Programme et Résumés

Programme and Abstracts
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fauteux 302</th>
<th>Fauteux 359</th>
<th>Fauteux 361</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Syntaxe</strong></td>
<td><strong>Le français acadien</strong></td>
<td><strong>Acquisition</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>président</td>
<td>président</td>
<td>présidente</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Carrié Hall</td>
<td>Walter Cichocki</td>
<td>Mihaela Pirvulescu</td>
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<th>9:00–9:30</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amani Makkawi (Manitoba)</td>
<td>Annick Morin (Toronto)</td>
<td>Éric Mathieu &amp; Gita Zareikar (Ottawa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Participles as nonverbal predicates</td>
<td>Où en est tu? A cross-linguistic approach to Quebec French polar interrogatives</td>
<td>Bottles of milk and cups of sugar: A cross-linguistic perspective on measure constructions</td>
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<th>10:00–10:30</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emile LeBlanc &amp; Selena Phillips-Boyle (York)</td>
<td>Johanna Minto &amp; Joyce Bruhn de Garavito (Western)</td>
<td>Lilliana Montoya &amp; Joyce Bruhn de Garavito (Western)</td>
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<tr>
<td>«Là les Madelinots étient tout après boir pis ça chantait» ou L’étude des désinences à la 3e personne du pluriel</td>
<td>Information structure and nominal ellipsis in L2 Spanish</td>
<td>Les faux-amis: Investigating lexico-semantic ambiguity across two languages</td>
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<th>11:15–11:45</th>
<th>11:45–12:15</th>
<th>12:15–1:30</th>
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<tr>
<td>Brett Reynolds (Edinburgh)</td>
<td>Nicole Rosen (Manitoba) &amp; Carrie Gillon (Arizona State)</td>
<td>Ross Bilous (York) &amp; Bethany MacLeod (Carleton)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Said, the overlooked English determiner</td>
<td>Reanalyzing Michif “determiners”</td>
<td>New perspectives on the study of language change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maksym Shkvorets (Toronto)</td>
<td>Laura Kastronic (Ottawa)</td>
<td>Quantifying the perceptual salience of the differences between two dialects of Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>The loss of reflexive possessive pronouns in heritage Ukrainian</td>
<td>A comparative variationist analysis of subjunctive use in Hexagonal French and Quebec French</td>
<td>Where there is, and why</td>
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**Déjeuner | Lunch**

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<tr>
<th>13:00–15:00</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ross Bilous (York)</td>
<td>Michel Bedard (Ottawa)</td>
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<tr>
<td>New perspectives on the study of language change</td>
<td>A syntactic analysis of the comparison between the two forms of the verb “to be” in English and Inuktitut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bethany MacLeod (Carleton)</td>
<td>Zhaohui Tang (Alberta)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quantifying the perceptual salience of the differences between two dialects of Spanish</td>
<td>A sociolinguistic analysis of the differences between the pronunciation of /l/ and /r/ in English</td>
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<td>Marc Brunelle (Ottawa)</td>
<td>Lisa Nakamura (Western)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A corpus-based study of prominence and stress in Vietnamese</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Félix Desmoulès-Trudel (Ottawa)</td>
<td>Mieko Murakami (Moscow)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Propriétés aérodynamiques et comparaison des voyelles nasales et potentiellement nasalisées en français québécois</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matthew Patience (Toronto)</td>
<td>Francisco Pellicer (Granada)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Articulatory complexity in Spanish: Developing a hierarchy of difficulty</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<td>Abdulrahman Alamri &amp; Tania Zamuner (Ottawa)</td>
<td>Mariana Arnaeev (Utrecht)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Phonological, Semantic, and Root Activation in Spoken Word Recognition in Arabic</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anastasia Lazenka &amp; Victor Kuperman (McMaster)</td>
<td>Michael Schriefers (Toronto)</td>
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<tr>
<td>What Can the Perceived Word Frequency Ratings of Older Adults Tell Us About Lexical Representation?</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<td>Kathleen Currie Hall, Verónica Letawsky, Alannah Turner, Claire Allen &amp; Kevin McMullin (UBC)</td>
<td>Michael Schriefers (Toronto)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Effects of Predictability of Distribution on Within-Language Perception</td>
<td>The role of stress in the perception of English /l/ and /r/</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kara Hawthorne, Anja Arnhold, Emily Sullivan &amp; Juhani Järvi (Alberta/Ottawa)</td>
<td>Walter Cichocki (UNB) &amp; Yves Perreault (Moncton)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Visual cues to discourse reference: Narrator gaze affects pronoun resolution</td>
<td>Differences between read and spontaneous speech: an application of rhythm metrics to a New Brunswick variety of Acadian French</td>
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<td>Junko Shimoyama, Alex Drummond, Bernhard Schwarz &amp; Michael Wagner (McGill)</td>
<td>Lanlan Li (Manitoba)</td>
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<td>A No-Source Puzzle for Clausal Ellipsis in Right Dislocation, Sluicing and Fragments</td>
<td>Consonal stop deletion in Blackfoot English</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Aksim (Carleton)</td>
<td>Rosanna Pierson (MUN)</td>
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<tr>
<td>The effect of length of residence on the phonetic accommodation to three English dialects</td>
<td>Use of the impersonal pluralized verb haber in Caribbean varieties of Spanish</td>
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<td>A Syntactic Analysis of Persian Multi-verb Constructions</td>
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### Salle 302
#### 10h00-12h15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10h00-10h30</th>
<th>Diane Massam, Kazuya Bamba &amp; Patrick Murphy (Toronto)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10h00-10h30</td>
<td>The universal null pronoun in instructional contexts and beyond</td>
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<tr>
<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Hermann Keupdjio (UBC)</td>
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<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Asymmetries on wh-extraction in Medumba</td>
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<td>11h00-11h30</td>
<td>Kyumin Kim &amp; Paul B. Melchin (Ottawa)</td>
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<td>11h00-11h30</td>
<td>Pluralizer as a nP modifier: Evidence from Korean -tul</td>
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### Salle 359
#### 10h00-12h15

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<tr>
<th>10h00-10h30</th>
<th>Heather Newell (UQAM)</th>
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<tr>
<td>10h00-10h30</td>
<td>Phonology without strata</td>
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<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Maida Percival (Toronto)</td>
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<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Shifting GEN in harmonic serialism: Evidence from Halkomelem</td>
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<td>Cassandra Chapman, Diane Doran &amp; Daniel Schmidtke (McMaster)</td>
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<td>11h00-11h30</td>
<td>The locus of evidentiality in English</td>
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### Salle 361
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<tr>
<th>10h00-10h30</th>
<th>Vasela Simeonova (Ottawa)</th>
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<tr>
<td>10h00-10h30</td>
<td>Evidentials with attitude!</td>
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<tr>
<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Ileana Paul (Western), Baholisoa Simone Ralalaosorony (Antananarivo) &amp; Henriëtte de Swart (Utrecht)</td>
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<tr>
<td>10h30-11h00</td>
<td>Aspect and modality in Malagasy maha</td>
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<td>11h00-11h30</td>
<td>Helen Goodluck (York), Kofi Saah (Ghana) &amp; Frank Tsiwah (Groningen)</td>
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<td>11h00-11h30</td>
<td>In Akan, violation of island constraints cannot be reduced to sentence processing</td>
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### Résumé de la journée

**Mercredi 31 mai**
- **Salle 302**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la syntaxe et la phonologie.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la variation phonologique.
- **Salle 359**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la phonologie et la variation phonologique.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la variation phonologique.
- **Salle 361**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la modalité et la psycholinguistique.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la psycholinguistique.

**Jeudi 1er juin**
- **Salle 302**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la morphologie et la pragmatique.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la morphologie et la pragmatique.
- **Salle 359**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la morphologie et la pragmatique.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la morphologie et la pragmatique.
- **Salle 361**
  - 10h00-12h15: Conférences sur la modérateur et la psycholinguistique.
  - 14h00-16h00: Ateliers de travail sur la modérateur et la psycholinguistique.

**Niveau de langue:** Les présentations sont en anglais et en français.

**Média:** Les conférenciers sont des chercheurs de renom dans leurs domaines respectifs.

**Lieu:** Les ateliers et les conférences se déroulent dans les salles 302, 359 et 361.

**Organisateur:** Le centre de recherche en linguistique de l’université de Montréal.

**Objectifs:** Échanger les dernières recherches en linguistique, favoriser la collaboration interdisciplinaire et aider les étudiants à se familiariser avec les dernières tendances dans le domaine.
| 1:30–3:00 | Luc Therriault (UQAM)  
Étude comparative diachronique et synchronique des suffixes –man Sranan et – mà Saramaccan  
François Poiré (Western)  
Étude exploratoire du phonétisme du français du doublage au Québec  
Malina Radu (Toronto)  
Weakening of intervocalic stops in Colombian Spanish  
Esperanza Ruiz-Peirà, Diego Sevilla & Yasaman Rafat (Western)  
Equivalence classification in second dialect imitation: the case of assimilated rhotics  
Yoojung Kang, Yaruna Cooblal, Sneha George, Rachel Soo & Jestine Abella (Toronto)  
The effect of lexical stress on the phonetic realization of voicing contrast in Tagalog: Native and Heritage comparison  
Elena Valenzuela, Kristina Borg, Rachel Klassen, & Tania Zamuner (Ottawa)  
Code-switched relative clause constructions and bilingual sentence processing: An eye-tracking study  
Sophie Godbout-Beaulieu & Christopher Fennell (Ottawa)  
The influence of lexical-stress in word acquisition: Emerging evidence for cross-linguistic differences in a developmental framework  
Saleh AlQahtani & Laura Sabourin (Ottawa)  
Syntactic processing of subjects in different word orders in Arabic: Do Arabic heritage speakers differ from native speakers when processing SVO/VSO order? |  
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<td>3:00–3:15</td>
<td>PAUSE</td>
<td>BREAK</td>
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| 3:15–3:45 | Julie Goncharov (Toronto)  
*Please, trim your replies!* A hybrid fragment answer in Russian  
Shana Poplack, Rosane de Andrade Berlinck, Salvatore Digesto & Nathalie Dion (Ottawa)  
A pan-Romance perspective on subjunctive variability | Elena Kulimich, Phaedra Royle & Daniel Valois (Montréal/UQAM)  
Acquisition du paradigme verbal en russe: surségrégénéralisation en yod /j/  
Gerard Van Herk (MUN) & Jennifer Thorburn (Newcastle)  
Foundering: Reconsidering adjectival intensification |  
| 3:45–4:15 | Vesela Simeonova & Gita Zareikar (Ottawa)  
The syntax of evidentials in Azeri, Bulgarian and Persian | Louisette Emirkanian (UQAM), Adel Jebali (Concordia) & Leslie Redmond (UQAM)  
Acquisition des clitiques datifs en français L2: influence de la structure argumentale et du sens du verbe de la L1 |  
| 4:15–4:45 | Nazila Shafiei (Calgary)  
Ellipsis in Persian complex predicates: VVPE or something else? | Mélanie Elliott & Mihaela Pirvulescu (Toronto)  
The acquisition of direct object clitics in the Spanish of bilingual Spanish-French children |  
<p>| 4:45–5:00 | Ouverture de l’exposition «Le Cri : La langue du peuple» | Opening of the exhibit “Cree: The People’s Language” |<br />
| 5:00–6:00 | Réception du recteur | President’s reception |<br />
| 6:00–7:00 | Chapiteau des réceptions (à côté de 90U) | Reception Tent (next to 90U) |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Fauteux 302</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Syntaxe du japonais et du chinois</td>
<td>Prosodie et perception</td>
<td>Morphologie</td>
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<td>président</td>
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<td>chair: Johannes Knaus</td>
<td>chair: Marc Brunelle</td>
<td>chair: Leslie Saxon</td>
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<td>Jianxun Liu (Victoria)</td>
<td>Daiho Kitaoka (Ottawa) &amp; Sara Mackenzie (MUN)</td>
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<tr>
<td>A restructuring approach to two structures for Chinese purposives</td>
<td>Evidence for the mora: Analysis of a Japanese reversing game</td>
<td>Non-floating collective numeral quantifiers in Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mei-Lan Mamode (Toronto)</td>
<td>Communication plénière</td>
<td>Yves Roberge (Toronto)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Variation prosodique dialectale en français mauricien: Étude de l’accentuation des syllabes priméntes</td>
<td>Récipiendaire du Prix national d’excellence</td>
<td>Triangulation et convergence de preuves sur la représentation des objets directs</td>
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<td>12:15–1:30</td>
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<td>John Esling (Victoria)</td>
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<td>IPA Phonetics: A multimedia resource for phonetics</td>
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</table>
The effect of length of residence on the phonetic accommodation to three English dialects

When an individual moves to a new area with a different dialect and takes on some of the phonetic characteristics of that new dialect, it is known as accommodation (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991). Accommodation is classified as short-term and long-term (Trudgill, 1986, p. 11) and Chambers (1992) and Trudgill (1986) explain that if short-term accommodations are repeated enough, then the effect becomes long term (Chambers, 1992, p.11). This suggests that for speakers who do tend to accommodate to the local norms, the longer they are in a particular region with more opportunities to accommodate, the greater the extent of the accommodation will be and the more likely these long term accommodations will appear in their speech after they have left the dialect area. However, does this pattern hold when the same individual has lived for several years in multiple dialect areas? The purpose of this study is to explore the relationship between the amounts of time lived in a particular areas and the extent of accommodation in the production of stressed vowels in the speech of one Canadian with a very unique linguistic background.

The speaker in question has been in contact with four dialects of English for significant amounts of time. These English dialect regions include Canada for 36 years, New Zealand for 8 years, Southeast England for 14 years and Scotland for four-month periods, every year for 10 years. Each of these dialects have a unique vowel inventory which makes studying the extent of accommodation in the production of stressed vowels a suitable method.

The speaker is a professor at a university and is recorded while lecturing to gather as natural a speech sample as possible. The study has 18 hours of recorded data, which will be analyzed by isolating the stressed vowels and analyzing their first and second formants. Preliminary findings suggest that the speaker’s acoustic realization of certain vowels has shifted away from Canadian norms. Furthermore, the longer the subject spent in a dialect region, the more he accommodated to the phonetic qualities of that dialect.

This study moves beyond the qualities of Second Dialect Acquisition to the qualities of third and fourth dialect acquisition, which contributes to our understanding of the malleability of phonological systems and patterns of sound change.

References


Phonological, Semantic, and Root Activation in Spoken Word Recognition in Arabic

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Studies on phonological and semantic activation have provided evidence that words are recognized faster when primed by phonologically or semantically related words (Allopenna, Magnuson, and Tanenhaus, 1998; Huettig & Altmann, 2005; Mani and Plunkett, 2011; Yee and Sedivy, 2006; Zwitserlood 1989). However, this evidence has been developed based on studies of Indo-European languages, which only constitute a subset of the languages of the world. Moreover, studies based purely on Indo-European languages do not investigate lexical properties found in other languages. To date, few studies have investigated phonological and semantic activation in Arabic (Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2000, 2001, 2004; Boudelaa, Hauk, Shtyrov and Marslen-Wilson, 2009, Perea, Abu Mallouh and Carreiras, 2014), and even fewer have investigated the role of the Arabic consonantal root in spoken word recognition (SWR) (Boudelaa and Marslen-Wilson, 2005). Of the studies that do exist, all have used masked priming or cross-modal tasks, with no studies looking at SWR using eye-tracking methodology. This research explores phonological, semantic and root activation in Arabic using the visual world paradigm (VWP) with eyetracking. The goal was to investigate whether similar effects of phonological and semantic activation are found in Arabic as found in previous research in Indo-European languages using the VWP. Furthermore, the goal was to determine whether effects of root activation are also found using the VWP. The last goal was examine the time course of phonological, semantic and root activation, as the VWP provides a fine-grained measures of ongoing cognitive processing during SWR (Huettig and McQueen, 2007).

The present study examined the time course of phonological, semantic and root activation SWR in Arabic using the visual world eye-tracking paradigm. Participants were 31 adult speakers of Arabic, who saw four images and were instructed to click on a named object. The objects in each trial included a target, a related distractor (phonological, semantic, or root distractor) and two unrelated distractors. Each target (e.g., ʃubbak ‘window’) appeared once in each the three conditions: phonological cohort distractor (beginning with the same onset and vowel as the target, e.g., ʃurbah ‘soup’); semantic distractor (e.g., ba:b ‘door’); and root distractor (sharing phonology, semantics and with the same consonantal root with the target, e.g., ʃabakah ‘net’).

A quasi-logistic Growth Curve Analysis method (Mirman, 2014) was used to analyze the time course of fixations to the target image across the different conditions to explore whether the presence of a distractor (phonological, semantic or root) affected the fixation proportions to targets. Time course measures revealed significantly different fixations to the target across the three conditions. The earliest peak was for the targets in the phonological condition, followed by the semantic condition, and the latest peak in fixation to the target was in the root condition. This demonstrates that target fixation proportions were affected by the presence of root distractors more than by the presence of phonological or semantic distractors.

This study is the first eye-tracking investigation into the time course of phonological, semantic and root activation in Arabic. Its results confirm previous findings that have found graded competition for related distractors based on the amount of phonological and semantic overlap with targets (Huettig and Altman, 2005; Huettig and McQueen, 2007; Huettig et al, 2006; Mirman and Magnuson, 2009; Yee and Sedivy, 2005). The significant effect of root
distractors on fixation proportions of targets providing converging evidence for the assumption that the Arabic consonantal root is an important unit in lexical access. These results correspond with and provide support for the previous findings that have found an effect for the consonantal root in both spoken and visual word recognition in Arabic (Boudella and Marslen-Wilson, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2011).
References


Syntactic Processing of Subjects in Different Word Orders in Arabic: Do Arabic Heritage speakers differ from Native speakers when processing SVO/VSO order?

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The aim of this study is to investigate the preference and processing of Arabic word order, namely, Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) or Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) by two different groups: native speakers of Arabic (NSs) and heritage speakers of Arabic (HSs) living in Canada. In Arabic, two different word orders can be used:

(1) kataba ?al-walad-u ?al-wadţib-a
    wrote the-boy-NOM the-homework-ACC
    ‘The boy did the homework.’ VSO

(2) ?al-walad-u kataba ?al-wadţib-a
    the-boy-NOM wrote the-homework-ACC
    ‘The boy did the homework.’ SVO

Some linguists argue that VSO is more dominant than SVO (Abdul-Raof, 1998; Althwaini, 2008, among others). We can take this preference as evidence to argue that VSO linear order is easier to process than SVO order since the former requires only one movement (V-to-T) (Fassi-Fehri, 1993; Ouhallah, 1994); the subject remains in situ however; see (3).

(3) \[TP [T' kataba [VP \[V' .... ?al-wadţib-a]\]]].
    \[TP [T' wrote [VP the-boy-NOM [V' .... the-homework-ACC]]].

For SVO, one additional movement is required; the subject may need to move from [Spec: VP] to [Spec: TP]; see(4).

(4) \[TP ?al-walad-u [T' kataba [VP .... [V' .... ?al-wadţib-a]]]].

Within the realm of experimental syntax and building on Chomsky’s (1995) idea that E-language is an extensional form of I-language (mental form), we administered two tasks (a sentence reordering writing task and an online self-paced reading task). 10 HSs, whose dominant language is English, and 20 NSs of Arabic participated in the study. The writing task is to check for the preferred word order by each group. The reading task is to check for syntactic subjects processing time; a participant reads a sentence that appears word by word on a computer screen. The reaction time (RT) from the onset appearance until the participant presses the SPACE-BAR is calculated. Target items are definite subjects in SVO, definite subjects in VSO and indefinite subjects in VSO. The writing task results showed that there is a preference towards using VSO order to SVO by both groups (HSs: mean difference = 5.87; p < .05; NSs: mean difference = 9.40; p < .01). In the reading task, NSs showed a significant difference (p < .05) in RT between preverbal and postverbal subjects. Precisely, subjects in VSO took a shorter RT than subjects in SVO. No significant difference was found between the definite and indefinite subjects in VSO. For HSs, there is no significant difference between the subject RT in VSO and SVO. When comparing the two groups, a significant difference (p < .05) in RT was found; NSs were faster in processing than HSs. In conclusion, the writing task results offered evidence of VSO preference over SVO. The difference in RT between processing times shown by NSs suggests that VSO is easier to process which supports the claim that there is only one syntactic movement (V-to-T) to derive VSO. The longer RTs required to process subjects in SVO might resemble more syntactic moments. Another important finding is that slower RT shown by HSs might be attributed to processing two different grammatical systems (Arabic and English).
References


Local Identity, Accommodation Of The Outsider And Language Use In A Coastal Maine Community

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The local identity practices of speakers are not as straightforward as predicted (e.g. Labov 1972). Alongside linguistic considerations, social motivations may significantly affect a speaker’s selection of local variants. However, a speaker’s strategies and motivations to practice and maintain a local identity are often difficult to deduce. Here, I investigate the role of local feature maintenance for speakers living in a tourist-dependent community, where the need to accommodate the outsider is a matter of economic importance, building on work in Martha’s Vineyard (Labov 1963). My analyses rely on data collected from sociolinguistic interviews (N=12 speakers, 576 tokens) from native residents of Mount Desert Island, a post-insular tourist-dependent community.

I find a salient and locally identified feature of the community (post-vocalic /r/ drop) to be falling out of use, as predicted by findings in other /r/-less New England communities (Irwin and Nagy 2007). Although the feature is maintained to an extent in the older and middle generations, it has vanished from the youngest speakers of the community. Among the middle and older generation speakers, I found an interaction between capital score (i.e. whether a speaker’s economic livelihood was locally or non-locally dependent), speaker age and phonological considerations (e.g. vowel back-ness) significantly impacts variant choice. Based on this evidence, it appears that members of the Mount Desert Island speech community are abandoning a need to sound local in favour of adopting widespread regional changes towards a more standard variety – a trend often found in post-insular situations.

References


Is the diglossic situation in Arabic making its way into texting?
A sociolinguistic study of phonological variation in Makkan Arabic

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In oral Makkan Arabic, Standard Arabic coronal fricatives [θ], [d], and [Dh] coexist alongside the following set of non-standard variants (Al-Jehani 1985), respectively: [t] - [s], [θ] - [z], and [D] - [Z]. Such variation used to be confined to oral speech, as writing is a formal genre in which Standard Arabic has been traditionally used. However, the evolution and spread of smart phones and instant mobile messaging services, such as WhatsApp, have triggered a new trend of informal writing in Western and Eastern societies (Baron 2008; Crystal 2008; Deumert &Masinyana 2008; Androutsopoulos 2011), a trend to which the Makkan society is no stranger.

My study will examine how the abovementioned phonological variation is represented in Makkans’ WhatsApp messages, and will analyze the linguistic and extra-linguistic variables that determine the choice of standard and non-standard variants. Specifically, we aim to answer the following research questions:

1. Do age, gender, and education level determine the use of standard vs. non-standard variants in WhatsApp messages?
2. Does the topic of the conversation play a role in the use of standard vs. non-standard variants?
3. What insights does the target variation provide into the diglossic situation in Arabic?

Our participants are 42 (18 males and 24 females) native speakers of Makkan Arabic with an age range of 19-73 and diverse levels of education (i.e. public education, university level, and graduate level). 4037 tokens containing ([θ], [d], and [Dh] were collected from their WhatsApp messages during an 8-week period. Data was coded for linguistic (i.e. type of variant, conversation topic) and non-linguistic variables (i.e. age, gender, education level), and statistically analyzed using regression and logistic mixed models.

Results reveal a statistically significant correlation between age and use of linguistic variants, with older participants’ messages showing a higher distribution of standard variants. Gender also plays a significant role in the distribution of standard vs. non-standard variants, with female participants using a higher number of non-standard variants than males. Both genders exhibited a statistically significant tendency to resort to standard linguistic variants when discussing topics related to religion, and to use non-standard variants when discussing casual topics (e.g. family life, business, school, and health).

The study demonstrates that males in the Makkan community adopt more formal linguistic variants in their WhatsApp messages than their female counterparts, who prefer to use informal, yet locally prestigious, linguistic variants. In this regard, our results are in line with the previously attested pattern of gender-based oral speech variation in Arabic-speaking communities (Schmidt 1974; Sallam 1980; Abd El-Jawad 1981; Bakir 1986; Daher 1997, 1998). Our findings further suggest that the diglossic situation in Arabic-speaking communities (Altoma 1969, Zughoul 1980, Bassiouney 2009) is making its way into written texts. Thus, it is not implausible to (1) expect a change in the status of Standard Arabic as the only written variety of Arabic and (2) predict that
the continuum of change from \textit{purely standard} to \textit{purely vernacular} Arabic that resulted in various spoken dialects of Standard Arabic might be repeated with written Arabic.
Bibliography


D feature and impersonal SE: A new perspective on Romance impersonal constructions

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The nature of the reflexive clitic se, used in Romance languages to express impersonality (1), remains the subject of a long-lasting controversy in the literature.

(1) a. Se come mucho aquí  b. Spesso sì arriva in ritardo
    SE eat.3.SG.PRES much here often SE arrive.3.SG.PRES in late
    ‘One eats a lot here’ (Spanish) ‘One often arrives late’ (Italian; D’Alessandro, 2007)

Previous proposals have generally treated this clitic as filling the role of an otherwise overt subject argument in null subject (NS) languages: it is analysed as either an argument clitic associated with the external θ-role (Kayne, 1986; Cinque, 1988) or the morphological exponent of a syntactic feature in NS languages (Belletti, 1982; Otero, 1986). Cross-linguistic variation of the impersonal reflexives reveals, however, that neither of these analyses is satisfactory, as they fail to explain the presence of an additional subject element in the same clause (2a) or that of the clitic se in a non-NS language such as French (2b).

(2) a. A gente chama-se rãs a isto
    PRON call.3.SG.PRES-SE rãs to that
    ‘We call these ones rãs (‘frogs’)’ (European Portuguese dialects; Martins, 2009)
    b. Il se mange souvent des gâteaux ici
    EXP SE eat.3.SG.PRES often PART cake.PL here
    ‘One often eats cakes here’ (French; Cinque, 1988; Mendikoetxea, 2008)

As a solution to this problem, I present an alternative analysis of the impersonal se in which the clitic is considered as the morphological exponent of a specificity feature, [-specific], on D in T. I argue that the full specification of φ-features in T (cf. rich agreement morphology) in NS languages values the D feature as [+specific], and thus a [-specific] feature must be spelled out by se in order for the non-specific reading to be computed at LF. In non-NS languages such as English, on the other hand, an indefinite expression spells out this D feature in the spec-TP position, fulfilling the EPP (Chomsky, 1981). The D property of se also introduces a new insight to the theoretical investigation of the variation of impersonal reflexives such as in (2).

Many of the previous studies (Belletti, 1982; Rizzi, 1986; Borer, 1989; Mendikoetxea, 1992) attributed the cross-linguistic variation of Romance impersonal constructions to the NS property under the assumption that the nature of INFL changes depending on this property. The increasing awareness of the more complex nature of null subjects (Barbosa, 2011), however, exhibits a great challenge for this line of analysis, as it assumes that the NS property is binary. Likewise, the rich diversity of impersonal constructions generally presents counter-evidence for a comprehensive generalisation such as Holmberg’s (2005), which associates the NS property of languages with the ways these languages syntactically convey impersonality.

The proposed D-feature analysis thus makes a novel theoretical claim with respect to this variation. Building on the proposed link between D and se, I argue that the interaction between the EPP and subject identification is what determines the distribution of the clitic, and more generally, how impersonality is expressed across languages. I develop the idea that the ways languages express impersonality (e.g., reflexive construction, generic null pronoun, overt subject pronoun) are directly constrained by the ways they identify the subject referent (e.g., verbal agreement, pronoun, discourse) and how it is morpho-syntactically realised in the inflectional domain. Therefore, this study contributes to the development of our understanding of both reflexive and non-reflexive impersonal constructions in Romance and beyond.
List of Abbreviations

SE – reflexive clitic  PRON – subject pronoun  EXP – expletive  PART – partitive (article)
PRES – present tense

References


Number matching in small clauses: Can we agree on Concord?

Susana Bejar, Arsalan Kahnemuyipour, Jessica Mathie and Tomohiro Yokoyama

This talk examines phi-feature matching patterns and restrictions in small clauses with two NPs. The restrictions shift under conditions that correlate with interpretive contrasts. We argue that two feature valuation processes, namely Agree and Concord, must be modeled distinctly. Let us begin with familiar contexts like the copular sentences in (1) where we see a number matching requirement between the subject and predicate NPs. (We assume a raising structure for the copula as in (3)). These matching patterns obtain independently of the agreement on the copula, as shown by (2), where the bracketed part has neither a copula nor (under standard assumptions) any inflectional structure (no T, etc).

(1) a. Mary is *violinists/a violinist in two orchestras
   b. Mary and Jane are violinists/*a violinist in two orchestras
(2) a. They consider [Mary *virtuosos/a virtuoso]          (3) BE [NP1 ... NP2]
   b. They consider [Mary and Jane virtuosos/*a virtuoso]

In contrast, no such matching is required in (4)-(5) (the context here is a platter of fruit that has been arranged to look like a face). Meanwhile, the absence of a matching requirement in (4)-(5) is not simply a matter of the second NP being a definite description; we see matching with definite descriptions in (6).

(4) a. The nose is the kiwi/kiwis  c. The nostrils are the grape/grapes
   b. The banana is the eyebrow/eyebrows.  d. The berries are the eye/eyes
(5) The kids made [the banana the eyebrow/eyebrows]
(6) a. Mary is the best violinist/*violinists  b. Mary and Jane are the best *violinist/violinists

It is traditionally observed that in (1)/(2) NP2 is construed as a predicate (and the clause is said to be *predicational*, whereas in (4)/(5) NP2 is referential (and the clause *equative*). Sentences like (6) pattern as predicational under standard tests. Thus, it might seem that we are dealing with a straightforward surface generalization: number matching is required in predicational (but not equative) contexts. However, we argue that this correlation between copular clause type and matching is inaccurate. There are counter-examples cross-linguistically (see Bondaruk 2013 for Polish) and in English we see predicational sentences like (7) where matching is degraded. More significantly for our purposes, Percus & Sharvit (2014) give compelling semantic evidence to show that contrary to common assumptions, equative clauses are not reversible. These seriously undermine the traditional division between predicational and equative clauses (cf. Adger & Ramchand 2003, Moro 1997).

(7) The proposals are a problem/*problems

Returning to the feature matching problem, the puzzle is now more precise. Under the approach outlined above, the semantic status of NP2 is comparable in both predicational (1)-(2) and equative contexts (4)-(5), and we argue that the functional structure is comparable as well. Thus, we cannot correlate the presence/absence of the matching pattern to a copular clause type per se. Instead we will correlate it to the feature structure of NP2. We argue that obligatory feature matching is the outcome of a feature valuation process distinct from Agree in that it occurs automatically when a syntactic object with unvalued [ ] merges with one that has valued [F]. We call this Concord. For present purposes we assume NP1 always bears [#]. NP2 however may or may not bear [#]. If NP2 has reduced functional structure, e.g PhiP or NumP (cf.Wiltschko & Dechaine 2002, Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), then it will have unvalued [ ], and matching will occur under Concord, as in (1)-(2). Similarly, if NP2 has defective (non-phrasal) D, as in (6), it will not bear [#] but [ ] and will trigger concord. Meanwhile, in some languages (e.g. Persian), canonical predicates have such reduced functional structure (e.g. bare NP) that no number feature is introduced at all, and so there is no Concord/matching and predicate NPs appear as singular. Another way we arrive at the same effect is if NP2 has extra structure (e.g. concealed CP layer) such that its [ ] feature is not accessible, as in nouns like problem in (7). Finally, matching will be obviated if NP2 has valued [#] as in the case of the type shifted individual concepts, as in (4)-(5).

In short, by investigating and accounting for a range of matching patterns in small clauses, this paper furthers our understanding of Concord as a process distinct from Agree.
References


New perspectives on the study of language change
Ross Bilous (York University)

This study aims at exploring new perspectives in the research on language evolution and focuses on language change from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) down to modern Slavic languages. To date, thanks to the methods of linguistic reconstruction, interlinguistic comparison and linguistic paleontology we have accumulated considerable amount of information about the way languages evolve over time, similarities in the evolution process of many even non-related languages and differences in language change on all levels of grammar. We know now that those changes are quite constrained and that the evolution of different linguistic codes must follow a limited number of patterns (Fromkin & alia 2012, Kortlandt 2001, Sheveliov 1979, among many others). However, the effectiveness of the above-mentioned methods is often insignificant or null in the instances where we have absolutely no data to draw upon. Therefore, in order to solve the problem of the absence of physical evidence about how some PIE languages (such as, for instance, Slavic or Baltic) evolved and to contribute to answering the “old question” of where geographically “it” all started, this paper proposes an innovative approach – the method of grammatical feature tracking. In the last decades, featural approach to the study of different phenomena in the domain of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics has become quite popular due to its explanatory viability. The goal of our method is to trace the distribution of different grammatical features across related languages over time by means of tracking the vestiges of those features in their modern counterparts as well as in those old and ancient languages whose records have survived down to our day and have been already substantially studied.

In the present study we will focus only on certain features, in view of limited space. The objective here is simply to show how the method works and what purpose it can serve. The features we are interested in are as follows: case, gender, inflectional periphrasis, infinitival ending -i (Ex. 1a), the Hittite morpheme -nu- (Ex. 1b/c), the laryngeal H2 (Kortlandt 2001, Ex. 1d/e, that possibly evolved into the Ukrainian morpheme -ha-), and the yers (Sheveliov 1979).

(1) a. jihait (Sanskrit) – goduvait (Old Slavonic) – rizait (Northern Lemko dialect of Ukrainian)
   b. warnu (Hittite) – zvynuty (Modern Ukrainian)
   c. harganuvwan (Hittite) – zaplanowanu (Modern Ukrainian)
   d. *peH2-ur ‘fire’ (PIE) → pahhu (Hittite)
   e. *peH2-ur ‘fire’ (PIE) → ahh’ (Old-Slavonic) → vohn’ (Modern Ukrainian)

It will be shown that some features (such as case), although being vulnerable to loss in the context of language contact, can be preserved in a language for a long time, if that language is spoken in an agricultural (culturally strong) society whose representatives have lived in a certain territory for a long period of time. On the other hand, this feature is easily affected and even lost if it belongs to a language whose speakers live in an unstable (due to migrations) society. It will also be argued that grammatical features can be distributed in related languages in varying ways: some languages will inherit them from a proto-language and accumulate them, in others their number or their vestiges will vary due to the agency of a dozen or so (extra)-linguistic factors. In our investigation we side with Kortlandt (1989) in that, contra Gimbutas (1985), linguistic evidence and interpretations need to be supported with archeological interpretations and evidence.

In conclusion, this study helps us see how by means of grammatical feature tracking we can retrace the evolution of the grammatical systems of different language groups within IE linguistic realm as far back as their proto-mother tongue. Comparing those changes with archeological evidence about the directionality of ethnic group migrations we can retrace the geographical urheimat of proto-Indoeuropeans and make significant adjustments in the dating of those migrations.
References


Expletive *there* has played a prominent role in modern syntactic theory, but current approaches are unable to account for its full distribution, particularly as in (1). Views of *there* as a simple expletive (Chomsky, 1995, et seq.) cannot explain why it occurs with some but not all unaccusatives, while views of *there* as a locative/predicate-linked element (Freeze, 1992; Moro, 1997, a.o.) have difficulty accounting for its occurrence with non-*be* verbs at all.

(1) a. There were some people available. (cf. *There were some people wet.*)
   b. There ensued a long discussion. (cf. *There melted a great deal of ice.*)

More seriously, much work on *there* has overlooked the fact that it can occur with transitive predicates, as in (2), provided the clause is progressive. An exception is Deal (2009), who demonstrates that that post-associate verbs in such clauses are not simply participial reduced relatives.

(2) There were [ people who I met yesterday ] mowing the lawn this morning.

To account for the distribution of *there* without appealing to selectional properties of *be*, we argue that the contexts in which *there* is possible all share a common semantic property: *there can be merged only with constituents whose sole unsaturated argument is an open temporal/event argument.* This imposes two restrictions on *there*’s occurrence: (a) the predicate must have a temporal/event argument, and (b) all other arguments—including any external argument—must be merged before that argument is saturated.

The need for an unsaturated temporal/event argument is what prevents *there* from occurring with individual-level adjectival predicates, as in (3), which are distinguished (in part) by the absence of temporal structure associated with stage-level predicates. It also explains why *there* can occur only with unaccusative verbs that do not involve a change of state (Milsark, 1974; Levin, 1993): if change-of-state verbs as in (4-a) take a BECOME event argument (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2004, a.o.), while non-change-of-state unaccusatives as in (4-b) lack such event structure, then only the latter have the simplex temporal structure required for *there* to merge.

(3) *There are books interesting. (cf. There are books available)
(4) a. *There melted several ice cubes.
   b. There appeared several ice cubes (out of thin air).

The requirement that the temporal/event argument be the sole unsaturated argument, in turn, accounts for *there*’s restriction to progressive transitive and unergative clauses. In simple unergative and transitive predicates, the event argument is bound below the merge position of the external argument, by the Voice/v head (Kratzer, 1993; Chomsky, 1995), and thus at no point is there a simple predicate of times/events for *there* to merge with. The progressive, however, converts its complement Voice/vP to a simple predicate of times, with which *there* can then merge.

On this analysis, *there* is not linked to either the predicate or the associate, nor is it a true expletive subject. Rather, *there* is sensitive to the temporal structure of the predicates with which it merges. The semantics of *there*, however, remain an open question: though it might directly saturate the temporal or event argument of its complement, this would considerably complicate the subsequent semantic contribution of tense, which itself must compose with a predicate of times.

In spite of these remaining questions, the advantage of our approach is a unified account of *there*’s distribution, explaining both the copular contexts in which it cannot occur and the transitive and unergative contexts in which it can. From this perspective, *there* provides a novel diagnostic for probing the temporal structure of predicates, one that may shed light on the composition of meaning in copular contexts.
References


A corpus-based study of prominence and stress in Vietnamese
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Despite a now sizeable body of research on Vietnamese phonology and phonetics, there is considerable disagreement about the nature of stress and prominence in that language. For instance, it has been proposed that Vietnamese has no word stress (Emeneau, 1951), has morpho-syntactically-determined word stress (Thompson, 1963; 1965; Ngô, 1984; Cao, 2003 [1978]), or has iambic stress (Trần, 1967; Nguyễn and Ingram, 2006; 2007; Phạm, 2008; Nguyễn, 2010). Other authors have proposed that stress is a strictly phrasal phenomenon in Vietnamese (Thomas, 1962; Thompson, 1963; 1965; Hoàng and Hoàng, 1975; Schiering et al., 2010), an issue complicated by the absence of a clear divide line between the phrase and the word in that language (Noyer, 1998).

This absence of consensus is largely due to the fact that Vietnamese is a tone language where stress, focus and phrasal prominence, if present, are not realized with pitch-accents (Michaud and Vũ, 2004; Michaud, 2005; Brunelle et al., 2012), but failure to distinguish the various types of prominence in the few controlled experiments conducted so far have made the problem worse. The current study aims at uncovering and teasing apart various linguistic and discourse factors that underlie variation in syllable duration, intensity and fundamental frequency, three acoustic properties known to play a significant role in stress and prominence, in a small transcribed and annotated corpus of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous corpus of southern Vietnamese. The 87,000-syllable corpus includes speech from 16 speakers recorded in one-on-one conversations, in TV interviews and in comedy skits.

The main factors that have been investigated are linguistic factors like word stress, focus, lexical category and pre-boundary lengthening (Beckman and Edwards, 1990; Cutler and Butterfield, 1990a; b; Turk and Shattuck-Hufnagel, 2000; Byrd and Krivokapić, 2006). Discourse factors have also been included in the analysis, such local speech rate, lexical frequency and recency effects (Jurafsky et al., 1998; Fosler-Lussier and Morgan, 1999; Jurafsky et al., 2001; Bybee, 2002; Jurafsky et al., 2002; Bell et al., 2003; Gahl, 2008; Bell et al., 2009). Results were analyzed using mixed models.

Preliminary results on the entire corpus reveal no positive evidence for word stress, but a strong pre-boundary lengthening and an apparent asymmetry between function words and lexical words suggestive of a form of cliticization. Frequency effects are strong in lexical words, where a high lexical frequency correlates with shorter duration, but this effect is much weaker in function words. Recency effects are present, but tend to be more robust in conversations than in less informal TV interviews and skits. In terms of acoustic cues, most of the prominence effects in the corpus appear to be due to variation in duration. Changes in intensity and f0 seem to be largely conditioned by durational properties.

The overall picture seems to suggest that Vietnamese stress and prominence are largely determined by phrasing, and that word-level prominence is negligible. Additional work to be completed in the next few months includes a systematic revision of the corpus, a better assessment of recency effects and improvements on automatic pitch tracking.
References


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Les faux-amis: Investigating lexico-semantic ambiguity across two languages
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A substantial part of second language (L2) acquisition involves learning a second set of lexical items. This task may be simplified, however, when a subset of L2 lexical items have significant orthographic/phonological overlap with their translation equivalents, as is the case for cognates. For example, knowing the English word “banana” makes it straightforward to learn its French translation “banane”. But words that overlap in orthographic/phonological form can be misleading, as they are not always semantically equivalent. For example, the French word “librairie” is not translated into English as “library”, but as “bookstore”. Such cross-language word pairs are known as “les faux amis”, or false friends.

Previous psycholinguistic studies have shown that all meanings of homonyms are initially accessed, not just within a language (ex. Swinney 1979), but also across a bilingual’s languages (Dijkstra, Timmermans, and Schriefers 2000). In the case of false friends, this would lead to the activation of semantically inappropriate words by virtue of their highly similar form. This suggests that even though L2 learners may be consciously aware of false friends as a result of explicit instruction, processing difficulties may persist even at higher levels of L2 proficiency.

The aim of the current study is thus to examine how false friends are processed, and more specifically, the impact of cross-language lexico-semantic ambiguity on how L2 speakers activate L1 word meanings. Four types of false friends were investigated: 1) False cognates (FCs), which have related but different meanings (e.g. English: library; French: librairie “bookstore”); 2) Partial FCs (PFCs), which share one meaning but have an additional related meaning in one language (e.g. English: herb; French: herbe “herb”, “grass”); 3) Interlingual homographs (ILHs), which have unrelated meanings (e.g. English: bless; French: blesser “hurt”); and 4) Partial ILHs (PILHs), which share one meaning but have an additional unrelated meaning in one language (e.g. English: peach; French: pêche “peach”, “fishing”).

Participants were 38 native speakers of English, divided into groups based on their French (L2) proficiency: High (n=10), Mid (n=12) and Monolingual/Low (n=16). They performed a speeded semantic relatedness task, entirely in their L1, where they rated the similarity of pairs of English words on a 6-point scale from "no similarity" to "homonyms". Critical trials consisted of the English-language half of the four types of false friends (e.g. “peach”), paired with the English translation of their French-language counterpart (e.g. “fishing”). Participants also completed a French proficiency test (Tremblay’s (2011) cloze task), as well as a French-to-English translation task to evaluate their explicit knowledge of the false friends in question.

Repeated-measures ANOVAs revealed that three of the four false friends types were rated as significantly more similar by the High group than the Low group (ILH: \(p<.016\); PILH: \(p<.003\); FC: \(p=.013\)), and marginally so by the Mid group compared to the Low group. Crucially, linear regression analyses showed that participants’ ratings for all four types of false friend were significantly correlated with their L2 proficiency score, especially when their explicit translation knowledge was controlled for (ILH: \(R^2=.289, p=.001\); PILH: \(R^2=.494, p<.001\); FC: \(R^2=.239, p=.002\); PFC: \(R^2=.161, p=.013\)). These results indicate that, when L2 learners know the translation for a false friend, the form-related L2 word is likely to interfere with lexico-semantic processing, even in a purely L1 task.

These findings contribute to a growing body of literature that has found evidence for L2 effects on L1 processing (e.g. Brien and Sabourin 2012). This study also sets the stage for future work using a methodology that targets more subconscious processing, which will allow more to be said regarding how false friends are accessed and organized in the bilingual mental lexicon.
References


The locus of evidentiality in English
Cassandra Chapman, Diane Doran and Daniel Schmidtke

We present evidence from a forced-choice acceptability judgement task demonstrating that the use of copy raising constructions in English is constrained by three different sub-dimensions of evidentiality: Evidence Type, Strength and Source (Matthewson to appear; Asudeh and Toivonen 2012), but not by Evidence Location, which did not significantly predict acceptability.

**Background** Evidential constructions provide grammatically encoded information about the evidence a speaker has for their assertion. It has been argued (Asudeh and Toivonen 2012; Rett and Hyams 2014) that in English, copy raising structures (e.g., *John looks like he is cooking*) mark direct evidentiality, whereas unraised structures (e.g., *It looks like John is cooking*) are unmarked for evidentiality. The former sentence is only felicitous in a situation where John is observed in the kitchen, whereas the latter can be used when one simply sees pots boiling on John’s stove. In an online felicity judgement task, Rett and Hyams (2014) confirmed this basic evidential pattern in English. However, a recent proposal by Matthewson (to appear) argues that evidentiality consists of three sub-dimensions, presented in the chart below, which may each have a direct or indirect value, and that languages differ in which dimensions they incorporate into their grammars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evidence Type</td>
<td>Sensory information.</td>
<td>Reports or reasoning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence Strength</td>
<td><em>Best evidence possible for event.</em></td>
<td><em>Not best: Lacking best possible evidence.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidence Location</td>
<td>Perceive event itself.</td>
<td>Perceive results of event.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Goal** Our study aims to test and further refine the results from Rett and Hyams (2014) in order to examine precisely which of Matthewson’s evidence dimensions are encoded in English.

**Experiment** Participants rated the acceptability of evidential sentences as well as a declarative control on a scale of 1 (unacceptable) to 6 (acceptable) in response to a context, as in (1).

(1) **Context:** Idan walks into the house and sees that his wife is in the kitchen. She is wearing an apron that is full of flour and has chocolate on her face. Idan thinks to himself:
   a. *Unraised:* It seems/sounds/looks like she has been baking.
   b. *Copy raised:* She seems/sounds/looks like she has been baking.
   c. *Declarative:* She has been baking.

In the present experiment, contexts were manipulated such that they represented Matthewson’s three evidential dimensions. Furthermore, to test Asudeh and Toivonen (2012)’s argument that direct perception of the sentential subject is required to use a copy raising construction, Evidence Source was also included as a variable in our manipulations. Copy raised and unraised constructions were counterbalanced across participants.

**Results** By-participant z-scores of judgement ratings served as a dependent variable in a linear mixed-effects regression model. Results of the model indicate that participants were significantly more likely to rate unraised structures as more acceptable than copy raised structures. Participants were also significantly more likely to provide higher acceptability ratings when the Evidence Type was direct, compared to when it was indirect or there was no evidence. When Evidence Strength was *not best*, participants were significantly more likely to rate sentences highly compared to when sentences contained best evidence. Finally, when Evidence Source was direct, they were significantly more likely to provide higher ratings compared to when it was indirect. Interestingly, the predictor Evidence Location did not improve model fit. To summarize, our experiment provides further empirical support for the evidential nature of copy raising structures. We also take these findings as a validation of Matthewson’s theory of parametrized evidential dimensions.
References


Differences between read and spontaneous speech: an application of rhythm metrics to a New Brunswick variety of Acadian French

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University of New Brunswick & Université de Moncton

Recent studies of speech rhythm use quantitative measures of segmental durations, known as rhythm metrics, to analyze timing differences between languages and between dialects. In the vast majority of these studies, data are obtained in a controlled setting, where speakers read (aloud) a fixed text. A small number of researchers have analyzed data from natural, non-scripted speech, which can differ considerably from reading. In this paper, we apply rhythm metrics to a corpus of Acadian French and compare values for read and spontaneous speech in order to determine whether these two styles have different rhythmic characteristics.

Data are from interviews with 12 speakers of Acadian French from the Acadian Peninsula region of northeastern New Brunswick. The sample is stratified by gender (2 groups) and age (3 groups), with two speakers in each cell. Interviews followed the protocol of the *Phonologie du français contemporain* project (www.projet-pfc.net) and included reading a text and spontaneously telling a story. Acoustic data from the reading and spontaneous styles were segmented in Praat. Approximately 2.5 minutes of speech per speaker were analyzed. The rhythm metrics calculated include interval measures (Ramus et al. 1999) − %V, deltaV, deltaC, VarcoV, VarcoC − and pairwise variability measures (Grabe & Low 2002) − nPVI-V, rPV-C.

While results show considerable inter-speaker variation, the rhythm metric scores observed for read speech in this Acadian variety fall within the range reported for other dialects of French spoken in Canada (Kaminskaïa 2014). Articulation rate tends to be faster in spontaneous speech than in read speech. Statistical discriminant analyses indicate that the two speech styles are best differentiated by three normalized measures of duration variation; two are vocalic (VarcoV and nPVI-V) and one is consonantal (VarcoC). For all three measures, spontaneous speech has significantly greater interval and/or pairwise variability than read speech. The paper makes comparisons with patterns reported for European varieties of French (Meisenburg 2013) and for several other languages (Arvaniti 2012). One implication of this study is that rhythm metrics can contribute to a framework for the comparison of read and spontaneous speech.

References
One of the uncontested linguistic uses of intonation is the marking of sentence-type. Intonation, however, could be a redundant cue to sentence type, as in English statements or absolute yes-no questions (AQs), or the only cue, as in declarative questions (DQs). In this paper, we compare the realization of sentence prosody by advanced Spanish and Mandarin learners of English across two experiments that differed in the amount of contextual information provided. Our research seeks to answer two questions: Are primary and secondary prosodic cues equally acquired? Does access to contextual meaning facilitate or hinder the acquisition of prosodic cues?

To answer these questions we compared Canadian English controls to L1 Mandarin and L1 Spanish learners of English (6 participants per group). An English learner needs to acquire the semantic properties that differentiate these types of questions, in addition to the syntactic, phonetic and phonological properties that distinguish DQs, AQs and statements (Bartels 1997; Gunlogson 2001). Mandarin and Spanish differ from English in the fact that the two types of questions are syntactically identical. As opposed to Mandarin, Spanish only uses intonation to distinguish statements from questions (i.e. there is neither inversion nor use of any question particles). Questions differ from statements in the height of the first pitch accent (PA) and in the final boundary tone (rising vs. falling) (Sosa 1999; Hualde 2005). Mandarin questions could have a lexical marker (ma) at the end of the sentence with a rising boundary tone or be syntactically marked by using the structure of Verb-not-Verb (Liu & Xu 2005). There is no consensus, however, on whether questions differ from statements in the use of some global cues, such as an expanded pitch range (Yuan 2006). Based on previous research (Trofimovich & Baker 2006), we expect Spanish and Mandarin participants to have difficulty with some secondary cues (PA height –L1 Spanish-, and timing of the nuclear rise –L1 Mandarin-). Additionally, we expect larger differences overall when contextual information is involved.

Participants had to perform two tasks. Task 1 involved the repetition of de-contextualized sentences (10 stimuli per sentence-type plus 30 distractors). In Task 2, a context was provided and participants had to produce the sentence that they deemed most appropriate to the context. A total of six contexts per sentence type were presented; no distractors were included. Target sentences were extracted from the recordings and the first PA and the nuclear contour (final PA plus boundary tone) were (i) labelled using ToBI, and (ii) acoustically analysed (F0 changes and F0 slope). Results suggest that the two tasks yielded different patterns of cross-linguistic influence. In the elicited imitation task (Task 1), phonetic differences were restricted to the PA realization in both groups. Mandarin learners closely resembled controls but displayed more frequent uses of PAs. L1 Spanish speakers, contrary to our predictions, displayed significantly smaller F0 changes (Repeated measures ANOVA’s results: $F_{(2,28)}=3.38; p=.03$) than the other two groups. In Task 2, L1 Spanish speakers merged the two question types more frequently than L1 Mandarin speakers (30% vs. 11%), showing a preference for inverted questions. Phonological (selection of PA types in declaratives by L1 Spanish speakers) and phonetic differences (Mandarin speakers displayed a significantly larger - $F_{(2,18)}=9.52; p=000$- pitch excursion size in the realization of the nuclear contours) also emerged. In conclusion, results suggest that the
acquisition of intonation (as well as of other features) should be assessed through a wide variety of tasks. When the task demands are higher, cross-linguistic influence increases.

Reference List:
Emprunts de mots fonctionnels en français acadien

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Afin de comparer les dynamiques liées aux emprunts fonctionnels, nous avons choisi deux communautés en situation de contact avec l’anglais : Moncton, ville située dans le sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick et la Baie Sainte-Marie, communauté rurale située dans le sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse. À Moncton, les francophones représentent 33 % de la population (Statistique Canada 2012a), tandis qu’à la Baie Sainte-Marie, ils sont 67 % (Statistique Canada 2012b), alors majoritaires au plan local. Par contre, dans l’ensemble du Nouveau-Brunswick, les francophones représentent 33 % de la population, tandis qu’en Nouvelle-Écosse, ils ne sont que 4 %, alors en situation d’extrême minorité au plan provincial. Les analyses ont été faites à partir de corpus de Moncton (corpus de 1991 et de 2000) et de la Baie Sainte-Marie (corpus de 1990) afin d’appréhender la variation du point de vue diatopique (Baie Sainte-Marie vs Moncton), mais aussi diachronique (en temps réel pour Moncton à partir des corpus de 1991 vs 2000 et en temps apparent pour la Baie Sainte-Marie avec des locuteurs de 20 à 84 ans) et diaphasique pour Moncton (contexte entre pairs vs semi-dirigé). L’analyse comparative des corpus existants nous permettra de répondre à ces questions de recherche : Comment est-ce que les communautés diffèrent-elles par rapport aux différentes dimensions mentionnées ci-dessus (par ex. diachronie, diaphasie) ? Quels sont les facteurs sociaux susceptibles d’expliquer les différents résultats ?

Nous comparons en détail la distribution et les valeurs des connecteurs d’origine anglaises but (1) et so (2) dans le français de Moncton et de la Baie Sainte-Marie. Dans ces variétés, but alterne avec les variantes françaises ben et mais, et so alterne avec la variante française ça fait que et à Moncton s’ajoute alors et donc.

(1) Elle a pris des leçons de piano but ça a jamais, comme, panné out. (CL-340)
(2) Il s’a marié tard. Il avait vingt-sept so après ça il était pas mal réglé. (CL-340)

Nos résultats préliminaires révèlent deux tendances distinctes pour chacune des communautés. À Moncton, but est plutôt stable de 1991 (84 % ; N=750) à 2000 (81 % ; N=703). Par contre, lorsqu’on examine les résultats selon la dimension diaphasique, nous remarquons un essor de but de 0 % (N=113) en 1991 à 53 % (N=229) en 2000 dans le contexte semi-dirigé. De plus, nos résultats de Moncton démontrent que même en contexte semi-dirigé, la variante anglaise so est en croissance de 19 % (N=31) en 1991 à 64 % (N=100) en 2000. Du côté de la Baie Sainte-Marie, nos résultats font montrer d’une répartition inégale des deux emprunts : so est utilisé à un taux de 54 % (N=618), tandis que but est utilisé à un taux de 2 % (N=1566). De plus, les résultats démontrent que so est stratifié selon l’âge et le sexe ; ce sont les locuteurs les plus jeunes ainsi que les femmes qui favorisent l’utilisation de so.

La comparaison nous permet ainsi de montrer qu’il est tout aussi pertinent de s’interroger
sur les différences que sur les ressemblances entre les variétés acadiennes, dans la mesure où elles présentent des dynamiques distinctes dans l’emploi d’emprunts identiques.

Références


Distinguishing Inuit verb-like adjectives from genuine stative intransitive verbs

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Claim: I argue that a subset of predicates classified as verbs in Eskimoan languages are in fact adjectives. Evidence for the status of adjectives in Inuit is drawn from a number of phenomena across several dialects which converge on the same set of predicates. In particular, they exhibit distinct patterns of nominalization and mood marking. This analysis supports Dixon’s (2004) and Baker’s (2004) claims that adjectives are universal. Further, it illustrates the danger of accepting surface variation at face value (contra Evans & Levinson 2009).

Evidence from nominalization: While verbs and adjectives pattern together in most respects, only adjectives may be nominalized and incorporated into the copula before combining with a verb-incorporating modal. Genuine verbs must combine directly with modal:

(1) taki-ju-u-qu-guviuk  taki-ju-u-guñaq-tu-q  (South Baffin)
tall-DECL-COP-want-COND.2SG.3SG tall-DECL-COP-can-DECL-3SG
‘If you’d like it to be tall, it can be tall.’

(2) pukta-(*ju-u)-qu-guviuk  pukta-(*ju-u)-guñaq-tu-q
float-(*DECL-COP)-want-COND.2SG.3SG float-(*DECL-COP)-can-DECL-3SG
‘If you want it to float, it can float.’

Similarly, Dorais (1988:114-115) notes that in the Nunavik dialect these same adjectival predicates (which he calls “qualifying name giving words”) cannot take 1st or 2nd person agreement or moods other than declarative without first undergoing nominalisation.

(3) aupar-(*tu-u)-vu-q  (Nunavik)
red-(*DECL-COP)-INDIC-3SG
‘is red’

(4) piu-(*ju-u)-ju-nga
good-(*DECL-COP)-DECL-1SG
‘I am good.’

Evidence from mood marking: Further evidence for distinguishing adjectives from verbs comes from the Siglit dialect where verbs—but not adjectives—take an alternative exponent of declarative mood conditioned by 1st and 3rd person agreement: -jua/-tua- instead of the -ju/-tu- form that occurs with 2nd person and adjectives across all persons, Lowe (2001):

(5) pukta-jua-q  (6) sinik-tua-q
float-DECL-3SG leave-DECL-3SG
‘is floating’  ‘is sleeping’

(7) nakuu-ju-q  (8) ipik-tu-q
good-DECL-3SG sharp-DECL-3SG
‘is fine, good’  ‘is sharp’

Additional evidence (not shown) is drawn from compatibility with the comparative marker -tqi- in the Kangiryuarmiut dialect and the predicate negator -it- in Aivilingmiut.

Discussion: Crucially, these phenomena converge on the same set of predicates, across geographically disparate dialects. Equally important is that the patterning cannot be reduced to aspeсtual differences, as both verb and adjective classes contain stative predicates, and among adjectives we find both stage and individual level predicates. Thus, the language possessives adjectives, adding further evidence to their potential universality, in the sense of a phonologically null a categorizing head made available by UG. The verb-like nature of adjectives is argued to be due to a null copula, with evidence drawn from the Siglit copula.
References


There's no future in Old English

E. Cowper, D. C. Hall, B. Bjorkman, N. Banerjee, and R. Tollan, University of Toronto

In Present-Day English (PDE), present-tense clauses can have future interpretations, but with restrictions. The future event must be planned/scheduled, not just predicted (Lakoff 1971; Vetter 1973):

(1) a. The train \{arrives, is arriving, will arrive\} this evening.
    b. The rainstorm \{*arrives, *is arriving, will arrive\} this evening.

We take the English will-future, felicitous in (1a) and (1b), to be semantically modal (Partee 1973), and to spell out the interpretable formal feature MODALITY, which also characterizes synthetic future tense in Romance (Cowper 2005). Cowper & Hall (2013) argue that MODALITY was added to the English INFL system in the 15th C, establishing the modals as part of the auxiliary paradigm. Modals had previously been mostly ordinary verbs, but lacked the 3.SG.PRES -\textit{be}-\textit{s}, and gradually lost non-finite forms (Lightfoot 1979; Roberts 1985; Warner 1993). Semantically, they had root modal senses that were extended in Middle English (ME) to epistemic ones (Visser 1963–73; Lightfoot 1979; Roberts 1985; Traugott 1992; Roberts & Roussou 2003). Syntactically, they were reanalyzed as originating in T when English lost V-movement (Warner 1997; Lightfoot 1999; Roberts & Roussou 2003).

Positing the addition of a feature to the grammar makes testable predictions that go beyond the modals themselves. In a system with MODALITY, a clause lacking this feature is interpreted as contrastively non-modal. Thus in PDE, present-tense clauses without modals can refer to future events only if the clause refers to a plan or schedule that already holds of the speech time. If earlier English lacked MODALITY, the absence of WILL would not have been contrastive as it is in PDE, and the future use of the simple present would not have been constrained as it is in (1b).

To test this prediction, we compare translations of the same text into English at three stages: the Anglo-Saxon Gospels (ASG, OE, ca. 993 C.E.) and the Gospels in the Wycliffe/Purvey Bible (WP, ME, ca. 1388) and the King James Version (KJV, EMnE, 1604–11). Since WILL and SHALL were well established as future markers by EMnE, we extracted all tokens of WILL or SHALL in the KJV and coded them as volitional, deontic, conditional, or future. We also looked at all verses with future indicative or aorist subjunctive in the original Greek, the two main indicators of future time reference there.

Of 112 instances of future WILL/Shall in the KJV, 824 are expressed in the ASG by the present indicative, 55 by the present subjunctive, and 112 by forms syncretic between indicative and subjunctive, for a total of 89%. Only two futureate clauses used SHALL, and only ten WILL. (The remaining cases were fairly heterogeneous.) We infer that in OE, there was no special form prototypically encoding the future. WILL and SHALL were ordinary verbs, expressing volition and obligation respectively. The future was overwhelmingly expressed by the simple present indicative or subjunctive. In the ME version, SHALL was used to express the future in 899 cases, and WILL only 8. Both had root uses as well, but SHALL consistently renders the Greek future indicative (likely as a policy of the translators). Future-referring clauses that are aorist subjunctive in the Greek show more variation in ME: 54% SHALL vs. 42% simple present. The present tense was thus still a relatively robust expression of future time, and it was still freer in its applicability to future time-reference than in PDE. In KJV, very few future indicatives were translated with present tenses; 907 were translated with either WILL or SHALL. Luke 13:24 illustrates the differences in the expression of futurity from one version to the next:

(2) a. ASG: [...] for dām ic secge ēow, manega sēcaþ dēt hīg in gān, and hī ne magon.
    b. WP: [...] for Y seie to you, many seken to entre, and thei schulen not move.
    c. KJV: [...] for many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.

Quantitatively and qualitatively, our findings are consistent with Cowper & Hall (2013). In OE, the ‘present’ was merely non-past, with no specification for modality, and freely had future interpretations. By late ME, SHALL was used to mark the future, but MODALITY was not yet established as a contrastive feature. By EMnE, MODALITY is fully in place, and the present tense is restricted accordingly.
References


This paper reports on the first acoustic and articulatory study of the allophonic distribution of /l/ in Newfoundland, where Irish-settled areas are reported to exhibit light /l/ in both syllable-initial and syllable-final positions. This contrasts with the standard North American English pattern which has a dark [ɫ] in coda position and light [l] in onsets. Since earlier studies (Atkinson 1982, Bartlett 1977, Paddock 1982) Newfoundland has experienced major social and economic changes, which have in turn affected local dialects and have led to the loss of certain features (Clarke 2012). Our study uses instrumental methods to investigate the extent to which the Irish, light /l/ pattern persists and how different patterns of /l/ allophony are distributed among the population.

/l/ productions from twenty-two speakers were elicited in a controlled laboratory environment. Each participant produced six items in which the position of /l/ relative to the word boundary varies within a phrase (e.g. steal assets vs. see lapses) and six items which compare initial and final /l/s within compounds (e.g. coil amp vs. toy lamp). Items were controlled for preceding and following vowels. All items were repeated yielding two repetitions of each utterance. Recordings were automatically aligned using the Prosodylab-aligner (Gorman, Howell, Wagner 2011) and F1 and F2 measurements were taken at five points across the duration of the /l/ using Praat (Boersma, Weenink 2014). We report here on the z-score normalized acoustic measure of /l/ darkness (F2 - F1) taken from the temporal midpoint of /l/.

When our speakers are considered as a group, t-tests show a significant difference between /l/s in initial and final position with word-final /l/s being darker under both compound and phrasal stress (p<0.001). Patterns of individual speakers vary widely, however, with some speakers failing to show an initial-final distinction. A gender difference was found with women showing significantly darker /l/s in final (p<0.001) position. This is consistent with sociolinguistic patterns in which men retain more local variants while women adopt more standard patterns (Van Herk, Childs, Thorburn 2007).

We also report on a subset of speakers (sixteen) who were analyzed using ultrasound tongue imaging. Results from an SSANOVA (Davidson 2006) show 64% of the 168 pairwise comparisons from these speakers to have a statistically significant difference between the tongue root retraction or tongue body height (Sproat, Fujimura 1993) of word-initial /l/ and that of final /l/. These results indicate that our sample shows articulatorily distinct patterns across these positions. For all but two speakers, the distinctions are not obligatory and are realized at different rates. A logistic regression analysis Rbrul (Johnson 2009), which assessed the effect of external factors on these articulatory patterns, reveals that gender has a significant effect (p=0.008) on distinctions across word-initial and word-final positions. Specifically, male speakers are more likely (centred factor weight = 0.642) than females (0.358) to exhibit differences. We also found a significant effect of age on positional variation to the effect that older speakers are more likely to show allophonic variation at the level of articulation.

Given these results, we report a relative absence of light /l/ of the type described by (Clarke 2010). On the other hand, not everyone shows the standard Canadian English pattern, namely acoustically and articulatorily distinct /l/s in initial and final position. This points to a variable situation in NL that may be due to first, the historical presence of coda light /l/ and second, the levelling of this traditional feature. The loss of light /l/ appears to be gradual and not replaced in all cases simultaneously.
Propriétés aérodynamiques et comparaison des voyelles nasales et potentiellement nasalisées en français québécois

Il est reconnu que le français québécois (FQ) possède des voyelles nasales contrastives (paon /pɔ̃/) dans son inventaire phonologique, mais leur description phonétique est encore sommaire vu leurs difficultés d’analyse acoustique et leur variabilité. Il a aussi été soulevé (Léon, 1983) que les voyelles orales suivies d’une consonne nasale peuvent être nasalisées en FQ (panne /pãn/ → [pân]), contrairement à d’autres variétés où la nasalisation des voyelles orales est rare. Des mesures aérodynamiques, afin d’éliminer les difficultés d’analyse acoustique de la nasalité, et un nombre substantiel de participants peuvent donc être utiles afin de décrire ces voyelles de façon extensive et ainsi d’évaluer si le processus de nasalisation régressive est actif en FQ, contrairement à Léon (1983) qui se base sur des faits perceptifs et impressions.

Les études articulatoires sur les voyelles nasales du FQ (p. ex. Delvaux, 2006 ; Carignan 2013) sont peu nombreuses et évaluent un nombre limité de participants. Par exemple, en se basant sur les propriétés aérodynamiques des voyelles nasales de deux participants québécois, Carignan (2013) a déterminé que le degré de nasalisation (flux d’air nasal) augmente au fur et à mesure de la durée des voyelles, ce qui peut causer l’apparition d’une coda nasale lorsque celles-ci sont suivies d’une consonne occlusive (pente /pẫt/ → [pẫt]). Toutefois, Léon (1983) souligne que la présence d’une coda nasale semble variable entre locuteurs. La présente étude vise donc (1) à décrire les propriétés aérodynamiques des voyelles nasales contrastives et orales potentiellement nasalisées en FQ avec un nombre substantiel de locuteurs, entre autres à vérifier si l’apparition de la coda nasale est constante entre les locuteurs, et (2) à déterminer quelles sont les différences entre les voyelles nasales et potentiellement nasalisées du FQ quant à leur flux d’air nasal.

Douze locuteurs natifs du FQ ont donc prononcé deux fois 84 mots, et les mesures de flux d’air oral et nasal ont été effectuées en plus d’enregistrements audio de leurs productions. Suite à la segmentation (2005 voyelles-cible), l’extraction des données de flux d’air a été effectuée pour 31 points du début jusqu’après la fin de la durée des voyelles, et celles-ci ont été analysées afin d’extraire les patrons dynamiques de flux d’air nasal (ratio). En réponse au premier objectif de cette étude (1), les résultats suggèrent que les voyelles nasales contrastives possèdent un taux de flux d’air nasal moyen vers le début de leur durée qui augmente au fur et à mesure jusqu’à l’apparition d’une coda nasale après la voyelle chez la plupart des participants, que les voyelles potentiellement nasalisées possèdent un taux de flux d’air nasal minimal qui augmente vers la fin de leur durée, et que les voyelles orales (condition contrôle) possèdent un taux très bas de flux d’air nasal. De plus, afin de remplir le deuxième objectif de recherche (2), on remarque que le taux de flux d’air nasal des voyelles nasales semble différer de façon significative de celui des voyelles potentiellement nasalisées. Ces résultats suggèrent que l’apparition d’une coda nasale après une voyelle nasale est constante en FQ, et que la nasalisation des voyelles orales est minimale en FQ (il s’agirait d’un processus phonétique « naturel » de coarticulation plutôt que d’un processus phonologique contrôlé par les locuteurs), par conséquent que le contraste phonologique entre les voyelles nasales et nasalisées est robuste dans cette variété de français.

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Not [uD]: Redefining the EPP Requirement

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The Extended Projection Principle (EPP, Chomsky 1981, 1982) is often stated as a requirement for a D element in the domain of T (e.g., a strong [D] on 1º in Chomsky 1995). Likewise, Holmberg (2005) argues that a [D] feature, which also carries reference, checks the EPP in Finnish. I argue that the EPP must be, instead, a requirement for referentiality alone.

Holmberg (2005) shows that the Finnish EPP is checked when certain phrasal elements raise to a pre-verbal position (1b) or if an expletive is inserted (1c). However, a clause may not remain verb-initial if an eligible EPP-checker such as nyt ‘now’ is present in the clause (1a).

(1) a. *Meni nyt hullusti.
   go.pst.3sg now wrong
   ‘Meni now wrong’

b. Nyt meni hullusti.
   go.pst.3sg wrong
   ‘Nyt now wrong.’

c. Sitâ meni nyt hullusti.
   EXP go.pst.3sg now wrong
   ‘Now things went wrong.’ [Holmberg 2005: 541]

Evidence that this is an EPP-process includes the use of expletives (1c), the fact that fronting is obligatory, and the lack of any interpretive effect caused by fronting (Holmberg 2005). Indefinites can also undergo this fronting process (2), showing that it is not triggered to mark for topic, as topics must be specific (É. Kiss 1995, in Koskinen 1998).

(2) Amalle kuankaan ei anta-isi kukkia.
   ALL anybody.NOM NEG.3SG give-cond flower.PL.PAR
   ‘Nobody would give flowers to ANNA.’ [Holmberg 2005: 547]

This cannot be a requirement for [D] features, contra to Holmberg (2005), as non-D elements are able to check the EPP, such as the referential adverb nyt ‘now’ in (1b), above. Furthermore, some DPs are unable to check it. For example, predicative DPs, as in (3), are unable to front and check the EPP.

(3) a. Oli onnettomuus.
   be.pst.3sg accident
   ‘There was an accident.’

b. *Onnettomuus oli.
   accident be.pst.3sg
   ‘There was an accident.’

Finally, there are a variety of minimal pairs of elements that suggest that the crucial property for EPP-checking is referentiality. For example, although referential null pronouns are able to check the EPP, generic null pronouns are not. This is shown in the meaning contrast in (4). When the DP jäällä ‘on the ice’ is not fronted (4b), the null pronoun is interpreted as referential. However, when it is fronted (4a), the null pronoun is interpreted as generic.

(4) a. Jäällä kaadut pro gen.
   ice.ADE fall.2sg
   ‘One falls on the ice.’

b. pro gen2 kaadut jäällä.
   fall.2sg ice.ADE
   ‘You fall on the ice.’

This can be explained if the null generic pronoun cannot raise to check the EPP. In that case, jäällä must front to check the EPP. When the referential pronoun is the subject, however, it can check the EPP and there is no reason for jäällä to raise. Likewise, although referential adverbials, such as nyt in (1b), are able to check the EPP, manner adverbials are not, as in (5).

(5) *Nopeasti meni hullusti.
   quickly go.pst.3sg wrong
   ‘Things quickly went wrong.’

Data such as these suggest that referentiality operates in the formal syntax, and is needed for the EPP in Finnish. I will also discuss issues in the formalization of a referentiality feature.
References
This work provides a novel semantic analysis of copy raising verbs (CR), i.e. a construction which contains a base generated subject, a verb of perception (looks/seems/sounds), and a like-complement which usually contains a copy pronoun (Kim 2014), e.g. (1) John seems like he is cooking. I argue that CR verbs come with an obligatory and covert “perceiver” argument. I provide evidence that this argument has a temporal dimension, and propose a modal semantic analysis in the style of Kratzer (1981, 1989).

Interestingly, sentences like (1) are felicitous only if the speaker can directly perceive John, whereas “expletive” and canonical raising sentences (It seems like John is cooking, and John seems to be cooking) can be uttered when one simply sees pots boiling on John’s stove (the Puzzle of the Absent Cook; Asudeh & Toivonen, 2012). Asudeh and Toivonen account for the pattern by proposing the notion of “perceptual source” (Psource), which in CR constructions is obligatorily the matrix subject, and “perceptual goal” (Pgoal), which is often unexpressed, but represents the perceiver of the event. I present a new observation that the temporal interpretation of the CR verb is necessarily linked to this perceiver, as demonstrated in example (2):

(2) Ken’s wife Mary went on a hike without him, and when she came home she was in great spirits. Ken later says to his friend:
   a. Mary seemed like she enjoyed the hike.
   b. #Mary seemed to enjoy the hike.

I follow Wurmbrand (2014), who argues that when seem takes an infinitive complement, the reference time of the infinitive is given by the reference time of seem. I argue that the contrast in (2) follows if the perceiver/Pgoal is an obligatory argument of the CR verb: in a situation where Ken was not present at the time of the enjoy event (cotemporaneous with the seem event), (2b) is infelicitous, revealing that the Pgoal role must be tied to the time of the matrix seem event.

If we accept that the Pgoal is an obligatory argument, the question to be answered is how exactly it is supplied when there is no overt PP. The most obvious assumption would be that the speaker acts as the Pgoal, yet there are cases where it seems that the Pgoal must be someone other than the speaker. As the examples in (3) show, some copy raising verbs do not allow the speaker to express a proposition which they know to be false:

(3) You are watching your friend Tom cutting onions, and tears are streaming down his face.
   a. Haha, Tom looks like he is really upset.
   b. #Haha, Tom seems like he’s really upset.
   c. #Haha, Tom seems to be really upset.

I argue for a modal analysis of the contrast seen in (3). I model the Pgoal as the individual whose impression/knowledge is relevant for providing the worlds to be quantified over, analogous to the role of the judge in predicates of personal taste (Lasersohn 2005, Stephenson 2007). In the absence of overt material stating otherwise, I argue that it is in fact the speaker that fills this role, but the type of restrictors in the lexical entries of look and sound allows the speaker to make statements that are incompatible with their own knowledge. Look and sound restrict the set of possible worlds to only those that are compatible with the sensory evidence that is available to the speaker at utterance time. Seem however restricts the worlds to those compatible with the speaker’s epistemic alternatives, which is a larger set and is determined by the knowledge that the speaker holds at utterance time. Furthermore, I argue that the worlds provided by the restrictor are then ranked according to a stereotypical/normative ordering source to provide the set of BEST worlds (Kratzer 1981, Portner, 1998). This is what makes (3b) and (3c) infelicitous in the above context; it is part of the speaker’s knowledge that Tom is in fact cutting onions, so the proposition that he is upset will not be among the BEST worlds.
Bibliography

High vowel nasalization and contrast preservation in French

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Due to the failure of mid and low vowels to assimilate in nasality with adjacent nasal stops (e.g., *itali[כn]‘Italian (f.)’, itali[כm]), French is often described as completely lacking regressive nasalization. However, increasing experimental evidence from French shows that, beyond having the highest rates of contextual nasalization, high vowels are on average more than 50% nasal in VN sequences (Rochet & Rochet 1991, Spears 2006, Dow 2014). Taken into account with the morphophonological evidence for lowering of underlying high nasal vowels (e.g., /fi^n/ → [f̥E]‘fine (m.)’), we are left with a curious disparity where high nasal vowels are favored as the output of assimilation but actively avoided in inventory production.

In this paper, I argue that contrast plays a central role in blocking regressive nasalization and must be encoded as part of the grammar of French. Problematically, contrast is more often than not considered the mere product or “epiphenomenon” of phonology, which is reflected in most major frameworks by its inability to influence derivations. In order to account for the French paradox, I present an analysis in Preservation of Contrast Theory (PC Theory; Lubowicz 2002, 2012), an optimality theoretic framework where entire scenario-candidates are evaluated against each other. In my analysis, based on larger typological evidence, I argue that markedness pressures drive lowering of input high nasal vowels, which creates a partial height neutralization. By virtue of the elimination of [i] in contrastive positions, this process creates a gap in the inventory where (and only where) regressive nasalization may apply; however, where oral-nasal contrast does exist, nasalization is blocked.

In sum, partial height neutralization, whose output is transparent in terms of markedness, allows for partial oral-nasal neutralization to take place, though its scope is unexpected in terms of markedness. This is captured in the PC analysis by an ranking where *VN (“No oral vowel + nasal consonant sequences”) is dominated by PC_OUT(nasal), which is violated when identical outputs correspond to segments which are distinct in nasality in the input (e.g., [ɛ] ← /ɛ, ɛ^n/). The full constraint ranking provided in (1), where *i is a simplified markedness constraint against high nasal vowels. Lower-ranked, inactive PC-family constraints are not discussed here.

(1) French ranking, PC analysis

\[
\text{PC}_{\text{OUT}}(\text{nasal}) \gg *\text{VN} \gg *\text{i}, \text{PC}_{\text{IN}}(\text{nasal}), \text{PC}_{\text{OUT}}(\text{high}), \text{PC}_{\text{IN}}(\text{high})
\]

Due to the relatively high ranking of *VN, nasalization seeks to occur on all vowels, but is impeded where contrast exists. As /i^n/ is lowered to [ê], [i] is perfectly acceptable in assimilatory contexts, according to the oral-nasal contrast—even though it violates the lower-ranked markedness constraint. Thus, high vowel nasalization is not a counterexample to a larger theory of nasal vowel markedness (where low nasal vowels are the least marked), but rather the juncture of allophonic and (anti-)neutralization. Ultimately, this analysis provides further evidence for the utility of contrast as visible, if not central, to phonological grammar.
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Recent studies show that bilingual children might experience delay in some grammatical domains with respect to monolingual children, in the absence of cross-linguistic influence (Unsworth 2011, Pirvulescu et al. 2014). With respect to developmental object omissions some studies show delay in bilingual children as unidirectional quantitative differences with respect to monolinguals; this is interpreted as a consequence of cross-linguistic influence (Müller & Hulk 2001; Yip & Matthews 2005). These data come from a combination of [±null argument] languages, contrasting in the availability of null objects. Our research question is: is there still a bilingual effect in omissions once cross-linguistic differences are factored out? Some studies show this is the case (Pérez-Leroux et al. 2009, Pirvulescu et al. 2014) but the language combination of bilingual children is limited (French and English).

We focus on the bilingual acquisition of two pronominal clitic languages, Spanish and French. We report results on the developmental timetable of Spanish in bilinguals and monolinguals. An elicited production picture task was conducted in Spanish on 74 Spanish-French balanced bilingual children living in Paris, France (ages 2;11 to 5;11) and 52 Spanish monolingual children (ages 2;11 to 5;11) in Madrid, Spain. An example of the task is given below:

(1) Prompt: Que quiere hacer Rita con la pelota? / “What does Rita want to do with the ball?”

Target answer: lanzarla / “throw it”

Results show that object omission in the Spanish of bilingual Spanish-French children is higher than in the Spanish of monolingual children (Table 1; $F_{(1,119)} = 33.57$, $p < .000$). For Spanish monolinguals, our results confirm the results by Wexler et al, 2004 for European Spanish – virtually no omission in the youngest children. The results also enforce the idea of a Spanish dialectal variation since in Columbian Spanish the rate of omissions is significantly higher (35% in 3-year-olds, cf. Castilla & Pérez-Leroux, 2010). For bilingual children, the results are similar to Pérez-Leroux et al. 2011 (for Spanish-English children) showing substantial omission in young children. Finally, the results for bilingual children’s object omission in language pairs that exclude cross-linguistic influence more generally seem to confirm the hypothesis of a bilingual delay in the absence of cross-linguistic influence.

We analyze these results following the hypothesis of the retention of a default null object representation (Pérez-Leroux et al. 2009). We assume that referential null objects are universally part of the initial child grammar. Delay in the domain of object omission in bilingual children is an input-induced delay (reduced and more variable input) within a variationist frame (Yang, 2004) which can lead to changes in the developmental timetable. In this case, the referential null object is retained longer. If the analysis is correct, it shows that for some languages (European Spanish here), examining delay in bilingual children can uncover a stage that it is very hard, if not impossible, to notice in monolingual development.
Table 1. Mean proportions (s. d. in parenthesis) of object types produced by bilingual (balanced) and monolingual Spanish children and adults in direct object clitic elicitation task.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>CL</th>
<th>Omissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilinguals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.06(0.05)</td>
<td>0.59(0.11)</td>
<td>0.35(0.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.80(0.05)</td>
<td>0.20(0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.06(0.09)</td>
<td>0.88(0.11)</td>
<td>0.06(0.06)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monolinguals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.05(0.08)</td>
<td>0.92(0.1)</td>
<td>0.03(0.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.02(0.6)</td>
<td>1.0(0.06)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.03(0.9)</td>
<td>1.0(0.9)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adults</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.18(0.19)</td>
<td>0.82(0.19)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

References
Acquisition des clitiques datifs en français L2 : influence de la structure argumentale et du sens du verbe de la L1

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L’objectif de notre étude est de mesurer l’influence de la structure argumentale de la L1, ainsi que celle du sens des verbes, sur la production des clitiques datifs en français L2 par des adultes anglophones. Les structures bitransitives du type Marie a donné le livre à Paul et la cliticisation du syntagme prépositionnel Marie lui a donné le livre nous intéresseront tout particulièrement. Si le français et l’anglais partagent la structure Objet Prépositionnel (OP) (Mary gave the book to Paul/to him), l’anglais dispose également de la structure à Double Objet (DO) (Mary gave Paul/him the book). Cette alternance, connue sous le nom de dative shift, est absente en français. Les entrées lexicales de l’anglais correspondent à un sur-ensemble de celles de la L2 (White, 1991). De plus, outre les verbes qui acceptent l’alternance dative (OP/DO), d’autres n’acceptent que la structure DO (to refuse, to cost) ou la structure OP (to donate, to demonstrate) (Pinker, 1989; Goldberg, 1995; Krifka, 1999 et 2004). Ces verbes ont également des propriétés sémantiques différentes telles que la possession, la communication, etc. (Rappaport Hovav et Levin, 2008).

Deux groupes de sujets ont été soumis à deux tests écrits : l’un mettant l’accent sur la structure argumentale, l’autre sur le sens des verbes. Les analyses montrent que, chez les apprenants anglophones, alors que la performance et le type d’erreur varient considérablement selon le type de verbe (OP, DO, OP/DO), l’influence du sens du verbe est moins importante. Les verbes qui n’acceptent que la structure DO en anglais sont les plus problématiques pour nos sujets anglophones, surtout intermédiaires. Cela n’est pas le cas pour nos sujets allophones. Nous discuterons de ces résultats à la lumière des études précédentes sur l’acquisition des clitiques et le phénomène de l’influence translangagière (ex. Jarvis et Pavlenko, 2008).

Bibliographie


**IPA Phonetics: Multimedia Resource for Phonetics**

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*IPA Phonetics* is a new iOS application that illustrates the sounds and articulations of an expanded version of the IPA chart. This app gives users of Apple iOS mobile electronic devices the ability to access and compare and, through random-presentation games, to test their knowledge of phonetic symbols and sounds together with their visual production characteristics, including video of the oral vocal tract, laryngoscopic video of the laryngeal vocal tract, and ultrasound of the laryngeal vocal tract. This free app is entirely self-contained, in that once downloaded it requires no internet connection to use.

The chart format follows the elaborated table for phonetic notation of speech sounds in Esling (2010). Ultrasound images that accompany the Pharyngeal/Epiglottal and Glottal columns of the chart were captured using a GE portable LOGIQe R5.0.1 system with an 8C-RS probe to image supraglottal laryngeal involvement (e.g. for Glottal stop) and with an 12L-RS straight-line probe at a relatively shallow 2-4 cm depth on the neck and 2-4 cm of the vertical dimension for clear resolution of laryngeal structures to image larynx height changes (e.g. for Pharyngeal/Epiglottals). This is a novel laryngeal technique that differs from the approach usually taken in oral lingual ultrasound data capture (see Moisik 2013).

The purpose of the app is to introduce linguists, students of IPA symbolization, and the general public via iPad/iPhone technology to the auditory inventory of possible speech sounds of the languages of the world and to how each sound is physically articulated. The taxonomy is also a window on the theory of phonetic classification. Each consonant or vowel category can be listened to and viewed in the form of close-up oral-endoscopic videos of the vocal tract. Images/audio may be sped up or slowed down to compare the degree of auditory distance between categories. Views of consonant and vowel categories are presented in pop-up windows that can be expanded to full screen. Vowel sounds can be played as short, long, paired, or 'swept', i.e. an auditory/articulatory continuum from one corner or side of the vowel chart to another. Laryngeal (Glottal and Pharyngeal/Epiglottal) articulations are accompanied by a choice of three laryngeal ultrasound images as well as laryngoscopic videos of the deep vocal tract. Ultrasound images of this region of the vocal tract have not previously been included in databases of articulatory categories (cf. the lingual ultrasound images for oral sounds in *Seeing Speech* 2013). The app also has a Voice Quality page with audio files for each of the oral and laryngeal categories and which orients the categories on a static graphic of an updated model of the vocal tract. Users can be led to interpret and compare auditory categories and visual images in the database, via the model, by switching between screens of consonants, vowels, and voice qualities.

http://www.seeingspeech.arts.gla.ac.uk
Effects of Prosodic Cues on Relative Clause Attachment Preferences in Spanish
Fromont Lauren, Biau Emmanuel, Soto-Faraco Salvador

High attachment preferences for ambiguous relative clauses (RCs) is a phenomenon that has been long studied (Cuetos & Mitchell, 1988; Carreiras & Clifton, 1993) and discussed (Grillo & Costa (2014)). Prosodic cues such as pauses demarcate intonational phrases that would facilitate syntactic parsing (Fodor 2002). In a production study by de la Cruz-Pavía (2010), she established that Spanish readers do project a prosodic contour reflecting their own interpretation. For sentences like (1), they tend to exhibit a weak low attachment preference, i.e. they attach short Relative Clauses of four syllables with the second noun NP2 by placing a prosodic pause after the first noun NP1 in ambiguous sentences.

(1) María encontró al amigo del niño que reía.
“Maria met the friend of the child who was laughing”

In the present study, we investigated the possible role of these pauses in RC sentences disambiguation, on the listener’s side. To our knowledge, there is no evidence that listeners use them to build their syntactic representations during speech perception. We created Spanish sentences containing an attachment-related structural ambiguity, based on a similar sentence structure in the example above. Applying a cross-splicing method (Pauker et al., 2011), we generated three versions of identical sentences, except for the placement of a 200 ms prosodic pause: after NP1 (A), NP2 (B) or no pause at all (BA). Participants listened to short stories ending with an experimental ambiguous sentence, and were asked to decide which name (NP1 or NP2) the RC referred to. We measured the effect of prosody on the interpretation by calculating the proportion of low to high attachment according to the pause’s placement in the respective ambiguous sentences (A, B and BA versions of each sentence). Results show a clear modulation of attachment preference depending on the pause’s position (Figure 1): The absence of pause (BA) confirms the natural preference for low attachment interpretation, which is significantly reinforced when a pause is placed after NP1 (A). In contrast, when a pause is placed after NP2 (B), the interpretation was significantly reversed with a clear preference for the high attachment.

![Fig. 1: Proportion of low attachment preference (in percentage %) when the pause is placed after NP1 (A), after NP2 (B), or absent (BA) in the ambiguous sentences.](image)

Our present results support the findings reported by de la Cruz-Pavía (2010) and provide empirical evidence that prosodic contours help listeners assign syntactic structure (Fodor, 1998; 2002). These results are of particular importance as they bring a new useful behavioral measure of syntactic parsing modulation in speech perception and prosody. Further studies, including manipulation of RC’s length and the use of the event-related potentials (ERP) technique are needed to investigate the extent to which prosody may modulate interpretation.
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The derivation of theme-signs in Algonquin Ojibwe: a Multiple Agree approach

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The goal of this paper is to argue that the Algonquin Ojibwe (henceforth Algonquin) theme-sign is the morphophonological correspondance to a syntactic Multiple Agree relation holding between a \([u\phi]\) probe on a functional category F, located within TP and above \(vP\), and the \([\phi]\) goals of two nominal elements within the c-command domain of F.

The following examples serve to illustrate the phenomenon under investigation. In both (1) and (2), the prefix \(n-\) indicates first person. In (1), the theme-sign \(-aa\) indicates that the first person is the subject and that there is a third person object, while in (2), the theme-sign \(-ig\) indicates that the first person is the object and that there is a third person subject.

(1) nwaabmaa
   n-waabm-aa
   1-see-DIR(NL)
   ‘I see him/her.’

(2) nwaabmig
   n-waabm-ig
   1-see-INV(NL)
   ‘He/She sees me.’

Contrary to claims that (some) Algonquian theme-signs are object agreement markers (McGinnis 1999; Oxford 2014), Algonquin theme-signs must be calculated on the basis of the person features of both the subject and the object. For example, the second person feature of the object is necessary but insufficient to determine the theme-sign in (3) and (4): if the subject bears a first person feature, the theme-sign \(-in\) must be inserted but if the subject bears a third person feature, the theme-sign \(-ig(w)\) must be inserted.

(3) gwaabmin
   g-waabm-in
   2-see-INV(L)
   ‘I see you.’

(4) gwaabmig
   g-waabm-igw
   2-see-INV(NL)
   ‘He/She sees you.’

From a theoretical standpoint, then, it seems that in the derivation of Algonquin theme-signs, a single category enters into more than one Agree relation. Although such a proposal has taken the form of Cyclic Agree in the literature (Béjar and Rezac 2009; Lochbihler 2012), the present contribution argues against such an implementation on both conceptual and empirical grounds. Instead, it is proposed that the theme-sign is the morphophonological correspondance to a Multiple Agree (Hiraiwa 2001; Nevins 2007, 2011) relation holding between a \([u\phi]\) probe on a functional category F and the \([\phi]\) goals of two nominal elements within the c-command domain of F.

Furthermore, it is argued that the object must undergo movement to an outer spec-\(vP\) position. Algonquin exhibits a pattern of cross-clausal agreement in which the matrix verb may show agreement with its local subject and either the subject or the object of its complement clause. If this construction is the result of an Agree relation between a functional category in the matrix clause and a nominal in the embedded clause (Polinsky and Potsdam 2001; Branigan and MacKenzie 2002; Lochbihler and Mathieu to appear), then it must be the case that the subject and the object are equidistant from the relevant probe. In particular, the subject and object are in specifier positions of the same projection, \(vP\). The structure of the Algonquin clause is, then, as in (5), where arrows represent Agree relations.

\[
(5) \quad [CP \ C [TP \ T [FP \ F_{[u\phi, u\phi]}] [vP \ DP_{object} [vP \ DP_{subject} [v' \ v [vP \ V \ DP_{object} ] ] ] ] ] ]
\]
References


A split analysis of Tigrinya nominal possessive constructions
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Tigrinya (Semitic, Ethiopia & Eritrea; SOV) has two types of possessive constructions, which differ in both structure and function: (i) BARE POSSESSIVES have no marking on either the possessor or possessed, and are used for inalienable possession (ii) NAY-MARKED POSSESSIVES have the particle nay preceding the possessor and are used for alienable possession. This paper presents a split analysis of the two possessives by comparing two competing hypotheses proposed for similar constructions in other Semitic languages. Amharic, a very closely related language, uses the element yəә, similar to the Tigrinya NAY, to encode possession. Two hypotheses have been proposed to account for the Amharic yəә-marked possessives: (i) yəә is a genitive Case marker (Ouhalla 2004) and (ii) yəә is a Linker (den Dikken 2007). I show that NAY is neither a Linker nor a Case marker, and argue that it is a spell-out of a functional element whose role is to mediate a grammatical relation between two dependents (e.g., the possessee and its possessor).

I present five pieces of evidence in support of my analysis. The first three demonstrate that a nay-marked possessor is a predicate but a bare possessor is not. First, the nay-marked possessor can appear across a copula in a copular clause (1a), but the non-nay-marked possessor cannot (1b). Second, the nay-marked possessor can appear either before or after a possessee-modifying adjective (2a), indicating that the possessor is a modifier; but a non-nay-marked possessor can only appear preceding a possessee-modifying adjective (2b). Third, the possessee of a nay-marked possessor can undergo ellipsis in a coordinated construction (3a), while the possessee of a bare possessor cannot (3b). The other two pieces of evidence show that nay introduces other kinds of nominal predicates. It introduces non-intersective adjectives (4a) and nominalized clauses (4b), suggesting that nay is neither a Linker nor a Case marker. Finally, nay does not occur before inalienable possessors of kinship nouns (5), again suggesting that nay is not a Case marker. Based on these, I argue alternatively that nay is a spell-out of a functional head that introduces a grammatical relationship between two dependents and claim that a split analysis of the two possession – nay–marked and bare – types in Tigrinya is tenable.

To account for the bare possessives, I compare them with similar constructions in Hebrew. Hebrew uses construct state possessives (CSPs), similar to the Tigrinya bare possessives, to encode possession. Two competing hypotheses have been put forward to account for CSPs: (i) CSPs involve standard head-movement (cf. Ritter 1991) and (ii) CSPs involve snowballing phrasal movement (cf. Shlonsky 2004). I show that Tigrinya bare possessives involve neither standard head-movement nor snowballing phrasal movement, and argue that a simple head-to-spec movement accompanied by M-Merger (in the sense of Matushansky 2006) and the operation Agree may account for all the facts of Tigrinya.
(1) a. ʔit-i mäs’haf [nay joni] ʔiyy-u  
D.m.sg book of John be-3msgS  
‘The book is John’s.’  
b. *ʔit-i wəddi [joni] ʔiyy-u  
D.msg book John be-3msgS  
‘The son is John’s.’

(2) a. (ḥaduf) nay joni (ḥaduf) mäs’haf  
(new) of John new book  
‘the teacher’s new book’

(3) a. [(nay joni) mäs’haf] gaziʔ-*-yyo [(nay əә Elsa] [wəḍi]  
of John book buy.PF-1S-3O of Elsa but Neg-buy.PF-1S-3O-Neg  
‘I have bought John’s book, but I haven’t bought [Elsa’s [book]].’

b. *[hafti [joni]] raxib-ə-yya [____ [elsa]]  
sister John meet.PF-1S-3O Elsa but Neg-meet.PF-1S-3O-Neg  
Intended: ‘I have met John’s sister, but I haven’t met [Elsa’s [sister]].’

(4) a. nay k’ādām kantiba  
of former mayor

b. sibir nay mi-ball-u  
break of NML-say-3M.SG thing  
‘a former mayor’  
‘The fact that it is broken (slightly/easily)…’

(5) a. *nay joni wəddi  
of John son

b. wəddi joni  
son John  
Intended: ‘John’s son’  
‘John’s son’

References


The influence of lexical-stress in word acquisition: Emerging evidence for cross-linguistic differences in a developmental framework.
Sophie Godbout-Beaulieu and Christopher Fennell, University of Ottawa

To effectively build a vocabulary, infants need to apply their refined phonetic sensitivities to word learning, distinguishing between similar sounding words like “key” and “tea.” Yet, infants have difficulty learning minimal pairs in laboratory word-learning tasks up until 17 months of age (Werker, Fennell, Corcoran & Stager, 2002). Research has shown that infants perform better when given additional perceptual cues (e.g., acoustically salient contrasts; Curtin, Fennell, & Escudero, 2009). This study explores the link between the additional perceptual cue of lexical stress and infants’ detection of phonological changes in newly learned words. Lexical stress is defined as acoustic emphasis on a syllable within a word, marked by an increased intensity, frequency, and/or duration. Stress patterns can differ across languages. In French, stress is usually placed on the last syllable in a sentence, whereas in English it is generally placed on the first syllable of every word. Previous results suggest that 20- to 24- month-old English-learners differentiate phonemic changes more easily in stressed than unstressed syllables, regardless of whether the stress was syllable-initial or final (Floccia, Nazzi, Austin, Arreckx, & Gosselin, 2011). To date, no research has investigated the interplay between lexical stress and phonological discrimination in bilingual infants, or in unilingual infants under 20 months. The inclusion of bilinguals is of interest as they may have to cope with two different stress patterns (e.g., English and French).

In the task, French-English bilingual (N = 32) and English unilingual (N = 32) 17- and 20-month-old infants were habituated to two novel object-word pairings (bina – Object A; lato – Object B). Half the participants were presented with stress-initial stimuli (BIna, LAto), half to stress-final (biNA, laTO). At test, infants saw both objects from habituation simultaneously and heard one of the object labels. Infants heard a correct pronunciation of a target word (bina, lato) in four test trials and an incorrect pronunciation in the other four (dina, lako). Thus, all infants heard mispronunciations on both stressed and unstressed syllables. Our dependent measure was proportion looking to the target object (the labeled object was still considered the target if it was incorrectly pronounced). Overall, 17-month-old unilinguals looked longer at the target over distractor, regardless of whether its label was correctly or incorrectly pronounced. However, 20- month-old unilinguals looked significantly less at the target when the mispronunciation occurred in an initial-stressed word. Bilinguals looked significantly longer at target when hearing its label correctly pronounced, in both stressed and unstressed syllables and in both age groups. However, this effect was strongest with final-stressed words.

Thus, similar to Floccia, et al. (2011), English-learning infants’ detailed use of phonemic information appears to be aided by syllable stress at this younger age. Further, there appears to be a bilingual advantage, as only infants learning two languages detected mispronunciations in both unstressed and stressed syllables. This may be due to bilinguals’ enhanced cognitive control (Kovács & Mehler, 2009); they can inhibit looking to target when the word is mispronounced. Bilinguals’ last-syllable advantage may be due to their French exposure, a language with final syllable stress. Interestingly, a close examination of the timing of infants’ looks to the target revealed that unilinguals looked significantly more at the target when it was correctly pronounced than when it was
mispronounced only in the first 2000 ms proceeding the target phonological contrast, whereas the bilinguals continue to look more at the target throughout the trial. A discussion will be held on the possible implications of these attentional differences between the linguistic groups.
References


The goal of this talk is to provide a syntactic analysis of constructions in which Russian *samý* is used as part of a fragment answer, see (1). I show that A’s reply in (1) has a hybrid derivation combining properties of fragment answers to *wh*-questions (e.g. Merchant 2004) with properties of polarity particles (e.g. Authier 2013).

(1) A: Do you remember Peter? He called me yesterday.
   B: Which Peter? Peter who plays the violin?
   A: *On samý*.
      he self-M.SG.NOM
   ‘That’s the one.’ (lit. He himself.)

In the dialogue in (1), A affirms the identity of Peter. In addition, A’s reply has an emphatic flavour when compared to simple answers, such as *Da* ‘yes’ or *On* ‘he’.

**Properties of Pron+ *samý*** Pron+ *samý* has a number of peculiar properties:
(i) As illustrated above, it can be used as an affirmative answer to a *yes/no*-question.
(ii) Pron+ *samý* can be embedded under reportative verbs and epistemic modals, but is deviant under modals expressing desire. (iii) Pron+ *samý* is incompatible with negation. (iv) For most speakers, Pron+ *samý* cannot surface in a regular argument position. These properties clearly distinguish *samý* from the so-called emphatic reflexives as in *On sam prišel* ‘He himself came’ (e.g. Klenin 1980).

**Analysis** The analysis I propose derives the fragment answer *On samý* ‘He self’ in (1) from the identity statement ‘He self is Peter’. I argue that ‘he self’ raises to the specifier of a positive Polarity Phrase above TP and triggers an obligatory TP-ellipsis (e.g. Merchant 2004, Progovac 2005, Authier 2013), see (2):

(2) \[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[PolP [DP he self], [Pol Pol+ [TP [is Peter]]]]} \\
& \text{(simplified)}
\end{align*}
\]

That is to say, I propose that Pron+ *samý* has an intermediate status between a fragment answer and a positive polarity particle, such as *yes*. Like a fragment answer (e.g. Merchant 2004), it is derived by TP-ellipsis and shows case-connectivity and preposition-stranding effects characteristic of fragment answers in other languages. However unlike fragment answers, Pron+ *samý* surfaces in PolP rather than FocusP which assimilates it to polarity particles. Like polarity particles, Pron+ *samý* can be used to answer a *yes/no*-question (property (i)), shows the embeddability restrictions (property (ii)) and makes the TP-ellipsis obligatory (property (iv)), see Authier 2013. The incompatibility with negation (property (iii)) is explained by postulating that *samý* is an empathic marker dependent on the positive value of PolP.

Thus, I argue that the fragment answers with Pron+ *samý* in Russian are different from other non-sentential phenomena in other languages, such as fragment answers to *wh*-questions, polarity particles and, additionally, the so-called *Ga*-ellipsis in Slovenian (e.g. Dvůrák 2007).
References


Akan is a Kwa language spoken in Ghana. It has highly similar word order to English, and questions can be formed by placing the question word at the left periphery (as well as in situ). The language uses resumptive pronouns in the questioned position, which are overt for animate referents, but null in most cases for inanimates. The language does not obey the syntactic constraints on questioning exemplified by English and similar languages. Saah and Goodluck (1995) show that Akan allows question words to refer to a position inside complex NPs, temporal clauses and embedded questions, all of which are inadmissible in English. For example, in Saah and Goodluck’s study of Akan questioning into an adjunct clause was judged over 4 on a scale on 0-5 (with 5 being fully grammatical). The same sentences in English were rated less than 1. Saah and Goodluck analyse Akan as using a pronominal binding mechanism (i.e. the null/overt resumptive pronoun is an A-bar bound pronominal variable). This contrasts with the movement analysis that has been standardly assumed for English-type languages.

Hofmeister and Sag (2010) take issue with this type of analysis. They suggest that the criterion of resumptive pronoun use is circular: if a language permits island violations then it uses resumptive pronouns and resumptive pronoun use permits island violations. They suggest that island constraints can in many cases be reduced to sentence processing effects, supporting their argument with experiments that show that acceptability is increased when a question word refers to a position inside an indefinite (as opposed to a definite) head NP, and when the question phrase is D(iscourse)-linked (which NP), as opposed to who or what.

We argue that Hofmeister and Sag’s analysis is flawed, based on the following facts: First, in Akan, it is possible to use question words in situ without an echo interpretation. This provides an independent criterion for a non-movement analysis, voiding the circularity argument. Second, rating studies (Saah and Goodluck 1995 and new data we will present) have shown a consistently large difference between Akan and English with respect to the acceptability of reference to positions inside complex NPs, adjunct clauses and embedded questions. Moreover, this result derives from a small number of subjects (six for each language in each study). For example, in our new data coreference between a wh-word and a position inside a relative clause is rated 2.73 in Akan, compared with .79 in English (p <.02). By contrast, in the new data, we find smaller and less consistent differences between D-linked and non-D-linked phrases for both languages, and in the case of indefinite vs. definite NP as heads, we find an opposite trend to that for English (Akan speakers more readily accept reference for a question word across a definite NP). Overall, we conclude that the difference between the two languages cannot be reduced to sentence processing effects, but rather results from two different grammatical mechanisms.


Effects of Predictability of Distribution on Within-Language Perception

Kathleen Currie Hall, Veronica Letawsky, Alannah Turner, Claire Allen, Kevin McMullin

Background: The phonological relationship that holds between two sounds in a language is known to affect perception, with contrastive sounds being perceived as more distinct than allophonic sounds (e.g., Boomershine et al. 2008, Kazanina et al. 2006). Predictability of distribution is one means by which the relationship between pairs of sounds is determined (e.g., Hall 2009). Attempts to look at the effect of predictability of distribution (ProD) on perception have so far been inconclusive, however. Hall (2009) showed limited effects of ProD on the perception of the German voiceless fricatives [s], [ʃ], but no clear effects on other phone pairs. Hall & Hume (2014) show effects of ProD, but only in conjunction with other factors such as phonetic similarity, frequency, and functional load, on the confusion patterns between French vowels. Here, we present further evidence that ProD does play a role in shaping perception, and furthermore, that this is true even within a single pair of sounds across different contexts.

Experimental Methods: An AX discrimination task was used to probe perceived similarity. Following Boomershine et al. (2008), RT was used as the dependent measure, with longer RTs being assumed to indicate greater perceived similarity. Stimuli consisted of the voiceless fricatives [f], [h], [s], and [ʃ], in an effort to minimise acoustic differences. These fricatives were embedded in VC, CV, and VCV contexts, where the V was one of {[i], [a], [u]}. Stimuli were produced by two native speakers of Turkish (1 m, 1 f), for whom these fricatives are contrastive in all three contexts. All pairwise comparisons of fricatives were included, though each member of a pair was produced by the same talker, and stimuli were blocked by context and by vowel. Each participant heard only 2 of the 9 possible context/vowel blocks; each block had 192 stimuli.

Corpus Methods: In order to measure ProD for English-speaking participants, the IPHOD corpus (Vaden et al. 2007) was used. The type-frequency based ProD was measured for each of the experimental contexts (e.g., the ProD of [f]~[s] in the contexts [#_a], [i_i], etc.) based on the algorithm defined in Hall (2009), using Phonological CorpusTools software (Hall et al. 2015). ProD is calculated in terms of entropy and measured in bits; it ranges from 0 (complete predictability, allophony) to 1 (complete unpredictability, full contrast).

Results: Pilot data from 17 native English-speaking participants across four of the stimulus blocks shows that there is a clear tendency for an increase in ProD scores (toward contrast) to be associated with a decrease in RT, if specific pair identity is taken into account. A linear regression model predicting RT from ProD and pair is statistically significant \([F(6, 2976) = 4.418, p < 0.001]\) and indicates that both factors are statistically significant, with no interaction between the two and no effect of vowel identity. Though the effect size with this pilot data is lamentably small \((r^2 = 0.009)\), the effect can be seen on visual inspection, as in the above plot for [s]~[f], which shows that in contexts of higher ProD, RTs tend to be lower. Interestingly, it is not clear that the effect is entirely gradient; instead, it seems that there may be quantal regions of ProD that are associated with particular perceived similarity results, but we are currently collecting further data (including the other blocks) to verify this hypothesis.
References


Visual cues to discourse reference: Narrator gaze affects pronoun resolution
Kara Hawthorne¹, Anja Arnhold¹, Emily Sullivan², & Juhani Järvikivi¹
¹: University of Alberta, ²: University of Ottawa

Pronouns are a shortcut way to refer to entities that are highly active in interlocutors’ shared discourse models. Psycholinguistic processing studies have shown that, in many languages, adults’ attention to potential pronoun antecedents is facilitated by linguistic properties such as subject/agenthood, the first-mentioned status of the potential antecedent in discourse, the verb causality bias, and information structure.

Apart from these linguistic factors, recent studies show that adult language comprehension is immediately affected by the hearer’s extra-linguistic environment, namely the visual context and other cues to shared attention. Recently, Nappa and Arnold (2014) showed participants videos in which a narrator told a short story like *Puppy is having some pizza with Panda Bear. He wants the pepperoni slice.* The narrator turned her head and looked at one of the two possible referents (e.g., *puppy* or *panda bear*) while the participants heard the pronoun (*he*). They found that if the narrator gazed at the second-mentioned antecedent, it increased the selection of this antecedent significantly compared to neutral gaze or gaze at the first-mentioned antecedent. In contrast, Pykkönen-Klauck & Järvikivi (submitted) found that the mere co-presence or absence of either the grammatical subject or the object character during the antecedent sentence did not modulate pronoun resolution in adults: if one of the potential antecedents left the visual scene before the ambiguous pronoun was heard, it did not affect interpretation of that pronoun. This suggests that visual cues of social nature, but not others, affect language comprehension. Moreover, the gaze cue in Nappa and Arnold, accompanied by a head turn and coinciding with the pronoun, was salient enough to be taken as pointing.

To investigate the role of non-linguistic factors on processing of ambiguous pronouns, we used the visual world eye-tracking paradigm. We asked whether narrator eye-gaze to one of two possible referents before the onset of the pronoun – a more subtle cue than has been tested in previous studies – affects 1) the time course of processing and 2) referent selection preferences in adults. Participants listened to stories like *There are the tiger and the monkey. The tiger kisses the monkey near the bridge. He wants to stay home from school today* while their eye movements to visually presented animal characters were tracked. Crucially, during the action (e.g., *The tiger kisses the monkey*), but not during the pronoun, an on-screen narrator (a hedgehog) looked at either the subject or the object character. After each story, the participant was then asked to answer a prompt question requiring pronoun resolution, e.g., *Who wants to stay home from school today?*

Seventy-one native English-speaking adults were tested, and results were analyzed using mixed effects modelling. For trials in which the participant looked at the narrator during the critical portion of the story (i.e., when the narrator's gaze was on one of the animal characters), there was a significant main effect of the narrator's gaze ($\chi^2(1) = 11.92, p < .001$), such that the proportion of looks to the subject was lower when the narrator had gazed at the object during the action portion of the story. The effect of the narrator's eye gaze impacts offline referent selection as well, with more people choosing the object in response to the prompt question (e.g., *Who wants to stay home from school today?*) when they had looked at the narrator while the narrator was gazing at the object ($\chi^2(1) = 9.44, p = .002$). This suggests that non-linguistic visual/social cues do affect pronoun resolution and language processing online, and that such cues can even help overcome strong linguistic biases like the subject/agenthood and first-mentioned bias – even when these cues are subtle and occur before the ambiguous pronoun is heard.
References

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The impact of accented prosody on parsing speech
Kara Hawthorne, Juhani Järvi-kivi, Benjamin Tucker
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Previous work on foreign and regional accent processing focuses on accents that affect phonetic segments (cf. Cristia et al., 2012), but suprasegmental features of speech are likewise subject to accentual variation. In the current experiments, we explore the impact of accented prosody on spoken language processing.

In English, most (~85%) content words start with a stressed syllable (Cutler & Carter, 1987). English listeners of all ages are able to use this statistical regularity when parsing speech into words, positing a word boundary immediately before stressed syllables (e.g., Cutler & Norris, 1988; Jusczyk, Cutler, & Rendanz, 1993). In most dialects of English, including Canadian English (CE), stressed syllables are marked by a combination of longer duration and a high pitch accent. However, in many dialects of East Indian English (IE), stressed syllables have longer duration, but a low pitch accent (e.g., Gokhale, 1984). In two experiments, we investigate if the unfamiliar combination of stress cues in IE causes parsing difficulties for Canadian listeners.

Experiment 1: Thirty-two native CE participants listened to ambiguous trisyllabic sequences recorded by either a CE or IE speaker. The ambiguous sequences contained two overlapping disyllabic words. For example [hæ.pi.j.tsə] joins “happy” and “pizza.” The CE and IE speakers both produced each sequence with both initial (“happy” + [tsə]) and secondary ([hæ] + “pizza”) stress. During testing, participants saw a display of three images – the first (e.g. “happy”) and second (e.g., “pizza”) words in the ambiguous sequence, as well as a distractor image (e.g., “kiwi”), and their eye-gazes to the three images were recorded, using the visual world paradigm.

If listeners in the IE condition are confused by the unfamiliar combination of longer duration and low pitch on stressed syllables in the IE speech, we predict more looks to the incorrect word (e.g., more looks to “pizza” when the IE speaker intended “happy”). Indeed, ANOVA analysis revealed a significant effect of condition (CE versus IE stimuli) (F(1, 633) = 14.08, p < .001), with participants in the CE condition accurately inferring the speaker's intended target, while those in the IE condition looked nearly equally often to the target and competitor (e.g., to both “happy” and “pizza”).

Experiment 2: It is possible that the difficulties of the participants in the IE condition were due to global features of the IE accent, and not solely to the presence of the low pitch accent on the stressed syllable. To investigate this, we superimposed the IE pitch contour (low pitch accent) onto the CE voice and the CE pitch contour (high pitch accent) onto the IE voice. An additional 32 CE listeners participated.

Again, we found a significant effect of condition (CE voice with IE pitch versus IE voice with CE pitch) (F(1,647) = 6.39, p = .011), indicating that global accent features do play a role in the impaired performance of the IE group in Exp. 1. However, comparing participants who heard the unmanipulated IE stimuli in Exp. 1 with those who heard the IE voice with CE pitch in Exp. 2 reveals a main effect of pitch (F(1, 635) = 4.80, p = .029): participants who heard the IE voice with CE pitch accent showed significantly more looks to the speaker's intended word than those who heard the unmanipulated IE voice. Therefore, we can conclude that low IE pitch accents on stressed syllables cause difficulties for CE listeners as they attempt to locate word boundaries.
References


Gokhale, S. *Prosodic Systems in Marathi and Marathi English* (Doctoral dissertation.) CIEFL, Hyderabad, India.

Minority languages in high contact communities often exhibit borrowing from the majority language. This is evident amongst speakers of Chiac (a variety of Acadian French spoken in Moncton, New Brunswick) who extensively borrow from English – the majority language. My research focuses on the distribution of the borrowed English-origin adverb “right” such as (1):

(1) a. puis le garage est right à côté de mon hookah et le radio
   ‘The garage is right beside my hookah and the radio’
   b. c’est right bon et Meredith a un petit bébé
   ‘It’s right good and Meredith has a little baby.’

The emphatic use of English “right” by Chiac speakers is likely a result of the contact with local Anglophone communities – “right” used emphatically (e.g. I am right tired) is grammatical in many local English dialects.

Young’s (2002) thesis reveals that English “right” and French “vraiment” (2) are the most common emphatic adverbs amongst Chiac youth – with “right” occurring ~300 times and “vraiment” occurring ~180 times in a corpus of ~53 000 word corpus:

(2) J’ai actually vraiment aimé ça.
   ‘I actually really liked that.’ (Young, 2002)

Despite certain semantic differences, “right” and “vraiment” can be used interchangeably in Chiac when modifying an adjective such as in (3), where both signify emphasis.

(3) a. le début est vraiment bon
   b. le début est right bon

Chiac is often characterized as the dialect of the young; therefore this synchronic study examines a uniform population of young speakers recruited at the city’s community college in Dieppe, Moncton. The corpus (~7 000 words) was collected in October of 2014, and consists of 11 participants between the ages of 17 and 25. I adopted the methodology of Perrot (1995) where participants were administered a series of questions to discuss in pairs. The questions were comparative in nature in order to obtain natural occurrences of adverbs, for example: “Le Canada devrait avoir le plus honte de Justin Bieber ou de Rob Ford? Pourquoi?"

The results revealed 13 occurrences of emphatic “right” and 6 occurrences of English “pretty”. The corpus also revealed the occurrence of French emphatic equivalents “vraiment” (11 tokens) and “trop” (6 tokens). Within 17 instances of adjective modification, the study revealed Chiac speakers used English “right” (9 tokens) and “pretty” (6 tokens), and French “vraiment” (2 tokens). Chiac speakers also used emphatic “right” to modify 2 prepositional phrases – French “à côté de”, and English “off”. The following table identifies what the emphatic adverbs can modify:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic Adverb</th>
<th>Adj (English)</th>
<th>Adj (French)</th>
<th>Total adj</th>
<th>Preposition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vraiment</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results indicate that “right” modifies adjectives (both English and French), as well as prepositional phrases. As such, it appears that “right” has been integrated into the grammar,
unlike “pretty”, which modifies only English adjectives. Although my sample is small, it appears to show a change in progress, with “right” being used almost to the exclusion of “vraiment”.

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Young, H. A. N. (2002). "C'est either que tu parles francais, c'est either que tu parles anglais": *A cognitive approach to chiac as a contact language*. Doctoral Dissertation, Rice University.
Variation sociale et linguistique dans l'espagnol cubain d’Holguín: aspiration et effacement

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Avec plus de 3 000 occurrences dans le corpus, notre étude se base sur des échantillons de trois styles (liste de mots, passage de lecture, conversation) pour 38 locuteurs. Ces passages sont d’abord transcrits orthographiquement à l’aide du logiciel Praat afin de faciliter le codage ainsi que l’analyse acoustique de cette variable(s). Nous nous concentrerons dans cette étude sur les variables phonologiques qui conditionnent ces deux phénomènes, à savoir la position syllabique, les pauses, l’accent tonique et la longueur du mot, ainsi que les traits phonologiques des segments qui suivent : entre autres [± vocalique], [± continuant] et [± voix]. Nous prenons en compte aussi les variables sociales telles l’âge, le sexe et le niveau d’éducation. Nous considérons également la possibilité d’une dimension fonctionnelle où les /-s/ morphémiques et lexicaux seraient aussi un facteur dans la variation. (Poplack 1980; Hochsberg 1986; Guy 1981).

Notre analyse démontre que l’aspiration et l’effacement du /-s/ sont conditionnés par la position dans le mot, par la longueur du mot, et par l’accent. De façon significative, on voit aussi que le trait [±voix] du segment suivant joue aussi un rôle important : les consonnes voisées défavorisent le maintien du /-s/. Il semble y avoir aussi une stratification sociolinguistique stable : les hommes ont un taux plus élevé d’effacement et d’aspiration que les femmes. Le style conditionne aussi la variation attendue, avec plus de maintien du /-s/ dans les styles plus formels, une tendance qui est plus marquée pour l’aspiration que pour l’effacement.

Références


Use of the impersonal pluralized verb haber in Caribbean varieties of Spanish
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According to prescriptive grammars of Spanish, impersonal verbs can only be conjugated in the third person singular. One such verb is the Spanish verb haber, ‘there is’. However, we often find pluralized forms of this verb being used by native speakers of Spanish, as in 1:

1. Habi-a-n muchas personas.
   There were-PL many persons.

This phenomenon, known as ‘the pluralization of haber’ has been studied in several countries of Central and Latin America, and is reported to be increasing in frequency despite being stigmatized by speakers of higher education levels (Diaz-Campos 2003, De Mello 1994). A study by Claes (2014) explains this phenomenon as a result of a change in the function of the complement of the verb. When the verb haber is pluralized, the direct object of the verb is used as the subject. This causes pluralization of the verb when the direct object is plural since it creates subject-verb agreement. Claes argues that this phenomenon shows a linguistic change in progress in the language where a personal form of impersonal haber emerges. This conclusion, however, is not shared by all. Another opinion relating to this phenomenon is expressed by Quintanilla-Aguilar (2009) who argues that pluralized forms of impersonal haber can be traced back to the 18th century and represent simply variation that has been and will remain stable.

In this study I look at the effect that certain sociolinguistic parameters like age, sex and socioeconomic status have on the frequency of use of plural forms of the impersonal verb haber. This can allow us to see whether the phenomenon shows characteristics of a linguistic change in progress or not (Labov 2001).

For this project I use three corpora representing the Caribbean varieties of Spanish: One corpus composed of 30 interviews from Holguín (Tennant et al. 2006), a corpus composed of 29 interviews from La Habana, Cuba (Gonzales Mafud et al. 2010), and a corpus composed of 23 interviews from San Juan, Puerto Rico (Morales and Vaquero 1990). Using this data I compare the frequency of use of pluralized impersonal haber according to age (Younger N=43; Older N=42), education level (Higher education N=16; Lower education N=14), and sex (Men, N=43; Women, N=42) of the participants. Furthermore, I also briefly look at the effect that other linguistic factors have on the use of this phenomenon in Caribbean Spanish: (+ human) trait of the direct object, the tenses of the verb most frequently pluralized, and the distance and position of the SN (direct object) relative to the verb in the sentence.

Some preliminary results show that the factor most strongly predicting the use of plural forms of haber is the educational level of the speaker. Furthermore, the older group uses plural forms more often than the younger group, but this could also be due to a confounding effect with educational level. Further investigation is required to tease apart the effects of these different factors. I also find in the data strong indicators of stigmatization of pluralized haber forms. This may indicate that the stigma tied to the phenomenon may be having an effect on the progression of the linguistic change.


A Syntactic Analysis of Persian Multi-Verb Constructions

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The present paper surveys the phenomenon of serial verb constructions (SVCs), and investigates the existence of SVCs in Persian under the theoretical framework developed by Aikhelvand (2006). The question of why, how, and to what extent Persian multi-verb constructions are different from SVCs are taken into account extensively in current study. SVCs are characterized by a succession of verbs and their complements (if any) in a mono-clausal construction with one subject and one tense value that are not separated by any overt marker of coordination or subordination. In Persian, we come across several constructions in which two or more finite verbs stand next to each other without being connected. These verb sequence constructions are highly productive, and seem to be structurally similar to SVCs as exemplified below:

-Xunæ-ro foruxt tæmäm şod ræft
House-ACC sell-PAST-3SG finish become- PAST-3SG go-PAST-3SG
"He sold the house. [Pragmatically inferred meaning: "He sold the house and it is completely done." ]

At first sight, Persian verb sequences appear to be similar to SVCs. However, these constructions cannot be considered on a par with SVCs, for the following reasons: a) they are usually restricted in their mood, polarity, tense, and aspect choices. In contrast productive SVCs are hardly ever restricted in this way. b) They are limited to just a few verbs; most often a few verbs of motion and posture like "to go", "to come", "to sit", and, and etc. c) They are often restricted to certain registers: for instance, Persian verb sequences are considered very colloquial. In contrast, productively serializing languages cannot be tokens of a certain style or register. d) Their behavior regarding insertion of a conjunction or a dependency marker between components is not consistent. In most occurrences, there is no meaning shift, but in a few cases, the meaning is semantically odd or different. e) The single event expressed by verb sequences is not composed of several sub-events. The overall results drawn from the comparative investigation of serial verb constructions in serializing languages and Persian verb strings throughout the paper are positively compatible and consistent with the study's hypothesis which reveals that Persian verb strings do not fit into the typology of Serial verb constructions. They are superficially similar to SVCs, but they are distinct according to the parameters and formal properties provided by Aikhelvand (2006).

This study argues that Persian verb sequences are acknowledged as containing one verb from a relatively large, open, or unrestricted class, and one or more verbs from a semantically restricted, closed class. They denote a single event described by the verb from the non-restricted class. The verbs from a closed class provide a modificational specification which is often a motion or posture verb expressing direction, or imparting a tense-aspect meaning to the whole constructions. The verbs from the closed class tend to get grammaticalized. Therefore, Persian multi-verb constructions are assumed as the result of minor verb grammaticalization. In fact, they are placed in grammaticalization cline between lexical verbs and auxiliary verbs, and tend to behave like auxiliary verbs as they get grammaticalized. Such constructions are not discussed in Persian literature under a certain term. They can be called quasi-auxiliary verbs in terms of Quirk (1985). Following Quirk et al, Csato´ (2001) discussed them in Turkic constructions as double verb constructions which are syntactically similar to Persian multi-verb constructions.
References:


The effect of lexical stress on the phonetic realization of voicing contrast in Tagalog: Native and Heritage comparison

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Background: Languages that contrast voiced and voiceless stops differ in how they implement the contrast along the VOT (Voice Onset Time) continuum. For example, English contrasts aspirated voiceless stops (long-lag VOT /p t k/) and unaspirated voiceless stops (short-lag VOT /b d g/) while Spanish contrasts unaspirated voiceless stops (/p t k/) and prevoiced stops (negative VOT /b d g/). Previous studies that examined the effect of phrasal boundary, speech rate and clear speech on voicing tend to show that the VOT contrast is hyperarticulated for aspirated or prevoiced stops—aspiration and prevoicing are further lengthened in prominent contexts—but the VOT of short-lag stops are generally unaffected by hyperarticulation (Cho & Keating, 2009; Kessinger & Blumstein, 1997; Smiljanic & Bradlow, 2008). Studies that probe the effect of lexical stress on VOT realization, however, are relatively sparse, particularly for languages with prevoiced stops (Lisker & Abramson, 1967; Simonet, et al., 2014). The current study examines the effect of lexical stress on the phonetic realization of short-lag vs. prevoiced stop contrast in Tagalog. We also examine how the effect differ for the heritage speakers’ speech to examine if and how the bilinguals’ dominant language (i.e., English) influence the interaction of stress and voicing contrast.

Data: Ten native and ten heritage speakers of Tagalog were recruited in Toronto. Disyllabic words with 6 stops in word initial, medial, and final positions, with the position of stress varying between the first and the second syllables, were selected. The word list was randomized and the speakers produced each word three times in isolation. In this abstract, we report on the results of the word-initial stops only.

Analysis: For each stop token, a VOT was measured, as defined as the time from the release of stop constriction to the onset of voicing. Each token was categorized into “Voiced” vs. “Voiceless” realizations depending on whether the VOT was positive or negative. The results reported below are based on statistical tests using mixed-effects models (linear and logistic).

Results: There was a clear difference in the realization of voiced stops by the two speaker groups. The native speakers produced most tokens of voiced stops with prevoicing while heritage speakers showed a mixture of positive and negative VOT realizations as shown in (a). There was a significant interaction of group and stress such that while native Tagalog speakers produced more prevoiced voiced stops in stress position than in unstressed position, heritage speakers showed a stress effect in the opposite direction. When the VOT values for the voiced stops were compared (b), we also found a significant interaction of stress and group. While native speakers did not show much difference in VOT between stressed and unstressed conditions, heritage speakers produced a significantly shorter prevoicing in stressed position. For voiceless stops, the overall VOT values were much longer for the heritage group than the native group and the effect of stress also differed for the two groups. While native speakers produced the voiceless stops with a shorter VOT in stressed position, heritage speakers did the opposite, which is the pattern expected for English (c). The result shows that the dominant language of heritage speakers not only affects the level of absolute VOT values of stops but also their interaction with stress. Also notable is the fact that the stress effect in the native speakers is generally in the right direction expected from previous studies but very minimal in it effect size highlighting the need to examine the stress effect in more languages.
References


A comparative variationist analysis of subjunctive use in Hexagonal French and Quebec French
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French spoken in Quebec (QF) is widely decried as inferior to Hexagonal French (HF). Its many purportedly distinct (frequently stigmatized) morphosyntactic features, often perceived as grammatically degraded due to their nonconformity with prescriptive norms, are believed to have originated and developed on Canadian soil due either to separation from the metropolis or to contact with English. While it is widely assumed that the two varieties are vastly different, this assumption has not been tested empirically. In fact, systematic and accountable analyses of morphosyntactic features in HF are generally absent from the current body of linguistic research on French, which precludes the possibility of reliable comparison.

The French subjunctive has garnered much attention from grammarians and linguists alike. It is prescribed in hundreds of (often contradictory) contexts and is ascribed a wide variety of (often idiosyncratic) semantic readings but studies of actual subjunctive usage in Canadian French (e.g. Poplack et al., 2013; Poplack, 1990; Comeau, 2011) have shown that subjunctive use is largely lexically constrained. In fact, Poplack et al., (2013) found that in QF, the subjunctive is nearly categorically limited to a handful of triggers (falloir, vouloir, aimer) and embedded verbs (être, avoir, faire) despite a very high overall rate of use.

This study represents the first comparative Variationist analysis of subjunctive use in HF and QF—a method specifically designed to compare the underlying grammars that condition the linguistic choices made by speakers across cohorts. Data from both the 20th and 21st century were analyzed in order to capture any ongoing change. Our goal is to determine whether a) the subjunctive is used to the same degree in both varieties across time and b) whether there are parallels in the linguistic conditioning of the variability.

In order to address these questions, we analyzed a carefully selected subsample from two HF spoken corpora: “Corpus de Français Parlé Parisien” (Branca-Rosoff et al., 2009) and “Enquêtes Sociolinguistiques à Orléans” (LLL-Orléans, 1968-2013). Poplack et al.’s 2013 study of subjunctive use in QF was used as a point of comparison and careful measures were taken to replicate their study in the HF data in order to ensure optimal comparability. The contribution of several internal and external factors to subjunctive use was considered.

Results reveal, contrary to expectations, that the rate of subjunctive is significantly lower in HF than in QF under both verbal and non-verbal governors. This result is quite surprising given the commonly cited idea that HF hews more closely to the norm than QF. Interestingly, while rates of subjunctive under verbal governor falloir are nearly categorical in both varieties, falloir accounts for a much smaller proportion of the data pool in HF than in QF. Without falloir, the rates of subjunctive in both varieties are nearly identical! The analysis of the internal conditioning shows that lexical and structural (rather than semantic) factors are prevalent in subjunctive selection in HF-—a finding that mirrors that found in QF by Poplack et al. (2013). Where choice of subjunctive is not lexically constrained, it is favored in prototypical subjunctive contexts (those featuring an overt complementizer que, no intervening material between matrix and embedded clauses, etc.).

These findings show that the strong community norms governing subjunctive use are nearly identical in the two varieties. This challenges the common belief that HF is prescriptively superior to QF and suggests that the internal grammar constraining subjunctive use in both varieties was inherited from a common source.
References


Asymmetries on wh-extraction in Medumba

Hermann Keupdjio

Medumba wh-questions are formed either: (i) in-situ, or (ii) ex-situ. They are always accompanied by two particles: (i) a question particle (Q particle) *əә* that varies in tone depending on the tone of the preceding word; (ii) an invariant high-tone focus particle *à* that precedes the wh-phrase. Mono-clausal extraction triggers agreement (by vowel length) on V and on T (2 &3b). Cross-clausal extraction is accompanied by resumption, triggers full agreement with the embedded CP and partial (agreement only on T) with the matrix CP (4).

Mono-clausal subject wh-questions are in-situ and trigger agreement on T (2).

(2) á wú fà-à n-kú m-fà bò Nùmí á?
   FOC wh P4-H N-IMP N-give bag Numi Q
   ‘Who was giving the bag to Numi?’

Object wh-phrases can stay in situ (3a) or move to the left periphery (with agreement on V and T (3b)).

(3a) Nùgà fô m-fà á kú Nùmí á? b. á kú Nùgà fà-à n-kú m-fà-à Nùmí á?
   . Nuga P4 N-give FOC wh Numi Q    FOC wh Nuga P4-H N-IMP N-give-L Numi Q
   ‘Nuga gave what to Numi?’    ‘What did Nuga give to Numi?’

Cross-clausal extraction requires resumption and triggers partial agreement on the matrix CP (4).

(4) á wú sèɛmí fà-à n-tjùp mbù Nùgà fà-à n-kú m-fà-à bò jí á?
   FOC wh Sami P4-H N-say COMP Nuga P4-H N-IMP N-give-L bag 3SG.IO Q
   ‘Who was Sami saying that Nuga was giving the book to (him)?’

Adjunct wh-phrases are always in-situ (5a).

   Nuga P4 give bag Numi FOC wh Q    FOC wh Nuga P4 give bag Numi Q
   [Nuga gave the bag to Numi when]    [when did Nuga give the bag to Numi?]

This paper addresses the following questions: (a) how is the Q/focus-particle integrated into the CP-layer? (b) What forces or prohibits wh-movement? (c) What is the mechanism of wh-agreement? I propose that the different features of the wh-phrase are encoded by distinct C-heads in the CP-layer. The outer C-head encodes the Q-feature and hosts the Q-particle whereas the inner C-head encodes the wh-feature and hosts the wh-phrase in its specifier position. With regard to wh-agreement, I argue that it follows the operation Agree (Chomsky 2000) and proceeds by phases (Chomsky 2001). The agreement asymmetry is triggered by the fact that the embedded clause is adjoined to Spec-v and behaves like an adjunct island. Evidence comes from the fact that cross-clausal (4) as well as extractions from an islands require resumption (6).

(6) á wú Nùmí fà-à nèėn tîn kàà Nùgà fà-à bò *(jì) á
   FOC wh Numi P4-H go market before Nùgà give-L bag 3SG.IO Q
   *Who did Nûmí go to the market before Nûgà gave the bag to him?

References


Pluralizer as a nP modifier: Evidence from Korean -tul

Kyumin Kim and Paul B. Melchizedek

The claim has often been made that numeral classifiers (CL) and plural morphemes are in complementary distribution, within or across languages (Chierchia 1998, Borer 2005). This claim makes a prediction that a pluralizer and CL would compete for same functional head in the nominal extended projection such as Num, which has been pursued in Borer (2005). In this paper, however, we show that this prediction is incorrect in some classifier languages, by providing evidence from Korean where CL and pluralizer (-tul) co-occur (1) as in other classifier languages, e.g., Mandarin (Li 1999), or Japanese (Nakanishi and Tomioka 2004). We propose a structural analysis of -tul that accounts for this co-occurrence (2): -tul is a modifier of nP, unlike a CL that can occupy the Num head (e.g., Borer 2005).

(1)  ku salam(-tul) ney myeng(-*tul)
   this human(-PL) four CL-(-*PL)
   ‘these four people’


   PL      CL

Wiltschko (2008) argues that a pluralizer can be either a head or a modifier. As a head, it is realized as Num, while as a modifier, it can adjoin to a phrase in the nominal projection. For instance, the pluralizer in Halkomelem is a modifier and adjoins to a root phrase. We argue that Korean -tul is not a head, but a modifier. Unlike in Halkomelem, however, we propose that -tul is a nP modifier. The pluralizer -tul fits Wiltschko’s criteria as a modifier: (i) it is optional (i.e., nouns can be interpreted as plural without -tul), (ii) non-inflectional (it doesn’t trigger agreement; ku ‘this’ is singular in (1)), and (iii) not a grammatical category (thus, no form-meaning mismatches, i.e., no pluralia tantum). As a nP is the site of semantic idiosyncrasy and lexical gaps (Marantz 2001, Kramer 2009), Korean -tul as a nP modifier is predicted to show some idiosyncratic behavior. This is borne out by the data: -tul shows apparently arbitrary restrictions on animacy of nouns (i.e., nP in our analysis) that it can attach to: it can occur with (almost) any noun that denotes a human (1), and certain inanimate nouns (chayk-tul ‘book-PL’), but (almost) never with animals (’?kilin-tul ‘giraffe-PL’). Thus, there is no clear correlation between the animacy of the noun and the availability of -tul, which is captured by the proposed nP account (2) but left unaccounted in the previous approaches of -tul (e.g., Kim 2005). Structure (2) also explains why -tul can co-occur with a CL, but cannot attach to the classifier (as in (1)), since it merges lower in the structure than the Num head where CL appears, namely as a nP modifier.

We also show that the properties of -tul suggest that it cannot be a modifier at the root, QP or DP level; for instance, unlike a root plural modifier in Halkomelem, -tul cannot appear inside a derivational morphology which is often assumed to occupy a categorizing head n (e.g., Arad 2003); e.g., a suffix -kkun ‘doer’ can derive a noun such as namwu-kkun Lit. ‘tree doer’ (‘lumberjack’), and as predicted by the proposed account of nP. -tul cannot appear inside the morpheme *namwu-tul-kkun.

The proposed account in this paper (2) suggests that a modifying pluralizer can adjoin to various categories in nominal projections including nP, as predicted by Wiltschko’s (2008) typology of plurals. Moreover, it indicates that not all types of pluralizers are dividing heads in the sense of Borer (2005); if division is accomplished by another category, e.g., by CL, then pluralizers will not be required to be present to serve that purpose elsewhere in the noun phrase.
References
Syntax of the Korean VP anaphor: An experimental study
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The Issue  The Korean VP anaphor (VPA) kule-ha ‘do so’ has often been argued to be a result of the deletion and replacement of an articulated VP structure late in the derivation (e.g. Ha 2010). In this paper, we present data that does not support such a characterization. Building upon Kim and Han’s (2013) findings that revealed an inter-speaker variation regarding the availability of quantificational binding of Korean pronoun ku ‘he’, we conducted an experiment to examine the (un)acceptability of sloppy identity interpretation in the VPA construction such as (1). If the VPA is indeed derived from a late deletion of an articulated VP, and thus has an unpronounced internal structure to house ku, the distribution of the sloppy reading of ku and the quantificational binding of ku should be identical; however, such a pattern was not found. We take this empirical finding to be evidence for the view that the Korean VPA is an atomic unit with no hidden syntactic structure.

(1) Tom-i ku-uy mwul-ul masi-ess-ko, Ken-to kule-ha-yess-ta.
   Tom-NOM he-GEN water-ACC drink-PAST-and Ken-also so.do-PAST-DECL
   ‘Tom drank his water, and Ken did so, too.’

The Experiment  37 Korean native speakers participated in two sessions, at a month’s interval. In each session, they judged whether a target sentence described a given context truthfully. Each target sentence was a VPA construction (1) or a sentence with motwu ‘everyone’ as the subject and ku as the possessor (e.g. motwu-ka ku-uy mwul-ul masi-ess-ta. ‘Everyone drank his water.’). Each context was biased towards bound or free interpretation of ku in the target sentence. Thus, two factors with two levels each were tested in each session: Sentence Type (VPA or Non-VPA) and Context Type (bound or free). Each participant received 16 test items (4 per condition) and 56 fillers per session in a random order. The test items were different between sessions.

Findings  A clear bimodal distribution was observed in the NonVPA-bound (quantificational binding) condition in each session, with only about half the participants accepting the bound reading of ku. A linear regression analysis revealed a high correlation ($r=0.71$, $p<.001$) between the two sessions in the NonVPA-bound condition. These results replicate Kim and Han’s (2013) findings that there exists a stable between-speaker variation regarding the availability of variable binding of ku. Thus, if ku is indeed present, but unpronounced, in the VPA site, and if sloppy reading of a pronoun is licensed through variable binding, as generally claimed in the literature (Sag 1976, Williams 1977), the distribution in the VPA-bound (sloppy) condition is predicted to pattern with the NonVPA-bound. However, this prediction was not borne out. In both sessions, we found a significant difference in acceptances between the NonVPA- and the VPA-bound conditions ($p<.01$), and a moderate (not high) correlation between the two conditions ($r=0.51$, $p<.001$). The results suggest that the VPA has no deleted internal structure, and thus the highly accepted sloppy identity reading of ku should be attributed to a mechanism other than variable binding.

Discussion and Conclusion  Given the above empirical findings, we propose that the Korean VPA is an overt pro-form initially present in the derivation, the interpretations of which, including the sloppy identity, are resolved through pragmatic inferences. This is compatible with Hoji’s (2003) analysis of the Japanese VPA as a deep anaphor in Hankamer and Sag’s (1976) sense. It
follows from our proposal that movement out of the VPA site should be impossible, as movable elements were never existent. We leave the task of testing this prediction for future research.

**Selected References**
Evidence for the mora: analysis of a Japanese reversing game

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This talk provides a description and analysis of the Japanese language game sakasa-kotoba. Our analysis contributes to the phonological study of language games as sakasa-kotoba has previously received only a brief and incomplete description in the literature (Smith 1980) and it constitutes a novel language game type; namely total mora reversing. In addition, our analysis contributes to the study of Japanese phonology (i) by providing evidence for the mora, (ii) by providing evidence on the internal structure of the mora, and (iii) by providing evidence about the representation of the special moras Q, R, and N, which surface as geminates, long vowels, and coda nasals, respectively. Within the framework of Optimality Theory, our analysis uses a game specific constraint to motivate reversal (e.g. Ito et al. 1996) with other aspects of game-form shape determined through the interaction of standard markedness and faithfulness constraints.

A word in sakasa-kotoba is derived through reversing moras, as seen in the data below.

(1) Non-game form Sakasa-kotoba form Gloss
  a. sakura rakusa ‘cherry’
  b. karaoke keoraka ‘karaoke’

(2) a. /okaQpa/ [okappa] /paQ kao/ [pakkao] ‘bobbed hair’
  b. /daNkai/ [daŋkai] /ikaN da/ [ikanda] ‘stage’
  c. /toreRdo/ [toreedo] /doRreto/ [dooreto] ‘trade’

The data in (1) contain only moras of the form CV or V and are compatible with either a syllable-based analysis or a mora-based analysis. The forms in (2), however, contain special moras Q, R, and N. These forms demonstrate that moras are the units reversed in the game and that special moras pattern like CV/V moras. In contrast with the widely assumed syllable structure in (3), the patterning of sakasa kotoba forms provides evidence in support of Katada’s (1990) model of the syllable in Japanese (4) in which the syllable consists of one or two moras: the first mora containing an optional consonant and a vowel; the second mora restricted to the set of special moras.

(3) [syllable Onset [Rime [Nucleus Coda]]]
(4) [syllable [Mora1 Onset Nucleus] [Mora2 _________]]

Following Ito et al. (1996), we use the constraint CROSSANCHOR to motivate the reversal observed between the game form and its non-game correspondent. CROSSANCHORµ requires a mora at the left edge of the input to be realized at the right edge of the output. Relative ranking of faithfulness constraints CONTIGUITYµ and LINEARITYµ determine the shape of game forms with CONTIGUITY, which maintains adjacency relations between input and output elements, ranked above LINEARITY, which maintains precedence relations. (See e.g. Ito et al. 1996, Borowsky & Avery 2009, for use of LINEARITY and CONTIGUITY in game analyses.)

The behavior of special moras also provides evidence that the game-forming evaluation does not take the surface output of the regular phonology as its input. In (2c), [toreedo],
underlying Q surfaces as the second half of the medial long vowel in the regular form. If this surface form served as the input to reversal, we would expect the vowel quality of this mora to be maintained, resulting in *[doereto]. The actual game form, [dooreto], is expected if the input to the game-forming operation contains featurally underspecified Q. This suggests that a level of representation distinct from the regular surface output serves as the input to the game. We argue that this pattern provides evidence against the classic OT model and argue that sakasa-kotoba targets an intermediate representation in a stratal model of OT.

References
Non-floating collective numeral quantifiers in Japanese

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Introduction: A distributional restriction of Floating Numeral Quantifiers (FQ) as in (1) has provoked a huge controversy (e.g., Bobaljik 2003, Mihara 1998, Miyagawa 1989, 2012). I show that, when collective reading is available, numeral quantifiers may appear at a preverbal position, where FQs may not occupy as in (1b). I argue that collective numeral quantifiers in this location should be analyzed as a different type of modifier from FQs, that is, a manner adverbial that modifies a verb. I call this type of quantifiers Manner-adverbial Numeral Quantifiers (MQ). In the current paper, I demonstrate that MQs and FQs are syntactically and semantically different. I also discuss theoretical implications on analyses of FQs.


b. *Gakusei-ga kinoo hon-o 3-nin katta.       killed Peter yesterday.”

Semantics: I demonstrate that differences between FQs and MQs can be observed in their semantic properties: distributivity/collectivity (Nakanishi 2008), specificity (Watanabe 2008), partitivity (Inoue 1978), and manners of quantification. For instance, FQs may not allow collective reading, as in (2), whose unacceptability stems from a conflict between the collectivity required by the predicate and the distributivity required by FQ; the distributivity requires that Peter was killed by each of the three students (i.e., in total three times). On the other hand, when the quantifier 3-nin is located at the preverbal position (i.e., as MQ), (2) becomes acceptable with a meaning such that the three students killed Peter together. Thus MQs lead collective reading.

Syntax: I argue that MQs are syntactically not the same as FQs with respect to base positions, distributions, and scrambling. Whether or not it forms a constituency with an associated NP, FQ should be adjacent to the subject at certain stages of its derivation. (Miyagawa et al. 2007, Nakanishi 2008). Hence, FQ is not likely to be generated inside VP, but to be generated at or higher than vP level, at which the subject starts out, as in (3). On the other hand, through tests with VP-preposing and VP-ellipsis I provide evidence that MQs stay inside VP.

(3)Gakusei-ga (3-nin) kinoo [v_p (3-nin) t_NOM [v_p Peter-o (*3-nin) korosita ]] (3-nin: FQ)

Even when FQ is based in VP as in the case of passives, MQ and FQ show different behaviors. Example (4a) illustrates that FQ does not appear at the base position in passives even though the surface subject starts out from the object position. If the FQ stayed at the object position in the VP, the adverb joyfully should be able to modify the main verb (5aii). When the quantifier 3-nin has collective reading (viz. as a MQ), however, it may stay inside the VP as in (5bii), where the adverb modifies the main verb.

(4) Gakusei-ga yorokonde 3-nin t_NOM ke-rare-ta.

student-NOM joyfully 3-CL kick-PASS-PAST

a. (FQ) (i) ‘Joyfully, three students were kicked.’ (ii) *Three students were joyfully kicked.’

b. (MQ) (i) ‘Joyfully, students were kicked by a group of 3 persons.’ (= the students are joyful)

(ii) ‘Students were joyfully kicked by a group of 3 persons.’ (= the kickers are joyful)

Implication: I further provide suggestions about analyzing FQs. Many counterexamples have been introduced against distributions of FQs shown in (1) (e.g., Mihara 1998, Takami 2001). The analysis of MQs introduced thus far suggests, however, that quantifiers in the ‘counterexamples’ can be in fact merely different types of NQs, and that not all ‘floating’ quantifiers should be captured by a single derivation or structure. I show that some quantifiers used in the literature are not FQs but MQs, or possibly neither of them.
References
Word stress processing and the influence of cognate suffixes in second language English. An EEG study.

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EEG studies on the processing of word stress in a first language (L1; German, Polish and other languages, e.g. Domahs et al. 2008 on German and Domahs et al. 2012 on Polish) revealed that shifts of main stress (e.g. *KAsino or *KasiNO instead of KaSIno) evoke qualitatively different brain responses for the correct and each incorrect pattern.

How the online processing of word stress proceeds in second language (L2) that is learned relatively late in life is, however, an open question. Therefore, the current study exploits the stress-shift design to shed light on the question how late L2 learners process word stress information of morphologically complex words:

- Do L2 learners show similar brain responses for correct and incorrect word stress as native speakers?

- Some cognate suffixes differ in stress position in L1 and L2 while others do not. Do these differences influence prosodic processing?

To this end, 26 native speakers of German with advanced proficiency in English took part in a neurolinguistic study utilizing event related potentials (ERPs). Morphologically complex English words with different stress patterns were presented visually (to exclude possible effects of lexical search) and auditorily, embedded in an invariant carrier sentence. These words were presented with incorrect (A) or correct (B) main stress:

(A) He said the word *equaTOR again.  (B) He said the word eQUAtor again.

Participants had to match the orthographic form (visual word, without any stress markers) with a stress pattern that was presented correctly or incorrectly (spoken word).

Furthermore, all words contained stress-affecting cognate suffixes with either an identical main stress position in English and German (e.g., aesthetics and Ästhetik) or not (e.g., existence vs. ExistenZ).

The results of the study provide us with new insights on the role of word stress information for second language learners. Preliminary findings indicate that ERP effects in the L2 data are comparable to those from studies on L1 speakers (cf. Domahs 2008), where positivities are said to reflect how easy prosodic mismatches were detectable for the participants. The observed positivities differ in strength, and these differences are related to the type of prosodic violation (stress moved to a prominent position or not) and to the morphological structure of the critical stimuli.

References

Acquisition du paradigme verbal en russe : surgénéralisation en yod /j/.

Elena Kulinich1,2, Phaedra Royle2,3, Daniel Valois1,2,4


(2) en utilisant le « modèle en /j/ » (Ceytlin 2009). Ce processus consiste à insérer le yod (/j/) dans la position intervocalique à la frontière du radical et de la flexion suivant la classe verbale le plus productive en russe (par ex., chita-t’/chita-j-u 'lire'). Ce modèle est transparent et n’implique pas d’alternances morphonologiques.

Afin de vérifier comment le modèle en /j/ s’applique aux verbes sous-réguliers (c’est-à-dire les verbes avec des processus de suffixation ou de palatalisation qui n’est plus productive) en russe, nous avons créé une tâche induite avec les verbes qui sont sous-réguliers (par ex., plakaj) et nous avons induits à 76 enfants monolingues russes, âgés de 3 à 4 ans (M=3; 4, SD=0,36), à participer à la recherche. Nous les avons induits à produire les formes du présent de 12 verbes (6 verbes avec la suffixation de [ris-o-vav-t’/ris-uj-u] ‘dessiner’ (Classe 2) ou de [da-vav-t’/da-Oj-u] ‘donner’ (Classe 13) et 6 verbes de Classe 6 avec une alternance morphologique comme dans [plak/platj] ‘pleurer’, selon la classification de Zaliznjak 2003). Les formes non-cibles composaient pour 33% de productions et 15.35% (c’est-à-dire 46.5% des productions non-cibles) étaient des surgénéralisations en yod /j/. Parmi d’autres erreurs les enfants utilisent une autre forme verbale (passé, futur, infinitif – 5.5%) ou une paraphrase (par ex., vouloir+infinitif – 4.8%). Les données du russe montrent que les enfants entre 3 et 4 ans ont la tendance de maintenir l’uniformité de paradigme et d’éliminer l’allomorphie. L’application du modèle en /j/ est un moyen préféré des enfants russes entre 3 et 4 ans de régulariser un paradigme verbal.

Références :


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A Litt

A Little Forward in Laurentian French
A Variationist Analysis of Vowel Fronting in Laurentian French
Jeffrey Lamontagne (McGill University)

Though the fronting of /ɔ/ in European varieties of French has been the subject of considerable attention (eg. Armstrong and Low, 2008; Boula de Mareüil et al., 2010; Martinet, 1969), this phenomenon has not received such interest in Laurentian varieties. However, given the presence of fronted realisations in the 17th century France (Armstrong and Low, 2008), it is possible that fronting could have been implanted in Canadian varieties either during colonisation or more recently. The present study therefore analyses data from the *Phonologie du français contemporain* project corpus (Côté, 2014; Durand et al., 2002, 2009; [www.projet-pfc.net](http://www.projet-pfc.net)) to examine the process in apparent time across three generations. Since /u/ is the vowel said to show pressure to front cross-linguistically (Labov, 1994) and /o/ has been suggested to be advancing in European varieties (Boula de Mareüil et al., 2010), tokens of those two vowels were extracted in addition to those of /ɔ/, yielding over 23,000 tokens. After being measured in Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2014), they were analysed using mixed-effect regressions in R (R Core Team, 2014). The results obtained shed light on two main questions to be discussed: (a) whether we can observe diachronic fronting in the dialect, and (b) whether the constraint hierarchies have changed over these three generations.

Regarding the question of change in degree of fronting in apparent time, we do find that, with each generation, all three vowels show significant fronting (p = 0.006 for /ɔ/, p = 0.004 for /o/ and p < 0.001 for /u/). Comparing the vowels’ differences in effect size across generations suggests that /ɔ/ and the two higher vowels behave as two distinct groups. This result is corroborated by differences in significant predictors to support that the vowels are not identical with regards to their patterning, which may explain why only the mid-low vowel’s fronting has been targeted both by research and in native speaker awareness.

The most interesting results are found in the examination of the different generations’ constraint hierarchies. It has previously been found that the dialect may find pitch contours reminiscent of those traditionally restricted to final syllables in non-final contexts (Thibault and Ouellet, 1996) and that the presence of these pitch contours can interact with phonological alternations (Lamontagne, 2014). The most notable shift in the constraint hierarchies corroborates this finding in that, for /ɔ/ – the vowel for which fronting is salient to speakers –, the pitch contour is a significant predictor (p = 0.017).

This paper will discuss the results in detail, examining patterns both between vowels and across generations. The study shows not only that /ɔ/ has fronted in apparent time, as it has in European varieties, but also that /o/ and /u/ front as well. However, it demonstrates that the mid-low vowel’s fronting is distinct not only in its salience in the European context, but also in its degree and in its governing constraint hierarchy. The cross-generational evidence also supports that the dialect may be undergoing a prosodic shift, as evidenced by perceptual and acoustic studies (eg. Paradis, 1985; Paris and Deshaies, 1990; Thibault and Ouellet, 1996).
References


What Can the Perceived Word Frequency Ratings of Older Adults Tell Us About Lexical Representation?

By: Anastasia Lazenkas & Victor Kuperman

Findings have shown that greater reading experience and larger vocabulary size are associated with weaker word frequency effects in the word recognition latencies of young adults. In older adults, however, the frequency effects are often found to be stronger despite their superior reading experience and larger vocabulary. This study explores the possibility that increased latencies are the result of weaker representations of lower-frequency words in the mental lexicon of older adults. To examine this possibility we collected perceived (subjective) frequency ratings from the aging population and compared them to ratings previously obtained from a group of younger adults (Kuperman and Van Dyke, 2013). A group of neurologically normal, English-speaking, older adults was asked to rate, on a scale of 1 (never) to 7 (several times a day), how frequently they encountered a list of words. The complete list consisted of 500 words randomly selected to represent the entire range of objective corpus-based frequencies. Ratings obtained from the aging participants were analyzed for demographic differences (e.g., age, education), and were compared to objective frequency counts from the SUBTLEX corpus as well as to the ratings of the younger participants. Results indicate that subjective frequency ratings do indeed decrease with age, however, as was the case with the younger participants, older participants with higher educational levels gave consistently higher ratings than their counterparts with lower educational levels. We discuss implications of our findings for theoretical models of lexical access and cognitive aging.


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<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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*Nous avons exclu le futur périphrastique (allent – allont) à cause de leur petit nombre.

Le tableau montre que les pourcentages de formes traditionnelles connaissent une forte variation selon le temps ou le mode et qu’ils se situent bien en deçà de ceux qu’on trouve parfois en Acadie. Les premières analyses factorielles semblent cependant confirmer le rattachement du madelinot à la troisième aire dialectale pour ce qui concerne les sujets redoublés et les sujets nuls qui, contrairement aux résultats pour le nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick mais à l’instar de ceux pour l’île-du-Prince-Édouard, sont non seulement extrêmement rares mais répartis également entre les formes acadiennes et normées. Quant aux relatives nominales, tout comme en Nouvelle-Écosse et dans le sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick, elles sont un peu moins nombreuses à afficher les désinences traditionnelles.


Discourse Markers “well” and “ben” in Chiac

Emilie LeBlanc and Selena Phillips-Boyle

This paper investigates the use of the discourse markers “well” and “ben” in speakers of Chiac, a dialect of Acadian French in southeast New Brunswick. Chiac is characterised by extensive borrowings and code-switching with English (Chevalier 2007; Perrot 1995; King 2008). Previous work analyses the discourse marker “well” (Schiffrin 1987a), “ben” (Bruxelles and Traverso 2001; D’Amboise and Léard 1996; Hansen 1995), and the alternations between “well” and “ben” in Acadian French (Chevalier 2000, 2002). The present study fills a gap in the literature by using quantitative and qualitative methodologies to address the following questions: 1) What linguistic and social factors condition the use of “well” and “ben” in this variety? and 2) What discursive function(s) are accomplished by the use of “well” or “ben”, and how can we explain why speakers chose to employ one variant over the other?

The corpus used for the present study was collected in 2012 and includes ten participants, students at the two French-medium high schools in Moncton: Mathieu-Martin and L’Odyssée. The participants are between the ages of 15 and 17 and are native French speakers. There are four male and six female participants. The data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews conducted by a native speaker of Chiac. The participants were each interviewed for approximately 30 minutes. The data have been transcribed and coded in Elan (Wittenburg et al. 2006). We exclude some tokens from the present study, namely fixed expressions (for example, “well then”, “ben là”, “ben c’est ça) along with the use of “ben” as a conjunction.

By using methodologies from both variationist sociolinguistics and discourse analysis, we seek to establish the motivations for the choice of variant from one language and the other. We coded each variant for the following social factors: gender and community. Education and age are fixed in the present corpus. We also coded the following linguistic factors: position in the clause, language of the preceding word, language of the following word, interviewer language preceding use of the discourse marker, discourse marker doubling, and discourse marker function (response to yes/no or wh-questions, self-repair, quoting reported speech, clarification, and reflexive frame breaks). Qualitative analysis descriptively supports these results.

The results indicate that the French variant “ben” is used at a rate of 70% and the English variant “well” is used at a rate of 30%. Only three factor groups were significant: gender, discourse marker function, and language used after the discourse marker. These results show that males prefer “well”, while females prefer “ben”. Interestingly, the language used after the discourse marker is significant: if “ben” is used, the following language favoured is French, and likewise, the use of “well” primes English as the following language. This suggests that use of the discourse markers precipitates a switch between languages. The final significant factor groups was the discourse marker function: we found that answering wh-questions favours “ben”, while instances of self-repair and reported speech favour the use of “well”.

Studying discourse markers in Chiac provides insights about language borrowing in contact situations. Further work on the current project will be done using the Perrot (1995) corpus. This will allow diachronic comparisons to illustrate the direction(s) of language change.
Discourse Markers “well” and “ben” in Chiac

References:

This paper discusses the status of *No homophony*, the idea that UG not only dislikes, but outright disallows homophony. It has been noted that UG avoids homophony (cf. Johns 1992, Embick 2003), but a categorical ban on it may seem too nice to be true. I attempt to raise the plausibility of a UG with *No homophony*, discussing two considerations. **(A)** Two sample analyses of (ultimately) non-inflectional functional elements. (For open class words see Gahl 2008; for inflectional syncretism see Bobaljik 2001, Harley 2008). **(B)** The modelization of grammar: I suggest that *No homophony* holds within lists, thus rationalizing the ban on homophony, while, in principle, allowing for - possibly insightful (Harbour 2008) - systematic loopholes. 

In my first sample analysis I present three arguments for an isomorphemic analysis of French *on* in (1)-(6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(F) French</th>
<th>(G) German</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) poss dets</td>
<td><em>m-on</em>, <em>t-on</em>, <em>s-on</em> livre</td>
<td><em>m-ein</em>, <em>d-ein</em>, <em>s-ein</em> Buch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) pronoun</td>
<td><em>(1pl) on</em>; <em>(impers.) on</em>; <em>(generic) on</em></td>
<td><em>(1pl) unser-ein-er</em>; <em>(imp.+gen. obj) ein-en</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) neg. particle</td>
<td><em>n-on</em></td>
<td><em>n-ein</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) 1pl infl.</td>
<td>chant-ons</td>
<td>sing-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) 3pl infl.</td>
<td><em>(fut.) manger-ont</em> / lexical <em>f-ont</em></td>
<td>sing-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Deriv. suffix (N)</td>
<td>bouch-on</td>
<td>Pfromf-en</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A:** First, the identical form *on*. Secondly, the comparative fact that these *on*’s all correspond to (an allomorph of) German *ein*; *en*. The third and crucial observation is that *on/ein* has a similar local syntax across (1-6). *On/ein* exhibits a 2nd position syntax, with a single constituent moved to its left. Such has been independently argued for (1) *m-...on*..... (Corver 2004: Dutch), and (3F) *n-...on*..... (Leu 2012), and analogously *k-...ein*..... (and auc-un), and *chaq-...un*..... (Leu 2015). Kayne (2009) analyzes 1pl (2F) with silent NOUS as the interpreted subject, which likely originates lower: NOUS*...on*...[...chante*]. Analogous are impersonal and generic *on*. Piedpiping rather than extraction of *nous* derives the (now archaic) *[nous chante]-on*..... in a way akin to Müller’s (2004) analysis of V2, leaving *on* as a Pollockian (1989) suffix. Cf. Lowenstamm (2008) for (6), and Kayne (2009) for the singular numeral *on*, *(un, ein)*. A second relevant study is German *d* as in *der, die, das* (*the*), *dass* (*‘that*’), *dieser* (*‘this’*), *bei-d-e* (*‘both’*), *je-d-er* (*‘every’*), which is analyzed as isomorphemic based on *d*’s uniform syntactic behavior (cf. Leu forthcoming). I conclude that there may be considerably less homophony in functional morphemes than traditional descriptions suggest.

**B:** From the perspective of the model of grammar, we need to ask, where would the grammar care about homophony? PF doesn’t know about morphs that are not candidates for spelling out a given structure. The syntax doesn’t either, perhaps doesn’t know about segmental phonology at all. That leaves the place where morpheme-sized pieces of phonological information are stored: the lexicon or vocabulary lists. Let me, hence, propose that UG disallows homophony within lists. Cases of arguable homophony then bear on the question of the kind and number of lists that there are, hence providing insight into the organization of grammar. Assuming, e.g., two lists, we, in principle, allow homophonous pairs, but expect no homophone triplets. Beyond open/closed class contrast, different spellout domains may access distinct lists (Embick 2003), with expected correlations to, e.g., amalgamation and fusion patterns. The number of lists there are thus becomes an empirical question to which possible homophony patterns provide partial answers.

Concluding, it is possible to make UG’s aversion against homophony precise by (a) stating it as a categorical ban, and (b) relativizing it to domains in which such a ban is operable: lists of phonological information. The challenge then consists in identifying actual instances of homophony, and elucidating the ways in which association of the homophones with distinct lists (perhaps cycles) follows from their grammatical contrast.
References


Coronal stop deletion in Blackfoot English

Lanlan Li

University of Manitoba

In Southern Alberta, though there are 22,382 individuals registered as Blackfoot, only 2860 speakers employ the Blackfoot language fluently in speech. English has become the majority language among Blackfoot people. While most studies on Blackfoot people’s speech are related to the Blackfoot language, research on the variety of English spoken by the Blackfoot people remains rare, which motivates us to conduct this investigation.

Previous studies on coronal stop (or /-t,d/) deletion in word-final consonant clusters have established a good understanding between /-t,d/ deletion and its constraints. Briefly, /-t,d/ deletion is affected by both internal factors such as phonological, grammatical constraints, and external factors such as speaking style, age, sex, region, ethnicity (Labov, 1968; Wolfram, 1969; Patrick, 1991; Bayley, 1994; Hazen, 2001). Though the findings of these studies are consistent with each other regarding to linguistic settings, different proportional results have still been displayed especially when social factors are concerned. Accordingly, the main purpose of this paper is to explore the frequency of /-t,d/ deletion based on speakers’ first language, except for examining how /-t,d/ deletion is influenced by linguistic constrains. The data was subjected to a multivariate analysis, with the independent variable tested being coronal stop deletion, and dependent variables in this study constituting two domains: internal or linguistic factors including preceding segment (Fricative, Liquid, Nasal, Sibilant, Stop), following segment (Consonants, Vowels, Pause) and grammatical status (Mono-morphemes, Bi-morphemes, Semi-weak tense, Past tense); and external or social factors including age, sex and L1. The data comprises 9 speakers, separated into three groups: Blackfoot L1 speakers, English L1 speakers of Blackfoot descent, and English L1 speakers of European descent. Our preliminary results of 6 Blackfoot-ethnicity speakers, split into two groups of three based on L1, reveal that /-t,d/ deletion has a much higher frequency if the speaker’s L1 is Blackfoot no matter what the linguistic constraint is. Moreover, Blackfoot English also undergoes more coronal deletion comparing with the rates of its occurrence in Toronto English (Walker, 2008), especially when the preceding segment is liquid and the following segment is consonant.

This preliminary result shows us that the L1 is an important factor in the simplification of consonantal clusters. However, our next step is to make comparisons with other Anglophones to examine whether this relationship is common across Southern Alberta, or only typical for Anglophones of Blackfoot descent. Our research adds to the growing body of literature investigating First Nations English dialects (Ball & Bernhardt 2008, Peltier 2009, Genee & Stigter 2010).
REFERENCE


A restructuring approach to two structures for Chinese purposives

Jianxun Liu   University of Victoria

Key words: syntax, purposives in Chinese, restructuring

This study investigates two structures for purposives in Mandarin Chinese (MC), purposives combining with source applicatives (henceforth source purposive, as in 1a) and with goal applicatives (goal purposive, as in 1b). These two structures, while superficially identical, possess substantially different syntactic and semantic properties as summarized in table 1.

(1) a. Source purposive  
wo tou -le John yi -ping jiu he.  
I stole -ASP John one -CL wine drink  
I stole a bottle of wine from John and (I) drank it.

b. Goal purposive  
wo song -le John yi -ping jiu he.  
I send -ASP John one -CL wine drink  
I sent John a bottle of wine for him (John) to drink.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Source purposive</th>
<th>Goal purposive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interpreted subject of V₂</td>
<td>matrix subject</td>
<td>applied object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial/exhaustive control</td>
<td>partial/exhaustive control</td>
<td>exhaustive control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object-oriented adverbs</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject-oriented adverbs</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clausal-final aspect marker le</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible semantic meaning</td>
<td>implicatives, irrealis predicate</td>
<td>irrealis predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

This study explores a restructuring approach in the sense of Wurmbrand (2001) to account for the asymmetrical properties of these two structures and makes this argument: goal purposives in Chinese can be analyzed as lexical restructuring construction and source purposives reduced non-restructuring infinitives and the asymmetry between goal purposives and source purposives follows from the asymmetry in the size of the projection headed by the second verb in these two structures.

According to Baker and Stewart (2002), the second verb (V₂) in purposives in MC (CSVCs in their term) projects a vP. In this study, through the possibility/impossibility of subject/agent-oriented adverbs within the phrase headed by V₂ (V₂ phrase), I demonstrate that in goal purposives no embedded PRO is projected, and therefore V₂ phrase should be analyzed as VP; on the other hand in source purposives, a PRO is projected within V₂ phrase, and also given that clause-final aspectual marker le is possible within V₂ phrase, I suggest that V₂ phrase in a source purposives is vP or AspP. Also considering other properties of these two structures as in table 1, I demonstrate goal purposives fit Wurmbrand’s lexical restructuring infinitives and source purposives tally with reduced non-restructuring infinitives. I also demonstrate that the asymmetry in structure between goal purposives and source purposives is motivated for different semantic purposes, which can be accounted for by Rocette’s (1988) hypothesis that the size of an infinitive corresponds to its semantic category.

Recent studies (Biggs, 2012; Grano, 2012) have reported (semi) functional restructuring infinitives in Chinese, which have not been identified previously. This study, if correct, indicates that lexical restructuring infinitives also exist in Chinese.
References


En langue des signes québécoise (LSQ), des différences linguistiques entre les locuteurs femmes et hommes sourds, ayant été scolarisés par les institutions religieuses d’avant 1960, ont été révélées, notamment au niveau lexical (Dubuisson et Grimard, 2006). L’hypothèse proposée pour expliquer ces variations est celle de l’exposition de ces deux groupes à des méthodes éducatives différentes, notamment quant aux langues des signes utilisées pour l’enseignement, soit la langue des signes française (LSF) pour les hommes, ainsi que la langue des signes américaine (ASL) pour les femmes (Veillette et al., 2005). Par ailleurs, les études descriptives sur chacune de ces langues révèlent des différences structurelles, notamment en ce qui concerne l’ordre syntaxique des constituants sujet, objet et verbe (SVO pour l’ASL (Fischer, 1975); SOV pour la LSF (Yan, 1993); SOV et OSV pour la LSQ (Bouchard et al., 1995)). De plus, à l’époque où la vague de démutisation européenne guide les enseignants québécois vers la méthode de l’oralisme, c’est-à-dire l’enseignement de la parole orale aux sourds, les femmes sont davantage exposés au français oral que les hommes (Perreault, 2006). Bien que des études antécédentes documentent des différences lexicales entre ces hommes et ces femmes, aucune information n’est disponible sur l’influence de ces langues en contact sur les constructions syntaxiques.

Ces différences sur le plan des méthodes éducatives distinctes (enseignement dans une langue des signes ou dans une langue des signes ainsi que dans une langue orale) ainsi que les différences d’organisation structurelles documentées dans les travaux de descriptions de l’ASL et de la LSF m’amènent à formuler la question suivante : des différences de constructions syntaxiques existent-elles entre le discours des aînées sourdes et celui des aînés sourds québécois? L’hypothèse proposée est que les productions des aînées sourdes seront davantage porteuses des caractéristiques de la syntaxe du français et de l’ASL, donc suivant un ordre davantage SVO, que celles des aînés sourds qui auront des productions suivant davantage un ordre avec verbe en final, donc SOV et OSV. L’objectif de la présente recherche vise à : i) faire la description comparée de l’ordre syntaxique des productions d’aînés sourds (hommes et femmes) en contexte discursif, et ii) analyser les différences structurelles (ordre) de productions entre ces deux groupes. Pour répondre à cette question, je ferai l’analyse d’un corpus de discours spontané en LSQ issu de 24 aînés sourds.

Les résultats préliminaires suggèrent, pour un corpus de phrases déclaratives à sujets et objets explicites, une tendance chez les aînées sourdes pour l’ordre syntaxique SVO (69%) en opposition aux constructions avec verbe en final SOV et OSV (respectivement 25% et 6%), et une tendance inverse chez les aînés sourds, favorisant les constructions syntaxiques avec verbe en final, SOV et OSV (55%), en opposition à l’ordre SVO (45%). Ces résultats préliminaires proposent des
différences de constructions syntaxiques entre les aînés et aînées sourdes pouvant être liées à l’influence des méthodes éducatives. Cette recherche est pertinente en ce qu’elle permettra de mieux comprendre l’impact des choix didactiques sur la normalisation linguistique et l’influence des contacts linguistiques sur la structure actuelle de la LSQ.

**Bibliographie**


The changing status of Korean plural-marking: Evidence from an acceptability judgement task

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Issue and research questions: It is predicted that no language will have both a generalized classifier system and plural-marking (Chierchia, 1998). Korean facts pose a problem for this picture, since while Korean lacks obligatory singular/plural morphology, it is generally considered that the suffix -tul is an optional plural-marker (e.g. Kang 1994, Kwak 2003, Kim 2005). While -tul has been studied extensively, there is little consensus as to the distribution and function of this morpheme. Based on a historical corpus study I conducted, I hypothesized that the disparate descriptions of the use of -tul are due to a language change in progress. The historical study showed that in the early 1920s -tul was only used in specific contexts and always with human nouns. More recent data show it being used much more frequently and on a large range of animate, inanimate, and abstract nouns. The acceptability judgement task reported on in this paper lends further support for this hypothesis. The question addressed in this paper is whether the modern-day uses of -tul are consistent with the properties of a classifier language and whether, based on the judgements I analyzed, Korean still qualifies as a classifier language.

Task: For the acceptability judgment task, 31 native speakers of Korean (of various generations) provided judgments on 190 test items. Participants were asked to make judgements on both bare nouns and -tul-marked nouns in various semantic contexts (e.g. specific/non-specific reference) and morpho-syntactic contexts. Data were also collected on the use/non-use of classifiers in certain -tul-marked and bare noun constructions. The task included examples of nouns referring to humans (e.g. salam ‘person’), nouns referring to animate objects (e.g. khokkiri ‘elephant’), nouns referring to inanimate objects (e.g. gongchayk ‘notebook’), abstract nouns (e.g. gongwon ‘friendship’), and mass nouns (mul ‘water’).

Analysis: For many semantic categories of nouns, -tul is required in order to obtain a plural reading. The bare noun, despite claims that it is number neutral, or unspecified for number (e.g. Nemoto 2005), only allows a singular reading in a large majority of cases, the exception being among some of the older participants. Also of interest in the acceptability judgement task were the Korean classifier constructions. There were various instances where a bare noun combined directly with a number (a construction normally not permitted in classifier languages). Kim (2005) points out that the Num Noun construction can be used with certain human nouns, but the data shows that it has already been extended to include more human nouns as well as animate, inanimate, and abstract nouns. In the data that was analyzed, not all of the new trends can be observed fully on all categories of nouns. Corbett (2000:57) proposes an implicational ranking of semantic classes for languages that do not mark Number for all count nouns. He proposes that if a language marks Number on nouns referring to inanimates, then it must also mark it on animate nouns, which further implies marking it on nouns referring to humans. I propose to extend Corbett’s Animacy Hierarchy to diachrony, such that if Number is introduced as a morphological category, it will first appear on human nouns, then be extended to other animates, next to inanimates, and finally to nouns referring to abstract concepts. This appears to be supported by the Korean data.

Discussion: The results of the acceptability judgement task show an increasing trend towards the use of the suffix –tul to express plurality in Korean, the interpretation of a bare noun as ‘singular’ (as opposed to the previous claims that bare nouns are unspecified for number), and the loss of classifiers from certain classifier constructions. My study provides support for the suggestion that this morpheme is currently undergoing change and that Korean appears to be shifting from a classifier language to a mass-count language.
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Quantifying the perceptual salience of the differences between two dialects of Spanish
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Between any two dialects of a language we find various differences. Some of these differences might be more prominent or noticeable than others, that is, we might say that some dialectal differences are more salient than others (Siegel 2010). The purpose of this study is to quantify the perceptual salience of 6 phonetic or phonological differences between two dialects of Spanish (Buenos Aires Spanish and Madrid Spanish) at the individual listener level via a perceptual test.

The 6 dialectal differences included in this study reflect differences in phonemic inventory, differences in the articulation of shared sounds, or differences in the treatment of vocalic sequences. As an example of a difference in inventory, Madrid Spanish (MS) includes the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in its phonological inventory, while this phoneme is not found in the Buenos Aires Spanish (BAS) inventory (Piñeros 2009). Where MS uses /θ/, BAS uses /s/.

To quantify the perceptual salience of the 6 dialectal differences, 22 native speakers of BAS and MS (11 from each dialect) participated in a perception experiment, run in Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2013). The methodology used in the perception experiment builds on that used in previous experimental studies on the ability of listeners to accurately identify speaker ethnicity, regional dialect, or foreign accent, based on the presence of particular linguistic features (Clopper & Pisoni 2004; Fridland, Bartlett & Kreuz 2004; Graff, Labov & Harris 1986; Thomas & Reaser 2004; Torbert 2004, 2010). Following the logic and findings of Fridland et al. (2004), the prediction was that the participants would perform more accurately on trials involving the more salient dialectal differences than on those containing the less salient differences.

The stimuli included in the perception task were short sequences of sounds that captured only one of the dialectal differences under investigation. The stimuli were recorded being produced by 4 MS speakers and 4 BAS speakers (2 males and 2 females each). In the perception experiment, the 22 participants saw the orthographic form of each stimulus on the screen then heard two recordings of the stimuli being produced. Their task was to decide which of the two recordings had been produced by a speaker of their own dialect. The measure used to quantify perceptual salience was the percentage of the trials involving each dialectal difference that each participant responded to correctly.

Statistical analysis using mixed-effects models finds that the dialectal differences do vary in perceptual salience and that there is an effect of dialect of the listener on how salient the differences are. For the BAS speakers the dialectal differences can be split into two salience groups (high and low), but for the MS speakers there is an intermediate level of salience comprising just one of the dialectal differences (gliding of /e/ in a vocalic sequence), a difference that was found to have low salience for the BAS speakers. I argue that the intermediate level stems from stigmatization of this particular variable in MS, but not in BAS (Hualde, Simonet & Torreira 2008). Furthermore, significant variation in the perception of salience between the participants was found, indicating that we cannot assume that individual speakers perceive the salience of linguistic variables in the same way.
The methodology and results of this study have applications in investigations of the role of perceptual salience in phonetic accommodation, second dialect and second language acquisition, and patterns of community-level sound change.

References


Participles as Non-Verbal Predicates  
Amani Makkawi

This research presents an analysis of participles in Makkan Arabic. These participles show verbal and nominal features but cannot be easily categorized either as nouns or verbs. Participles, like verbs (1), cannot combine with adjectives and determiners, but rather with adverbs, pattern with perfective and imperfective verbs, and take direct objects. Participles, like nouns and adjectives, partially agree with their subjects in number and gender but not person and are negated with the negation particle *mu* or inflected *ma*. Participles appear in constructions in which VSO order is not permissible nor is subject-drop.

1. a. ana **ashtra-yt/ashtri/shariy-a** al-kotob besorʕa  
   1.sg buy.perf-1.sg/buy.imperf.1.sg/buy.sg.NMLZ-fem the-book.pl quickly  
   ‘I bought/buy/have bought the books quickly.’

2. a. hya **Horn-a (n) \ Helw-a (adj) \ naym-a (Part)**  
   3.sg.fem woman.sg-fem \ beautiful.sg-fem \ sleep.NMLZ-3.fem.sg  
   ‘She is a woman\ beautiful\ has slept’

I propose that without the functional projection VP, bare VPs are not fully verbal. Thus when participles occur in a finite present-tense sentence containing a DP subject, they act like non-verbal predicates and the resulting copula construction conforms to Benmamoun’s (2008) framework of verbless sentences in Arabic which have a TP projection but no main verb. I use Bowers’ predicate phrase (PredP) where the predicates are any lexical category, including VP and the specifier hosts the subject of predication. Analyzing participles as non-verbal predicates explains the word order of SVO and the obligatory subject because subjects must move to specifier of TP to satisfy tense in the absence of verbs. The existence of VP explains the verbal properties of participles, and the absence of vP explains the nominal ones. The lack of vP means lack of full agreement as structural subjects are generated in vP which gives access to the person feature (Baker 2011). It also explains the use of non-verbal negative particles with participles as uninflected *ma* selects vP while *mu* and inflected *ma* select non-verbal predicates. Viewing participles as bare VPs is consistent with Croft’s (1991) de-verbalizing hierarchy which posits that verb types range from being fully finite to completely nominalized forms.

References


Cette communication porte sur l’étude de l’accentuation en français mauricien (FM), variété de français parlé dans l’Océan Indien, et qui est en contact avec le créole mauricien (CM), langue maternelle de 70% de la population (Carpooran, 2007). Le FM, qui est acquis pour la plupart en tant que L2, diffère du français standard (FS) aux niveaux lexical et syntaxique mais surtout prosodique. Alors que les études documentant la variation dialectale en français sont nombreuses, rares sont celles qui visent à rendre compte des changements qui s’opèrent dans le système prosodique des variétés de français en contact avec un créole. Le but de cette communication est de déterminer avec plus de précision en quoi le FM se distingue du FS, et voir si ces différences sont des conséquences d’un potentiel transfert de la prosodie du CM vers le FM. Dans la littérature, il n’est toujours pas clair si le transfert se manifeste uniquement dans les composantes de la sémantique et de la syntaxe (Odlin 1990), ou s’il peut au contraire apparaître à tous les niveaux linguistiques (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988). Ce débat exige donc que plus d’études soient menées afin de clarifier la question.

Le cadre théorique métrique-autosegmental (Ladd, 2008) sur lequel nous nous basons perçoit l’intonation comme étant constitué d’une composante phonétique et d’une composante phonologique. Ainsi, l’hypothèse générale que nous proposons est que le FM conserve le patron prosodique phonologique du français (tel que décrit par Jun & Fougeron, 2000), mais se distingue du FS dans la composante phonétique, soit par rapport à la magnitude des paramètres accentuels. Nous pensons que l’accent en FM aurait une durée plus longue, des valeurs F0 plus élevées et une intensité renforcée ; caractéristiques se rapprochant des observations de Mamode (2014) pour le CM. Conséquemment, nous supposons que la distinction entre les syllabes accentuées et les syllabes non accentuées – c’est-à-dire un ratio syllable accentuée/syllabe non accentuée pour la durée, F0 et l’intensité – devrait être plus flagrante en FM qu’en FS.

Les données analysées ont été récoltées à partir d’entrevues menées auprès de 4 hommes et 4 femmes d’origine mauricienne. Afin de maintenir une conformité dans nos données, seuls les mots dissyllabiques marquant la fin d’un syntagme intonatif et contenant la voyelle /i/ ou /e/ dans leur syllabe accentuée ont été retenus pour l’analyse. Nous avons donc recueilli 47 occurrences avec la voyelle /e/ et 43 pour la voyelle /i/ en FM, et en guise de contrôle, 19 mots dissyllabiques (9 en /e/ et 10 en /i/) du discours spontané d’un locuteur du français parisien. Ces occurrences ont par la suite été découpées en syllabes, à partir desquelles nous avons effectué des mesures de la durée, de la F0 et de l’intensité pour les voyelles accentuées (Va) et non accentuées (Vna). Le ratio Va:Vna des trois paramètres a par la suite été calculé pour le FM et le FS. Nos résultats dévoilent que seul le paramètre de durée confirme notre hypothèse de départ. Alors que les ratios Va:Vna pour la F0 et l’intensité sont similaires dans les deux variétés, le ratio de durée est plus marquant en FM (1.65), comparativement au FS (1.45). En termes de pourcentage, les Va et les Vna en FM présentent un allongement d’environ 39% et 20% respectivement. Ces observations s’approchent beaucoup de celles faites en CM, où la moyenne de durée des syllabes accentuées dépassait celle du FS par environ 33% (Mamode 2014). Nos observations démontrent donc qu’au niveau accentuel, seul la durée démarque le FM du FS, suggérant qu’il existe une sorte de contrainte sur ce qui est transférable ou non dans une situation de contact. Tel que discuté par Gussenhoven (2002), l’on pourrait penser qu’il s’agit d’une contrainte biologique, tel l’effort expiratoire, qui limite l’intensité et la hauteur de F0 lors de l’accentuation.
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Bottles of milk and cups of sugar: 
A cross-linguistic perspective on measure constructions

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The present study aims to explain why measure words in some languages (English, French, Hebrew) necessarily take an –s (two bottles of milk versus *two bottle of milk) in other languages (Azeri, Persian, Ojibwe) measure words can surface in the singular (the equivalent of two bottle of milk is grammatical).

If we assume –s in English-type languages is responsible for division in measure constructions (Borer 2005), we face the following puzzle: What is responsible for division in Azeri-type languages in the absence of the plural? We argue that, for a number of reasons, it cannot be the numeral (two) and propose that division is performed, in the absence of a plural, by measure words themselves (as in Chierchia 1998, Stavrou 2003, Acquaviva 2008, among others). We argue that whether or not plural marking appears on the measure word depends on a higher projection that expresses the counting function (distinct from the classifying/measuring function, Rothstein 2010). Measure constructions thus provide evidence for the idea that, in addition to the dividing plural, we need a higher, counting plural, bolstering the hypothesis that the plural comes in many flavours (Acquaviva 2008, Harbour 2008, Wiltschko 2008, 2012, Butler 2012, Mathieu 2012, 2013, 2014). Thus the proposed structure for Azeri type languages will be as follow:

[#P two [DivP cup [NP sugar]]]

We argue that the Div⁰ head can be occupied by the dividing plural (English-type languages, sound plurals in Arabic) or Chinese-type classifiers – Borer’s (2005) proposal – but also by singulative markers, diminutive markers, broken plurals (Mathieu 2012) and, as we argue in this study, measure words. The plural marker that appears on English measure words was argued to be a higher plural, distinct from the dividing plural that is generated under Div⁰. The higher plural is generated under #⁰ in a counting projection.

In conclusion we argue that there exists, in addition to the dividing plural (Borer 2005), a counting plural whose function is not to divide, but as its name suggests, to count. The folk view that plurality is about counting thus appears to be on the right track and cannot be completely ignored, even if we grant a dividing function to the plural as is done in Borer (2005) and else-
where. Measure constructions are good illustrations of why we need a higher, counting, non-di-
viding plural, adding existing evidence to the claim that the plural is not one but many (Acquavi-

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Multi-Modal Discourse-Historical Approach to Analyzing Negative Political Advertising

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In the spring of 2013, the Conservative Party of Canada launched a series of televised attack ads targeting Justin Trudeau, the newly elected leader of the Liberal Party. Focusing on the themes of ‘judgement’ and ‘experience,’ the ads minimize Trudeau’s professional credentials while foregrounding his ostensibly effete mannerisms and roots in Quebec. A minor backlash against the ads also tapped into public perception that the ads were latently homophobic, or at least called Trudeau’s masculinity into question (Ditchburn 2013). Nonetheless, their overall effectiveness is undeterminable given the potential for longer-term subconscious impacts on voters (Fridkin Kahn & Kenney 1999; Geer & Geer 2003). With such politically volatile terrain exhibited by the reaction to the ads and their sensationalist composition, I ask (1) How do the ads navigate variable hegemonic norms among their differing target audiences in Francophone and Anglophone television markets?; and (2) How do linguistic and other auditory-visual resources interact in the argumentation process to advance a message that is politically meaningful? Using an innovative adaptation of Baldry & Thibault’s (2006) multimodal text analysis and Reisigl & Wodak’s (2009) discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis, both English and French versions of the ads are analyzed, placing their underlying messages about leadership and nationhood within the context of competing discourses on masculinity in Canada. Findings demonstrate how the integration of semiotic resources expressed in multiple modalities contributes to an argumentation strategy to construct contrasting models of masculine leadership so as to connect with a social cleavage based on the rejection of a racialized post-modern masculinity, allowing visual and non-verbal stimuli to advance topoi that would be politically damaging to articulate expressly. The methods employed in the study provide a new avenue for analyzing negative political advertising that goes beyond the question of general effectiveness, providing a replicable framework for deconstructing the meaning-making processes of political advertising.

References:
Beyond modifiability:
Diagnosing pronominal category in Japanese and Mandarin
Paul B. Melchin

This paper discusses a previously overlooked difference in the syntactic category of pronouns in Japanese and Mandarin. Availability of modification by such noun phrase adjuncts as adjectives and genitive noun phrases is a common diagnostic for category of a language’s pronouns. Following this diagnostic, a pronoun that may be modified is pro-NP and one that may not be modified is pro-DP (see, e.g., Fukui 1988, Noguchi 1997, Bošković 2008); applying this test, it appears at first glance that Japanese and Mandarin both have pro-NP:

(1) a. **Kyou-no kare-no hou-ga kinou-no kare yori atamagaii desu.**
   ‘Today’s he is smarter than yesterday’s him.’
   **Japanese**

b. **Zuo tian de ta bi jin tian de ta gen cong ming.**
   ‘Yesterday’s he is smarter than today’s him.’
   **Mandarin**

However, in contexts where modification occurs in the presence of a numeral and a classifier, a contrast emerges: Japanese pronouns may still be modified, but those in Mandarin may not:

(2) a. **John-wa ureshii wareware yo-nin-o mita.**
   ‘John saw the happy four of us.’
   **Japanese**

b. **Nan-guo de ta-men san-ge mei you tu can jia huen-li.**
   (intended) ‘Sad them three didn’t participate in the wedding.’
   **Mandarin**

I show that the contrast in (2) results from differences in the phrase structure of nominals in Japanese and Mandarin. I present arguments from quantifier float (building on Watanabe 2006 et seq) to show that Japanese lacks the DP projection, and that pronouns in this language have the same distribution as nouns; this explains the unrestricted availability of modification. In contrast, the more rigid distribution of quantifiers in Mandarin suggests that Mandarin does in fact have DP, and distributional differences between pronouns and nouns suggest that in this language pronouns are D (rather than N), at least in certain contexts (including that in (2); Li 1999); this explains the ungrammaticality of (2b). Thus, the modification in (1b) requires explanation. I propose that this is an example of coercion of the pronoun from D to N, analogous to that in English expressions like *John knows the real me*; the difference is that such coercion is much more productive in Mandarin than in English, possibly due to the smaller amount of overt nominal functional morphology in the former than the latter.

In summary, the modifiability diagnostic for pronominal category should be used with caution: the fact that a language’s pronouns can be modified in some cases does not imply that its pronouns are NPs in all contexts. Furthermore, it raises questions about the nature and availability of coercion from functional to lexical categories cross-linguistically.
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Information structure and nominal ellipsis in L2 Spanish
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It has been argued that interfaces between internal modules of the grammar, such as syntax, and external modules, such as information structure, are problematic for different types of learners, including early and late bilinguals, heritage speakers, and second language learners (Sorace 2011). Several explanations for this have been suggested, including processing difficulties. If processing is the problem, the fact that the L1 encodes similar constraints for a particular structure should not be helpful. We report on an experiment that aims at determining whether this is the case in relation to noun drop in L2 Spanish.

Recent work in Spanish has shown that nominal ellipsis exhibits syntactic constraints, such as gender parallelism with the antecedent. Furthermore, as in English, the L1 of the subjects, information structure is critical in the licensing of noun drop (Braver 2009; Eguren 2010). As example (1) shows, ellipsis is only possible if the ellipsis site is focused. This is similar in English, although in English the noun is generally replaced by a pronoun, one, as the translations show.

(1) a. –Tienes salsa picante y salsa dulce. ¿Cuál prefieres?
You have both spicy and mild sauce. Which do you prefer?
–Prefiero la _____ picante.
I prefer the spicy one.

b. –Esta salsa picante está deliciosa. ¿Qué le echaste?
This spicy sauce is delicious. What [ingredients] did you use?
–#Le eché un poco de ají a la _____ picante.
#I put some hot chili pepper on the spicy one.

In (1a) salsa picante is focused and therefore noun ellipsis is possible. In (1b), however, salsa picante is old information and the focus is un poco de ají and, as a result, the answer is anomalous.

The present paper investigates whether highly proficient speakers of L2 Spanish are able to perceive these subtle constraints on noun drop, particularly given that these are not taught. A group of 10 advanced L2 Spanish speakers completed three tasks of which we will be reporting on two: a production task and an acceptability judgment task that used questions and answers such as those illustrated in (1).

The production task on noun drop was a question-answer task based on a series of pictures. Subjects had to answer 28 (18 target) questions based on what they saw, eliciting responses with noun drop. For example, (see Fig.1): “¿Qué camiseta te gusta más?” (what t-shirt do you like the most?) with the expected response: “la roja” (the red one). Results show the speakers have no problem producing noun drop in context correctly. Regarding the role of focus (the acceptability task), there was no difference between the native and the L2 speakers. We take this as evidence against the inherent difficulty in processing different modules, as Sorace argues. In other words, speakers not only control the syntax of noun drop, but also the information structure that licenses it.
References


La géométrie hiérarchique de traits et l’ordre linéaire des suites de pronoms clitiques en dialectes occitans dans le Département des Alpes-Maritimes

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Dans certaines langues romanes, les pronoms clitiques seraient ordonnés de gauche à droite en fonction de l’augmentation de la complexité structurelle d’une géométrie hiérarchique des traits. Cette hypothèse à propos de l’ordre des clitiques s’appelle la contrainte « Davantage de Détail à Droite (DDD) » (Heap 2005). L’espagnol et certains dialectes du français non standard (non régionaux) partageaient le même ordre des clitiques qui suivait cette contrainte (Heap 2005, Heap et Kaminskaïa 2001). Cependant, l’ordre linéaire dans certains dialectes de l’occitan n’est pas toujours celui qui serait prédit par la contrainte DDD.

Dans cette étude, j’étudie l’ordre linéaire variable des suites de pronoms clitiques dans certains dialectes de l’occitan parlés dans le Département des Alpes-Maritimes. Ces dialectes incluent le provençal, les parlars alpins et des dialectes liguriens.


1. pw’ôdes lu mì repet’a
   peux 3SG.ACC 1SG répéter
   ‘Tu peux me le repeter?'


2. d’una me lus
donne 1SG 3PL.ACC
   ‘Donne-les-moi.’

Il est possible qu’il existe simultanément une contrainte pour l'alignement selon le cas (cf. Grimshaw 2001) et une autre s’appuyant sur la contrainte DDD. Conformément à la théorie de l'optimalité, le classement de ces deux contraintes peut varier selon le dialecte. Il est également possible qu’il existe une sous-spécification variable de traits pour un dialecte donné (Heap 2005).

Notre étude aidera à établir si un modèle morphologique peut expliquer l'ordre linéaire des pronoms clitiques en occitan.
Références


Où en est *tu*? : A cross-linguistic approach to Quebec French polar interrogatives

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**Introduction** Object of curiosity for both linguists and non-linguists, the Quebec French (QF) interrogative particle *tu* shows some peculiar syntactic properties, compared to interrogative particles in other languages on the one hand, such as its position within the clause, and compared to complex inversion in Standard French (SF) on the other hand, such as its incompatibility with negation. I propose an analysis where *tu* heads a hybrid projection at the CP/IP boundary, where it encodes a polarity feature.

**Data** While interrogative particles are generally clause-initial or clause-final (see Ultan 1978, Dryer 2005), *tu* is post-verbal (1a). It is also restricted to root contexts (1b).

1. a. Julie aime *-tu* les chats?  b. *Je me demande si Julie aime *-tu* les chats.  
   Julie likes Q the cats I myself ask if Julie likes Q the cats
   'Does Julie like cats?' 'I wonder if Julie likes cats.'

As shown in (2a), QF *tu* is incompatible with negation, unlike SF complex inversion (2b), from which it originates (see e.g. Morin 1985, Picard 1992, Roberts 1993, Vinet 2001).

2. a. *Julie aime *-tu* pas les chats?  b. Julie *n'* aime *-t*-elle *pas* les chats?  
   Julie likes Q NEG the cats Julie NEG likes Q she NEG the cats
   'Does Julie not like cats?' 'Does Julie not like cats?'

The particle *tu* is not always incompatible with *pas*, however. Exclamatives such as (3a) are more easily accepted, and utterances such as (3b), where *tu pas* expresses surprise, are quite common.

3. a. C’ est *-tu pas* effrayant!  b. Pis là, je le vois *-tu pas* arriver.  
   it is Q NEG scary and then I him see Q NEG arrive
   'It's terrible, isn't it!' 'And then, surprisingly, I see him arrive.'

**Analysis** The data above presents us with two puzzles: (i) Is *tu* a C° element, since it is limited to root clauses, or an I° element, since it is post-verbal while the subject must precede the verb? (ii) Why is *tu* incompatible with negation in questions, but not in exclamatives?

(i) Previous accounts have placed *tu* in C° (Vinet 2001, Morin 2009), whereas others have placed it in I° (Noonan 1992, Rowlett 2007, Elsig 2009). I propose that *tu* heads a projection with both C° and I° features, inspired by Giorgi & Pianesi’s 1997 Mood/Agr projection which was proposed to account for complementiser deletion in Italian. While Mood/AgrP can have either an Agr specifier for speakers who accept preverbal subject or a complementiser specifier for those who do not, I propose that the C/I projection headed by *tu* always has an I specifier, which hosts the subject.

(ii) Building on work by Vinet 2001, 2004, I propose that the sequence *tu pas* in exclamatives is actually a single element *'tupas*', possibly the result of a reanalysis from *tu pas*, or *ti pas* as in *voilà-ti pas* in (4a) below (example from Gadet 1992:83, cited in Vinet 2001:63; my translation; on how *ti* became *tu*, see Picard 1991). As this reanalysis took place, I propose (a) that the combination of *tu* and *pas* specialised as an exclamative marker (*'tupas'*), and (b) that interrogative *tu* consequently acquired a [-Neg] polarity feature and is thus excluded from negative questions. This predicts that negative questions without *tu* should be grammatical, a prediction which is borne out (4b).

4. a. Voilà *-ti pas qu' on s'arrête même à Epinay!  b. Julie aime *pas* les chats?  
   there Q NEG that we stop even in Epinay Julie likes NEG the cats
   'Now we even stop in Epinay!' 'Does Julie not like cats?'

**Conclusion** The proposed analysis in (i) reconciles the two conflicting views with respect to the syntactic position of *tu*, and the one in (ii) predicts that incompatibility between an interrogative marker and negation lies in the featural content of the interrogative marker.
References


A language is “split ergative” if it has a regular ergative pattern on its case marking or agreement that switches to some non-ergative pattern in the presence of a certain trigger (related to aspect, person features, or clause-type). This paper contributes to bridging the gap between ergative and accusative languages by arguing that split ergativity (often seen as a “quirk” of ergative languages) has a counterpart in accusative languages as well. I argue that the partitive/accusative case alternation in Finnish (which is based largely on aspect) constitutes “split accusativity”.

This work is based on ideas developed in Coon (2013), namely that split ergativity arises not from special rules of case assignment in the split environments but instead from structural differences in these environments that give rise to (seemingly unexpected) case marking with the same rules. Importantly, these structures that produce split ergativity in ergative languages are not limited to ergative languages. They just happen, due to the nature of the ergative/absolutive pattern, to produce a visible effect (i.e. change of case marking) in ergative languages.

My paper starts with the idea that these structures still can produce a visible change in case marking in accusative languages, even if this change is not as apparent. The details of the split structure in Coon (2013) vary; for some languages it involves an aspectual auxiliary that creates a clause boundary between the subject and the object, and for other languages it involves a demoted/oblique (e.g. prepositional) object. In both cases the effect is that the object is taken “out of play” for the purposes of case assignment, and the transitive agent is treated as an intransitive argument. In an ergative language (where the transitive agent is ergative and intransitive argument is absolutive), this results in a different case on the subject and (possibly) on the object too. However in an accusative language both the transitive agent and the intransitive argument take the same case (nominative), so the results of the split can only be visible on the object. The difference between Georgian (a split ergative language) and Finnish (my split accusative language) is presented in (1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Georgian</th>
<th>Finnish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>DAT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The Georgian split is often described as involving tense, but Coon 2013 considers it an aspectual distinction.)

The fact that split ergativity affects the subject and often the object while case alternations in accusative languages like Finnish “only” affect the object is perhaps the biggest reason to consider them separate phenomena. However under Coon’s analysis, the structures responsible for split ergativity wouldn’t change the case of the subject in an accusative language, and thus we know that we can recognize languages as “split accusative” based on the object alone. In my paper I argue for the parallels between the partitive/accusative case alternation in Finnish and certain split ergative languages in terms of broad principles (like the fact of split ergativity that aspect splits always involve the unexpected case marking in a non-perfective aspect, which is what happens in Finnish) and as well the specific mechanics. The Finnish partitive, I argue, is a demoted/oblique object (like one class of split ergative languages in Coon’s analysis), more specifically the object of a covert preposition that assigns partitive (I build on MacDonald’s 2006 analysis). This makes use of the fact that all prepositions assign partitive case in Finnish (Vainikka 1993).
1 References


Phonology without Strata

Heather Newell, UQAM

This talk has two goals, one mechanical and one theoretical. The mechanical goal is to demonstrate that hiatus resolution in Ojibwe (Algonquian), NC cluster repair in Malagasy (Austronesian), and exceptional stress patterns in Turkish (Altaic) do not find tenable solutions within a stratal account (OT or otherwise). Even though each of these phonological patterns is demonstrably affected by cyclic application of rules/constraints, in each of these cases it is clearly apparent that the various methods employed by the phonology to repair illicit sequences all fall within the phonological word (PWd). (I will subsequently call these alterations ‘rules’ here, abstracting away from the exact mechanism that triggers phonological change).

(1) a. nó:komis ‘my grandmother’
   ni-o:komis
   1-GRANDMOTHER
   b. nídodè:nimà: ‘I am jealous of her’
   ni-ode:n-im-a:
   1-BE JEALOUS-FINAL-TS(3 THEME)
(2) a. mamatra ‘y measures x’
   m+an+fatra
   EVENT-CAUSE-MEASURE
   b. ma%mifatra ‘z makes x be measured’
   m+an+i+fatra
   EVENT-CAUSE-EVENT-INTRANS-MEASURE
(3) a. gidecèktim ‘I will have gone’
   gid-ecek-i-ti-m
   GO-FUT-COP-PAST-1SG
   b. gòrdúm ‘I saw’
   gör-dû-m
   SEE-PAST-1SG

In (1) we can see that hiatus is resolved between the person marker ni and the following morpheme either by deletion or epenthesis. What is also evident is that in both cases the person marker falls within the domain of main stress in Ojibwe: the PWd. In (2) NC sequences in Malagasy, where the N in both cases forms part of the causative morpheme, are resolved either by coalescence or prenasalization. As neither the features of the coalesced segments nor the parts of the prenasalized segments can belong to separate PWds, the phonological domain of these two repair rules must be identical. In (3) we see that the past tense marker –dl can be either stressed or unstressed. Notably, the variable nature of stress assignment in Turkish does not affect whether this affix is subject to Vowel Harmony, a process that is limited to application within the PWd. It is argued here that in each of these cases there is no conceivable manner in which the two repair strategies can be logically linked to either (1) morpheme-specific rules or (2) different rules applying at different phonological strata (stem, word, phrase).

The theoretical goal of this talk is to situate the above argument within the discussion of theoretical frameworks in generative phonology. The implications of the above are that neither phonological rules nor morphemes belong to different strata in the grammar. It is put forth here that rules apply when their structural description is met (McCarthy 1988), that cyclic derivation is mediated by the morpho-syntax (Halle & Marantz 1993), and that the same rule may result in a different phonological output depending on the timing of its application in relation to the cyclic interpretation of its parts (Newell 2014). The conclusion here is that these aspects of the grammar converge to give the appearance of strata where there are none.
This paper investigates synthetic and periphrastic alternations in French. Like most Romance languages, the French expresses futurity in two ways: the synthetic (1a) and periphrastic future (1b).

(1) a. Elle \texttt{partir}.
   \linebreak[4]
   she \texttt{leave-fut-3sg}
   \linebreak[4]
   ‘She will leave.’

b. Elle \texttt{va} \texttt{partir}.
   \linebreak[4]
   she \texttt{go,pres-3sg} \texttt{leave-inf}
   \linebreak[4]
   ‘She is going to leave.’

The synthetic future in Romance descended from a Latin periphrastic future of the form infinitive + habere ‘have’, e.g. amare habeo ‘I will love’. The lexical verb habere meaning ‘to own’ was reanalysed as a future auxiliary habere. Synchronically, the Romance synthetic future is widely assumed to be composed of a future stem + agreement affix (<habere) (Fleischman 1982 for French; Arregi & Oltra-Massuet 2005 for Spanish; Roberts & Roussou 2002 for Romance generally).

The periphrastic future is clearly composed of the modal aller ‘go’ + infinitive. Notice, however, that the constructions in (1) have two striking similarities: they share (i) the same infinitive-like form of the lexical verb: partir ‘to leave’ and (ii) the same agreement morphology on the inflected verb: –a. Evidence from acquisition and change suggest that speakers indeed analyse the synthetic future as having an infinitive (Grégoire 1947, Fouché 1967, Hoekstra & Hyams 1998). The synthetic and periphrastic futures are also used interchangeably (Poplack & Dion 2009).

I propose that the synthetic and periphrastic French futures are morphological spell-outs of the same modal head + infinitive construction (2), cf. Abusch’s (1985) analysis of English will.

(2) Structure and features of the French future

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{T} \quad \text{ModP} \\
[\text{pres}] \quad \text{Mod} \quad \text{InfP} \\
[\text{mod}] \quad \text{Infinitive}
\end{array}
\]

I propose that both futures are composed of a Modal head with feature specification [MODALITY], which takes an infinitival complement and is anchored to [PRESENT] Tense. The lexical infinitive may stay low or raise to become a future stem. [MODALITY] is spelled out as the Modal verb aller in the absence of a lexical verb stem, resulting in an aller + infinitive construction. I show that this analysis can be extended to the French conditional by combining [MODALITY] with [PAST].

Analyses of Spanish (Oltra-Massuet & Arregi 2005) and Italian (Calabrese 2012) within Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993) have only examined synthetic verb forms. This paper is the first to explicitly consider the synthetic and periphrastic futures in a Romance language.
References
The Lexical Stress in East Slavic
Iryna Osadcha (Department of Linguistics, U of T)

The stress systems of East Slavic languages is characterized by lexical stress, meaning that the morphemes are inherently (lexically) accented. While there is an extensive literature on Russian stress, the generative analyses of Ukrainian and Belarusian stress systems are few (Butska 2002, Yanovich and Steriade 2010, 2011; Dubina 2012). They do not account for all the major nominal patterns and do not use metrical representations bracketed grid representations as proposed by Idsardi (1992), Halle and Idsardi (1995).

I propose that Ukrainian and Belarusian feature the same Edge marking parameters and Lexical Edge Markings as Idsardi (1992) proposes for Russian. Both languages also have unaccented, accented and post-accenting stems. However, there are stress patterns in Ukrainian and Belarusian that act differently in the singular and plural paradigms (i. accented in Sg., post-accenting in Pl.; ii. post-accenting in Sg., accented in Pl.; iii. stress falls on different syllables of the stem in Sg. and Pl.). I call the stems showing these patterns shifting stems: unlike in Russian, they are very common in both languages and cannot be derived using the regular parameters.

To account for these stress patterns, I propose an original shifting rule that comes with several constraints: a parenthesis must be already present on the stem (no unaccented stems); a parenthesis must be at the edge of the stem (no accented stems of type \( x(x) \); c) a shifting parenthesis cannot lose contact with the stem (no shifting to the suffix).

(1) Shifting rule (restricted to shifting stems when a plural ending is present):
   (a) Move a left parenthesis to the right edge of the stem: \( x \times > x x \)
   (b) Move a left parenthesis one constituent to the right: \( x x > x x( \)
   (c) Move a left parenthesis one constituent to the left: \( x x( > x x. \)
   If movement to the right is not available, move the left parenthesis one constituent to the left: \( x x( > x x. \)

Here are derivations for singular and plural forms of Ukrainian \( \text{hólub} \) 'pigeon' (type i):

(2) \( \text{hólub} \) ‘pigeon’, Gen. sg. suffix -a, Nom. pl. suffix -y

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line 2</th>
<th>a. Gen. sg. ( \text{hólub-a} )</th>
<th>b. Nom. pl. ( *\text{hólub-y} )</th>
<th>c. Nom. pl. ( \text{holub-y} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Line 1</td>
<td>( x \times &gt; x x( )</td>
<td>( x x( &gt; x x. )</td>
<td>( x x( &gt; x x. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shifting (a)</td>
<td>( x x )</td>
<td>( x x( )</td>
<td>( x x. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line 0</td>
<td>( x x( &gt; x x. )</td>
<td>( x x( &gt; x x. )</td>
<td>( x x. )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>holub+a</td>
<td>holub+y</td>
<td>holub+y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Gen. Sg. (2a), stem \( \text{holub} \)- behaves like accented stem: besides of the default right parenthesis that merely marks a word boundary, it gets a left parenthesis to the left of the first element due to the lexical Edge marking of the stem; the same element is projected to Line 1 and to Line 2 due to the Edge Parameters (as defined by Idsardi 1992: 110), resulting in the desired form \( \text{hólub-a} \). However, the derivation for Nom. pl. in (2b) following the same steps yields the wrong form \( *\text{hólub-y} \). Now, in (2c) we apply the Shifting rule, as defined in (1a), at Line 0: it moves the left parenthesis from its initial position to the right edge of the stem, to the right of the second element and the result is the desired Nom.pl. form \( \text{holub-y} \). The derivations work in the same way for the Belarusian cognate \( \text{hólub} \) (Nom. Pl. \( \text{halub-ý} \)). Applying two versions of the Shifting rule allows us to derive the forms for all the types of shifting stems in both languages.

Combining the Idsardian analysis of Russian with the newly introduced Shifting rule accounts for all possible stress patterns of Ukrainian and Belarusian underived nouns. This shows us the advantage of using the single-bracket metrical theory for analyzing lexical stress and its variation across languages, in particular across understudied East Slavic languages.
Perceptual motivations of sibilant harmony
Avery Ozburn, University of British Columbia

It has been suggested that consonant harmony may arise from phonologized speech errors and coarticulation (e.g. Hansson 2001). However, there has been little investigation into whether consonant harmony could be affected by listener-driven factors (see e.g. Hansson 2008 for an overview). While Gallagher (2012) has found that experimental results on perceptual similarity reflect properties of ejective harmony, such perceptual effects have not been studied more broadly in other types of consonant harmony. The present study examines the perception of sibilant contrasts in different contexts, in order to investigate whether perceptual factors could be driving the typologically common properties of sibilant harmony, including its often regressive directionality and the fact that more similar segments are more likely to interact harmonically (see e.g. Rose and Walker 2004, Hansson 2001). If consonant harmony patterns are in part determined by misperceptions or perceptual adaptations, then we expect harmonic contrasts to be perceived differently in typologically common harmony contexts than in non-harmony contexts. Since sibilant harmony is cross-linguistically the most common type of consonant harmony (Hansson 2001) and is easily tested on English listeners, who do not have sibilant harmony in their native language to affect their judgements, it offers an ideal way to examine these potential effects.

This paper reports on an experiment consisting of a forced choice categorization task using sibilant continua. Natural stimuli produced by a trained phonetician were manipulated in the Matlab program STRAIGHT (Kawahara et al. 2008) to create an 11-step continuum between [s] and [ʃ]. Stimuli were of the form CVCV, where one of the consonants was along a continuum between [s] and [ʃ] and the other was one of the following: highly similar sibilants [s] and [ʃ], less similar sibilants [z] and [tʃ], or non-sibilants [n] and [m]. Three vowel contexts were tested, CaCa, CiCi, and CuCu, in order to evaluate whether results are consistent across vowels that are known to cause differences in sibilant perception. Participants listened to the stimuli and were asked to categorize the ambiguous consonant by selecting either “s” or “sh”. Previous continuum studies with strictly adjacent consonants across word boundaries have shown that sibilant categorization curves change in the presence of another sibilant compared to a non-sibilant (Fleischer et al. 2013), and the current experiment tests whether such changes also occur in longer-distance sibilant contexts. As such, results are analyzed to determine the extent to which the categorization as [s] or [ʃ] of ambiguous continuum sounds depends on the position of the ambiguous consonant in the word, the surrounding vowel and, most importantly, the context consonant.

Pilot results suggest that there are overall more [s] responses in sibilant contexts than in non-sibilant [n, m] contexts. Interestingly, this result held both when [s] responses were assimilatory, specifically when the context consonant was [s], and when they were dissimilatory, namely when the context consonant was [ʃ] or [tʃ]. The latter result is particularly interesting given that Abrego-Collier (2013) found an opposite pattern with liquids, with more [ɾ] responses in [ɾ] contexts and more [ɾ] responses in [ɾ] contexts compared to a neutral context. As such, this result could point to a fundamental perceptual difference between sibilants, which tend to harmonize, and liquids, which tend to dissimilate. Thus, this study provides crucial new results for understanding the motivations behind sibilant harmony and potentially harmony versus dissimilation more generally.
References
Articulatory complexity in Spanish: Developing a hierarchy of difficulty
Matthew Patience
University of Toronto

To master the sounds of a foreign language, a speaker must learn to articulate (e.g., successful combination of gestures, vocal cord vibration) the new segments. While we know that certain segments are more difficult to acquire due to a greater degree of articulatory difficulty (e.g., Yavas, 1997; Colantoni & Steele, 2008), no L2 theory can account for this difficulty. The objective of my research is to contribute to our understanding of the role of articulatory difficulty (AD) in L2 acquisition by investigating the production of Spanish by L1 English speakers. To analyze the role of AD, it is first necessary to quantify the AD of Spanish segments that are not present in English, which is the goal of the present paper: to create a hierarchy of difficulty of the Spanish segments /β, ɣ, x, n, r/.

AD has been approached primarily through research on markedness (e.g., Jakobson, 1968) and on phonetic constraints (e.g., Ohala, 1983; 1997). While marked sounds are often considered to be more articulatorily complex than unmarked sounds, markedness is the product of a combination of factors (e.g., salience, frequency), and therefore does not specifically reflect AD (Hume, 2011). Research on phonetic constraints can rank sounds that contrast by a certain feature (e.g., voiced vs. unvoiced), but is limited in that it cannot rank sounds that are unrelated (e.g., a voiced retroflex stop vs. a voiceless alveolar sibilant). Lindblom & Maddieson (1988; henceforth L&M) proposed a ranking of AD based on phonetic principles, but the scale is limited due to the fact that they grouped all sounds into only three categories, and the scale was never tested empirically. Due to the aforementioned limitations, the present study was designed to experimentally test AD using a task that involved a high degree of complexity, thus revealing which segments were more difficult to produce.

Five L1 Spanish speakers were asked to repeat a V.CV sequence at an increasingly rapid rate until they began to deviate from the target production. The fastest rate at which the speaker could accurately produce three repetitions of the target sequence was recorded for each segment. The segment with the fastest rate of production was considered to be the easiest segment, while the segment produced with the slowest rate was considered to be the most difficult. Fourteen V.CV sequences were tested; each one consisted of a vowel (/e, o/) and one of the five target segments /β, ɣ, x, n, r/ or /m, t/, which were included as a baseline because stops are considered to have a low difficulty rating (L&M, 1988). The 14 sequences were presented twice to participants in random order. All productions were recorded and subsequently analyzed in Praat, in order to determine when the productions were no longer target-like. This was achieved by analyzing changes in f0, intensity, and formant structure.

Preliminary results indicate that, as expected, both stops /m, t/ were produced with the fastest rates (3.9x/sec), indicating that they were the least complex. This is consistent with findings of phonetic constraints (Ohala, 1983) and markedness (Maddieson, 1984). The segments /r, n, ɣ/ had the next fastest rates of production (3.7x, 3.6x, 3.5x/sec, respectively), whereas the segments with the slowest rates of production were the two velars /ɣ/ and /x/ at 3.3x and 3x/sec). These results suggest that a velar place of articulation is more complex compared to more anterior places of articulation, and are consistent with phonological theories (e.g. the emergence of the unmarked) that treat coronals as the unmarked segment. The rapid rate of production of the trill was somewhat unexpected, as the /r/ is considered to have a high degree of articulatory difficulty (due to the precise phonetic conditions required for its production, and the
fact that even some native speakers are unable to produce it (Solé, 2002). However, the results indicate that production of the trill is not necessarily complex for a speaker who is accustomed to producing the sound, when they are actively focusing on its successful production.

References
Aspect and modality in Malagasy maha

Ileana Paul, Baholisoa Simone Ralalaohervony, Henriëtte de Swart

The Malagasy prefix *maha-* is traditionally analyzed as being ambiguous between a causative and an abilitive (Rajaona 1972, Dez 1980). In addition, *maha-* appears to force otherwise atelic predicates to be telic. Phillips (2000) and Travis (2010) argue that *maha-* creates achievements. In this paper, however, we argue against the lexical aspect analysis. We also consider but reject treating *maha-* as encoding grammatical aspect (perfective or perfect). We explore instead a modal analysis.

As illustrated below, *maha-* can be interpreted as abilitive (1a) or causative (1b).

1a. Mahaongotra ravina Rabe b. Mahafinaritra an’i Soa Rabe
   AHA.pull-out root Rabe AHA.happy ACC DEF Soa Rabe
   ‘Rabe can pull out roots.’
   ‘Rabe makes Soa happy.’

Phillips (2000) unites these two readings by considering the role played by the root. Phillips also argues that verbs with *maha-* are telic (2) and suggests they are achievements (see Travis 2010).

2. Nahasambotra ny zaza # nefa faingana loatra ilay alika
   PST.AHA.captive DET dog DET child but quick too DEF dog
   ‘The child caught the dog . . . but the dog was too quick.’

The telic analysis of *maha-* faces empirical challenges. Unlike what has been observed for bare noun interpretation in telic contexts in languages like Chinese and Japanese (de Swart 2013), bare nouns in Malagasy retain their indefinite and number neutral reading with *maha-*.

   PST.AHA.destroy house DET enemy
   ‘The enemy destroyed house/s.’

Second, data from adverbs show that *maha-* verbs do not pattern with achievements. For example, *saika* ‘almost’ can be interpreted as scalar (the woman started but did not finish).

   almost PST.AHA.build house one DEM woman DEM
   ‘This woman almost built a house.’

Moreover, *maha-* verbs can be modified by adverbs such as ‘gradually’, which are incompatible with achievements (Piñón 1997). We therefore reject a lexical aspect analysis of *maha-*.

It can also be shown that *maha-* does not encode grammatical aspect. Unlike perfective, it is not used in narratives to show sequence of events, it does not create inchoatives with stative verbs, and it is compatible with the present tense. On the other hand, *maha-* verbs do pattern in many ways with the perfect; this analysis, however, leaves unexplained the abilitive reading (1a).

We follow Phillips (2000) in analyzing *maha-* as a morpheme that adds an external argument to a root. As well as modifying argument structure, *maha-* encodes an ability modal (Dez 1980). As with ability modals in certain other languages (Bhatt 1999, Hacquard 2006), however, there is an actuality entailment in the past tense.

5. Nahatsidika an’i Kanada aho # nefa nitety an’i Amerika.
   PST.AHA.visit ACC DET Canada 1SG(NOM) but PST.AT.LOC ACC DET America.
   ‘I could have visited Canada but I went to America.

Unlike the languages discussed by Bhatt and Hacquard, Malagasy past tense is not perfective (see above). Therefore it is the ability modal itself that introduces an actuality implicature that can be cancelled in the present tense. We conclude with a discussion of the typology of the observed interactions between ability modals and aspect, as well as cross-linguistic variation in actuality entailments.
References
Shifting Gen in Harmonic Serialism: Evidence from Halkomelem

Maida Percival, University of Toronto

This paper provides evidence from Halkomelem, an endangered Salish language of BC, for a modification of Gen in Harmonic Serialism (HS) in the form of the addition of the operation Shift, which moves a feature from one segment to another. Halkomelem has a robust opaque, counter-bleeding interaction between vowel harmony and vowel reduction. /a/ in certain suffixes triggers regressive vowel harmony before reducing to [ə] due to Halkomelem’s stress system:

(1) /náts’-əət/
   [\náts’-əət]
   ‘change’

An analysis of this data in HS proves problematic without Shift. The ordering of a constraint preferring a candidate with vowel harmony (e.g. a licensing constraint that disfavors a [-low] vowel before a [+low] vowel) over a constraint preferring a candidate with vowel reduction (e.g. a markedness constraint that disfavors unstressed full vowels) necessitates the inclusion of a constraint (e.g. Max(low)) ordered above the reduction constraint so that the trigger does not reduce before triggering harmony. This is illustrated in the tableau in (2).

(2) Step 1: vowel harmony

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>náts’-əət</th>
<th>Lic V[-low], [+low]</th>
<th>Max(low)</th>
<th>*UnstrFullV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. náts’-əət</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the Max constraint ordered above the reduction constraint prevents reduction of the trigger in subsequent steps of the analysis. This is illustrated in the tableau in (3).

(3) Step 2: vowel reduction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>náts’-əət</th>
<th>Lic V[-low], [+low]</th>
<th>Max(low)</th>
<th>*UnstrFullV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*&lt; b. náts’-əət</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This problem is circular as modifying, adding, removing, or rearranging constraints ultimately leads to the same issue: there is no ranking of constraints that can capture that the trigger /a/ must reduce but must only reduce after triggering vowel harmony.

I argue that this supports a modification to Gen, so that vowel harmony and reduction of the trigger occur as a single step. Gen in HS is limited to making a single change between the input and output of a step. McCarthy et al. (2012) have argued that processes of autosegmental shift would consist of two changes (spreading and delinking) and therefore two steps. However, I show that if the shifting of a feature is considered a single change, the counter-bleeding opacity between vowel harmony and vowel reduction no longer exists. Instead, the pattern in (1) is the result of a single operation which shifts the feature [+low] from the trigger /a/ to a preceding vowel, resulting in candidate a. in the tableau in (4). Shift is advantageous in that it can also account for a number of similar patterns in other languages.

(4) Step 1: shift

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>náts’-əət</th>
<th>Lic V[-low], [+low]</th>
<th>*UnstrFullV</th>
<th>Max(low)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. náts’-əət</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. náts’-əət</td>
<td>!</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


A sociolinguistic analysis of the current state of /l/ allophony in St. John's English

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This project examines the use and evaluation of light post-vocalic /l/ in St. John's, Newfoundland. The city, which was primarily settled by the Irish, traditionally did not conform to the Standard Canadian pattern of /l/ allophony. That is, it was reported to have light /l/ in all positions, in contrast to Canadian English, which has dark /l/ in codas and light /l/ in onsets (Boberg 2010). There have been, however, several major social and economic changes in Newfoundland since the mid-twentieth century, which have impacted local dialects (Clarke 2010). In terms of post-vocalic /l/, data collected by Clarke in St. John's in the 1980s shows that the light variant is declining in use and being replaced by the dark variant, and that little overt awareness is accompanying this change (2012). This study aims to address the decline and awareness of this feature, through production and perception experiments, respectively. This work follows up that of Clarke in that it looks at younger age groups that have been born since Clarke's study was conducted in the early 1980s.

In terms of production, only a small sample has been collected and analyzed thus far. 10 speakers were recorded in three different levels of formality: while reading a word list, a reading passage, as well during an informal interview (Tagliamonte 2006). As a whole, the data showed a slight difference between /l/ in the coda and onset position, but because of the small sample and the fact that only one style has been analyzed, more data and analysis are needed to determine the rate of use of the feature.

The perception experiment consists of a discrimination task and an affective scale evaluation (Drager 2011), which was performed by 14 participants. During the discrimination task, participants listened to pairs of words; each pair was made up of one word with a dark and one with a light post-vocalic /l/, as well as light-light and dark-dark pairs. These words were recorded and edited using Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2014). A single speaker was recorded saying several repetitions of a word with a dark /l/, i.e. [mɪlk], and a nonsense word with a light /l/, i.e. [mɪlɪk]. The latter variant was then edited in Praat so that the final vowel was deleted, leaving [mɪlk] with a light post-vocalic /l/. This editing process was similar to that used by Eimas et al. (1971) to produce differing voice onset times. While listening to the stimuli, the participants were asked to determine whether the words in each pair were pronounced the same or differently.

For the affective scale evaluation, the participants listened to the same words as before, but this time organized into two blocks: one block with light post-vocalic /l/ and the other one with a dark one. They were given seven point scales on which to rate each of the blocks according to certain qualities reflecting either status or social attractiveness (Clarke 1982). The listeners had to determine whether the speaker of each of the two blocks seemed confident, intelligent, hard-working, and whether he had a high-paying job, which were all considered reflections of status; and whether the speaker was likeable, kind, friendly, and honest, which reflected social attractiveness.

In the discrimination task, every participant was able to correctly perceive, at a rate higher than chance, when the two words contained different /l/ (one light and one dark). In fact, the lowest correct response rate was 73 percent. Additionally, when asked about the difference between the two types of pronunciations, 11 out of the 14 speakers said that the light speaker sounded more like a Newfoundlander than the dark speaker. These results suggest that people are not only able to hear the difference between dark and light /l/, but they also identify the light variant as a feature of Newfoundland English. In terms of the affective scale evaluation, the participants rated the dark block as having a higher status (more confident, intelligent, hard-working, and having a higher-paying job) than the light block. None of the social attractiveness qualities yielded any significant differences between the two blocks, based on paired T-test results at p<0.05.

These perception results show that the participants consider the dark post-vocalic /l/ to be more prestigious, at least when it comes to social status, than the light post-vocalic /l/. This, taken with the
success in the discrimination task, could indicate that the light variant of this feature is more salient than was considered by Clarke (2012).

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Étude exploratoire du phonétisme du français du doublage au Québec
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University Western Ontario

Le doublage au Québec des films et des émissions de télévision de langue anglaise est né d’une volonté d’offrir au public local la possibilité d’apprécier ces productions dans une langue accessible et à laquelle il peut s’identifier. Un cadre réglementaire et des incitatifs financiers ont permis son développement. Une situation similaire prévaut en France. Les versions hexagonales sont largement diffusées au Québec tandis que celles doublées dans cette province traversent difficilement l’Atlantique. Quoi qu’il en soit, le double doublage résultant de ces politiques présente une occasion unique d’étudier un continuum dialectal et sociolectal de la langue française des dramatiques télévisuelles. Comme hypothèse, nous posons que, des deux côtés de l’Atlantique, des différences existent entre la prononciation des séries doublées et celle des séries produites localement. Nous anticipons une faible différence en France entre les séries doublées et les séries locales tandis qu’au Québec les séries doublées devraient se distinguer fortement des autres. Cette asymétrie entre les deux sociétés serait en partie reliée au fait qu’au Québec, le choix d’un style pour le doublage demeure problématique et qu’une variété de langue propre à cette industrie fortement influencée par un standard européen serait la norme pour le doublage des séries en langues étrangères. Pour cette présentation, nous comparons les deux versions doublées de la série de langue anglaise The Borgias (Les Borgias, 2012), série historique ne nécessitant aucun référent culturel ou linguistique contemporain de la part des doubleurs. Notre attention se porte sur le système vocalique du personnage principal, le Pape Alexandre VI. En guise de comparatifs, un personnage d’une série québécoise contemporaine (Aveux, 2010) et un personnage d’une série contemporaine française (Les revenants, 2012) font aussi partie de l’étude. Plus de 9000 voyelles au total sont analysées instrumentalement afin d’obtenir quatre systèmes vocaliques représentés sur un plan cartésien F1/F2 (valeurs normalisées) permettant de décrire les similarités et les différences entre nos quatre sous-corpus. Nos premiers résultats montrent que le système vocalique de la version doublée au Québec se rapproche de la version doublée en France (forte antériorisation des voyelles par exemple) et que des traits saillants du phonétisme québécois disparaissent presque totalement (peu de différences dans la réalisation de [i], [y], [u] en contexte de syllabes ouvertes ou fermées par exemple). Ces résultats appuient notre hypothèse qu’en l’absence d’un référent linguistique local, les doubleurs tendent à reproduire une prononciation européenne. A notre connaissance, la prononciation de la langue des médias au Québec n’a jamais été l’objet d’une description systématique et ce en dépit d’un nombre important d’études s’attardant plutôt à son lexique et à sa morphosyntaxe. Plusieurs recherches et commentaires ont évalué son caractère normatif ou encore ses déviances relativement à un certain français de référence, mais aucune n’a documenté l’émergence d’une prononciation en partie propre au doublage et les implications de sa diffusion sur l’évolution de la langue d’usage dans la communauté ainsi que sur son identité linguistique.
A pan-Romance perspective on subjunctive variability

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The uses of the Latin subjunctive are often characterized as remarkably well preserved in Romance, and perusal of prescriptive rules for its use suggests that it behaves in much the same way across the board. Essentially, the subjunctive is prescribed to convey irrealis readings of doubt, wish, desire, uncertainty, etc., in keeping with its construal as a grammatical mood. As such, when it is absent from “subjunctive-selecting” contexts, the inference is that other meanings were intended. In this paper we test this hypothesis by means of a cross-linguistic comparison of subjunctive use in verbs embedded under subjunctive governors in French (FR), Portuguese (PTG) and Italian (ITA). Quantitative analysis of 5,222 tokens of subjunctive selecting-contexts (here limited to matrix verbs that governed at least one subjunctive in the data) extracted from corpora of naturally-occurring speech (Cresti 2005; Gonçalves 2003; Poplack 1989) reveal robust variability in each (1-3):

1. a. Je crois pas que ce soit₁SUBJ la fin du monde. (FR.060.195)
   ‘I don’t think that it would be the end of the world.’
   b. Je crois pas que l’âge a₁IND tant à faire que ça. (FR.003.189)
   ‘I don’t think that age has that much to do with it.’

2. a. Eu acredito que vá₁SUBJ sair. (PTG.143.356)
   ‘I believe that it will come out.’
   b. Eu acredito que ele devia₁IND ter em torno de setenta anos de idade. (PTG.99.148)
   ‘I believe that he should be around seventy years old.’

3. a. Credevo fosse₁SUBJ un errore (ITA.023.152)
   ‘I believed it was a mistake.’
   b. E tutti che dicevano- credevano che ammassava₁IND uomini (ITA.304.10)
   ‘And everybody that said- believed that he killed men.’

ITA and FR were found to lead in subjunctive usage, at rates of 74% and 76% respectively, with PTG lagging far behind, at 14%. Nonetheless, comparison of the conditioning of subjunctive selection reveals the latter two to be at the same stage of development. In none of the languages could we detect the prescribed semantic motivation for subjunctive selection. Instead, all three share a strong lexical effect, such that some matrix verbs are heavily associated with subjunctive morphology (e.g. FR vouloir at 91% subjunctive; ITA bisognare at 100%; PTG fazer at 96%), while others disfavour strongly (PTG achar at 0.6%; ITA dire at 17%). Interestingly, these verbs need not coincide (e.g. compare ITA pensare₁NEG at 86% subjunctive with FR pense₁NEG at 13% and PTG pensar₁NEG at 0%), a finding that is at odds with a semantic explanation for subjunctive selection. In addition, in each language, a relatively large proportion of all subjunctive morphology is embedded under a small number of lexical governors (which again differ amongst languages). This is most striking in FR, where a single governor (falloir) is disproportionately frequent (accounting for 65% of the entire governor pool) and heavily associated with the subjunctive (at 89%). It is also evident in the other languages: about one third of all subjunctive morphology is accounted for by one (PTG querer) or two (ITA pensare, credere) verbs, albeit to a much lesser extent. These results show how the facts of variability and the interplay between governors’ frequency distributions and relative associations with subjunctive morphology enable us to assess differential productivity cross-linguistically. In both FR and PTG, it is highly restricted, due in the former to strong associations with only a few highly frequent governors and embedded verbs, and in the latter, to weak associations with a few infrequent governors. In ITA, where it remains most productive, associations are high and spread over many more verbs, regardless of frequency.
REFERENCES


Mixing typologically different languages: The behavior of French nouns in Tunisian Arabic

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Reports on language mixing in language pairs involving Arabic often qualify that language as resistant to constraints found to operate elsewhere (e.g. Bentahila & Davies 1983; Bentahila et al. 2013; Boumans 1998; Nortier 1989). Close inspection of the results of those studies, however, shows that they fail to situate the purported violations with respect to the recipient language, the donor language, or even the remainder of the mixed data. As a result, it is impossible to ascertain whether the contentious forms are exceptional code-switches or ordinary borrowings, let alone whether they are isolated cases or represent robust patterns.

In this study, we address these issues through analysis of a rich corpus of Tunisian Arabic (TA)/French language mixing collected from a network of 12 bilingual speakers. Taking a variationist approach, we adopt the “comparative sociolinguistic method” (Poplack & Meechan 1998), involving systematic comparisons of the behavior of lone other-language items (here, French-origin nouns; N=867) with their counterparts in the recipient (TA; N=1711) and donor (N=143) languages. Our analyses focus on conflict sites, areas where the grammars of two languages differ, in rate and/or conditioning. This enables us to determine which grammar is operative at the moment the other language is accessed. The six conflict sites we examined cover various levels of linguistic structure: morphophonological (assimilation of definite determiners to the initial segment of the following noun), morphological (plural formation), morphosyntactic (marking of possession) and syntactic (placement of quantifiers and demonstratives).

Quantitative analysis of the behavior of French nouns on each of these diagnostics in donor, recipient and mixed-language contexts reveals that lone French nouns in TA discourse are treated in a manner consistent with Arabic grammar: 1) they surface with post-posed demonstratives and quantifiers and appear in double determiner combinations, contravening the grammar of French; 2) definite determiners modifying them are assimilated to the following noun-initial coronals, as in TA; 3) possessive relationships are categorically expressed by TA-specific strategies (a suffixed pronominal possessor, or an analytic construction involving the genitive exponent mteːʕ), and 4) plural French nouns are treated like their TA counterparts.

The Arabic grammatical features displayed by these lone French-origin nouns indicate that they have been borrowed into TA, and not code-switched into French. As borrowings, they do not constitute exceptions to code-switching constraints. The results of this study confirm that the status of mixed items cannot be determined in isolation; they must be contextualized with respect to the remainder of the bilingual system, including donor, recipient, and other mixed-language elements.

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Various studies have shown that intervocalic stop weakening in Spanish is a variable process affected by factors such as syllable stress, phonetic context and speech style (e.g., Cole, Hualde & Iskarous, 1999; Lewis, 2001; Ortega-Llebaria, 2004). Moreover, studies have found that the degree of lenition varies as a function of the Spanish dialect (e.g., Lewis, 2000, for Peninsular and Colombian Spanish). The majority of the studies on lenition can be categorized based on two types of analyses: articulatory models (e.g., Kirchner, 2004) and perceptual models (e.g., Kingston, 2008). Although many studies have focused on lenition, not many have investigated the process in a dialect where voiced stops are not weakened. In contrast with other Spanish varieties, Colombian Spanish (CS) is described as having a wider distribution of the voiced stops, where these can appear even in intervocalic position (Hualde, 2005, p.143). Furthermore, few studies have investigated lenition of both voiced and voiceless stops in the same dialect. As such, the present study aims to investigate whether Kirchner’s (2004) articulatory model can account for the degree of lenition of intervocalic /p t k b d g/ in CS.

Based on Kirchner’s (2004) model, three hypotheses were tested: **Hypothesis 1**: Voiced stops are expected to be more lenited than voiceless ones. Voiced stops require more articulatory effort, since it is more difficult to maintain voicing during closure (Piñeros, 2002; Solé, 2013, p.134); **Hypothesis 2**: Stops that are flanked by open vowels will be more lenited (Kirchner, 2004, p.316). If the stop is flanked by open vowels, the articulator is already in a more open position. In this case, it would require more effort to arrive at a point of constriction in order to produce the stop; therefore, the stop will be lenited; **Hypothesis 3**: Neither syllable stress, nor place of articulation, will affect the degree of lenition (Kirchner, 2004). To test these hypotheses, 659 stimuli with stops in intervocalic position were extracted from the *University of Toronto Romance Phonetics Database*¹. The stimuli were recorded by 4 native speakers of CS, who produced the target words in two reading tasks and two spontaneous tasks. To quantify the degree of lenition, the following parameters were measured using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2011): the duration of the closure portion of the stop and the duration of the lenited consonant (Lavoie, 2001; Lewis, 2001), and the intensity difference between the lowest value in the target consonant and the highest value in the following vowel (Lewis, 2001). A shorter duration and a smaller intensity difference were taken to indicate a higher degree of lenition (Colantoni & Marinescu, 2010).

Results demonstrate that voiceless stops show almost no signs of weakening when compared to voiced stops – the voiceless stops were longer than the voiced ones (103 ms versus 66 ms, respectively) and the intensity difference was smaller for the voiced stops (7 dB versus 25 dB, respectively). This is consistent with Kirchner’s (2004) first hypothesis. Kirchner’s (2004) second hypothesis was not supported, as no clear patterns emerged with regard to flanking vowels. It was not always the case that segments flanked by /a/ were more lenited; in fact, only /g/ was more lenited when flanked by /a/ – its duration was shorter and it had a smaller intensity difference – but this was not true for the other stops. The third hypothesis was not supported, as the type of syllable had a clear effect on the degree of lenition. Specifically, all of the stops were longer in stressed syllables (95 ms versus 80 ms) and had a smaller intensity difference than in unstressed syllables (18 dB versus 13 dB). Taken together, these findings show that an effort-based model cannot fully account for lenition in CS. Moreover, the results for CS show that this dialect may be situated at an earlier stage of the lenition continuum than Argentine Spanish (AS), since the CS

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¹ [http://rpd.chass.utoronto.ca/](http://rpd.chass.utoronto.ca/)
consonants were longer and had higher intensity differences than the values reported by Colantoni & Marinescu (2010) for AS.

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Geminate consonant production across three generations of Farsi-English-speaking Iranian-Canadian bilinguals
Yasaman Rafat (Western University) & MercedehMohaghegh (UofT)

Consonant length in Farsi/Persian has been reported as phonologically contrastive (e.g., Hansen, 2004; Rafat, 2010), for example [aj:r] ‘carat’ contrasts with [aj:ar] ‘brave’. Although attrition in the perception of geminate consonants has been investigated by Celata & Cancila (2010), it has not been examined in the production of bilingual immigrant communities. This study will investigate geminate production across three Farsi-English bilingual generations, namely, first, second and 1.5 Farsi-English-speaking generations (e.g. Rumbaut, 2004) in Toronto.

Eleven participants whose ages ranged from 30-66 took part in the study. The first generation participants consisted of two balanced bilinguals and a Farsi-dominant bilingual, born in Iran. The 1.5 generation participants were two English-dominant bilinguals and one balanced bilingual, born in Iran. Their ages of arrival varied from 5-13. The second generation participants were two English-dominant bilinguals, born in Toronto. The controls were three monolingual Farsi-speakers born in Iran. All participants completed a word-naming task in Farsi and a background questionnaire. Geminate and singleton duration was measured for sonorants (e.g., /m,n,l,r,j/), fricatives (e.g., /s, z, h/) and obstruents (e.g., /p,t,k,b,d,q,ʃ,ʒ/).

The preliminary acoustic analysis of 2463 tokens from the word-naming task suggests that the length contrast was categorically maintained in the first generation bilinguals, but not in the 1.5 and second generation groups. Moreover, when the data was collapsed across phonemes the following hierarchy was established with respect to the overall mean duration, where consonant mean duration decreased from left to right: control group (159ms) > first generation immigrants (150ms) > second generation (126ms) > 1.5 generation (118ms) groups. While the difference between the control group and the first generation group was not significant (p=0.981), the results yielded a significant difference between the control group and the 1.5 generation (p=0.037) and the control group and the second generation (p=0.02). Between-phoneme comparisons were also conducted and another hierarchy with respect to ‘class of sounds’ was established, where degemination was more likely from left to right in the 1.5 and second generations: Sonorants > fricatives > obstruents. That the factor ‘class of sounds’ is a good predictor of degemination has also been reported in the acquisition of Italian geminate consonants by German, English, and Mandarin learners (e.g. Sorianello, 2014). This hierarchy is also consistent with degemination patterns across the languages of the world (e.g., Blevins, 2004; Podesva 2002; Steriade, 1982; Taylor, 1985). Previously, phonetic factors such as perceptual salience and articulatory difficulty have been proposed to constrain geminate consonant production in the context of L2 phonological acquisition (e.g., Sorianello, 2014) and markedness patterns in the languages of the world (e.g., Blevins, 2004; Podesva 2002; Steriade, 1982; Taylor, 1985). We therefore propose that phonetic factors also condition degemination/sound change/attrition in language contact situations.

In conclusion, this study is important because (a) by providing new data, it adds empirical contribution to the dearth body of evidence on phonological loss in bilingual speakers and (b) it furthers our understanding of degemination/sound change in language contact situations by
drawing parallels with patterns observed in second language phonological acquisition of geminate consonants and degemination patterns in the languages of the word.

References


Said, the overlooked English determiner

Brett Reynolds, University of Edinburgh

This presentation describes a study in progress of the said and said in examples like a true copy of (the) said document. I am investigating the hypothesis that the development of the said and said do not fit the typical descriptions of grammaticalization but are examples of contact-driven category change spread from written Latin and French > written English > spoken English. I am also investigating the idea that bare said arose independently a number of times and am considering what factors may have lead from the said to bare said.

I argue that bare said (used before a noun without the) belongs to the lexical category of determiner (D_e) and explore a suggestion from Breban (2012) that the said is a complex D_e. I provide a diachronic corpus analysis of their use from the earliest examples. The use of (the) said is worth examining because of the rarity with which languages add instances of D_e and said’s various unusual properties. Almost uniquely, it can appear either together with the before a singular, countable noun (e.g., the said document) or without (e.g., said document), without any apparent change in semantics. The development of a D_e from a past participle is also unusual.

Dictionaries almost universally list said as an adjective in cases like the said document, and the use of bare said is broadly overlooked; neither the OED nor Huddleston and Pullum (2002), for instance, make any note of it. Bare said qualifies as D_e based on the grammaticality of NPs of the form said + SING-COUNT-NOUN, which typically require some element functioning as determiner (D_math); members of D_e and genitive NPs can function as D_math, but past participles and AdjPs can’t. I tentatively argue that the said should be seen as a complex D_e because they are found together in more than 99.7% of D_e + said pairings. After the, modification of said is questionable (e.g., the previously said document; cf. the previously said words). Modifiers of the noun also almost never appear between the and said (e.g., the first said document).

Semantically, I find that, unlike similar expressions, said is compatible only with definite NPs (e.g., a previously mentioned document vs *a said document), and bare said is sufficient to mark an NP as definite. This is the type of semantic behaviour you would expect of a D_e.

Although a word’s lexical category can clearly change over time, and dictionaries don’t always keep up, this is a very old change, predating all English dictionaries but having largely escaped notice. Many of the properties described here are not noted in the linguistics literature or by published reference works. There has been some limited discussion of the said (e.g., Breban 2011; Breban, Davidse & Ghesquière 2011; Breban 2012; Frajzyngier 1996; Kopaczyk 2013; Mellinkoff 1963), but this has not extended to bare said.

Among the earliest uses of the said are calques of the French de dit (“of the said”) c1400 (found in the PPCME2, Kroch & Taylor 2000), and calques from Latin (praedictus (Garner 2009). The first example of bare said appears essentially cotemporaneously in the 1384 E40/A1779 London Indenture (Fisher, Richardson & Fisher 1984), but there are very few examples until the late 1600s, when it suddenly becomes very common, (e.g., >100 times per million words (PMW) in the 1690s in the Evans corpus (Text Creation Partnership n.d.)), while the said is exceedingly frequent from the mid 1400s until the early 20th century (e.g., >500 PMW in the PPCME2 from 1475–1500, >1000 PMW in Evans in the 1690s, >300 PMW in the 1830s in the Google Books corpus (Michel et al. 2011). Today, said and the said are deprecated by legal writing guides (Garner 2011; Mellinkoff 1963), and their use is generally on the wane (e.g., <1 PMW in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008)).

I tentatively conclude that new members of the closed classes can be added directly through language contact without undergoing the traditional processes hypothesized as part of grammaticalization.
References


CLA 2015. **Grammaticalizing ‘big’ situations in Bulgarian.**


Semantic theories building on Kratzer-style situation semantics have appealed to minimal situation ‘size’ to account for adverb quantification, presupposition projection, etc. [2, 3, 4, 5, 6, a.o.]. In this paper, we argue that ‘big’ situations play a fundamental role in the semantics of viewpoint aspect, and propose that in Bulgarian (Bg), verbal morphology grammaticalizes the distinction in imperfectives between habitual readings (i.e. ‘big’ situations) vs. ongoing readings (i.e. ‘small’ situations).

Bg verbs encode aspectual relations in imperfective vs. perfective stems, prefixes (Pr), and aorist (Aor) vs. imperfect (Impf) contrasts. Habitual and ongoing readings arise with Vs in the imperfect tense, (1-2), which hosts a modal operator IMPF [1, 7]:

1) Predi 20 godini, decata [gliedaxa] po-malko televizija. Habitual
   [watch.Impf]‘20 years ago, children watched less TV.’

2) Včera Ivan [stroješ] pjasćčen zamǎk. Ongoing
   [build.Impf] ‘Yesterday Ivan was building a sand castle.’

In (semantic) imperfective constructions with habitual and ongoing readings restricted by adjunct clauses, the morphology of the restrictor V discriminates between the two readings. [A] Iterative / ‘big’ situations conducive to habitual readings display a layered morphology dubbed **Perfective Imperfect = [Perf.Impf]** (3): a perfective V with an imperfect tense inflection. [Perf.Impfs] exclude ongoing readings.

3) Kogato Ivan [vlçaš] v stajata, az (*vse) govorex po telefona. Habitual
   When Ivan [Pr.come.Perf.Impf] in room.the, I (always) talk.Impf.Impf on phone
   ‘Whenever Ivan would enter the room, I would (always) be talking on the phone.’

[B] Restrictors in episodic sentences with ongoing readings display (usually prefixed) aorist Vs, which exclude habitual readings: (4).

4) Kogato Ivan [vleze] v stajata, az (*vse) govorex po telefona. Episodic
   When Ivan [Pr.come.Perf.Aor] in room.the, I (*always) talk.Impf.Impf on phone
   ‘When Ivan entered the room, I was (*always) talking on the phone.’

We argue that in Bg, [Perf.Impf] morphology derives in semantics **Sum-situations** with sub-situations as its atomic members. Thus, [Perf.Impfs] can only be true in ‘big’ (i.e. habitual) situations. We develop a compositional analysis of [Perf.Impfs] where perfective V-stems morphologically encode ‘small’/episodic situations; the IMPF operator in the imperfect inflection scopes over the perfective V, and sums up such atomic situations. Given this proposal, ‘big’ situation size is grammaticalized in Bg.

To conclude, constraints on syntax and morphology can target ‘situation size’. Size constraints are familiar in the semantic literature, but the focus has been on ‘small’ (minimal) situations. We argue for both the necessity of constraints on ‘big’ situations, and their grammaticalization. In Bg, aspectual interactions encoded in morpho-syntax result in propositions that can only be true in ‘big’ situations, accounting for restrictions on the modal interpretations of imperfective aspect.

Reanalyzing Michif “Determiners”

Nicole Rosen (University of Manitoba) & Carrie Gillon (Arizona State University)

Introduction Michif, a mixed language born derived from Plains Cree and Laurentian French, offers a unique insight into the effects of language contact. These effects are potentially even more interesting given the typological differences between French (Romance) and Cree (Algonquian). Michif has been characterized as having French DPs and Cree VPs, each with their own grammatical system stemming from their source language (Bakker 1997), though the situation is more complicated than that. While the “determiners,” possessives, numerals and most quantifiers are derived from French, the demonstratives and some quantifiers are derived from Cree. In this paper we argue that though what looks like a determiner system in Michif is historically French, the system does not display properties typical of French determiners, and that the determiners appear to have been reanalyzed as Class prefixes, contra Rosen (2003).

Data We have four pieces of evidence that the Michif “determiners” have been reanalyzed as (i) lower in the tree and (ii) prefixal. First, unlike French determiners, which must precede numerals (1a), Michif “determiners” must follow them (1b).

(1) a. les trois pommes b. trwaa lii pom
   D.pl three apples           three “D”.pl apple
   ‘the three apples’          ‘(the) three apples’

Second, when nouns are incorporated in verbs, they incorporate the “determiners”.

(2) a. ni-li-galet-ihkaa-n       b. la-tortsheu-ihka-ishi-w
   1-“D”-bannock-MAKE-NON3     “D”-turtle-MAKE-REFL-3
   ‘I’m making bannock.’       ‘He’s acting like a turtle.’

Third, only a very small, finite number of (French-derived) adjectives can intervene between the “determiners” and N (3a). Any other elements may not intervene (3b).

(3) a. li pechit animaal         b. * lii trwaa animaal
   “D” small animal            “D”.pl three animal
   ‘the small animal’          ‘(the) three apples’

Finally, Cree-derived “adjective-like” elements are prefixed to the “D”-N complex.

(4) napaki-li-pwesun
    flat-“D”-fish
    ‘flatfish’ (Bakker 1997: 107)

This is only expected if the “D” is itself prefixed to the N.

Analysis We argue that these D-like elements occupy a much lower position: Class (as gender markers). They also affix to the noun (or to the A-N complex). Assuming a structure as in Harbour (2007), the Michif DP would be as in (5).

(5) [DP [D [NumP [Num [DivP [Div [ClassP [Class {li-/la-} [nP ]]]]]]]]]

Implications If these French-source “determiners” are in fact affixes in Michif, a French syntactic item has been reanalyzed into the Algonquian nominal morphology. This may lend support to arguments that Michif is typologically an Algonquian language, with heavy borrowing from French, rather than a mixed language with two intertwined grammars, as argued in Bakker (1997).
References


Copula Grammaticalization in Proto-Sáliban

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The Sáliban languages, namely Mako [wpc], Piaroa [pid], and Sáliba [slc] (see Rosés Labrada (Accepted)), are spoken in Venezuela and Colombia in the Middle Orinoco and Ventuari river basins. In this paper, I show—based on first-hand fieldwork data—that the Mako copulas have grammaticalized into TAME and polarity verbal suffixes and argue that this grammaticalization must have occurred at the Proto-Sáliban stage. The evidence for this claim comes primarily from the reconstruction of cognate verbal morphology present in all of the Sáliban languages. Data for Piaroa and Sáliba comes from published sources on these languages.

Some Mako non-verbal predicates are copula-less (1); the language, however, has several copulas, which encode TAME and polarity meanings (see, for example (2) and (3)).

(1) Yulewa hoho-di habadi-ma
Yureba person-PL those_ones-TOP?
‘those ones are people from Yureba’

(2) (itʰi) tf-ükʷa akʷa-ka
(1SG.PRO) 1SG-POSS’D FUT.COP-CL
‘This (cassava) will be mine’

(3) bi-ka-ma (itʰi) tf-ükʷa-ka iki-ka
DEM.PROX-CL.HARD-TOP (1SG.PRO) 1SG-POSS’D.INAN-CL.HARD NEG.COP-CL.HARD
‘This (cassava) is not mine’

A comparison of the copulas above with the verbal suffixes in the partial paradigms for the verb ‘to see’ in Table 1 will reveal that the copulas have served to create new verbal TAME and polarity morphology. Compare, for instance, the negative (blue) and future (red) suffixes in Table 1 with the future and negative copulas in (2) and (3) respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>PRES</th>
<th>PRES.NEG</th>
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After exploring the possible source construction and path for this grammaticalization process and based on the existence of cognate verbal morphology in Piaroa and Sáliba (Table 2) for the Mako suffixes with a copula as their historical source, I propose here that this grammaticalization of the Mako copulas must have occurred before the diversification of the common ancestor of Mako, Piaroa and Sáliba. That is, it must have occurred in Proto-Sáliban.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mako</th>
<th>Piaroa</th>
<th>Sáliba</th>
<th>COGNETE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>akʷa</td>
<td>-akʷ</td>
<td>-ækʷä</td>
<td>-ga/-ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>-iki</td>
<td>-yki</td>
<td>-di</td>
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This study constitutes an important contribution both to the reconstruction of Proto-Sáliban grammar and to our understanding of the role of grammaticalization in the creation of polarity and TAME verbal morphology.
Le français acadien, une variété conservatrice? L’exemple de l’usage du subjonctif dans le Nord-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick

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À ce jour, plusieurs recherches (Comeau, 2011; King, 2013; King et Nadasdi, 2003) suggèrent que le français acadien (FA) parlé dans les Maritimes serait resté conservateur en comparaison avec celui parlé au Québec et ailleurs au Canada. À titre d’exemple, Comeau (2011) rapporte que l’emploi du subjonctif à la Baie Sainte-Marie en Nouvelle-Écosse est catégorique avec certains verbes matrices et, de ce fait, est resté sémantiquement productif. Il interprète ceci comme un exemple de cet aspect conservateur, notamment en comparaison avec le français laurentien (FL) qui lui affiche une grande variabilité modale. En effet, plusieurs études (Auger, 1990; Grimm, 2012; Poplack, 1990, 1997; Poplack et al., 2013) ont démontré d’une part qu’il n’est pas rare en FL qu’un même verbe matrice gouverne trois modes différents, soit le subjonctif (1), l’indicatif (2) et le conditionnel (3) dans le même contexte d’usage; et que la sélection du subjonctif est plutôt conditionnée par des facteurs lexicaux.

(1) Non, moi, il faut qu’ça soit plus que ça là. (21.4 : 1537)
(2) Parce pour faire quoi c’qu’on fait, faut qu’on est intelligents. (16.3 : 2288)
(3) Faudrait que ça serait au moins deux semaines. (28.3 : 2342)

Une question s’impose de cette situation : y a-t-il une seule norme vernaculaire partagée par toutes les variétés acadiennes qui expliquerait le FA comme étant uniformément conservateur? Dans cette communication, j’aborde cette question par le biais d’une étude variationniste représentée par un corpus de FA du Nord-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick (N.-B.) (Beaulieu, 1995). Après avoir extrait et codé plus de 1300 contextes où le subjonctif aurait pu être sélectionné, mes résultats démontrent dans un premier temps qu’il n’est utilisé qu’à un taux de 22% (N=295/1335), ce qui est loin d’être catégorique. Qui plus est, son choix est lexicalement restreint : un petit nombre de matrices verbales (*faillir, vouloir et aimer*) gouvernent 72% de la totalité des occurrences retrouvées, reproduisant fidèlement ce qui est rapporté pour le FL (Poplack, 1990; Poplack et al., 2013). De ce fait, bien que le subjonctif soit beaucoup plus rare en FA qu’en FL, le conditionnement de son occurrence est sensiblement le même non seulement par rapport au FL, mais aussi à la variété dite source, c’est-à-dire celle parlée en France (Kastronic, en préparation). Ceci nous permet de remettre en question 1) la valeur sémantique du subjonctif en FA parlé dans le Nord-Est du N.-B., et 2) la nature conservatrice longtemps attribuée à cette variété de français.
Références


This study aims to determine whether equivalence classification (e.g., Flege, 1995) operates in the same way in second dialect phonological acquisition in comparison with second language phonological acquisition. As such, it will investigate assibilated rhotic production of Ecuadorian Spanish by Andalusian Spanish speakers and compare the findings with assibilated rhotic productions by naïve English-speaking learners previously reported by Rafat (2015). Although there has been considerable growth in interest in D2 phonological acquisition (e.g., Babel, 2009; MacLeod, 2012; Nielson, 2011), the issue of how equivalence classification works in D2 production/imitation remains largely unresolved.

Assibilated/fricative rhotics characterize a number of varieties of Spanish (e.g., Solé, 1998, 2002). However, Andalusian Spanish is mainly characterized by a trill and a tap and their reduced forms (e.g., Blecua, 2001). Moreover, it is characterized by a weakened articulation (e.g., Hualde, 2005), and it includes sibilants such as [ʃ] as an allophonic variant of the fricatives such as [ʃ] (e.g., Carbonero, 2001, Jimenez, 1999). If equivalence classification operates in the same way as in L2 phonological acquisition, then based on Flege (1995), similar to English speakers (See Rafat, 2015), assibilated rhotics should be classified as 'similar' sounds and produced as a [ʃ] or other sibilants.

10 adult Andalusian speakers were asked to do an imitation/repetition task. The participants were tested with real words (30), nonce words (30) and fillers (108) at two different times. The stimuli were controlled for the factors 'stress' and 'position in the word'. The stimuli for the imitation task were recorded by a male speaker of Ecuadorian Spanish. The results were analyzed both auditorily and acoustically.

The preliminary results diverged from what has been reported for naïve English-speaking learners of Spanish (e.g., Rafat, 2015). In particular, Spanish speakers of Andalusian Spanish showed a different pattern of assimilation in comparison with naïve English-speaking learners of Spanish. Whereas in Rafat (2015) naïve English-speaking participants mostly produced assibilated rhotics as a [ʃ], the preliminary results of our study show that 34.25% of the assibilated rhotics were produced as assibilated rhotics, 24.25% as trills, 25% as taps, 13.5% as sibilants and 3% as laterals. We will consider factors such as the phonemic status of [ʃ] (or lack thereof it) in Spanish and knowledge of the Spanish language in explaining the results.

In conclusion, this study is important because it sheds new light on second dialect phonological acquisition by drawing comparisons with previous findings in second language phonological acquisition.
Bibliography


The role of acoustic evidence in resolving phonological ambiguity

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This work presents a cross-dialectal acoustic investigation of laryngeal properties of Korean /s/, a notoriously ambiguous segment which does not fit neatly into the three-way laryngeal contrast (fortis vs. lenis vs. aspirated) that characterizes the other Korean obstruents. /s/ has traditionally been considered lenis, patterning with lenis stops in several phonological processes (Iverson 1983), but phonetic evidence is mixed, with conflicting claims that the glottal configuration matches better with lenis (e.g. Kim et al. 2011) or aspirated (e.g. Kagaya 1974) categories, leading to proposals that /s/ requires a unique laryngeal representation that is neither lenis nor aspirated (e.g. Chang 2013).

Given the increasing importance of tone in the laryngeal system of Korean (Jun 1993, Silva 2006), an important piece of evidence for the phonological affiliation of /s/ is the patterning of the fundamental frequency at the onset of the following vowel (f0). Word-initial /s/ has been reported to pattern with the aspirated (and not lenis) stop series because it is produced with a relatively high tone in Seoul speakers (Cho et al. 2002, Kang et al. 2009, Chang 2013); however, this pattern is not consistent across dialects (Cho et al. 2002). Phonetic evidence is also mixed in terms of the presence vs. absence of intervocalic voicing, a process that characterizes lenis (but not aspirated) stops. While Kim-Renaud (1974) found fully voiceless word-medial /s/ tokens, Cho et al. (2002) reported voicing in about half of the productions in their dataset. The current work presents a systematic investigation of dialect, age, and speaker-conditioned variation in f0 and phonetic voicing in /s/, based on data from speakers varying in dialect (North Korean and Seoul) and age (older and younger speakers), with the larger aim of assessing to what extent these acoustic factors bear on the phonological affiliation (lenis vs. aspirated) of /s/.

Reflecting previous findings, we found that Seoul speakers produced word-initial /s/ with high tone (patterning more closely with aspirated than lenis stops). However, Northern dialect speakers showed the opposite pattern, producing /s/ with a relatively low tone, closer to lenis than aspirated stops. In terms of phonetic voicing, intervocalic /s/ ranged from completely voiceless to completely voiced, on average showing a degree of voicing intermediate between the same speakers’ lenis and aspirated categories. Variability in voicing was influenced by consonant duration, presence of aspiration, and individual speaker tendencies for more or less voicing overall; however, voicing patterns did not differ systematically by dialect or age.

Based on the dialectal differences in f0, we propose that phonetic ambiguity has contributed to an “ambilaryngeal” status for Korean /s/, providing two possible options for phonological affiliation. At the same time, the increasing importance of f0 in the Korean laryngeal contrast exerts pressure for consistency within dialects, leading to categorical group differences such as the ones reported here (i.e. Seoul /s/ as aspirated; Northern /s/ as lenis). On the other hand, the variable patterns of phonetic voicing for intervocalic tokens, which have also been cited as a potential source of phonological ambiguity for /s/, do not reflect these dialectal differences. Instead, they can be attributed to automatic processes of phonetic reduction and do not necessarily provide evidence for phonological laryngeal specification.
References


Ellipsis in Persian Complex Predicates: VVPE or Something Else?

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Introduction: Persian has two main verb groups, namely Heavy Verbs and Complex Predicates (CPr), which consist of a Non-Verbal element (NV) and a Light Verb (LV) (Vahedi-Langarudi, 1996). The NV can be a noun, adjective, preposition, or an adverb (Vahedi-Langarudi, 1996, Folly et al, 2004, Karimi, 2005, Toosarvandani, 2009). Folli et al (2004) believe that the CPr is headed by the LV which takes the NV as its complement. Adopting this view, Toosarvandani (2009) proposes that during ellipsis the NV strands the LV and then undergoes elision. He bases this proposal on the fact that Persian is not a raising language and does not allow v to T raising (quoting Karimi, 2005). Rasekhi (2014) by providing evidence from ellipsis inside islands proposes that it is not any V-type element that is elided, rather it is the NP or PP [in transitive structures] which undergoes ellipsis (Rasekhi, 2014).

The Problem: As the example in (1) shows, when there is ellipsis in CPr, the NV can be either pronounced or not. This phenomenon that has not been dealt with in either of the cited works.

1. a. Amir doost-esh ro davat kard.
   Amir friend-Gen.3sg ACC invite do.Past.3sg.
   “Amir invited his friend.”
   b. va Jila ham [doost-esh ro davat/davat] kard.
      and Jila also [friend-Gen.3sg ACC invitation/invitation] do.Past.3sg
      “Amir invited his friend, and Jila did so, too.”

Proposal: In this paper, I have a novel approach towards ellipsis in Persian. Making use of Şener & Takahashi (Ş&T), and Sato’s analysis of ellipsis, I make a comparison between Strict/Sloppy, and E-type/Quantificational interpretation of Persian elided subjects and objects. I show that Persian, a subject-verb agreement language, shares the same characteristics with similar languages in regard with subject and object ellipsis. That is to say, its missing objects show Strict/Sloppy or E-type/Quantificational reading while the missing subjects allow only for Strict or E-type reading. Sentence (b) in (1) above can either mean that “Jila invited Amir’s friend” (Strict) or that “Jila invited her friend” (Sloppy); whereas the sentence (b) in (2) can only mean that “Arman thinks Shahla’s son studies French”. Consequently, missing subjects are null pronouns while missing objects undergo elision.

2. a. Shahla fekr mikone pesar-esh ingilisi mikhoone.
   Shahla think do.Hab.3sg son-Gen.3sg English study.Hab.3sg
   “Shahla thinks her son studies English.”
      Arman think do.Hab.3sg [son-Gen.3sg] French study.Hab.3sg
      “*Arman thinks he studies French.”

Having Sloppy and Quantificational reading is a proof of elision according to Ş&T and Sato. This leaves me with the fact that NV element can either be or not be elided, the fact that has not been dealt with in the literature. Providing more evidence in this regard and redressing the CPr structure proposed by Folli et al, I propose that the NV and LV make a compound verb similar to Turkish compound verbs (Aydemir, 2004). Moreover, I claim that this is the CPr, not only the LV, that strands the VP which undergoes elision. And this is how the NV can escape deletion.
To summarize, I believe that Persian is a vVPE language as Toosarvandani suggests; however, the CPr structure used to reach this conclusion needs revision, which is the focus of my paper.

References


Noun incorporation and case in heritage Inuktitut

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A heritage language grammar often develops through insufficient exposure in childhood (incomplete acquisition) or insufficient use later in life (attrition), and manifest as deficits in grammar, both in syntax and – even more so – in functional morphology (see Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2010 for a review). This paper presents the results of a study investigating a particular structure, noun incorporation (NI), in Inuktitut heritage speakers living in Ottawa. It is the first study of noun incorporation in adult heritage language grammar, as this phenomenon does not exist in more commonly studied heritage languages.

Example (1) illustrates NI in Inuktitut. The properties of NI in Inuktitut are: (1) the verb is a light verb (Johns, 2007), (2) the incorporated noun precedes the verb in the verbal complex, (3) the incorporated noun does not have case, and (4) the modifier of the incorporated noun (e.g. ‘green’ above) appears with –mik case, which is the case found on antipassive objects.

(1) Ilisajj saa-taar-tuq (uujaur-mik)
   ‘The teacher got a (green) table.’

How is case in noun incorporation represented in a heritage grammar? Fluent speakers (n=11) and heritage speakers of Baffin dialects of Inuktitut (HS, n=13) living in Ottawa participated in a grammaticality judgment task. In this paper we focus on the following conditions: preferred NI and non-NI structures, case on incorporated and non-incorporated nouns, and case on adjective modifiers of incorporated and non-incorporated nouns.

The fluent speakers preferred both structures most of the time (75%), while HS were more likely to choose just one of the structures, with the choice between NI and non-NI seemingly random (30% each).

HS were not significantly different from fluent speakers in correctly accepting caseless incorporated nouns (91% vs. 97% accuracy), but they rejected incorporated case-marked objects significantly less frequently than fluent speakers (75% vs. 98.5%). To test their general knowledge of case we also included sentences with non-incorporated nouns with and without case. They correctly accepted case-marked non-incorporated objects most of the time (88.5%), while they correctly rejected caseless objects less frequently (70.5%).

HS showed a similar pattern with correct acceptance of -mik on modifiers of incorporated objects (86% vs 95.5% for fluent) and correct rejection of missing -mik on modifiers (76% vs 95.5% for fluent), and performed better on modifiers of incorporated objects than on modifiers of non-incorporated objects. For the latter, HS performed much lower than fluent speakers in both the correct case-marked condition (66.7% vs. 93.9%) and incorrect caseless condition (53.6% vs. 92.4%).

These results suggest that HS are sensitive to the nature of the verb, the syntactic status of the object (incorporated or not), and -mik case marking requirements for incorporated and non-incorporated objects and their modifiers. Even though NI does not exist in their dominant language (English), at least some aspects of it are correctly represented in HS grammar, although its processing is inconsistent, sometimes resulting in a failure to reject unlicensed case marking.
A No-Source Puzzle for Clausal Ellipsis in Right Dislocation, Sluicing and Fragments
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¹McGill University, ²University of Massachusetts at Amherst

1 Right Dislocation: the right periphery as the left periphery: In an analysis of Right dislocation (RD) that we will call the fronting & deletion (FD) analysis, the constituent that occurs at the right periphery of a clause (e.g. Bob le chef in (1a)) is in fact located at the left periphery of a clause that follows the first (as in (1b)). The rest of the second clause undergoes PF deletion (Merchant, 2004). This type of analysis was originally proposed for Japanese (Abe, 1999; Tanaka, 2001), and most recently extended to Dutch and German by Ott and de Vries (to appear). (See also Kuno, 1978; Takita, 2014; Park and Kim, 2009; Yoon, 2013, among others.)

(1) a. Julie invited a famous cook: BOB LE CHEF! (Specificational Afterthought RD)
    b. Julie invited a famous cook: BOB LE CHEF [she invited 4]
    c. [CP₁ ... correlate ...] [CP₂ XP [... 4 ...]] (Ott & de Vries to appear)

2 Question: Perhaps the strongest argument for the FD analysis is that mechanisms independently motivated in the grammar (leftward movement & clausal ellipsis) take care of RD, leaving no need for construction specific rules. One question that arises is whether we have evidence that the clausal ellipsis process proposed for RD is indeed identical to those that have been claimed to be involved in Sluicing and Fragment utterances. While our preliminary findings of parallel behaviour in these constructions are suggestive of some basic ellipsis mechanism underlying these three constructions, the findings also present a challenge to analyses of clausal ellipsis in general.

3 RD, Sluicing & Fragments - A Shared No-Source Puzzle Apparent island insensitivity in sluicing and fragment utterances has been attributed to (i) island repair by ellipsis (Chomsky, 1972; Lasnik, 2001) or (ii) existence of shorter non-island containing antecedents of ellipsis (Merchant, 2001; Fukaya, 2007, 2014). The view in (ii) is supported by the observation that island sensitivity resurfaces when short sources are blocked for some reason and thus island-containing antecedents are forced (Merchant, 2008; Griffiths and Lipták, to appear; Barros, to appear; Weir, 2014). We observe, however, that when a short source is blocked for certain interpretational reasons (therefore a non-short island-containing source is forced), it does not result in ungrammaticality, contrary to what is predicted (No-source puzzle). Our main data at this point are from German, Japanese and Spanish. For (2), there is no reasonable source for clausal ellipsis, as shown in (3).

(2) Es ist möglicher, dass Volkswagen etwas ganz neues plant: EINEN NEUEN KÄFER.
    it is possible that Volkswagen something entirely new plans.IND: a.ACC new.ACC Beetle
    (German; modeled after Ott & de Vries to appear)

    ‘It’s possible that VW is planning something entirely new: A NEW BEETLE.’

(3) a. *[CP₁, It is possible that VW is planning something completely new]
    [CP₂ [a new Beetle] [it is possible that VW is planning +]] (island-containing)
    b. ≠[CP₁, It is possible that VW is planning something completely new]
    [CP₂ [a new Beetle][VW is planning +]] (Short source; wrong interpretation)
    c. *[CP₁, It is possible that VW is planning something completely new]
    [CP₂ [a new Beetle.ACC ][it/that is +]] (Copular source; case mismatch)

We identify parallel no-source puzzles in Sluicing (see also Barros et al. 2014) and Fragment utterances as well. As it stands, the Case connectivity effect in these three constructions in German cannot be attributed to any obvious ellipsis antecedent. The shared no-source puzzle presents a challenge to the clausal ellipsis analysis of these phenomena currently on the market.
References

The reflexive possessive pronoun, свой, is a hallmark of most Slavic languages, including Ukrainian. As it is gender and number-neutral, the only direct English translation for it can be “one’s own.” In 1st and 2nd person, this makes свой interchangeable with regular possessive pronouns.

(1) “Я вмив своє авто”
Ja washed-sg.M.PAST POSS-sg.N.ACC car-sg.ACC
I washed my / one’s own car

In the 3rd person, however, свой provides a disambiguation from the regular pronoun. In Standard Ukrainian, свой can only refer to the subject of the clause, while the regular pronouns joho and jiji can only be used to refer to someone else.

(2) “Він вмив його авто”
Vin washed-sg.M.PAST 3sg.POSS car-ACC
He washed his (someone else’s) car

“He washed his (own) car.”

This study asks whether use of свой has declined in Heritage Ukrainian in response to English contact, and if so, what effect that has had on the grammar. Earlier studies have shown that even “Ukrainian-only” homes in Toronto have pervasive exposure to English (Chumak-Horbatch, 1987), and that phonetic variables in heritage languages, including Ukrainian, move closer to English levels across generations (Nagy & Kochetov, 2013).

Using sociolinguistic interviews from 30 speakers across 5 generations of Toronto Ukrainians, I have shown the decline of свой in the variable context, compared to regular possessive pronouns. Nine internal and external factors were examined in 120 tokens using a multivariate analysis in GOLDVARB. In addition to loss across generation (Factor Weight 0.89 for Gen 1 vs. FW 0.18 for Gen 3), syntactic factors condition its use. As the cognitive load of a sentence increases, measured by the distance between subject and object, use of свой decreases. When the possessive pronoun is separated from the subject by another object, it is much less likely to be свой than if it is adjacent (FW 0.13 vs. 0.49)

In addition to a decline in the use of свой in the variable context, a shift has begun for some speakers in the 3rd person contrastive context. Some 2nd generation speakers use the regular possessive pronoun where свой would normally go, resulting in sentences that are ungrammatical with respect to Standard Ukrainian.

While these speakers use this regular pronoun alongside свой, one 5th generation speaker uses this innovative form exclusively. The increased use by females (FW 0.67 vs. 0.30), of the regular possessive pronoun in new contexts suggests this is an incoming change from below.
References:


The syntax of evidentials in Azeri, Bulgarian, and Persian
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In this paper, we discuss the syntactic structure of evidential constructions, with data support from Azeri, Bulgarian, and Persian. The common trait among the three languages is that in all of them, evidentiality is linked with tense and aspect (so-called Perfect of Evidentiality, a term due to Izvorski (1997). For Izvorski the present perfect tense is ambiguous between evidential and perfect reading. We instead propose that there are two separate morphemes that occupy two different syntactic positions: evidential is in CP and perfect is in AspP. This proposal rules out the syntactic ambiguity of the constituent.

Our argument is based on data in (1) and (2), which are both pluperfect but (1) is direct and (2) is indirect. If the evidential reading was arising from the perfect morphology (Izvorski, 1997) we would expect the structures in (1) to be ambiguous, but they are not. The evidential reading of the pluperfect is achieved by doubling the PartP (Aikhenvald, 2004). We propose that the lower participle marks aspect where the higher one marks evidentiality. The examples in (2) show that: ræft-e is the perfect and bud-e is the evidential operator.

(1) a. Tehran ræft-e bud Ø. [Persian]
   Tehran go.PAST.PartP be.PAST 3SG
   b. Tehran-a get-miš-di Ø. [Azeri]
   Tehran-DAT go-ASP-PAST 3SG
   c. Vlakat beshe zamina-l za Teheran.
    train.def be.PAST.3SG leave.PRF-PartP for Teheran
    ‘He had gone to Tehran.’ [direct/*indirect]

(2) a. Tehran ræft-e bud-e (æst) Ø. [Persian]
   Tehran go.PAST.PartP be.PART (be.PRES.3SG)
   b. Tehran-a get-miš-i-miš Ø. [Azeri]
   Tehran-DAT go-ASP-be-PP 3SG
   c. Vlakat e bil zamina-l za Tehean. [Bulgarian]
    train.def be.Pres.3SG be.PartP leave.PRF-PartP for Tehran
    ‘Reportedly, he had gone to Tehran.’ [*direct/indirect]

What goes on in these constructions is that T gets [+Tense] in cases where there is a direct pluperfect reading, (1) but in cases with indirect reading the T is [-Tense].

Considering that examples above have a projection of CP, it is the TP that determines the tense of the structure due to feature inheritance mechanism (Chomsky, 2007). In (1), where we have direct pluperfect reading, only the tense feature on T is selected by C. In the indirect case, T cannot get interpreted for its tense features. We propose that in such cases the C has more features than the former case. So, the distinction in the evidential value is manifested in the distinction of the valued features in T.

In conclusion, we show that a unified syntactic account of evidentiality is possible in Azeri, Bulgarian and Persian, where evidentiality interacts with tense and aspect. This analysis is extendable to other languages where the phenomenon is manifested in a similar way, like Tsez (Khalilova, 2011), Uzbek (Straughn, 2011).
References

In this paper, I discuss mirativity and its relation to exclamatives and evidentiality in Bulgarian, and propose that (i) miratives are a subtype of exclamatives, and (ii) the function of evidentials in exclamatives is intensification/negation.

Evidence for (i) comes from the fact that the evidential verb form (the -l suffix) used in miratives is also used in WH-exclamatives:

(1) Ivan pee-l mnogo xubavo!
Ivan sing,IMP-EV very nicely
‘I am surprised that Ivan sings great.’ (regardless of evidence)

(2) Kolko how-much nicely sing,IMP-EV Ivan
‘How nicely Ivan sings!’ (regardless of evidence)

I adapt the analysis of WH-exclamatives in Zanuttini and Portner (2003): factives that encode sets of alternative propositions thanks to the WH-operator, and derive surprise from widening: “exclamatives widen the domain of quantification for the WH-operator, which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the sentence” (Zanuttini and Portner, 2003, p. 40). While I agree that surprise is derived from alternative propositions, this analysis is not applicable to exclamatives without a WH-operator. I propose instead that focus gives rise to alternatives, and is present in all exclamatives and miratives.

Second, I discuss the difference between exclamatives with and without evidential or WH morphology. I argue that the use of an evidential adds another layer of meaning, unrelated to evidentiality (as the translation shows). This can be either (a) an intensification of the surprise or attitude (more expressiveness), or (b) a negation of the proposition (sarcasm). Further evidence for this claim comes from exclamative sentences with two overt evidential forms (one -l on the future auxiliary and one on the copula):

(3) Context: While reading a newspaper in which it is written that the candidate for Prime minister promises to lower the taxes, the Speaker exclaims:
Toj (bi{l}) shtja-l da svali danu{tsite}!
he be.EV will-EV to lower,PRES.3SG taxes,DEF
‘[reportedly (but I don’t believe it)] He is going to lower the taxes!’

This sentence has both reportative (from shtja-l) and a negative meaning (from bi{l}), i.e. the evidential and the intensifier are realized separately. Example (3) also shows that the intensifier OP is, contra Sauerland and Schenner (2007), syntactically higher than the evidential one (in-line with its illocutionary function of emotive and exclamative OP).

In sum, miratives are part of the larger category of exclamatives, which includes also WH-exclamatives. Exclamatives can be either intensified or rendered negative with the use of an operator without evidential meaning. When paired with a reportative evidential, this operator is higher than the evidential in the syntax and means negation of the reported proposition. These facts and analysis can be extended to other languages, like Turkish (Onen, 2011), other languages with evidentials Aikhenvald (2004).
References

EXPLORING CROSS-CULTURAL PRAGMATIC JUDGEMENT OF TWO GROUPS OF EFL TEACHERS ON FORMAL WRITTEN REQUESTS

This study examines the pragmatic judgments made on formal request letters written by adult L2 learners of English by two groups of EFL teachers at the City University of Hong Kong. A pragmatic Judgment Questionnaire was completed by each of the sixteen teachers (eight native Cantonese speakers and eight native English speakers), who were subsequently interviewed individually. The data were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Pragmatic judgment was examined by investigating four pragmatic variables adapted from Hudson, Detmer and Brown (1995); and Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) – i.e., politeness, directness, formality and amount of information.

Specifically, this study aims to answer the following question: Quantitatively, will native Cantonese-speaking EFL teachers differ significantly from native English-speaking EFL teachers in their pragmatic judgment of university students' request letters?

Main research findings suggest that there were no significant differences between the two groups of teachers in their pragmatic judgments in most aspects, except for their views on:

- what constituted “unnaturally polite” expressions,
- whether negative words would help to achieve the purpose of a message,
- what supporting moves should be avoided, and
- what writing plans they preferred.

The findings derived from this study suggest that the direction of pragmatic consciousness-raising could be re-examined. The solution to the question of how to minimize the likelihood of pragmatic failures, which Thomas (1983) regards as resulting from sociolinguistic transfer, does not seem to lie in unilaterally teaching L2 learners to use the strategies perceived as conventionally polite in English pragmatics; rather, the direction of pragmatic consciousness-raising might need to shift to raising the awareness of both NSs and NNSs of English that the meanings attached to directness/indirectness by speakers of different first languages in terms of politeness are probably different: while Western cultures may associate indirectness with politeness, some non-Western cultures do not deem direct requests impolite.
References


Sociophonetic Variation of Northern Ontario English Vowels: Canadian Shift in two non-urban communities

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The Canadian Shift (Clarke, Elms & Youssef 1995) is a vowel change in progress that involves the lowering and retraction of front lax vowels in the KIT, DRESS, and TRAP lexical sets (Wells 1982). Canadian Shift is well studied in several urban Canadian communities: Toronto (Roeder & Jarmasz 2009, 2010), Thunder Bay (Roeder 2012), Winnipeg (Hagiwara 2006), Montreal (Boberg 2005, 2008), Halifax and Vancouver (Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008). Studies of regional variation in Canadian English have largely focused on the speech of individual urban centers, and the patterns of variation in these large communities is taken to be the norm for the whole region. How these urban patterns are realized in the vast non-urban hinterland of rural Northern Ontario has yet to be investigated, as do the mechanisms of the spread of change from urban to rural speech communities.

I analyze conversational speech of 12 northern Ontario speakers (6 male, 6 female between the ages of 20 and 84) from Kirkland Lake, a small mining town 585 km north of Toronto, and Temiskaming Shores, a larger agricultural community 160 km north of Toronto. Participation in the Canadian Shift by speakers in these northern communities is compared to vowel data drawn from spoken vernacular of Toronto in order to test for transmission and diffusion of phonological variation in Canadian English.

A total of 9788 stressed KIT, DRESS, and TRAP vowel tokens were extracted from the speech of the two northern communities and compared to 1416 tokens of spontaneous Toronto speech. Lobanov-normalized F1 and F2 measurements were taken at temporal midpoint of each token using FAVE (Rosenfelder et al. 2011). Separate mixed-effects linear regression models predicting normalized F1 and F2 values for each Canadian Shift vowel class were performed in Rbrul (Johnson 2014). Results of these models showed inconsistent effects by the fixed effect age group across vowel class and community, suggesting that Canadian Shift is largely complete in all three communities. However, significant main effects for fixed effects of sex and community across all vowel classes point to socially motivated regional differences in production. This study presents evidence that the Canadian Shift has spread to remote northern Ontario communities through unbroken transmission across generations, not as a result of diffusion from a southern urban source (Labov 2003, 2007). Though the vowel patterns of two northern Ontario communities are not identical, results support the view that Canadian English in Toronto, Kirkland Lake, and Temiskaming Shores shares a common source brought to the north by the founding populations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The investigation of vowel changes in non-urban communities at considerable distance from their urban source contributes to our understanding of the trajectory of phonological change in Canadian English, and presents a unique opportunity to gain deeper insights into the social and linguistic motivations for regional linguistic variation in Canada.

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1 The data on which this study is based were extracted from the Ontario English Dialects Archive funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (Tagliamonte 2013-2018; Tagliamonte 2014). It is a compendium of dialect data collected in small towns of Ontario.
References


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Fission and Impoverishment in nonstandard Catalan clitic clusters
Adriana Soto-Corominas & David Heap, UWO

In some varieties of Central Catalan, standard clitic clusters like that in (1)a., which combine an inherently reflexive verb like presentar---se with a second---person object clitic, are replaced by a nonstandard cluster in which the first person reflexive me (which shares the φ---features of the co---indexed subject) is replaced by the default reflexive se as in (1)b.

(1) a  Te’m presenta per sorpresa
     2sg---OBJ 1sg---OBJ show up---1sg---SUB by surprise  Standard Catalan
     b  Se’t presenta per sorpresa  Nonstandard Central Catalan
        se 2sg---OBJ show up---1sg---SUB by surprise
        ‘I show up (to you) by surprise.’

In a similar cluster with a 2sg verb, again it is the clitic with φ---features corresponding to the subject that gets replaced by se. Mascaró (1986) hypothesizes that a clitic cluster like the one in (2)a occurs, the inherent reflexive clitic is split into two clitics: se, which marks reflexivity, and the paradigmatic clitic, which declines for first or second person, cf. (2)b.

(2) a  Te m’escapes
     2sg---OBJ 1sg---OBJ escape---2sg-  Standard Catalan
     b  Se te m’escapes  Nonstandard Central Catalan
        se 2sg---OBJ 1sg---OBJ escape---2sg-
        ‘You escape from me.’  (Mascaró 1986, p. 138)

Mascaró adds (1986: 140---141) that after this split of the clitic, another possible step involves deleting the clitic that marks person, as in (2)c, similar to (1)b,

(3)  Se m’escapes
     se 1sg---OBJ escape---2sg---SUB  Nonstandard Central Catalan
        ‘You escape from me.’

Our study shows that this ‘splitting’ of two clitics into three corresponds to what Halle, following Noyer (1997), calls Fission (Halle 2000:132). In some cases, Fission can be followed by what Arregi & Nevins (2007) term ‘Obliteration’ (that is, total impoverishment) of the paradigmatic clitic. After Fission adds the se clitic to the cluster, the clitic in the cluster which corresponds to the reflexive agreeing with the subject of the verb can be deleted, since its φ---features can be recovered from the co---indexed subject, leading to nonstandard forms such as (1)b.

Assuming a morphological feature geometry for pronoun paradigms (Harley & Ritter 2002), we further explore the various constraints that govern the process of Fission and the subsequent Obliteration of one of the clitics resulting from this ‘split’. For example, neither Fission nor Obliteration is possible if the object is a third person accusative while they are commonly attested with a third person dative object clitic.
References


L1 vs. L2 in L3 acquisition of gender: Does typology matter?
Adriana Soto-Corominas and Itziri Moreno Villamar

Previous studies have examined the acquisition of determiner-noun gender concord in Romance Languages in the context of L2; however, there is a lack of studies regarding this process in L3 acquisition. This study investigates the acquisition of gender concord in determiner phrases in L3 Spanish. Gender assignment and gender concord is generally mastered by the age of 3 in L1 acquisition of a gendered language, such as French or Spanish (Socarrás, 2011). Many studies have addressed the acquisition of gender features in an L2 by speakers of a non-gendered L1 (Bruhn de Garavito and White, 2005; Franceschina, 2005). Furthermore, the debate for L3 acquisition of gender becomes even more complicated because there are more variables to be considered. Some proposals for L3 acquisition have claimed that the main source of transfer is the L1, the L2 (Bardel & Falk, 2007), both in a cumulative fashion (Flynn et al., 2004), or that transfer is selective according to the typology of the language (Rothman, 2011). The present study investigates this phenomenon in the context of L3 acquisition with two gendered (French and Spanish) and one non-gendered language (English) in the speakers’ inventory.

Nouns in both Spanish and French have inherent and interpretable gender. Based on the gender of the noun, agreement is triggered between the determiners and adjectives within the same DP. This study investigates gender assignment and agreement in DPs in L3 Spanish in two experimental groups of trilinguals: (1) L1 English, early L2 French and late L3 Spanish (n=15); (2) L1 French, early L2 English and late L3 Spanish (n=6); and (3) L1 Spanish controls (n=10). Test materials consisted of a linguistic background questionnaire, two proficiency tests (for both French and Spanish) and an oral production task in Spanish. This task consisted of a Power Point presentation with 64 slides where each slide contained two pictures of the same object, which differed in certain features (see Appendix). While being audio recorded, participants were asked to produce one DP containing an adjective for each picture, for a total of 128 DPs per participant. The nouns were carefully selected through combinations of four variables:

1. Cognates / Non-cognates: whether the Spanish noun is a cognate of the French translation (el lago – le lac, ‘the lake’).  
2. Same / Opposite gender: whether the Spanish noun and its French translation have the same gender (el laco, le lac ‘the lake’) or not (el zapato, la chaussure ‘the shoe’).  
3. Masculine / Feminine: whether the noun in Spanish is masculine (el coche, ‘the car’) or feminine (la casa, ‘the house’).  
4. Canonical / Non-canonical: whether the ending in Spanish is –o for masculine (el suelo, ‘the floor’) and –a for the feminine (la mesa, ‘the table’), which makes the ending be canonical or not (la llave, ‘the key’).

Following Rothman’s TPM (2011), we predicted transfer of gender assignment from French, regardless of whether it was the L1 or L2, into L3 Spanish. Lowest accuracy was expected for the combination of Opposite Gender Cognates, since errors in this case would clearly index gender being transferred from French.

The results revealed that assignment errors are far more common than agreement errors and that the most problematic variable does not seem to be cognates /non- cognates. The highest error rate was indeed found in non-canonical endings, especially in the feminine gender for both groups. In terms of differences between groups, the L1 French group seems to have been transferring the genders from their L1. However, the L1 English group relied mostly on the Spanish morphology due to the lack of gender in their L1.
Appendix

Figure 1 Example of item for the combination: Non-cognates - Opposite gender – Masculine – Non-canonical

Figure 2 Example of item for the combination: Non-cognate – Same gender - Masculine – Canonical

Figure 3 Example of item for the combination: Cognate – Opposite gender – Femenine – Non-canonical

Figure 4 Example of item for the combination: Cognate – Same gender- Masculine – Non-canonical

References


Voice and general number in Tagalog  
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Various semantic features of Tagalog, an Austronesian language, are voice dependent. Telicity, scope, and specificity to name a few. The fact that Tagalog has general number (GN) is not new (Corbett 2000). What is new is that it is voice dependent. My analysis examines Tagalog general number with respect to incorporation.

Tagalog GN is briefly described as a system where the morphology of singular nouns is shared with GN nouns (Corbett 2000:16). An unmodified form like libro can mean ‘book’ or ‘books’. There are several restrictions in place; only objects can have GN and they must be unmodified. There is an additional restriction on GN not noted in the literature, namely, that GN is voice dependent. Only unmodified objects in agent voice (AV) sentences have GN interpretations (see (1)-a). Unmodified objects in patient voice (PV) can only denote a singular noun (see (1)-b). (Both examples have V[S][O] word order.)

(1)  a. B⟨um⟩ili [ang babae] [ng libro].  
    AV.buy ANG woman NG book  
    ‘The woman bought one or more books.’  

b. B⟨in⟩ili [ng babae] [ang libro].  
    PV.buy NG woman ANG book  
    ‘The woman bought the book.’

General number is characteristic of noun incorporation (NI) however my analysis finds that Tagalog GN shares the semantic properties of NI but not the syntactic properties. In traditional NI, the incorporated noun maintains a close relationship to the verb. Tagalog allows free post-verbal word order and GN interpretations are unaffected by whether a sentence has VSO or VOS word order. Thus, I describe Tagalog as a pseudo-NI language, borrowing the term from Massam (2001).

Specificity and GN are often mutually exclusive and this holds true for Tagalog as well. Non-specific objects have GN and specific objects are atomic. The semantic framework of my analysis uses Chung and Ladusaw (2004)’s Restriction and Saturation to distinguish between agent voice and patient voice. I also draw parallels between previous syntactic analyses on specificity and my description of voice dependent general number. The given tree structure, borrowed from Rackowski (2002) and Aldridge (2012), forms the syntactic basis for my analysis. Subjects are generated as the [spec vP] and are inherently specific. There are two object copies with various effects on word order and voice. Word order is dependent on which copy of the object is pronounced at PF. Pronouncing the higher copy yields VOS word order and pronouncing the lower copy yields VSO word order. Voice is a morphological indicator of which copy of the object is interpreted at LF, interpreting the higher copy yields patient voice and interpreting the lower copy yields agent voice.
My analysis expands on this by providing a syntactic and semantic description of voice dependent general number in Tagalog.
References


Référence bibliographique

It has been argued that monolinguals and bilinguals differ in how they resolve ambiguities in relative clause attachment. Sentences (1) and (2) contain a complex NP of the type “NP of NP” followed by a relative clause (RC). Cuetos and Mitchell (1988) first noted that sentences as in (1) and (2) are parsed differently depending on the language:

(1) She kissed the brother(NP1) of the poet(NP2) that was on the balcony.
(2) Ella besó al hermano(NP1) del poeta(NP2) que estaba en el balcón.

In English (1), the poet is on the balcony whereas in the same sentence in Spanish (2), it is the brother who is on the balcony.

Languages can be grouped according to the parsing strategy for monolinguals: high attachment (Spanish, French, Greek, Italian, Japanese, etc.) and low attachment (English, Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian, etc.). Studies on attachment preferences for bilinguals have shown that L1 influence and amount of language exposure play an important role in parsing preferences (Dussias 2003; Dussias and Sagarra 2007; Fernández 2003). Dussias and Sagarra (2007) found that Spanish-dominant bilinguals with limited exposure to English preferred high attachment in both languages, while bilinguals with extensive exposure to English preferred low attachment in both English and Spanish. Previous research has not extended relative clause attachment strategies to code-switched sentences in order to discern whether the directionality of the language switch will affect bilinguals’ parsing strategies.

Using eye-tracking, this research examines parsing strategies in code-switched sentences to address the following research questions:

i. Does language dominance play a role in parsing strategies?
ii. Does direction of the language code-switch affect processing?
iii. Does the direction of the language code-switch affect processing differently based on individual’s language dominance?

The predictions were that bilinguals will have longer looking times in the disambiguating region when the forced attachment does not correspond to the preferred attachment strategy of bilinguals’ dominant language. The direction of switch was predicted to have an effect only with the lower proficiency group.

Three groups of bilinguals (simultaneous bilinguals, L2 Spanish, and L1 Spanish) were tested on their parsing strategies of Spanish/English code-switched ambiguous relative clauses. Participants were tested on sentences that forced the attachment of the relative clause as either high or low (Table 1). Results show that the two English dominant groups, both the L2 Spanish and the Early Bilinguals, had slower reading times in Spanish across the board. In contrast, the L1 Spanish group had similar reading times in both languages, despite being adult learners of their L2 English, which may indicate that, as in Dussias and Sagarra (2007), language exposure plays an important role. That is, while the L1 Spanish group is dominant in Spanish, they were living in an English environment at the time of testing. Our data support the findings of Fernández (2003) who found that bilinguals use language-independent sentence processing routines, associated with their dominant language. Results will be discussed in terms of processing costs and language dominance.
Table 1: Examples of experimental sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English-Spanish — High</th>
<th>Spanish-English — High</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He argued with the boyfriendNP1 of my sisterNP2 [que trabaja como actor en Hollywood].</td>
<td>Rosa habló con la primaNP1 de mi maridoNP2 [that was pregnant for the first time].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English-Spanish — Low</td>
<td>Spanish-English — Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He argued with the sisterNP1 of my boyfriendNP2 [que trabaja como actor en Hollywood].</td>
<td>Rosa habló con el maridoNP1 de mi primaNP2 [that was pregnant for the first time].</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: Total looking times in disambiguating region for Spanish to English (sp-en) and English to Spanish (en-sp) sentences that forced the attachment of the relative clause as either high or low. Results further broken down by high Spanish proficiency (90%+) and low Spanish proficiency groups (89%-).
Variationists sometimes adopt a type of methodological founder principle, whereby the first researchers to study a variable develop approaches that are replicated and reified by subsequent scholars. Reconsidering such approaches can nuance our analyses – see, for example, Walker & Meyerhoff’s (2006) reinterpretation of the “following grammatical category” constraint for copula deletion.

We propose a similar reinterpretation, this time of the variable context, for a variable diagnostic of rapid sociolinguistic change (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003; Van Herk and OIP 2006; Tagliamonte 2008; Lealess et al. 2009; Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010): the intensification of adjectives (1).

(1) a. He’s right huge. (Molly, 3f)  
b. Oh, yes, she’s a very good baker. (Robert, 1m)  
c. Sometimes it gets really intense. (Evan, 3m)

Since Ito & Tagliamonte (2003), researchers have defined the variable context as the full range of intensifiable adjectives (e.g., red and cool are in, hand-carved is out), whether overt intensification occurs or not. We argue that this is appropriate to study intensification as a whole, but not the choice of intensifier. Deciding to intensify is a different discourse/pragmatic process than choosing among intensifiers. Thus, studies of intensifier choice should take as their variable context only intensified adjectives. Otherwise, true effects can be masked by the preponderance of non-intensified tokens (typically over 60%), which are themselves linguistically and socially constrained.

We illustrate with data from two corpora of rapidly changing language: spoken Labrador Inuit English (N=1399, 20% intensified) and written online data (N=9441, 34% intensified). Comparing results for frequent intensifiers highlights the differences that including or excluding non-intensified tokens can make. In Labrador, very, pretty and real have the same constraints in both runs, though the relative ordering and weight change, while right and really show different significant factors. In online data, really, so, and very show changes in ordering and weight. In both cases, the inclusion of zero forms obscures important social and apparent-time effects.

References


Cognitive control—e.g. the abilities to pay attention to relevant input, to ignore irrelevant input, and to switch between tasks effectively—has recently received much attention in the field of linguistics. In particular, a growing number of studies link the ability to speak two languages with improved cognitive control skills (e.g. Costa, Hernández, & Sebastián-Gallés 2008; Coderre, Van Heuven, & Conklin 2013). However, the nature of this bilingual advantage, and whether it truly exists, is currently the topic of considerable debate (e.g. Paap & Greenberg 2013).

In this study, we investigate the link between bilingualism and general cognitive control skills by using the Attention Network Test (ANT; Fan et al., 2002), and ask 1) Does bilingualism improve cognitive control? and 2) Are any advantages modulated by the degree of bilingual experience, i.e. earlier Age of L2 Acquisition (AoA)? Importantly, we explore this issue in the context of the National Capital Region of Canada—where, unlike in a number of previous studies, both languages (English and French) are readily accessible and widely spoken.

Strong evidence suggests that both of the bilingual's languages are active and available during comprehension (Marian & Spivey, 2003) and production (Kroll, Bobb, & Wodniecka, 2006). In any given discourse, the two languages compete for selection in the mental lexicon, creating a conflict that must be resolved in order to produce the target language. Cognitive control becomes a crucial tool for managing this conflict. The skills gained from managing two languages (e.g. inhibiting one language while paying attention to the other) may be transferred to general cognitive processing (e.g. ignoring irrelevant and attending to relevant information), giving the bilingual an advantage in not only language processing, but also general cognitive control (e.g. Bialystok et al., 2012). These processes, however, may also be affected by several factors, including the type of bilingual environment (Green & Abutalebi, 2013).

We used the ANT to examine 3 cognitive control components (Alerting, Orienting, and Executive Control) in 57 English-French bilinguals, who were either Functional Monolinguals (FM; n=17), Simultaneous Bilinguals (SB; n=22) or Early Bilinguals (EB; n=18). We found significant effects only for the Orienting network (p = .011). A pair-wise comparison revealed that EBs had significantly better orienting abilities than SBs (p = .010). However, we failed to find previously-reported advantages in Executive Control and Alerting (e.g. Costa et al., 2008).

We do not interpret these findings as showing a lack of bilingual advantages. Instead, we feel that the results reflect the bilingual environment of our participants, as a similar apparent lack of advantages were shown in a linguistic task by Kousaie and Phillips (2012), whose participants are arguably in a similar environment as ours (Montreal). Recent work by Green and Abutalebi (2013) suggests that cognitive processes adapt themselves to the language environment demands, with dense code-switching and single-language (one language blocked while the other is used) situations requiring different processing strategies. If the bilingual advantage is said to come about as a result of practice in blocking one language and attending to the other (i.e. a single-language environment), then the National Capital Region does not provide the appropriate environment for these skills to develop, since many people code-switch between their two languages frequently and fluently, and may not need to block either language. This effect of the environment may also be reflected in the EB's advantage over SB's in Orienting, as the latter group acquired their L2 in an environment where both languages were part of the input. To say with certainty that these results are due to the bilingual environment, further investigations are needed. However, our results suggest a role of the bilingual environment, and urge researchers not to take it for granted when conducting studies with bilinguals.
References


A claim frequently made in syntactic literature is that some verbs, such as English *be*, *have*, and *do*, have little lexical semantic content, being essentially bundles of features. If this is true, it implies that these verbs are closer to functional than to lexical items. At the same time, however, we are faced with the fact that these verbs possess an argument structure, a property that we associate more with lexical items (Corver & van Riemsdijk 2001, Karimi-Doostan 2005).

I present findings from the Dene language Tłı̨chǫ Yatìì (aka Dogrib: NWT), showing that in this language there is a rich assortment of light verbs that appear to differ from copulas and from each other only in argument structure. For example, the verbs *hǫt’e* and *at’i* are both often translated as *be*, but in context it is apparent that the latter, but not the former, can take an agent argument.

(1) a. *Meè ah-t’e.*
   Mary 1SG-HQ̏T’E 1SG 1SG-AT’I
   ‘I’m Mary.’ (as an introduction)

b. *Sī ah-t’i.*
   (MLBW 2011)
   ‘It’s me.’ (at the door, on the phone)

*At’i* is also frequently translated as *do*, in common with the verb *ale*. However, these verbs also differ in their argument structure: *ale*, but not *at’i*, is employed as a causativizer and can select an accusative argument.

(2) a. *eyits’ǫ dǫ k’aat’i  age-le  ha  go-gḥahọt’ǫ.*
   (DTC 2003)
   and  person  be.well  3PL-ALE  FUT  3PL-be.instructed
   ‘and he gave them authority to heal sickness.’
   (Lit., ‘they were instructed to make people well.’)

b. *Dǫ  k’aat’i  age-t’i  ha  go-gḥahọt’ǫ.*
   (MLBW 2015)
   person  be.well  3PL-AT’I  FUT  3PL-be.instructed
   (Intended: ‘they were instructed to make people well.’)

c. *Sets’ǫ  fǫǫ  ane-le.*
   (Jaker et al. 2013)
   my  phone  3PL-ALE
   ‘Call me.’

The light verbs of Tłı̨chǫ Yatìì give an unusually clear picture of argument-structure distinctions in the absence of further lexical semantic content. I adduce evidence from fieldwork and textual sources to demonstrate the following argument structure for five light verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>hǫt’e</em></th>
<th><em>gōhlį</em></th>
<th><em>at’į</em></th>
<th><em>elį</em></th>
<th><em>ale</em></th>
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<tr>
<td>other complement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>(CP)</td>
<td>(AP)</td>
<td>(CP)</td>
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</table>

I suggest that their lexical entries therefore consist solely of selectional features, preserving the view of light verbs as both functional feature bundles and lexical items selecting arguments. I argue that all of these verbs are instantiations of the category ν (Chomsky 1995), and function to allow various non-verbal categories to be predicates, a role that has previously been asserted for copulas in Dene languages (Wilhelm 2014); further, that they are distinguished from each other wholly by their selectional features and serve as last-resort spellouts for argument structure in the absence of a lexical verb.
References


