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Poster presentations

Abstracts

How Noun Incorporation licenses VP Ellipsis in Spanish

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1. Null Objects in Spanish. As originally observed by Campos (1986), Spanish allows for Bare NPs (*bare plurals* and *mass nouns*) to be freely omitted in object positions, as in (1B).

- (1) A. ¿Compraste [café /regalos]¹? B. Sí, compré Δ¹
 bought.2sgS coffee/gifts Yes, bought.1sgS
 ‘Did you buy coffee/gifts?’ ‘Yes, I did.’

This author further observes that null objects may appear inside embedded clauses, as in (3a), but they are not licit inside syntactic islands, as illustrated in (3b). Based on this observation, Campos (1986) argues that the null object in structures like in (1B) should be analyzed as a variable: as the trace left behind by a null OP that moves to Comp in overt syntax.

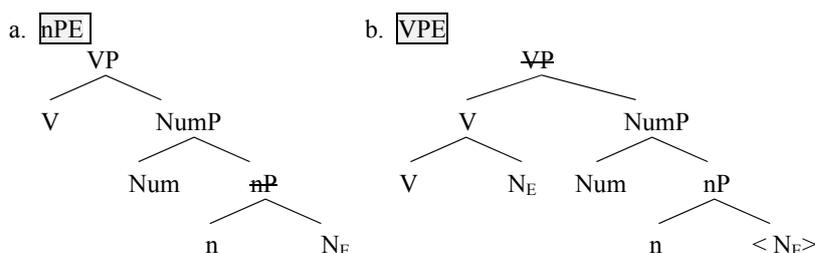
- (3) a. Juan me dijo [CP que [VP traería Δ]]. b. *No conozco al [NP muchacho que [VP trajo Δ]].
 Juan 1sgO told that will.bring not know.1sgS the boy that brought.3sS
 ‘His girlfriend told me that he will bring (some).’ ‘I never meet the guy which brought (some).’

As I will show in this talk, Campos’ (1986) analysis has both empirical and conceptual problems and must be abandoned. Taking as a starting point Laca’s (2013) suggestion that in Spanish null objects come as a result of NP Ellipsis, I will argue (i) that Bare NPs syntactically incorporate into V and that (ii) Ns bearing the E-feature (Merchant 2001, Gengel 2006, Eguren 2010) are able to trigger ellipsis of the maximal category to which they incorporate (i.e. VP). That is, I will defend the idea that Noun Incorporation licenses (verb stranding) VP Ellipsis in Spanish. The ability of noun incorporation to trigger VPE follow from the phonology of the E-feature in (4) (cf. Gengel 2006, Eguren 2010).

- (4) *The phonology of the E-feature* [adapted from Gengel 2006]
 The E-feature placed on the head X deletes the maximal projection immediately dominating X.

In (5a), N_E does not incorporate into V, so the maximal projection that immediately dominates N_E corresponds to nP, giving rise to ellipsis of the nP. On the contrary, N_E in (5b) adjoins to V as a result of N_E-to-V movement. Hence, the maximal projection that immediately dominates N_E is VP and, as a consequence of NI, the VP ends up elided in (16b).

(5) THE NOUN-INCORPORATION + ELLIPSIS ANALYSIS:



The *Noun-Incorporation+Ellipsis* analysis, as I will argue, is able to account for the full range of properties that null object constructions exhibit in Spanish. On the one hand, argument drop is restricted to BNs in Spanish. Unlike BNs, indefinite DPs cannot be left unpronounced, as shown in (6). As independently shown by Baker & Halle (1990), Noun Incorporation cannot skip functional heads like Num^o and n^o in its way to V, but is not able to skip indefinite Ds (or adpositions). That is, VPE is not licensed in (6B) because the noun inside the indefinite DP *algunas cervezas* ‘some beers’ is not able to incorporate into V.

- (6) A: ¿Juan compró algunas cervezas? B: Sí, compré *(algunas).
 Juan bought some beers Yes, bought some
 ‘Did Juan bought some beers?’ ‘Yes, he bought some’

On the other hand, the NI+E analysis can also explain why the verb whose complement BNP is elided must be identical to the verb of the antecedent clause (cf. 7a vs. 5b). This property, which was originally noted (but left explained) by Laca (2013), can be easily explained under the NI+E analysis. Since Noun Incorporation triggers ellipsis of the VP (i.e., the maximal projection of the head it incorporates), the elided VP (and not just the BN) must have a linguistic antecedent.

- (7) a. Pedro arregla bicicletas, y María también arregla Δ . b. *Pedro arreglaba bicicletas y María vendía.
 P. repairs bicycles and M. also repairs P. repaired bicycles and M. sold
 ‘Pedro repairs bikes and María repairs them, too.’ ‘Pedro repaired bikes and Maria sold them.’

2. Against Null OP.

2.1. Low Scope. In Spanish, Bare Plurals mandatorily take low scope with respect to other operators like negation (cf. Laca 2013, Espinal & McNally 2011). As shown in (9), the BP *pisos* is left unpronounced and must take low scope. This fact makes a strong argument against Campos’s analysis. This is so, under Campos’ analysis, null OP is assumed to raise to a position (Spec,CP) higher than negation and should take scope over the latter, contrary to Campos’ expectations.

- (8) a. No busco pisos. {NEG > pisos, *pisos > NEG}
 not look.for.1sgS apartments
 ‘I am not looking for apartments.’
- (9) A: ¿Buscas piso? B: ya no busco {NEG > pisos, *pisos > NEG}
 Look.for apartments already not look.for
 ‘Are you looking for apartments?’ ‘I’m not looking for [apartments] any more.’

2.2 Idioms. The mass noun *cacho* ‘chub’ forms an idiom with the verb *pillar* ‘catch’ (i.e., *pillar cacho* ‘to catch chub’ means ‘to flirt’ in Spanish), as shown in (10A). The idiomatic reading of the VP in (10A) still obtains when *cacho* gets deleted, as in (10B). Observe, however, that this very same idiomatic reading gets lost when *cacho* ‘chub’ overtly moves into an A’-position, as in (11). This fact thus casts serious doubts on Campos’s proposal that the null object in (10B) is a null operator that A’-moves in the syntax.

- (10)A. Pillaste [cacho]¹ anoche? B. Sí, [VP pillé Δ]¹
 caught.2sgS chub last.night Yes, caught.1sgS
 (lit) ‘Did you get a chub?’ ‘Yes, I did (flirt).’
 (Idiom) ‘Did you flirt last night?’
- (11) no hubo (un) cacho que pillar anoche
 not there.was a chub that to.catch last.night.
 (lit). ‘there was no chub to catch last night.’/ (idiom) ‘*there was no flirting last night.’

2.3 No correlation between A’-movement and null objects Spanish. As convincingly argued by Verdecchia (2022), ungrammatical sentences like (3b) in Spanish, which Campos claims to be ill-formed because of Subjacency, are in fact ungrammatical due to independent pragmatic factors. Once these pragmatics factors are controlled for, null object constructions do not exhibit island effects, as shown in (12).

- (12) *Complex NP Constraint* (Verdecchia 2022:3)
 A: ¿Alguien traerá cerveza a la fiesta?
 someone will.bring.3sgS beer to the party
 ‘Will anyone bring beer to the party?’
 B: Sí, conozco a alguien que va a traer Δ .
 yes know.1sgS A someone that go.3sgS to bring
 ‘Yes, I know someone that will bring [some].’

In this talk, I thus provide a new argument in favor of a “strong” derivational approach to ellipsis licensing (cf. Aelbrecht 2010, Baltin 2012). The argument is based on the fact that the XP that will be submitted for deletion/non-pronunciation at PF is not syntactically “fixed”, but must be determined during the course of the syntactic derivation.

Mono-clausal and Bi-clausal Topics in Likpakpaanl

Daniel Aremu, Samuel Owoahene Acheampong (Goethe University Frankfurt)

This talk discusses topic constructions in Likpakpaanl, a Mabia language spoken in Northern Ghana. Likpakpaanl has both *aboutness* (1a) and *contrastive* topics (1b) (cf. Büring, 2003, 2016; Krifka, 2008).

Context 1:

Daniel and Samuel have wished for themselves. While Daniel wishes to get married, Samuel wishes to become a professor. In the end, Samuel eventually became a professor, and Daniel got married. The sentence in (1a) is said about Daniel.

- (1) a. *Daniel mà yòòr ùpí*
 D. MÀ take.PFV woman
 ‘As for Daniel, he has married a wife.’

Context 2:

Wapu and Jagir told Maabe about their plans for the coming year. Wapu wants to build a house, and Jagir wants to buy a car. Jagir bought a car at the end of the year, but Wapu could not build a house. Maabe asked what had happened to their plans. The following response is given.

- b. Jagir *mà kàn, *(ù) dáá lóór àmàà Wapu mà àà màà kidiik*.
 J. MÀ KÀN RP buy.PFV car but W. *mà* NEG build house
 ‘As for Jagir, he bought a car, but as for Wapu, she did not build a house.’

Observation: The left periphery of Likpakpaanl clausal structure has only one position for an information-structural notion. In other words, topic and focus cannot co-occur at the same time in the left periphery of the clause (cf. Rizzi, 1997). While (2a) is ungrammatical, (2b) is grammatical because the focus is in-situ, and therefore only the topic is in the left periphery of the clause.

- (2) a. **[_{TopP} Daniel mà, [_{FocP} bà lè [_{TP} ù nán dàà]]]?*
 D. MÀ what FOC RP PST buy
 ‘As for Daniel, what did he buy?’
 b. *[_{TopP} Daniel mà, [_{TP} ù nán dàà [_{FocP} bà]]]?*
 D. MÀ RP PST buy what
 ‘As for Daniel, what did he buy?’

Analysis. We propose mono-clausal and bi-clausal analyses for *mà*-topics and *kàn*-topics, respectively. While the former projects a TopP in the left periphery, the latter has a bi-clausal structure. To begin with the *mà*-topics, we argue that both the topic and *mà* form a constituent. Consequently, movement to Spec-TopP must affect the entire *mà*-topic. This behaviour of the topic is identical to focus movement in Likpakpaanl, where *le* appears to be adjacent to the focused constituent (cf. (3a) in-situ vs (3b) ex-situ focus, see Mursell et al., 2022).

- (3) a. *Wààjà bà kàn Sàpù lè dìn*
 W. PST see S. FOC today
 ‘Waaja saw SAPU today.’

**A modular approach to Phonologically Conditioned Allomorphy.
The case of the Ligurian article system**

Tommaso Balsemin, Francesco Pinzin (Goethe University Frankfurt)

Phonologically Conditioned Allomorphy (PCA) (i.e. the same set of syntactic-semantic features receiving different surface lexicalization depending on the phonological context) can in principle be handled by a mechanism of phonologically conditioned lexical selection, in which phonological information is visible during morphosyntactic spell-out and can therefore influence the selection of lexical items (LIs) (see the discussion in Paster 2006, Nevins 2011). Such a proposal is however in contrast with a modular approach to grammar, in which the phonological and the morphosyntactic module are independent, and work based on a set of distinct features (Bye & Svenonius 2012, Scheer 2016 a.o.). In this contribution we will discuss a different account of PCA, within a modular approach to grammar. The testbed for this discussion will be the article system of Ligurian varieties, where both syllabic structure and melodic information condition the surface realizations of LIs. We will show how these cases can be handled within a fully modular approach to the morphosyntax-phonology interface. More in detail, the first case will be handled following Faust et al. (2018): a single LI surfaces in two different forms after phonological computation, depending on the syllabic structure of the following word. For the second case, we propose a demotion mechanism based on purely phonological information, which applies after the morphosyntactic derivation (following Nanosyntax, Starke 2009) provides a ranked set of candidates. This process demotes the item ranked first by morphosyntax and leads to processing the second-best candidate.

Most Ligurian varieties present the article system typical of Genova (the administrative/economic center of the area), where the realization of the different forms is driven by (i) the specification in terms of syntactic-semantic features and (ii) (in the singular) the phonological form of the following word (/l/ before vowel-initial words and /u/, /a/ elsewhere, depending on gender).

(1)

	SG	PL
M	u / l	i
F	a / l	e

M.SG: *u munte* ‘the mountain’ / *l omu* ‘the man’; M.PL: *i ovi* ‘the eggs’;
F.SG: *a barca* ‘the boat’ / *l idea* ‘the idea’; F.PL: *e olive* ‘the olives’.

On the other hand, some varieties in the mountain area around Savona (Carcare, Cairo Montenotte, Pontinvrea, Calizzano) present a more varied pattern (see also Rohlf’s 1968: §417). Here, besides the ones already identified for the “Genovese” varieties, we have two other alternations: (i) in the feminine plural we find *re* in front of a word beginning with /sC/ and *er* in all the other cases; (ii) in the masculine singular, we find *er* in front of a word beginning with a labial or velar C and *u* in all the other cases.

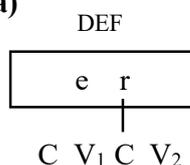
(2)

	sg	pl
m	u / er / l	i
f	ra / l	er / re

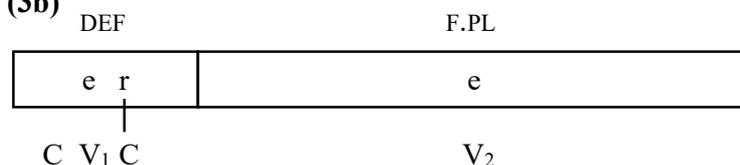
M.SG: *u libr* ‘the book’ / *er pan* ‘the bread’ / *l om* ‘the man’;
M.PL: *i ovi* ‘the eggs’;
F.SG: *ra fumra* ‘the woman’ / *l ideja* ‘the idea’;
F.PL: *er fumre* ‘the women’ / *re scare* ‘the stairs’.

Feminine plural *er/re*. In this case the morphosyntactic computation gives as an output a sequence of two LIs *er-e*, composed by *er* (for definiteness) and *e* (for F.PL ϕ features; a simplified representation for a larger set of features). Both the /e/ belonging to the LI /er/ and the LI /e/ marking F.PL are floating segments (see Scheer 2016, Cavarani forth.):

(3a)



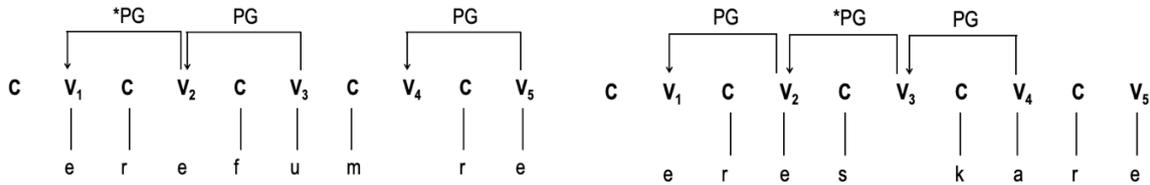
(3b)



The two surface forms, [er] and [re], are the result of the following phonological derivation based on classical Government Phonology (GP) operations (PG = proper government):

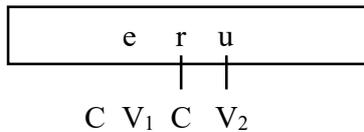
(4a) /ere 'fumre/ → [er 'fumre]

(4b) /ere s'kare/ → [re s'kare]



Masculine singular *u/er*. In this case [er] and [u] are the surface realizations of two different LIS: (i) *er* (3a) and (ii) *eru*, a monomorphemic LI realizing both definiteness and M.SG (5):

(5) DEF + M.SG



In keeping with cyclic phrasal spell-out, every time a morphosyntactic feature is merged, the lexicon is searched for a realization for such feature. Every LI containing such feature is a potential candidate for lexicalization (*superset principle*) and the potential candidates are ranked following what is generally defined as *elsewhere condition* (or *minimize junk*), i.e. the candidates with less unused features are ranked first. Following a suggestion in Starke (2019), we propose that, after the first cycle, the search is not performed in the entire lexicon but is restricted to the set of candidates inherited from the previous cycle. In the M.SG case, the morphosyntactic derivation inherits the following set from the previous cycle (i.e. DEF): {*er*, *eru*} and ranks it based on the features of the new cycle (i.e. DEF+M.SG), giving as an output the following ranked list: {[1] *eru*, [2] *er*}. The morphosyntactic derivation is now over and the ranked set is shipped to phonology, which computes the first LI. As already said (see 2), two phonotactic contexts are relevant. (i) When the following word starts with a C *other than* labial and velar, phonology processes the first LI in the ranked list (i.e. *eru*) and the derivation follows the same GP mechanisms showed in (3), giving [u] as the surface form. (ii) When the following word starts with a labial or velar C, phonology processes the first item in the ranked list as before, but in this case the sequence *eru* (ending with a rounded back closed V) + C_[labial, velar] would constitute an OCP violation (whose effects are visible in these varieties in other contexts too). Therefore, phonology demotes *eru*, and starts processing the second candidate, *er*, which surfaces as [er]. With this approach it is possible to account for a case of PCA within a modular architecture of grammar, where morphosyntax only computes morphosyntactic features and phonology only processes phonological information.

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Predicate agreement with pronominal conjuncts in Russian: experimental approach

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Abstract. This research aims to investigate possible patterns of predicate agreement with coordinated pronominal subjects in Russian using experimental methods of collecting language data. We have conducted two experiments to check the influence of two factors on the acceptability of different verbal forms: the order of conjuncts ('1sg – 2sg' or '2sg – 1sg') and the subject position regarding to a verb (SV or VS). The experiments showed the differences in the agreement patterns related to the word order as our respondents allowed non-basic types of closest adjunct agreement more in VS-stimuli than in SV-ones.

Background. There are two main patterns of personal agreement in case of several potential controllers, in particular coordinate constructions, described in theoretical and language-specific literature. The first one implies the relevance of the personal hierarchy [Zwicky 1997]: the controller of the agreement is the one with the highest value on the scale $1^{st} > 2^{nd} > 3^{rd}$ (cf. [Kiss 2012] for Hungarian, [Driemel 2018] for Czech). The second one is related to a linear position of conjuncts and a verb, such as First Conjunct Agreement or Closest Conjunct Agreement. What is interesting to point out is the fact that the latter pattern is attested in languages with VS- base word order, such as Welsh and Arabic [Harbert & Bahloul 2002; Aoun et al. 1994]. The experimental investigations of the agreement patterns in different languages were also already conducted ([Timmermans et al. 2004] for German and Dutch).

Russian normative grammars claim the personal hierarchy principle to be the only correct option for verbal agreement if subject contains a pronoun of 1st or 2nd person. However, we suppose that the other forms of predicate can also be presumed as acceptable by native speakers. Moreover, as Russian word order allow both SV and VS configurations, we expect the two orders to differ in matters of agreement strategy. These assumptions cannot be verified by corpora as the texts mainly present the literary norm, thus we have run an experimental study using sentences with 1sg and 2sg pronouns in coordinated subjects.

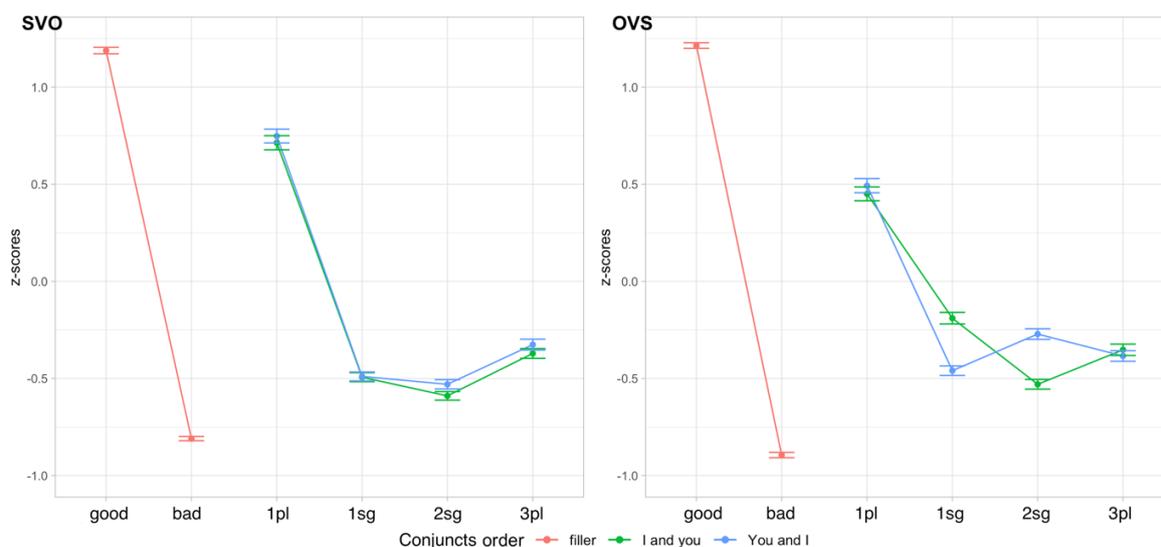
The research questions are (i) whether verb forms other than 1pl are acceptable with coordinated pronominal subjects; (ii) whether word order and conjunct order are significant for the choice of agreement strategy.

Experimental design. Two 4×2 AJ experiments were created: the one with SVO stimuli and the one with OVS stimuli. They contained two independent variables: the verb form (four levels: 1sg, 1pl, 2sg, 3pl, all verbs in present tense) and conjunct order (two levels: *ja i ty* 'I and you' and *ty i ja* 'you and I'). The Likert scale and self-paced reading were used to collect judgments. Each experimental list contained 32 test stimuli and 32 fillers. See experimental conditions of the SVO experiment in (1).

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------|------|---------|
| (1) a. | [Ja i ty / ty i ja] | stroim | krepost' | iz | sn'ega. |
| | I and you / you and I | build. 1pl | fortress | from | snow |
| b. | [Ja i ty / ty i ja] | stroju | krepost' | iz | sn'ega. |
| | I and you / you and I | build. 1sg | fortress | from | snow |
| c. | [Ja i ty / ty i ja] | stroiš | krepost' | iz | sn'ega. |
| | I and you / you and I | build. 2sg | fortress | from | snow |
| d. | [Ja i ty / ty i ja] | strojat | krepost' | iz | sn'ega. |
| | I and you / you and I | build. 3pl | fortress | from | snow |
- 'You and I are building a snow fort'.

Results. 104 native Russian speakers have passed the SVO-experiment. According to two-way ANOVA, both conjuncts order and predicate form are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$); however, Tukey's HSD test shows that only 1pl and 3pl factors differ significantly from other conditions, but no form differs between two orders. VSO-experiment was passed by 100 respondents. Two-way ANOVA shows the statistical significance of the predicate form factor

and the combination of two factors ($p \ll 0.0005$). There are also significant differences in forms 1sg and 2sg between two conjunct orders. In addition, there is no difference in reading time neither of a verb nor a first conjunct after a verb.



Thus, we confirmed that although three non-basic agreement possibilities are rated lower than the basic 1pl, they are still located higher than ungrammatical fillers. Furthermore, if a speaker has had a baseline strategy, we would expect him to spend more time reading a verb with other agreement or a first conjunct not matching the verb's person or number. But we saw no such tendency, hence the 1pl agreement strategy is not the only grammatical one. The patterns of agreement in SV- and VS-sentences are also in line with our general hypothesis. In the SV-experiment the dominant strategy is the personal hierarchy and the number feature does not match the corresponding features of each of the conjuncts but is related to their plurality; there is no first or closest conjunct advantage. The VS-experiment shows the opposite: the '1sg – 2sg' order is rated higher when located after 1sg verb form and the same happens with 2sg. This data demonstrates that the derived word order resulting in a verb before subject configuration facilitate not syntactic but post-syntactic agreement.

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**Towards a Formal Interactional Model of Manipulative Discourse:
Some Remarks on Negative Dynamic and Deontic Operators in Russian**
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Theoretical introduction. The ever-pervasive role of mass communication within the complex dynamics of post-truth society has turned the spotlight back on manipulative discourse and the propositional content of those linguistic strategies which have been allegedly exapted to instantiate it (MASIA 2021: 33). An intuitive working formalization of manipulative discourse, adapted from DE SAUSSURE (2005: 120), could take the following form in (1),

- (1) $\exists GS: \lambda \mathcal{P} \in CE(H);$
 $G\mathcal{S} \Rightarrow \lambda S \mid \lambda S(\lambda \mathcal{P}) \Rightarrow \lambda \mathcal{P} \in CE(H).$

where G is a (post-Gricean) goal of the Speaker S, $\lambda \mathcal{P}$ is a set of truth-functionally defective propositions, CE is a set of Hearer’s H beliefs, and λS is a set of strategies targeting the intersection between $\lambda \mathcal{P}$ and $CE(H)$, i.e., $\lambda S(\lambda \mathcal{P} \cup CE(H))$.

Formal and cognitive approaches to manipulative discourse have often provided a reliable empirical basis for contemporary theories on the normative relationship entertained by assertion, lying and other related issues, such as deceiving, misleading, and other forms of insincerity. The long-standing deceptionist account of lying as “[...] saying something one believes to be false with the intent to deceive one’s listener” (STOKKE 2013: 348) has been recently challenged in the philosophical literature; in particular, MARSILI (2020: 3261) puts forward a commitment-based definition of lying that relies on the notions of S’s ‘accountability’ and ‘discursive responsibility’, thus keeping it distinct both from misleading (i.e., merely implying, as opposed to overtly asserting, something S either knows or thinks to be truth-functionally defective) and deceiving (which does not necessarily entail lying *per se*).

Case study. In Contemporary Russian (henceforth CR), the aspectual marking of infinitive forms after negative volitional (e.g., *xotet*^{IPF} ‘to want’) and strong deontic operators (e.g., *nel’zja* ‘forbidden, impermissible’) tends to be consistently IPF, even though scope inversion phenomena may or may not affect the interpretation of the clausemate negation (which in CR always occupies a high position) with respect to the linearly closest modal element (be it c-commanded by the negative operator at LF or not). Compare the following two examples:

- (2) Oni ne xot-jat mne *pomog-a-t’*.
They.NOM NEG want-PRS-IPFV-3PL I.DAT help-INF-IPFV
‘They don’t want to help me out’
(¬∀p; negation takes wide scope both at SS and LF)
- (3) Nel’zja *s-kr-yva-t’* ot nego pravd-u: èto nečestno.
Forbidden hide-INF-IPFV from he-GEN truth-ACC.SG this unfair-ADV
‘We shouldn’t keep him from finding this out; it is unfair’
(□¬p; negation is merged with the deontic operator at SS, but takes narrow scope at LF)

The default choice of IPF for infinitive forms of either telic or (right-)bounded eventualities is usually explained away in terms of event semantics. Topologically non-closed eventualities—or eventualities whose topological closure is neither overtly asserted nor implied—take a homogeneous temporal argument (i.e., ‘existentially quantified’ in BORIK’s 2006 terms) and therefore do not entail the reaching of an endpoint. Phrased differently, what is being negated is not one of the temporal subphases of a culminating process but, rather, a non-actualized stative eventuality. Still, in a non marginal sample of negative dynamic and deontic utterances the expected pattern somehow fails to yield and PF infinite forms are licensed instead. Compare the following two examples:

- (4) Mongol'sk-ij lider- \emptyset utveržda-et, što rukovodstv-o **ne**
 Mongolian-NOM.SG leader-NOM.SG claim-PRS-IPFV-3SG COMP government-NOM.SG NEG
namereva-lo-s' *zapreti-t'* provedeni-e miting-ov i demonstraci-j.
 intend-PST-IPFV-N.SG forbid-INF-PFV holding-ACC.SG meeting-GEN.PL and demonstration-GEN.PL
 [Žambyn Batmunx: nasilie ne primenjat' // «Problemy Dal'nego Vostoka», 2002.12.30]
 'The Mongolian leader claims that the authorities did not intend to prevent meetings and
 demonstrations from being held'

(EXPECTED: *zaprešč-a-t'*_{INF-IPFV})

- (5) Nel'zja *dopusti-t'* vozniknoveni-ja pravov-ogo vakuum-a v
 Forbidden allow-INF-PFV formation-GEN.SG legal-GEN.SG void-GEN.SG in
 sfer-e evropejsk-oj bezopasnost-i — èto by-lo by ravnosil'no
 area-PREP.SG European-GEN.SG security-GEN.SG this be-PST-N.SG COND equally-ADV
 destabilizaci-i v «tyl-u» naš-ej sovmešt-n-oj bor'b-y s
 destabilization-GEN.SG in rear-PREP.SG our-GEN.SG joint-GEN.SG fight-GEN.SG with
 terrorizm-om i drug-imi global'n-ymi ugroz-ami.
 terrorism-INST.SG and other-INST.PL global-INST.PL threat-INST.PL
 [S. V. Lavrov. Stat'ja v gazetax «Kommersant» i «Uoll-strit džornal» // «Diplomatičeskij vestnik»,
 2004]

'We must prevent the formation of a legal gap in the area of European security; that would
 amount to a destabilization at the back of our joint struggle against terrorism and other global
 threats'

(EXPECTED: *dopusk-a-t'*_{INF-IPFV})

A number of different proposals has been recently put forward in the literature with the ultimate aim of reconciling this anomalous aspectual pattern with previous assumptions within modal and event semantics: cf., a.o., GONCHAROV (2020) for strong deontics such as the short adjectival form *dolžen* 'must' and GUSEV (2021) for both volitional and deontic operators. Whatever the hypothesis one ultimately decides to pursue, however, all these analyses seem to converge on the assumption that utterances such as (4)–(5), unlike (2)–(3), *imply* more than they actually *assert*. More specifically, the licensing of PF infinitive forms is seemingly informed by the presence of an additional, aspectual-based scalar implicature that scopes over the culminating point of the respective eventualities. Thus, in (4) it is implied that the Mongolian government, albeit unintentionally (if we are to believe its leader's words, of course), did in fact ban meetings and demonstrations. In (5), on the other hand, it is implied that the subjects need to take all the necessary measures to prevent the formation of such a legal gap; in more formal terms, this is tantamount to stipulating there can be only one world (an optimal one indeed), picked up from its set by a partial ordering function BEST, that enter the modal base of the deontic operator.

The proposal. The main aim of the present paper is to provide a structural representation of individual propositions instantiating either dynamic- or deontic-based manipulative discourse in CR within a formal interactional model. Our model seeks to tailor the theoretical notion of 'joint projects'—recently adopted in BENZ (2021) in order to account for the multi-layered structure of complex communicative acts between \mathbb{S} and \mathbb{H} —to the division between 'core' and 'emergent' common ground advocated for in the socio-cognitive model of KECSKÉS, ZHANG (2009). This attempt at methodological synthesis is called for by the desideratum to update the standard Stalnakerian account of common ground (cf., a.o., STALNAKER 2002) which, according to MARSILI (2021), is responsible for the failed distinction between true assertions and lies. On the one hand, the co-constructed trial-and-error character of verbal communication is nicely captured in KECSKÉS, ZHANG (2009). On the other hand, BENZ's (2021) definition of joint projects as set of triples $\langle m, a, r \rangle$ —a model, a communicative act performed by \mathbb{S} (composed in turn by the utterance of a sentence s with some propositional content φ), and \mathbb{H} 's response act—makes it possible to provide a unique representation of \mathbb{S} 's and \mathbb{H} 's information states (i.e., their constantly updated sets of beliefs and intentions) as epistemically possible (viz., accessible)

worlds. In our case, it is claimed that grammatically informed patterns of manipulative discourse in CR enter the emergent component of common ground (\mathcal{E}_{CG}) as utterances of sentences s belonging to $\lambda\mathcal{P}$, thus projecting implicit sentences of the type $s'(\varphi)$ which violate one or more normative constraints that define the epistemic felicity of joint projects. For simplicity's sake we only consider the cases when this violation may come in the form of a strong (i.e., an outright lie), weakened (i.e., a deceptive strategy), or weak (i.e., a misleading strategy) implicature, which we can formalize as following:

- (6) $s(\varphi) \subset \mathcal{E}_{CG} \ \& \ s(\varphi) \in \lambda\mathcal{P} \models s'$ such that $s'(\varphi) = 0$ in $w(\mathbb{S})$
(7) $s(\varphi) \subset \mathcal{E}_{CG} \ \& \ s(\varphi) \in \lambda\mathcal{P} \implies s'$ such that $s'(\varphi) = 0$ in $w(\mathbb{S})$
(8) $s(\varphi) \subset \mathcal{E}_{CG} \ \& \ s(\varphi) \in \lambda\mathcal{P} \implies s'$ such that $s'(\varphi) = \{0,1\}$ in $w(\mathbb{S}, \mathbb{H})$

Substantial differences between dynamic- and deontic-based manipulative discourse may be framed within a formal paradigm which takes into account the nature of the accessibility relation \mathbb{S} 's and \mathbb{H} 's information states entertain with the conversational backgrounds of the given modal operator—i.e., its modal base MB and a non-vacuous, proper set of ordering sources OS. It is argued that this interplay can be accordingly captured in an enhanced interactional model endowed with an additional modal module.

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A Labeling-Based Analysis of Nominal Phrases

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Empirical background: As is well known, Left Branch Extraction (LBE) can apply in, e.g., most Slavic languages (Czech, Polish, Russian, BSC, Slovenian, cf. (1)). By contrast, languages like English and Italian are subject to the Left Branch Condition (LBC, Ross 1986, cf. (3)), i.e., DET-categories (DET=demonstrative, wh-word, possessor...) obligatorily pied-pipe the nominal residue, cf. the contrast between (2)-a and (2)-b. (The Dutch *wat-voor*-construction and its German *was-für* counterpart (cf. Corver 2006, Leu 2008) require a separate discussion.)

(1) a. [Č'ju knigu]_i čitaješ *t_i*? b. Č'ju_i čitaješ [t_i knigu]?
 whose book you-are-reading whose you-are-reading book
 ‘Whose book are you reading?’ (Russian, Ross 1986:145ff)

(2) a. *Whose_i are you reading [t_i book]? b. [Whose book]_i are you reading t_i?

(3) **Left Branch Condition**

No NP which is the leftmost constituent of a larger NP can be reordered out of this NP by a transformational rule.

An equally well-known generalization maintains that LBE-languages feature no articles (Uriagereka 1988, Corver 1992, Bošković 2005) and optionally allow the addition of a DET-category, cf. (4). By contrast, “DP-languages” obligatorily require the presence of a DET-category, cf. (5) (Stowell 1991, Longobardi 1994), including articles.

(4) ... no (èta) mašin-a byla očen' dorogoj
 but DET car-NOM was very expensive
 ‘but the car was very expensive’ (Russian, Czardybon 2017 :86)

(5) John met *(the/a) president of a mining company yesterday. (Stowell 1991:37)

The contrast is commonly cast in terms of differential settings of the values of an NP-/DP-parameter (Bošković 2005 *et seq*). While the proposal of this parameter sparked an insightful industry of research, problems include that subsequent studies directly undermine its validity and criteria, e.g., by proposing DP-analyses for NP-languages (cf. Syed and Simpson’s 2017 study on Bangla nominal phrases).

Observation: All the mentioned article-less LBE-languages feature morphologically rich nominal case and gender/declension class inflection, while all the article languages observing the LBC

feature morphologically poorly inflecting	<i>Ger</i>	M.SG <i>Tisch</i> (‘table’)	N.SG <i>Buch</i> (‘book’)	F.SG <i>Tür</i> (‘door’)	<i>Ru</i>	M.SG <i>zavod</i> (‘factory’)	N.SG <i>mest</i> (‘place’)	F.SG <i>tetrad</i> (‘notebook’)
	NOM				NOM		-o	
	ACC				ACC		-o	
	DAT				DAT	-u	-u	-i
	GEN	-(e)s	-(e)s		GEN	-a	-a	-i

nouns. Even for a language like German, Müller (2002) ends up with as little as the one form in the paradigm of nominal inflection in the left table (the two forms of weak masculine noun inflection being a separate matter). Compare this to four forms in Russian nominal inflection classes I, III and IV (from Müller 2004) in the right table, which does not even consider instrumental and locative case yet.

New Analysis: The analysis is couched in the framework by Chomsky (2013, 2015/POP(+)) in which the set-forming operation Merge applies optionally (i.e., freely), whilst phase-by-phase transferred syntactic representations meet 3rd factor principles of efficient computation (*Minimal Search*) and interface conditions. One of the latter is that every syntactic object requires a label. POP proposes that this requirement is achieved in a computationally efficient manner by the Labeling Algorithm LA. The first step in the derivation involves a category-neutral root R and a categorizer K (POP: 47) introducing an asymmetry: While R does not, K bears grammatical features and is thus identified by the LA. Thus, a nominal phrase comprises the nominalizing head *n* and R (cf., e.g. Borer 2005) yielding {*n*, R}=α. How is the optional and the obligatory empirical pattern (1)/(2)/(4)/(5) captured? This talk seeks to capture it in

Subject-verb agreement in corrective adversative coordinate structures in European Portuguese

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We aim at exploring the agreement relations in corrective adversative coordinate structures. We believe this investigation will allow us to obtain clues regarding the structure of coordination, the locality of agreement relations and the interaction between syntax, semantics and morphology.

Although there is extensive research on subject-verb agreement in coordination, its main focus is on copulative coordination with “e” (“and”, cf. 1), with occasional remarks regarding sentences with corrective import (cf. 2a and 2b), and even scarcer considerations on adversative sentences with a corrective value (cf. 3a and 3b). Matos (2003:587) assumes that in a preverbal nominal subject with “mas não” (“but not”) as second term, this one counts as a parenthetical structure, thus not taking part in the agreement relation. Raposo (2020: 2441-2442), considering corrective constructions with “ou antes/melhor” (“or better said”), argues for an analysis in which the agreement occurs with the parenthetical DP, since the host DP is discarded. The assumption that a parenthetical DP takes part in subject-verb agreement is uncommon in the literature, given that parenthetical clauses are characterized for being syntactically and prosodically independent (Huddleston et al., 2002; Matos, 2009; Colaço & Matos, 2010; Mendes, 2013: 1728). Also, in Raposo’s examples it is suggested that there are two parenthetical structures, one corresponding to the connector and the other to the first DP. According to Martín Zorraquino & Portolés (1999), discourse markers are typically followed by pause as seen in Raposo’s examples. This differs from what happens with “mas não” (“but not”) (cf. 4). In our approach, this seems to draw nearer the connectors “ou melhor/antes” (“better said”) to the discourse marker “aliás” (“actually”), with which it seems to share more properties, including a more reformulating rather than corrective value (cf. 3vs. 5).

1. [Eu e tu] temos muitas coisas em comum.
I and you have.1p.pl many things in common.
'You and I have many things in common.' (Matos, 2003: 585)
- 2.a. [O guarda-redes], (ou) *melhor*, [os defesas centrais], foram os responsáveis pelo golo.
The goalkeeper, or better, the defenders centrals, be.PAST.3.p.pl the responsible.pl for+the goal.
'The goalkeeper, or better said, the central defenders were responsible for the goal' (Raposo, 2020: 2442)
- 2.b. [Os polícias], (ou) *antes*, [o inspetor], atuou erradamente.
The policemen, or before, the inspector, act.PAST.3p.sg, wrongly.
'The policemen, or better said, the inspector acted wrongly' (Raposo, 2020: 2442)
- 3.a. [[Os alunos], *mas não o professor*], faltaram às aulas.
The students, but not the teacher, miss.PAST.3p.pl to+the classes.
'The students, but not the teacher, skipped school.' (Matos, 1992: 129)
- 3.b. [A Transbrasil], *mas não a Lufthansa*, deixou de fazer voos para Portugal.
The Transbrasil, but not the Lufthansa, cease.PAST.3p.sg do.INF flights to Portugal.
'Transbrasil, but not Lufthansa, stopped flying to Portugal' (Matos, 2003: 587)
4. *[Os alunos], *mas não*, [o professor], faltaram às aulas.
The students, but not, the teacher, miss.PAST.3p.pl to+the classes.
'The students, but not, the teacher, skipped school.'
5. Os polícias, *aliás*, o inspetor, atuou erradamente.
The policemen, actually, the inspector, act.PAST.3p.sg, acted wrongly.
'The policemen, actually, the inspector acted wrongly'

However, examples as 6 to 9, which correspond to the prototypical examples of corrective adversatives (introduced by *sino* in Spanish and by *sondern* in German) have yet to be analyzed and it is not obvious to us how the subject-verb agreement occurs.

6. [Não o cão mas os gatos] fugiu/ fugiram de casa.
Not the dog but the cats fled.PAST.3p.sg./3p.pl from home
'Not the dogs but the cats fled from home.'
7. Comeu/ comeram o bolo [não o tio mas os sobrinhos].
Eat.PAST.3p.sg./3p.pl the cake not the uncle but the nephews
'Not the uncle but the nephews ate the cake.'

8. [Não os alunos ~~mas o professor~~] chegou/ chegaram tarde.
Not the students but the teacher arrive.PAST.3p.sg./3p.pl late
'Not the students but the teacher arrived late.'
9. Fez/ fizeram um desenho [não as crianças mas a educadora].
Make.PAST.3p.sg./3p.pl a drawing not the children but the kindergarten teacher
'Not the children but the kindergarten teacher made a drawing.'
10. ^{OK}Os alunos, ~~mas não o professor~~, faltaram às aulas.
The students, ~~but not the teacher~~, miss.PAST.3p.pl to+the classes.
'The students, ~~but not the teacher~~, skipped school.'
11. *Não o cão fugiu de casa. / *Mas os gatos fugiram de casa.
Not the dog fled.PAST.3p.sg. from home./ But the cats fled.PAST.3p.pl from home.
'Not the dog fled from home.'/ 'But the cats fled from home'

Bearing in mind the issues concerning subject-verb agreement in corrective adversative structures, we will build a forced choice experimental task between singular and plural forms of verbs with prenominal and postnominal subjects to assess speakers' preference. In this task, we will confront structures like 3.a. and 3.b with structures like 6-9. We will also omit punctuation marks as they can induce a parenthetical interpretation, presenting the stimuli without commas. In addition to controlling the position of the subject, we will also manipulate the value of the number feature by including sentences in which the first noun of the conjunct is singular and the second is plural (cf. 6 and 8) and vice-versa (cf. 7 and 9).

We predict, based on Colaço (2005) for postnominal subjects in European Portuguese, that the definition of the verb's number feature value will be determined by the number feature value of the closest nominal conjunct, except in the cases where "mas não" introduces a possible parenthetical construction (cf. 3a and 3b). As such, we believe that the verb will agree with *o tio* and *as crianças* in 7 and 9, ignoring negation, and we want to verify if the verb agrees with *os gatos* and *o professor* in 6 and 8. If our hypothesis is true, it is difficult to sustain an analysis in which these corrective structures are parenthetical, and our data will show a difference between 3a/3b and 6-9. Thus, our investigation will show if closest conjunct agreement occurs in subjects with two nominal elements, as it has been defended for nominal agreement in coordination (cf. Camacho, 2003; Demonte e Jiménez, 2012; Colaço, 2012, for prenominal elements; Gramacho, 2019) and, for example, by Nevins and Weisser (2019) for subject-verb agreement. This study will also clarify in which cases the second conjunct can be considered a parenthetical element.

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According to the statistical analysis with a linear mixed-effect regression model, it is statistically significant and positive that native Taiwanese speakers prefer using *daodi*-questions where the desperate emotion is depicted in the context ($\beta=0.77$, $SE=0.07$, $df=14.12$, 95% CI [0.62, 0.91], $t(315) = 10.17$, $p < .001$; Std. $\beta= 1.54$, 95% CI [1.24, 1.84]). The result of the empirical study shows a strong correlation between the emotion-loaded context and the use of *daodi*, and it brings us a piece of evidence that there is a compulsory use of emotional discourse particle to its corresponded emotion-loaded context.

PROPOSAL There are two parts of the proposal. The first part is to explain the result of the empirical study. In light of Portner et. al. (2019), I propose a new sociopragmatic principle, called MAXIMIZE EMOTION-EXPRESSIVITY: In Taiwanese, if a discourse participant is emotionally affected by an incident or other participant in the situation, the emotion of the participant must be expressed whenever possible. This rule explains why Taiwanese speakers significantly prefer using *daodi* in questions in the emotion-loaded contexts.

For the second part, I take contexts $\langle cs, QUD, \mathcal{F} \rangle$ as proposed in Biezma & Rawlins (2017), Biezma et. al's (2021) as my starting point. These are expanded by a slot \mathcal{E} recording the current emotions of the interlocutors. Contexts c are thus tuples $\langle cs, QUD, \mathcal{E}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$, with $\mathcal{E} \subseteq \{Pos(x, t_x, \varphi), Desp(x, t_x, \varphi), Neut(x, t_x, \varphi); x \text{ interlocutor}, t_x: \text{time of evaluation}, \varphi: \text{a question}\}$. (Pos: positive emotions, Desp: the desperate emotion, Neut: neutral emotions). Noted that the emotional state of the interlocutor, recorded in \mathcal{E} , is not a presupposition, but an expressive content following Potts (2006). The initial discourse is always: $C_0 = \langle cs, QUD, \mathcal{E}, \emptyset \rangle$.

(6) $C_0 \vdash \ulcorner daodi-Q(\varphi) \urcorner = \langle cs_{c_0}, QUD_{c_0}, \mathcal{E}_{c_0}, \mathcal{F}_{c_1} \ulcorner daodi-Q(\varphi) \urcorner \rangle$ s.t.

a. For EIQs:

- (i) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} \ulcorner daodi-Q(\varphi) \urcorner = \langle cs_{c_0}, top(push(QUD_{c_0}[\varphi])), \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \rangle$, and felicitous only if
- (ii) $QUD_{c_0} = \langle \rangle, \mathcal{F}_{c_0} = \emptyset, cs \models \exists t_i < t$: possible answers to the φ were dismissed in t_i , and $\mathcal{E}_{c_0} = \{Desp(sp(c), t_i, \varphi)\}$, then
- (iii) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} = \langle cs_{c_1}, top_{c_1}(\varphi), \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \cup \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\} \rangle$
- (iv) $C_I = \langle cs_{c_1}, top_{c_1}(\varphi), \mathcal{E}_{c_1} = \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$

b. For CorQs:

- (i) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} \ulcorner daodi-Q(\varphi) \urcorner = \langle cs_{c_0}, top(push(QUD_{c_0}[\varphi])), \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \rangle$, and felicitous only if
- (ii) $cs \models \exists t_i < t$: φ has been asked in t_i , $\varphi \in QUD_{c_0}, \mathcal{E}_{c_0} = \{Desp(sp(c), t_i, \varphi)\}$, then
- (iii) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} = \langle \{cs_{c_1} \cap \{\rho\}, cs_{c_1} \cap \{\neg\rho\}\}, top_{c_1}(\varphi), \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \cup \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\} \rangle$ where ρ and $\neg\rho$ are relevant to φ .
- (iv) $C_I = \langle \{cs_{c_1} \cap \{\rho\}; p \in [\varphi]\}, top_{c_1}(\varphi), \mathcal{E}_{c_1} = \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$

c. For EmoQs:

- (i) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} \ulcorner daodi-Q(\varphi) \urcorner = \langle cs_{c_0}, pop(push(QUD_{c_0}[\varphi])), \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \rangle$, and felicitous only if
- (ii) $QUD_{c_0} = \langle \rangle, \mathcal{F}_{c_0} = \emptyset, cs \models \exists t < t_{i+1}$: the speaker hopes for the addressee's commiseration in t_α , then
- (iii) $\mathcal{F}_{c_1} = \langle cs_{c_0}, QUD_{c_0} = \langle \rangle, \mathcal{E}_{c_0} \cup \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\} \rangle$, so
- (iv) $C_I = \langle cs_{c_1}, QUD_{c_1} = \langle \rangle, \mathcal{E}_{c_1} = \{Desp(sp(c), t, \varphi)\}, \mathcal{F}_{c_{i+1}} \rangle$
- (v) $F_{c_{i+1}} = \langle cs_{c_{i+1}}, QUD_{c_{i+1}} = \langle \rangle, \mathcal{E}_{c_1} \cup \{Desp(sp(c), t_{i+1}, \varphi), Desp(ad(c), t_{i+1}, \varphi)\} \rangle$

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On parasitic gaps, anti-locality, and the distribution of subject movement

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1 INTRODUCTION. The intricate properties of parasitic gaps (PGs) have long enriched research on the syntax of (A') movement (Engdahl 1983, Nissenbaum 2000, Legate 2003, Overfelt 2015, Kotek & Erlewine 2018, Bondarenko & Davis 2021, a.o.). In this project, I use new data about PGs in English (based on judgments from 7 native speakers so far) to propose a generalization about PGs and subjects, stated in (1):

(1) **Generalization:** A PG in the highest subject position of an adjunct clause is impossible. Assuming that PGs involve operator movement (Chomsky 1986, Browning 1987, Nissenbaum 2000, a.o.), **I argue that (1) is predicted by anti-locality**—the hypothesis that some movements fail due to being too short. I argue for the definition of anti-locality in (2) below, which has much independent support (Bošković 2005, Brillman & Hirsch 2016, Erlewine 2016, 2020, a.o.):

- (2) *Movement from spec-XP to spec-ZP illegal without intervening phrase dominating XP*
 a. * [_{ZP} α Z [_{XP} t X ...]] b. ✓ [_{ZP} α Z [**YP** Y [_{XP} t X ...]]]

I show that such anti-locality predicts (1), as well as additional facts about when subject movement, and subject-licensed PGs, are permitted. While the interaction between PGs and subjects has been a point of contention (Culicover & Postal 2001), these results make clear that PGs and subjects interact simply, except when anti-locality interferes.

2 THE PG PUZZLE. A PG is a gap in an island co-referent with a phrase that A'-moves external to that island, as (3) shows with PGs in clausal adjuncts. Object PGs as in (3) are productive:

- (3) a. What₁ did you forget about t₁ [because I didn't mention PG₁]?
 b. Tell me [which paper]₁ I should read t₁ [before I give you comments on PG₁]

I observe that PGs in the subject position of such adjuncts are impossible, as (4) below shows. In (4a-b), we see that object movement cannot license such a subject PG. While in some languages the case/θ-role of a PG and its antecedent must match (see for instance Franks 1992, 1993 on Russian), Engdahl (1983) showed that this is not so for English. Thus matching is not the problem in (4a-b). Indeed, attempting to license such a subject PG by movement of a subject fares no better, as we see in (4c). This example uses long-distance subject movement for clarity (since clause-internal subject movement, if it occurs, would be string-vacuous).

- (4) a. Who₁ did you slap t₁ [because **they**/*PG₁ ate your lunch]?
 b. That's the guy who₁ I fired t₁ [after **he**/*PG₁ insulted me]
 c. Who₁ did you say [t₁ is a jerk] [because **they**/*PG₁ ate your lunch]?

I argue that the anti-locality constraint in (2) above accurately predicts this fact, and more.

3 THE ANTI-LOCALITY SOLUTION. Nissenbaum (2000) argues that a PG is the trace of a null operator (Chomsky 1986, Browning 1987, a.o.) which moves to the edge of the island and triggers Predicate Abstraction (Heim & Kratzer 1998). A PG-containing adjunct clause like that in (5) below is thus changed from type t to a predicate <e,t>. At the same time, Nissenbaum argues that successive-cyclic movement of the PG-licenser from vP triggers Predicate Abstraction there as well, creating an <e,t> position in vP where the PG-containing adjunct can be merged and interpreted by Predicate Modification, as (5) illustrates:

- (5) Who₄ did you [_{vP} t₄ [_{v'<e,t>} λ forget t₄] [_{AdjunctP<e,t>} OP λ after you met t_{OP} (=PG₄)]]?

In this account, the operator must move for semantic reasons: if it does not move within the containing island, it does not trigger Predicate Abstraction, and the island would thus not have the right semantic type to combine with the predicate formed by successive-cyclic movement.

Consequently, forming a PG in a subject position as in (4) above would require movement of an operator to the island's edge from spec-TP. Assuming that words like *because*, *if*, *after*, and so on are complementizers, and that clausal adjuncts like those in (4) above are thus CPs, then the formation of the PGs in (4) would require operator movement from spec-TP to spec-CP. Importantly, the anti-locality proposal in (2) above bans such movement, as (6) shows:

- (6) * ... [_{CPAdjunct} OP C [_{TP} t_{OP}(=PG) T vP ...]] (*Operator movement too short*)

Thus anti-locality accurately predicts the impossibility of the subject PGs in (4) above.

4 PREDICTION ABOUT SUBJECT MOVEMENT OVER ADJUNCTS. Several works cited above argue that anti-locality explains the *that*-trace effect and its repair in the way demonstrated in (7) below. In brief: Subject A'-movement out of CP fails because CP is a phase, which movement must pass through the specifier of, but anti-locality bans movement from spec-TP to spec-CP. However, inclusion of an adjunct between TP and CP facilitates such movement, since adjunction can add more structure between TP and CP (7a). The simple absence of the CP phasal layer (and thus the complementizer) from the embedded clause also suffices (7b).

- (7) a. Who₁ did you say [_{CPPhase} t₁ **that** [_{XP} *(unfortunately) [_{TP} t₁ is not so smart]]]?
 b. ✓ Who₁ did you say [_{TP} t₁ is not very smart at all]?

If movement from spec-TP to spec-CP is banned, then subject A'-movement must not occur in basic mono-clausal contexts—a conclusion many have argued for (George 1980, Chung & McCloskey 1983, Chomsky 1986, a.o.). However, given the above discussion, we expect the presence of an adjunct between TP and CP to facilitate clause-bounded subject A'-movement by allowing avoidance of an anti-locality violation. Further, if in such a case this subject movement really occurs, the moved subject should be able to license a PG in the intervening adjunct. This could only occur if the subject really moves, since PGs must be crossed by movement of their licenser (Engdahl 1984, Nissenbaum 2000). Such examples are indeed attested (8):

- (8) a. a note which₁ [unless we send back PG₁] t₁ will ruin our relationship
 (Haegeman 1984)
 b. Let me tell you who₁, [despite nobody liking PG₁ at all], t₁ is gonna get promoted.

5 PREDICTION ABOUT EMBEDDED SUBJECT PGs. Though movement from spec-TP to spec-CP is usually banned by anti-locality, movement of a PG-forming operator from an embedded TP to the edge of a multi-clausal CP adjunct is predicted to be permitted, as diagrammed in (9):

- (9) ✓ ... [_{CPAdjunct} OP C T v V [_{TP} t_{OP}(=PG) T v V ...]]

This expectation leads us to the additional prediction that when an adjunct CP contains an embedded TP, a PG in the subject position of the embedded TP should be permitted (and that the *that*-trace effect will apply for that PG). Examples of this form (10) are reported by Engdahl (1986) and Browning (1987), and are judged by my informants to indeed be improved compared to the illicit subject PGs we saw in (4) above. Note that such embedded subject PGs can be licensed by either subject movement (10a) or object movement (10b).

- (10) a. Who₁ will you think t₁ is a jerk [if I say (*that) [_{TP} PG₁ is a jerk]]?
 b. This is a snack ∅₁ that I eat t₁ every day [because I suspect (*that) [_{TP} PG₁ might be good for me]]

6 AN ADVERB PUZZLE. The above considerations leads to the prediction that placing an adjunct between TP and CP should facilitate subject PGs like those in (4) above due to permitting the needed operator movement. I show that this prediction is false. I argue that this is so because the relevant adjunct CPs are structurally impoverished compared to *that*-CPs like those in (7a), such that the adverb cannot be included in the way needed to prevent violations of anti-locality.

7 CONSEQUENCES. Whether subjects and PGs interact, and if so to what extent, is a topic of controversy. This research clarifies this issue by showing that PGs and subjects interact productively in precisely the ways we expect, as long as anti-locality is not violated. I go on to argue that anti-locality also explains the illicitness of certain PGs in PPs, where anti-locality violating movement from spec-DP to spec-PP would be required. This work also makes predictions about the distribution of subject PGs in languages with different subject properties (including much of Romance, for instance), which I describe but leave for future study.

Higher numerals and Classifier-less DPs in Classifier languages

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The divide between classifier (Cl) and the non-classifier languages can be explained via two major existing accounts- (i) the nature of the numerals (Krifka 1995) and (ii) the nature of the nouns (Chierchia 1998a,b). According to (i), the numerals in a non-classifier language have an inherent measure function that helps them directly quantify nouns, while in a classifier language, the numerals lack this property. They need a classifier for measuring nominals. The second account changes the focus of the variation and suggests that the nouns' nature differentiates a classifier from a non-classifier language. In a classifier language, all nouns are mass nouns, and they need a classifier for individuation, which the non-classifier languages do not require.

However, there are specific constructions within classifier languages that do not need or prefer a classifier. The question then arises: what licenses this absence of classifiers in these languages? The present paper discusses this question by taking up novel data from Eastern Indo-Aryan (EIA) classifier languages like Maithili and Bajjika, compared with the sister language Bangla. It also discusses the meso-level variation between Bangla on the one hand and Maithili and Bajjika on the other regarding such classifier-less DP constructions. The numeral classifier languages are noted for their obligatory presence of a classifier in a numerical DP structure (as in Japanese, seen in 1).

1. (a) *ichi*(-rin)-no hana*
one Cl-gen flower
'One flower' (Sudo, 2016, p.2)

Similarly, Maithili, Bajjika, and Bangla are numeral classifier languages, displaying an obligatory presence of a classifier in a numerical DP, irrespective of the nominal type (2).

2. (a) *teen*(ta) chhoura/gaay/dandaa* (Maithili)
three Cl boy/cow/stick
'Three boys/cows/sticks'
(b) *teen*(go) laika/gaay/satkaa* (Bajjika)
three Cl boy/cow/stick
'Three boys/cows/sticks'
(c) *teen*(te) chhele/goru/laathi* (Bangla)
three Cl boy/cow/stick
'Three boys/cows/sticks'

Intriguingly, the classifier is either optional or prohibited in numerical constructions with higher numerals in these languages.

3. (a) *hum-ra biyah-me teen-caar hazaar (*ta) lok ae-l chalai*
I-gen. marriage-Loc. three-four thousand Cl guest come be.3P.perf.
'Around 3000-4000 guests have arrived at my wedding'
(b) *hum do-sau (*ta) lok ke bajene chiai*
I three-hundred Cl man Acc. call. be.1sg.perf.
'I have called 200 people' (Maithili)
4. (a) *hum-ra shaadi me teen-caar hazaar (*go) aadmi ae-l rahai*
I-gen. marriage-Loc. three-four thousand Cl guest come be.3P.perf.
'Around 3000-4000 guests have arrived at my wedding'
(b) *hum do-sau (*go) aadmi ke bola liye ha*
I two-hundred Cl man Acc.call. be.1sg.perf.

- 'I have called 200 people' (Bajjika)
5. (a) *ama-r biye-te teen-caar hajar (*jon) lok eschilo*
 I-gen. marriage-Loc. three-four thousand Cl_{+human} guest come.3P.perf.
 'Around 3000-4000 guests had arrived at my wedding'
- (b) *do-sho (*jon) lok dekechi*
 two-hundred Cl man call.1 sg.perf.
 '(I) have called 200 people' (Bangla)

The paper suggests that the properties of numerals play a role in this. From the cognitive perspective, the higher numerals refer to an approximate reading of a large numeric quantity that does not require individuation (cf. Hiraiwa 2017). The unavailability of individuation reading in DP with such numerals blocks classifiers' appearance in such structures. Recent studies in the generative literature also consider numerals to be the culprit behind the absence of classifiers. Bale & Coon (2014) opines that the presence of classifiers depends on the nature of the numerals and not the nouns, thereby enforcing Krifka's (1995) claim. If the numeral has inherent measure function, it can modify the noun directly. Otherwise, it needs a classifier. Yu-Lam (2020) suggests that higher numerals like 'thousands' behave like a measure word and do not co-occur with classifiers in Mandarin. These numerals have the inherent measure function but have not yet been grammaticalized into strict measure words. Therefore, the classifier can optionally occur with such numerals. The current work proposes that the higher numerals in EIA classifier languages also have similar differences in their behavior and properties to the lower numerals. The higher numerals display an inherent measure function and can directly quantify the noun. Since it is not strictly a measure word yet, it still allows classifiers optionally when individuated quantity is referred to, as seen in Bangla (6). Lower numerals, however, do not demonstrate such optionality.

6. (a) *paanch-sho aam-er moddhe teen-sho ta aam poche geche*
 five-hundred mango-gen. middle three hundred Cl mango rot be.perf.
 'Out of five hundred mangoes, three hundred of them have got rotten'

Interestingly, this optionality in the occurrence of the classifiers with higher numerals is absent in Maithili and Bajjika, even for an individuated or partitive reference(7).

7. (a) *pan-sau aam me sa teen-sau (*ta) aam bhau/sar gelai*
 five-hundred mango. Loc. from three-hundred Cl mango rot be.perf.
 'Out of five hundred mangoes, three hundred of them have got rotten'

To summarise, the paper presents novel data from EIA languages and suggests that the absence of classifiers in a classifier language can be explained via the nature of the numerals. The higher numerals behave differently from, the lower numerals in that the former has properties of a measure word which (optionally) blocks the appearance of the classifiers. The behavioral differences between higher and lower numerals also indicate that, structurally, they might occupy different positions in a classifier language (c.f. Biswas 2013, Simpson & Syed 2016). A parametric variation among the EIA sister languages regarding the interaction of the higher numerals and classifiers is noted in this work as well.

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A spanning account to complex theme elements in Italian

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Introduction. This paper proposes an analysis of the so-called *-isc-* augment in Italian within the framework of Distributed Morphology (DM). Contrary to its Latin predecessor, the Italian root extension *-isc-* is a semantically empty element restricted to (the majority of) third conjugation verbs (e.g., *finire* 'end'). Furthermore, it only appears in the Present Indicative and Subjunctive forms – except for the 1pl and the 2pl – as well as the 2sg Imperative (cf. Table 1).

	Present Indicative	Present Subjunctive	Imperative
1sg	fin[isk]o	fin[isk]a	
2sg	fin[iff]i	fin[isk]a	fin[iff]i
3sg	fin[iff]e	fin[isk]a	
1pl	finiámo	finiámo	
2pl	finite	finiáte	finite
3pl	fin[isk]ono	fin[isk]ano	

Tab. 1: *finire* 'end'

The problem. So far, only very few studies based on syntactic approaches to morphology have been dedicated to the formal analysis of *-isc-*.¹ The most influential work stems from Oltra-Massuet (1999) who accounts for theme allomorphy involving the Catalan variant of *-isc-*, i.e., *-eix-* (e.g., *prefer*[eʃ]o 'I prefer'), in terms of fusion. Fusion is a morphological operation used to modify syntactic structure. It combines two sister nodes into a single X° , with the features of both input nodes, but no internal structure (Bobaljik 2017). The same strategy is also used in Embick's (2016) analysis of Italian *-isc-*. In contrast to Oltra-Massuet who proposes that *-eix-* is situated in a theme node attached to v , Embick designates v° itself as the main locus of insertion. There are however some reasons to be critical of devices such as fusion. First, it is still unclear what factors are actually involved in triggering fusion. Second, a rather big issue that has not been solved yet concerns its look-ahead problem (Chung 2007, Caha 2009). Since fusion is capable of rearranging the syntactic structure it naturally has to be strictly ordered before vocabulary insertion. However, fusion only occurs when there is a portmanteau item available for insertion.

Proposal. But there is a solution to this problem. Fusion may be entirely unnecessary when we assume (i) a vocabulary-insertion-only model of grammar and (ii) that vocabulary insertion does not only target single terminal nodes but that two neighbouring nodes may be realized by a vocabulary item (VI) at a non-terminal node (Williams 2003, Svenonius 2012, Merchant 2015, Haugen & Siddiqi 2016). In the present analysis, theme allomorphy is assumed to be conditioned by (i) T[-past] and (ii) by the adjacent span encoding ϕ -features. The advantage of spanning is that VIs are allowed to operate over the hierarchical structure, thus allowing to insert phonological material not just in one terminal node at a time but in entire spans of terminal nodes. The following spans are proposed for vocabulary insertion:

(1) Spans for VIs²

- a. <Th, T^o, Th> ↔ /iski/ if < ϕ : 1sg/3pl>
- b. <Th, T^o, Th> ↔ /iffi/ if < ϕ : 2/3sg>
- c. <Th, T^o, Th> ↔ /ja/ if < ϕ : 1pl>
- d. <Th, T^o, Th> ↔ /i/ elsewhere

(2) VIs for ϕ -features

- a. [1pl] ↔ /mo/
- b. [2pl] ↔ /te/
- c. [1] ↔ /o/
- d. [2] ↔ /i/
- e. [3pl] ↔ /no/
- f. There is no VI for 3sg.

¹ Cf. however many recent studies wherein the augment is analyzed as a marker of the morphomic N-pattern (Meul, 2010; Da Tos, 2013; Maiden, 2018).

² Due to lack of space this paper focuses on the Present Indicative forms.

Accounting for agreement patterns in identificational vs. assumed-identity copulas

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INTRO: Recent work on hierarchy effects in copular constructions have focused on those in which agreement is or is not variable based on the type of copula presented (Béjar & Kahnemuyipour 2017; Coon & Keine 2022; Hartmann & Heycock 2020; Keine, Wagner & Coon 2019, *i.a.*). In this abstract, I present novel data from Galician (Romance) focusing on the differences between *identificational* (1d) and *assumed-identity* (1c) regarding the ‘NP2 agreement phenomenon’ (B&K 2019) and their derivational differences. I show that the hierarchy effects exhibited are due to omnivorous agreement (Nevins 2011; Preminger 2014) of the copular probe on T° with [PERSON] as the primary feature that determines the morphological outcome of verbal inflection, showing a PART>3 hierarchy. Moreover, when [PERSON] fails to determine the verbal inflection (e.g., 3>3), it is [NUMBER] that decides the morphological output (2). I follow a purely syntactic account and reject semantic-related hypotheses (e.g. KW&C 2019) when these effects disappear in *assumed-identity* structures, owing to a phase-like head (e.g., Voice°) that provokes movement of NP1 and serves as the only potential agreement target for T°. I also show that this phenomenon extends to bi-clausal constructions in Romance, where these results have been shown to dissipate in other families cross-linguistically (e.g., Germanic; KW&C 2019).

DATA: There are four primary copula types: predicational (1a), specificational (1b), assumed-identity (equative) (1c), and identificational (1d).

- (1) a. Ti es / *é a nosa preocupación
 you be.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG the our worry
 ‘You are our concern.’
- b. A nosa preocupación *é / es ti
 the our worry be.PRS.3SG be.PRS.2SG you
 ‘Our concern is you.’
- c. Ti es / *é Spiderman
 you be.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG Spiderman
 ‘You are Spiderman.’
- d. Aquel *é / es ti
 you be.PRS.3SG be.PRS.2SG you
 ‘That one (over there) is you.’
- (2) A cea *foi / foron as filloas
 the dinner be.PST.3SG be.PST.3PL the funnel-cakes
 ‘The dinner was funnel cakes.’

Previous work has shown that specificational clauses show the clearest syntactic and semantic differences from the others (Den Dikken 2006; Heycock 2010, 2012; Moro 1997; *i.a.*). In turn, the principal idea behind how each copula type listed above is derived is based on ‘copula inversion’ in which the referential noun remains within the small clause (SC) and serves as NP2.

- (3) a. T° ... [_{SC} NP1 NP2] *Canonical copula clause*
 b. T° ... NP1_i ... [_{SC} t_i NP2] *Copula inversion*

In the research on specificational clauses (1b), the inversion seen in (3b) has created the division between languages like Persian and Eastern Armenian that permit NP2 agreement and those like English and French which may only exhibit NP1 agreement.

- (4) a. qaatel to-ø-yi *Persian* (B&K 2019:469)
 murderer you.SG-be-2SG
- b. The murderer is you *English*

PROPOSAL: In NP2-agreement languages (Galician, Persian, etc.), T° is specified for a feature (e.g., [PART]) that is not found on NP1 (cf. 1b). Based on the ‘omnivorous’ behavior or probes, T° continues to probe before finding a goal bearing [PART]. Although this is the pattern commonly found

in specificational-type of constructions, I claim that this is not without exception. In particular, both *identificational* (5a) and *assumed-identity* (5b) have been described as subtypes of specificational with respect to ‘copula inversion’, yet the agreement patterns they exhibit are not congruous.

- (5) a. Ese *é / son eu
 that be.PRS.3SG be.PRS.1SG I
 ‘That’s me.’
 b. El é / *son eu
 he be.PRS.3SG be.PRS.1SG I
 ‘He is me.’
 c. El é / *son eles
 he be.PRS.3SG be.PRS.3PL they
 ‘He is them.’ (i.e., the members of his family)

In order to account for these data, I make two claims. First, there is an intermediate functional head (e.g. F°) that selects NP1 and, thus, places it higher than NP2, restricting which argument T° may agree with (6).

- (6) T° ... NP1_i ... F° ... [_{sc} t_i NP2]

Second, I claim that in order for T° to only agree with NP1 (regardless of its feature specification), the intermediate head that agrees with NP1 must be a phase (e.g., Voice°), preventing further agreement with NP2 as in traditional specificational constructions. This head is present in *assumed-identity* constructions where the verb must agree with NP1 despite NP2 being further specified for [PERSON] (5b) or [NUMBER] (5c). This must not be a property of ‘copula inversion’ more generally, as *identificational* construction, much like traditional specificational structures themselves (cf. 1b), involve the same movement but without the restriction of T° being able to reach NP2.

The idea that matrix T° may control agreement across clausal boundaries also prevails in Romance, unlike what has been shown for German (KW&C 2019). Here, [PERSON] controls agreement as monoclausal structures with [NUMBER] deciding agreement when the person is the same.

- (7) a. O meu mellor amigo *parece / parece ser ti
 the my best friend seem.PRS.3SG seem.PRS.2SG be.INF you
 ‘My best friend seems to be you.’
 b. O pexego *pode / poden ser as froitas
 the peach be-able.PRS.3SG be-able.PRS.3PL be.INF the fruit.PL
 ‘The peach can be the fruit.’

That these structures are biclausal is shown by the fact that Western Iberian Romance (Galician, Eur. Portuguese) may bear a left-peripheral head similar to F° (cf. 6) that controls agreement with NP2 via inflected infinitivals, in which case matrix T° agrees with NP1. This head *f* (Uriagereka 1995, Raposo & Uriagereka 2005) that selects TP as its complement has been shown to be a phase (Fernández-Rubiera 2013, Author 2021), which explains the agreement pattern in (8).

- (8) O polbo pode seren os pratos pra mañán
 the octopus be-able.PRS.3SG be.INF.3PL the dishes.PL for tomorrow
 ‘The octopus can be the dishes (served) tomorrow.’

The data and proposal here support a syntactic account of both NP1 and NP2 agreement patterns. I have shown that *identificational* sentences (5) behave as traditional specificational constructions (1b; 4a) when NP2 is more featurally specified than NP1, the former determining agreement. *Assumed-identity* sentences, however, involve a phase head that only permits NP1 agreement (5b-c).

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Word category effect in morphological decomposition during visual word processing: Evidence from prefix priming

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There is a growing body of evidence suggesting morphological decomposition of words during spoken and written language comprehension (Barber et al., 2002; Goodwin Davies & Embick, 2020; Lavric et al., 2007; Longtin et al., 2003; Longtin & Meunier, 2005; Marslen-Wilson et al., 1994; Rastle et al., 2004; Reid & Marslen-Wilson, 2003; Taft & Forster, 1975). Much is still unclear about the nature of this mechanism and the conditions under which such decomposition is attempted. The current study used a masked priming experiment with a lexical decision task to investigate the possibility that the syntactic category of words might be a relevant factor.

The targets included 38 prefixed finite verbs (e.g., *nagrał* ‘he recorded’ with the prefix *na-* and the stem *-grał*) and 38 nominalizations keeping the prefix of the corresponding verb (e.g., *napływ* ‘a flow-in’ from the prefixed verb *napływać* ‘to flow in’). The primes were 76 infinitival verbs (e.g., *naprawić* ‘to fix’), which either shared the prefix with their target (related primes) or were not related morphologically (unrelated primes). Additionally, 76 pseudoword targets were used because of the demands of the lexical decision task. Twenty-four participants (native speakers of Polish) took part in the experiment.

Table 1: Examples of targets with their related and unrelated primes.

PREFIX	UNRELATED PRIME	RELATED PRIME	TARGET	TARGET CATEGORY
<i>prze-</i>	<i>pomiąć</i> ‘to ignore’	<i>przebić</i> ‘to puncture’	<i>PRZEKŁAD</i> ‘a translation’	Nominalization
<i>od-</i>	<i>nastawić</i> ‘to set’	<i>oderwać</i> ‘to detach’	<i>ODKREĆIŁ</i> ‘he unscrewed’	Verb
<i>na-</i>	<i>odtworzyć</i> ‘to display’	<i>naprawić</i> ‘to fix’	<i>NAPŁYW</i> ‘a flow-in’	Nominalization
<i>po-</i>	<i>przerwać</i> ‘to break’	<i>pożyczyć</i> ‘to borrow’	<i>POPARŁ</i> ‘he supported’	Verb

Given that nominalizations of this type can be cleanly split into existing Polish morphemes (e.g., *napływ* can be split into the prefix *na-* and the stem *-pływ*, both present in the corresponding verb *napływać*), it might be expected that these components will be recognized as morphemes during comprehension. If the process of morphological decomposition is blind to the category of the word, prefixed verb primes should lead to a response facilitation for both verb and nominalization targets sharing the same prefix. On the other hand, if the mechanism of morphological decomposition is sensitive to word category, verbal prefixes may be ignored when a ‘prefixed’ nominalization is encountered. This might be the case because the category of a word determines the potential relevance of specific affixes for its interpretation. Perfective prefixes are not part of the general system of nominal morphology in Polish, even though they have clear and important functions in the domain of verbs. If this hypothesis is true, no priming effect is expected for nominalizations preceded by verbs with which they share a prefix.

The reaction time data obtained in the experiment support the word category sensitivity hypothesis. Prefixed verbs primed morphologically related target verbs, as indicated by lexical

decision responses to target verbs being significantly faster when they were preceded by a prime verb with which they shared a prefix than when they were preceded by an unrelated prime ($t(3423)=2.698, p=.007$). No such facilitation was present for responses to nominalizations sharing a prefix with their prime. In fact, a non-significant tendency towards an inhibitory influence was observed ($t(3422)=-1.320, p=0.187$).

Table 2: Mean reaction times (RT) with standard errors (SE) for verbs and nominalizations in different priming conditions.

TARGET CATEGORY	UNRELATED PRIME		RELATED PRIME		PRIMING EFFECT
	RT	SE	RT	SE	UNRELATED-RELATED
Verb	903 ms	35	871 ms	34	32 ms
Nominalization	826 ms	32	841 ms	33	-15 ms

Even though the same prefix-plus-stem structure could be identified in the orthographic form of both verbs and nominalizations, only verbs gave rise to a prefix priming effect. Morphological decomposition seems sensitive to the category of the word. The primary function of prefixes in Polish verbs is to encode perfective aspect, which is a bona-fide verbal property and as such is not particularly relevant to nouns. The results suggest the presence of a licensing stage preventing or quickly suppressing the activation of morphological components if they are irrelevant given the syntactic category of the word. This process would be similar to the semantic licensing proposed in the literature to account for the lack of stem priming for fully visible primes and the presence of stem priming for masked primes, where brief exposure disrupts semantic processing (Lavric et al., 2011). The fact that word category in the present experiment suppressed the priming effect even for masked primes suggests that this type of licensing is stronger or acts earlier than semantic licensing.

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A unified semantics for distributive and non-distributive universals across languages

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In a nutshell: In several unrelated languages, the meanings of *each/every* and *all* are expressed by a single item, which performs distributive universal quantification (\approx *each*) if its complement is singular, and non-distributive universal quantification (UQ) (\approx *all*) if it is plural. We propose a single lexical meaning for the universal quantifier that derives the correlation between complement number and distributivity; the *every/all* contrast in European languages is taken to reflect allomorphy. **Background:** Languages like English and German have two kinds of UQ strategies, which differ in i) their semantics and ii) their requirements on possible complements. i) While *every-* and *each-*DPs are obligatorily distributive relative to lower plurals, *all-*DPs are not. ii) While *all* requires a plural NP/DP complement, *every* and *each* require a singular NP complement. This distinction is usually encoded by positing at least two lexical items for UQ, which differ both in their semantics (see [7, 13] a.o.) and in their selectional restrictions. **Claim:** Instead, we propose to derive the two UQ strategies from a single lexical entry, which enforces distributivity with singular NP, but not plural NP/DP complements. This is supported by several unrelated languages that use the same form for distributive and non-distributive UQ, with distributivity determined by the type of complement. In Dagara (Gur/Mabia), *'ha* performs distributive UQ when combined with a singular NP, (1-a), but is not necessarily distributive with a plural-DP complement, (1-b) (distributivity in this case depends on markers within the VP).

- (1) a. bí-é 'hà dì-n mágò-rɔ átá.
child-SG each ate mango-PL three
'Each child ate three mangoes.' **distributive only**
- b. a bìbìir 'hà dì-n mágò-rɔ átá.
the child-PL all ate mango-PL three
'All the children ate three mangoes (between them).' **cumulative only**

[4] reports similar facts for Hebrew (but see [1]); in Wolof, *-epp* 'all' can precede a singular NP, which makes it purely distributive, or follow a plural NP/DP, in which case it can be non-distributive, [12]. **Implementation:** We propose a lexical entry, (2), that requires the nuclear-scope predicate to hold of every element of the restrictor set P that does not overlap with any other element except for its parts (henceforth: 'O-maximality'; \leq is the parthood relation).

$$(2) \quad \llbracket Q_{\forall} \rrbracket = \lambda P_{\langle a,t \rangle} \cdot \lambda Q_{\langle a,t \rangle} \cdot \forall x \llbracket [P(x) \wedge \neg \exists y [P(y) \wedge \exists z [z \leq x \wedge z \leq y] \wedge y \not\leq x]] \rightarrow Q(x) \rrbracket$$

Under the standard assumption that singular NPs are true of atomic individuals only, applying Q_{\forall} to a singular NP yields distributive UQ (3-b), as each atomic individual is O-maximal. The denotations of plural NPs are usually taken to be closed under sum (4-a); the scope predicate then directly applies to the only O-maximal element, the sum of all the NP-atoms, thus non-distributive predication is permitted. Taking plural definites to denote singleton sets, the only element is O-maximal [7]. (For bare plural nouns or definites without an overt quantificational element, we assume implicit existential quantification over the set they denote, i.e. (4-a)/(5-a).)

- (3) a. $\llbracket \text{child} \rrbracket = \{a, b, c\}$ b. $\llbracket Q_{\forall} \text{child} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} \cdot Q(a) \wedge Q(b) \wedge Q(c)$
- (4) a. $\llbracket \text{PL child} \rrbracket = \{a, b, c, a+b, b+c, a+c, a+b+c\}$
b. $\llbracket Q_{\forall} \text{PL child} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} \cdot Q(a+b+c)$
- (5) a. $\llbracket \text{DEF PL child} \rrbracket = \{a+b+c\}$ (to be revised below!)
b. $\llbracket Q_{\forall} \text{DEF PL child} \rrbracket = \lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} \cdot Q(a+b+c)$

For English and German, we submit that the contrast between the two forms is morphosyntactic. One implementation is to assume that the head Q_{\forall} bears an uninterpretable number feature due to agreement with its complement, realized as *all* with a PLURAL-feature and as *every/each* otherwise. **Prediction about partitives:** Assuming a silent pro-NP in partitive constructions

[5, 11], (non-)distributivity is determined by the semantic number of the pro-NP (6), which correlates with the syntactic number feature that determines the spellout of Q_8 in English/German.

- (6) a. $Q_8 [0/_{[SINGULAR]} [of\ the\ children]] > each\ of\ the\ children$ **purely distributive**
 b. $Q_8 [0/_{[PLURAL]} [of\ the\ children]] > all\ of\ the\ children$ **can be non-distributive**

Another prediction is that Q_8 cannot combine with complements denoting a set of overlapping pluralities with no maximum. Under standard analyses, NPs modified by numerals 2' 2 denote such sets, (7), so Q_8 shouldn't combine with such NPs. Complements modified by 'one' should be possible with a distributive interpretation; this is borne out in English (*each one of the boys*).

- (7) $[[two\ children]] = \{a + b, b + c, a + c\}$

In Hebrew, however, Q_8 can combine with NPs modified by numerals 2' 2 (NN,pc). Our proposal predicts that such uses are limited to UQ over non-overlapping pluralities, e.g. $\{a + b, c + d\}$ - an open empirical question. **Non-maximality:** So far, our account does not derive the differences between *all*-NPs and plural definites. The latter permit 'non-maximal' construals (at least in English), the former don't: In some contexts, (8-a) can have truth conditions that do not require all children to be awake, while (8-b) cannot. Yet, a generalized form of our proposal fits well with certain ideas from the non-maximality literature ([6, 2], cf. [8]): Deviating from our assumption in (5-a), the revised semantics for the definite determiner assumes that it takes the NP-denotation (e.g. (4-a)) as its argument and returns a subset of this set which has the maximal plurality as one of its elements ((9-a), cf. [6]). Which subset exactly depends on the contextual parameter $::s$; $::s$ encodes which non-maximal pluralities count as indistinguishable from the maximal one. (9-b) gives a sample denotation for a non-maximal definite.

- (8) a. *The children are awake.* b. *All the children are awake.*

- (9) a. $[[DEF]]^{::s} = IP_{he,i}. \{x \ 2 \ P \mid x ::s \ i y [P(y) \wedge \exists z [P(z) \wedge z \sqsubset y]]\}$
 b. $[[DEF\ PL\ child]]^{::s} = \{a + b + c, a + b, a + c\}$

If such a set combines with Q_8 , given the denotation in (2), the scope property is again predicted of each O-maximal element of the set. The only O-maximal element is the maximal plurality ($a + b + c$ in (9-b)). So we correctly predict that any non-maximal readings of definites are blocked by Q_8 ; in languages lacking non-maximality effects, applying Q_8 to a plural definite would have no effect. **Open issues:** i) Our semantics permits non-distributive construals whenever the complement of Q_8 is semantically plural. But purely distributive Q_8 -elements with a plural DP complement are attested in, e.g. Hungarian [3] and St'át'imcets [10]. We suspect that in these languages, Q_8 interacts differently with the determiners, which do not seem to mark definiteness [3, 9] and thus presumably don't have the semantics in (9). ii) Given our claim about partitives, (6), the correlation between NP/DP number and (non-)distributivity should disappear in languages lacking overt partitive marking.

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**An Agree-based account of the gap distribution
in tough-constructions vs gapped-degree phrases**
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Background. *Tough*-constructions (TCs, (1a), [19]) and gapped-degree phrases (GDPs, (1b), [14, 2]) are two surface-similar infinitival constructions, whereby the matrix subject is “linked” to a position or element (“gap”) in the embedded clause, as supported by the inferences below.

- (1) a. John is tough to please __. (\rightsquigarrow Someone attempted to **please John**.)
b. John is friendly enough to talk to __. (\rightsquigarrow Someone managed to **talk to John**.)

In the TC-literature, the “linking” mechanism between the subject and the gap has been analyzed as movement as in the long-movement (LM) approaches [11, 10]; or binding/agreement as in the base-generation (BG) approaches [4, 18, 6]). In both cases, the gap (trace for LM, null operator for BG) is located in Spec-CP, as a result of clause-internal \bar{A} -movement. The GDP-literature uniformly adopted a binding approach of GDPs, whereby a null-operator \bar{A} -moves to Spec-DegP [14, 2], a layer immediately above CP. **Puzzle.** Despite the superficial similarities between TCs and GDPs, only GDPs allow for subject-gaps (2). This contrast has been previously explained using a specific notion of Anti-Locality (AL), a constraint banning movement chains that are “too short”. AL was designed s.t.

- (2) a. *John is **tough** __ to please Mary. (sTC) movement from Spec-TP to Spec-CP (but not from Spec-TP to Spec-DegP, characteristic of GDPs) was AL-violating (“Spec-to-Spec” AL, cf. [2]). In addition to relying on a somewhat controversial constraint (AL) that has had many competing formulations [8, 1, 5], **the AL-based account alone gives a wrong prediction for gapped-degree-TCs (TGDPs) like those in (3), which contain a DegP layer but yet behave like TCs gap-wise (disallowing subject-gaps).**
b. John is friendly **enough** __ to talk to Mary. (sGDP)
(3) a. John is **too tough** for Mary to please __. (oTGDP)
b. *John is **too tough** __ to please Mary. (sTGDP)

Contribution. Building on [14, 17, 16], we propose a unified account of the gap distribution in TCs, GDPs and TGDPs without appealing to AL. More specifically, we propose that the 3 constructions (i) originate from the same structure involving DegP and (ii) result from different repair strategies of Kinyalolo’s constraint [12, 3] violations occurring when the gap successively agrees with different heads (T, C, Deg). We establish that the resulting repaired structures allow for an explanation of the gap contrasts in TCs/TGDPs vs GDPs, based on (independently motivated) semantic type-mismatch considerations. **Our account (i) explains why TGDPs behave like TCs gap-wise (ii) replaces AL by a general-purpose and independently motivated constraint (KC) and (iii) successfully captures the interplay between syntax and semantics in the target constructions. Semantic assumptions.** We define 3 type-driven constraints on *tough*-predicates and degree operators that have syntactic repercussions. (1) non-degree modified *tough*-predicates must combine at LF with a CP (type *est*) and not a bare TP (type *st*): *BARETP [13, 7]. (2) *tough*-predicates (degree-modified or not) are subjective in the sense that they combine with a judge-argument in the matrix clause, which controls a PRO subject in the embedded clause whenever the embedded subject is seemingly absent [15]. This implies that *tough*-predicates always require a TP within their complement: *NOTP. (3) degree operators like *enough* combine with a type-*st* embedded clause [14, 9], i.e., a clause that lacks a C-head [13]: *CP. Table 1 illustrates the constraints each construction (TC, TGDP, GDP) is sensitive to (*NODEG is the obvious constraint stating that (T)GDPs must have a Deg head to host the degree operator). **Syntactic assumptions.** We adopt an AGREE-based approach to movement and assume an extension of Kinyalolo’s Con-

Structure	Constraints
TC	*BARETP, *NOTP
TGDP	*NOTP, *CP, *NODEG
GDP	*CP, *NODEG

Table 1: Constraints each construction is sensitive to.

straint (KC), stating that whenever two heads agree with the same goal, one of the heads gets deleted [12, 3, 16]. Building on [14, 2] we assume that the relevant layers project in the following order *in all constructions*, including pure TCs : AP > DegP > CP > TP, where AP is headed by a *tough*- or gradable predicate. We remain theory-neutral about the nature of the gap. **Deriving object-gap structures.** In the object-gap case, the gap is involved in the following chain: Comp-V \rightarrow Spec-CP \rightarrow Spec-DegP, i.e. agrees with both C and Deg. Therefore, KC predicts that either one of the CP or the DegP layer must be deleted, and that TP should be left untouched (see deletion patterns a. and b. in Table 2). We show that all 3 constructions correspond to either pattern a. or b.

	DegP	CP	TP	Structure
a.	✗	✓	✓	TC
b.	✓	✗	✓	(T)GDP

Table 2: Deletion patterns in the case of **object-gap** movement to Spec-DegP

TCs are compatible with pattern a. since it verifies *BARETP and *NOTP. (T)GDPs are obviously incompatible with pattern a., since it violates *NODEG. GDPs are however compatible with pattern b. since it satisfies *CP and *NODEG, and TGDPs too, since *NOTP is additionally satisfied. We thus correctly predict that all constructions are compatible with an object gap. **Deriving subject-gap structures.** In the subject-gap case, the chain is: Spec-vP \rightarrow Spec-TP \rightarrow Spec-CP \rightarrow Spec-DegP and the gap now agrees with 3 heads (T,C, Deg). The chain is thus subject to 2 KC repairs, yielding 3 possible structures (cf. Table 3). Table 4 summarizes how each structure violates the type-driven constraints (* X means that the constraint is violated if the given structure (a., b., or c.) is analyzed as construction X (=TC, TGDP, or GDP)).

	DegP	CP	TP	Resulting structure
a.	✗	✗		(AP > TP > vP)
b.		✗	✗	(AP > DegP > vP)
c.	✗		✗	(AP > CP > vP)

Table 3: Deletion patterns in the case of **subject-gap** movement to Spec-DegP

Table 4 implies that in the subject-gap case, KC-repairs yield two impossible structures

(a. and c.) which violate the type requirements for TCs, TGDPs, and GDPs. The only remaining grammatical structure (b.) is only compatible with the GDP type-requirements. Therefore, we correctly predict that only GDPs are compatible with a subject gap. **Conclusion and perspectives.** We accounted for the gap distribution in TCs, TGDPs and GDPs using a general syntactic constraint, KC, and independently motivated semantic constraints with syntactic consequences. The presence of a DegP layer in all constructions was crucial to generate exactly the right set of structures that could then be ruled-in or ruled-out by semantic considerations. Our account successfully exploits the syntactic and semantic specificities of the constructions at play, while staying parcimonious, by positing a single underlying structure for TCs and GDPs, and avoiding appealing to Anti-Locality. It may extend to infinitival constructions featuring evaluative adjectives such as *rude* [20], which, unlike TCs, are only compatible with a *subject* gap.

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Structure \rightarrow	a.	b.	c.
\downarrow Constraint			
*BARETP	* _{TC}	✓	✓
*NOTP	✓	* _{TC, TGDP}	* _{TC, TGDP}
*CP	✓	✓	* _{(T)GDP}
*NODEG	* _{(T)GDP}	✓	* _{(T)GDP}
Compatible Construction \rightarrow	\emptyset	GDP	\emptyset

Table 4: Constraint violations for Patterns a., b., c.

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**The structure of the event domain reflects scopal relations in Hungarian:
Evidence from resultatives and depictives**
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Introduction: An important objective of recent literature such as Acedo-Matellán (2016) and Folli and Harley (2020) is to derive various structures and the lack thereof characteristic of (strong and weak) satellite-framed languages such as English and Slavic languages and verb-framed languages such as Spanish. The former author derives cross-linguistic differences through a morphological filter, whereas the latter attribute them to parametric variation in the syntax. On Folli and Harley’s (2020) analysis, Romance-type languages have an obligatory Res-to-v movement operation, whereas English-like languages don’t. This gives rise to the availability of *hammer the metal flat*-like resultatives in the latter type of language and the lack thereof in the former since “no satellite realizations of Res are possible” in Romance (*ibid.*). In this literature Hungarian is classified as a strong satellite-framed language by Acedo-Matellán (2016) since the Res/Path component in a change-of-state/location event must be expressed in a constituent independent from the verb. While this is a correct generalization, the change-of-state/location structures that are or are not legitimate in Hungarian are often different from what is observable in English (Kardos & Szávó 2022), which is also described as a strong satellite-framed language. This talk is aimed at providing an analysis of some well-known and novel data from Hungarian involving mainly resultatives and depictives arguing that a more nuanced classification of languages is necessary regarding event lexicalization strategies.

Central claim: The structure of the lower, event aspectual domain reflects scopal relations in Hungarian similarly to that of the higher functional domain.

Theoretical assumptions: We assume a layered structure for the Hungarian VP and take a functional projection approach to resultatives and verbal particles, often associated with quantificational information. They are assumed to have an event-maximizing function (Kardos & Farkas 2022). Depictive and resultatives are introduced by a P-element and thus analyzed as PPs along with verbal particles (Hegedűs 2013, É. Kiss 2021).

Proposal: (i) There is a syntactic constraint in Hungarian such that event structural elements such as Res/Path must exert their aspectual functions above VP. (ii) This constraint is motivated as follows: The structure of the event domain in Hungarian reflects scopal relations. Constituents such as verbal particles, resultatives and depictives take scope over the domain they c-command in visible syntax similarly to quantifiers on the left periphery of the sentence (É. Kiss 2002). (iii) Resultatives are merged as complements of V and move to Spec, AspP to check the [+maximal] and [+telic] features of the Asp head, whereas telicizing particles are merged in Spec, AspP flanked by VP and vP (Kardos & Farkas 2022). (iv) In examples like (1), depictives enter the predication in the event domain: they necessarily modify the causing event and the object in it, but not the result state (see Bruening 2018 for more on this in English).

- (1) János vizes-en rövid-re vágta Mari haját
 János wet-PREP short-SUB cut Mari hair.POSS.ACC
 és mi-re Mari haja rövid lett, meg-száradt.
 and what-to Mari hair.POSS short became PRT-dried

‘János cut Mari’s hair short wet and by the time Mari’s hair became short, it had dried.’

(v) Depictives join the derivation by adjunction similarly to frequency, manner or degree adverbials (Ernst 2002, É. Kiss 2009).

The structure we propose for *János vizesen rövidre vágta Mari haját* ‘János cut Mari’s hair short wet’ is in (2). Further movements (e.g. the movement of V to T) are not represented here.

(2) [VP János[AspP vizesen[AspP rövidre[Asp Asp[VP Mari haját[V vágta rövidre]]]]]]

Some consequences: (i) Activities typically carried out in some manner and also associated with some result state are obligatorily expressed by particle verbs, as shown by **(meg-)gyilkol* ‘PRT-murder’, **(fel-)akaszt* ‘PRT-hang’, **(fel-)négyel* ‘PRT-quarter’, **(le-)mészárol* ‘PRT-massacre’. These predicates systematically express the manner of the action in the verb stem and the result in a particle, which is also suggestive of Manner/Result Complementarity (cf. Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010).

(ii) Unlike in English-like languages, in neutral sentences without a focused element, resultatives and depictives may not be in a postverbal position in the environment of particleless activities such as *vág* ‘cut’ and *fésül* ‘comb’.

(3) a. János vizes-en/rövid-re vágta Mari haját.
 János wet-PREP/short-SUB cut Mari hair.POSS.ACC
 ‘János cut Mari’s hair wet/short.’

b. *János vágta Mari haját rövid-re/vizes-en.
 János cut Mari hair.POSS.ACC short-SUB/wet-PREP

(4) a. Sára nedves-en/simá-ra fésülte Mari haját.
 Sára wet-PREP/smooth-SUB combed Mari hair.POSS.ACC
 ‘Sára combed Mari’s hair wet/smooth.’

b. *Sára fésülte Mari haját simá-ra/nedves-en.
 Sára combed Mari hair.POSS.ACC smooth-SUB/wet-PREP

Negation facts show that the depictives in the examples above are focused (É. Kiss 2021), but they may also precede particle verbs, as shown in (5), where they are not focused.

(5) Sára nedves-en meg-fésülte Mari haját.
 Sára wet-PREP PRT-combed Mari hair.POSS.ACC
 ‘Sára combed Mari’s hair wet.’

With predicates like *megfésülte Mari haját* ‘combed Mari’s hair’, the depictive may also appear after the object, in which case the resulting string is slightly marked. This structure is predicted to be possible on É. Kiss’s (2009) analysis of adverbial adjuncts, which follows Ernst (2002). We also derive the preverbal position of the depictive, since it is this position where it takes scope over its object DP in its domain in visible syntax, similarly to what characterizes many adverbial adjuncts in Hungarian (É. Kiss 2009: 6).

(iii) Depictives and resultatives appear in a fixed order (Den Dikken & Dékány 2022). The former must precede the latter in the preverbal section of the sentence. This follows if we assume that resultatives are merged as complements of V and move for feature-checking purposes to Spec, AspP. Depictives join the derivation by adjunction after merge and feature-checking.

(6) a. János nedves-en simá-ra fésülte Mari haját.
 János wet-PREP smooth-SUB combed Mari hair.POSS.ACC
 b. *János simá-ra nedves-en fésülte Mari haját.
 János smooth-SUB wet-PREP combed Mari hair.POSS.ACC

Conclusion: What emerges then is that word order in the event domain in Hungarian is derived by scopal relations. Depictives, resultative predicates and verbal particles find their canonical position before the verb where they have the DP they predicate of/impose semantic restrictions on in their c-command domain. In other words, scopal relations seem to be reflected in visible syntax not only in the higher functional domain, as has long been claimed with respect to Hungarian, but also in the lower, event domain.

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Time and causality in cased adverbial clauses: Evidence from Basque

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Introduction. In Basque, nominal case markers (such as the instrumental, locative or ablative) are used to mark different types of adverbial clauses (Hualde 2003). They attach to the clause-final complementizer and convey temporal or causal relations. The talk focuses on adverbial clauses headed by the relative/interrogative complementizer *-en*. Our goal is to understand why a given case marker marks a particular clause type (e.g., why INS marks reason clauses).

Temporal simultaneous reading. When *-en* is followed by the locative case, as in (1), the meaning of the subordinate clause is temporal overlap.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) Kontzientzia bere bide-an dago-en-ean,
 Conscience its way-loc is-EN-
 e LOC
 ‘When conscience is on its way, ...’</p> | <p>(2) mahain-ean
 table-LOC
 ‘in/on/at the table’</p> |
|--|---|

We analyze such case marking as an instance of the more general phenomenon where temporal relations are expressed in terms of space (Jackendoff 1983, Haspelmath 1997). For instance, in (2), the locative case has a spatial reading, in (3) it has a temporal reading.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(3) goiz-ean
 morning-LOC
 ‘in the morning’</p> | <p>(4) <u>[AT [LOC [TABLE]]]</u>
 (5) <u>[AT [LOC [MORNING]]]</u>
 (6) <u>[AT [LOC [-en clause]]]</u></p> |
|---|--|

Following Svenonius (2008), we assume that the spatial use requires two semantic steps. (i) The Ground argument (table) is mapped on a set of points in space by a head we shall call LOC, see (4). (ii) Relative to the position of the Ground, a location is determined, where the Figure is to be found. More specifically, the locative *-ean* in (2) says that the location of the Figure coincides with the location of the table. In (4), this meaning is marked as AT. We further assume that the locative *-ean* is a portmanteau for AT+LOC, which we depict by the underline. The same reasoning applies to (3), where LOC (i) maps the noun ‘morning’ onto a temporal interval (a set of points on the time scale), and AT (ii) locates the Figure (the assertion time of the modified clause) within the temporal interval denoted by ‘the morning,’ see (5).

Our idea concerning the clausal use of the locative in (1) is that the locative has essentially the same function as the locative in (3), i.e., mapping the event expressed by the clause onto an interval on the time scale and locating the Figure (the assertion time of the main clause) within that interval, which correctly yields the simultaneous reading in (1).

Recalling that the complementizer *-en* heads relative clauses in Basque, we can think of the *-en* clause as relativizing on a particular time argument of the subordinate clause, namely its assertion time (see Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007). The embedded assertion time is the Ground and the locative places the Figure (the main clause assertion time) within the Ground.

Temporal *since*. When *-en* is followed by the ablative *-etik*, the meaning of the subordinate clause is temporal *since*, see (7). This meaning is again related to the spatial and temporal uses of the ablative with nominal complements, see (8) and (9).

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <p>(7) [Eguzkia atera d-en-
 etik
 Sun rise AUX-EN-ABL work-LOC walk AUX
 ‘We have been working since the sun rose.’</p> | <p>(8) goiz-etik
 morning-abl
 ‘since morning’</p> | <p>(9) Madril-
 etik
 Madrid-abl
 ‘from Madrid’</p> |
|--|---|--|

In the current literature (Jackendoff 1983, Zwarts 2005), motion in space is modelled by adding a PATH head (FROM/TO) on top of a particular location, yielding combinations such as TO AT, TO ON, FROM AT, etc. The specific idea for (9) is that the ablative constructs a PATH starting at a location corresponding to the locative case (IN MADRID), with the endpoint of the PATH defined negatively, i.e., as not being at that location. The structure of (9) is in (10), the underlining depicts the structure lexicalised by the locative, recall (4). The box shows the heads lexicalized by the ablative, i.e., FROM plus the underlined locative.

(10)	[FROM [AT [LOC]]]	[MADRID]]]]	
(11)	[FROM [AT [LOC]]]	[MORNING]]]]	
(12)	[FROM [AT [LOC]]]	[-en clause]]]]	

On the temporal axis, the ablative case has the same ingredients, see (11). The structure is interpreted as depicted in the frame on the right. The black arrow \longrightarrow represents the time scale. First, using LOC, we map ‘the morning’ on its location on the temporal axis, yielding an interval depicted as $[morning]$. Then we construct a PATH starting AT this location and going away from it (the red arrow). The modified event (e.g., working) then occupies this path. This yields the correct interpretation if the PATH is always oriented the same as the time scale itself.

The clausal use of the ablative (with the structure in (12)) is interpreted analogously, yielding an interpretation that is sometimes referred to as *posterior durative* (Haspelmath 1997). **Reason clauses.** When an INS case attaches to an *-en* clause, it yields causal (reason) interpretation, see (13). Interestingly, English uses *since* both for reason clauses (see the translation of (13)) and posterior-durative clauses (recall the translation of (7)). This is different from Basque, which distinguishes between the two interpretations.

- (13) Ikasleri etorri ez d-en-ez, ez dut eskolarik emango.
 k
 student-PRTT come not AUX-EN-INS not AUX class-PRTT
 give-FUT ‘**Since** no student has shown up, I won’t give a lecture.’

Our goal is to capture both the fact that these interpretations are related (as English reveals), yet different (as Basque shows). Our account of this is motivated by the fact that in a number of languages, the ablative case used in (7) is composed of the locative case plus an instrumental (Noonan & Mihas 2007). An example is provided below from Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009). We see that the ablative meaning in (14c) is composed of two morphemes corresponding to the instrumental in (14b) plus the locative in (14a). In abstract terms, the structure is in (15), where the locative marker spells out AT+LOC, and the INS marker spells out FROM.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (14) | Khwarshi (Caucasian:
ABL=LOC+INS) | c. Kazaxstan-λ’a-z
Kazakhstan-SUP-INS
‘from Kazakhstan’ |
| a. | Mandžuriya-
λ’a Manchuria-
SUP ‘in
Manchuria’ | (15) ABL = [FROM (=INS) [AT [LOC]]] |
| b. | sapuno-z
soap.OBL-
INS ‘with
soap’ | (16) reason = [FROM/INS [en-
clause]] |

Coming back to the reason clause in (13), we conclude that this interpretation arises by adding the abstract SOURCE feature directly on top of the subordinate clause, leading to the interpretation that the embedded event is the abstract source of the main event, i.e., its reason. In sum,

reason and *posterior durative* clauses both contain a SOURCE feature, which is why they can be syncretic. However, they differ in whether they include a locative component or not.

Summary. The paper investigates Basque subordinate clauses marked by case. We analyze these case markers either as temporal extensions of spatial cases, or abstract interpretations of the SOURCE component.

Raising and Matching in Mandarin Relative Clauses

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Background It is well known that Mandarin Relative Clauses (RCs) precede the relative Head noun, yielding pre-nominal RCs. As schematised in (1), pre-nominal RCs can occur either in a pre-demonstrative position RC1 (2a), or in a post-demonstrative, post-numeral, post-classifier position RC2 (2b, cf. Chao 1968). RC1 differs from RC2 in being able to drop the modification maker *de* (Cheng & Sybesma 2009). Some scholars have argued that RC2 is more basic and RC1 is more marked (Hsu 2017). Many have argued that RC1 is derived from RC2 (Aoun & Li 2003, Zhang 2015, Cinque 2020).

- (1) RC1 - Demonstrative - Numeral - Classifier - RC2 - (AP) - Noun
- (2) a. [_{RC1} Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān] (**de**) nà-yí-ge xuéshēng RC1
 Zhangsan very like DE that-one-CLF student
 ‘that one student that Zhangsan likes’
- b. nà-yí-ge [_{RC2} Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān] **de** xuéshēng RC2
 that-one-CLF Zhangsan very like DE student
 ‘that one student that Zhangsan likes’

Claim We argue that i) RC2 is not a base position, and RC1 is not derived from RC2 (*pace* Cinque 2020). The argument is that the reconstruction for numeral scope is possible for RC1, not for RC2; ii) the modification marker *de* is not genuinely optional in the RC1 position. Without *de*, the *de*-less RC as in (3b) must have a demonstrative. In addition, the *de*-less RC displays more restrictions than the RC with *de*; iii) both the Raising analysis and the Matching analysis are involved in Mandarin RCs (see also Lin & Tsai 2015 based on a different set of data). We show that stacking is possible for the *de*-RC, not for the *de*-less RC. This difference is accounted for by arguing that the *de*-less RC has a Raising structure, whereas the *de*-RC can have a Matching structure.

- (3) a. [Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān] **de** (nà)-yí-ge xuéshēng DE-RC
 Zhangsan very like DE that-one-CLF student
 ‘(that) student that Zhangsan likes’
- b. [Zhāngsān hěn xǐhuān] *(**nà**)-yí-ge xuéshēng DE-less RC
 Zhangsan very like that-one-CLF student
 ‘*(that) one student that Zhangsan likes’

Arguments i) Reconstruction for numeral scope is possible for RC1, not for RC2. Pan (2016: 167, (43)) shows (4a) in which the numeral in the Head can be reconstructed for a narrow scope reading with respect to the universal quantifier in the subject inside the RC, even with *dōu* ‘DOU’ inside (*pace* Aoun & Li 2003). In contrast with (4a) in which the RC is in the RC1 position, we observe that the numeral in the Head does not reconstruct for scope when the RC is in the RC2 position (4b). The data in (4) indicate that RC1 and RC2 are not semantically equivalent, nor derivationally related. RC2 is not a base position for RC1. (*pace* Aoun & Li 2003, Zhang 2015, Cinque 2020)

- (4) a. [**měi-ge dǎoyǎn dōu** huì kàn hǎo-jǐ-biàn _j] **de** **yíbù diànyǐng-yùgào piān**_j
 [every-CLF director DOU will watch several.time] DE one-CLF movie-trailer_j
 ‘a movie trailer_j that every director will watch _j several times.’
 —> ‘each director watches a different movie trailer’ (every > one)
- b. *every>3, 3>every
 wǒ huì zhěnglǐ [**nà-sān-běn** [**měi-ge rén** *dōu* huì kàn *t_i*] **de** **shū**_i].
 I will arrange that-three-CLF every-CLF-person DOU will read DE book
 ‘I will put those three books that everyone will read in order.’

The anatomy of some *wh*-constructions

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Introduction. Some constructions seem to live a dual life in that a single surface form can nevertheless be interpreted as being nominal (DP) or propositional (CP). Chief among these are *wh*-constructions (*Wh*Cs), which may alternate between free relatives and questions, and definite relative clauses (i.e. of the form *the NP CP*), which can be often interpreted as definite descriptions or as concealed questions (e.g. Grimshaw 1979). For each of these two constructions, syntacticians and semanticists alike have tried to understand the connection between their nominal vs. propositional nature, but the alternations have nevertheless been studied mostly in isolation from each other. My goal in this paper is to show that, rather than considering *Wh*Cs and definite relative clauses as separate constructions altogether, we should better think of them as representing different points along the same continuum. **Background.** There is a close resemblance between free relatives and subordinate questions in English. The main differences between the two constructions amount to: (i) the feature specification of the C° head and (ii) the type of operator that mediates between the CP and the rest of the clause. While subordinate questions require a [+Q] C° that introduces the semantic nucleus (e.g. Karttunen 1977 a.o.), a free relative relies on simple abstraction (e.g. Chomsky 1977, Heim & Kratzer 1998). Given the common assumption that *wh*-words in free relatives and questions make the same semantic contribution (e.g. Caponigro 2004), the resulting denotation at the CP-level is similar in the two cases: a property of individuals for free relatives, and a property of propositions for subordinate questions. Since with these denotations they cannot compose further with the rest of the clause, the two constructions need a shift: a null definite determiner for free relatives (e.g. Caponigro 2002) and an ANSWERHOOD operator contributing Russell's *t*-operator (Dayal 1996) for subordinate questions. In contrast, definite relatives differ from these two constructions in that the semantic lowering is carried out overtly, and the *wh*-operator responsible for carrying the relativization/abstraction operation is null. Schematically:

- (1) a. $[_{CP} \text{ANS} [_{CP} [\text{WH} (\text{NP})]_i [\text{C}^\circ [+Q] \quad \emptyset \quad [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$ [Question]
 b. $[_{DP} \text{D}_\emptyset [_{CP} [\text{WH} (\text{NP})]_i [\text{C}^\circ [+REL] \quad \emptyset \quad [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$ [Free Relative]
 c. $[_{DP} \text{D} [_{NP} [\text{Op}_{wh} \text{NP}]_i [\text{C}^\circ [+REL] \quad (\text{that}) \quad [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$ [Restrictive Relative Clause]

Questions. More interesting than their differences are the similarities between the constructions in (1): the three of them share an *t*-operator, a *wh*-operator and a C° head with variable specification, varying mainly on the (c)overtness of these pieces. This state of affairs raises two main questions: (i) Why can't ANS/D_∅ be overt in Questions/Free Relatives as it is in (1c)? (ii) Why can't WH be covert in Questions and Free Relatives, as in *Op_{wh}*? **Main claim.** My goal is to show that, even they may not resemble so on the surface, there are indeed cases where we find overt ANS operators in Questions and overt determiners in free relatives; i.e. I claim that some of the missing links in the paradigm in (1) are in fact attested. Concretely, I argue that Spanish allows the following two syntactic configurations:

- (2) a. $[_{DP} \text{D} [_{CP} [\text{Op}_{wh} \text{Pred}]_i [\text{C}^\circ [+REL] \quad \emptyset \quad [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$ [cf. (1b); Free Relative]
 b. $[_{CP} \text{D} [_{CP} [\text{Op}_{wh} \text{NP}]_i [\text{C}^\circ [+Q] \quad \text{that} \quad [_{TP} \dots t_i \dots]]]]$ [cf. (1a); Question]

Case study I: (2a). Spanish is well-known for not allowing ordinary free relatives with the *wh*-phrase *what*; instead, free relatives of this kind must be formed by combining a CP with the definite article *lo* (Plann 1980 amo.).

- (3) *Juan comió* $[_{DP} \text{lo} \quad \text{que} \quad \text{quiso}]$ 'Juan ate {what/as much as} he wanted'
 Juan ate D.NT that wanted [Lit.: 'Juan ate the that wanted']

Less known is the ability of Spanish to form Degree Neuter Relatives (e.g. Rivero 1981, Ojeda 1982, a.o.), an unusual construction involving a relative clause seemingly headed by a gradable predicate and the neuter determiner *lo*.

- (4) *Juan es* $[_{DP} \text{lo} \quad \text{alto} \quad \text{que} \quad \text{era} \quad \text{su} \quad \text{padre}]$ 'Juan is as tall his father was'
 Juan is D.NT tall that was his father [Lit.: 'Juan is the tall that his father was']

I suggest that Degree Neuter Relatives should be regarded as sharing properties both with ordinary free relatives in (3)—the overt D-head—and free relatives with quantity *wh*-words like *cuan* below—the ability to pied-pipe a predicate.

- (5) *Juan es cuan alto fue su padre* 'Juan is as tall as his father was'
 Juan is how tall was his father [Lit.: 'Juan is how-much tall his father was']

The syntactic configuration that I suggest for (4) corresponds to that of (2a): like ordinary free relatives in (3), both constructions involve an overt definite determiner. Both also involve the movement of a *wh*-phrase to the specifier of CP, but in the case of Degree Neuter Relatives, the *wh*-phrase is headed by a null variant of a quantity-*wh*-phrase and includes the gradable predicate, just like its overt variant in (5). Thus, on this analysis, the head of the Degree Neuter Relative is not in fact a gradable predicate as it appears, since the predicate is instead embedded within a complex *wh*-phrase. This provides an explanation for two puzzling facts. First, unlike ordinary restrictive relatives, Degree Neuter Relatives show a disrupted agreement pattern: the definite article *lo* never agrees with what is seemingly the head of the relative clause (6a); in contrast, the gradable predicate always must agree with CP-internal material (6b).

- (6) a. { *lo* / **la* } *alta* *que era su madre*
 D.NT D.FM.SG tall.FM.SG that was her mother.FM.SG
 b. *lo* { **alto* / *alta* } *que era su madre* }
 D.NT tall.MS.SG tall.FM.SG that was her mother.FM.SG

Second, predicates of any syntactic category that are coercible into a gradable interpretation are grammatical. Given that predicates of different categories are otherwise extractable to differing degrees in Spanish, this flexibility is puzzling if the predicates themselves were undergoing movement. On the present analysis, however, this issue does not arise—all of the constructions in (7) involve movement of a *wh*-phrase. (The paper provides a full semantic analysis as well.)

- (7) a. *lo* { *rápidamente* / **ayer* } *que llegó* ADVERBIAL
 D.NT rapidly yesterday that arrived [how {fast / yesterday} she arrived]
 b. *lo* { *en punto* / **desde casa* } *que llegó* PREPOSITIONAL
 D.NT on point from home that arrived [how {punctually / from home} she arrived]

Case study II: (2b). Spanish allows a construction, known as Emphatic Relatives, that have the surface appearance of ordinary restrictive relatives, but differ in two crucial respects: (i) they may appear as complements to clause-embedding predicates (*sensu* Lahiri 2002), and (ii) they are not interpreted as denoting individuals, but as questions.

- (8) { *Sé* / *Me pregunto* } *las manzanas que trajo Juan*
 know me ask the.FM.PL apple.FM.PL that brought Juan
 ‘{I know/I wonder} what apples Juan brought’

I show that the Emphatic Relatives do not share, despite appearances, the same syntactic distribution of DPs modified by restrictive relatives. I present some arguments here (more in the paper). First, Emphatic Relatives are grammatical under rogative predicates like *wonder*, unlike DPs interpreted as concealed questions (e.g. **I wonder the capital of Italy*; same judgment in Spanish). Second, generally, DPs modified by relative clauses share the syntactic distribution of unmodified DPs. This is unlike Emphatic Relatives, for which the *que*-clause is obligatory.

- (9) a. { *Sé* / *Me pregunto* / *Te dije* } *las manzanas *(que trajo Juan)* ✗no *que*-clause
 b. *Yo ví las manzanas (que trajo Juan)* ✓no *que*-clause
 I saw the.FM.PL apple.FM.PL that brought Juan
 ‘I saw the apples (that Juan brought)’

Third, like questions and exclamatives, Emphatic Relatives show obligatory SV-inversion. With restrictive relatives, however, SV inversion is optional (just like in declarative sentences).

- (10) a. *{ *Sé* / *Me pregunto* } *las manzanas que Juan trajo* ✗no SV-inversion
 know wonder the.FM.PL apple.FM.PL that Juan brought
 b. *Yo ví las manzanas que Juan trajo* ✓no SV-inversion
 I saw the.FM.PL apple.FM.PL that Juan brought

And fourth: animate objects in Spanish trigger DOM-marking, by means of the preposition *a*. Whereas DPs modified by restrictive relatives trigger DOM, surface-identical Emphatic Relatives do not.

- (11) a. *Estudian los delegados que enviarán* ✗DOM
 evaluate.3.PL the.MS.PL representative.MS.PL that send
 ‘They are evaluating what representatives they will send.3.PL’
 b. *Estudian a los delegados que enviarán* ✓DOM
 evaluate.3.PL to the.MS.PL representative.MS.PL that send
 ‘They are evaluating the (individual) representatives they will send.3.PL’

Thus, it seems that Emphatic Relatives cannot be subsumed under restrictive relatives. I propose that the syntactic structure of Emphatic Relatives involves a null *wh*-operator moves to [Spec, CP], checking a [WH] feature on C° [+Q], which hosts Karttunen’s (1977) question nucleus. Moreover, the definite article is a lexicalized variant of Dayal’s (1996) ANS-operator. Thus, Emphatic Relatives have underlyingly interrogative syntax and they denote a subordinate question. More specifically, they correspond to one of the cases missing in the paradigm of (1), as represented in (2b). (The full paper shows that their distribution is that of subordinate questions and provides a semantic analysis.)

Discussion. The two constructions discussed here—Degree Neuter Relatives and Emphatic Relatives—support the existence of two missing links in the paradigm of *wh*-constructions in (1), simply by assuming variation in terms of the (c)overtness of their composing parts. These results support, among other things, the expected convergence between definite articles (as *ι*-operators; e.g. Link 1983) and maximality operators, which share the semantic task of extracting maxima out of an ordering of atoms, be it individuals, degrees (e.g. Rullmann 1995), or propositions (e.g. Dayal 1996).

The switched-situation dative pronominal in Serbian

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The dative case is commonly argued to be animacy- or sentience-oriented cross-linguistically, especially when it comes to non-core datives (e.g. Janda 1993, Aristar 1996, Dabrowska 1997, Palić 2010, Boneh & Nash 2011, 2017, Horn 2013, Arsenijević 2013; see Kagan 2020 for an overview). There are also approaches that take directedness rather than animacy as the key property of the dative case (cf. Belaj & Tanacković Faletar 2012, Milosavljević 2019, Jovanović 2020). In this talk, we provide support for the latter type of approach. We analyze a type of non-core dative in Serbian that we label ‘switched-situation dative’ (SSD), illustrated in (1-3). The SSD has no explicit antecedent introduced in the previous discourse, or contextually available for deictic reference (thus resembling typical ‘dummy’ pronouns) and is always realized as the 3rd singular clitic pronoun syncretic between neuter and masculine. It combines with (pseudo-)copular verbs and states like *znati* ‘know’, *značiti* ‘mean’, *ličiti* ‘resemble’, *trajati* ‘last’ (Jovanović 2020), i.e. with the class of predicates that fall under K(imian)-states in the sense of Maienborn (2005a). Descriptively, the basic contribution of the SSD is objectivization (cf. also Miloradović 2007): it implies that the truth value of a proposition denoted by a clause containing a K-state predicate is not to be seen as a subjective ‘judgment’ of the evaluator – the speaker by default and/or subject referent in cases including sentient subjects (e.g. in (3)). We argue that this dative clitic is a situational pronoun referring to a situation switched (SS) from the topic situation (TS) of a given clause. The SSD thus presupposes a specific TS (i.e. a situation epistemically available to the speaker, cf. von Heusinger 2002), and restricts the domain of evaluation of the relevant proposition by (re-)directing it from the given specific TS to an SS.

- (1) To nemoj da te čudi. To **mu** je tako.
that don't Comp you.Acc.Cl surprises that SSD Cop so
‘Don't let that surprises you. That simply functions like that.’
- (2) Ček, ček! 25. maj... To **mu** dođe subota, jel tako?
wait wait 25 may that SSD turns_on Saturday Q.Part so
‘Hold, hold! The 25th of May... That turns out to be Saturday, right?’
- (3) Šta **mu** ja znam ko dolazi!?
what SSD I know who comes
‘How could I possibly know who is coming!?’

The following arguments support our analysis. Firstly, it straightforwardly explains the objectivization effect of the SSD: by switching the evaluation domain from a TS to an SS, the truth value of a proposition valid in the given TS is shifted away from any potential attitude holder related to that TS, including the speaker, as default evaluator and source of information. This explains why the speaker referring dative clitic *mi* can be used instead of the SSD (to mark the speaker's subjective involvement), but the two clitics cannot be combined, as in (4). At the same time, the SSD can be combined with the reflexive dative clitic referring to a TS (TSD) *si* in at least some varieties of Serbian (cf. Milosavljević 2019). The TSD must precede the SSD, which implies that the SSD is hierarchically more deeply embedded.

- (4) To **mi** / **mu** (***mi+mu** / ***mu+mi**) dođe na isto.
that I.Dat.Cl SSD comes on same
‘That turns out to be the same.’
- (5) To **si** / **mu** (**si+mu** / ***mu+si**) je tako.
that TSD SSD Cop so
‘That simply functions like that.’

Secondly, the very nature of the SSD as a domain-restricting pronoun is a property that relates it to typical situation pronouns, which are famous for being employed in explaining many areas of domain restriction cross-linguistically (Schwarz 2009, Kratzer 2021, a.o.). Further, the featural configuration [3rd[sing[neut[pron]]]] is the morphologically least marked set of features (e.g. Harley & Ritter 2002) and is characteristic of situation-referring pronouns (e.g. Klein 2006 for German, Langacker 2011 for English, Milosavljević A. & Milosavljević S. 2022 for Serbian). Finally, let us provide positive evidence for the claim that the SSD presupposes a specific TS. With Maienborn (2005b), we assume that the speaker's restriction of her claim to a particular TS only makes sense if the context supports some TS contrast along a spatial, temporal, or epistemic dimension, with only the latter two relevant for the Kimian states (cf. id. 2005a). The epistemic contrast is the most relevant contrast for the felicity of the SSD. Namely, the SSD presupposes that a Kimian state it combines with holds for a specific TS that is epistemically restricted. Specifically, the epistemic restriction leads to the so-called discovery interpretation (Mainborn 2005b). This holds for all the examples above: a sentence containing an SSD describes information newly discovered, e.g. in (2), the speaker 'calculates' the relation between the date and the relevant day in the week (cf. also Jovanović 2018). Similarly, both (6) and (7) show the speaker's reaction that updates the current discourse with a new piece of (just-discovered) information. Since sentences with the SSD rest on newly discovered facts, their truth-conditional value may be questionable (as indicated e.g. by the epistemic marker *valjda* 'perhaps' in (6), which often goes well with the SSD), leading to potential subjectivity. In the described scenario, the SSD comes particularly handy as a tool for de-subjectivization of a relevant judgment, by switching the evaluation domain from the given TS, i.e. directing it towards an SS.

(6) *Open Broadcaster Software*, hm?! To **mu** valjda znači za emitovanje...
 Interj that SSD perhaps means for broadcasting
 'Open Broadcaster Software, hm?! I guess that means for broadcasting.'

(7) [A reaction to a suggestion:]
 Pa to **mu** zvuči kao odlična ideja!
 well that SSD sounds like excellent idea
 'Well, that really sounds like an excellent idea!'

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Indefinites and polar disjoint interrogatives

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Disjunction in Bangla. Bangla (*aka* Bengali, IA language) has two different types of disjunction in their Polar (PolQ) and Alternative Questions (AltQ) (Bhadra, 2017). The boolean disjunction *ba* ‘or’ is exclusively reserved for PolQ (1) whereas we have *kina* ‘whether’ as the underlying disjunction structure¹ for AltQ (2) (cf. Bhadra, 2017). The *ki* particle in Bangla functions as the Q operator (as opposed to the constituent *wh*-word) and is responsible for the interrogative reading, as can be seen from the following.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) (✓AltQ, ✗PolQ)
 <i>Rishi ki cha khabe na coffee?</i>
 rishi KI tea eat.FUT.3s NA coffee
 ‘Will Rishi drink tea or (will Rishi drink) coffee?’</p> | <p>(2) (✗AltQ, ✓PolQ)
 <i>Rishi ki cha ba coffee khabe?</i>
 rishi KI tea or coffee eat.FUT.3s
 ‘Is it the case that Rishi will drink tea or coffee?’</p> |
|--|---|

Observations. Non-specific existential indefinites like *kichu* ‘some’ in Bangla are ungrammatical in AltQs (3), but are perfectly licit in PolQs (4).

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(3) (✓AltQ, ✗PolQ)
 <i>Rishi ki cha na coffee (*kichu)</i>
 rishi KI tea NA coffee some
 <i>khabe?</i>
 eat.FUT.3s
 Int: ‘Will Rishi drink tea or (will Rishi drink) coffee?’</p> | <p>(4) (✗AltQ, ✓PolQ)
 <i>Rishi ki cha ba coffee kichu/*shob</i>
 rishi KI tea or coffee some/all
 <i>khabe?</i>
 eat.FUT.3s
 Int: ‘Is it the case that Rishi will drink tea or coffee?’</p> |
|--|--|

Although constructions involving the addition of indefinites in disjoint PolQs lack any such meaning distinctions, the absence of the same in AltQs becomes a matter of inquiry. Additionally, while existential indefinites are readily attested in disjoint PolQs, observations suggest that universals like *shob* ‘all’ in Bangla is ungrammatical in the same (4). The same pattern is observed in disjoint interrogatives in fellow IA, Hindi-Urdu². The study, therefore, seeks to present an adequate account for the licensing of existential indefinites in polar disjoint questions in the two languages at the syntax-semantics interface.

Syntactic scope of the disjunct particles. Our proposal for the disparity observed in the (un)grammaticality of non-specific indefinites in interrogatives with disjunction lies in the size of the disjuncts and the scope-taking behavior of the disjunction operator. The idea is that non-specific indefinites take narrow scope (over the disjunct set) and mandatorily have to be licensed by some existential operator (Partee, 2005). In case of Bangla AltQs, the disjunctive complementizer, *ki-na* takes both disjunct TPs as arguments, and therefore, always has wide scope in the construction (5) (cf. Bhadra, 2017).

- (5) [_{ForceP} *Rishi*_j [_{Force⁰} **ki**_i] [_{CP} [_{TP} *t_j cha khabe*]_{C'} [_C *t_i- na*] [_{TP} *t_j coffee khabe*]]]]

As per Bhadra (2017), *ki* moves to Force⁰ to mark the scope of disjunction, thereby leaving *na* as the surface disjunct connective. This is similar to the account proposed by Bhatt & Dayal (2020) for Hindi AltQs, where AltQs are shown to be derived from the explicit disjunction of two PolQs, or two CPs, with the disjunction operator taking wide scope over the construction. In both cases, the narrow scope taking indefinite becomes incompatible with the wide scope taking disjunction operator, leading to a licensing failure at LF, with AltQs being ungrammatical with non-specific indefinites in both Bangla, and Hindi-Urdu. The PolQ disjunction operators, *ba* in Bangla and *ya:* in Hindi, differ greatly from their AltQ counterparts in terms of their scope

¹Since *kina* also canonically means ‘whether’, Bhadra (2017) refers to ‘whether’ as a Complex head-Q-Disj(unction) *i.e.*, whether = *kina* = *ki* (Q) + *na* (‘or’).

²Due to space constraints, the authors choose to leave the concerned empirical data in Hindi-Urdu for the complete paper. For now, it suffices to say that both Bangla and Hindi-Urdu disjoint interrogatives behave similarly.

taking properties. While *ki-na* disjoins only clauses and consequently can license wide scope alone, *ba* can disjoin both clausal and sub-clausal structures, and therefore allows licensing of wide scope as well as narrow scope (Bhadra, 2017). The crucial idea presented here is that indefinites in disjoint PolQs (4) are non-sentential and carry only narrow scope. Observe (6), where overt indefinites having sentential scope result in ungrammatical structures.

- (6) *Rishi ki (*kichu) cha ba coffee khabe?*
 rishi KI some tea or coffee eat.FUT.3s

Int: ‘Is it the case that Rishi will drink tea or coffee?’

To account for the ungrammaticality of (4) with universals, we argue that the logical disjunction that carries the $[u\exists]$ feature (see also Mandarin *huòzhè* (Erlewine, 2017)) requires a local \exists operator in the narrow scope reading. The local \exists operator may or may not be phonologically overt. Consequently, the $[u\exists]$ feature on the logical disjunction needs to get checked locally in the narrow scope reading. The universal indefinite when checked by the Disj (DP), cannot fulfill the disjunction’s requirement, thereby leading to a licensing failure at LF. Therefore, we arrive at the following syntax for narrow scope carrying disjoint PolQs. The lower \exists denotes the slot for indefinites like *kichu*, *kuch*, etc.

- (7) $[_{\text{ForceP}} \text{Rishi}]_j [_{\text{Force}^0} \text{ki}] [_{\text{CP}} \exists [_{\text{TP}} t_j [_{\text{VP}} [_{\text{Disj(DP)} } \text{cha ba coffee}] \exists] [_{\text{V}} \text{khabe}]]]]]$

Uttering semantically. Following insights from Partee & Rooth (1983); Von Stechow (1991); Aloni (2003); Simons (2005); Alonso-Ovalle (2006), the logical disjunction *ba* in (7) gives us the set of focus alternatives $\{\text{tea, coffee}\}$ (cf. Bhadra, 2017). While accounting for the effect of the narrow scope taking \exists on $\{\text{tea, coffee}\}$, we follow Erlewine (2017)’s extensionalized version of Uegaki (2018)’s cross-categorial rule for \exists - $[[\exists\alpha]]^{\text{alt}} = [[\alpha]]^{\text{alt}}$, where α is of any type τ . As a consequence, all we will have is the focus alternative set viz. $\{\text{tea, coffee}\}$. The propositional \exists operator takes the set of focus alternatives, $\{\lambda w.\text{drink}_w(\text{R},\text{t}), \lambda w.\text{drink}_w(\text{R},\text{c})\}$ and yields an ordinary singleton set containing the proposition $\lambda w'.\exists p \in \{\lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{t}), \lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{c})\} : p(w') = 1$. As per Bhadra (2017), *ki* acts on this set and gives us the following: $\{\lambda w'.\exists p \in \{\lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{t}), \lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{c})\} : p(w') = 1, \lambda w'.\neg\exists p \in \{\lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{t}), \lambda w.\text{eat}_w(\text{R},\text{c})\} : p(w') = 1\}$. (3) is ungrammatical because the interrogative disjunction, which doesn’t have to be licensed by an \exists , always takes wide scope and the lower level indefinite as in (4) is never propositional. The same line of semantic analysis is followed in Hindi as well.

Summary. • Indefinites occur in disjoint PolQs, but not in AltQs, with universals being disallowed across both in IA Bangla and Hindi. • Our analysis claims that this results out of the narrow scope requirements of the disjunction operator. • We also argue in favor of $[u\exists]$ feature of the narrow scope bearing reading of the logical disjunction.

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Multiple Foci and Absence of Phi-Feature Agreement in Tagalog

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Introduction: It has been argued that non-DP elements such as AdvPs and PPs in Tagalog can freely move to a sentence initial position and have focus interpretation there (Aldridge 2002, Hsieh 2020, a.o.). It is observed that only multiple non-DP elements (multiple foci) can undergo movement to the initial position (Otani 2021). Based on the data with island effect and reflexive coreference, we argue that the multiple foci are created via “Double Sideward Movement” (Takano 2020), and not via simple leftward movement nor base generation. By adopting this analysis, we argue that there is no phi-feature agreement in Tagalog.

Previous Analysis: According to Hsieh (2020), single non-DP elements can freely move to a sentence initial focus position as in (1b). As with the single non-DP elements, Otani (2021) observes that two non-DP elements can move to the focus position as in (1c) (Reversed word order is possible here).

- (1) a. [Ni-luto] ni Tom ang sisig sa kusina noong Linggo.
 PV.PFV-cook Gen Tom Nom sisig Obl kitchen last Sunday
 ‘Tom cooked sisig in the kitchen last Sunday.’ (Baseline)
- b. [Sa kusina]₁ ni-luto ni Tom ang sisig *t*₁ noong Linggo.
 Obl kitchen PV.PFV-cook Gen Tom Nom sisig last Sunday
 ‘It was in the kitchen that Tom cooked sisig last Sunday.’
- c. [Sa kusina₁ noong Linggo]₂ ni-luto ni Tom ang sisig *t*₁ *t*₂.
 Obl kitchen last Sunday PV.PFV-cook Gen Tom Nom sisig
 ‘It was [in the kitchen last Sunday] that Tom cooked sisig.’

Data: As a matter of course, one would think the multiple focus is derived by the double application of a simple leftward movement. However, we observed that multiple foci are immune to the island effect which makes the single non-DP focus (movement) ungrammatical, depicted in (2).

- (2) a. Single non-DP focus out of a relative clause (RC) island
 *[Sa kusina₁] kilala ni Tom [RC ang lalaki=ng nag-luto ngsisig *t*₁ noong Linggo]
 Obl kitchen know Gen Tom [RC Nom man=Lk AV.PFV-cook Gen sisig last Sunday]
 Lit: ‘[In the kitchen₁] Tom knows the man who cooked sisig *t*₁ last Sunday.’
- b. Multiple non-DP foci out of a relative clause island
 [sa kusina₁ noong Linggo]₂ kilala ni Tom [RC ang lalaki=ng nag-luto ng sisig *t*₁ *t*₂]
 Obl kitchen last Sunday know Gen Tom [RC Nom man=C AV.PFV-cook Gen sisig
 Lit: ‘[In the kitchen₁] [last Sunday₂] Tom knows the man who cooked sisig *t*₁ *t*₂.’

Then, one may also wonder whether the multiple foci are base-generated in the sentence initial position, instead of a movement from the island clause. However, the base-generation analysis cannot capture the data in (3). In (3a), the reflexive *sarili* can refer to *Tom*. The possibility of co-reference between them shows that the antecedent should c-command the reflexive. In (3b), although the reflexive proceeds *Tom*, the reflexive can also be bounded. The base-generated analysis cannot explain the possibility of binding relation between *sarili* and *Tom* in (3b).

- (3) a. Nag-luto si Tom₁ ng adobo [para sa kanyang sarili₁] [noong Linggo].
 AV.PFV-cook Nom Tom Gen adobo [for Obl Poss self] [last Sunday]
 Lit: ‘Tom₁ cooked adobo [for himself₁] [last Sunday].’
- b. [Para sa kanyang sarili₁] [noong Linggo] nag-luto si Tom₁ ng adobo.
 [for Obl Poss self] [last Sunday] AV.PFV-cook Nom Tom Gen adobo
 Lit: ‘It was [for himself₁] [last Sunday] that Tom₁ cooked adobo.’

Analysis: Following Takano (2020), we propose that the Tagalog multiple foci are derived via External Merge (EM), instead of Internal Merge (IM). Takano (2020) observes that multiple foci in Japanese clefts are derived from double sideward movement (cf. Hornstein and Nunes 2002). It is generally assumed that a standard movement involves IM, and on the other hand, a sideward movement is related to EM. The point is that only IM exhibits an island sensitivity. This means that the sideward movement is immune to the island effect. Under Takano’s approach, multiple focus elements are externally merged to the focus position (e.g., Spec of FocP).

Adopting Takano's (2020) double sideward movement analysis, we can explain the question why the non-DP multiple foci lack the island effect. The derivation of (2b) is illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. SO1=[_{VP} cook Gen-sisig **Obl-kitchen last-Sunday**] (SO = Syntactic Object)
 b. SO1=[_{VP} cook Gen-sisig Obl-kitchen last-Sunday] SO2=[_{XP} **Obl-kitchen, last-Sunday**]
 c. SO1=[_{FocP} [**Obl-kitchen, last-Sunday**] [_{IP/VP} know ...]] <EM of SO2 to FocP in SO1>

When the VP is derived as in (4a), double sideward movement applies to SO1. As a result, a single constituent (SO2; [Obl-kitchen, last Sunday]) is created as in (4b), while the copy remaining in SO1 becomes phonetically null. Then, in (4c), when SO1 is built up to FocP (CP), the single constituent (SO2) externally merges to the FocP of SO1 without violating the island effect. Here, we note that Takano assumes that the sideward movement is only applied to the multiple constituents because the sideward movement in (4b) needs two elements to (External) Merge. Therefore, the island effect cannot be observed in the multiple foci in (3b) with double sideward movement, while the single constituent focus in (2a) with an ordinary movement shows the island effect.

Consequence: Takano (2020) proposes that multiple elements in focus position are allowed only in a language which does not have obligatory ϕ -feature agreement between arguments and functional heads. Following Takano (2020), we predict the absence of a phi-feature agreement for Tagalog, and in fact it is as depicted in (5). There is no morpheme which agrees with any types of a subject.

- (5) Nag-aaral {ako / kami / ka / siya / sila / si Tom} ng Ingles.
 AV.PFV-study {I / we / you / he (or she) / they / Nom Tom} Gen English
 ' {I / we/ you/ he/ they / Tom} studied English'

If the whole discussion is plausible, we also predict that there are more data which signals an absence of a phi-feature agreement in Tagalog. Though we need more development, we already observed a data which signals an existence of an argument ellipsis in Tagalog. In (6), sloppy reading is possible even though the verbs of the antecedent and elided sentence are different (cf. Goldberg 2005).

- (6) Pinagalitan ni Mike ang estudyante nya, pero pinuri ni Tom [e].
 scolded-PV Gen Mike Nom student his, but praised-PV Gen Tom
 lit. 'Mike scolded his student but Tom praised {Mike's student / Tom's student (sloppy reading)}'.

Selected references: Otani, Shuki. 2021. On Multiple Foci Constructions in Tagalog. *Paper presented at AJL6.* / Takano, Yuji. 2020. Exploring Merge: A new form of sideward movement. *Linguistic Review* 37: 7-45.

Processing morphologically complex words in South Slavic

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Psycholinguistic models [1], as well as recent behavioral [2,3] and neuroimaging [4,5] studies in English and Greek, detected two stages of processing morphologically complex words after decomposition: *licensing*, where the syntactic category of the stem is checked, and *composition*, where the semantic compatibility of stem+affix combinations is evaluated. The current study uses pseudowords to investigate whether the two post-decomposition stages are distinguishable online when verbal prefix attachment rules of Slovenian (Slo) and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) are violated.

Recent studies on Slo used agentive suffixes to compare pseudowords that violate argument structure rules (**umiralec* 'die-er') and those that violate syntactic category rules (**črkilec* 'letter-er'). No difference was found in offline acceptability judgments [7], while timed lexical decisions revealed differences in acceptability ratings and RTs [6]. Argument structure violations were rejected more slowly and less reliably than category violations in Slo, English, and Greek [2-5].

In the current study, we move beyond argument structure as a probe for the semantic composition stage and investigate *event type* dimension to see whether the same RT and accuracy patterns hold for a broader range of semantic well-formedness constraints. Moreover, we include in our study another, so far untested South Slavic language, namely BCS, to compare whether the well-formedness constraints elicit the same RT and accuracy patterns in the two closely related languages. We used 3 equivalent Slo and BCS prefixes (raz-, od-, vz-/uz-) which all strongly resist attaching to verbs denoting stable states or emotions (in the general sense of [8]) in both languages, and created pseudowords in the same manner in both languages. For the semantic violations (SemViol), we combined each prefix with 37 (Slo) and 50 (BCS) stable state/psychological verbs whose states cannot be rapidly expanded, changed, interrupted, or annulled (*ceniti* (Slo) 'to appreciate': **razceniti*, **odceniti* **vzceniti*). Verbs were pre-rated on stability by 30 Slo and 27 BCS speakers. For category violations (CatViol), we combined each prefix with 20 Slo and 20 BCS nouns (**razčebula* (Slo), 'raz-onion') and 20 Slo and 20 BCS adjectives (**vzkrasen* (Slo), 'vz-gorgeous'). Also, 99 existing Slo verbs and 104 existing BCS verbs with these 3 prefixes were used as grammatical items (*odlepiti* (Slo), 'unstick'). 88 Slo and 44 BCS speakers performed lexical decision tasks online by indicating whether strings they read were existing Slo/BCS words.

We ran (generalized) linear mixed-effects models analyses for each language, with Accuracy/RTs as the dependent variable and Condition (SemViol, CatViol, Gramm) X Prefix (Raz, Od, Vz/Uz) as factors. In both languages, pairwise comparisons revealed a significant RT increase and accuracy decrease for SemViol compared to CatViol, for every prefix [z-ratios for RTs in Slo: -6.21(raz), -6.38(od), -5.76(vz); z-ratios for accuracy in Slo: 6.85(raz-), 6.47(od-), 5.93(vz-); z-ratios for RTs in BCS: -5.75(raz), -8.70(od), -6.57(uz); z-ratios for accuracy in BCS: 6.92(raz-), 6.51(od-), 5.03(uz-)].

Results (Figs 1&2) are in accordance with previous findings confirming the two-stage post-decomposition processing by showing that syntactic category information is processed faster and more accurately than semantic information. The pattern of results was stable across prefixes and remarkably comparable in Slo and BCS. This study contributes to the knowledge about the processes taking place during the semantic composition stage by showing that they include not just argument structure information, but also event-type information. Furthermore, we show that the well-formedness constraints of two different, but closely related languages, elicit highly comparable RT and accuracy patterns, speaking to the universality of the prefix attachment rules in South Slavic.

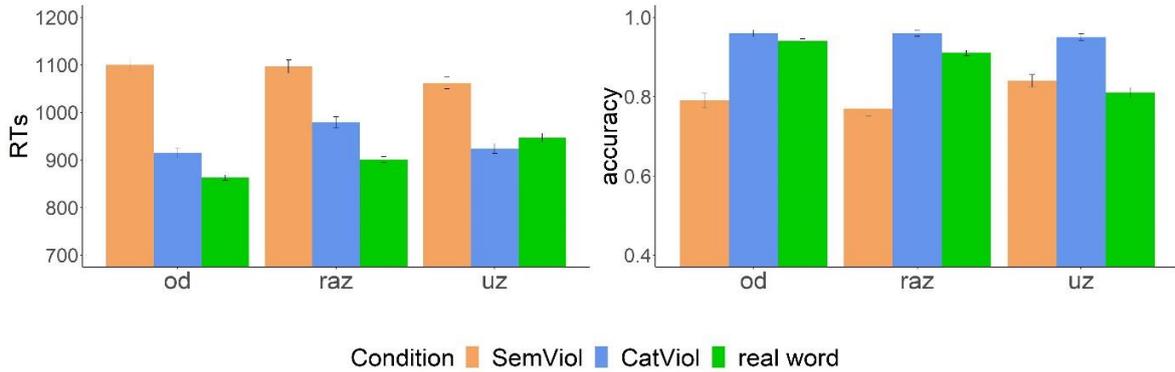


Figure 1. Mean RTs (left) and accuracy (right) with standard errors per condition for BCS

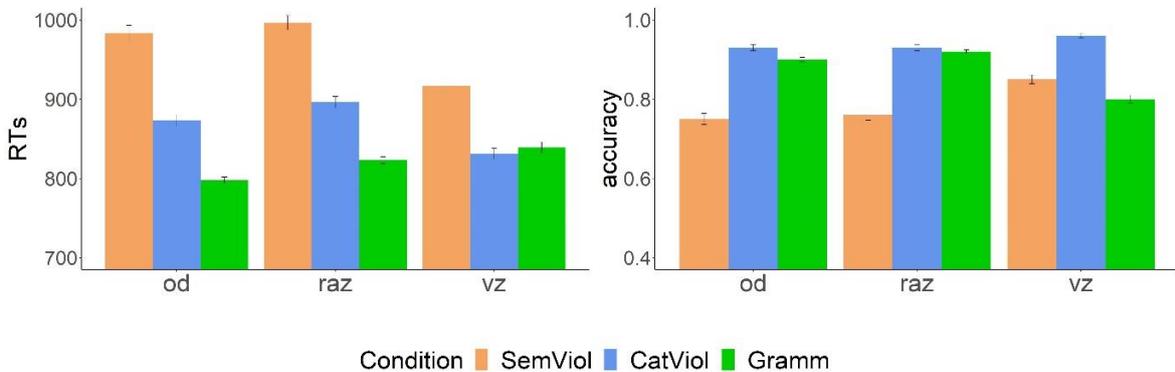


Figure 1. Mean RTs (left) and accuracy (right) with standard errors per condition for Slo

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Conditionality plus Evaluative Ordering: ‘Utopic’ and ‘Realistic’ Modal Predication

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In a nutshell: I propose a solution to an old modal puzzle via a new instance of it: My puzzle on ‘overall’ vs. ‘per se’ goodness involves evaluation on a subject-relative scale and conditional operators - like puzzles on ‘conflicting wishes’ ([1], [6] a.o). I propose in both cases the evaluative Ordering Source (eOS) (i) provides a scale on which worlds are located while it remains unrestricted itself (generalization of [7]) and (ii) optionally also takes the place of the expected realistic OS (rOS) of the conditional. Another set of worlds ‘goes into’ the evaluative ordering

- leading to phenomena like ‘per se’ goodness and ‘utopic’ wanting. **‘Utopic’ Wanting:** In (1-a), (1-b) and (1-c) are both felicitous (‘conflicting wishes’; existing solutions: [1], [6] a.o):

- (1) a. CONTEXT: In worlds that are compatible with everything I desire I [...] don’t teach at all. [...] I believe that I will teach [...] next semester. ([1], p. 195)
b. *I want to teach Tuesdays and Thursdays next semester.* (= [1]’s (33))
c. *I don’t want to teach at all.*

I refer to the attitude in (1-b) (that intuitively considers more limitations from the utterance world (w0) - namely that I believe I will teach) as ‘realistic’ and to the desire in (1-c) (that seems to ignore these) as ‘utopic’ wanting. **‘Per se’ goodness:** I present novel data from German (collected via 11 native speaker interviews): In the same scenario, (2-b) and its wide scope negation (2-c) are accepted. I argue this is another instance of ‘utopic’/‘realistic’ preferences.

- (2) a. SCENARIO CONFERENCE: We have 10,000 euros in total to spend for a conference (on refunds for speakers, food, ...). Our primary interest is that there are good talks.
b. *Es wäre natürlich (an sich) gut, wenn wir 10.000 Euro für ein Luxus-Bufferet ausgeben. Aber leider gibt es dann keine Talks.*
‘It would of course be good, (per se,) if we spent 10,000 euros on a luxury buffet. But unfortunately there are no talks then.’
c. *Es wäre natürlich (insgesamt) nicht gut, wenn wir 10.000 Euro für ein Luxus-Bufferet ausgeben. Denn dann gibt es leider keine Talks.*
‘It would of course not be good, (overall,) if we spent 10,000 euros on a luxury buffet, because unfortunately there are no talks then.’

an sich (per se) and *insgesamt* (overall) are optional and point to two ‘kinds’ of *good*-predication (g-P), parallel to ‘utopic’ vs. ‘realistic’ wanting: I propose the ‘overall’ g-P in (2-c) considers more limitations from w0 than the ‘per se’ g-P (2-b), namely that 10,000 euros is everything. **Generalization from good-Predications:** I follow [7] in assuming modal *good* here is a degree adjective over worlds, in its positive form comparing them (on a salient scale of goodness) to an interval of neutral worlds, i.e. ‘being good’ is a predicate of worlds. The following paraphrase for (2-b) leans on [7], retaining some standard [2, 3, 4, 5] style assumptions:

- (3) The degree of goodness - on a salient preference scale - of certain possible worlds - restricted (i) by some Modal Base to which (ii) the antecedent proposition (i.e. ‘we spend 10,000 euros on a buffet’) is added and (iii) by a rOS (‘closest to w0’) - is higher than any degree on the neutral interval.

The rOS does the same thing here as in an ordinary conditional [2, 3, 4, 5]: It takes a subset of the propositions that are true in w0 and orders other worlds of a set *W* based on how many of these they make true. The eOS that comes with *good* works similar with its optimum ‘proximity to what is considered good in w0’. *W* here is the set of worlds (possibly restricted by a Modal Base) where the antecedent proposition is true. Of the worlds that are maximally

high according to the rOS it is demanded that (I) the consequent proposition is also true (in the case of an ordinary conditional) or (II) that they are higher than neutral worlds on the second, eOS scale, the scale of goodness (for g-Ps, [7]). I generalize (3), building on [7]: The combination of a modal evaluative predicate P with a covert (for (1-b)/(1-c), in line with [1], a.o.) or overt if-clause results in an ‘evaluative ordering conditional’ (EOC) with the following paraphrase:

- (4) The degree of Pness - on a salient P scale - of certain possible worlds - restricted (i) by some Modal Base to which (ii) the antecedent proposition is added and (iii) by a rOS (‘closest to w0’) - is higher than any degree on the neutral interval. = EOC meaning **A**

Proposal, informal: I propose a unified solution to puzzles on ‘utopic’/ ‘realistic’ preferences (including ‘per se’/‘overall’ goodness): The two cases differ in the set of worlds to which the predicate is applied. (1-b) considers only worlds that share with w0 that I will teach, (2-c) only worlds that share with w0’ that we have 10,000 euros in total. ‘Utopic’ wanting and ‘per se’ goodness are the same phenomenon - ‘ignoring’ facts from w0, instead assuming ‘optimal’ circumstances -; just like ‘realistic’ wanting and ‘overall’ goodness are - operating within real life circumstances and informing actual demands/decisions. **Towards an implementation:** I argue (4) is only one possible meaning **A** of EOCs. **A** involves two distinct OSs: The rOS that is expected for a conditional and the eOS that comes with P. However, ambiguity of many EOCs leads to seeming contradictions: Meaning **B** involves only one OS, used twice - the eOS that comes with P, e.g. a salient scale of goodness. It plays the same role as in A/(4) and additionally takes the place of the rOS, preventing its contribution:

- (5) The degree of Pness - on a salient P scale - of certain possible worlds - restricted (i) by some Modal Base to which (ii) the antecedent proposition is added **and (iii) by the P eOS (i.e. the best / most desired ones)** - is higher than any degree on the neutral interval. = EOC meaning **B**

The crucial difference from **A** is that the worlds ‘going into’ the evaluation may deviate more from w0, but are already ‘pre-sorted’ for goodness. The eOS must therefore be associated with two positions in the case of **B**. (6) illustrates the OSs used in **A** and **B**, respectively, (applied to (2-b); simplified semantics), *a* and *b* being variables over OSs:

- (6) a. **A:** [[good *a*][[NEC *b*] we spend 10,000 euros on a luxury buffet]]
 b. **B:** [[good *a*][[NEC *a*] we spend 10,000 euros on a luxury buffet]]

A predicts the truth of (2-c): (7-a); **B** of (2-b): (7-b).

- (7) a. Restricting some Modal Base worlds to ones where we spend 10,000 euros on a buffet and keeping only the ones that are very close to w0 - we only have 10,000 euros - the resulting worlds don’t have talks and are low on the scale of goodness.
 b. Restricting some Modal Base worlds to ones where we spend 10,000 euros on a buffet and keeping only the best one(s) - we have more money - the resulting worlds have talks and are high on the scale of goodness.

I don’t assume a contextual shift between (1-b) and (1-c) nor (2-b) and (2-c) - an advantage, since covert context shifts tend to be over-permissive / make unclear predictions. **Open issues:**

(1) Negation of **B** is expected to be very strong (n.n. p.c.) - ‘Not even the best p-worlds are good’ - but this is hard to test for because of the weaker negation of **A**. (2) My proposal has potential towards a rule specifying which OSs can/must be used, in a non-local way: NEC can always use an eOS once it has been introduced by P. This has potential for increased testability of claims regarding kinds of OSs.

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Mass definite generics
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Introduction. Languages differ in whether the definite generic article is forbidden, optional or obligatory in (simplex) mass NPs, as (1) shows for English, German and Spanish.

- (1) a. (#The) gold is getting more expensive. (*the gold* can refer to a kind of gold)
 b. (Das) Gold steigt im Preis. (Dayal 2004:ex.86b)
 c. #(El) agua se encuentra por todas partes. (Borik & Espinal 2015:ex.31b)
 the water_{refl} found for all parts ‘Water is found everywhere.’

Although generic *the* is forbidden in the simplex mass NPs in (1a) and (2), it is optional in the complex ones in (3), showing five sorts of modification. *Pesto* and *pesto sauce* are synonyms, so it is modification rather than meaning which licenses *the* in (3a) and (3b–e) by extension.

- (2) (#The) {pesto, hating, tuberculosis, tape, wine} is widespread. *unmodified*
 (3) a. (The) pesto sauce is widespread. *1st noun in N-N compound*
 b. (The) electrician’s tape is widespread. *modification genitive*
 c. (The) hating of minorities is widespread. *argumental genitive*
 d. (The) pulmonary tuberculosis is widespread. *relational adjective*
 e. (The) French wine is widespread. *classificative ethnic adjective*

We propose that *the* is licensed in (3) by the modifiers having kind-level denotations, and we offer a new argument for Dayal’s (2004) analysis of the cross-linguistic variation in (1).

Background. Under Dayal (2004:§3.2), properties can shift to kinds via the type-shifts in (4).

- (4) a. $\lambda P.\cap P$ (defined only if every extension of P has a maximal element)
 b. $\lambda P.\iota(\lambda k.P_{\text{taxonomic}}(k))$ ‘The function from properties P to the maximal element in the set of (proper and improper) kinds of P.’

- (4a) is covert in English while (4b) is vocalized as *the*, and (4b) is applicable only if (4a) is not.
- (4a) is applicable to GOLD; in every situation with gold, the sum of all gold is gold. This blocks (4b) vocalized as *the* from applying to GOLD, explaining *the* being forbidden in (5a).
- (4a) is inapplicable to LION; in situations with multiple lions, the sum of all lions is not a lion. This allows (4b) vocalized as *the* to apply to LION, explaining *the* being obligatory in (5b).

- (5) a. **WIDESPREAD**(\cap GOLD) (4b) blocked (*#The gold is widespread.*)
 b. \cap LION undefined **WIDESPREAD**($\iota(\lambda k.LION_{\text{taxonomic}}(k))$) (*#(The) lion is widespread.*)

Modification. In Polish, the position of an adjective corresponds with a kind- or instance-level use.

- (6) a. czarny dzięcioł ‘woodpecker who is black’ (Wągiel 2014:ex.10)
 black woodpecker *instance-level use*
 b. dzięcioł czarny ‘specimen of the species *Dryocopus martius*’
 woodpecker black *kind-level use*

We posit that the sorts of modifiers in (3) have the dual-use in (6), although without affecting word order in English. In support of this postulation, *pesto* has a kind-level use in *Pesto Genovese is a (widespread) pesto*. Also, there is theoretical intuition that modification genitives like *electrician’s* in (3c) involve reference to kinds (Munn 1995). Lastly, McNally & Boleda (2004) analyze *pulmonary* in (7)a as having a kind-level denotation, which can extend to (7b–c).

- (7) a. Tuberculosis can be pulmonary. (McNally & Boleda 2004:ex.33)
 b. Hating can be of minorities. *genitive argument*
 c. This kind of wine is French. *classificative ethnic adjective* (Arsenijević et al. 2014)

(8) implements the dual-use assumption on *pesto* as a modifier (as in *pesto sauce*).

- (8) a. $\llbracket_{\text{inst}} \text{pesto} \rrbracket = \lambda s \lambda x. \text{PESTO}(x) \langle s, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle$ *instance-level property*
 ‘The function from situations *s* to the set of sums of pesto in *s*.’
 b. $\llbracket_{\text{subkind}} \text{pesto} \rrbracket = \lambda J \lambda k. J(k) \wedge \text{PESTO}(k) \langle \langle e^k, t \rangle, \langle e^k, t \rangle \rangle$ *kind-level modifier*
 ‘The function from sets of kinds to their intersection with the set of kinds of pesto.’

We propose that the (non-)occurrence of *the* in (3) corresponds to two derivations of equivalent propositions. The bare version of (3a) utilizes (8a), whose property-intersection (\cap_p) with SAUCE undergoes \cap , which is covert in English, (9a). The definite version of (3a) utilizes (8b), which prompts SAUCE to shift to SAUCE (the set of kinds of sauce), and the maximal element of the resulting set is picked out by ι denoted by *the*, (9b). In both derivations, the argument of WIDESPREAD is pesto sauce as a kind.

- (9) a. WIDESPREAD (\cap $\lambda w \lambda x. \text{PESTO}_w(x) \cap_p \lambda w \lambda x. \text{SAUCE}_w(x)$)
WIDESPREAD (\cap $\lambda w \lambda x. \text{PESTO}_w(x) \wedge \text{SAUCE}_w(x)$)) *Pesto sauce is widespread.*
b. WIDESPREAD (ι $\lambda j \lambda k. \text{J}(k) \wedge \text{PESTO}(k)$ SAUCE)
WIDESPREAD (ι $\lambda k. \text{SAUCE}(k) \wedge \text{PESTO}(k)$)) *The pesto sauce is widespread.*

In the present analysis, modification licenses mass definite generics in English because it changes the locality facts. When PESTO is most local to the kind-level predicate, the mismatch is repairable via the highly-ranked \cap , which blocks lower-ranked type-shifts like (4b). By contrast, when PESTO is most local to the modifier, the mismatch is unrepairable with \cap , which allows lower-ranked shifts like \cap_p in (9a) or the shift from SAUCE to SAUCE in (9b).

Cross-linguistic. (10) is Borik & Espinal's (2015:ex.63) account of (1a) versus (1c).

- (10) a. Basic intension of a noun ^{English} instance-level property ^{Spanish} kind-level predicate
b. Is \cap in the language? yes no

Following (10), the basic intension of the English *gold* is a property to which \cap is applicable, hence *the* is not needed in (1a). By contrast, the basic intension of the Spanish *agua* 'water' is a set of kinds whose maximal element is water as a kind. The only way to refer to it is via ι denoted by the definite article *el*, hence it is obligatory in (1c). (10) could extend to account for the optionality in (1b) by positing that German has covert \cap and *Gold* is ambiguous between a property and a kind-level predicate. However, it is not clear why languages should vary in the two ways in (10).

(10) is Dayal's (2004) account of (1), which assumes that ι is a canonical function of the definite article while \cap is non-canonical. (11a) is the denotations of the definite articles, and it follows from (11b) that although the German definite article can denote \cap , this does not block covert \cap . Thus, the bare and definite versions of (1b) result respectively from covert \cap and \cap denoted by *das*.

- (11) a. The definite article lexicalizes ι ι^\cap ι^\cap
b. A covert type-shift is blocked if it is equivalent to ___ any canonical any
function of an overt determiner. *English German Spanish*

Unlike (10), diachrony offers an answer to why languages should vary in the two ways in (10). English, German and Spanish represent stages in a diachronic progression where the definite article expands in use (Schmuck 2020), which we formalize as acquiring \cap in addition to ι . Thus, German represents a stage where the definite article has acquired \cap , but the Blocking Principle has not (yet) realized its ideal state where covert type-shifts are blocked by any function of an overt determiner, which would result in covert \cap being blocked by the \cap function of the German definite article.

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Animacy matters: Predictors of sibilisation in BCMS

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BCMS sibilisation, whereby velars /k, g, x/ alternate with sibilants /ts, z, s/ in front of an /i/-initial affix is a highly morphologised process whose application rates vary from context to context. Table 1 shows four morphemes which all have the segmental content /i/. The imperative morpheme unexceptionally triggers the alternation, the NOM.PL morpheme triggers the alternation productively, but exceptions are well attested. On the other hand, the DAT/LOC.SG morpheme triggers the alternation in some words, fails to do so in others, and triggers it optionally in yet other words. Finally, the GEN.PL morpheme never triggers sibilisation.

Alternation	Context	Example
Categorical	Imperative	/leg-i/ → lezi ‘lie down’
High	Nominative plural of nouns	/kirurg-i/ → kirurzi ‘surgeons’ (but exceptionally detʃki ‘guys’)
Medium	Dative/locative singular of nouns	/bajk-i/ → bajtsi ‘fairy tale(dat/loc)’ /alg-i/ → algi ‘alga(dat/loc)’ /fresk-i/ → freski/frestsi ‘fresco(dat/loc)’
Zero	Genitive plural of nouns	/bajk-i/ → bajki ‘fairy tales(gen)’ /alg-i/ → algi ‘algae(gen)’

The main focus of this contribution is on the DAT/LOC.SG ending /i/ and the main goal is establishing the factors which determine the occurrence of the alternation. Traditional descriptions (e.g., Težak 1986) list various factors, very few of which are deterministic. Possibly more surprisingly, various deterministic factors are related to animacy: names of persons and animals never alternate, and the same goes for nouns that denote inhabitants and nationals (Silić & Pranjković 2005: 161). However, the link between animacy and the absence of alternation cannot be direct because there are quite common counterexamples. E.g., for *kteerk-a* ‘daughter’, both *kteerk-i* and *kteerts-i* are attested, and for *majk-a* ‘mother’ only *majts-i* is widely accepted. Finally, while no grammars mention this factor, it appears plausible that the presence of a non-alternating GEN.PL ending /-i/ may influence the (non-)alternation in DAT/LOC.SG.

In order to establish the influence of phonotactic factors, animacy and the presence of a non-alternating /i/ elsewhere in the paradigm on the alternation ratios, I conducted a corpus study targeting nouns with velar-final stems. Since the GEN.PL /i/ is an option only in cases where the stem ends in a consonant cluster, I restricted my sample to such nouns.

In hrWaC (Ljubešić & Klubička 2014), I first conducted a CQL search for lemmas ending in -CGa, where C is any consonant and G is any velar. The results were ranked by frequency and the 110 most frequent nouns were copied to a separate table and annotated for animacy and several phonological variables. For these nouns, a search for DAT/LOC.SG and GEN.PL was conducted. Specifically, CQLs were used in which the word in question is preceded by two congruent adjectival words (as this was found to yield relatively clean results). For instance, the DAT/LOC.SG forms for *fresk-a* ‘fresco’ were searched using the query [word = ".*oj"] [word = ".*oj"] [word = "fres(c|k)i"]. The search results were manually cleaned and the sibilisation ratio was calculated for each noun. The nouns for which one of the searches yielded an empty result were removed and supplanted by new words from the lemma frequency ranking.

Among the 110 most frequent nouns, there was an extremely uneven distribution of the final velars. /x/ was unattested, /g/ was attested in only 3 items and /k/ was attested in 107 items. All three /g/-final nouns (*manga*, *alga*, *felga* ‘tire rim’) had a sibilisation ratio of 0 in DAT/LOC.SG. These nouns were removed from the sample and supplanted by the next 3, which had a final /k/. The mean sibilisation ratio for the 110 nouns was 0.45. First, correlation coefficients for the sibilisation ratios and all the phonological factors, animacy and GEN.PL /-i/ were calculated. Among the phonological factors, the binary variable STOP_AFR (1 for stops and affricates, 0 for all other consonants) had a high correlation coefficient with the sibilisation ratio ($r=-0.51$, $p<.0005$), animacy has a comparable value ($r=-0.5$, $p<.0005$), whereas GEN.PL /-i/ ratios were uncorrelated with sibilisation ratios ($r=-0.05$). A linear model, where STOP_AFR and ANIMACY served as predictor variables and the sibilisation ratio was entered as outcome, showed a significant negative effect of both predictor variables, as well as of their interaction. The relative importance of the 2 predictors and their interaction was calculated. This model explained 62% of the observed variance, with STOP_AFR accounting for 28% of the variance, ANIMACY for 27%, and their interaction explaining for 7% .

Further insight into the data shows that animates as a whole show an extremely low sibilisation ratio (mean=0.08), whereas inanimates show no clear tendency as a group (mean=0.58). Moreover, while inanimates have a rather continuous distribution of sibilisation ratios, out of 28 animates, only 5 nouns are ever attested with alternation, and only 2 have sibilisation ratios above 0.2: *majka* ‘mother’ and *djevojka* ‘girl(friend)’, both with sibilisation ratios above 0.99. The fact that both nouns can denote roles is part of a broader tendency. I present data from an ongoing study on -VGa nouns (based on the Serbian corpus srWaC), showing that in this dataset as well nouns denoting (family) roles are among the few animates that can undergo the sibilisation (e.g., *supruga* ‘wife’ and *unuka* ‘granddaughter’ both undergoing the alternation virtually categorically).

Animacy is widely known to influence the exponence ACC.SG in the main ‘masculine’ declension in BCMS, leading to ‘minimal pairs’ such as, e.g., *tip-a* ‘guy-ACC.SG’ vs. *tip* ‘type-ACC.SG’) The influence of animacy on BCMS tonal patterns has also been discussed in the literature, especially for the DAT/LOC.SG ending *-u*, that seems to realise an underlying H only in inanimate monosyllables, leading to minimal pairs such as *tīp-u* ‘guy-DAT/LOC.SG’ vs. *tiip-ú* ‘guy-DAT/LOC.SG’ (see Martinović 2012 a recent quantitative analysis). The wholesale influence of animacy on the application of segmental phonological alternations is a novel finding, which can be added to the repertoire of animacy effects in BCMS.

In a preliminary discussion of a formal account of the findings, I consider various ingredients, involving animacy scales and special Faithfulness constraints, while also seeking a unified account of the two phonological effects of animacy illustrated above.

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