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Welcome

Welcome to the 48th Linguistics Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL 48) at the York University Keele campus in Toronto, Ontario, Canada!

We hope that you will find these 4 days of linguistic academic engagement to be productive and enjoyable!

The theme of this year's conference is Points of Convergence in Romance Linguistics, which captures the fact that all major areas of linguistics (e.g. morphology, syntax, semantics, phonology, sociolinguistics, first and second language acquisition) are represented with research on different Romance languages.

In addition to the plenaries and standard conference presentations, LSRL 48 features two poster sessions to facilitate student participation and a special workshop on Romance Diachrony at the Interfaces, which focuses on generative syntactic interfaces with morphology, semantics, and pragmatics in Romance historical linguistics.

Please take some time to review the program for additional information about the conference as well as the various social events.

Please also check the website (<http://lsrl48.info.yorku.ca/>) for potential updates re any last minute scheduling changes.

Please do not hesitate to ask for help from any of our conference organizers and volunteers, easily identified with red nametags.

We are very grateful to our many sponsors for making LSRL 48 possible.

We thank the dedicated individuals on the Organizing Committee who have devoted many hours of their time and energy to ensure the success of this conference. We also thank the administrative staff in the Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics for all their support.

Finally, thank you to the presenters and all participants!

Best wishes,
The LSRL 48 Organizing Committee

General Information

Organizing Committee

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Organizer: | Gabriela Alboiu (York U) |
| Co-organizer: | Ruth King (York U) |
| Collaborators: | Laura Colantoni (U of Toronto) Maria Cristina Cuervo (U of Toronto) Michol Hoffman (York U) Mihaela Pirvulescu (U of Toronto/U of Toronto at Mississauga) Michelle Troberg (U of Toronto at Mississauga) |
| PhD student support: | Gavin Antonio Bembridge (LAL, York U) Ana-Maria Jerca (LAL, York U) Emilie LeBlanc (LAL, York U) Gerry Turner (LAL, York U) Kendall Vogh (LAL, York U) Andrew Peters (LING, U of Toronto) |

Sponsors

We gratefully acknowledge the support of our sponsors:

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York University:

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- Vice-President Research and Innovation;
- Vice-President Academic and Provost;
- Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics;
- Faculty of Graduate Studies;
- Department of Philosophy;
- Department of French Studies;
- Glendon, Centre for Research on Language and Culture Contact (CRLCC);
- eServices Office, LA&PS;
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University of Toronto:

- Linguistics Department;
- Department of French Studies;
- Department of Spanish and Portuguese



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Venues

Workshop & Registration, Wednesday, April 25, 2018: Schulich Executive Learning Centre (ELC X211)

Main conference, Thursday-Saturday, April 26-28: Vari Hall (various) Registration: Vari Hall (VH) 1018

Thursday: 8:30AM - 9:30AM; 10:30AM - 11:00AM

Friday: 8:45M - 9:30AM; 10:30AM - 11:00AM

Saturday: 8:45AM - 9:30AM

Info For Presenters

Oral Presentations:

Please check in with the session chair prior to the beginning of the session. Your session chair will provide timing cards indicating how much time you have left. Please stop promptly when your 20 minutes are up; we will be trying very hard to keep all sessions synchronized. All lecture halls are equipped with computers, projectors and microphones. If you need an adapter/dongle, please bring one along. We recommend that you test the technology during the break prior to your session.

Poster Presentations:

Poster presenters should be present for their entire session (and will be responsible for representing their project). On Thursday, you should set up your poster during the lunch break. On Friday, you can set your poster up any time prior to the poster session. Please take down your posters and pack them up at the end of your respective poster session. Pins can be found at the Registration desk.

Internet Access

York University is equipped with eduroam WIFI. Eduroam (education roaming) allows to access wireless services at York by logging in with your *home institution credentials*.

1. Select eduroam from the list of available Wi-Fi networks.
2. When prompted, enter your University username and password.

Social Events

Reception

Wednesday, April 25

5:30 PM – 7:30 PM

CIBC Lobby, Accolade Building East

The LSRL 48 reception will be held in the CIBC Lobby following the afternoon plenary Talk. The Accolade Building East is Building 92 on the campus map.

Student Mixer

Thursday, April 26

6:30 PM – 8:30 PM

DLLL Lounge, South Ross, Fifth floor

The York University graduate students will be hosting a student mixer at the department lounge. The department is located on the fifth floor of the south side of the Ross building, which is building 28 on the campus map.

Conference Dinner

Friday, April 27

7 PM – 10 PM

The Underground

The conference dinner will be held at the Underground (building 23 on the campus map).

Schedule Overview

Wednesday April 25

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 8:30-9:15 | Registration & Coffee |
| 9:15-9:30 | Welcome |
| 9:30-10:30 | Plenary Talk |
| 10:30-11:00 | Registration & Coffee |
| 11:00-12:30 | Workshop Presentations |
| 12:30-2:00 | Lunch Break |
| 2:00-2:30 | Workshop Presentations |
| 3:30-4:00 | Coffee Break |
| 4:00-5:00 | Workshop Presentations |
| 5:30-7:30 | Reception |

Thursday April 26

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 8:30-9:00 | Registration & Coffee |
| 9:00-9:30 | Opening Remarks |
| 9:30-10:30 | Plenary Talk |
| 10:30-11:00 | Registration & Coffee |
| 11:00-12:30 | Paper Presentations |
| 12:30-2:00 | Lunch Break |
| 2:00-2:30 | Paper Presentations |
| 3:30-5:00 | Poster Session & Coffee |
| 5:00-6:00 | Plenary Talk |
| 7:00-9:30 | Student Mixer |

Friday April 27

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 8:45-9:30 | Registration & Coffee |
| 9:30-10:30 | Plenary Talk |
| 10:30-11:00 | Registration & Coffee |
| 11:00-12:30 | Paper Presentations |
| 12:30-2:30 | Lunch & Business Meeting |
| 2:00-4:00 | Paper Presentations |
| 4:00-5:30 | Poster Session & Coffee |
| 5:30-6:30 | Plenary Talk |
| 7:00-10:00 | Conference Dinner |

Saturday April 28

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 8:45-9:30 | Registration & Coffee |
| 9:30-11:00 | Paper Presentations |
| 11:00-11:30 | Coffee Break |
| 11:30-1:00 | Paper Presentations |
| 1:00-2:30 | Lunch Break |
| 2:30-3:30 | Plenary Talk |

LSRL 48 Presentation Schedule

**Wednesday,
April 25**

Workshop on Romance Diachrony at the Interfaces

Schulich Executive Learning Centre (ELC X211)

8:30 - 9:15

REGISTRATION (ELC X211) & COFFEE (Executive Dining Lounge - Ground Floor)

9:15 - 9:30

Welcome

Keynote Address: Ian Roberts

9:30 - 10:30

Formal Features and Emergent Parameters in Syntactic Change

10:30 - 11:00

REGISTRATION (ELC X211) & COFFEE BREAK (Executive Dining Lounge - Ground Floor)

11:00- 12:30

Alice Corr

Old Ibero-Romance reduplicated numerals at the syntax-semantics interface

Jim Law

The Frames Approach to Metonymic Change: the Purpose Frame in French

Chad Howe & Timothy Gupton

Re-bracketing and ad sensum agreement: A formal approximation to the grammaticalization of binomial quantifiers

12:30 - 2:30

LUNCH

2:30 - 3:30

Michelle Troberg

Diachronic reanalysis and the satellite versus verb-framed distinction

Keith Tse

Formal convergence and divergence: creative parametric (re)setting in Latin/romance syntactic change

3:30 - 4:00

REGISTRATION (ELC X211) & COFFEE BREAK (Executive Dining Lounge- Ground Floor)

4:00 - 5:00

Montserrat Batllori

From Morphology to Syntax: Remarks on the Evolution of Romance Imperatives

Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo

Cyclical change in affixal negation: from Latin to Romance

5:00 - 5:30

REGISTRATION (ELC X211)

5:30 - 7:30

RECEPTION (CIBC Lobby, ACE)

Thursday, April 26

Venue: Vari Hall

8:30 - 9:00

REGISTRATION (VH 1018) & COFFEE (VH 1158)

9:00 - 9:30

LSRL 48 Opening Remarks (VH A)

Keynote Address: Julie Auger

9:30 - 10:30

Vari Hall A

Morphosyntax, Phonology and Prosody in Picard

10:30 - 11:00 COFFEE BREAK (VH 1158)

11:00 - 12:30 PHONETICS (VH D)
Effects of Dialect-Specific Production on Phoneme Perception, **Mary Elizabeth Beaton**

Velar R in Puerto Rican Spanish: Uses and Attitudes, **Juliana Ivette Cruz Martínez**

The phonetics of consonantal length and contrast in Campidanese Sardinian, **Jonah Katz & Gianmarco Pitzanti**

SYNTAX (VH B)
How prosody explains a superficial givenness constraint on French wh-in-situ questions, **Ramona Wallner**

Contrastive Topic-Focus Association in the sentential middle field of Brazilian Portuguese, **Renato Lacerda**

Vagueness in the interpretation of Spanish nosotros: A Speech act phrase analysis, **Ángel Luis Jiménez-Fernández & Mercedes Tubino-Blanco**

SOCIOLINGUISTICS (VH C)
Clitic position in Old Occitan affirmative verb-first declaratives coordinated by e: A variationist analysis, **Bryan Donaldson**

Inherent variability in grammar and speech, **Shana Poplack & Nathalie Dion**

The future between past and present: A longitudinal analysis of future temporal reference in Acadian French, **Mélissa Chiasson & Basile Roussel**

12:30 - 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 - 3:30 PROSODY (VH D)
Acoustic Cues of Prominence and Prosodic Bootstrapping of Word Order: French, Portuguese and Spanish, **Irene Vogel & Angeliki Athanasopoulou**

Variability and the Alignment of Pitch Accents in Brazilian Portuguese, **Angeliki Athanasopoulou, Irene Vogel & Natália Brambatti Guzzo**

Stress preservation in Spanish proper compounds, **Dongmei Lin & Carlos-Eduardo Piñeros**

SYNTAX (VH B)
A unified syntactic analysis of Spanish and Basque information focus via exhaustivity, **Lorena Sainzmaza-Lecanda**

Who, or where are 'you' to me? Formality as distance in Romance and beyond, **Gavin Antonio Bembridge & Andrew Peters**

Attributive Adjectives and Predicate Structures in Spanish, **Liliana Sánchez**

L2 ACQUISITION (VH C)
Representing inverse semantic scope in L2-Spanish, **Jun Lyu & Lijun Zhang**

Gender as a cue in the production of number agreement in Spanish bilinguals, **Rebecca Foote**

L3 Phonological Acquisition: Spanish and English in Brazilian Portuguese, **Jennifer Zhang**

3:30 - 5:00 POSTER SESSION (VH 1016) & COFFEE (VH 1158)

Keynote Address: Daniela Isac

5:00 - 6:00

Vari Hall A

The Typology of Determiners in Romance: The Role of Modification

6:30 - 8:30 STUDENT MIXER (DLLL Lounge - 5th floor South Ross)

Friday, April 27

8:45 - 9:30

Venue: Vari Hall

REGISTRATION (VH 1018) & COFFEE (VH 1158)

Keynote Address: Ana Teresa Pérez-Leroux

9:30 - 10:30

Vari Hall A

A Child's View of Romance Modification

10:30 - 11:00 COFFEE BREAK (VH 1158)

11:00 - 12:30 L1 ACQUISITION (VH D)
Rethinking the Role of Age of Onset of Acquisition in 2L1 Acquisition: Evidence from Catalan and Spanish Morphosyntax, **Adriana Soto-Corominas**

Does null mean something to you? Children's missing objects and what it all means, **Sophia Bello**

Language acquisition and variable verbal agreement in Brazilian Portuguese, **Daniele Molina, Marcilese Mercedes & Cristina Name**

SYNTAX (VH B)

On Inalienable Possession and Middle Constructions in Spanish, **Imanol Suarez-Palma**

A Labeling Theory approach to subject positions for causative structures, **M. Pilar Colomina & Lorena Castillo**

On the Silent Component of French (ne) ... que exceptives, **Marc Authier & Lisa Reed**

MIXED (VH C)

Value and quantity in the evaluation of bare singulars in Brazilian Portuguese, **Suzi Lima & Cristiane Oliveira**

Romance Evidence for Linguistic Universals in Pronominal Address, **Terrell Morgan & Scott Schwenter**

The production and interpretation of Spanish clitic SE with anticausatives and Reflexive psychological verbs, **Aída García-Tejada, Eduardo Lustres & Alejandro Cuza**

12:30 - 2:30 LUNCH; Business Meeting (Ross S 538)

2:00 - 3:30 L2 ACQUISITION (VH D)
Inalienable Possession in Heritage Speakers: Evidence for the Activation Hypothesis, **David Giancaspro & Liliana Sánchez**

Investigating the sources of nuclear intonation in Argentinian-Canadian heritage speakers of Spanish: Evidence of parental and English influences, **Jacob Aziz, Vanina Machado, Yasaman Rafat, Rajiv Rao & Ryan Stevenson**

Protracted and Partial Acquisition of the Catalan Partitive Clitic in Child and Adult Bilingualism, **Silvia Perpiñán & Adriana Soto-Corominas**

SYNTAX (VH B)

Patterns of number agreement in Pyrenean dialects, **Rosa Bono & Ángel J. Gallego**

Basque-Spanish null objects in relation to *leísmo* and the PCC, **Almike Vázquez-Lozares**

An Agree-based approach to clitic splitting, **M. Pilar Colomina**

SOCIOLINGUISTICS (VH C)

Rhythmic Convergence in French Contact, **Svetlana Kaminskaia**

Code-mixing and semantico-pragmatic resources in Francophone Maine: Meanings-in-use of *yeah/yes* and *ouais/oui* in French-English bilingual conversation, **Kendall Vogh**

Measuring the effects of dialect contact: First person plural reference in Nova Scotia Acadian French, **Philip Comeau, Carolanne Paquin-Drouin, & Monelle Guertin**

4:00 - 5:30 POSTER SESSION (VH 1016) & COFFEE (VH 1158)

Keynote Address: Angelica Hernandez

5:30 - 6:30

Vari Hall A

Pluralizing Existential *haber* in the Caribbean and Latin America:
Is a subject-like complement to blame?

7:00 - 10:00 CONFERENCE DINNER (The Underground)

Saturday, April 28

8:45 - 9:30 REGISTRATION (VH 1018) & COFFEE (VH 1158)

Venue: Vari Hall

| | | | |
|---------------|--|--|---|
| 9:30 - 11:00 | PHONOLOGY (VH D) | SYNTAX (VH B) | L2 ACQUISITION / PSYCHOLINGUISTICS (VH C) |
| | Exceptionality and ungrammaticality in Spanish stress: A Stratal OT approach, Katerina Tetzloff | DOM in Catalan: A Syntactic-pragmatic approach, Marta Khouja | Sentence processing: coordinate structures with ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese, Andressa Christine da Silva & Aline Fonseca |
| | Remarks on the syllabic parsing of Spanish onglides, Fernando Martinez-Gil | Differential object marking: what type of licensing?, Monica Irimia & Julie Goncharov | The role of birth order in the language use patterns, practices, and ideologies among second-generation Latino children in the U.S., Benjamin Kinsella |
| | On the relevance of the uneven moraic trochee foot in OT, Haike Jacobs | | |
| 11:00 - 11:30 | COFFEE BREAK | | |
| 11:30 - 1:00 | MORPHOLOGY (VH D) | SYNTAX (VH B) | SEMANTICS (VH C) |
| | Allomorphic Paradigms in Creole Inflection, Ana Luís | Same Extended Projection Principle, Different Null Subject Language, Juliane Doner & Çağrı Bilgin | Predicting the end: Epistemic change and perspective-dependence in Romance, Patrícia Amaral & Fabio Del Prete |
| | Gender marking and morphological awareness in Brazilian Portuguese, Paula Armelin, Marcilese Mercedes & Cristina Name | On (un)grammatical sequences of ses in Spanish, Jonathan MacDonald & Almike Vázquez-Lozares | Hortatives and optatives in Romance languages: A Syntactic account, Genoveva Puskas |
| | Epenthesis and Morphology in Romance, Lori Repetti, Sedigheh Moradi & Mark Aronoff | | A case of if-clauses on their own, María Biezma |
| 1:00 - 2:30 | LUNCH | | |

Keynote Address: Giuseppe Longobardi

2:30 - 3:30

Vari Hall A

Syntax, Genetics, and Geography in Southern Italy

Poster Schedule

VENUE: VARI HALL (VH) 1016

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

3:30 - 5:00

Adjectival placement and interpretation in heritage Spanish

José Camacho

The expression of numeric uncertainty in L2 Spanish: An examination of spontaneous and controlled production data

Abril Jimenez

The temporal values of the compound gerund in Romance languages

Vanessa López

The Syntax and Lexicon of Clitic Climbing Constructions in L2 Spanish

Antonio Martín Gómez

Subject bare singulars in Brazilian Portuguese: data from an experimental study

Raíssa Santana & Elaine Grolla

The diachrony of the particle *fors/hors* in the history of French

Michelle Troberg, Meena Ahmad & Maya Krol

The influence of the presence of orthography on the production of a novel vowel contrast by Anglophone learners of French

Hilary Walton

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

4:00 - 5:30

The Ghost of the Future Subjunctive's Past

Gavin Antonio Bembridge

Allophonic Shift in Neapolitan: Lenition of voiceless stops

Greg Feliu

The acquisition of subjunctive mood selection in temporal and concessive clauses in heritage and L2 Spanish: Evidence from production and interpretation

Eduardo Lustres, Aída García-Tejada & Alejandro Cuza

Beyond grammaticalization clines: The case of noun-based conditional markers

Laura M. Merino Hernández & Patrícia Amaral

We see me presenting an OT account of partially co-referential clitics

Scott James Perry & David Heap

Insubordination to infelicity: the syntax and pragmatics of Spanish discourse *si*

Adriana Osa

Abstracts: Keynote Addresses

Ian Roberts

The University of Cambridge

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25

9:30 - 10:30 ELC X211

Formal Features and Emergent Parameters in Syntactic Change

In this talk, I will try to integrate central aspects of the minimalist program with diachronic change. More specifically, the principal goal will be to show how the emergentist approach to parametric variation, which asserts that cross-linguistic variation is not predetermined by UG but arises from the interaction of the three factors of language design, can yield interesting insights into language change. Several examples of syntactic change in which the role of two third factors (Feature Economy and Input Generalisation) are crucial, are adduced, primarily from Romance, in support of this general thesis.

Julie Auger

Indiana University

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

9:30 - 10:30 VH A

Morphosyntax, Phonology, and Prosody in Picard

This paper argues that the analysis of many morphosyntactic structures of Picard, an endangered Gallo-Romance language spoken in northern France and southern Belgium, greatly benefits from incorporating elements of the phonology and prosodic structure of the language (Auger, forthcoming). Conversely, the analysis of phonological phenomena such as vowel epenthesis is enriched by taking into account the syntactic and prosodic structure of the language. This paper discusses the syntactic status of lexical subjects in clauses that also contain a subject clitic and provides two phonological arguments for analyzing them as true syntactic subjects rather than dislocated phrases. It also examines postverbal subjects and argues for different analyses in different types of clauses based on phonological differences. Finally, it provides phonological evidence that the clitic group that has been proposed by Nespor & Vogel 1986 but is an object of considerable debate is distinct from both phonological words and phonological phrases in Picard.

Daniela Isac

Concordia University

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

5:00 - 6:00 VH A

The Typology of Determiners in Romance: the Role of Modification

The general aim of this talk is to examine the licensing effect that modifiers have on the syntactic and semantic status of a noun phrase. More specifically, I will focus on contexts in which a modifier licenses an otherwise illicit definite determiner. Such effects can be noticed in Romance in nominal constituents that occur as objects of prepositions in languages like Old Romanian, Modern Romanian, Aromanian, Istro-Romanian, and Megleno-Romanian. In all of these languages objects of prepositions can be bare and have a definite interpretation; and in all of these languages the addition of a nominal modifier licenses the occurrence of an overt definite determiner on the object of the preposition. Moreover, the languages under consideration display microvariation with respect to these properties.

In particular, in Modern Romanian, definite objects of prepositions must be bare, in contrast with the other languages under consideration, where this is just one option, along with the alternative of having the definite article overtly expressed on the object of the preposition. Also, not all languages listed above behave the same with respect to the licensing effect of the modifier. While in Old Romanian, Modern Romanian, Istro Romanian and Aromanian the definite determiner must be overt in the presence of a modifier, in Megleno-Romanian the noun can also be bare when a modifier is present, even when the interpretation of the whole nominal is definite.

I will propose an analysis that lies at the morpho-phonology interface: what the modifier licenses is not a particular semantic or syntactic property of the noun, but rather the overt PF realization of the determiner. I will discuss how this analysis can account for the shared properties as well as for the (micro)variation within the set of languages under consideration, as well as the consequences of this proposal for the typology of null determiners in Romance, and for the analysis of double definiteness.

Ana Teresa Pérez-Leroux

University of Toronto

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

9:30 - 10:30 VH A

A Child's View of Romance Modification

The last 20 years of generative syntax have greatly refined our understanding of the structure of the noun phrase, shedding light on some of the syntax-semantics puzzles of complex NPs in Romance, including the position of adjectives, the distribution of nominal relators and linkers, and others. I will present some novel data on restrictions in the distribution of modifier types in Spanish and French. The data will serve to frame a comparison between two distinct notions of evidence in linguistics: the kind of evidence that settles theoretical debates vs. plausible learnability evidence.

Angelica Hernandez

University of Western Ontario

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

5:30 - 6:30 VH A

Pluralizing existential *haber* in the Caribbean and Latin America: Is a subject-like complement to blame?

According to Spanish prescriptive grammar, impersonal verbs such as the existential verb *haber* (there is/there are) can only be conjugated in the third person singular as in (1). This since they do not take a subject and therefore no agreement is possible. Despite this prescriptive norm, plural forms of existential *haber*, as in (2), are often used in several Spanish speaking communities when the verb is accompanied by a plural NP complement (DeMello 1991).

- (1) Había mucho-s gato-s
 There be.IMP many-PL cat-PL
- (2) Había-n mucho-s gato-s
 There be.IMP-PL many-PL cat-PL

In this presentation, we look at the linguistic and social factors that condition the use of pluralized *haber* in spoken data from four Caribbean cities and three Latin American cities. Following a multiple regression analysis conducted using over 500 tokens, our results show that speakers' levels of formal education and the verb form used are the only significant factors in conditioning the use of pluralized *haber* in both regions. Furthermore, our results show that the [+animate] feature on the complement of the verb disfavours pluralization in Latin America, but this is not a significant factor in the Caribbean. Results also show that placing the verb complement in the traditional

subject position disfavours the pluralization of *haber* in both regions. Contrary to similar studies (Bentivoglio and Sedano 1989), we suggest that similarity of the NP complement of the verb to a subject does not appropriately predict the use of pluralized forms of *haber*.

Giuseppe Longobardi

The University of York

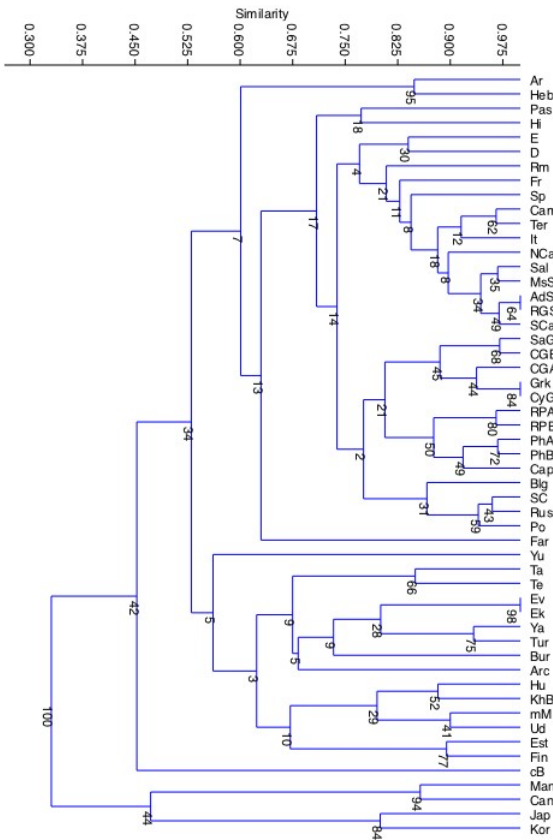
SATURDAY, APRIL 28

2:30 - 3:30 VH A

Syntax, genes and geography: insights from Southern Italian microvariation

Background The comparison of genetic evolution and linguistic diversification provides an important tool for a combined investigation of the history of population diversity. Recent attempts at assessing the respective distributions of genetic and linguistic diversity, prompted by the Parametric Comparison Method (PCM, Longobardi & Guardiano 2009), have shown that syntactic parameters (less ‘visible’ but more sophisticated and potentially more informative than characters traditionally used for language comparison) provide phylogenies comparable in quality and scope to those produced by genetic anthropology, and can be used as a new powerful tool to address the gene-language issue. The study of the correlation between the distribution of genetic and syntactic distances (henceforth D_{GEN} and D_{SYN}) in Europe (Longobardi et al 2015: 15 populations) and across Eurasia (Longobardi et al in submission: 37 populations), and of that with geographic distances (D_{GEO}), has so far suggested the following conclusions: (a) there is evidence of correlation between D_{GEN} and D_{SYN} : $r=0.60$ in Europe (calculated using a Mantel test), $r=0.53$ in Eurasia; (b) at these scales and sampling density, syntax correlates with geography only as a byproduct of its congruence with genes: in Europe, $D_{\text{GEO}}/D_{\text{SYN}}$ correlation ($r=0.24$) is smaller than $D_{\text{GEN}}/D_{\text{SYN}}$, and disappears ($r=0.08$) when removing the mediating effect of D_{GEN} (partial Mantel test); in Eurasia, it is apparently higher, but drops radically (from $r=0.47$ to $r=0.01$) when controlling for D_{GEN} . This suggests that syntax is subject to horizontal effects only when carried along with genes (which systematically show a higher correlation with D_{GEO}), i.e. through actual demic expansions and movements, and that syntax transmission is by itself strictly vertical (*pace* any form of syntactic *Wellentheorie*). Also, gene/syntax congruence is independent of geography: in Europe, it remains virtually unaffected by controlling for D_{GEO} ($r=0.57$); in Eurasia, it ranges from $r=0.28$ to 0.67 . The relevance of the vertical model is especially supported by two discoveries emerging from gene-language comparison (Longobardi et al 2015, in submission): (a) $D_{\text{GEO}}/D_{\text{SYN}}$ turns out virtually null when controlled for D_{GEN} ; (b) in all the (few) cases of partial mismatch between traditional phylogenies and syntax-based results there is evidence of genetic admixture among the relevant populations, seemingly confirming Thomason and Kaufman’s (1988) thesis that syntactic borrowing arises only in situations of particularly deep contact such as demographic admixture.

Goals. In this work, we explore the potential of the PCM at the smaller scale of micro-comparison, using a subset of Southern Italo-Romance dialects. We investigate whether the same tools employed to compare trends of migration and cultural diffusion at a continent-wide scale are also able to capture finer-grained, low-scale variation, namely whether microvariation is reflected at the same rate in the distribution of languages and genes.



We show that: (i) the phylogenetic power and vertical signal of syntax do not saturate at the level of dialectal variation, in spite of some obvious cases of interference in salient contact situations (Guardiano et al 2016); (ii) the relationship between the distribution of syntactic (micro)variation and that of $D_{\text{GEN}}/D_{\text{SYN}}$ reveals dynamics which do not emerge at chronologically deeper and geographically less dense levels.

Methods. The PCM has discovered so far that syntax articulates individual families (independently retrieved by etymological procedures) such as IE (Longobardi et al 2013), Uralic and Altaic (Ceolin et al submitted), a level that we call meso-comparison, and it has shown that syntax is a source of phylogenetic information also at the cross-family level (macro-comparison: Ceolin et al submitted). The tree in the figure (from Jaccard distances between 53 languages using 91 syntactic parameters; software UPGMA; consensus tree out of 100 bootstrapped datasets) is supported by its coinciding with traditional classifications: (a) IE, Uralic, Altaic, Semitic, Sinitic, Dravidian are recognized; (b) the internal structure of such families is correctly represented: the main subfamilies are identified, with just one anomaly within IE (Farsi). At the level of micro-comparison: (c) the two groups of dialects of Southern Italy (Greek and Romance) are separated from one another,

and (d) the internal articulation of Southern Italo-Romance has a good resolution: the Extreme Southern unity is well-articulated (with a geography-driven internal distribution: the two geographically most ‘external’ dialects, Mussomeli and Salentino, cluster together, as opposed to a more ‘central’ core: Ragusa, Aidone and Reggio Calabria); Northern Calabrese’s position (outlier of the Extreme cluster) reflects its expected isolation (Lausberg 1939) from mainstream Upper Southern Dialects, which in turn cluster together.

Genes and languages in Southern Italy. We calculated $D_{\text{GEN}}/D_{\text{SYN}}$ correlation across the IE languages of the tree: when the dialects of Southern Italy are excluded, the result is very similar to those found in Europe and Eurasia ($r=0.49$). Yet, when the populations speaking Italo-Romance dialects are included, D_{GEN} become nearly uninformative: the demographic structure of Southern Italy, with just one significant non-Romance exception (the Greeks of Calabria), shows a rather uniform genetic landscape (Sarno et al 2016), which makes correlations impossible. However, such a genetic *koiné* does not correspond to an equally uniform linguistic setting: at the microscopic scale, grammars maintain internal microdiversification even in the absence of significant genetic variation. These results point towards a mismatch between the number of populations which can be identified through the syntactic analysis and those which can be identified on the basis of genetic markers. Why this situation should arise and whether this a general property of most other closely related populations/languages is still to be investigated.

Syntax and geography in Italo-Romance. The distribution of D_{SYN} can be correlated with D_{GEO} , though. As shown above, syntax and geography are poorly correlated in Eurasia, and their correlation, where present, is fully mediated by genes. On the contrary, as shown in the tree and even more explicitly using other types of bidimensional representations of D_{SYN} (e.g. Networks, PCA), in Southern Italo-Romance the distribution of D_{SYN} is not unconnected to that of D_{GEO} . A Mantel test with two types of D_{GEO} (Great Circle Distance - $D_{\text{GEO_GC}}$ and Google Maps Distance - $D_{\text{GEO_GM}}$) actually confirms that D_{GEO} and D_{SYN} have a much higher correlation in Southern Italo-

Romance ($r=0.70$ with $D_{\text{GEO_GC}}$; $r=0.75$ with $D_{\text{GEO_GM}}$) than in the broader areas/groups. The conclusion seems to be that, at the level of microcomparison, geographical factors (even without affecting the overall taxonomies) are reflected in syntactic distances and cannot be directly attributed to large demic effects, given the attested genetic uniformity. A possible explanation of this particular condition could be that the current distribution of syntactic diversity in this area reflects the innovations developed after the “first linguistic unification” of Italy under Latin (Devoto 1974), rather than potential remains of more ancient substrata. D_{SYN} would then actually reflect distance from potential irradiation centers of such innovations (perhaps through small, local and constant gene movements): taking the area of Naples (the longstanding political and cultural capital of the continental South) as a plausible radiation center (and Rome itself beforehand), innovations must have reached Salento easily, but Reggio Calabria much more hardly, and in theory the reverse might be true for those originating from Sicily. This can in turn be explained in terms of physical barriers: Campania is separated from Reggio Calabria by at least three mountain barriers (Pollino, Sila, Aspromonte) while no important physical barrier separates it from Salento; additionally, the two areas lacked an efficient road connection until recently, while a connection from (Rome/) Naples to Salento started after the Via Appia opening 23 centuries ago. Finally, future research may ask if syntactic distances correlate better with geographical distances than distances possibly inferred from lexical etymologies, as it nearly happens with the 12 IE languages of Europe studied in Longobardi et al. 2015: $D_{\text{GEO}}/D_{\text{LEX}}$ $r=0.21$. If true, this may corroborate the conclusion that, while ultimately preserving an important genealogical signal, parametric diversity may be subject to “smoother” or more modulated transitions than more traditional levels of linguistic analysis.

Old Ibero-Romance reduplicated numerals at the syntax-semantics interface

Alice Corr (*University of Birmingham*)

This paper offers novel empirical data and a syntactic analysis of a construction found in Old Spanish (OSp), Old Portuguese (OPg) and West-Iberian Medieval Latin (IML) where a reduplicated cardinal numeral (RedNum) produces a distributive reading at the sentential level (e.g. OSp. *los pecheros deben **tres tres** meajas* ‘the taxpayers owe **three** meajas **each**’). In this typologically ‘exceptional’ construction (unattested elsewhere in (Ibero-)Romance and Western Europe), the RedNum forces the distributive reading, contrasting with non-reduplicated numerals in Ibero-Romance, which permit collective or distributive interpretations.

Adducing data from Ribeiro (1798) and Horcajada Diezma & Sánchez-Prieto Borja (1994, 1999) alongside our own empirical evidence, this paper will offer a comparative characterisation of the construction’s formal properties with reference to the syntax/semantics of i) ‘canonical’ distributive numerals (DistNums) attested cross-linguistically, and ii) the overt lexical strategy normally deployed in Romance/Germanic, viz. ‘binominal’ EACH (Sp. *cada uno/a* ‘each one.M/F’), demonstrating that OSp/OPg/IML RedNums pattern much more closely – though not identically – with the latter over the former.

This leads us to argue that i) the typological exceptionality of OSp/OPg/IML distributive numerals is limited to the construction’s surface appearance, and thus that ii) these languages still have a fundamentally Romance (configurational) syntax (cf. Ledgeway 2012) and should be analysed accordingly. Theoretically, we capture the parallels between OSp/OPg/IML RedNum/DistNums and ‘binominal’ EACH through a unified syntactic analysis building on previous accounts of English binominal ‘each’ (Safir & Stowell 1988; Beghelli & Stowell 1997; Stowell 2013), together with a cartographic account of the RedNum’s extended nominal functional structure.

The Frames Approach to Metonymic Change: The Purpose Frame in French

Jim Law (*University of Texas at Austin*)

Metonymy, in which one item represents another with which it is closely associated, is a major mechanism within theories of semantic change (Traugott & Dasher 2001). Metonymic associations include both spatial contiguity as well as more abstract relations, e.g. Fr. *curieux* ‘interested’ > ‘interesting’ > ‘strange’ (Blank 1997: 514). One way to account for these more abstract metonymic relationships is by defining metonymy as a shift of participant roles within the same frame (Koch 1999). This case study of a diachronic analysis of the Purpose frame in French explores the scope of metonymic shifts within this framework. Sentences evoking the Purpose frame, according to a wordlist from the ASFALDA French FrameNet (Djemaa et al. 2016), were extracted from two corpora spanning the years 1600-2009, and frame elements (FEs, qua thematic roles) relevant to the Purpose frame were annotated. The MEANS FE, an action taken to achieve a goal, can metonymically stand for the AGENT. The data show a change in the instantiation of MEANS between the early 17th century and the 21st century, such that MEANS increasingly occupies syntactic positions typically occupied by the AGENT, and AGENT is increasingly uninstantiated. Certain frame-evoking words such as *dessein* ‘aim’ and *ambitionner* ‘covet’ lead the change in the 17th century, but by the 21st century MEANS FOR AGENT metonymy expands to all words of the frame and increases in its overall frequency of use. These results reveal how metonymic relationships can affect the semantics and valency of many words in a given domain.

Re-bracketing and ad sensum agreement: A formal approximation to the grammaticalization of binominal quantifiers

Chad Howe & Timothy Gup-ton (*University of Georgia*)

In her work on the evolution of constructions like English *a lot of* NP and *a sort of* NP, Traugott (2008) maintains that these structures undergo a series of developments, beginning primarily as partitive constructions and then acquiring more general quantificational meanings. The focus of this analysis is to bring to bear a formal analysis (à la Roberts and Roussou 2003) of the development of binominal quantifiers in Spanish, focusing specifically on patterns of verbal agreement. First, the lead noun (N1) passes from a literal meaning (*un montón* ‘a mountain/a heap’ as in (1)) to acquiring a broader, quantificational meaning (*muchos* ‘many’) in (2). Second, once N1 acquires a quantificational meaning, N2 may participate in number agreement processes, as in (2). Assuming the applications of the DP Hypothesis (Abney 1987) for Spanish (e.g. Bernstein 1993, Picallo 2008), we propose that the locus of Number agreement is NumP. Therefore, in *un montón de flores*, [montón] internally merges in NumP, valuing [sg] number on NumP (3), and feature-matching with the D [un] follows. In the quantificational reading of *un montón de flores*, the lexical features of [montón] are reinterpreted as [Q=quantificational], with a series of aftereffects. Since it no longer has the necessary nominal features to merge in nP and NumP: [flores] merges in nP and NumP, thus valuing [pl] number on NumP. The preposition *de* is reanalyzed as a partitive Case assigner, merging in KP, similar to Catalan (see e.g. Martí 1995). A mismatch of [pl] features on NumP and [sg] features on the D [un] ensues, allowing for variable agreement with finite verbs. We maintain that the process of reinterpretation of the lexical features of [montón] plays out diachronically, explaining specific trends observed in the historical data.

- (1) *él y el vestido manchado de sangre, entre un montón_{N1} de piedras_{N2} también ensangrentadas* (CdE, 17th century)
‘He and the dress stained with blood, between a heap of stones, also bloodstained’
- (2) *Es decir, participan un montón_{N1} de elementos_{N2} en el teatro que no son estrictamente literarios* (CdE, oral)
‘That is to say, there are a lot of elements in the theater that are not strictly literary’
- (3) [DP un_[sg] [NumP [montón_[N, sg]] [Num’ [Num [uN, Num: _sg_]] ...<montón>]]]
- (4) [DP un_[sg] [QP [montón_[Q, m, sg]] [KP de_[uN, Case:Pt] [NumP [flores_{[N, Num:pl, Case: _Pt_]] [Num’ [Num [uN, Num: _pl_]] ...<flores>]]]]]]]}

Diachronic reanalysis and the satellite versus verb-framed distinction

Michelle Troberg (*University of Toronto at Mississauga*)

Medieval French occupies a grey area of Talmy’s typology between Latin, a well-known satellite-framed language, and Modern French, a quintessentially verb-framed. Medieval French permits resultative secondary predication forbidden in verb-framed languages, but it appears to be of the weak type, thus to some extent different than a language like English.

I show that this typological change can naturally be captured in terms of three consecutively dependent reanalyses, explaining a number of phenomena that previous accounts have not.

The first reanalysis involves the Latin Place-Path preverbs; they are reanalysed as dedicated Path preverbs, building on Troberg & Burnett (2017). This frees up the complement of Path0 to host result phrases, explaining the remarkable advent of adjectival resultative constructions during this period.

The second reanalysis involves the well-known univerbation of the Path prefixes with their most common verbal roots. These gradual low-level lexical changes create an important decline in the frequency of Manner Modification,

The third reanalysis involves the bundling of v^0 and Path^0 , previously two distinct syntactic heads that have become one complex head in the lexicon by the 16th century. This change has catastrophic effects (in the sense of Lightfoot): 1) all directional verb particles, merged as Dir^0 between v^0 and Path^0 disappear abruptly from the grammar; 2) only the small class of directional verbs (*entrer*, *sortir*, *monter*, *descendre*, etc.) are analysed as the category $v\text{-Path}^0$, forcing previous verbs able to merge as Path^0 to either merge as Manner-activity verbs or as Place roots, one consequence of which is the disappearance of complex adjectival resultatives.

Keith Tse (*University of York*)

(1) a. proclaim-antes **ad** dominum
crying.out-PRES.PART.NOM.PL AD Lord
'crying out (something) to the Lord ..' > 'calling the Lord ...' (*Actus Petri cum Simone*, 69.3)

b. veni-am... **ad** Domino poposce-bat
mercy-FEM.ACC.SG AD Lord demand-IMPERF.3SG
'He was begging for mercy from the Lord.' > 'He was begging the Lord for mercy'
(*Chronicon Salernitanum* 11)

Montserrat Batllori (*Universitat de Girona*)

This paper focuses on the study of Old Romance imperatives and aims at offering an explanation for their different behaviour with respect to their Modern Romance counterparts. Natural languages accommodate to two different patterns regarding the syntax of imperatives: I) imperatives display a distinctive syntax, and II) imperatives follow the same syntactic requirements as main clauses (Rivero and Terzi 1995). Concerning information structure distribution, the patterns attested in type II languages point to the fact that the imperative inflectional morpheme behaves just like any other finite verb inflectional ending (thus, associated to a particular functional projection within Cinque 1999 functional hierarchy). The changes undergone from Old Romance to most Modern Romance varieties concerning these information structure distribution patterns provide evidence in favour of considering that, in the latter, imperatives have become discourse linked verbal forms through their evolution, which can be traced back to a plurality of finer grained features (Isac 2015). Hence, I put forward that the imperative mood

have undergone a syntacticization process. I claim that Old Romance imperatives are generated in Cinque's (1999) SpeechActMod and undergo movement to Polarity (POL) whenever there is not any other fronting movement that blocks it, as other main clause inflected verbs do. As for Modern Romance languages (which in general fit to type I), their imperatives are dependent on a DIRECTIVE left periphery operator. I take into consideration Han (1998 and following work), Isac (2015), and Frascarelli and Jiménez-Fernández (2016) proposals concerning the locus of licensing and, finally, argue in favour of IMP/INTP as their licensing projection (Koopman 2007).

Cyclic change in affixal negation: from Latin to Romance

Elisabeth Gibert-Sotelo (*Universitat de Girona*)

This work offers a contrastive analysis of the negative prefix *in-* in Latin and Romance that shows the advantages of using the Nanosyntax model when dealing with diachronic variation at the syntax-lexicon interface. The core proposal, inspired by insights in Newell (2008), is that *in-* has evolved from an adjunct to a categorizing affix. As conforming to a nanosyntactic approach to grammar, morphemes can spell out multiple terminal nodes (Phrasal Spell-out). Accordingly, and taking into account De Clercq's (2013, 2017) decomposition of affixal negative markers, it is posited that both in Latin and Romance the negative prefix *in-* lexicalizes a Neg(ation) feature that accounts for its negative meaning, as well as a Q(uantification) feature that accounts for its need to combine with gradable predicates. The difference between Latin and Romance is that *in-* also lexicalizes a categorizing A(djectival) feature in Romance, which forces this prefix to be merged as a sequence of heads on top of the predicate it negates and bans its addition to nouns and verbs. Since Latin *in-* does not contain a categorizing A feature, it can be merged at an adjunct position, thus showing less restrictions in its combinatorial patterns and a more autonomous phonological behaviour. Therefore, the evolution from Latin to Romance involved the reanalysis of this negative prefix, which gained a grammatical function (the adjectivizing head) and lost phonological autonomy, evolving from a morphological adjunct to a categorizing affix, a change that partially reflects the negative cycle "adjunct > specifier > head > affix" (van Gelderen 2011).

Abstracts: Oral Presentations

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

11:00 - 12:30

PHONETICS (VH D)

Effects of Dialect-Specific Production on Phoneme Perception

Mary Elizabeth Beaton (*Denison University*)

Researchers have recently begun to re-examine sounds that were thought to be neutralized and have concluded that there are small differences in the articulation of these sounds. This study considers the lateralization of coda <r> in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS). Spectrographic investigations of coda liquids in PRS reveal that <r> exhibits a range of approximant productions with formant structures that vary along a continuum between a retroflex [ɻ] and a neutralized [l]. However, little research has been conducted on whether listeners are able to perceive distinctions in nearly-neutralized sounds. This study shows that PRS liquids are distinguished more readily by native PRS listeners than by Spaniards, whose dialect lacks liquid neutralization. Participants listened to vowel+liquid stimuli and reported which liquid they heard (for example, <ar> or <al>). The responses were analyzed using logistic regression to determine how the formant values of the vowel+liquid sequences affected the perception of coda <r>. The results show that both Puerto Ricans and Spaniards are sensitive to tongue height (F1) and bunching (F3) to distinguish <r> from <l>. Puerto Ricans, however, are additionally able to utilize frontness (F2). The ability of PRS listeners to recognize backed productions as <r> aligns with the retroflex [ɻ] that is common in their dialect. Likewise, Spaniards do not use F2 in their liquid perceptions since both <r> and <l> have similar fronted articulations in their dialect. These results suggest a connection between production and perception – listeners refer to specific phonetic cues in their native dialect to categorize phonemes.

Velar R in Puerto Rican Spanish: Uses and Attitudes

Juliana Ivette Cruz Martínez (*Pennsylvania State University*)

This study investigated the production of the velar **r** in a group of Puerto Rican residents, as well as the linguistic attitudes associated with the use of velar **r** in Puerto Rico. The effects of different linguistic, social, and stylistic factors on the pronunciation of the velar **r** were considered. Twenty-eight participants were recruited. Participants were residents of Naranjito and Comerío, two towns towards the central area of Puerto Rico, where the velar **r** is prevalent (Navarro Tomás, 1948; Vaquero, 1972). The female group was divided into younger (between eighteen and 44 years old) and older speakers (45 years old and older). The male group consisted of four younger and six older adults. Production of the velar **r** was examined with two tasks: a cooperative game task in the form of a map task, and an informal conversation. To assess attitudes, participants completed a matched-guise test, and provided their judgments regarding social and personal aspects. The analyses examining production of the velar **r** revealed greater use by the older participants ($X^2 = 29.489$, $p < .001$). In addition, velar **r** was produced more often by men than women ($X^2 = 24.133$, $p < .001$). Finally, regarding attitudes we found significant differences based on participants' age: older participants displayed significantly better judgments towards velar **r** than younger participants with respect to education, kindness and well-spoken Spanish. These results are discussed in light of previous studies on this topic (Delforge, 2013; López Morales, 1979).

The phonetics of consonantal length and contrast in Campidanese Sardinian

Jonah Katz (*West Virginia University*) & **Gianmarco Pitzanti** (*Università di Cagliari*)

This study argues based on acoustic data that the Campidanese Sardinian obstruent system fundamentally revolves around contrasts in scalar duration and intensity, rather than traditional phonological notions of voicing or continuancy. Previous studies have explored the Campidanese sound system in some detail, but generally at the level of impressionistic phonetic terms or IPA symbols. The current study shows that IPA-based descriptions of Campidanese miss many relevant details. In particular, several contrasts and alternations that historically involved voicing and continuancy are synchronically best described in terms of duration and the relative intensity (or sonority) of consonants. Adopting this outlook helps solve several outstanding mysteries regarding lenition and contrast in Campidanese. We propose that the synchronic grammar contrasts an extra-short consonant unspecified for voicing (/T/) with a longer voiced series (/D/). Voicing and manner for /T/ are determined almost entirely by prosodic context: between vowels, voiced approximants are the default super-short consonants, while in utterance-initial position, lack of passive voicing or maintenance of the contrast with /D/ in a context where duration is hard to recover lead instead to predominantly voiceless stops. Campidanese lenition/fortition demonstrably does not ‘skip’ /D/, but does affect it less than /T/, because /D/ is longer and specified for voicing.

SYNTAX (VH B)

How prosody explains a superficial givenness constraint on French wh-in-situ questions

Ramona Wallner (*University of Konstanz*)

Spoken French can employ two different strategies to form information-seeking questions: the wh-word can be fronted (1a) or it can appear in-situ (1b):

- (2) a. Qu’ est-ce que tu fais ce soir ?
What (+est-ce- que) you do tonight
b. Tu fais quoi ce soir ?
You do what tonight
‘What are you doing tonight?’

The difference between using both question types has been attributed either to semantics or pragmatics, namely to keeping the non-wh-content of the in-situ question given (Hamlaoui 2010). I will present new experimental data that challenges this claim and propose a syntax-prosody interface analysis of French wh-in-situ questions.

Information-seeking wh-in-situ questions have to adhere to a special form. For that I introduce a constraint based on French’s special prosodic requirements to keep stress right and wh-in-situs not deviating from French declarative prosody: the wh-word has to sit in the first stress position of the root clause.

Finally, if French wh-in-situ questions adhere to this constraint, we can find examples of them out-of-the-blue. This is in direct contradiction with the previously proposed givenness accounts. To assure the prosodic form, in-situ questions use clitics and full syntactic phrases are dislocated to the clause periphery if the referent to the clitic is unclear; or the wh-word is scrambled. However, having clitics is not the same as being given and the syntactic operations are due to the constraints on how prosodic units can be built in French rather than givenness.

Contrastive Topic-Focus Association in the sentential middle field of Brazilian Portuguese

Renato Lacerda (*University of Connecticut*)

Brazilian Portuguese makes prolific use of dislocations to its postverbal middle field. For instance, from the canonical order S-V- DO-IO, we can derive [Eu dei, pra Ana, todos os livros do Chomsky] (I gave, to-the Ana, all the books of-the Chomsky) and [Eu dei, do Chomsky, todos os livros pra Ana] (I gave, of-the Chomsky, all the books to-the Ana). When these dislocated elements are interpreted as contrastive topics (CT), they require the presence of an associated focus (F) (Büring 2003). In this talk I address the question of what the precise syntactic configuration between CT and F must be in order for contrastive topicalization to be well-formed. I observe the restriction that the middle-field CT and its associated F must be local to each other, allowing [Eu dei, [DO CHOMSKY]_{CT}, [TODOS OS LIVROS]_F pra Ana] but not [??Eu dei, [DO CHOMSKY]_{CT}, todos os livros [PRA ANA]_F]. I thus propose a phase-based account, where CT and F must be in the same Spell-Out Domain in the middle field. I argue that there is no focus-driven movement to the middle field (cf. [*Eu dei, [DO CHOMSKY]_{CT}, [PRA ANA]_F todos os livros t_f]); rather, a suitable associated F for the middle-field CT is the element that independently reaches an “object-shift” position outside vP (namely, Spec,XP above vP, with the CT adjoining to XP). I thus claim that the Contrastive Topic-Focus Association is not achieved via cartographic Topic and Focus projections, but rather through an interface-driven mapping rule from syntax to Information Structure.

Vagueness in the interpretation of Spanish nosotros: A Speech act phrase analysis

Ángel Luis Jiménez-Fernández (*Universidad de Sevilla*) & Mercedes Tubino-Blanco (*Western Michigan University*)

We explore the connection between the clause left periphery and the referential values of inclusion/exclusion of the addressee associated with Spanish 1pl pronoun *nosotros*, morphologically marked in many world languages (Cysouw 2002). We examine the referential values of *nosotros* in clauses marked with different topics (Frascarelli 2007), and foci (Jiménez-Fernández 2015a, b), regarding the inclusive/exclusive interpretation of the pronoun. We observe, *contra* Posio (2012), that overt *nosotros* doesn't always involve exclusivity. The exclusive interpretation of the pronoun is however required in typically declarative and non-contrastive contexts (i.e., out-of-the-blue,thetic), and its overt use is perceived as odd if the addressee is intended to be included (e.g., (thetic) *Nosotros vamos a ir a la tienda* ‘We are going to the store’ would involve a ‘how about me’ reaction on the addressee). In A-topic and G-topic contexts the inclusive/exclusive interpretation of the pronoun is obtained from the immediate context (i.e., whether the Addressee is active). Similarly, contrastive topics or foci include the presence of the Addressee in the immediate context as one of their points of contrast. To account for the influence of the immediate context on the interpretation of the pronominal values of clusivity we propose an analysis based on the projection of a Speech Act Phrase (SAP) (Speas & Tenny 2003) above the clausal left periphery (CP). In our analysis, the pronoun *nosotros* has an [Addressee] feature that is valued according to the availability of the Addressee in the SAP.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS (VH C)

Clitic position in Old Occitan affirmative verb-first declaratives coordinated by e: A variationist analysisBryan Donaldson (*University of California, Santa Cruz*)

Object and adverbial clitic pronoun position remains incompletely understood in Old Occitan (OOc) syntax. For example, affirmative declarative coordinated clauses without a preverbal constituent show either proclisis (1) or enclisis (2):

- (1) **Proclisis**
 Adonx si ploret lo reis de son fill e perdonet li e · l vestit e · ill det terras e honors.
‘Then the king mourned his son and pardoned him and gave him clothing and gave him land and honors.’
- (2) **Enclisis**
 Illi l’ Janet esgardar e trobet lo passat.
‘She went to look at him and found him deceased.’

OOc differs from Old French (mostly proclisis; Simonenko & Hirschbühler, 2012) and Old Italian (enclisis; Poletto, 2009). Philological accounts identify (2) as dominant in OOc, but previous research lacks consensus about the factors that distinguish (1) from (2).

Following Benincà (2006), OOc is a V2 language, and the position of object clitics depends on the saturation of SpecFocus. Following Poletto (2009) and Simonenko & Hirschbühler (2012), coordination with *e(t)* implicates either the CP or the TP/IP level.

I argue that (1) and (2) involve different clausal architectures and that clitic position is principled rather than random, as shown by results from a variationist analysis of over 1800 tokens from five major texts. Coding includes clause type, clitic position, object/referential continuity, subject continuity, tense continuity, presence of element with scope over both conjuncts, simultaneity of actions, passage from background to foreground, and prose/verse. The results reveal both grammar-internal and external factors in determining clitic position and also intertextual microvariation.

Inherent variability in grammar and speechShana Poplack & Nathalie Dion (*University of Ottawa*)

This paper tracks the response to morphosyntactic variability in a massive corpus of prescriptive grammars of French dating from the 16th century through the present, and relates it to current mainstream linguistic approaches and actual contemporary usage as instantiated by spontaneous speech. We exemplify with a series of grammatical functions regularly expressed by competing variants.

Systematic quantitative analysis of prescriptive dictates shows that although relevant variant *forms* have been recognized since the earliest times, only rarely are they acknowledged as variant *expressions* of the same meaning or function. Instead three major strategies are marshaled to factor variability out: assigning each variant a specific linguistic context, matching each variant with a dedicated meaning, or associating each variant with a distinct type of speaker or register.

Remarkably, however, we show that there has been little consensus over which elements to associate with which variant. This suggests that the aim of these strategies is simply to attribute a distinct role to each variant, thereby restoring the desired isomorphic relation between function and form, while implicitly rejecting the possibility of bona fide grammatical variability.

In contrast, systematic confrontation with the data of actual language use, as instantiated in the spontaneous speech of 323 speakers of Quebec French over an apparent-time period of a century and a half, reveals robust variability, regularly conditioned by contextual elements. These are rarely if ever acknowledged by grammarians

or linguists. We explore how the enduring legacy of the mainstream position, encapsulated in the *Doctrine of form-function symmetry*, continues to mould not only prescriptive, but also many formal linguistic treatments of variability, contributing to the growing gulf between prescription, description and actual usage.

The future between past and present: A longitudinal analysis of future temporal reference in Acadian French

Mélissa Chiasson & Basile Roussel (*University of Ottawa*)

In French, three forms have competed for the same function for centuries: the inflected future (IF), the periphrastic future (PF) and the futurate present (FP). Studies on Laurentian French (LF) have shown that the greatest determinant of variant choice is polarity. Conversely, studies on Acadian French (AF) have reported a lack of polarity effect. Our research questions are as follows: Which linguistic factors are operative in the future temporal reference in AF spoken in New Brunswick synchronically, and how do they compare diachronically? Are there any statistical differences in the underlying grammars not only of this variety in comparison with other Acadian varieties, but also, in comparison with LF?

Drawing on variationist sociolinguistics framework, we used four corpora of Acadian French collected at three points in time in northeastern New-Brunswick. These data of 1500 exponents allow us to trace the evolution of spontaneous speech over a real-time span of more than a century. These exponents were then coded for independent predictors hypothesized to have an effect on variant choice and subjected to multivariate analysis.

Key results reveal that polarity is the overriding determinant of the selection of IF across all time periods in this Acadian area, as was the case in LF. These findings converge in demonstrating that all varieties of AF do not pattern in the same way and that some are closer to LF in terms of linguistic conditioning. Hence, our study provides new insights into the study of grammaticalization pathways in different varieties of the same language.

THURSDAY, APRIL 26

2:00 - 3:30

PROSODY (VH D)

Acoustic Cues of Prominence and Prosodic Bootstrapping of Word Order: French, Portuguese and Spanish

Irene Vogel (*University of Delaware*) & Angeliki Athanasopoulou (*University of Calgary*)

We examine considerable French, Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish corpora produced by ten speakers of each language, and test the proposal that basic word order can be bootstrapped by the acoustic manifestation of phrasal prominence. According to the Phrasal Prominence Hypothesis (PPH), which incorporates the Rhythmic Activation Principle, the Iambic-Trochaic Law and the Complement Law, the main prominence cue in the three Romance languages considered here, all with basic VO order, should be the same: duration. We assess the manifestation of prominence in these languages by comparing the acoustic properties of the vowel bearing primary stress in three-syllable real words produced in a strong phrasal position (narrow focus) and in a weak, pre-focal, context. We compare our findings for the three Romance languages with those of Turkish, with basic OV order, claimed to exhibit different main prominence cues (F0, Intensity); the data similarly consist of the acoustic properties of stressed vowels produced in strong and weak prosodic contexts (focused and pre-focal, respectively). While the general predictions of the PPH are confirmed (i.e., the Romance (VO) languages largely use duration, while Turkish (OV) primarily uses F0), a number of discrepancies are also observed, thus challenging the effectiveness of the PPH as a means of prosodic bootstrapping for basic word order, which would require consistency in order for a pre-linguistic infant to make the necessary connection between the observed prosodic patterns and any associated syntactic structures.

Variability and the Alignment of Pitch Accents in Brazilian Portuguese

Angeliki Athanasopoulou (*University of Calgary*), **Irene Vogel** (*University of Delaware*) & **Natália Brambatti Guzzo** (*McGill University*)

We propose that much of the variability in previously reported Pitch Accent (PA) Analyses (beside sociolinguistic factors) in (southeast) Brazilian Portuguese, can be explained by the position of lexical stress, which affects the alignment, and thus manifestation of the PAs. We test a Stress Alignment Hypothesis: If stress location affects the alignment of PAs, Initial Stress and Penultimate Stress will exhibit early starred PAs (H^*+L or L^*+H); Final Stress will exhibit late starred PAs ($H+L^*$ or $L+H^*$). Analyzing a corpus of 5,400 vowels produced in three-syllable words in narrow and broad focus contexts, we find overall confirmation of the hypothesis, demonstrating that at least for the two PAs examined, the manifestation is indeed affected by the stress location. Specifically, with broad focus, where the PA has a HL melody, we observe that, while stress aligns with the L tone for Penultimate and Final Stress ($H+L^*$), it aligns with the H for Initial Stress (H^*+L). With narrow focus, the words all begin with low F0, and end with a higher F0, reflecting the general LH melody of the PA. The difference is observed in the location of the change from L to H. For Initial and Penultimate Stress, the F0 rises on the following syllable (Syllable 2 and Syllable 3, respectively), stress aligning with the L tone (L^*+H). For Final Stress, however, there is no following syllable for the rise, so F0 rises on Syllable 3, such that the pattern now exhibits stress aligned with the H tone ($L+H^*$).

Stress preservation in Spanish proper compounds

Dongmei Lin & Carlos-Eduardo Piñeros (*University of Auckland*)

The prosody of Spanish proper compounds is a topic of debate. Based on intuitional judgements, Bustos Gisbert (1986) and Hualde (2007) claim that the first formative loses its stress, and consequently, proper compounds would be prosodically analogous to non-compound words in that both bear only one stress. However, Rainer and Varela (1992) point to an alternative whereby the first formative preserves its stress, albeit downgraded to secondary. Both interpretations have been supported by experimental studies (Rao 2015 for the former and Blecia 2011 for the latter), however, neither can be upheld because these studies investigated only one of three stress cues: F0.

The present study addresses the issue by comparing F0, duration and intensity measurements of 10 proper compounds and 10 non-compound words produced by 6 native speakers (Chile, Colombia and Spain). In order to prevent interference from segmental and contextual factors, the following precautions were taken: words with similar segmental structure were selected, they were placed in the same phrasal position, and relative rather than absolute acoustic values were calculated. The results reveal that 9 of the 10 compounds have a longer initial syllable than their counterparts and dependent t-tests confirm that these differences are significant. Since the influence of contextual factors was carefully controlled for, the most plausible interpretation of this systematic difference is that the stress of the first formative of proper compounds is indeed preserved. Regarding the exceptional item, it is hypothesised that this particular compound has been reanalysed as a non-compound; hence, its single stress.

SYNTAX (VH B)

A unified syntactic analysis of Spanish and Basque information focus via exhaustivity

Lorena Sainzmaza-Lecanda (*University of Wisconsin, Green Bay*)

Previous formal syntactic accounts on Spanish information focus have generally argued for the presence of a formal focus features that triggers movement to the left-periphery followed by remnant leftward movement of non-focal material (i.e. Ordoñez, 1997; Ortega-Santos, 2016). Similarly, in Basque, preverbal focus constructions have been explained via [+focus] feature that prompts movement of the focused phrase to an A'-position (i.e. Eguzkitza, 1986; Ortiz de Urbina, 1989). Yet, in this study, I experimentally investigate information focus in Spanish and in Basque, using forced-choice acceptability judgment tasks, and demonstrate that the syntactic configuration of these typologically unrelated languages is not mediated via focus per se, but the semantic-pragmatic notion of *exhaustivity*. Following these findings, I present an original formal syntactic treatment of Basque and Spanish focalization using the non-modular, holistic approach couched within Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 2005; Culicover, 2011; Boas & Sag, 2012; *inter alia*), and propose that while these two languages are different on the surface, they resort to identical underlying mechanisms, namely exhaustivity, in their computation of focus constructions. In all, these findings have theoretical implications for linguistic typology by contributing to our understanding of the role of exhaustivity as part of the so-called 'linguistic universals' dictating the configuration of focus-marking constructions across languages.

Who, or where are 'you' to me? Formality as distance in Romance and beyond

Gavin Antonio Bembridge (*York University*) & Andrew Peters (*University of Toronto*)

The linguistic literature on personal pronouns is rich in analyses that look at their various properties, such as logophoricity (Sells, 1987), binding (Chomsky, 1981), pronoun strength (Cardinaletti & Starke, 1999) etc. However, the function of pronouns to distinguish formality has received relatively less attention. While the syntactic literature lags behind in analysing this aspect of pronominal systems, the same cannot be said of pragmatic literature. At least one definition of formality found in this body of work defines formality as 'social distance' (Brown & Levinson, 1987). We interpret the notion of "formality as distance" literally and posit that pronominal systems may incorporate a projection χ , following Harbour (2016), which encodes spatial semantics.

Our proposal that χ can be used in the pronominal system follows from Bjorkman et al. (2017), who argue that χ may appear in pronouns in addition to spatial demonstratives. In languages with a purely distance-based deictic system (vs. person-based), χ may appear with the features [PROXIMAL] and / or [DISTAL]. [PROXIMAL] denotes a space near the deictic centre of the author, [DISTAL] marking the opposite. We therefore argue that languages which distinguish formality by distance vary on two axes: whether or not χ obligatorily combines with whichever head hosts person features, and whether χ contrastively marks for [PROXIMAL] or [DISTAL].

Our approach neatly handles formality distinctions in second-person pronouns in Peninsular and Latin American varieties of Spanish, in Catalan, and ultimately in any language which distinguishes formality in the pronominal system. The approach also accounts for all logical possibilities in terms of how a language (or a variety thereof) might encode formality contrasts in the second person: (i) no formality at all, (ii) formality in singular but not plural paradigm, (iii) formality in both the singular and the plural, (iv) and formality in the plural but not the singular (this last option being conceptually coherent but to the best of our knowledge unattested).

Attributive Adjectives and Predicate Structures in Spanish

Liliana Sánchez (*Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey*)

Cinque (2010) proposes a layered projection analysis of mirroring adjectival ordering in Romance and Germanic languages:

- (1) [F_{1P} AP size F₁ [F_{2P} AP color F₂ [F_{3P} AP nationality F₃ [NP N]]]]

In Cinque's analysis the consistent order of prenominal attributive adjectives in Germanic languages is derived from this template while the consistently ordered post-nominal adjectives in Romance languages obtains from NP movement (cf. Lamarche 1991) instead of N-movement (Bernstein 1993, Bosque and Picallo 1996, Picallo 2012, a.o.). Cinque (2010) also proposes a reduced clause analysis for cases such as (2a) in Italian in which the rightmost adjective is merged higher up and appears in final post-nominal position:

- (2) Un cane enorme nero
a dog big black

On the basis of evidence from predicate stacking with free adjective ordering in Spanish, I propose that in Spanish a recursive Predicate Phrase headed by strong gender and number features is projected. Further evidence for positing this projection comes from adjective contrastive focalization in Spanish and from the availability of extraction out of a PredP projection with NPs with thematic complements but not with N-N compound complements.

L2 ACQUISITION (VH C)

Representing inverse semantic scope in L2-Spanish

Jun Lyu (*Stony Brook University*) & Lijun Zhang (*Shanghai International Studies University*)

The debate on inverse semantic scope representation with doubly quantified constructions in a second language (L2) is not yet settled, with evidence both supporting a full accessibility account (Lee et al., 1999) and alternatively a transfer account (Chu et al., 2014). However, the main focus was on L2-English (but see Marsden, 2009). In this study, we probed the issue in L2-Spanish which so far has not yet received much attention. Using a picture-sentence verification task, we presented evidence in favor of successful representation of inverse semantic scopes by Chinese natives in doubly quantified sentences (e.g. *Todos los tiburones están atacando a un pirate*) in L2-Spanish. The study manipulated both structures (universal-existential (UE) vs. existential-universal (EU)) and semantic scopes (surface vs. inverse scope) and had two major findings. Firstly, while Chinese does not allow the inverse semantic scope representation in the EU construction consistent with previous studies (Tsai et al., 2014; Scontras et al., 2017), Spanish does allow inverse scope readings despite the low acceptance—especially compared to English in previous studies (ibid.), probably due to the morphology/ambiguous status of the quantifier *todos* which can have both the collective and the distributive readings. Secondly, proficiency or language experience seems to have played a significant role in modulating the success in inverse scope representation. Only the advanced learning group showed a similar interpretation pattern as the native group. Overall, the study results supported the full accessibility account.

Gender as a cue in the production of number agreement in Spanish bilinguals

Rebecca Foote (*University of Arkansas*)

Research indicates that native speakers of Spanish rely on noun gender to retrieve the correct head noun from memory in complex noun phrase subjects (e.g., *El dibujo en las camisas* “The design on the shirts”) in order to produce a verb that agrees with the subject. Specifically, when the gender of the head (*dibujo*) and local noun (*camisas*) in these types of phrases does not match, speakers are less likely to produce a verb that erroneously agrees with the local noun than when the gender matches (Lorimer et al., 2015). Lorimer et al. attribute this result to the speakers’ storage of gender and number information of the nouns in memory. When the gender of the two nouns does not match, speakers are able to use the stored gender information as a cue to help them correctly retrieve the subject head noun in order to produce number agreement. The current study asks whether bilinguals are also able to do so. Participants (38 early and 70 late bilinguals of intermediate and advanced proficiency) were presented with 32 complex noun phrases (with equal numbers of gender-matching and mismatching head and local nouns) and 64 fillers, and were asked to repeat and complete the phrases. All groups showed fewer agreement errors in the mismatched condition; however, the effect only reached significance in the early bilingual groups, suggesting that late bilinguals may be less likely to make use of these cues than early bilinguals.

L3 Phonological Acquisition: Spanish and English in Brazilian Portuguese

Jennifer Zhang (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

For third language learners, it is uncertain how previously acquired languages influence L3 phonological acquisition; L3 learners may also have a broadened phonetic repertoire that assists in accurate perception and production of phones. Previous semantic, morphological, and syntactic research has found that (psycho)typological similarities determined which language had a greater influence, but recent phonological studies suggest that the order of acquisition determines influence.

This study examines /p,t,k/ VOT and intervocalic /b,d,g/ lenition by L1 English, L2 Spanish, L3 Brazilian Portuguese speakers (n=10) and L1 Spanish, L2 English, L3 Brazilian Portuguese speakers (n=6). Standard Spanish and Portuguese share shorter VOTs compared to longer English VOTs, while standard English and Brazilian Portuguese exhibit lesser degrees of lenition than Spanish. Participants read word lists in all languages, each list comprising 12 tokens per target consonant totalling 84 experimental items. Acoustic measurements included VOT in milliseconds, difference in intensity between the consonant and following vowel, and the ratio of these values.

A linear mixed-effects model showed that Portuguese VOTs for both groups more closely approximated their Spanish realizations. The degree of intervocalic lenition more closely approximated English realizations. This is target-like for Brazilian Portuguese, regardless of typology or the order of acquisition. This pattern cannot be explained exclusively by (psycho)typology or the L2 status factor, suggesting that L3 learners are not influenced by solely one of their previous languages. L3 learners who have previous experience with differing phonological and phonetic systems may be more able to accurately perceive and produce phones in the L3.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

11:00 - 12:30

L1 ACQUISITION (VH D)

Rethinking the Role of Age of Onset of Acquisition in 2L1 Acquisition: Evidence from Catalan and Spanish Morphosyntax

Adriana Soto-Corominas (*University of Western Ontario*)

This bi-directional cross-sectional study investigates the role of age of onset of acquisition (AOA) and input quantity and quality in the acquisition of bilingual Catalan-Spanish morphosyntax. Specifically, using an Oral Production Task (OPT), I researched the production of clitic *en* in its partitive and oblique uses in Catalan and their respective phonological absence in Spanish in three groups of bilinguals, ages 4-9, that differed in terms of AOA and input in the two languages: Catalan-Dominant (CD, n=105), Balanced Bilinguals (BB, n=102), and Spanish-Dominant (SD, n=100).

The emphasis of this presentation is on two asymmetries observed in the results of the OPT. The first one is the different results for Catalan and Spanish. While there is a pervasive significant difference in Catalan between all groups at all stages, in Spanish, a different pattern emerges with respect to the acquisition of the phonological absence: CDs converge with BBs and SDs groups from age 7. The second asymmetry is between the production of *en* as a partitive and oblique, with the first one being more robust than the latter.

The present study demonstrates the importance of input quantity and quality while limiting the role that AOA plays in bilingual language acquisition. It also stresses that 2L1 acquisition need not necessarily turn into convergence with respective monolingual (or bilingual dominant) groups in cases of limited input.

Does null mean something to you? Children's missing objects and what it all means

Sophia Bello (*University of Toronto*)

The purpose of this presentation is to demonstrate how children's omissions could justifiably refer to something different in first language acquisition of French. Our experiment examined how and when children acquire indirect objects with two different types of verbs: *obligatorily relational* (OR) and *freely relational* (FR) verbs. OR verbs appear in a relational structure that denotes an obligatory transfer between direct and indirect objects (e.g., Elle lui prête un livre.). In contrast, FR verbs are transitive and require an overt direct object DP, but they can be used ditransitively provided that an overt indirect object is generated in the structure (e.g., Elle (lui) lance une balle.). By design, we controlled the relational context to encourage participants to produce various constructions with indirect object clitics.

Recent work hypothesizes that the more diverse the input, the greater the period of optional object omission (cf. Elliott & Pirvulescu, ms; Pérez-Leroux et al., in press). While French-speaking children can coreference *pro* with a clitic, our findings suggest that 3- to 6-year-olds continue to produce a high rate of indirect object omission with both verbs. The absence of this element suggests that there is a developmental delay due to *input diversity* (i.e., flexibility of verb alternation) and *input optionality* (i.e., object realization is influenced by the availability of null object constructions). This presentation therefore provides evidence of children's preferential use of null indirect objects in French and proposes a two-step developmental path exists in early grammar.

Language acquisition and variable verbal agreement in Brazilian Portuguese

Daniele Molina, Marcilese Mercedes & Cristina Name (*Federal University of Juiz de Fora*)

Previous studies in several languages that exhibit consistent number inflection pattern point out that, although children produce number inflection by the age of three, they have difficulty on comprehension tasks until the age of six. Considering the variable verbal agreement observed in Brazilian Portuguese (BP), we investigate if Brazilian children would have a different performance on the perception and the comprehension of the 3rd person plural verbal inflection when compared with the performance of children exposed to languages in which there is no variation on the verbal mark (such as Spanish). A comprehension experiment was designed with a picture identification task. *Subject type* (null/lexical) and *Verbal morphology* (singular/plural) were the within-subjects independent variables. *Age* (5 and 6-year-old) and *Social Group* (working/middle class) were between-subjects variables. One hundred and fifty-two participants were tested. It was obtained a main effect of *Age* with older children having a better performance. A main effect of *Verbal Morphology* was also obtained with more target responses for the conditions with plural verbs. The redundant information on the subject and on the verb improved children's performance. There was also an effect of *social group* with more target-responses for the middle class group in which redundant marks would be more frequent. Taken as a whole, our results were similar to those found for Spanish, in a variety of the language in which verbal inflection is consistently marked. Therefore, variable input seems not to interfere on the comprehension of the plural verbal morpheme on the ages tested in BP.

SYNTAX (VH B)

On Inalienable Possession and Middle Constructions in Spanish

Imanol Suarez-Palma (*University of Arizona*)

- (1) a. Mi letra se lee fácilmente.
My handwriting SE read.3SG easily
- b. {A mí/*ti/*él/*nosotros/*vosotros/*ellos} mi letra se {me/*te/*le/*nos...} lee
{To me/*you/*him/*us/*you/*them} my handwriting SE {me/*you/*him/*us...DAT} read.3SG
fácilmente.
easily.
"My handwriting reads easily".

Spanish middle constructions are characterized by the clitic *se*, non-perfective tenses, and verbal agreement between the verb and the DP-theme in preverbal position (unmarked) (1a). Any transitive verb can occur in these structures and introducing an agent by means of a *por*-phrase is banned. Unlike other Romance languages, Spanish allows the insertion of dative arguments with certain verbs such as *ver* (to see) or *leer* (to read), (1b), and an inalienable possession relation arises between the dative-DP and the DP-theme.

I assume that the dative clitic is a low-applicative head, whose semantic properties can establish a possession relationship between the dative-DP and the DP-theme. I show that two possible configurations can yield these structures: one where the dative-DP merges in SpecApIP, subsequently raising to SpecTP satisfying the EPP in T^o, preventing the DP-theme from escaping the VP-domain; and another where the dative-DP merges outside TP, favoring the theme's promotion to SpecTP, triggering verbal agreement via a spec-head configuration. In the latter, I argue that no empty pronominal coindexed with the dative-DP fills SpecApIP for the inalienable

possession construal to obtain; this would create intervention effects when T^o probes the first DP in the derivation to raise to its own specifier. Instead, I claim the morphosyntactic features of the clitic suffice for the inalienable possession relation to exist, providing a part-whole noun sits in complement position. Thus, I propose a mixed analysis including the low applicative scaffolding, incorporating notions of binding/control with the definite article in the DP theme, or predication.

A Labeling Theory approach to subject positions for causative structures

M. Pilar Colomina & Lorena Castillo (*Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*)

This paper explores the distribution of embedded subjects in causative structures (i.e., so-called ‘causee’ - CAU) under Chomsky’s (2013, 2015) Labeling Theory. We argue that languages licensing the <CAU,INF> order (Spanish, Romanian, but not Catalan, Italian) introduce CAUs by pair-Merge, thus giving rise to a <CAU, INF> structure, with CAU adjoined to the embedded CP (the infinitival, which heads the resulting structure). This approach assumes that the application of both set-Merge and pair-Merge is free (Epstein, Kitahara & Seely 2016) and accounts for the facts without resorting to extra specifiers/positions/features.

As reported in the literature (cf. Ciutescu 2015, Guasti 2006, Ordóñez 2008, Ordóñez & Saab 2016, Torrego 2010, among others) CAUs can appear between the matrix causative verb and the infinitive in languages such as Spanish and Romanian; whereas this position is not available in other languages (Catalan and Italian).

- (1) Hicimos [a los chicos cantar una canción]
made ACC the boys sing a song
‘we made the boys sing a song.’ [Spanish]
- (2) *Luigi fece [Gianni aprire la porta]
Luigi made Gianni open the door
‘Luigi made Gianni open the door.’ [Italian]

We defend that the licensing of <CAU,INF> follows from the possibility to apply either pair-Merge or set-Merge (freely). Languages that select set-Merge to combine CAU and INF do not license the outcome, since it would be unlabeled. On the contrary, languages that resort to pair-Merge allow the CAU-INF order, since CAU is adjoined, so INF provides the label of the whole structure.

On the Silent Component of French (ne) ... que exceptives

Marc Authier & Lisa Reed (*Pennsylvania State University*)

We build on a proposal first argued for in Baciú (1978) and more recently in O’Neill (2011) and Homer (2015) that French *(ne) ... que* is a hidden comparative that contains covert material, which they take to be a silent n-word followed by silent AUTRE ‘other’. We first provide novel evidence for the existence of a silent n-word component. Next, we challenge the claim that *(ne) ... que* configurations also contain a silent AUTRE ‘other’. One problem with silent AUTRE is that its overt counterpart *autre* does not trigger the prejacent inference associated with exclusives. A second problem is that total realizations with *autre* enforce a complement exclusion reading even in those cases where minimal or partial realizations *(ne) ... (rien) que* yield instead a rank-order or a minimal sufficiency reading. Given these problems, we propose that a more likely candidate for the second silent component of *ne ... que* is PLUS ‘more’, thus taking French exceptive *(ne) ... que* to be nearly identical to its Spanish counterpart *no ... (nada) más que*. We show that, unlike *(ne) ... rien d’autre que*, *(ne) ... rien de plus que* does not give rise to the prejacent problem. We also show that, unlike *(ne) ... rien d’autre que*, *(ne) ... rien de plus que* yields the rank-order and minimal sufficiency readings of *(ne) ... (rien) que* in the appropriate contexts. Finally, just like *(ne) ... que*, and in the same contexts, *(ne) ... rien de plus que* can have a single or a double-negation reading when combined with another n-word like *jamais* ‘never’.

MIXED (VH C)

Value and quantity in the evaluation of bare singulars in Brazilian Portuguese

Suzi Lima (*University of Toronto*) & Cristiane Oliveira (*UFRJ*)

This study explores whether the interpretation of bare singulars in Brazilian Portuguese can be affected by factors such as value. This hypothesis was explored for object-mass nouns in English. Grimm and Levin (2012) have shown that the cardinality/volume dimension is not the only relevant feature in the process of evaluating for object-mass nouns. That is when speakers of English hear the question ‘Who has more jewelry?’, they might evaluate that the person that has a smaller set of objects (but valuable) has more jewelry than another person that has a larger set of less valuable items. In an online priming study, 24 Brazilian Portuguese speakers had to read sentences that included comparisons that manipulated value and cardinality. Our question was whether we would find significant effects (longer reading times) when the priming was [+value] and not [+cardinality]. The results suggest that quantity is recovered much faster than value. That is, the results indicate that cardinality seems to be grammatically more relevant when evaluating the interpretation of bare singulars than value. These results also corroborate previous offline studies that have shown that cardinality is a relevant feature when evaluating the interpretation of bare singulars, therefore suggesting that the absence of the count syntax (that is, the absence of the plural morpheme) does not implicate that these nouns will be interpreted as mass nouns and that cardinality loses its relevance.

Romance Evidence for Linguistic Universals in Pronominal Address

Terrell Morgan & Scott Schwenter (*Ohio State University*)

In studies of T/V pronouns, research typically ignores plural forms in favor of singulars. We extend prior findings on Castilian Spanish (Morgan & Schwenter 2016a), Brazilian Portuguese (Morgan & Schwenter 2016b), and Galician (Loureiro Rodríguez, Morgan, & Schwenter 2016) to include three other Romance varieties: European Portuguese, Catalan, and Romanian. As before, our data consist of the results of an online survey that polled speakers about their pronominal choices when offered three scenarios involving multiple interlocutors, some addressed with T and others with V in the singular. The use of the same survey materials, translated into the target languages by native speakers, allows for precise comparison of T/V pronoun choice in both the singular and the plural, thereby overcoming the difficult problem of encountering sufficient usage of plural T/V in corpus data, where such forms are rarely found. Results indicate that pronominal choice exhibits a similar asymmetrical pattern across all of Romance, with small differences across languages. While singulars still show clear T/V contrasts, plurals are more restricted in favor of the T forms, which are chosen more frequently than their plural V counterparts, even with multiple individual interlocutors who would be each addressed with V in the singular. We conclude that asymmetries between singular and plural second-person pronouns such as these are the norm, not the exception, cross-linguistically. Indeed, we propose that there are several linguistic universals (cf. Greenberg 1966) that can be formulated on the basis of this research, based in asymmetries that hold between singular and plural second-person pronouns.

The production and interpretation of Spanish clitic SE with anticausatives and Reflexive psychological verbs

Aída García-Tejada, Eduardo Lustres & Alejandro Cuza (*Purdue University*)

The present study examines the acquisition of the aspectual values of Spanish clitic *se* by heritage speakers (HSs) of Spanish and English-speaking L2 learners. Specifically, we examine the inchoative aspect of *se* within an eventive interpretation with physical verbs with declaratives as *la ventana se rompió* ('the window broke'), psych-verbs with declaratives as *mi mamá se enojó*, and psych-verbs with *why*-questions as in *¿por qué te enojas?* ('why are you upset?'). Twenty Spanish heritage speakers, twenty English-speaking L2 learners of Spanish, and twenty native speakers tested in Mexico completed an elicited production task and a preference task. Results from the production task showed that HSs exhibited target-like behavior with almost no instances of *se* omission and very few instances of *estar* + *adj.* (stative interpretation), whereas the L2 learners exhibited non-target behavior. Results in the preference task show an increase of target-like behavior in the case of L2 learners. Additionally, more instances of the stative interpretation in the HS group are also observable. Overall, data suggest an advantage of HSs over L2 learners in the mapping of clitic *se* with an eventive interpretation. Age of onset of bilingualism seems to play a role for the advantage of the HS group across most conditions in both production and interpretation. Results are also discussed in terms of cross-linguistic influence and the type of task.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

2:30 - 4:00

L2 ACQUISITION (VH D)

Inalienable Possession in Heritage Speakers: Evidence for the Activation Hypothesis

David Giancaspro (*University of Richmond*) & Liliana Sánchez (*Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey*)

We test the Feature Activation Hypothesis (Putnam & Sánchez, 2013), according to which Heritage Speaker's variability in production and comprehension results from morphosyntactic feature reassembly driven by HSs' reduced activation of functional features. We focus on Spanish inalienable possession structures with clitics *Me lavé la cabeza* 'I washed my head' (e.g., Cuervo, 2003; Guerón, 1985; Vergnaud & Zubizarreta, 1992) heading an Applicative Phrase (AppP) that differ from their English counterparts that lack verbal clitics and an AppP projection. 16 advanced-proficiency HSs (AdvHSs), 14 intermediate-proficiency HSs (IntHSs) and 15 Spanish-dominant controls (SDCs) completed two experiments. In Experiment 1, participants described pictures with internal (inalienable) and external objects. Like the SDCs, both HS groups were more likely to produce clitics with internal objects than external objects (all p 's < .001), thereby showing knowledge of the AppP projection. Nonetheless, in the internal object condition, both the AdvHSs and the IntHSs produced a substantial proportion (AdvHSs: 19.3%; IntHSs: 66.7%) of innovative, "non-target" variants (*Me lavé mi cabeza*, *Lavé mi cabeza*, *Lavé la cabeza*), which we interpret as evidence of feature remapping from English to Spanish.

Investigating the sources of nuclear intonation in Argentinian-Canadian heritage speakers of Spanish: Evidence of parental and English influences

Jacob Aziz (*University of Western Ontario*), **Vanina Machado** (*University of Toronto*), **Yasaman Rafat** (*University of Western Ontario*), **Rajiv Rao** (*University of Wisconsin, Madison*) & **Ryan Stevenson** (*University of Western Ontario*)

Rao's (2016) analysis of heritage Mexican Spanish nuclear (i.e., final) intonation in various pragmatic contexts tentatively suggested reasons for inter-speaker variation, such as transfer from English and differing source input varieties (e.g., from parents/family members; Pascual y Cabo & Rothman 2012). Expanding upon these investigations, the present study quantifies the effect(s) of a) transfer from English, b) influence from parents' speech, and c) pragmatic context on nuclear yes-no question intonation in Porteño (i.e., Buenos Aires, Argentina) Spanish heritage speakers (HSs), and Caraqueño (i.e., Caracas, Venezuela) HSs living in Ontario, Canada.

We tested eight adult English-dominant HSs – four of Porteño heritage and four of Caraqueño heritage – and their parents. To elicit interrogatives in different pragmatic contexts, participants read hypothetical scenarios and produced responses with what they thought was pragmatically appropriate (following Prieto & Roseano 2010). The HSs completed the task in Spanish and English, whereas their parents completed it solely in Spanish.

In the analysis, nuclear pitch accents and boundary tones were tagged using Praat. Results indicate similar amounts of parental (23%) and English (27%) influence across participants, both Porteños and Caraqueños. Interestingly, nuclear pitch configurations belonging to neither category accounted for 50% of all utterances. It is clear, based on our results that the nuclear intonation of heritage speakers has many sources of influence and that there is a positive relationship between parental influence and age of arrival and a negative relationship between age of arrival and English influence.

In sum, this study contributes to debates on variation in heritage phonology (Rafat, Mohaghegh & Stevenson 2017) through its novel speaker group comparisons (i.e., parents, or input sources vs. children) of data coming from an understudied aspect of heritage language sound systems.

Protracted and Partial Acquisition of the Catalan Partitive Clitic in Child and Adult Bilingualism

Silvia Perpiñán & Adriana Soto-Corominas (*University of Western Ontario*)

Recent studies on second language acquisition in early childhood have tried to disentangle the role of input, age of onset of exposure, and universal mechanisms in simultaneous and successive bilingualism (Cornips & Hulk, 2008; Meisel, 2009, 2011; Perpiñán, 2017; Tsimpli, 2014; Unsworth, 2013, Unsworth, Argyri, Cornips, Hulk, Sorace & Tsimpli, 2014). This study investigates the expression of the Catalan partitive clitic *en* in adult and child bilinguals exposed to two languages early in life (Spanish and Catalan), before 6 years of age in a bilingual society, and contributes to the debate on the factors that characterize the outcomes of early bilingualism.

We present data from adult ($n=60$) and child ($n=150$, ages 4-9) speakers of Catalan with different bilingualism profiles (Catalan-dominant, Balanced Bilingual, Spanish-dominant). The data have been collected with an Acceptability Judgment Task (only for adults), and two Oral Production Tasks, one for adults and one for children. The bilingualism profile (Language Dominance) has been calculated with the results on an exhaustive linguistic background questionnaire on quantity and quality of input, onset of bilingualism, fluency, parents' evaluation, self-ratings, and linguistic history.

The results of the partitive *en* clitic clearly indicated significant differences among groups but not so much across ages. These results show that the clitic *en* is acquired late in sequential bilingualism, after 8-9 years of age, and can remain incomplete and present optionality in the grammar of a bilingual speaker for the rest of her life. We argue that quantity as well as quality of input are the determinant factors in the acquisition of this clitic, and not so much onset of acquisition.

SYNTAX (VH B)

Patterns of number agreement in Pyrenean dialects

Rosa Bono & Ángel J. Gallego (*Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*)

This paper explores the observation that certain Pyrenean dialects (North- Western Catalan and Aragonese Spanish) lack number agreement between an unaccusative verb and a postverbal NP, which would otherwise agree (as subjects do) in so-called ‘standard’ varieties. A similar behaviour is displayed by other unaccusative constructions: impersonal, existential locative, and impersonal SE constructions. As has been noted, lack of number agreement goes hand-in-hand with the post-verbal position and the indefinite nature of the NP: As long as the NP is preverbal, agreement is complete. There are, however, some cases in which lack of agreement occurs with a seemingly preverbal subject. However, these are actually instances of “verum focus”. The facts above indicate that the common trait of these structures is the presence of an unaccusative pattern plus a locative (or quirky DP) of sorts, which easily relates to existential structures. Here we assume that person agreement is checked by the expletive/locative/quirky element, while number agreement is taken care of by the associate. In the case of Pyrenean varieties, we take it that the expletive/locative ‘does all the work’, plausibly instantiating some economy strategy (in the sense of Chomsky’s 2001 maximize checking). We submit that, in the non-agreeing varieties, the locative/expletive raises to [Spec,vP], from where it blocks agreement with the associate. This way, both Agree and IM apply so that T’s ϕ -features are valued and the exocentric structure {NP, Loc/ExpP} can be labeled (Chomsky 2013, 2015). Both derivations yield a convergent, interface-condition compliant derivation, since there is no labeling conflict and uninterpretable features are all valued and deleted by the time Transfer applies. The only thing that changes from language to language (dialect to dialect) is when operations apply, as in early minimalist approaches to variation (Chomsky 1993).

Basque-Spanish null objects in relation to *leísmo* and the PCC

Almike Vázquez-Lozares (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

The Spanish of the Basque Country (B-Spanish) allows null direct objects (NDO) with definite, specific antecedents (Landa 1995, Urrutia Cárdenas 2003, a.o.).

- (1) El pollo, ya pro_j he comprado.
 The chicken already have bought
 ‘The chicken, I already bought (it).’ (* in Standard Sp.)

Previous literature also argues that inanimacy of the antecedent is crucial to allow NDOs. I argue that rather than inanimacy, it is the case of the NDO that is relevant: an accusative object can be null, whereas a dative cannot. This proposal finds motivation in data of B-Spanish *leísmo* and P(erson) C(ase) C(onstaint) contexts.

B-Spanish *leísmo* involves direct objects (DO) becoming indirect objects (IO), as shown by doubling data: DOs with human referents are cliticized with dative *le/les* and these clitics can be doubled, patterning like IOs.

- (2) Le_h vi a María_h.
 CL.DAT saw DOM María
 ‘I saw María.’ (* in Standard Sp.)

However, when another dative clitic is present, *leísmo* is blocked by the PCC, and the human DO must remain in accusative (Bonet 2008, a.o.). In these cases, NDOs are possible in B-Spanish, even if the referent is human.

- (3) A Juan_j, me le_j* / lo_j / pro_j presentaron ayer.
 DOM Juan CL.DAT CL.DAT CL.ACC presented yesterday
 ‘Juan, they introduced him to me yesterday.’

I argue that NDOs are only licensed if they Agree with little *v* for accusative case, thanks to a D feature that allows it. When *leísmo* takes place, the object is in ApplP and therefore does not Agree with *v*.

An Agree-based approach to clitic splitting

M. Pilar Colomina (*Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*)

This paper puts forward an account of the (im)possibility to have split clitic configurations in Romance languages (cf. Kayne 1991, 2000; Ordóñez 2002, among others). We argue that this (im)possibility (split *vs.* cluster) is due to the pre/absence of one or more Probes in the verbal domain (cf. Chomsky 2000, 2001).

As is well-known, Romance clitics undergo obligatory movement (cliticization) to a verbal host. In the literature the positions proposed to host the clitic are diverse. When more than one clitic is present, they typically cluster. In most Romance Languages, clustering is mandatory. Obligatory clustering is however threatened by data provided in Kayne (1991) with data from Franco-Provençal compound tenses (cf. (1)) (cf. Chenal 1986).

- (1) a. T' an tē prèdzà nen?
 CL have they said CL
 ‘Have they spoken to you about it?’
 b. T' an tē deut lo?
 CL have they spoken CL
 ‘Have they told it to you?’

The same unexpected pattern is found in Portuguese (cf. Vos & Veselovská 1999).

This paper offers an analysis within the Probe-Goal framework of Chomsky (2000, 2001). The idea that we defend is that clitics can split if there are two active Probes (with some phi-feature active). If a Probe is not active, it is actually not a Probe, so it cannot be a clitic host (cf. Gallego 2016, Solà 2002). The presence of one or more actives probes in the same domain is subject to cross-linguistic variation.

SOCIOLINGUISTICS (VH C)

Rhythmic Convergence in French Contact

Svetlana Kaminskaïa (*University of Waterloo*)

Recent studies of prosodic rhythm in Ontario French using rhythm metrics did not demonstrate the effect of language contact and minority status (Kaminskaïa 2014, 2015, Kaminskaïa et al. 2015, Tennant 2011). Moreover, they found that French spoken in minority settings shows an even more syllable-timed (French) pattern. Since rhythm metrics are unable to explain these results, other sources of prosodic variation and of the effect of linguistic contact are explored in Ontario and Quebec spontaneous samples: syllabic typology, length and duration of the stress group, vowel duration ratios within it, and vowel intensity.

Both data sets demonstrated identical syllabic typology and almost the same distribution of syllabic structures. Also, the *proportional* durations showed that unstressed vowels are longer, and the stressed vowels are shorter in Canadian data than in standard French (Léon 1992). This explains previous results based on rhythm metrics. The duration differences make one wonder if other acoustic correlates become more important in Canadian French.

Indeed, Cichocki et al. (2014) demonstrated that in Acadian French intensity appears more important than duration for the discrimination of varieties in contact. Z-score normalization revealed that intensity seems an important acoustic correlate of both primary and secondary stress in French spoken in a minority setting in Ontario. Results for the Quebec dataset followed the traditional description of European French where acoustic correlates of the stress are duration and melody (Hirst and Di Cristo 1997, among others). Further studies will evaluate the importance of different acoustic correlates for the perception of stress in Canadian French.

Code-mixing and semantico-pragmatic resources in Francophone Maine: Meanings-in-use of *yeah/yes* and *ouais/oui* in French-English bilingual conversation

Kendall Vogh (*York University*)

This paper will discuss the meanings-in-use of the lexical items *yeah* and *yes* in comparison to those of *ouais* and *oui*. The study draws on a variety of approaches, including sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, and conversation analysis, to contextualize what speakers are doing with their languages and with these lexical items in particular. The data are drawn from a corpus of nine videotaped oral history interviews of Franco-Americans in Maine. The speakers all have French as a home language while English is the dominant or only language used in out-group settings. As such, many speakers code-mix frequently, with some describing it as “typical” of the speech of the region. The analysis considers those occurrences of *yeah*, *yes*, *ouais*, and *oui* in the corpus that were the focus of code-mixing, 213 tokens in all. Both qualitative conversation analysis and (limited) quantitative analysis were conducted on these tokens. The results indicate that overall, the French lexical items are preferred to their English counterparts for expressing meanings-in-use associated with (inter)subjectivity and interpersonal dynamics, such as responding to implicit questions, facilitation, and expressing alignment. These results are explained by relating them to the social and historical influences on in-group identity and language practices among French speakers in Maine.

Measuring the effects of dialect contact: First person plural reference in Nova Scotia Acadian French

Philip Comeau, Carolanne Paquin-Drouin & Monelle Guertin (*UQAM*)

Acadian French is generally regarded as retaining features lost in other French varieties. However, there is diversity among Acadian varieties. We focus on two Nova Scotian communities: Baie Sainte-Marie (BSM) and Chéticamp (CH). BSM’s founding population was largely homogeneous and subsequent generations had little contact with external varieties, while CH historically had greater exposure to external varieties of French.

We selected a variable that varies across communities: first-person plural reference. In our data, *je ... -ons* (*je mangeons*) varies with *on* (*on mange*). We extracted 645 tokens from 16 speakers from both communities. We tested the following linguistic factors: Referential Restriction (Restricted, Non-Restricted); Clause Type (Main, Subordinate) and Discourse Mode (Narrative, Conversation).

Preliminary BSM results show that *je ... -ons* is used at a rate of 57%, similar to earlier reports. In CH, *je ... -ons* is used at a rate of 10%, which is much lower than previously reported for later 20th c. data (35–59%). Multivariate analyses show that in BSM Discourse Mode influences the variable (Narratives favour *je ... -ons*) as does Referential Restriction (Restricted favours *je ... -ons*). In CH, only Referential Restriction constrains variant choice with the same pattern as BSM.

Rates of the variants support our hypothesis that dialect contact can influence a traditional variant. We are left with a puzzling finding for CH: Why did *je ... -ons* increase throughout the 20th century? A booming tourism industry may have played a role. Boudreau and White (2004: 329) argue that, due to this burgeoning industry, ‘previously stigmatized features of Acadian French are now gaining a degree of prestige’.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28

9:30 - 11:00

PHONOLOGY (VH D)

Exceptionality and ungrammaticality in Spanish stress: A Stratal OT approach

Katerina Tetzloff (*University of Massachusetts, Amherst*)

Despite many analyses of Spanish stress, no proposal has been able to capture the fact that some generalizations allow exceptions while others are exceptionless. Two exceptionless Spanish stress generalizations are that stress is limited to a three-syllable window and words with heavy penults never bear antepenultimate stress. The Regular stress is stem-final in vowel-final words and stem-penultimate in consonant-final words, but many exceptions exist: exceptional stress can fall one syllable to the left, two syllables to the left, or one syllable to the right of the Regular pattern. Past analyses have argued that Spanish is not quantity-sensitive, and thus have tried accounting for the varying stress patterns by assigning stem-final stress to Regular words and stem-penultimate stress to most exceptional words. Such an analysis predicts that a nonce word ‘*rapind-o*’, if marked as exceptional, would bear antepenultimate stress (*‘*rápind-o*’). This output problematically violates one of the inviolable Spanish stress generalizations, which prohibits antepenultimate stress with a heavy penult. Though exceptions must be accounted for, they must not yield ungrammaticality. I analyze Spanish stress in a Stratal Optimality Theory framework and argue for regular quantity sensitivity at the stem-level, which results in Regular stem-final stress. This stress assignment can later be altered with the suffixation of additional morphemes. Lexically-indexed constraints allow for each of the exceptional stress patterns without yielding ungrammatical forms. An exceptional nonce form ‘*rapind-o*’ receives grammatical penultimate stress (*rapind-o*) regardless of whether or not it is indexed to the constraint promoting exceptionality, thus not conflating exceptionality with ungrammaticality.

Remarks on the syllabic parsing of Spanish onglides

Fernando Martinez-Gil (*Ohio State University*)

Although the syllabic affiliation of prevocalic glides has been controversial in past decades, it is currently acknowledged onglide parsing is open to variation across languages: in some languages they are parsed in the nucleus; in other languages they attach to the onset, with the possibility of a structural distinction between onset and nuclear onglides within a single language. For over three decades now studies on the syllabic phonology of Spanish have assumed without much discussion that prevocalic glides are parsed in the nucleus/rhyme, a view that has remained essentially unchallenged to date, in spite of the abundant and seemingly compelling evidence that they are parsed in the onset. This word’s main objective is to bring forth such evidence, with five significant phonological phenomena in Spanish that cannot be adequately accounted if onglides are assigned a nuclear affiliation: a) glide consonantization; b) a phonotactic restriction on tautosyllabic palatal consonant plus glide sequences; c) the onglides’ lack of syllable weight; d) word- and phrase-level resyllabification; and 5) onglide behavior in homorganic nasal assimilation. Because of a (likely universal) constraint excluding 3-segment onsets, only when the onset is already occupied by a muta-cum-liquida cluster, a following onglide is compelled to attach to the nucleus (e.g., *pl[jé]_N.go* ‘sheet’, *[pr[wé]_N.ba* ‘proof, test’). It is shown that the phonotactics of the favored syllabic affiliation of onglides to the onset in Spanish follows directly from an OT analysis by the domination of Onset, requiring that syllables have onsets, over *COMPLEXNUC, which disfavors complex nuclei.

On the relevance of the uneven moraic trochee foot in OT

Haike Jacobs (*Radboud University*)

In this paper, we will first critically assess the principled reasons that led Melander (2003) to exclude the existence of stressed vowel lengthening from moraic trochee languages, while admitting its existence only in syllabic trochee languages. We argue that the evidence provided by Loporcaro (2015) for the existence of stressed vowel lengthening in Italian moraic trochee varieties reopens the case for the uneven trochee (**HL**) as a relevant metrical constituent in metrical theory. We then show that a foot-based analysis of syncope which recognizes the existence of the uneven trochaic foot as a descriptive element of the theoretical vocabulary of metrical theory is required in order to adequately account for vowel deletion in Classical Latin and that the uneven trochee has been a relevant metrical constituent all along, both in Latin and its later successor, Italian.

SYNTAX (VH B)

DOM in Catalan: A Syntactic-pragmatic approach

Marta Khouja (*Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona*)

This study explores the interface between syntax and information structure concerning DOM and partitive constructions (*de*) in topicalised objects within Romance languages. We provide data from Catalan for a treatment of case marking related to discourse properties. We propose an analysis for DOM of prepositions as functional categories (K), which permits to explain why in Clitic Dislocations accusative and partitive DOs are systematically marked.

Unlike Spanish, the data from Balearic Catalan (Escandell-Vidal 2007, 2009, a.o.) shows that DOs can be marked even if they encode properties not generally associated with object marking, such as being non-human: *No el necessito, an aquest llibre* ('I don't need it, this book'). Crucially, the same distribution of DOM is not grammatical when the DO remains *in situ* or the clitic is absent. Additionally, as some authors have noted (Imemolo 2010, a.o.), other Romance varieties exhibit a similar pattern in DOM configurations.

The data suggests that Catalan DOM cannot be accounted for by a theory that only appeals to animacy and definiteness. Instead, we analyze DOM as a functional preposition which is the spell-out of a functional Case projection (K) (Kayne 1994; López 2012). The clitic checks its accusative case in its base position in *vP*; as a result, the doubled DP has to move out from its *in situ* position to a projection above *vP* in order to license case. As further support, this analysis may be extended to other case marking constructions such as the partitive *de*: *No en tinc cap, de problema* ('I don't have it, any problem').

Differential object marking: what type of licensing?

Monica Irimia (*University of Modena and Reggio Emilia*) & **Julie Goncharov** (*Hebrew University of Jerusalem*)

In recent licensing accounts DOM is taken to encode a distinction between Case-checked (licensed) and Caseless (un-licensed) nominals (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2007, Lochbihler 2012, López 2012, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, Kalin to appear, Levin 2017, a.o.). Starting from Romanian, this research addresses some DOM patterns which are either considered 'exceptions' or are generally ignored in the literature. However, once analyzed in detail, such data show that DOM can signal a supplementary licensing operation on objects containing more than one (person) feature that requires licensing. The current proposal combines licensing accounts with a modification of the classical

‘Case Competition’ intuition (*Kayne’s Generalization* - Jaeggli 1982, 1986, etc.). More precisely, under the present analysis the adposition as a secondary licenser (Jaeggli 1982, 1986) does not result from ‘Case absorption’ by a clitic (as in the original generalization). ‘Extra-licensing’ is triggered instead by the presence of more than one (person) feature requiring licensing in a given nominal, independently of the clitic.

L2 ACQUISITION/PSYCHOLINGUISTICS (VH C)

Sentence processing: coordinate structures with ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese

Andressa Christine da Silva & Aline Fonseca (*Federal University of Juiz de Fora*)

This work investigates the processing of two types of coordinate sentences with ellipsis in Brazilian Portuguese: (1) coordinate structure with conjoined objects (nongapping), such as *Alice assou bolos para seus amigos e biscoitos para sua prima* (Alice baked cakes for her friends and cookies for her cousin); and (2) coordinate structure with VP ellipsis (gapping), such as *Alice assou bolos para seus amigos e Camila para sua prima* (Alice baked cakes for her friends and Camila for her cousin). This research is based on the works of Carlson (2001, 2002), who investigated these structures in American English. Two experiments were carried out, a Written Questionnaire to verify speakers’ interpretive preferences in completing coordinate sentences, and a Self-paced Reading Task to evaluate the on-line processing of gapping structures over nongapping structures. In the Written Questionnaire subjects ranked their preferences for completing options of the main clause, such as in “Alice baked cakes for her friends and ...”. In the other experiment, we analyzed reading times of the DP following the conjunction [and], which was an object in nongapping or a subject in gapping, and the PP that follows this DP and undoes a possible ambiguity. The results of the two tasks revealed that subjects preferred nongapping in the off-line task, but processed gapping faster in the on-line task. These results point to the complexity of the sentence processing area within the Psycholinguistics. It also seems that the simplest structural construction (nongapping) is not always the simplest input for the parser.

The role of birth order in the language use patterns, practices, and ideologies among second-generation Latino children in the U.S

Benjamin Kinsella (*Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey*)

Although there are a burgeoning number of studies on second-generation immigrants in the U.S., research examining the effects of birth order on language use patterns and the expression of language ideologies among bilingual families has been largely neglected. The current study combines insights gained from language socialization and child language development studies within the larger field of sociolinguistics to examine the individual and family factors involved in Spanish-language maintenance. More specifically, the project uses triangulated approaches to examine siblings’ (1) morphosyntax knowledge and expressive vocabulary in Spanish and English; (2) language practices in the home and school environment; and (3) language ideologies. In total, six second-generation Latino sibling pairs and their mothers (N=18) were purposefully selected to take part of this study. The most important quantitative findings from my dissertation reveal differences between older and younger siblings’ language use patterns, as captured by their reported proficiencies in Spanish, initial exposure to English, and elicited speech production. Qualitatively, these diverse language patterns were instantiated in the ways focal siblings viewed and used language in the focal community. Ethnographically-informed observations and mother and child interviews revealed younger siblings’ overall preference for using English with family, peers, and older siblings. These data

also documented explanatory factors in describing the siblings' language choices, such as their social and family networks. The triangulated findings in this study contribute to a deeper understanding of language maintenance and shift, increasing the visibility of language use patterns, practices, and ideologies across second-generation Latino sibling pairs in New Jersey.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28

11:30 - 1:00

MORPHOPHONOLOGY (VH D)

Allomorphic Paradigms in Creole Inflection

Ana Luís (*University of Coimbra*)

The survival of inflectional morphology in creole languages has been a much heated debate in recent years and numerous studies have shown that creoles languages are not necessarily exempt from overt inflection (Plag 2008, Siegel 2004, Kihm 2003, 2010). The main goal of this presentation will be to examine the inflectional patterns contained in the verbal paradigms of Indo-Portuguese. One of the immediately striking properties of these verbal paradigms is that the phonological shape of their verb forms can be traced back to the Portuguese 3sg Present Indicative stem, from which some forms appear to have been derived. Significant is also the prevalence of stem allomorphy which is typical of inflecting languages, but somewhat unexpected of creole languages. We offer an inflectional analysis of the verbal paradigm of DIP, within the theory of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump 2001), based on the distinction, developed by Aronoff (1994), between realization rules (i.e. rules encoding morphosyntactic features) and morphomic rules (i.e. rules expressing formal alternations), following previous proposals by Luís (2008, 2011).

Gender marking and morphological awareness in Brazilian Portuguese

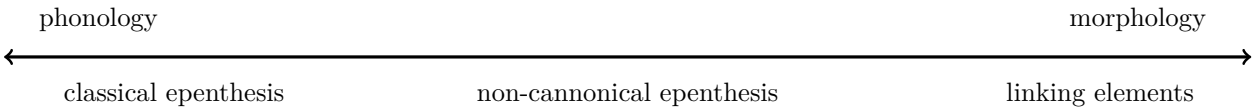
Paula Armelin, Marcilese Mercedes & Cristina Name (*Federal University of Juiz de Fora*)

This paper revisits the possibilities of morphophonological realization of the final vowel in Brazilian Portuguese nouns, considering male-female pairings, when the interpretation of biological gender is available. The formal status of these vowels (-a, -o, -e, \emptyset) has been investigated in different languages and under a variety of perspectives. In general, the approaches may be divided in two lines: (a) analyses that predict a different status between -a and -o (Câmara Jr, 1970; Schwindt 2011) and (b) analyses that propose a similar status of -a and -o (Alcântara, 2010; Oltra-Massuet, 1999). This paper aims to evaluate to what extent the speakers would have morphological awareness of the final vowel -o and -a as a gender morphological marking. A self-paced reading experiment was conducted in which the participants read a segmented sentence choosing at each step the option that best completes a meaningful utterance. The results seem to be consistent with the idea that, in terms of morphological awareness, the final vowels -a and -o are treated equally in the type of experimental task employed here. The differences found do not seem to result from a morphological status difference between -a and -o, but from a distinction in the model form (in \emptyset and in -e). Pseudowords ending in \emptyset are the forms that least favored a consistent pattern of choices. Whatever the exact nature of the final vowels -a and -o in animated nouns is (i.e. gender morpheme or theme vowel), both elements seem to belong to the same category.

Epenthesis and Morphology in Romance

Lori Repetti, Sedigheh Moradi & Mark Aronoff (Stony Brook University)

The factors conditioning epenthesis go beyond phonology to morphology and morpho-syntax. ‘Classical epenthesis’ is the insertion of phonological material whose presence is motivated by phonology (repair of an illicit structure), and whose quality is unmarked in the language, but epenthesis often deviates from this type. First, there may be a choice of epenthetic segments, where the quality is morphologically governed. Portuguese has two epenthetic segments to resolve hiatus vowels: [j] is generally used (*Correa* [koreja]), except before the diminutive suffix when [z] appears (/sofa/ + /ɨnu/ > [sofazɨnu]). Second, morpho-syntax may influence the quality of one of the epenthetic segments. The Romance variety of San Marino employs epenthetic [i] (/ojm/ > [ojmi] ‘elm’), except with 3.SG verbs, where an epenthetic [ɐ] is used (dorm/ > [dɔ:rmɐ] ‘s/he sleeps’), the same vowel that marks 3.SG verbs elsewhere in the verbal paradigm. Labeling such cases allomorphy misses a broad generalization: specific epenthetic segments are predictable within specific contexts. We take a novel approach: for example, we identify [ɐ] as the default final vowel for this paradigm in San Marino. Third is a type of insertion involving syllables whose presence is phonologically driven but whose quality is influenced by morphology, such as Formentera Catalan stem extenders, Italian <isc> augments, and Spanish ante-suffixes, such as <ec>. We extend our approach to linking elements. Although semantically vacuous, their distribution is morphologically determined (marking compounds), but they have no phonological motivation. We conclude that semantically vacuous inserted material lies along a cline from phonological to morphological conditioning.



SYNTAX (VH B)

Same Extended Projection Principle, Different Null Subject Language

Juliane Doner & Çağrı Bilgin (University of Toronto)

It is commonly assumed that all languages with Extended Projection Principle (EPP) type X will have null subject language (NSL) type Y, and vice versa (see Holmberg 2005 among others). We argue that although EPP type and NSL type interact, they are not coextensive. We do this by showing how several languages with *different* NSL types have the *same* EPP type and by demonstrating that EPP type and NSL type can change independently. We can see an example of the former in Table 1, where languages with different NSL types share the same EPP type.

| Table 1 | NSL type | EPP type | V to T? | Citations |
|----------------------|------------|----------|---------|-----------------------------|
| General Spanish (GS) | consistent | DP EPP | Yes | Toribio 2000, Goodall 2001 |
| BP, Finnish | partial | DP EPP | Yes | Barbosa 2009, Holmberg 2005 |
| French | non | DP EPP | Yes | Roberts 2010 |

As for the latter, Toribio (2000), for instance, shows that although Dominican Spanish (DS) has lost most of its distinct agreement morphology, NSs are still allowed. However, if it is rich agreement that licences NSs, then NSs should no longer be grammatical in DS. Thus, it appears that change in EPP type occurred first, causing the rise of overt preverbal subjects, which in turn allowed for a change in NSL type, once agreement morphology became redundant. Crucially, EPP type and NSL type did *not* change simultaneously. Due to these and other evidence we discuss, it is clear that EPP and NSL type cannot be coextensive

On (un)grammatical sequences of *se* in Spanish

Jonathan MacDonald & Almike Vázquez–Lozares (*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*)

In this talk, we address Martins & Nunes’s (2017) (M&N) proposal of ungrammatical sequences of impersonal *se* (Imp_{se}) with other “reflexive” *se* (Ref_{se}) in European Portuguese (EP), illustrated in (1) by Spanish.

- (1) a. ***Se** **se** levanta pronto en este país.
 Imp_{se} Ref_{se} raises early in this country
 Intended: “One gets up early in this country”
 b. ***Se** intentó sentarse en un buen sitio.
 Imp_{se} tried sit. Ref_{se} in a good spot
 Intended: “One tried to sit in a good spot.”

M&N argue that (1a) and (1b) incur an identity violation because two identical *se* are Transferred in the same phase. Two crucial aspects of their account of (1b) are: (i) Imp_{se} merges in Spec, v of the embedded clause, and (ii) it climbs like all Romance clitics to the T domain where the identity violation effects arise.

We focus on Spanish, which is like EP regarding the *se se* sequences in (1), but also has additional properties, which lead to a more nuanced understanding of the patterns. We illustrate that (i) Imp_{se} does not climb like other clitics, and (ii) Imp_{se} does not always induce clitic sequence effects in the T domain. We claim that the patterns in (1) result from the deficient features of an implicit argument in Imp_{se} constructions (Mendikoetxea 2008, MacDonald 2017), which also explains the patterns in (2), data not analyzable as an identity violation.

- (2) *Se_i intenta hablar de su_i hijo.
 Imp_{se} tries speak of his child
 Intended: “One tries to speak about one’s son.”

SEMANTICS (VH C)

Predicting the end: Epistemic change and perspective – dependence in Romance

Patrícia Amaral (*Indiana University*) & Fabio Del Prete (*CNRS, Toulouse*)

This paper analyzes the meaning of a verbal periphrasis formed by a verb meaning ‘to end’ and a preposition + infinitive that denotes the contravention of an expectation (Italian *finire per*, European Portuguese *acabar por* ‘to end up’) and compares it with the meaning of the particles *alla fine* (Italian) / *afinal* (European Portuguese), which have been analyzed as epistemic operators (Amaral & Del Prete 2016). These particles take the whole proposition in their scope as argument (cp. Van der Auwera & Ammann 2005) and denote a change in the epistemic ranking of this proposition at different points in time. Previous findings show that languages encode epistemic meanings that are strongly dependent on time and time orderings, where utterance time is conceived as the end of a sequence of belief states (Amaral & Del Prete 2016, 2017). In this paper we compare the behavior of this verbal periphrasis and the epistemic particles in Italian and European Portuguese, with two goals: (i) to compare the constraints on the use of the periphrasis with the constraints on the use of the particles, described in the previous literature, and (ii) to show that both expressions are perspective dependent (Potts 2005, 2007). This paper contributes to our knowledge of how epistemic commitment is expressed in the Romance languages and its dependence on the representation of time and time orderings. Additionally, it discusses perspective-dependence as a property of expressions that index an epistemic agent in connection to the study of Romance verbal periphrases at the syntax-semantics interface.

Hortatives and optatives in Romance languages: A Syntactic account

Genoveva Puskas (*University of Geneva*)

The paper discusses the syntax of optatives and hortatives, two expressions of bouletic modality. Focussing on distributional cues like adverbials and negation, it shows that (i) the two forms have different syntactic behaviors and that (ii) the two syntactic behaviors can be accounted for by the fact that the two modality markers occupy two different syntactic positions in the (highest) left periphery of the clause. These two positions are shown to be compatible (and hence motivated) by the different semantic contributions of the modality markers to the interpretation of the clause, particularly with respect to the speaker.

In optative clauses, the mood marker occurs in the operator position which is associated with optative mood. The data shows that the modal head involved is (i) distinct from the head occupied by hortatives and (ii) hierarchically above the position hosting edge material. Given that bouletic modality builds on the speaker's views about the situation, it targets the level where speaker's beliefs/wishes are encoded. I adopt an enriched structure for the left periphery, where CP is syntactically dominated by (at least) one projection, SpeakerP (Wiltschko 2014, Sigurdsson 2004), which may host bouletic modality.

In hortative clauses, the tensed verb/auxiliary also occurs in a high left-peripheral projection and looks like imperatives (see Portner 2004, Condoravdi & Lauer 2012). A hortative marker raises to check its modal-related feature with the relevant imperative feature in C. However, as attested by the data, it does not occur in the highest scope position. I argue that the hortative is "frozen" in this position, where the imperative type-feature is encoded.

A case of if-clauses on their own

María Biezma (*University of Konstanz*)

This paper investigates the semantics and pragmatics of Spanish Bare if -Clauses (BIFs), illustrated in (1), as a window to understand the role of *if*-clauses:

- (1) Kid: Mamá, me voy a jugar a la calle.
 'Mom, I'm going out to play'
 Mother: ¡Si tienes un examen mañana ↓! [BIF]
 if have.2.SG a exam tomorrow ('↓' = final falling-contour H*L-L%)
 'What about your exam tomorrow?!'

BIFs present an important theoretical challenge: standardly *if*-clauses are analyzed as attached to a matrix clause (i.e. in conditionals, (2)) and taken to convey epistemic possibility.

- (2) If it rains, we'll cancel the picnic.
 'Si llueve, cancelaremos el picnic.'

BIFs, on the contrary, can only be responses to a previous utterance and convey that both the speaker and addressee already know that the *if*-clause proposition is true in all worlds in the (Stalnakerian) context set (*cs*) (epistemic necessity). I propose a unified perspective on BIFs (detached) and attached *if*-clauses. The key to the analysis is to understand and model the dynamics of indicative *if*-clauses independently of larger structures: they are claims about the worlds in the /textits/. Crucial differences between BIFs and regular *if*-constructions are derived from closure effects associated with final falling intonation. The proposal makes a contribution towards a broader understanding of 'quirky' effects of *if*-clauses across languages and the semantics-pragmatics-prosody mapping.

Adjectival placement and interpretation in heritage Spanish

José Camacho (*Rutgers University*)

This paper explores the distribution and interpretation of adjectivals in heritage Spanish in contact with English in the US. We tested how participants reacted to Adj-N and N-Adj orders using 15 adjectives: 5 adjectives only possible postnominally (color and nationality adjectives, henceforth “restrictive”) and 10 adjectives that can appear in both positions (*hermoso* ‘beautiful’), but with different interpretations (henceforth “ambiguous”). Results indicate that heritage speakers of Spanish (HS) and Lima Spanish speakers (LS) have similar grammars, but the prenominal position has become more available for HS: compared to LS speakers, HS speakers rate prenominal adjectives higher overall, and restrictive prenominal ones, in particular. However, HS speakers still have a preference for N-Adj over Adj-N. We explore two alternative views of these results: first, interpretive properties cannot be related to differences in movement of the NP, because HS speakers show preference for movement, but also higher tolerance for restrictive adjectives prenominally. Second, alternatively, we suggest that the order Adj-N reflects movement with lower-copy-deletion of the NP, and in this sense it is Romance-like in having movement, but deceptively English-like in having a linear order compatible with English. We argue that the second explanation is more compatible with previous research where apparent cases of transfer arise from superficial crosslinguistic influence.

The expression of numeric uncertainty in L2 Spanish: An examination of spontaneous and controlled production data

Abril Jimenez (*Rutgers University*)

Numeric approximators (NAs) (e.g., around, approximately) are lexical items that target a semantically loose use of an expression (Mihatsch, 2007). Various scholars have noted that NAs allow speakers to convey imprecision when they talk about inexact quantities, as these forms affect the veracity and certainty of an utterance (e.g., Channell, 1994; Prince, Frader, & Bosk, 1982).

The present study examines the process of acquisition of NAs in L2 Spanish, in contexts in which the speakers experience numeric uncertainty (e.g., inability to recall exact prices or exact time). The study examines the stages of integration of meaning for NAs among intermediate and advanced L2 learners, and among a comparison group of Spanish native speakers. The data collection instruments included an oral interview and an elicited production task.

The results revealed that the advanced learners resembled the native speakers in both the frequency and the range of NAs produced. They favored neutral NAs, which are lexical items that signal values that are both below and above the exemplar number (e.g., *como* and *más o menos*). In contrast, the intermediate learners produced fewer NAs and favored defective NAs, which are lexical items that only signal values that are below the exemplar number (e.g., *casi* and *cerca de*). Collectively, the findings suggest that the intermediate learners are still developing pragmatic knowledge of NAs. Furthermore, the data convey that the advanced learners are closer to the native speakers with regard to the specifications they have integrated to the meaning of these lexical items.

The temporal values of the compound gerund in Romance languages

Vanessa López (*Universidade de Lisboa*)

The compound gerund (gerund of the auxiliary + past participle; CG) in Romance languages usually expresses an anteriority relation between the situation described by the gerund clause and the one described by the main clause, i.e. it locates the situation of the gerund clause before the one of the main clause. However, in Portuguese the CG can also express temporal relations of posteriority, overlapping and temporal underspecification (see Leal 2001, Móia & Viotti 2005, Lobo 2006, Cunha, Leal & Silvano 2008). This non-anteriority CG exhibits certain peculiarities, i.e. (i) it can only occur to the right of the matrix clause, (ii) it can alternate freely with the simple gerund, without affecting the interpretation of the clause, and (iii) it can only co-occur with certain T heads in the matrix clause, namely with those that contain a [+ ANTERIOR] feature. Wurmbrand (2012) describes a similar set of properties for the parasitic participles in Germanic languages and explains them through feature valuation in Reverse Agree. I will defend that the Portuguese non-anteriority CG is a product of the same syntactic mechanism and occurs due to feature valuation of the gerund T against the matrix T in Reverse Agree. In other Romance languages, on the other hand, the use of the non-anteriority CG seems to be much more restricted and subject to a great deal of variation. An exploratory study involving acceptability judgement tasks suggests that the general tendency is for the CG of temporal underspecification to be the most acceptable one, whereas the posteriority CG is usually rejected.

The Syntax and Lexicon of Clitic Climbing Constructions in L2 Spanish

Antonio Martín Gómez (*Purdue University*)

This study examines how English-Spanish bilinguals resolve complex sentences in Spanish involving object pronouns (clitics). In monolingual Spanish, these forms are subject to different distributions in verbal periphrases (e.g., finite + non-finite verb) according to register type (oral, written) (Davies, 1995), as in *lo voy a ver* vs. *voy a verlo* ‘(I) am going to see it’. “Clitic climbing” constructions (Kayne, 1989; Rizzi, 1982) thus allow us to test whether heritage speakers (early bilinguals) of Spanish show advantages over traditional L2 learners (late bilinguals) due to an early and oral-based exposure to Spanish in childhood. Data from a group of Mexican Spanish monolinguals and two groups of early and late bilinguals born and raised in the US (N = 55) were elicited via one oral production task and one oral acceptability judgment task, testing their knowledge of these constructions across several verbal matrices with varying degrees of clitic climbing acceptability (e.g., *ir* a ‘to be going to’, *necesitar* ‘to need’, impersonal *hay que* ‘(one) has to’). All groups overextended the no climbing option to all contexts in non-spontaneous production and presented indeterminate judgments in agrammatical syntactic configurations (e.g., **lo es mejor no ver* ‘It is better not to see it’). Taken together, these results suggest that lexical properties can be acquired by near-native Spanish speakers regardless of input received, but production is affected by task type (cf. Montrul, 2010a, 2010b). The acquisition of the more challenging syntactic properties requires however a more prolonged contact with formal, written input.

Subject bare singulars in Brazilian Portuguese: data from an experimental study

Raíssa Santana & Elaine Grolla (*University of São Paulo*)

Goal: To investigate the judgements of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) native speakers with respect to subject bare singulars (bare singulars), given the fact that there is a disagreement in the literature with respect to the grammaticality of bare singulars as subjects of sentences with kind-denoting predicates and stage-level predicates. According to Menuzzi et al. (2015), the presence of a context preceding these constructions could increase the acceptability rate of sentences. **Method:** During a Grammaticality Judgement Task, 20 native speakers of BP judged constructions with bare singulars presented in subject position of 3 types of sentences: (i) generic sentences (control), (ii) sentences with stage-level predicates and (iii) sentences with kind-denoting predicates. They were presented either after a context or out-of-the-blue. **Results:** With respect to generic sentences and constructions with kind-predicates, there was no significance between the presentation of the sentences in the presence or absence of a context. Unlike the findings for the previous conditions, the rate of acceptance for sentences with bare singulars heading stage-level predicates is not very high in both conditions, and are not significant. **Discussion:** The results suggest that it is not the case that Menuzzi et al.'s proposal makes correct predictions for the acceptability of controversial constructions with bare singulars in BP.

The diachrony of the particle *fors/hors* in the history of French

Michelle Troberg, Meena Ahmad & Maya Krol (*University of Toronto at Mississauga*)

Verb particles play an important role in the classification of languages as either satellite-framed or verb-framed. Talmy (1985, 2000) uses them as a diagnostic of a satellite-framed language—along with several other syntactic possibilities—and generally they serve as a reliable correlate. Old Romance varieties, however, challenge the correlation between the presence of verb particles and a satellite-framed grammar, and present an opportunity to better understand grammars that do not fall neatly into Talmy's two-way typology.

Old French had a productive system of verb particles that no longer exist in Modern French. While broad descriptions exist of their general meaning and distribution, very little fine-grained work has been undertaken to describe the extent of their syntactic distribution and time course of change. The present study contributes to the need for a formal description of these verb particles by examining the use of *hors/fors* over five centuries.

Our study demonstrates that from its syntactic behavior to its disappearance in the 16th century, *hors/fors* patterns closely with previously studied particles such as *jus* 'down', *arriere* 'back', and *avant* 'forward'. *Hors/fors* has no Path semantics of its own, but the range of verbs with which *fors/hors* can have a Path interpretation is much broader than the literature suggests. We propose that the particle *fors/hors* instantiates the category Direction (Svenonius 2010), modifying a Path element, which, in Old French, was either a preverb or a verb. Our study supports the hypothesis that the loss of verb particles was part of a catastrophic change (in the sense of Lightfoot) involving resultative secondary predication following proposals by Troberg & Burnett (2017) and Troberg (2017).

The influence of the presence of orthography on the production of a novel vowel contrast by Anglophone learners of French

Hilary Walton (*University of Toronto*)

This study examines the influence of the presence of orthography on the production of French /y/ and /u/ by 10 Anglophone intermediate L2 learners. As /y/ is not contrastive in English, this vowel contrast proves difficult for English learners and often results in non-target-like realizations. The presence of orthography was predicted to facilitate the target-like production of these vowels in L2 French because of the added information provided by the learned associations between the phonemes /y/ and /u/ and their corresponding graphemes “u, û” and “ou”, respectively. In this experiment, participants’ vocalic productions were analyzed across two experimental tasks: 1) a picture naming task and 2) a word reading task, which targeted the same lexical items in order to assure that the target vowels appear in the same phonological contexts, both in the presence and in the absence of orthography. Next, participants completed an AXB discrimination task to ensure that they were able to distinguish between the French target vowels. Lastly, participants completed a receptive vocabulary test as a measure of their French proficiency and a short spelling test targeting the correspondences between the graphemes and the phonemes of the target vowels to help account for individual differences. Preliminary results indicate that learners are more target-like in their production of /y/ in the presence of orthography than in its absence, with accuracy scores of 91.1% and 97.3%, respectively. Therefore, the presence of orthography could facilitate the target-like production of the French vowel /y/ in intermediate Anglophone learners of French.

FRIDAY, APRIL 27

4:00 - 5:30 VH 1016

The Ghost of the Future Subjunctive’s Past

Gavin Antonio Bembridge (*York University*)

This paper looks at the morphological realization of verbal forms that include the exponent **-r** in Spanish (e.g. *habla-r* ‘to speak’, *habla-r-ía* ‘would speak’, among others). Previous analyses (Arregi 2000; Martínez 2016) can account for the distribution of the **-r** exponent in these verbal forms but these analyses pay little attention to stem alternations that can be observed in these ‘**-r** exponent’ forms, as in (1).

- (1) *quer-e-r/quer-r-é/quis-ie-r-a/quis-ie-r-e* (INF/FUT/PST SUBJ/FUT SUBJ)

This paper provides an explanation for the fact that future subjunctive stem uses ‘past’ morphology (e.g. **quisiera** vs. **quisiere**) while the future form does not (e.g. **quisiere** vs. **querré**) which is surprising given that both are FUT + PRES (Iatridou 2000; Laka 1990). The stem/root alternations can be accounted for via outward sensitive contextual allomorphy which is constrained by two factors: (i) the stem/root can be sensitive *only* to the grammatical information of structurally higher terminal nodes (Embick 2013), and (ii) stem/root allomorphy is *only* conditioned by an adjacent span (Merchant 2015); a span consists of heads in a complement relation with each other within a single extended projection (e.g. the INFL-domain). I argue that there is a structural asymmetry between the future (i.e. $\sqrt{+v+INFL_1+WOLL+INFL_2}$) and the future subjunctive (i.e. $\sqrt{+v+WOLL+INFL_1}$) that accounts for the different stem realizations. Since there are two INFLs for the future I contend that lower INFL₁ counts as its own extended projection and realizes the infinitival ‘-r’, which is the unmarked case when INFL realizes no features. The higher INFL₂ (and its feature: FUT) is in a different span and cannot condition the allomorphy of the root (i.e. INFL₁ intervenes). For the future subjunctive there is only one INFL and the root and the features that condition its allomorphy (i.e. FUT) are in the same span. Therefore, the ‘past’ stem is actually a marked stem that occurs when the features that trigger contextual allomorphy are in the same span as the root, whereas the unmarked stem occurs when there are no features present to trigger contextual allomorphy in the same span as the root.

Allophonic Shift in Neapolitan: Lenition of voiceless stops

Greg Feliu (*no affiliation*)

There is no consensus as to the presence of voiceless stop lenition in Southern Italo-Romance languages. When claimed to exist, these stops are said to apply without distinction to word contexts (Hualde, et al., 2011). In this study, I examine the extent of /p t k/ lenition for the intervocalic lenis allophones in Neapolitan, the most prominent of Southern-Italo Romance languages. The data come from spontaneous interviews with six male speakers from Naples. The stops are analyzed using an automated method of lenition measurements developed in Ennever, et al. (2017). All intervocalic lenis /p t k/ occurrences are compared according to duration, change in intensity, and maximum closure velocity. Results show that each phoneme has a wide range of realizations, ranging from voiceless stops to fricatives and glides. Nevertheless, the majority of the stops are pronounced as [b d g]. The lenition outcomes are most extreme for /k/, followed by /p/ and then /t/ across all measures except duration. Word-context is only relevant for the change in intensity and closure velocity measures for /t/ and /k/. In summary, the /p t k/ phonemes are recategorizing their allophones in a way that increases the sonority distancing between allophones, similar to their voiced counterparts.

The acquisition of subjunctive mood selection in temporal and concessive clauses in heritage and L2 Spanish: Evidence from production and interpretation

Eduardo Lustres, Aída García-Tejada & Alejandro Cuza (*Purdue University*)

The current study examines the acquisition of the Spanish subjunctive mood in epistemic adverbial clauses in L2 learners and Spanish heritage speakers (HS) born and raised in the U.S. Specifically, we examine present subjunctive (PRES SUB) and imperfect subjunctive (IMP SUB) in (a) temporal adverbial clauses with *cuando* ('when') and *antes de que* ('before'), and (b) concessive adverbial clauses with *aunque* ('although') and *aun a riesgo de que* ('even at the risk of'). We hypothesize that (1) HSs and L2 learners will behave differently from native speakers; that (2) HS will outperform L2 learners across the board; and (3) no differences between obligatory and variable selection among groups.

Twenty HS of Spanish, twenty English-speaking L2 learners, and twenty controls from Mexico completed a DELE proficiency test, a language background questionnaire, a sentence completion task, a forced preference task and an acceptability judgment task. Overall, the two experimental groups differed significantly from the controls across all conditions (confirming H1). The HS had a significant advantage over the L2 learners with *cuando* + PRES SUB, *aunque* + PRES SUB and *aun a riesgo de que* + PRES SUB (partially confirming H2). No significant differences were found between obligatory and variable selection within the epistemic modality (confirming H3). Results are discussed in terms of age effects and vulnerability at the syntax-semantics interface.

Beyond grammaticalization clines: The case of noun-based conditional markers

Laura M. Merino Hernández & Patrícia Amaral (*Indiana University*)

This paper critically discusses the notion of grammatical status for conditional markers in Spanish. We compare the conditional marker *en caso de (que)* 'in case that', which is considered equivalent to 'if', to other constructions

with the noun *caso*, *en caso contrario* ‘in the opposite case’ and *en el último caso* ‘lit. in the ultimate case.’

- (1) a. **Si** no estudio/**en caso de** no estudiar, reprobaré el examen.
 ‘If/in case that I don’t study, I will fail the exam.’
 b. Tengo que estudiar para el examen, **en caso contrario**, reprobaré.
 ‘I have to study for the exam; if I don’t study (lit. ‘in the opposite case’) I will fail.’
 c. Tengo que estudiar para el examen, **en último caso**, puedo copiar.
 ‘I have to study for the exam, but if everything fails (lit. ‘in ultimate case’) I can cheat’.

Building on Popova (2017), we argue that a multifaceted notion of grammatical status is necessary and preferable to models relying on general stages on a cline (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 2003). The conditional constructions with *caso* demonstrate that forms with different degrees of reduction and decategorization can exhibit paradigmatic organization and hence have grammatical status. Relying just on formal criteria to determine stages on a cline can be misleading; both *en caso contrario* and *en último caso* retain an anaphoric behavior and contain a noun with an adjectival modifier, but given their meaning and distribution they belong to the paradigm of conditional markers. Thus, the grammatical status of a form needs to be understood at the intersection of several criteria (formal, semantic, and language-internal criteria), and considering the overall properties of the paradigm that the form belongs to.

We see me presenting an OT account of partially co-referential clitics

Scott James Perry & David Heap (*University of Western Ontario*)

This presentation describes a gradience in acceptability in partially co-referent subject-object relationships, such as the ones illustrated in (1). Different authors have proposed several approaches that differ in terms of the predictions they make regarding the acceptability of this type of constructions. Crucially, Muller (1985) disagrees with Gross (1969) in terms of how (1bc) should be ordered.

- (1) a. Je nous vois. / Nos veo. / Ens veig. (French /Spanish/ Catalan)
 ‘I see us.’
 b. ?Nous me voyons. / Me vemos. / Em veiem.
 ‘We see me.’
 c. ?*Tu vous vois. / Os ves. / Us veus.
 ‘You see you guys.’
 d. **Vous te voyez. / Te veis. / Et veieu.
 ‘You guys see you.’

These variable judgments are confirmed by the results of our Acceptability Judgment Task (N=40) in Italian, French, Spanish, and Catalan: there is wide acceptance of the (1)a forms and wide rejection of (1)d, while judgments for (1)bc are variable. We turn to Variable Optimality Theory (Nagy & Reynolds, 1997; Anttila, 1997) to propose 3 constraints that allow us to model the interaction of 3 domains: *ReflSym (semantics), *InclObj (morphosyntax), and *2Add (pragmatics). While *ReflSym remains undominated, the two last ones remain crucially unranked. This OT-based description accounts for the gradience in acceptability of the sentences in (1) and the variability of sentence types (1bc)

| (1) | *REFLSYM | *INCLOBJ | *2ADD |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|-------|
| a. je nous vois (I see us) | | | |
| b. nous me voyons (we see me) | | * | |
| c. tu vous vois (you see you guys) | | | * |
| d. vous te voyez (you guys see you) | | * | * |

Insubordination to infelicity: the syntax and pragmatics of Spanish discourse si

Adriana Osa (*University of British Columbia*)

Recent literature is focusing on the phenomenon of insubordination and the relationship that it has with the articulation of a syntactic layer above CP that reflects the structure of speech acts (Speas & Tenny 2003, Haegeman & Hill 2013, Corr 2016, Wiltschko & Heim 2016, i.a.). This paper adds to this field by focusing on the conversational role of the Spanish particle *si* when it is used as a discourse marker, as in (1). This particle has been analysed as marking refutation or contradiction, as well as the obviousness of the accompanying statement (Rodríguez Ramalles 2011, Schwenter 2016, i.a.):

- (1) A: Anda, tradúceme esta canción de bossanova.
‘Come on, translate this bossanova song for me.’
B: **Si** no hablo portugués!
‘[si] I don’t speak Portuguese!’

I claim that a pragmatic analysis of discourse *si* has two main ingredients: i) discourse *si* reacts to at-issue and not-at-issue content that violates the felicity conditions of the utterance it appears in, and ii) it does so by highlighting that the polar alternative to the (mistaken) felicity condition holds. Syntactically, I claim that discourse *si* sits outside the CP layer, in what has been called the grounding layer GroundP (Wiltschko & Heim 2016). Specifically, it links two arguments: CP (the propositional content) and GroundP. This analysis is evidence of the need for a syntactic layer above the CP that manages discourse notions.

Email Directory

| Last Name | First Name | Email |
|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ahmad | Meena | meena.ahmad@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Amaral | Patrícia | pamaral@indiana.edu |
| Aronoff | Mark | mark.aronoff@stonybrook.edu |
| Athanasopoulou | Angeliki | angeliki@udel.edu |
| Authier | Marc | jma11@psu.edu |
| Aziz | Jacob | jaziz9@uwo.ca |
| Auger | Julie | jauger@indiana.edu |
| Batlloiri | Montserrat | montserrat.batlloiri@udg.edu |
| Beaton | Mary Elizabeth | beatonm@denison.edu |
| Bello | Sophia | sophia.bello@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Bembridge | Gavin | gavin19@yorku.ca |
| Biezma | Maria | maria.biezma@uni-konstanz.de |
| Bilgin | Çağrı | cagri.bilgin@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Bono | Rosa | rosabv15@gmail.com |
| Camacho | Jose | jcamacho@rutgers.edu |
| Castillo | Lorena | lorena.castilloros@gmail.com |
| Chiasson-Léger | Mélissa | mchia067@uottawa.ca |
| Colomina | M. Pilar | mpilarcolominas@gmail.com |
| Comeau | Philip | comeau.philip@uqam.ca |
| Corr | Alice | a.corr@bham.ac.uk |
| Cruz Martínez | Juliana Ivette | julianaicm0107@gmail.com |
| Cuza | Alejandro | acuza@purdue.edu |
| de Souza Leite Molina | Daniele | dani.molina@globo.com |
| Del Prete | Fabio | fab.delprete@gmail.com |
| Dion | Nathalie | nathalie.dion@gmail.com |
| Donaldson | Bryan | bryandonaldson@ucsc.edu |
| Doner | Julianne | julie.doner@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Feliu | Gregory | gmfl3@hampshire.edu |
| Fonseca | Aline | alineafonseca@gmail.com |
| Foote | Rebecca | rebeccaf@uark.edu |
| Gabbai Armelin | Paula Roberta | paula.rg.armelin@gmail.com |
| Gallego | Ángel | angel.gallego@uab.cat |
| García-Tejada | Aída | garciate@purdue.edu |
| Giancaspro | David | djg919@gmail.com |
| Gibert-Sotelo | Elisabeth | elisabethgibertsotelo@gmail.com |
| Goncharov | Julie | julie.goncharov@gmail.com |
| Grolla | Elaine | egrolla@usp.br |
| Guertin | Monelle | guertin.monelle@courrier.uqam.ca |
| Gupton | Timothy | gupton1@uga.edu |
| Guzzo | Natália Brambatti | natalia.brambattiguzzo@mcgill.ca |
| Heap | David | djheap@uwo.ca |
| Howe | Chad | chowe@uga.edu |
| Hernandez | Angelica | ahernan5@uwo.ca |
| Irimia | Monica | monica.irimia@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Isac | Dana | dana.isac@concordia.ca |
| Jacobs | Haike | h.jacobs@let.ru.nl |
| Jimenez | Abril | aj515@scarletmail.rutgers.edu |
| Jiménez-Fernández | Ángel Luis | ajimfer@us.es |
| Kaminskaia | Svetlana | skaminsk@uwaterloo.ca |
| Katz | Jonah | katzlinguist@gmail.com |
| Khouja | Marta | martakb.sbd@gmail.com |
| Kinsella | Benjamin | benjamin.kinsella@rutgers.edu |
| Krol | Maya | maya.krol@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Lacerda | Renato | renato.lacerda@uconn.edu |

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--|
| Law | Jim | jimlaw90@gmail.com |
| Lima | Suzi | suzilima1@gmail.com |
| Lin | Dongmei | dongmei.lin@auckland.ac.nz |
| Lobo Name | Maria Cristina | mcrisname@gmail.com |
| López | Vanessa | vanessa.k.lopez@outlook.com |
| Luis | Ana | aluis@fl.uc.pt |
| Lustres | Eduardo | elustres@purdue.edu |
| Lyu | Jun | jun.lyu@stonybrook.edu |
| Longobardi | Giuseppe | giuseppe.longobardi@york.ac.uk |
| MacDonald | Jonathan | jonmacd@illinois.edu |
| Machado | Vanina | vanina.machadoaraujo@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Marcilese | Mercedes | mmarcilese@gmail.com |
| Martín Gómez | Antonio | martingo@purdue.edu |
| Martínez-Gil | Fernando | martinez-gil.1@osu.edu |
| Merino | Laura | lmerino@umail.iu.edu |
| Moradi | Sedigheh | sedigheh.moradi@stonybrook.edu |
| Morgan | Terrell | morgan.3@osu.edu |
| Oliveira | Cristiane | cristianeolivers@gmail.com |
| Osa | Adriana | a.osag@alumni.ubc.ca |
| Paquin-Drouin | Carolanne | paquin-drouin.carolanne@courrier.uqam.ca |
| Perpiñan | Silvia | sperpina@uwo.ca |
| Perry | Scott James | sperry24@uwo.ca |
| Peters | Andrew | and.peters@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Piñeros | Eduardo | c-e.pineros@auckland.ac.nz |
| Pitzanti | Gianmarco | gpitzanti@gmail.com |
| Poplack | Shana | spoplack@uOttawa.ca |
| Puskas | Genoveva | genoveva.puskas@unige.ch |
| Pérez-Leroux | Ana Teresa | at.perez.leroux@utoronto.ca |
| Rafat | Yasaman | yrafat@uwo.ca |
| Rao | Rajiv | rgrao@wisc.edu |
| Reed | Lisa | lar13@psu.edu |
| Repetti | Lori | lori.repetti@stonybrook.edu |
| Roussel | Basile | basile.roussel@uottawa.ca |
| Roberts | Ian | igr20@cam.ac.uk |
| Sainzmaza-Lecanda | Lorena | sainzl@uwgb.edu |
| Sánchez | Liliana | lsanchez@spanport.rutgers.edu |
| Santana | Raíssa | raissa.santana@usp.br |
| Schwenter | Scott | schwenter.1@osu.edu |
| Silva | Andressa Christine | andressa.silva@letras.ufjf.br |
| Soto-Corominas | Adriana | asotocor@uwo.ca |
| Stevenson | Ryan | rsteve28@uwo.ca |
| Suarez-Palma | Imanol | ispalma@email.arizona.edu |
| Tetzloff | Katerina | ktetzloff@linguist.umass.edu |
| Troberg | Michelle | michelle.troberg@utoronto.ca |
| Tse | Keith | keith.tse@balliol-oxford.com |
| Tubino-Blanco | Mercedes | mercedes.tubino-blanco@wmich.edu |
| Vázquez-Lozares | Almike | vzqzlr2@illinois.edu |
| Vogel | Irene | ivogel@udel.edu |
| Vogh | Kendall | kvogh@yorku.ca |
| Wallner | Ramona | Ramona.Wallner@uni-konstanz.de |
| Walton | Katherine Hilary | hilary.walton@mail.utoronto.ca |
| Zhang | Lijun | zhanglijunalfredo@163.com |
| Zhang | Jennifer | jz13@illinois.edu |

