEMEYER – 370 Dwinelle
Frames of reference in language, culture, and cognition: The Mesoamerican evidence

12:10pm Lunch

1:10 JOOST ZWARTS – 370 Dwinelle
Ways of going 'back': A case study in direction

2:10 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Syntax I

Phonology

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 2:15 | <i>Ahmad Alqassas: The Definite Marker in Arabic: Morphological Realization of the Syntactic Head D or a [DEF] Feature</i> | <i>Sharon Inkelas & Keith Johnson: Testing the learnability of sound-based writing systems</i> |
| 2:45 | <i>Martina Martinović: The topic-comment structure in copular sentences: evidence from Wolof</i> | <i>Rui Rothe-Neves & Hellen Valentin: Moraic Primacy Effects in Brazilian Portuguese Nasal Vowels</i> |
| 3:15 | <i>Harold Torrence & Khady Tamba: Factive Clauses as Relative Clauses in Wolof</i> | <i>David Sawicki: Inside a Wug: Non-linear interactions of multiple marked features and non-uniform recall of phonological material</i> |
| 3:45 | <i>Yu-Yin Hsu: External and Internal Topic-Focus in Nominals: Evidence from Mandarin</i> | <i>Jos Tellings: Clitics and voicing in Dutch</i> |

4:15 Break – 371 Dwinelle

4:20 EVE DANZIGER – 370 Dwinelle
Following Our Noses: Frames of Reference in and out of Space

5:20 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Semantics

Socio- & Historical Linguistics

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 5:30 | <i>Shiao Wei Tham: Possession as non-verbal predication</i> | <i>Justin Spence: The Status of Pacific Coast Athabaskan: A Computational Assessment</i> |
| 6:00 | <i>Zhiguo Xie: Exhaustifying the Focus Intervention Effect: A Crosslinguistic Study</i> | <i>Rebecca Maybaum: Language change as a social process: Diffusion patterns of lexical innovations in Twitter</i> |
| 6:30 | | <i>Linda Konnerth: Diachronic nominalization: Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) ke- ~ ka- focus and imperfective constructions</i> |

7:00 Wine & Cheese – 371 Dwinelle

7:30 BLS Banquet – 370 Dwinelle

Sunday, February 17

8:15am

Coffee & Breakfast – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Syntax II

Pragmatics & Cognitive Linguistics

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| 9:00 | Virginia Dawson: <i>Differential Argument Realisation in Tiwa</i> | Chris Koops & Arne Lohmann: <i>Discourse marker sequencing and grammaticalization</i> |
| 9:30 | Youssef Haddad: <i>Binding as co-indexing vs. binding as movement: Evidence from Personal Datives</i> | Elliott Hoey: <i>Do sighs matter? Interactional perspectives on sighing</i> |
| 10:00 | Chieu Nguyen: <i>Quantification in the left periphery: the duality of universal quantification and contrastive focus in Vietnamese</i> | Yi-Ting Chen: <i>A frame-semantic approach to verb-verb compound verbs in Japanese: A case study of –toru</i> |
| 10:30 | Ekaterina Lyutikova & Asya Pereltsvaig: <i>Elucidating nominal structure in article-less languages: Russian and Tatar</i> | Pollet Samvelian & Pegah Faghiri: <i>Rethinking Compositionality in Persian Complex Predicates</i> |

11:00

Break – 371 Dwinelle

11:10

PETER JENKS – 370 Dwinelle
Quantifier Float and Scope in Thai

12:10pm

Lunch

1:10

RUSSELL GRAY – 370 Dwinelle
What does evolutionary biology have to offer historical linguistics?

2:10

Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Human Prehistory & Linguistics

Special Topics

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 2:15 | Will Chang: <i>The distribution of Polynesian words</i> | Terrence Szymanski: <i>Automatic Extraction of Linguistic Data from Digitized Documents</i> |
| 2:45 | Yoram Meroz: <i>Large-Scale Vocabulary Surveys As A Tool For Linguistic Paleontology: A California Case Study</i> | Marie-Pierre Lissouir & Didier Demolin: <i>Spoken and Sung Tones in Tai-Dam khap</i> |
| 3:15 | Conor Snoek & Christopher Cox: <i>Measuring linguistic distance in Athapaskan</i> | Elsi Kaiser & David Cheng-Huan Li: <i>Effects of visuospatial grouping on narrative processing</i> |

3:45 Break – 371 Dwinelle

3:50 MARC BRUNELLE – 370 Dwinelle
Tone typology and contact-driven change in Mainland Southeast Asia

4:50 Break – 371 Dwinelle

370 DWINELLE

3335 DWINELLE

Languages of Southeast Asia

Space & Directionality II

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 5:00 | Wichaya Bovonwivat: <i>The Aspectual System of Fengshun Hakka Spoken in Thailand</i> | Caroline Imbert: <i>Morpheme order constraints upside down: Vertical Orientation vs. Directionality</i> |
| 5:30 | Mark Donohue & Cathryn Donohue: <i>The eastern edge of Southeast Asia? a linguistic area seen from its fringe</i> | Dorothea Hoffmann: <i>Mapping words and mapping worlds: Frames of Reference in MalakMalak</i> |
| 6:00 | Lan Kim: <i>A Crosslinguistic Perspective to Inverse and Passive Constructions in Thai</i> | Rich A. Sandoval: <i>Interaction Space and Absolute Space: Spatial Sensitivity in Arapaho Pointing Practices for Person Reference</i> |
| 6:30 | Bradley McDonnell: <i>Roadblocks in the grammaticalization highway: When phonology gets in the way</i> | Chris Koops: <i>Direction and location in Cherokee deictic prefixes</i> |

7:00 Closing Remarks – 370 Dwinelle

Invited Speakers

JÜRGEN BOHNEMEYER
University of Buffalo

Frames of reference in language, culture, and cognition: The Mesoamerican evidence

Special Session: Space and Directionality in Language
Saturday, February 16, 11:10 A.M.

Ongoing research since the 1970s has shown that speech communities vary in the types of reference frames their members prefer for reference to small-scale space in discourse. Furthermore, the frame types used in cognitive tasks such as recall memory show similar variability, and a given population's linguistic preferences significantly predict that population's preferences in cognitive tasks (Pederson et al 1998; Levinson 2003; Majid et al. 2004). Two interpretations of this alignment have been proposed. The Neo-Whorfian take advocated by Levinson, Pederson, and colleagues holds that the use of particular reference frame types represents learned cultural knowledge, which is transmitted and diffused through observable behavior, including prominently speech and gesture. In contrast, Li & Gleitman (2002) argue that all frame types are innately available to all populations and that the observed variable preferences in linguistic and cognitive tasks are the result of shallow and easily mutable adaptations to the environment and factors such as literacy and education (cf. also Li et al. 2011).

Li & Gleitman's position entails that linguistic patterns of FoR use can themselves be entirely attributed to the proposed non-linguistic factors. I present a test of this prediction based on data from a referential communication task conducted with speakers of six Mesoamerican languages, two non-Mesoamerican indigenous languages, and three varieties of Spanish. A series of linear regression analyses shows that the participants' first language, their use of Spanish as a second language, and their level of literacy, but not their education level or the membership of their native language in the Mesoamerican sprachbund, are significant predictors of their probability of using a particular frame type.

These findings support the following tacit conclusions: (i) The role of language in frame selection cannot be reduced to literacy and education. (ii) Practices of language use such as the use of particular reference frame types can be diffused through language contact. (iii) There is no current evidence suggesting that reference frame use in Mesoamerica is an areal effect.

MARC BRUNELLE

University of Ottawa

In collaboration with JAMES KIRBY, University of Edinburgh

Tone typology and contact-driven change in Mainland Southeast Asia

Parasession: The Languages of Southeast Asia

Sunday, February 17, 3:50 P.M.

Mainland Southeast Asia (MSEA) is often considered as a linguistic area in which languages from different phyla converge typologically. Tone is probably the most often cited case of converging typological feature (Haudricourt 1954; Matisoff 1973; Pulleyblank 1986; Thurgood 1993, 1999; Alves 2001; Abramson 2004). The general scenario for tonal convergence is that Chinese underwent tonogenesis first. Tone would then have spread to its neighbours (Vietnamese, Tsat, Tai-Kadai, Hmong-Mien), who now pass it along to their own neighbours (Eastern Cham, Suai, Pattani Malay). However, as Pulleyblank (1986: 78) puts it: “How such a trend [i.e. tonogenesis] can spread across linguistic boundaries is an intriguing puzzle, on which I shall not venture to make any guesses”.

Relying on a database of 150 MSEA languages and dialects, we explore two sets of related questions. First of all, how frequent is tonality in MSEA? What does the typical MSEA look like? Properties that were looked at are the number of contrastive tones, the role of pitch contour and of voice quality and the prevalence of tone processes (mostly tone sandhis). Second, is there any evidence of tonal convergence between MSEA languages or is tonogenesis mostly due to language-internal factors? If there is convergence, is it a large-scale or a local effect? What are the tonal properties that can spread across languages?

The database reveals that tonality is far less prevalent than usually assumed. Close to 25% of the sampled languages are toneless and another 25% have simple two-way tone contrasts in which voice quality seems more important than pitch. Voice quality is as prevalent as pitch, turning up in close to 50% of “tonal” contrasts, and does not seem to be predictable from the number of lexically contrastive tones. These results lead us to redefine tonality as a combination of various acoustic properties (pitch and voice quality being the most important), which are independent to a certain extent, but conspire to allow the emergence of tonal contrasts.

Evidence for convergence was then looked for by means of spatial autocorrelations and autoregressions in interaction with other predictors like phyla and word shapes (Holman et al. 2007; Donohue and Whiting 2011; Haynie 2012). Results suggest that it is inaccurate to treat MSEA as a linguistic area, although pockets of convergence can be isolated (Northern Vietnam and Laos, South-Central Vietnam, Malay Peninsula). Genetic affiliation obviously accounts for most of the variation in tonal complexity, but interestingly, our model confirms the relationship between monosyllabicity and tonality postulated in Matisoff (1973). The statistical models used to analyze the database lead us to reject the idea that languages converge with their neighbours in terms of tonal complexity, but suggest that the use of tone for contrastive purposes (the “idea” of tone) is partly contact-induced.

EVE DANZINGER
University of Virginia

Following Our Noses: Frames of Reference in and out of Space

Special Session: Space and Directionality in Language
Saturday, February 16, 4:20 P.M.

In many languages, terminology which was originally devoted purely to space is called to serve in the expression of temporal or other relations (as in English “before” the winter; “close” kin, and so on). Such evidence has led to the widespread conclusion that spatial representation, both linguistic and cognitive, naturally underlies and informs the representation of other domains. But the similarity between the linguistic representation of space and that of other domains may also be present at the level of the *types* of relationships which are involved. So for example, we might discuss whether a particular spatial description in context (“X is to the left of Y”) shows or does not show the property of converseness (i.e. entails “Y is to the right of X”, see Levelt 1984). And we can discuss the same question for, say, a particular description of social relations (if I call you “grandfather”, does that make me your “grandchild”?), regardless of whether or not spatial lexemes are involved (Danziger 1996). Examination of the spontaneous gestures which accompany speech about temporal or social relationships can be particularly revealing in this connection, since what is revealed in such spatialization of non-space relations is precisely the different logical properties that the verbalized semantic relation and the gestured spatial relation have in common.

The classic three-part Frame of Reference typology (Pederson et al 1998, Levinson 2003) lends itself well to characterization of the different relationship types that are thus found in speech and gesture across multiple semantic domains. But a regularized four-part typology (Danziger 2010) allows us to see even more clearly how the particular relational properties of the different Frames of Reference (Relative, Absolute, Object-Centered and Direct) are each related in principled ways to the situation of speech, regardless of the semantic domains in which each may be employed across different languages. When we thus examine the relational analogies between space and other domains, we find that space does not emerge as a necessarily primary or basic domain relative to the others—instead it is the social-subjective situation of speech which plays this pivotal role.

RUSSELL GRAY
University of Auckland

What does evolutionary biology have to offer historical linguistics?

Parasession: Human Prehistory through Linguistics
Sunday, February 17, 1:10 P.M.

Evolutionary biology has changed remarkably over the last 30 years. Phylogenetic or “tree thinking” is now the dominant way of making inferences in evolutionary biology. The phylogenetic revolution in biology has been driven by two main events: the development of computational methods and the deluge of molecular sequence data. Despite its apparent position on the other side of the arts/science divide, historical linguistics is also a discipline that requires making complex inferences from a wealth of comparative data. Moreover, as scholars dating back to at least Darwin (1871) have noted, there are numerous “curious parallels” between the processes of language change and biological evolution. In this talk I will outline ways in which computational methods derived from evolutionary biology can be used to:

1. test subgrouping hypotheses
2. date language divergences without assuming a strict clock
3. infer linguistic homelands
4. quantify patterns of borrowing
5. identify functional dependencies in language
6. infer the key drivers of language diversification

Throughout the talk I will emphasise that methods derived from evolutionary biology should be seen as supplement to traditional linguistic scholarship, not a replacement. The way forward lies in the combined power of linguistic scholarship, database technologies, and computational methods.

PETER JENKS

University of California, Berkeley

Quantifier Float and Scope in Thai

Parasession: The Languages of Southeast Asia

Sunday, February 17, 11:10 A.M.

Quantifier float (Q-float) is a process where by a quantifier is displaced from a position adjacent to a noun but still appears to quantify over that noun (that is, the noun serves as the restriction to the quantifier). Q-float has often been treated as somewhat of a interesting grammatical phenomenon, but not a core grammatical process. However, a survey of East and Southeast Asian languages has demonstrated that Q-float is extremely widespread, and that its distribution is governed by the following generalization: rightward Q-float only occurs in languages where quantifiers can follow the noun noun phrase internally.

In this paper I present an analysis of quantifier float in Thai as overt Quantifier Raising (QR), a general grammatical phenomenon which has been posited to account for the existence of inverse scope readings in English and other semantic puzzles. I show that the position of floated object quantifiers in Thai cannot be identified with A-traces of overt arguments, militating against an analysis in terms of stranding (e.g. Sportiche 1988, Miyagawa 1989). At the same time, Thai Q-float is subject to scope and locality restrictions of floated quantifiers, facts which I take to be problematic for a purely adverbial analysis. In light of these difficulties, I propose that Thai Q-float is QR, taken to be A-scrambling of a quantifier to a projection of VP (Johnson and Tomioka 1997). Q-float itself is argued to result from scattered deletion of the moved quantifier, where the pronunciation of the quantifier in the floated position is focus-driven, a claim which is supported by evidence from ellipsis and intervention effects. I argue that this latter portion of the analysis provides a straightforward explanation for the Q-float generalization observed for East and Southeast Asian languages.

JOOST ZWARTS
Utrecht University

Ways of going 'back' : A case study in direction

Special Session: Space and Directionality in Language
Saturday, February 16, 1:10 A.M.

Direction is a broad notion in spatial semantics, covering different but related concepts and phenomena. There is a large and growing body of literature about direction. Most of it is about prepositions or verbs and deals either with the role of frames of reference in locative expressions or with goals, sources, and routes in the description of motion. Less is known about the semantics of directional adverbs, particularly, and about spatial directionality that goes beyond the source-route-goal schema. What is also missing is the larger picture of how frames of reference (intrinsic, absolute, relative) are used in determining the direction of paths of motion, also in situations that do not involve a ground, but only a moving figure.

In my talk, I will give an overview of the different ways in which a path of motion can be assigned a direction, based on different frames (in a more general sense). I define direction as a property of paths distinct from shape (which is invariant under rotation, translation, and rescaling). Direction of paths turns out to be a rich notion that can depend on such things like absolute features of the environment (*go up*), intrinsic sides (*go sideways*), an earlier path of motion (*go back*), another moving object (*go after someone*), or a stationary ground (*go under something*).

In order to get a better idea on how these directionalities hang together, I focus on the different ways of moving 'back' (roughly speaking), using Dutch data. We find rich patterns of meaning and form here, involving prepositions, postpositions, and adverbs, like *terug* (to-back 'back'), *achteruit* (behind-out 'backwards'), *achterlangs* (behind-along 'via behind'), *na* ('after, following'). There is not a one-to-one mapping between forms and directionalities, but we find polyfunctionality, suggesting that the different 'back directionalities' have systematic relations to each other.

I formalize *axes* as unit vectors assigned to figures or grounds by a family of closely related frames of reference. In the case of 'back' these are organized around the intrinsic back axis by patterns of canonical alignment. From these vectors we can either project regions (of grounds) or paths (of figures). In this way we account for the fact that place and path expressions may have a common axial basis (they are all 'back' in a sense), but differ in the way that use those axes to define parts, places, paths. The regions can also be used to define ground-based paths through the familiar source-route-path scheme.

Interestingly, one of the outcomes is that direction of motion sometimes involves distinctions between frames of reference that are not made in direction of location. While *behind* is used for the back region of a ground irrespective of the frame of reference (intrinsic, relative, absolute), when talking about a moving figure languages may have a specific term (*achteruit*, backwards).

Abstracts

MATTHEW ADAMS

Stanford University

Morphosyntactic variation and the English comparative: conflict between prosodic levels

Many monosyllabic or disyllabic English adjectives (*proud, mellow*) exhibit variation in the comparative between an analytic form (*more proud, more mellow*) and synthetic form (*prouder, mellow*). Past research has focused on syntactic, semantic, phonological, and diachronic aspects of this variation (Mondorf 2009, Graziano-King 2008, Elzinga 2006, i.a.). Furthermore, research has suggested that audience design (Boyd 2007) might influence greater use of the analytic in complex environments (Mondorf 2003, 2009) and that the synthetic form is most preferred in attributive position. Missing from this research is an explanation for why analytic/synthetic rates differ across short adjectives and by syntactic position. I propose a model that draws a crucial distinction between word-level and phrase-level prosody: the varying analytic/synthetic rates among short adjectives result from interplay and conflict between prosodic characteristics of the base adjective and the phrasal-level prosodic environment in which the comparative adjective is embedded. The proposal that word-level and phrase-level prosodic preferences shape the empirical patterns is tested more thoroughly by comparing a globalist architecture, in which all constraints freely interact, and a stratal model, in which the output of the word-level feeds the phrasal level computation.

AHMAD ALQASSAS

Indiana University

The Definite Marker in Arabic: Morphological Realization of the Syntactic Head D or a [DEF] Feature

Under Abney's DP hypothesis, definite articles are assumed to be base-generated under the syntactic head. Another approach treats it as [DEF] feature generated on lexical host through Definiteness Agreement (DA) with (abstract) D (Fassi Fehri 1999). The third approach is a hybrid analysis (Kramer 2010) where NP determiners realize a [DEF] marked D head, while DA markers for adjectives realize a [DEF] feature added at PF. Arguing for approach three, I propose a post-syntactic Agr-Insertion rule that is obligatory for adjectival modifiers but optional for nominal complements. I propose a 'chain reduction' process that optionally deletes the [DEF] feature of the syntactic head participating in post-syntactic agreement. This explains all the facts of definiteness marking in Construct State Adjectives (CSA) and Cardinal Number (CN) constructions. This analysis avoids the need for the extra mechanism called "feature sharing Agree" proposed by Danon (2008) to explain [uDEF] valuation in CSA; moves optionality of DA in CSA and CN from syntax to PF; avoids the presence of uninterpretable [DEF] features in syntax; and accounts for the fact that the article is a proclitic without the need to stipulate rightward incorporation by proposing a "local dislocation" analysis à la Embick and Noyer (2001).

JEFFERSON BARLEW
Ohio State University

Anchored to what? An anaphoric approach to frames of reference

Frames of reference are central to analyses of the meanings of projective (directional; e.g. *to the left of*) spatial expressions. All five frames of reference proposed in the literature (see Levinson 2003, Danziger 2010, 2011, Bohnemeyer and Omeara 2010, and Bohnemeyer 2011) are defined in terms of a contextually given anchor. However, little work has been done on how projective expressions that involve frames of reference refer to those anchors. Bohnemeyer (2011) proposes that reference to anchors is indexical. In contrast, in this paper, I argue that reference to anchors is anaphoric, using diagnostics for anaphoric implicit arguments developed by Partee (1984, 1989) and Condoravdi and Gawron (1996). I demonstrate that the anchor argument of projective spatial expressions can refer to an entity in the context of utterance, refer to an antecedent in the discourse, be quantificationally bound, and be bound in donkey sentences. I also show that analyzing anchors as anaphoric also makes good predictions for a different type of anchoring observed in non-projective spatial expressions (e.g. the equivalent of English *at*) in the Bantu language Mushunguli (Somalia).

WICHAYA BOVONWIWAT
Mahidol University

The Aspectual System of Fengshun Hakka Spoken in Thailand

This research aims to study the characteristics of the aspectual system of Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand. The influence of Chaozhou and Thai on Fengshun Hakka is also discussed. The aspectual frameworks applied to this study are bounded vs unbounded introduced by Chappell (1989a, 1989b) and situation types proposed by Smith (1991).

The bounded aspect is comprised of Perfective, Experiential, Inchoative, Delimitative and Tentative. The unbounded aspect contains two subcategories: Progressive and Iterative. An interesting result shows that due to the long close contact between Chaozhou and Hakka, some aspectual features of Fengshun Hakka are shared with Chaozhou.

The study of aspectual system of Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand provides an overview of semantic and syntactic functions of aspect markers. The comparison with a Hakka dialect spoken in Taiwan helps to explain how the aspectual system of the two different Hakka dialects is expressed, plus the language contact with Chaozhou in Fengshun dialect should be one factor distinguishing the aspectual system in Fengshun Hakka from that in the Hakka dialect spoken in Taiwan.

WILL CHANG
University of California, Berkeley

The distribution of Polynesian words

ETYMDIST is a novel probabilistic clustering model that identifies recurrent patterns in how etyma are distributed among a given set of languages. ETYMDIST was used to analyze the etyma in POLLEX, an etymological word list that gives the outcome of more than 4000 etyma in the Polynesian languages and their Oceanic neighbors. After explaining the probabilistic underpinnings

of the model, I will discuss interpretations of the results of the analysis, and attempt to formulate plausible prehistoric borrowing scenarios in light of what is known about the phylogeny of Polynesian.

YI-TING CHEN

Kobe University

A frame-semantic approach to verb-verb compound verbs in Japanese: A case study of -toru

This study claims the semantic constraint on Japanese $[V1+V2]_V$ lexical compound verbs (JLCVs), such as *osi-taosu* (push-topple) ‘topple by pushing’, is that V1 and V2 must constitute a coherent *semantic frame* (Goldberg 2010). To support this claim, a corpus-based analysis of JLCVs with a polysemous V2 *toru* ‘get/remove’, is conducted in the framework of Frame Semantics. JLCVs with V2 *toru* pose two crucial questions. First, what criteria does one use to interpret the meaning of V2 *toru*? Second, what kind of V1 can be combined with V2 *toru*?

Semantic structures utilized in previous studies of JLCVs, such as Lexical Conceptual Structure (Kageyama 1996, Yumoto 2005) or the skeleton/body model (Lieber 2009), do not contain enough information to determine the possible combinations of JLCVs. On the other hand, a semantic frame is a rich semantic structure which contains detailed knowledge of a verb’s semantics and its interrelated concepts, such as *means, purpose, result, manner, etc.* By virtue of such interrelated concepts, we can establish semantic connections between V1 and V2, which thus constitute the coherent semantic frame of $[V1+V2]_V$. Additionally, to explain the meaning construction of JLCVs, *frame elements*, which may not be realized as arguments, are required.

OANA DAVID

University of California, Berkeley

The optimal construction-building properties of Kannada consonant augments

The current paper provides an analysis of optimal consonant augment selection in the South Dravidian language Kannada. Augments are heterogeneous and not phonologically predictable. I show that the selection of consonant augment is arrived at optimally given a ranking of constraints, whereby once phonotactic constraints are observed there is a subsequent ranking of the semantic features of number, animacy and gender. The theoretical approach utilized is Optimal Construction Morphology (Booij 2010, Caballero & Inkelas to appear 2013). Taking an OCM perspective, augments in Kannada can be seen as skipping-stone towards wordhood, as optimal combinations of constructions layer in order to attain a target meaning. This paper argues that Kannada has come to take advantage of existing mechanisms of phonological well-formedness in order to encode semantic features. Once a thorough OT analysis reveals the augments’ relative prioritization in the process of word-formation, the set of augments will be illustrated as hierarchically representing different cophonologies within the constructional lexicon (per Anttila 2002; Inkelas & Zoll 2007), whereby some of the augments, namely *-v-* and *-y-*, are shown to be semantics-neutral and the default choice, while the rest layer incrementally, accounting for narrower and narrower semantic subsets of the lexicon.

VIRGINIA DAWSON

Australian National University

Differential argument realisation in Tiwa

Tiwa, a Tibeto-Burman language of Northeast India, superficially displays Differential Object Marking (DOM; e.g. Aissen 2003). Accusative case-marking is always present for human and/or definite nouns, while non-human, indefinite nouns appear without it. These conditioning factors are the classic elements in the description of DOM. While it is clear they are relevant to any explanation of this variation, I argue that the variation is better explained as variation in realisation of the object as an independent NP, or as an incorporated noun (in the sense of Massam 2001). That is, the accusative-marked version and the \emptyset -marked version are different not only in morphology, but also in syntax. Support for this position comes from the ordering of adjuncts modifying the verb: elements which regularly occur directly before the verb cannot intrude between the \emptyset -marked 'object' and the verb. Further, accusative-marked arguments can be full NPs, while \emptyset -marked 'objects' are restricted to bare nouns. I will examine the syntax of this construction paying attention to the constituency of the 'object' with respect to the verb and the projection of the 'object'. I conclude with a brief survey of 'DOM' and its alternative analyses in other languages (e.g. Aydemir 2004).

MARK DONOHUE & CATHRYN DONOHUE

Australian National University

The eastern edge of Southeast Asia? A linguistic area seen from its fringe

We address the question of the categoriality of Southeast Asia as a linguistic area by examining a language that can be argued to be on its very fringe, Iha. Iha is spoken on the western edge of New Guinea, and participates in many ways in the typological norms of the New Guinea mainland. It is, however, very much an outlier in the linguistic milieu in which it is found, with a number of languages of the Onin peninsula showing characteristics more typical of (mainland) Southeast Asia; indeed, in some ways even Iha shows features that would be at home in Southeast Asia.

We discuss the linguistic features that have been used to characterise Southeast Asia as a linguistic area, and compare their distribution across the archipelago that separates Iha from the Asian mainland. We discuss the need to examine different kinds of features separately: different kinds of linguistic features (reflecting different social interactions) will have their own histories.

BENJAMIN FAGARD^a, JORDAN ZLATEV^b, ANETTA KOPECKA^c, MASSIMO CERRUTI^d AND JOHAN BLOMBERG^b
^aCNRS & Ecole Normale Supérieure; ^bLunds Universitet; ^cUniversité de Lyon; ^dUniversità di Torino

The semantics of motion and directionality: cross-type similarities and within-type differences

Are there fundamental differences in the way languages encode spatial concepts? Some answers have been brought by the typological tradition, bringing to light a consistent relationship between form/meaning mapping and expression or non-expression of a given semantic feature (e.g. Talmy 1985, Slobin 1996). For instance, verb-framed languages tend to express manner less frequently and less precisely than satellite-framed languages. However, various studies have insisted on the need for more refined distinctions (cf. Beavers et al. 2010 for an overview). Looking at motion expression, we address the issue of variation within language types and similarities

across types on the construction level, with a usage-based perspective. For this purpose, we used an elicitation tool consisting of 76 video-clips showing human agents moving in various directions. We elicited descriptions in French, Piedmontese, Swedish, German, Polish, and Thai (12-20 speakers per language). We coded the presence of Deixis, Path and Manner of motion, including their mode of expression. We found both a strong across-type similarity (expression of Deixis was more frequent in German and Thai than elsewhere) and strong within-type differences (the expression of Manner was much more frequent in German than in Swedish; Path was expressed more frequently in French than Piedmontese).

YOUSSEF A. HADDAD

University of Florida

Binding as co-indexing vs. binding as movement: Evidence from Personal Datives

Several languages license personal dative (PD) constructions like the following from Southern American English: *Sue bought her a nice truck for her son*. These are structures that contain a non-truth conditional pronoun—in this case *her*—that does not belong to the thematic grid of the predicate. PDs are problematic because they seem to violate Condition B of Binding Theory without leading to ungrammaticality. They are realized as free pronouns in a position where reflexive pronouns are expected. Using data from English and Lebanese Arabic, I show that PDs are high applicatives (Pylkkänen 2008) that are syntactically free from Condition B. I consider two approaches to binding in order to account for this status: (i) BINDING BY A FUNCTIONAL HEAD (Kratzer 2009) and (ii) MOVEMENT AND ANTI-LOCALITY (Grohmann 2003). I show that the latter approach is superior as far as PDs are concerned. Finally, I address the following question: Why do PDs have to be coreferential with the subject? I suggest that PDs determine their referent through Accessibility (Ariel 1988, 2001) by referring to a salient discourse topic.

ELLIOTT HOEY

University of California, Santa Barbara

Do sighs matter? Interactional perspectives on sighing

Recent interactional work has confronted the importance of affect and emotion for participants in interaction (Peräkylä and Sorjonen 2012). One line of inquiry in particular focuses on paralinguistic sounds such as laughter (Jefferson 1984, Glenn 2003), in-breaths (Lerner and Linton 2003), crying (Hepburn and Potter 2007), and gasps (Wilkinson and Kitinger 2006). In this discussion, I employ a conversation analytic framework (Sacks et al. 1974) to analyze sighs as they appear in face-to-face interaction. Such a stance contrasts with the existing research, which has largely examined the phenomenon on the individual level and characterized it as a psychophysiological reflex of some inner state.

What emerges from the data is that sighs often occur at transition-relevance places, which indicates that their sequential position is interactionally relevant. Careful examination reveals that sighs are used for achieving various actions such as affective alignment, turn allocation, and topic management. Instead of being wholly spontaneous expressions of a presumably hidden condition, sighs are often treated as socially consequential forms and therefore represent an interactional resource for effecting particular actions in conversation.

DOROTHEA HOFFMANN

University of Chicago

Mapping words and mapping worlds: Frames of Reference in MalakMalak

This paper presents an analysis of ‘Frames of Reference’ (FoR) in MalakMalak, an endangered non-Pama-Nyungan Northern Daly language of Australia.

Studies into FoR systems provide insight into the relationship between language and cognition, and highlight how landscape features are reflected in language use and vice versa. Data collected in fieldwork settings suggest that MalakMalak uses strategies for encoding spatial relationships and settings that are intricately bound to the traditional land and its features. There are cardinal-type systems based on the directions of prevailing winds and the sun. Furthermore, the Daly River is used as a focal point in spatial descriptions. It provides a reference center from which angles of direction are projected for macro- and abstracted micro-scale descriptions in lexemes for the respective riverbanks.

Generally, toponyms, landmark- as well as person-based ground-descriptions are extensively used in combination with terms of ‘orientation’ and ‘body’-parts. Furthermore, intrinsic terms are utilized on occasion, while the use of relative FoR appears to be restricted.

My paper discusses MalakMalak’s FoR system in detail addressing functions and structures of the spatial system in the intricate relationship between language, culture, landscape, and cognition described by one speaker as ‘The language is like a map’.

YU-YIN HSU

Indiana University

External and Internal Topic-Focus in Nominals: Evidence from Mandarin

Since Chomsky’s (1970) *Remarks on Nominalization*, linguists have been exploring the parallelisms between sentential and nominal structures. Following Giusti (1996, 2006), Aboh (2004), Corver and Koppen (2009), and Cornilescu and Nicolae (2012), I argue that the left periphery of nominals in Mandarin (i.e., the domain *before demonstratives*) has properties similar to the CP domain proposed by Rizzi (1997) for Topic and Focus. In addition, I argue that *the nominal-internal domain* (i.e., *between demonstratives and NP*) treats information structure in a way similar to the sentence-internal domain for Topic and Focus which has been put forth in the literature (see Belletti 2004, Paul 2005, Hsu 2012, among others). The current study suggests a formal association between syntax and information structure. The proposal accounts for the non-canonical distribution of NP adjectives, nominal-internal ellipsis, and the phenomenon of nominal-internal re-ordering. The result supports the theoretical implication of parallelisms between noun phrases and clauses in terms of how syntax encodes information structure.

CAROLINE IMBERT
Université de Grenoble

Morpheme order constraints upside down: Vertical Orientation vs. Directionality

This talk addresses ordering constraints in the expression of Vertical Orientation and Directionality. The closer an affix is to the verb stem, the more semantically relevant it is to the verb stem, with a tendency toward morphological fusion (Bybee 1985). This talk focuses on Path encoding, and on different types of morphosyntactic constructions (multiple affixation, complex predication, and other multiple-Path expressions). It turns Bybee's statement upside down: the question is not where the Path element is with respect to V (verb stem or left-most verb), but where the Path element is with respect to the Ground-encoding argument. A crosslinguistic analysis shows that: (a) Directionality exhibits a stronger semantic [+Ground] bias, correlated with a position farther from V; (b) Directionality-encoding elements show a stronger tendency to function as adpositions, which can be interpreted as a tendency to morphosyntactically relate to the Ground-encoding element.

SHARON INKELAS & KEITH JOHNSON
University of California, Berkeley

Testing the Learnability of Sound-Based Writing Systems

This paper reports an artificial learning experiment testing the hypothesis that the learnability of symbols in sound-based writing systems is correlated with the acoustic stability of the speech chunks to which the symbols correspond. The majority of the world's independently evolved sound-based writing systems are syllabaries, containing symbols corresponding to speech chunks larger and more acoustically stable than the segment (e.g. Daniels & Bright 1996). This study compares four conditions: 'Segment', in which symbols correspond to C and V segments (as in Spanish); 'Demisyllable', in which symbols correspond to CV or VC demisyllables (as in Akkadian cuneiform); 'Onset-Rime', in which symbols correspond to C onsets or VC rimes; and 'Mora', in which symbols correspond to CV demisyllables or C codas (matching Japanese kana). The 80 subjects in the study were trained on individual symbols and tested on combining them into words. Subjects performed better in the two-symbol conditions (OnsetRime, Mora, Demisyllable) than on the three-symbol Segment condition, both in reaction time and accuracy. Phonetic accuracy in the CV portion of the word was higher in the conditions with CV symbols (Mora, Demisyllable) than in those without CV symbols (OnsetRime, Segment). Taken together, the results confirm the general hypothesis that the learnability of writing systems is correlated with the acoustic stability of symbols.

ELSI KAISER & DAVID CHENG-HUAN LI
University of Southern California

Effects of visuospatial grouping on narrative processing

Understanding the relations between events and entities is important for discourse-level processing. How we conceptualize events is also of interest to cognitive psychologists. We conducted a psycholinguistic experiment exploring how visuospatial cues—in particular those provided by

panels/frames in comics—contribute to our understanding of narrative representation and event segmentation. We tested how differences in framing / visuospatial grouping influence what aspects of the event are regarded as more cognitively prominent, as measured by people’s expectations about upcoming discourse. Specifically, we tested whether depicting a transitive event (e.g. one person kicking another person) in two panels or one panel influences readers’ mental representations of the narrative, as measured by a sentence-completion task involving comics. The images used in the one-panel and two-panel versions were the same, except for the panel layout. Our results reveal significant differences between the one-panel and two-panel versions: Isolating the patient (e.g. person being kicked) in a separate panel makes the consequences of the event more prominent. In contrast, depicting agent and patient together emphasizes their interaction (the pictured event). These results suggest psycholinguistic models of discourse should include information about event segmentation, in addition to factors such as coherence relations and referent salience.

LAN KIM

University of Delaware

A Crosslinguistic Perspective to Inverse and Passive Constructions in Thai

This paper investigates *thuuk/doon* constructions in Thai, which have often been referred to as passive constructions (e.g., Wongbaisaj, 1979). *Thuuk* and *doon*, roughly meaning ‘suffer’, are divided into two forms: the long form with an external argument (an overt agent) and the short form without it. Contra the classical view, we first argue that the short form is a true passive and the long form is an inverse construction which involves object promotion without deletion or demotion of an external argument. In Thai, an external argument has an argument status as a subject. Despite this distinction, the two forms display similar syntactic properties like *A*-dependencies (e.g., long-distance movement) and null operator movement. Our second proposal is that *thuuk* and *doon* are syntactic heads associated with multidimensional semantics; they have two tiers of meaning, the at-issue meaning (i.e. the truth-conditional meaning) and the not-at-issue meaning (presupposition or implicature) in the spirit of Karttunen (1973), among others. We show from the *family-of-sentence* tests that the notion of ‘suffering’ is projected as a not-at-issue meaning, but it needs not be if *thuuk* is associated with a neutral context.

LINDA KONNERTH

University of Oregon

Diachronic nominalization: Karbi (Tibeto-Burman) *ke-* ~ *ka-* focus and imperfective constructions

Karbi is a Tibeto-Burman (TB) language spoken in Northeast India. It has a synchronic nominalizing prefix *ke-* ~ *ka-*, which is cognate with nominalizing velar prefixes across TB (Konnerth 2009, 2012). This paper discusses two main-clause constructions that have emerged as a result of the grammaticalization of *ke-* ~ *ka-* in Karbi: focus and imperfective constructions.

The focus construction is characterized by involving a focused element marked by *=sì* ‘FOC’, and includes naturally focused WH-questions as a subtype. The imperfective construction features mostly adjectival or other stative verbs, but active verbs may also participate in this con-

struction. The function of this construction is to indicate a state, which may be either active or passive/descriptive. The main verb in both focus and imperfective constructions tends to occur with *ke-* ~ *ka-* showing their historic origins in nominalization constructions.

This discussion of Karbi imperfective and focus constructions represents a case study in the grammaticalization of nominalization-based constructions, which has been argued to be a major pathway to new finite structures in TB languages by DeLancey (2011). As such, this study contributes to a growing body of literature on the typology of diachronic nominalization in TB.

MARIE-PIERRE LISSOIR^a & DIDIER DEMOLIN^b

^a*Université Libre de Bruxelles*; ^b*Université Stendhal, Grenoble*

Spoken and sung tones in Tai-Dam *khap*

Songs *khap* of the Tai-Dam can be considered as a singing technique made of a few identical principles present at each interpretation. The Tai-Dam *khap* is a monodic form, sometimes close to recitative. In order to examine the relation between spoken and sung tones in Tai-Dam *khap*, several songs have been recorded in their spoken version after the musical recording. Songs were transcribed on a musical score, then in Tai-Dam language using Lao writing and finally in API. Finally a fundamental frequency contour (f_0) of each sentence in the spoken and sung versions was made. Therefore the comparison of spoken and sung tones was evaluated from three contours and the API transcription of tones (spoken and sung f_0 , and musical notes). Ruling out the micro-prosodic effects of consonants and vowels interactions that play no role in song, one can observe that there is some parallelism between the spoken and the sung versions. Songs show, as expected, a f_0 stability on some parts of the melody (the sustained note) but there are obvious parallels in the melodic contours. Therefore one can suspect that the interval between tones in speech and in *khap* songs is constraint in some way.

EKATERINA LYUTIKOVA^a & ASYA PERELTSVAIG^b

^a*Moscow State University*; ^b*Stanford University*

Elucidating nominal structure in article-less languages: Russian and Tatar

Whether languages lacking articles have a DP has been a topic of a continuing debate in syntax. Focusing on Slavic languages, Progovac (1998), Rutkowski (2002), and others argued in favor of the DP, while Bošković (2005, 2008, 2009) argued against it. Pereltsvaig (2006, 2007) proposed that while some nominals in articleless languages are DPs, others are Small Nominals (SNs). In this paper, we provide novel evidence for the latter position. Unlike previous works that were based on the behavior of elements internal to nominals or correlations with clausal phenomena (e.g. Left-Branch Extraction), our analysis is based on patterns involving case marking. Specifically, we show that DPs must receive structural case while SNs need not. Depending on the morphosyntactic properties of the language, SNs will either appear in a non-structural case or remain caseless. We show that in **Russian**, DP objects appear in the accusative case, while some SN objects do not receive structural case, occurring in a non-structural case (genitive). We also argue that the differential object marking (DOM) in **Tatar** can only be explained by the differing structure of nominals: DP objects receive structural (accusative) case, while SNs remain caseless.

MARTINA MARTINOVIĆ
University of Chicago

The topic-comment structure in copular sentences: evidence from Wolof

This paper investigates one type of Double-DP copular sentence in Wolof, which has a particular information-structural profile: the subject DP (DP1) is topicalized, and the predicate DP (DP2) is focused, resulting in a topic-comment structure. This construction imposes restrictions on the type of noun phrase that can occur in DP1 and DP2 position, and excludes certain types of copular sentences (e.g. identity statements) from occurring in this syntactic configuration. I argue that these restrictions are a result of two factors. The first is the aforementioned topic-comment structure, the purpose of which is to predicate some property (comment) of an already established discourse referent (topic) (Lambrecht 1994). I propose that this forces the two DPs to be asymmetrical in terms of semantic types: DP2 must in some way contribute new information about DP1. The second factor has to do with the ability of definite descriptions to have attributive meaning, in the sense of Donnellan 1966. I try to show that in Wolof definite descriptions are under pressure to be interpreted referentially, which makes it difficult for them to function as predicates. In this paper, I investigate how information structure and the interpretation of definite descriptions interact in copular sentences in Wolof.

REBECCA MAYBAUM
University of Haifa

Language change as a social process: Diffusion patterns of lexical innovations in Twitter

While linguists have described an S-curve of diffusion with regards to the spread of change within linguistic systems (Bailey 1973; Labov 1994), social scientists in other fields have found that (non-linguistic) innovations follow an S-curve of diffusion with respect to the social system (Ryan & Gross 1943; Coleman 1966; Rogers 1995). The current study, based on a 19-million-word corpus from the microblogging service Twitter, examines the diffusion of innovative linguistic phenomena (in this case, Twitter-specific slang terms—*tweeps*, *tweople*, *tweethearts*, etc.) at the level of the social system in order to determine whether language change shares characteristics with other types of socially diffused innovations. The results showed that most of the lexical innovations did follow the S-shaped curve characteristic of non-linguistic social diffusion, with some intriguing exceptions. The similarity of the overall diffusion patterns of lexical innovations in Twitter to the characteristic patterns found in other instances of socially diffused innovations suggests that language change is influenced by the same mechanisms that govern the social diffusion of non-linguistic innovations. Thus the study provides evidence in support of the view that language change is essentially a social process.

BRADLEY McDONNELL
University of California, Santa Barbara

Roadblocks in the grammaticalization highway: When phonology gets in the way

The basic tenets of grammaticalization have been called into question at almost every level. Most famously, scholars have pointed to counterexamples to the unidirectionality hypothesis,

where grammatical elements have become more autonomous (Fischer 2000), gained semantic content (Burrige 1998), or developed from suffix to clitic (Rosenbach 2004, Norge 2009). Recent work focused on the languages of East and Mainland Southeast Asia has even called into question the necessity of concurrent semantic change and phonetic reduction (cf. Bisang 2004).

In light of the proposals that question the unidirectionality and necessary mechanisms of grammaticalization, the third person suffix -ɲə in Besemah Malay, a little-known language of southwest Sumatra, demonstrates that an apparent case of degrammaticalization can be accounted for by combining language specific properties and the principles of grammaticalization. Based on evidence from a corpus of naturalistic speech, this study proposes that the unexpected alternation in the third person suffix is attributed to a morpho-prosodic preference in Besemah Malay for no more than one suffix per word. This one-suffix-per-word preference alongside a bimoraic minimal word requirement can account for these unexpected developments.

BEATA MOSKAL

University of Connecticut

The Curious Case of Archi's *father*

I argue that the structure of lexical nouns combined with locality restrictions results in prohibiting case-driven root-suppletion in nouns. Specifically, I assume the following structure for nouns, which contain a root, a category node, (a complex of) ϕ -features and (a complex of) case features (K):

$$(1) \quad [[[\sqrt{n}] \phi] K]$$

Furthermore, I assume that ϕ constitutes a phase (cf. Sauerland 2008). Vocabulary Insertion proceeds cyclically from the root outwards. Next, on theories including a category-defining node directly above the root, this node does not interfere for purposes of locality (Embick 2010). Thus, when we reach ϕ root-suppletion by number is possible since number is sufficiently local. However, when we reach case, the root will not be accessible since it has already been spelled out.

However, Archi (Nakh-Daghestanian) is an apparent counter-example: it displays 'regular' suppletion for number (2) (Hippisley e.a. 2004), but the form for *father* suppletes for case (3).

		SG	PL
	'man'	ABS bošor	lele
(2)		ERG bošor-mu	lele-maj
	'corner of a sack'	ABS bič'ni	boždo
		ERG bič'ni-li	boždo-rčaj
		SG	PL
(3)	'father'	ABS abt:u	—
		ERG um-mu	—

Intriguingly, (3) does not have a plural. Indeed, I argue that the absence of number in this particular item opens up the door for case-driven root-suppletion. Specifically, the lack of number

means ϕ is deficient and, as such, I assume it is not a phase. Consequently, the domain is extended, resulting in K being sufficiently local to the root.

TATIANA NIKITINA
LLACAN & CNRS

When language and gesture do not converge: Spatial construal of time by speakers of Wan

Across cultures, spatial metaphor is recruited for locating events in time. Speakers of many unrelated languages treat the past and the future as located, respectively, behind and in front of the speaker. A typologically rare pattern has been described for Aymara, where past events are represented as located in front of the speaker, while the future is mapped to the space behind the speaker (Núñez & Sweetser 2006). In Aymara, this representation of time is supported by converging evidence from language and gesture.

This paper is a study of Wan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire), where the same type of time-to-space mapping is attested. What makes the case of Wan different from that of Aymara is the fact that the unusual way of correlating the past and the future with one's front and back is reflected in temporal gesture, but not in the way speakers talk about time. Evidence from Wan suggests that a particular culture-specific representation of time need not be supported by any linguistic facts, and that conceptualization of time need not be directly reflected in the way time is represented in language.

ŞEYDA ÖZÇALIŞKAN^a & SUSAN GOLDIN-MEADOW^b
^aGeorgia State University; ^bUniversity of Chicago

How speaking shapes the native language of gesture in describing motion

In this study, we ask whether the language-specific differences observed in speech have any effect beyond online production—in particular, we ask whether language-specific differences influence nonverbal representation of events in gesture when those gestures are produced without speech. We investigated this question by studying the speech and gestures of 40 adult native speakers of English and Turkish. We focused on descriptions of physical motion—a domain that has been shown to elicit distinct patterns of speech and gesture use in English and Turkish speakers, with respect to manner (e.g., running) and path (e.g., entering) components of motion. Looking first at patterns of gesture use in motion descriptions **with speech**, we found significant crosslinguistic differences: English speakers used conflated gestures synthesizing manner and path components into a single gesture reliably more than Turkish speakers, while Turkish speakers produced significantly more separated gestures (manner-only, path-only)—replicating the patterns found in their speech. Turning next to patterns of gesture use in motion descriptions **without speech**, we found no crosslinguistic differences: both English and Turkish speakers used almost exclusively *conflated* gestures. Our results provide evidence for a possible natural semantic organization that we impose on motion events when describing them nonverbally in gesture.

RUI ROTHE-NEVES & HELLEN VALENTIN

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais

Moraic Primacy Effects in Brazilian Portuguese Nasal Vowels

In Brazilian Portuguese, nasal vowels are said to have an extra mora from an underlying N that is deleted after spreading [+nasal]. We looked for the phonetic manifestation of *moraic primacy*: a mora occupies time at the phonological level and when a segment bears two morae there is not much room left, thus constraining coarticulatory variation at the level of phonetic implementation. To test this hypothesis we take advantage of the fact that a vowel tends to be longer when preceding a fricative than when preceding a stop consonant. Minimal pairs differing in nasal/oral vowels in the stressed syllable were recorded in a carrier sentence by 15 male subjects, aged 19 to 38. Results fitted by a mixed-effects model were well in accordance with the moraic primacy hypothesis. In oral [a] the difference in vowel duration before [s] and [t] amounts to 11.2%, far above the 0.5% difference obtained in the comparison to its nasal counterpart. For [i], the results were similar: duration varied 11.4% when taken before [s] and [t] in oral context, 1.2% in nasal vowels. Removing the large variance attributed to the subjects, the contexts used as linguistic variables explain more than 50% of the overall variance.

POLLET SAMVELIAN & PEGAH FAGHIRI

Université Sorbonne Nouvelle

Rethinking Compositionality in Persian Complex Predicates

This paper studies the issue of compositionality in Complex Predicate (CP) formation in Persian, for which the verbal lexicon contains only 250 simplex verbs and thus is mainly formed by syntactic combinations including a verb and a preverbal element.

In some of these combinations, the meaning of the sequence or its aspectual/event type properties and argument structure may be compositionally derived from its parts, leading studies to suggest a “radical” compositional approach (Karimi-Doostan 1997, Megerdooomian 2001, 2012, Folli et al. 2005). However, these combinations display some degree of semantic idiomacity and combination collocationality (Goldberg 1996, Karimi 1997), leading some studies to reject the idea of compositionality (Family 2006).

Adopting a Construction Grammar based approach and on the basis of a study carried on 600 CPs formed with *zadan* ‘hit’ (Samvelian 2012, Samvelian & Faghiri forthcoming), we argue that: 1) despite numerous idiosyncrasies in their formation and interpretation, a large number of Persian CPs can receive a compositional account provided compositionality is *a posteriori*, in the sense of Nunberg et al. (1994); 2) analogical extension of the paradigm can account for the productivity of non-compositional constructions. Thus, productivity and compositionality constitute two distinct issues even though they can be related in some cases.

RICH A. SANDOVAL

University of Colorado, Boulder

Interaction Space and Absolute Space: Spatial Sensitivity in Arapaho Pointing Practices for Person Reference

Interactants structure and coordinate two types of space in everyday activities. One type is dynamic, being organized through interactants' bodily display. Entitled "interaction space", it enables a frame of reference that is relative to physical properties of interaction (Enfield 2003). The other type, "absolute space", is engaged through pointing to entities and places that are perceived or construed as structurally independent from the ongoing interaction (cf. Levinson 2003). Interactants and other co-present persons can either be treated as physical constituents of the interaction or as independent entities, and so co-present persons are referentially relevant to either type of space. However, there is no research on how this dual relevance features in interaction. Using interactional video data of the Northern Arapaho, I find that for co-present person reference Arapaho speakers signal the interaction/absolute spatial distinction through an alternation of thumb and forefinger pointing, respectively. The regular use of this alternation to distinguish persons who are within the bounds of interaction from those who are out is the basis for organizing more complex actions, such as using a forefinger point to link an interactant with a geographic place.

PETER SMITH

University of Connecticut

On the cross-linguistic rarity of endoclitics

Either explicitly or implicitly, it has often been assumed that endocclisis does not exist in natural language, not only due to the paucity of attested cases but also because various theoretical frameworks do not allow easily for it to be captured. However, Udi (Harris 2002) presents an unambiguous case where clitics appear intramorphemically. This raises the question of whether the clitic is directly placed inside the verbal root in (1) or appears there by virtue of surface readjustment. I argue for the latter, proposing that the clitic is moved by phonological metathesis to its root internal position.

- (1) kayuz -ax a -z- q' -e (verb = *aq'* 'to take')
- letter DAT receive₁ 1SG receive₂ AORII
- I received the letter.

Building from the proposed analysis of Udi, I investigate the status of endocclisis as an operation of Universal Grammar with data from Pashto (Tegey 1977), which constitutes the only other clearly reported case of endocclisis, and claim that UG does not directly allow for endocclisis. Rather, cases of endocclisis can only come about indirectly, by surface readjustments. We then move towards an answer as to why endoclitics are so rare; for them to be part of a language rests on a confluence of language specific factors.

JUSTIN SPENCE

University of California, Berkeley

The Status of Pacific Coast Athabaskan: A Computational Assessment

This study explores the historical status of the Pacific Coast Athabaskan (PCA) languages of California and Oregon using Bayesian phylogenetic modeling. Results suggest that PCA is a well-defined sub-family of Athabaskan, one with robust support in consensus trees obtained using different character types (lexical, phonological, and morphological) and evolutionary models (non-clock, relaxed clock, and strict clock). This finding lends credence to a theory of prehistory whereby Athabaskan-speaking groups arrived in the region in a single migration and subsequently diversified in situ. Tree topologies across conditions are not identical, however, with differences found especially in higher-order relationships obtaining among the Pacific Coast, Northern, and Southern Athabaskan languages. Thus, while including non-lexical characters in the dataset does not alter the primary result with respect to PCA, clearly such characters are relevant to phylogenetic analysis. Despite residual uncertainty concerning the appropriateness of applying the particular evolutionary models invoked in this study to non-lexical data, overall this is in keeping with traditional paper-and-pencil historical linguistics, where shared phonological and morphological innovations, rather than lexical similarities, have long been the gold standard in inferring phylogenies.

SHIAO WEI THAM

Wellesley College

Possession as non-verbal predication

This paper argues that a wide range of surface forms in the crosslinguistic encoding of possessive clauses (1–3) are predictable from the NON-VERBAL nature of possessive predication.

- (1) John -lla on kissa
 John ADESSIVE is cat
 John has a cat. (Finnish)
- (2) Ija signin ca
 1SG knife with
 I have a knife. (Amele: Roberts 1987)
- (3) wǒ yǒu bǐ
 1SG have pen
 I have a pen. (Mandarin)

In non-verbal predication structures (NVPS) (e.g. *John is tall*), the semantic relation is not expressed by a verb. I include among NVPSs the light verb structures used in existentials in some languages (e.g. Mandarin *yǒu* 'have/exist' (4)).

- (4) yǒu rén
 have/exist person
 There's someone (around).

Possessive clauses manifest all possible NVPS forms. Apart from light verbs (3), the possessive predicate may be an oblique phrase (1–2). Possession is a two-place relation, so a possessive clause generally has two nominals, the possessor and the possessee. Either possessor (1) or possessee (2) may be expressed as an oblique phrase. In some languages, the possessive predicate is nominal or adjectival (Stassen 2009). As with NVPSs, possessives may show a copula (1), a light verb (3), or neither (2). Furthermore, like NVPSs, possessives may be ascriptive, presentative, or equative.

HAROLD TORRENCE & KHADY TAMBA

University of Kansas

Factive relative clauses in Wolof

We describe and analyze two factive constructions in Wolof, an Atlantic language of Senegal with several noun classes. The Wolof constructions have the form of relative clauses and we argue that they involve *A*-movement of two distinct null nominal operators that trigger distinct noun class agreement on relative clause complementizers. A “verbal relative” can be interpreted as either factive or manner (“way that”). The “*li* relative” lacks the manner interpretation, which suggests that the constructions involve two semantically distinct null nominal operators. We also argue that the null nominal in the verbal factive originates lower than TP and negation and raises to SpecCP. The Wolof data provides crosslinguistic support for analyses that treat factive clauses as involving operator movement.

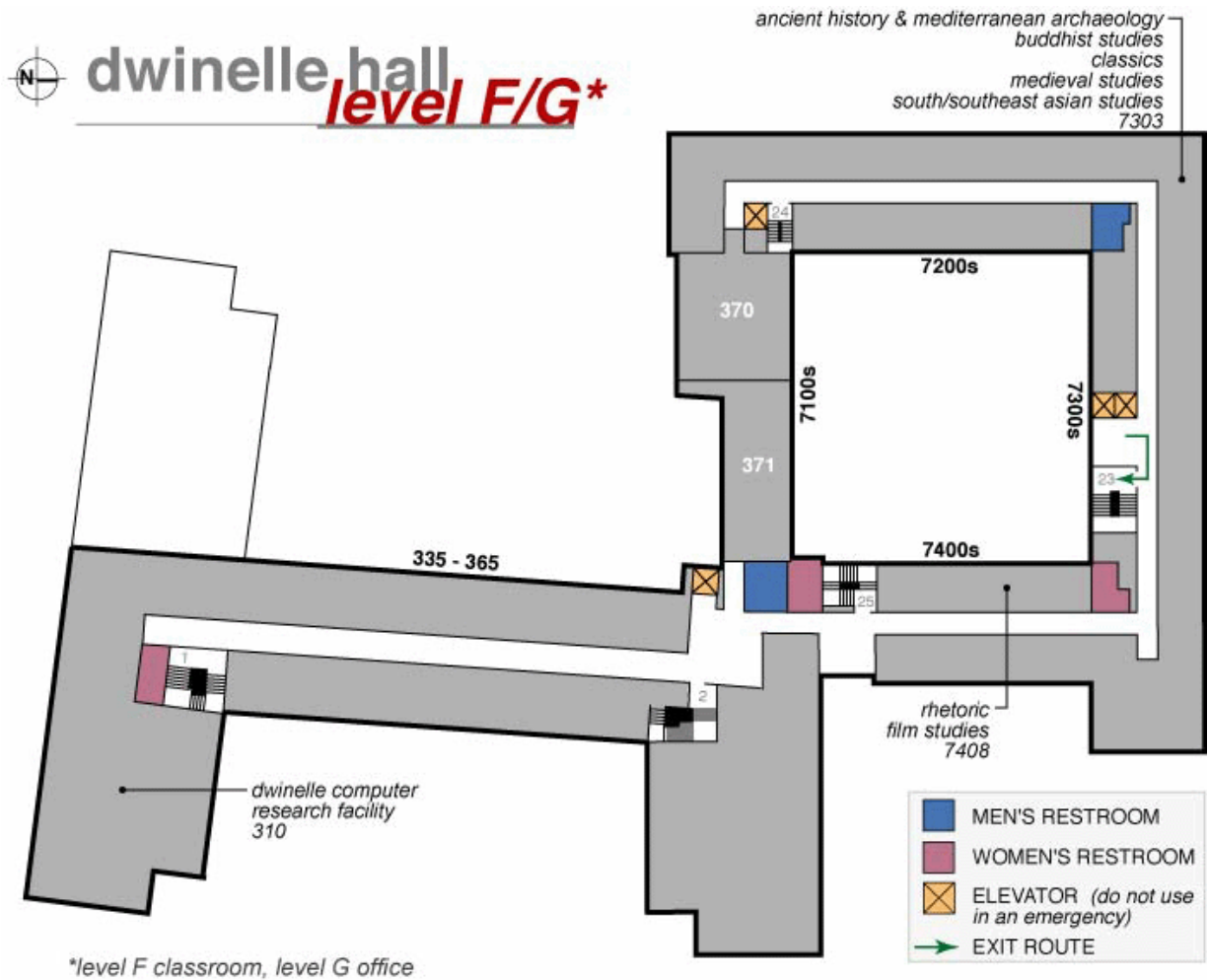
ZHIGUO XIE

Ohio State University

Exhaustifying the Focus Intervention Effect: A Crosslinguistic Study

With data from typologically unrelated languages, the talk demonstrates that focus phrases do not invariably trigger the intervention effect for *wh*-in-situ argument questions. Focus phrases can be classified with respect to whether they are interpreted exhaustively. Focus phrases associated with *only* and *even*, the cleft construction, and NPIs receive exhaustive interpretations. By contrast, bare focus is subject to crosslinguistic variation and to a lesser extent, contextual manipulation, when it comes to exhaustive interpretation. Exhaustive focus, but not non-exhaustive focus, triggers IE for *wh*-in-situ argument questions. I argue that *wh*-in-situ argument questions are interpreted via a mechanism similar to the interpretation of focus phrases, and both have an exhaustivity component in their semantics. IE arises when the focus operator associated with exhaustive focus unselectively evaluates both the focus semantic value and exhaustivity of the in-situ *wh*-argument phrase in its scope. The Q operator is then left with no appropriate input, which leads to uninterpretability. On the other hand, due to dependency between focus and exhaustivity on in-situ *wh*-argument phrases, the focus operator associated with non-exhaustive focus cannot evaluate the in-situ *wh*-argument phrase in its scope, duly leaving the job to the Q operator. Thus, non-exhaustive focus does not trigger IE.

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.

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.

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. Pastries, sandwiches, and salads are reliably good.

Cafe Milano : Slightly uphill from Telegraph Ave. and Bancroft Way. Offers a wide variety of drinks in addition to pastries, sandwiches, and salads.

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 beers brewed in-house. 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. Notable burgers.

Bobby G's Pizzeria : At the intersection of Shattuck Ave. and University Ave. A casual, cheaper spot with made-to-order pizzas or pizza by the slice; full bar with good and well-curated selection of beers.

Comal : On Shattuck Ave. between Addison St. and University Ave. Mexican small plates meant for sharing over cocktails, sangria, and spirits. New and deservedly popular; reservations suggested.

Slightly farther from campus is the **The Gourmet Ghetto**, 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.

Other options abound; **Yelp.com** is heavily used in the Bay Area and can be used to find something else to suit your taste.

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; floor after floor of new and used books, including a sizeable linguistics and foreign languages section. 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.

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.

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.